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The *Journal for the Study of Peace and Conflict* is the journal of the Wisconsin Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies, with its office at the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, 900 Reserve Street, Stevens Point, WI 54481. Officers are Executive Director Lynne Woehrle (Mount Mary University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Associate Director Eric Yonke (University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point), and Administrative Director Kathryn Blakeman. The *Journal* is a refereed journal. To purchase a copy, send \$15 to the Wisconsin Institute at the above address.

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Table of Contents

Editor's Introduction Lynne Woehrle

Papers

Democracy, Peace and Conflict: Personal and Professional Reflections on 30 Years with the Wisconsin Institute	Martin F. Farrell	1
Black Lives Matter: An Autoethnographic Account of the Ferguson, Missouri, Civil Unrest of 2014	Darius Carr	6
Women and Reconciliation: A Pathway to Peace	Diane J. Chandler	21
Post Dominant Them: A Comparison of post-Soviet Estonia and post-apartheid South Africa	David Brooker	37
Champions without trophies: Motivational factors behind women and their resilience in peacebuilding in post-conflict Eldoret, Kenya	Elizabeth Atieno Rombo	47
Turtle Island 2016 Civil Resistance Snapshot	Tom H. Hastings	58

Book Reviews

<i>Saving Lives and Staying Alive: Humanitarian Security in the Age of Risk Management</i> , edited by Michael Neuman and Fabrice Weissman	Kevin McMahon	69
<i>Young Generation Awakening: Economics, Society, and Policy on the Eve of the Arab Spring</i> , edited by Edward A. Sayre and Tarik M. Yousef.....	Hania Bekdash	71
<i>Civil Resistance Today</i> , by Kurt Schock	Ina Filkobski	73
<i>Courage, Resistance & Women in Ciudad Juarez: Challenges to Militarization</i> , by Kathleen Staudt and Zulma Mendez	Leila El Adlouni	75

Editor's Introduction

In this issue of the journal we begin in celebration of the longevity of the association which hosts this journal. Keynote speaker at the 2015 Wisconsin Institute conference, Farrell provides a brief but insightful history of the organization. He notes the strength that relationships among faculty with common interests has brought the group. He writes, "I know of no other organization that has so successfully combined membership from both public and private institutions, both religious and secular in nature, and has critically examined war and peace issues from such a wide variety of points of view as the Wisconsin Institute." His words remind us of the unusual nature of our group in both its longevity through several generations of scholars but also its diversity of institutional members and variety of key issues of interest. In that context he turns to an analysis of what makes democratic institutions successful. Certainly there is not a more timely topic of discussion as major political changes are happening globally in nations often heralded for their commitment to democracy and inclusion. Farrell offers a much needed reminder of the need for cooperation but also the link of institutional effectiveness and compassion for inclusion which sits at the heart of the democratic idea.

In this issue we also offer up five research studies that combined show the range of methodologies used by scholars in the field. They also show that our interests range through the full continuum of understanding about conflicts and justice whether that is in the stage of emergence, resistance, or healing transformation. In their articles, Carr and Hastings offer analyses of current movements that have been very present in the bandwidth of media in the United States, the Black Lives Matter movement (Carr) and Native peoples tradition of resistance to environmental, economic and cultural oppressions in the U.S. and Canada (Hastings). The articles offer different strategies for investigating these newsworthy movements and the reader has an opportunity to press deeply into what we might learn by becoming more familiar with the people and ideas that are central to these examples of nonviolent civil resistance.

The great value of a series of articles bound together as they are in a journal is they can challenge us to consider issues from a variety of perspectives. Brooker's piece provides that 180-degree turn needed when he challenges the reader to go with him in an exploration of what it might be like to be "post-dominant." Yes, we study social change so often and look at those who pushed for change while we wonder why it took us so long to see the need for justice. But what about those for whom social change brings a loss of power, a move from the center to the margins? A comparative case study of Russians in Estonia and whites in South Africa provides the opportunity to think deeply about what happens to those removed from power and what critical insights are found in analyzing their experiences.

Our issue is rounded out by two other research articles which capture an important theme in the field, the contributions of women in the processes of reconciliation and healing work that is integral in the conflict cycle. Chandler works from her interest in the work of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina to chart out four key principles that make the work of women in conflict zones vital to the processes of reconciliation and change. Rombo provides insight through the case of women in Eldoret, Kenya, and their contributions to community healing. She raises up the perspectives of women who lived through ethnic animosity and

violence and found their efforts to be critical to the reestablishment of peaceful coexistence as they shaped the lives of the next generation.

Finally, we turn to our much-loved section, consideration of recent books published in the field. This time three books reviewed turn us to a discussion of what does resistance mean and what can we learn from studying on the ground around the world? One book takes a focused look at the impact of a youth bulge on movements for social change while a second applies feminist thinking to dig into the dynamics of social protest in contentious regions. Yet a third book provides a broad view of nonviolent resistance from both historical and contemporary case studies. The book reviews also include a timely discussion of dilemmas in humanitarian security. How has technology changed decision-making processes and what challenges do humanitarian organizations face when trying to deliver aid in conflict zones? Each review provides key concepts but also raises important questions about what is not covered and where our quest for understanding the dynamics of conflict, peace and justice might take us next. As a group, the books reviewed provide ample reading choices for scholars and practitioners offering up both theoretical insights and case study analysis.

Our appreciation goes out to all the volunteer reviewers, the editorial board and the institute staff who made this issue possible. For years this journal has provided a print option for those seeking to share scholarship in peace and justice studies. We find ourselves in a place of transition and discernment about what we as an organization can do to provide opportunities for idea sharing that are timely and vibrant. For now we are on hold with the next call for papers as we journey through what might best serve our readership. We thank all the authors and readers who have worked with us over the past years and look forward to new and different, yet equally vibrant scholarly relationships in the future.

Dr. Lynne M. Woehrle, Editor
Professor of Sociology, Mount Mary University

Democracy, Peace and Conflict: Personal and Professional Reflections on 30 Years with the Wisconsin Institute

Martin F. Farrell, Ph.D.

Professor of Politics and Government, Ripon College
Prepared for the Wisconsin Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies/Carthage College
Conference on “Democracy in the 21st Century?”
Carthage College, Kenosha, WI, April 17, 2015

It is a genuine honor to have the opportunity to address this luncheon plenary of your important conference considering the possibilities for democracy in the 21st century. Given that this year marks the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Wisconsin Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies, and the fact that I was active in the organization for much of that time period, the conference organizers asked me to reflect briefly on the history of the Wisconsin Institute as well as the topic of your conference.

Tracing the history of the Wisconsin Institute is aided greatly by the fact that in 2005, on the occasion of the Institute’s 20th anniversary, four of the Institute’s founders and most active members for many years wrote and published a fairly detailed history of the organization, currently available on the Institute’s website.¹ Although discussions and debates about matters of war and peace undoubtedly go back to the origins of civilization, the more proximate roots of the Wisconsin Institute can be traced to concerns and movements that arose in the aftermath of the almost inconceivable death and destruction of World War II. A Peace Manifesto issued by Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell in 1955 was followed by the first Pugwash Conference in 1955 at which important thinkers and public figures discussed ways to reduce the danger of armed conflict, especially in light of the development of thermonuclear weaponry, and to promote cooperative, non – violent solutions for global problems.²

By the 1980’s, support for peace studies grew rapidly in the face of a massive arms buildup, sabre – rattling by national leaders, and open discussions in the Reagan administration of a so – called “winnable nuclear war.” In Wisconsin, a conference on “Nuclear Age Education” was held at the UW – Green Bay in November, 1984, and, as a result of urgent concerns shared there, in February, 1985, faculty members from seven private colleges and universities and ten University of Wisconsin campuses and centers, as well as representatives from UW Extension and the UW System, convened at UW-Stevens Point to draft a declaration formally founding the Wisconsin Institute for the Study of War, Peace, and Global Cooperation, as it was originally called.³ Its mission was to “encourage and legitimize research and teaching on the roots of organized violence, on security issues, and on the factors necessary for a just global peace, to develop and maintain a resource base for peace studies, and thereby to increase the probability of the survival and enhancement of life in the nuclear age.”⁴

¹ Ian Harris, Dick Ringler, Kent Shifferd and William Skelton, “History of the Wisconsin Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies,” www.uwsp.edu/cols-ap/WIPCS/Documents/Institute%20history--2005.pdf

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³ The name was shortened to “The Wisconsin Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies” in 1999.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

And for just over 30 years, the Wisconsin Institute has done just that, through activities including conferences such as the one we are currently attending, a refereed journal open to student and faculty scholarship, a speaker's bureau, student and faculty awards, and the development of educational resources such as the award – winning multi – media “Dilemmas of War and Peace” project completed in 1993. It is also important to note that another part of the Institute's Mission Statement says that “the Wisconsin Institute is receptive to teaching and research which proceeds along both traditional and nontraditional lines and provides forums where all viewpoints may be expressed and contemplated. As such, the Institute does not prejudice judgment about any issues with a particular ideology.”

I know of no other organization that has so successfully combined membership from both public and private institutions, both religious and secular in nature, and has critically examined war and peace issues from such a wide variety of points of view as the Wisconsin Institute. In my years with the Institute I have worked hand in hand with avowed pacifists as well as combat veterans. (At a national conference of another organization, I recently ran into one of our former very active members, who now teaches at the Naval War College). I will admit that I do not recall that we have had any avowed warmongers among our active participants, but short of that, there has always been a broad range of viewpoints represented. Similarly, some of our most active members have been members of the clergy, while others would probably be considered pretty strong secularists; but in the Wisconsin Institute, these individuals and their institutions have always worked very well together. In addition, I want to add that I have always found an exceptional level of personal warmth, collegiality and camaraderie among the active membership of the Wisconsin Institute. Some of my most vivid memories will be of the summer retreats, several of which were held on Washington Island, complete with cooperatively – cooked meals of fresh – caught Lake Michigan whitefish, among other local delicacies. Those of you familiar with academic organizations know that ego – tripping and shameless self – promotion is often par for the course. I will forever be thankful that there was never any of that with the Wisconsin Institute. Instead, we shared deep intellectual inquiry, lively discussions, civil debate, and warm personal friendship. As I will explain in a few moments, although one of the main concerns motivating the formation of the Institute, thermonuclear war between the superpowers, is no longer as salient a threat as it was at the time of the Institute's founding, we still live in a very dangerous and all – too – violent world, so that the continued flourishing of organizations such as the Wisconsin Institute is as vitally important today as ever. Let us hope and pray that the current totally unnecessary, punitive and extremely destructive budget shenanigans being perpetrated by irresponsible, anti – intellectual demagogues and opportunists will not threaten the future of this outstanding organization. And, of course, as citizens, we can and must do more than just hope and pray in order to stop this madness.

With all that in mind, I would now like to turn to some considerations regarding the theme of your conference. Needless to say, the complex interrelationships among democracy, peace and conflict have been some of the most intensively and fruitfully studied topics one can think of since the end of the Cold War. I know that a number of presentations at this conference have at least touched on this topic. Given this fact, I am obviously not going to attempt to provide a comprehensive overview of the debate, nor attempt to provide a definitive delineation of these interrelationships; rather, in the few minutes remaining to me I

intend simply to offer some food for thought as a possible springboard for further study, discussion and debate.

Even defining modern liberal democracy is no mean feat. For present purposes, I will begin with Schmitter and Karl's classic definition of democracy as "a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens acting [directly or] indirectly through the cooperation and competition of elected representatives."⁵ Another interesting possibility is to define democracy negatively; from this point of view, democracy is a system in which no one can choose himself to rule or to bestow upon himself unconditional and unlimited power.⁶ In order to be considered liberal, as opposed to illiberal, this democracy must also guarantee through the rule of law the rights of individuals, including the right to political participation and representation, as well as the freedoms of speech, of religion, of association, and other civil rights and liberties.⁷

In reality, of course, the existence and effective operation of such a system will always be a matter of degree rather than a simple either – or proposition. Still, after reviewing the voluminous empirical evidence and heated debate on the issue, while fully understanding that democracy is not a panacea or a magic wand that instantly wipes away all the troubles of humankind, I personally am inclined to accept the proposition that democratic systems, as defined above, generally are conducive to less violent, more prosperous, freer, happier and less warlike societies than the real – world, as opposed to utopian, alternatives. Hence, it seems that as individuals, as Americans, and as global citizens we should generally be in the business of democracy promotion. Let me hasten to add, however, that democracy promotion must always begin at home, for even in well – established and long – lived democracies, forces will always be active which seek to distort or manipulate democratic processes for personal, partisan, ideological, or some other self – centered gains. Combating these manipulative forces, which seek self – aggrandizement without the slightest regard for the violation of democratic principles, must always be the first duty of democratic citizenship.

Moreover, as we pursue democracy promotion abroad, we must keep in mind the nearly unanimous conclusion of scholars, writing from a wide variety of points of view, that if liberal democracy is the least bad system of government, by far the worst is a failed state. Although there is evidence that this has always been the case (*i.e.*, that some kind of central control and effective governance of territory has always been a prerequisite of a life worth living), this fact may have been obscured from our vision by the experience of the 20th century in which total war, genocide, vicious oppression and mass starvation seemed to stem mainly from too – strong states ruled by madmen or fanatics of one sort or another. Even today, some of the violence and disorder we are experiencing stems from this sort of cause: for example, Russia's recent aggression against Ukraine. Even in this case, however, the door to Russian aggression was opened by the failure of Ukraine's Orange Revolution of 2004 – 05 to establish an effective, properly – functioning liberal democratic regime in that state within the window of opportunity provided by that Revolution.

⁵ Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is . . . and Is Not," in Diamond and Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (2nd ed.; Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 50.

⁶ See, for example, Giovanni Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1987), p. 206.

⁷ See Stephen Holmes, *The Anatomy of Antiliberalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 3 – 4.

To me, it is very significant that so many scholars from a broad range of disciplines and political viewpoints have come to agree that the lack of a central government willing and able actually to govern its territory with at least some minimal level of effectiveness is at the root of the world's most serious problems, from poverty and AIDS to drug trafficking, human trafficking and, of course, terrorism. In the words of Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart, "The tens of millions of lives lost and the millions of refugees [generated in recent decades] are a sad testimony to both the failure of public authority and the state's weak institutional structures."⁸ Moreover, it seems evident that such weak institutional structures will also have little to no chance of being able to sustain genuine liberal – democratic polities.

Therefore, while democracy promotion still seems to be a worthwhile goal, it must be pursued not in a fanatical, crusading and moralistic fashion that quixotically seeks to rid the world of evil, but, rather, in a thoughtful, pragmatic manner that shows an accurate understanding of what it actually takes to create a decent and humane social and political order. We also need to understand that the post – Cold War world is a complex, multipolar one. Hence we must not overstate the ability of the United States or any other power, or even any combination of powers, to completely control events in today's far – flung, multi – polar international system encompassing hundreds of state and non – state actors. At the same time, as citizens of what is still the world's richest and most militarily powerful nation, I believe that we do have a responsibility to provide constructive, responsible and effective leadership. And, at times, in my judgment, that may require the use of force. However, I believe that in today's world, our primary efforts should be directed toward cooperating with individuals and groups committed to working together across ethnic, religious and cultural boundaries to create viable, effective and transparent institutions of governance actually capable of governing territory and people. It may be that for now we will need to give governing capacity precedence over full and immediate democratization. In doing research for this talk, I ran across an interesting quotation: "Our primary objective should be to channel conflict into workable compromises and build local institutional capacity to forge sustainable peace, security, and economic growth." Makes sense to me; do you know where I found it? It is in the U.S. Army's "Stability Operations Manual" of October, 2008.⁹ One of the very most important aspects of this institutional capacity is the establishment of the rule of law. This, too, as we know all too well, is never perfect, either. However, to the extent that the rule of law takes hold in a society, it creates a virtuous circle of stability, trust and ever – widening empowerment that at least leads in the direction of democratization. I am also in agreement with the idea that fostering the rule of law and improving governing capacity in general requires the sustained engagement and coherent responsiveness of the international community, rather than looking the other way or passively accepting the inevitability of corrupt or incompetent leadership. How many times have we been guilty of doing just that: looking the other way or passively accepting the

⁸ Ghani and Lockhart, *Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 23. Cf. Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done About It* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007); Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty* (New York: Crown Business, 2012); and Francis Fukuyama, *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011).

⁹ <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/repository/FM307/FM3-07.pdf>

inevitability of corrupt or incompetent leadership, while failing to take proactive measures to improve governing capacity and strengthen the rule of law? Russia in the 1990's? Ukraine between 2004 and 2014? Egypt in the 1980's, 1990's and 2000's?

In conclusion, let me admit that I have learned over the years that hindsight is usually 20/20 and that we live in a complex and unpredictable world. By all means, let us strive for the democratic peace of Thomas Paine and Immanuel Kant (kind of an odd couple, perhaps). If we could have a fully liberal and fully democratic world, there is little doubt in my mind that it would be a better world. In pursuing that noble goal, however, let us proceed with some humility and caution rather than bombast and hubris. And let us also keep in mind that in most real – world cases, more practical and readily obtainable goals such as the construction of adequate governing capacity and the rule of law may be necessary and highly desirable first steps toward the ultimate goal of the Democratic Peace.

Black Lives Matter: An Autoethnographic Account of the Ferguson, Missouri, Civil Unrest of 2014

Darius Carr*

Abstract

This paper is an autoethnographic account of the Ferguson Unrest of 2014. The first section is a context-based analysis to understand why Ferguson, Missouri, became a catalyst to ignite national outrage against police brutality. The second central question is to understand what does protest in America look like in the 21st century, particularly through the eyes of the young people who are experiencing these modes of civil resistance for the first time. To get at this question, the researcher draws from many narrative and reflexive accounts of encounters with various interlocutors and locals during two weekends of direct action. As a lens, the author utilizes renowned community organizer Saul Alinsky and neo-Alinsky traditions of issue-generating to analyze the effectiveness of organizers in Missouri. I critique that in an era unlike those in which Alinsky was appropriated [overt/blatant racism and classism] injustices are increasingly more covert, and not the most effective community organizing strategy.

Keywords: *Autoethnography, Black Lives Matter, intersectionality, neo-Alinsky organizing, influence, killable body, Ferguson, MO.*

Introduction

This autoethnographic account of the Ferguson Unrest of 2014 is divided into two sections. The first section is a context-based analysis to understand why Ferguson, Missouri, became a catalyst to ignite national outrage against police brutality in many American cities since the events transpired following the death of unarmed teenager Mike Brown by a white police officer. Central question is to understand what does protest in America look like in the 21st century, particularly through the eyes of the young people who are experiencing these modes of civil resistance for the first time.

The second half of this paper is a deeper analysis of the strategies adopted by organizers and protesters in order to critique what was effective and what recommendations can be made to advance the agenda of the movement. To get at this question the researcher draws from many narrative and reflexive accounts of encounters with various interlocutors and local stakeholders during two weekends of direct action: the first under the national call for solidarity #FergusonOctober, and the second following the decision of the grand jury not to indict police officer Darren Wilson for the officer involved shooting of unarmed Michael Brown.

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The author utilizes renowned community organizer Saul Alinsky and neo-Alinsky traditions of issue generating and teaching power strategies for collective organizing as 1) a lens to analyze the effectiveness of organizers in Missouri; and 2) to highlight the shortfalls and limitations of organizers adopting such neo-Alinsky approaches. I critique that in an era unlike those in which Alinsky was appropriated [overt/blatant racism and classism] injustices are increasingly more covert, hidden, and not the most effective community organizing strategy. In certain cases, these antagonistic approaches to organizing work counterintuitively against the protestors (e.g., discourses of looting, aggressive-irrational behavior, and property damage) which suddenly makes it easier for people to dismiss the goals of the movement. Reflecting on these experiences, I offer a critique of why the Black Lives Matter movement illustrates challenges both domestically and globally of inequality and neo-liberalism which I coin in this essay as the killable body. "Killable Body." a person who may not actively participate in neo-liberalism through formal and legitimate economic venues thus contributing to society—in part because of systematic oppression—who may then participate in or are perceived to partake in informal strategies to survive which allows for race to become easily synonymous and/or misinterpreted for larger global critiques of flawed neo-liberalized society.

Methodology/Autoethnography

The author adopted auto-ethnographic methods and field interviews for this research. Autoethnography is a term used to describe a research approach whereby the author/researcher draws on his or her own experiences written in the form of personal narratives to extend new knowledge¹. Carolyn Ellis and Arthur Bochner define autoethnography as an "autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple levels of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural."^{2&3} As a general rule, autoethnography requires that a researcher study (a) his or her own culture, (b) a culture into which he or she has been adopted and accepted completely, (c) the culture of the self, or (d) the culture of another as it relates to the self of the researcher.^{4&5}

It has been a constant struggle to write this ethnography as I entered Ferguson, Missouri, and the St. Louis area as both a participant and a researcher (participant observer). Moreover, my participant interactions were as an activist, not absolved from tear gas, rubber bullets, tanks, and various other ad hoc police tactics enforced by the local authorities on peaceful and non-peaceful protestors. It was this initial curiosity and inquiry to which I got

¹ Sparkes, A. C. (2000). Autoethnography and narratives of self: Reflections on criteria in action. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 17, 21–43.

² Ellis, C., & Bochner, A. P. (2000). Autoethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity: Researcher as subject. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 733-768). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

³ Tillmann, L. M. (2009). Speaking into silences: Autoethnography, communication, and applied research. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 37(1), 94-97. doi:10.1080/00909880802592649

⁴ Ellis, C., & Bochner, A. P. (2003). Autoethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity: Researcher as subject. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (2nd ed., pp. 199-258). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

⁵ O'Byrne, P. (2007). The advantages and disadvantages of mixing methods: An analysis of combining traditional and autoethnographic approaches. *Qualitative Health Research*, 17(10), 1381-1391. doi:10.1177/1049732307308304

involved in the Ferguson uprising. “Although the difficulties of producing good artistic, empathic autoethnography commonly are unrecognized or underestimated among scholars and professionals, a unique strength of this approach is that it blurs boundaries between research and practice. Furthermore, because people occupy multiple roles and interact in diverse social spaces, autoethnography produces valuable knowledge that illuminates unseen aspects of the self and social relationships.”⁶

As a theoretical framework, the paper critically explores intersectionality theory to highlight and critique my unique mobility during the Black Lives Matter movement by deconstructing the subtle prejudices and bias that are underlying and often neglected in non-reflexive modes of scholarly inquiry. “According to an intersectionality perspective, inequities are never the result of single, distinct factors. Rather, they are the outcome of intersections of different social locations, power relations and experiences.”⁷ Expanding on the ideas of intersectionality theory, I use the term positionality to interrogate the process of knowledge generation throughout this autoethnographic investigation. In understanding my privilege “new embodied knowledge, especially in fieldwork, is often gained through making mistakes, thus unlearning what is taken for granted in the individual’s primary culture”⁸—positionality.

In the case of this research, I was an outsider, an African-American male, which enabled movement across various modes of communication and engagement in unique and meaningful interactions with a variety of actors and interlocutors as a researcher. I was in essence who (the black male) to which the civil uprising was centered on at the superficial level. So my approaches to this research venture had to be modified to accommodate all of these unique idiosyncrasies to understand my positionality and how this impacted the degree to which information was shared with me.

Place is very important to consider here as you will see later that although I was by all technicalities an outsider; I was also inadvertently considered an insider under certain circumstances. On my second trip to the St. Louis area after a day of protesting with a local leader named Bishop, I was invited into his SUV to talk about strategizing for the next day of action. I believe this level of trust was established on our commonalities of identity. Many feminist scholars refer to this as epistemic privilege or “the difference that difference makes.”^{9&10} In other words, our alignment of being black and marginalized fostered a degree of trust between the two parties. Not wanting to miss a word exchanged during this moment, I had my tape recorder recording as a group of Bishop’s supporters were surrounding the car, which was a very intense moment for me, but highlighting the disconnect between I the researcher and the organizers.

In other cases, I was not perceived as a stakeholder. Although I was able to engage in conversations with the locals both black and white, a police/community liaison who was trusted

⁶ Jensen-Hart, Staci and Williams, DJ (2010). *Blending voices: Autoethnography as a vehicle for critical reflection in social work* - Routledge. doi: 10.1080/08841233.2010.515911

⁷ Hankivsky, Olena. (2014). Intersectionality 101. *Cal 64* (1): 01-34.

⁸ Okely, Judith. (2012). “Confronting Positionality.” *Teaching Anthropology* 2.1 36-43. Web.

⁹ Bar-On, Bat Ami. 1993. “Marginality and Epistemic Privilege.” In *Feminist Epistemologies*, eds. Linda Alcoff and Elizabeth Potter, 83–101. New York: Routledge.

¹⁰ Kitch, S. L. (2002). Claiming success: From adversity to responsibility in women’s studies. *NWSA Journal*, 14(1), 160.

by the church organizers and known for his calming attitude and demeanor—a tactic to build rapport amongst protestors—rejected the opportunity to speak to me when I asked him about “accountability of police and his moral values.” He asked “Where are you from?” I said “Milwaukee.” He then turned his back on me and proceeded to walk towards his men. I interpreted this as the community liaison feeling no need to talk to me because I was neither a member of his constituency, but moreover a member of the outside agitators who were inciting this movement that had befallen on Ferguson.

Part 1: Why Ferguson?

Ferguson is a symbolic microcosm of America. Patricia Valoy credits the rise of urban gentrification leading to a rise of recent racial tension across the United States “Gentrification is new-wave colonialism, and it has economic, societal, and public health repercussions for poor communities of color.”¹¹ Other scholars point to the lack of diversity in America.^{12&13} Many Americans, especially whites; comfort themselves that the U.S. has become a post-racial society. Not Ferguson, which is “67.4 percent black, 29.3 percent white, and only 3.3 percent everything else. The variegated national reaction to the events in the St. Louis suburb also gives lie to the post-racial myth.”¹⁴ Jim Dalrymple critiques the spatial geography and access to resources as creating a powder-keg in Ferguson. “All of these factors—poverty, segregation, lack of civic space—primed Ferguson for unrest.”¹⁵

Whatever the cause; one common thread is that there is still disconnection between the white majority and marginalized minority groups in America. One of the co-participants that accompanied me on my second trip to St. Louis—Christopher, a biracial white and Latino identifying student of psychology and sociology said the following “The events that are going on in Ferguson with the shooting of Mike Brown and the rest of the U.S. is a reflection of the duality and double standards of treatment that exist here in America. White people are oblivious to things like employment disparities, racial profiling, education, and discrimination.” I later asked Christopher what made him go down to Ferguson? This had been his second time back in Ferguson as well; Chris had first gone down in mid-August when the first round of protest spurred. He told me that “being white-passing he grew up thinking that black people were just inherently violent from the things that were portrayed on the news and that a lot of their social dilemmas were a result of this. But, as I got older I saw how the system wasn’t fair and the media was biased in its treatment. So that is why I’m passionate about being a voice and an advocate for minorities.”

#FergusonOctober

I went down to Ferguson and the St. Louis area in Missouri firstly as a participant observer. I was invited to go down to #FergusonOctober with a friend and local activist named

¹¹ Valoy, Patricia (2014). 7 Reasons Why Gentrification Hurts Communities of Color. Everyday Feminism. N.p.

¹² Saunders, Pete (2014). The Death of America’s Suburban Dream. The Guardian, Web.

¹³ Mire, Muna (2014). Youth Are on the Frontlines in Ferguson, and They Refuse to Back Down. The Nation. N.p.

¹⁴ Coy, Peter (2014). Injustice in Ferguson, Long Before Michael Brown. Bloomberg Business Week. Bloomberg.

¹⁵ Dalrymple II, Jim (2014). How Ferguson’s Rotting Suburbia Helped Create A Powder Keg. BuzzFeed. N.p.

Magdalena. Magdalena who was heading down to Ferguson in response to a national call for solidarity and support from the local organizers in the St. Louis area needed some people with which to carpool.

I responded to this invitation out of first initial curiosity about the protest and also because I thought it would be a great opportunity to do research. I was a bit detached and critical as to why people like Magdalena would go down there. What vested interest did she have? Magdalena is a “white-passing” biracial Asian and white identifying twenty-five year old. Magdalena frequently wore a head wrap similar to a hijab [although she does not personally identify with any sectarian religion]. Magdalena had once mentioned of her home being almost robbed by an African-American man some years back. What possibly would bring her to support the plight of what many, including myself at the time, would refer to as thugs?

I wouldn't find out until two months later that Magdalena grew passionate about social justice issue through the apprenticeship of a local community activist and firsthand experiences with the exclusionary and culturally insensitive practices within the non-profit organization where she was employed.

The day of our first scheduled trip to Ferguson, Magdalena picked me up from my apartment at around 8:30 am. It was a brisk fall morning and she had waited five or so minutes as I, this bourgeois graduate student with an over packed suitcase full of clothes, three pair of shoes, laptop, journal, tape recorder, and food, collected myself. I had packed enough luggage for at least a month. Magdalena had informed me that we would be meeting up with two other strangers on the way that she was in talks with on a rideshare website. The first to be picked up was a grungy looking white girl with a teal blue shirt, dirty blond hair, and a pungent smell of fresh coffee grinds named Sky.

Sky had just gotten off work from a local coffee shop when we picked her up with just one knapsack for the weekend. We started to introduce ourselves and Sky mentioned how she arrived in Milwaukee a few months ago from Chicago. Sky had just recently gotten back to the United States from being abroad in China. This prompted a “你说汉语吗 (Do you speak Chinese?).” What followed was twenty minutes of impromptu conversational Chinese. I think it is safe to say that we were probably the only two random individuals in Milwaukee who would do such a thing. We became instant friends.

Like Magdalena, Sky had planned on going down to Ferguson in response to the national call; but she also, in her words, had to get away “from all the racist bullshit that white people would say, like why are you going down there to support those thugs... every five minutes someone would make a post on my Facebook page, some racist article, or say be careful down there its dangerous... I saw this on CNN.” Sky was full of character and very aware of white privilege and anxiety. We had arrived outside the home of Tobias en route to St. Louis. Tobias looked as though he had come from a party the night before. He was Latino, with black hair, and had just gotten back home for the weekend from college in La Crosse, WI. Tobias is a nature loving, tree hugging, human rights, very liberal, music loving, free spirit whose possessions included a hammock, a baggie of weed (unbeknownst to us at first), and a change of clothes. On the other hand, Tobias did not talk in a passive iambic pentameter as one would typecast such a character, but with passion and enthusiasm of his support for the movement. These significant social connections amongst strangers is critical in understanding how I, the

researcher, was able to navigate across different social spaces, proxies, and modes of communication in this research venture.

This car was full of some of the most diverse people I have ever met. Magdalena had a master's degree in communication and is a feminist scholar. Tobias was the youngest of everyone just twenty-two years of age who had a diehard passion against systemic injustices, especially nature. Sky brought an interesting dynamic to the group. Her time abroad in China had taught her a life lesson in diversity and inclusion, to which she became engrossed in reading books covering subject matters from racism, school to prison pipeline, white privilege, and issues of rape. Sky was aware and astute of how to learn from situations in which she was marginalized being a woman and a minority in China to empathize with the struggles of other oppressed groups domestically in the United States.

Then there was me, the only African-American in the car, which was frustrating at first because everyone in the car would guard their words as to not offend (me). There were even some points in the car at which everyone except myself would identify as either white or white-passing based on some premise or another. This was done in my opinion to establish a position that Magdalena, Tobias, and Sky were here to stand in solidarity and support me—the marginalized. This arguably favored how I was able to play devil's advocate in inquiry on certain issues of race without being offensive. For example, a topical discussion of recreational drug use arose towards the end of this six-and-a-half-hour drive:

Darius: I don't agree that drugs like marijuana should be legalized. For me it is the simple fact that unlike alcohol, weed and tobacco is communicable in that I don't want to be bothered by the smell or I have asthma. I don't want to be subjected to the second-hand smoke.

Sky: Wow, I would not expect you to say that. Dude, alcohol kills way more people.

Magdalena: Agree... well I see both sides, but there is some higher level of consciousness you are able to reach while using some drugs.

Tobias: My thing is why the hell legalize it now that these rich white businessmen are profiting from it while for years we have locked up black and brown men for doing the same thing trying to put food on the table...

The conversation shifted towards a discussion on racial injustice and black male overrepresentation in American prisons.

Our first stop after passing the iconic Gateway Arch in St. Louis was at the home of Jazz, who ran a local co-operative that took in protestors who came to support the movement. Jazz was full of character, she talked with a southern twang, wore dreadlocks, free spirited, very hippie-ish. There were chickens roaming free in the front and back yard, a grey blue-eyed pit bull, a cat, and a host of extroverted relatives. Her outgoing daughter Elise was bi-racial, presumably her father was black.

We informed Jazz that we were on our way out to attend the different discussion forums and panels the local organizer of #FergusonOctober had organized throughout the weekend. Jazz and family protested our attendance by saying "Why the hell are y'all going to those boring talks. See that's the opposition trying to co-opt the movement; what we need is boots on the ground." We are okay with doing both I added. Jazz's sister Ramona interjected "Now if y'all really want to get involved y'all be at that Cardinals game tomorrow. That's where I will be. Ain't nobody got time to be going to no fucking parade? See that's where all 'em white

folks gone be at down at that game.” Interestingly, Jazz and her sisters are white, but not identifying with those who benefit from a sort of white privilege. They were themselves marginalized, white trash, the American untouchables; of course they would be part of the resistance.

The next day we attended the “Justice For All” national march in downtown St. Louis. This was the first time in which I witnessed the roles of the different actors during the protest and how far we have changed as a nation when it came to civil resistance and protest. It begs to question if what Ramona had mentioned the day before as the march being just a parade to only be witnessed by the hail of media cameras that made up the audience. The march was at 10:00 am and occasionally you would spot a “green hat” or legal observers who were to act as impartial witnesses to the spectacle. The procession was led by the police who cornered off major intersections; there was no disruption of the status quo. The downtown was empty at this point as most metro-St. Louis residents waited to populate the downtown for the big Cardinals game that was scheduled to take place at 7:00 pm.

A significant uncovering emerging from these diverse conversations and interactions between I and the actors involved in the #Ferguson October protests, was the revelation that those community members and actors engaged in the spectacles of rioting, looting, or occupying space are not irrational actors. They employ significant rational understandings of the complexities and interconnectedness of the problems created by inequality and racism to postulate informed strategies to achieve winnable agendas. Whether or not we agree with the means of social movements and the spectacle of civil resistance unrest, undeniably spectacle helps to change the conversation and raise collective awareness. As stated eloquently by a Ferguson organizer “A problem is not a problem unless you make it” a theme expounded upon in the second half of this article.

Part 2 Case Study: This is What Democracy Looks like...

The following excerpt was journaled while on the ground in Shaw, Missouri, featured in an earlier written account by the author, “Control & Space: Three Short Interpersonal Narratives of Vagrancy” (Carr, 2014)¹⁶:

“We were peaceful protestors, arms raised as we marched down the street of suburban Shaw. Our chanting “Hands up don’t shoot” a reference to the horrific slaying of unarmed Michael Brown, shot to death by a white policeman Darren Wilson just two months earlier. Our destination was the local Quick Trip approximately three miles from where our group of three-hundred originated at a makeshift memorial shrine of another black male youth Vonderitt Myers Jr. who was shot seventeen times by an off-duty police officer. We gathered across the street at a local corner store where Vonderitt spent his last minuets seen by the store surveillance cameras purchasing a few items before he and his friends were intercepted by the officer.

“Hey guys keep it tight... keep it tight! They will arrest you if you don’t, stay with the group so everyone stays together” we were told by one of the Tribe-X leaders. We continued to walk through every obstacle that the streets and sidewalks of the south Missouri suburb could

¹⁶ Carr, Darius (2014) Control & Space: Three Short Interpersonal Narratives of Vagrancy.

throw at us. The overpasses that amplified our voices as we shouted even louder “Indict. Convict. Send that killer cop to jail the whole damn system is guilty as hell.”

The unevenness of the blighted sidewalk would occasionally rift and stumble our chants, but it conditioned our humanity as some of us would stop during the procession to warn our comrades to “watch your step” and it was then passed down the line in repetition until we were all safely across. There was a young African-American male in his teens or early twenty who walked with a club-footed limp in the streets. His unwavering determinism and will power was more galvanizing to action than any of the spoken prose of the local leaders.

Besides the challenges of maneuvering through the streets of Shaw on foot, the blinding lights of the camera lens pierced periodically through the orange hue of the streetlights. It was about 1:30 am when we finally reached the outskirts of The Grove, a gay entertainment and bar district.

We were greeted by the flashing lights of a police checkpoint that was set-up to deter traffic and protesters from joining with the mass. “Sidewalk... Sidewalk... Sidewalk” was the signal to stay on the sidewalk for it was the only place where protesters could legally stand and not be arrested. The police departments of St. Louis have recently adopted many ad hoc police tactics to quell protesters including the illegitimate use of the five second rule, an allusion to a popular myth that if you drop food on the ground and pick it up within five seconds it would be germ free. In this case the physical body of the protester cannot stop moving for longer than five seconds or it would be grounds for arrest by the police.

At this point, we had arrived near the entrance of the neon lit sign of The Grove. Peering around the corner was an armada of white cargo vans with police wearing riot gear. A police tank had also emerged beaming a bright light with two men hanging out the top as it drove towards the Quick Trip. I was taken aback by the sheer sight of the tank and the sheer volume of police force. Suddenly, the streets of Shaw, Missouri, looked all but like those images of Fallujah, Iraq, during U.S. occupation. Ironically, without the familiarity of the police sirens all of us were accustomed to, it was easy for the mind to drift anywhere but in the present tense that what we were witnessing was anything in America.

The leaders took to their bullhorns as we marched steadfast towards the Quick Trip “HEY HEY HO HO THESE KILLER COPS HAVE GOT TO GO HEY HEY HO HO”! The last obstacle as we descended towards this empty, but well lit Quick Trip parking lot was another highway overpass that looked directly down on the gas station and the wall of police that formed in one corner of the station. Many of us rushed to the frontlines of the police formation shouting “No Justice ... No Peace! No Racist... Police”!

Over the police megaphone there was what sounded like a pre-recorded message “This is an unlawful assembly please disperse the area.” “This is an unlawful assembly please disperse the area.” Some of the leaders had jiggled the handle of Quick Trip entrance to see if the door was unlocked. It was indeed locked by fearful store employees as they saw the mass of us walking towards the store. I couldn’t see anyone from the outside, maybe if they were inside they might have hid in the backroom. Or perhaps rumors of police informants or the media that followed sent out the alert of our plans for occupation. Amidst the snafu of it all I questioned myself so what is next? Will the police start shooting tear gas at us or fire rubber bullets at us? I had forgotten to bring my asthma inhaler and I was sure that any vapors would trigger an onset of wheezing that might even be fatal.

The leaders took to their megaphones to organize the bewildered group of protestors who decided to occupy the Quick Trip. There was somewhere between fifty to a hundred brave young people who remained on the frontlines and I was one of them. I had prepared mentally a similar conviction of a soldier summoned to war, always being mindful of the resolve that I was merely a pawn in some political tug of war between personal beliefs of change and the enforcers who were there to uphold the status quo. The rest of the protesters stayed behind on the sidewalk. There was an infinitesimal period of silence. Talil, the leader of the Tribe-X had taken to the loudspeaker. "Alright y'all, here's what we gone do. We are going to exercise our rights humanely as we occupy this Quick Trip. So what I want y'all to do is... We are going to line-up with our back towards the police. We are going to keep it tight. And no matter what they do remember, "United We Stand Divided We Fall."

Talil's voice was hoarse from shouting, he and his comrades had been organizing for sixty-five days at this point, but there was staunchness in his voice that paid testament to his tenacious spirt that was comforting to me. Comforting in that what we were doing despite the police warnings was both necessary and just. The police had no right in this land of free democracy to inhibit us from exercising our constitutional rights to organize and protest in the name of human rights. That we were on the right side of history against the oppressive police state that has continued to brutalize black and brown communities.

As we sat in front of the Quick Trip with our backs toward the police in rows of twos and threes the order was given out by the organizers to link arms and no matter what stay linked! Talil took to the speakerphone again, "So what we are going to do is have a four minute moment of silence, each minute representing the hours that Mike Brown's body laid in the streets uncovered. So stay linked and I will let you know when those four minutes are up." In the distance as we sat there observing the four minutes of silence, the sirens of police reinforcements whistled down the highways. The flashing red and blue lights of the police squad cars crowded my peripheral view as we sat there in silence.

The police battalions began hitting their batons on the ground in military precision. The metronome of the ticking on the ground was a haunting tactic intensified with us having our back towards the ever massing police force. There was also the uncomfortableness of hearing the motioning of the feet of the media personnel, who would walk behind us to take an occasional photo.

At the end of the observation, the leaders called for us to now face toward the police. The number of officers had swelled in sized, encircled us, and now altered our views of the sidewalk. The leaders began to initiate the call and response chanting as the officers advanced closer. "Hands Up" ... "Don't Shoot"... "Hands Up..." "Don't Shoot" "I Said Tell Me What Democracy Looks Like"... "This is What Democracy Looks Like." "It is my duty to fight"... "It is my duty to Win."

It took about five minutes for the police to converge on the right-side of our group. The officers cast their batons in between the interlocking arms of the sitting protestors, but it was not enough to break the line. So they started to mace the group which hit one African-American guy directly in the face. He let out a screeching yell that propelled him up. He was subdued with plastic handcuffs as the police with riot shields bulldozed through the other protestors.

An officer said "this half take them away." The lines were compromised as many in the immediate area disoriented by the mace started to retreat. A flurry of photo journalist rushed

in trying to capture photos of the arrests. This was a particular dangerous moment, because the journalists were now over our heads and it gave the appearance that it was more chaos amongst the sitting protesters. One journalist yelled “He’s got a gun” as his fingers triggered away on the camera’s shutter release. At this point we decided to stand up and regroup.

Adrenaline pumping some of us began to curse at the police officers as they advanced every few seconds ten paces. Those too close were either pushed back with batons, or arrested. The game of cat and mouse continued for about a half-hour until we retreated to the opposite of the street.

The organizers gathered us as we prepared to walk back to the memorial sight. The walk back was a somber retreat. I felt defeated and neglected. Where were the other protesters, some 3,000 who marched earlier that day in the Justice for All Rally? Where were the elders? Many of us have traveled from across the nation; we were young, and fighting for something we believed in. All to be chased off the Quick Trip by the police like some criminal was disparaging—.”

The goal of the demonstration was to show the inhumanity of the opposition—the police. Talil and other Tribe-X leaders had come up to me after we made it back to Vonderitt’s memorial shrine. He asked the group “How did y’all feel about everything that had just happened at the QuickTrip?” I replied I felt angry and defeated. I had never experienced anything like this. Talil shook his head as to agree and said “okay.”

Magdalena interjected “I think it was a win, I learned something new the police tanks, the militarized armored trucks, and sheer size and force of the police.” Talil replied “I’m glad you mentioned that. I wanted y’all to get a chance to experience what we go through on a daily basis. We know that they wasn’t gonna do nothing too crazy, because the national media is out here.” Learning through actions is one of renowned strategist and community organizers Saul Alinsky’s fundamental approaches to community organizing. “Leaders gain skills through the ongoing process of planning, researching, engaging directly with the opposition, and then reflecting on their actions.”

As Talil mentioned, this was a learning exercise so this strategy was a win. After all this experience was transformative for me, I left emboldened and more conscientious about surveillance, police militarization, and illegal ad hoc policing tactics. Moreover, it was a powerful illustration in the supremacy of social media. The Shaw Police Chief tweeted to the world that “protesters were throwing rocks”¹⁷ which eclipsed the peaceful efforts of the organizers. A win for those who were there, but did it move the world, as these symbolic gestures might have done in the past? I spoke with a member of the Palestinian contingent who mentioned that “it is the same rhetoric the Israeli soldiers would use [protestors shooting rocks] to justify shooting at people with real bullets. The difference here (America) is that the police shoot rubber bullets. In Palestine they shoot live rounds to maim protestors by shooting a leg or an arm.”

¹⁷ O’Neil, Tim (2014). Police Chief Says Protesters Arrested after Refusing to Leave St. Louis QuikTrip: News. Stltoday.com. N.p.

Issue Creation or Platform Creation?

Alinsky traditions are not always the most effective and fruitful strategies for organizers, because while galvanizing as such tactics may be they also create great divisions. By focusing leaders on the predations of their collective enemies, the organizer sought to overcome divisions and allow the community to come together as an “us vs. an outside ‘them.’”¹⁸ A week prior to my first arrival to Shaw there was a demonstration outside of the Cardinal’s stadium in which fans shouted racial slurs at demonstrators, threw beer, spit, and shouted I am Darren Wilson. The next time the demonstrators went to the stadium [which is when Magdalena, Sky, Tobias, and I were invited] the Tribe-X organizers invited what was coined as “white allies” to the game who would act as buffers when a fan would try to entice a demonstrator. These white allies were able to work effectively, because now suddenly it wasn’t the white patrons versus the black protestors it was people demonstrating and the individuals who would try to incite an angry response now professed his ignorance to the other patrons, who came to attend the game.

On my second trip down to the St. Louis area I was able to get a chance to march down West Florissant Avenue by the newly built Ferguson Police station. I had even obtained enough trust with local organizers and fellow protestors that I, along with a few others, galvanized a walk up West Florissant Avenue. We managed to go down a few blocks to where there was a bunch of taverns, the National Guard, and white bar patrons who started yelling at the Anonymous group.¹⁹

“Why are you hiding behind the mask? Why don’t you take off your mask and have a real conversation man to man.” I rushed over to the group and got into the face of the bar patron and said “Why don’t you talk to me! I’m not hiding behind a mask.” Somehow in the mix of the confusion and the non-threatening offer of a drink for a conversation, I was meandered into the bar (separated from Magdalena, Sky, and Tobias) and I was suddenly with this mixed group of white men and women identifying as locals.

Bar Patron#1: See here’s a decent young man who can talk to us like real men. You want a drink?

Darius: Sure, who’s paying? (laughing)

Bar Patron#1: What’s your name.... So Darius why in the hell are you all coming in this town trying to kick up mess. This [Ferguson] is one of the most diverse towns I have ever lived in.

Darius: Well first off how many of you in here believe that American media is impartial?

Bar Patrons: [Unanimously] No. No. We aren’t saying that, why are all these people here burning and looting up these businesses. Now I know what happened to that boy is wrong, but this ain’t how you get the message across, all this rioting and looting and parading down the streets hoopin’ and hollerin’.

¹⁸ Schutz, Aaron, and Marie G. Sandy (2011). *Collective Action for Social Change: An Introduction to Community Organizing*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 97.

¹⁹ Waites, Rosie (2011). “V for Vendetta Masks: Who’s behind Them? - BBC News.” BBC News. N.p., n.d.. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-15359735>>.

Darius: Well I just asked you all. How many of you believe that American media is impartial? Everybody said no! So if you know that since this entire unrest that has been going on since August there has been upwards of ten to fifteen thousand people who were peaceful protestors march up and down West Florissant Avenue and let say maybe a handful of them did loot and start rioting. Why in the hell would you come to the conclusion that the protestors are anarchist and trying to burn down the town?

Bar Patron#2: Well, obviously you are educated, your dress nice and everything. If you can make it why can't these other fellas go out and get them a decent job or something?

Darius: Well, who said I'm employed? (Laughs) Well I think you have to look at a little thing called white privilege. And understand that there is a double standard in America when it comes to race. When we march we march for police accountability. Nobody dislikes a good cop; it is those ones who abuse their authority and that are killing us with impunity under the guise of your security is the problem. That is white privilege.

Bar Patron#3: White privilege that's a load of crap. Now, I'm a truck driver and I'm away from my family three hundred hours out of the month. How the hell is that white privilege? That's a load of crap.

Darius: [Pause] What a waste of white skin...

Bar Patrons: [all laugh]

Bar Patron #1&2: Ha you're alright!

I had a two-hour-long talk with this group of twenty-five or so white bar patrons about white privilege, media impartiality, and race in America. My cellphone was dead and I had been separated from my group. I walked all the way down to the Ferguson Police station as a group of national guardsmen in Humvees with blue lights flickering had established post along business that lined the main road.

While we didn't always see eye to eye on the issues discussed, we were at least able to have the conversation. It was a symbolic gesture for me, a black male, to enter into this white space with my guard completely down. I was able to quickly develop rapport with these total strangers. The commensality of sharing a drink at are bar and while at times the conversation was jovial and jabs were being thrown across the table it was a place of healing. By engaging in this impactful conversation and entertaining the curiosity of these white bar patrons we were able to move beyond the blaming that the patrons was consumed with. The authors of *Difficult Conversations* critique "blame inhibits our ability to learn what's really causing the problem and to do anything meaningful to correct it."²⁰

As Stevenson Carlebach of the Harvard Negotiation institute proposes in the theory of influence (influence = persuasion/resistance), influence is an equation of persuasiveness divided by the amount of resistance to the speaker.²¹ The key here is the lower the resistance to the concerns of the speaker the more influential the speaker becomes. This might take time, but change happens just by talking about it, we must transform our approaches to lose the antagonistic framework, because it becoming increasingly harder to do so. However, increased

²⁰ Stone, Douglas, Bruce Patton, and Sheila Heen. *Difficult Conversations: How to Discuss What Matters Most*. New York, NY: Viking, 1999. Print.

²¹ Carlebach, Stevenson (2013). "The Influence Equation: The Art and Science of Influence." *Society of Women Engineers*. Cambridge, MA, October 24, 2013 [Http://www.slideshare.net/SWEMarketing/influence-equation](http://www.slideshare.net/SWEMarketing/influence-equation). Web.

public outrage and protestors taking to the streets has shifted the conversation on race in America since 2012. A comparison in white reaction to Ferguson and Trayvon Martin, over the course of a year a 13% drop in the sentiment that race receives more attention than it deserves.²² Thus, there is also a need for the spectacular tactics of civil resistance adopted by organizer and protestors.

Conclusion

In an era unlike those in which Alinsky was appropriated [overt/blatant racism and classism] injustices are increasingly more covert, hidden, and not the most effective community organizing strategy. In certain cases these antagonistic approaches to organizing work counterintuitively against the protestors (e.g., discourses of looting, aggressive-irrational behavior, and property damage) which suddenly makes it easier for people to dismiss the goals of the movement.

Autoethnographic inquiry in the Black Lives Matter movement also allowed for critical self-reflection. One synergy that emerged from this investigation and should be explored for further investigation is this notion of the *Killable Body*. It is key to note that I entered Ferguson, St. Louis, and surrounding communities as first a researcher, not black male. I had no intentions of acting in solidarity for victims of police brutality like my co-participants. During a period of reflection, I interrogated how I initially was critical of Mike Brown characterizing him as a bully and a thug for stealing from a store-owner, which resulted in the incident that led to his death. Even if Mike Brown would have stolen a carton of cigarettes or gotten in a physical altercation with law enforcement did it warrant his ultimate demise? What made Mike Brown a *killable body* for me? A result of this internal reflection was a definition of the “Killable Body,” a person who may not actively participate in neo-liberalism through formal and legitimate economic venues thus contributing to society—in part because of systematic oppression—who may then participate in or is perceived to partake in informal strategies to survive which allows for race to become easily synonymous and/or misinterpreted for larger global critiques of flawed neo-liberalized society. This misrecognition is also symptomatic of the fact that we do not live in a “post-racialized society.”

David Harvey in his famous critique of the city argues “the right to the city is not merely a right of access to what already exists, but a right to change it after our heart’s desire.”²³ Harvey’s critique of the right to the city offers a unique perspective for understanding how in our construction of the neo-liberal city distinctions are created between those citizens that belong and those who do not. The struggle in refashioning and challenging the shortfalls of equity issues, that neo-liberalism does not address, is at the center of domestic peacebuilding issues in the United State today. Killable bodies are our social constructions of thugs, welfare queens and abusers, homeless, and the jobless. Killable bodies are so, because they are a direct threat to neo-liberal subjectivity, i.e. they are “cheats” and that is what undermines and devalues their humanness. Law enforcement upholds and imposes this collective social identity

²² Pew Research (2014). Stark Racial Divisions in Reactions to Ferguson Police Shooting. Pew Research Center for the People and the Press RSS. N.p.

²³ Harvey, David. (2003). The right to the city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27 (4): 939-41.

of the neo-liberal city. This places them in direct conflict between the neo-liberal paradigm and those who seek to nuance and refashion the complexity of the inequalities that persist in capitalist society. Neo-liberalism like all other isms doesn't require us to think about it; they become invisible processes that require a constant checking and reflection of self in relation to others. We liberate ourselves when we began to question the truths we construct.

No longer can issues be framed around the premises of race, class, and gender without being nuanced to consider the complexities that exist within each of these classifications. Alinsky approaches are effective at small scale reform and during a particular period in the American strive for social justice; but dated considering how in Ferguson, the participants, not the police were the ones who were scrutinized in the national media for ad hoc and resistant tactics of protest (occupying spaces, boycotting, demonstrating, interrupting traffic, and/or other non-peaceful or disruptive tactics). The continuing Black Lives Matter movements across the nation at the superficial level is about justice for the families of victims of police brutality, however the reality of the movement is about systems of oppression, state sponsored violence of poverty, racial inequality, and a priori of social dilemmas that promotes perceptions of dualism in America between the haves and the have not. Goals that are more complex and abstract than the more pragmatic approaches that measured success in previous Alinsky and neo-Alinsky organizing traditions.

Facing these increasing complexities, how can organizers maneuver forward in this post-civil rights era of misunderstanding and apathy that is true in all factions and intersectionality of the American people? I stress through this fieldwork that platform creation and transformative experiences through greater participation and conversation are a much more effective strategy in this post-civil rights era, where the masses are indoctrinated in egalitarian thinking that we are all afforded the same life chances, no matter race, gender, or creed. It is this adaptation to neo-Alinsky thinking that is paramount to develop awareness, promote understanding and produce meaningful strides to alleviate apathetic sentiments on injustice issues in the status quo.

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Women and Reconciliation: A Pathway to Peace

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Abstract

While women are often voiceless victims of war, they comprise the very backbone of peace and reconciliation initiatives worldwide. Peace following religious, geo-political, and social upheaval cannot be secured without the active involvement of women who contribute to society's stability. Predicated on an overview of women's peace and reconciliation efforts in Northern Ireland, Liberia, and the Balkans, this paper offers four principles based upon peacebuilding theoretical foundations: (1) reconciliation is a process not a single event, (2) women's networking contributes to lasting peacebuilding initiatives, (3) changing the narrative of the conflict assists to fortify reconciliation efforts, and (4) women should be an integral part of peace and reconciliation initiatives following national conflict. An exploratory analysis on how women in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) have bridged ethnic and religious divide offers an initial affirmation of these four peacemaking principles.

Keywords: women, war, peace, peacebuilding, reconciliation, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Introduction

Women often become voiceless victims of war. At the same time, they comprise the very backbone of peace and reconciliation initiatives around the globe.¹ Lasting peace following national religious, geo-political, and social upheaval, as well as armed conflict, cannot be secured without the active involvement of women who contribute to society's stability. Examples abound where women from opposite sides of regional, national, or international conflict came together to establish understanding, dialogue, peace, and reconciliation.²

The first example in this paper focuses on how women mediated the two sides of the Northern Ireland conflict involving Catholics and Protestants. Long before U.S. envoy George Mitchell helped broker a political resolve following longstanding division,³ women achieved

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¹ Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, "Women, War, and Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building," (New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women/UNIFEM, 2002), <http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2002/1/women-war-peace-the-independent-experts-assessment-on-the-impact-of-armed-conflict-on-women-and-women-s-role-in-peace-building-progress-of-the-world-s-women-2002-vol-1> (accessed January 18, 2016).

² For a sampling of women's peace activism inclusive of those from opposite sides of conflict in Northern Ireland, Israel/Palestine, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, see Cynthia Cockburn, *The Space Between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict* (London/New York: Zed Books, 1998).

³ George J. Mitchell, *Making Peace* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999).

what the Protestant-supported Ulster Unionists and Catholic-supported Irish Republican Army (IRA) could not—a dialogue and coalition that fostered reconciliation.⁴ From its founding, the Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition (NIWC) vigorously advocated for lasting peace, improvements in health care, the welfare of the victims of war, and the establishment of a Ministry for Children and Families.

Second, Liberian women mobilized to establish the Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) at the beginning of Liberia’s first civil war. They staged public peace marches in 1991, advocating for peace and security. By 1993, they began to attend peace talks. Following the peace agreement in 1996 and a short-lived electoral political process in 1997, war broke out again in 2000. WIPNET redoubled its efforts in mobilizing women to call for peace.

Third, women in the Balkans of Eastern Europe have emerged from the Bosnian civil war (1992-1995) as instruments of reconciliation across ethnic and religious lines.⁵ Women continue to play a crucial role in rebuilding post-war society.⁶ Currently, the evangelical church in Bosnia and Herzegovina (*BiH*) numbers about 800. Given that the total population is 3.6 million, the evangelical population clearly comprises a minority. With all of its challenges, the evangelical church is the main conduit of reconciliation, reaching out to Orthodox, Muslim, and Catholic citizens. Since religion increasingly contributes to armed conflict, interfaith peace-building becomes all the more vital.

Drawing from John Burton’s human needs theory, John Paul Lederach’s theory of conflict transformation related to peacebuilding, and Stephen J. Pope’s forgiveness model, this paper offers principles of peace and reconciliation, with a focus on women’s reconciliation contributions. In brief, John Burton theorized that human needs stand at the vortex of conflict and thereby the satisfaction of human need leads to conflict resolution.⁷ John Paul Lederach’s conflict transformation theory asserts that peace following conflict is a change process that demands support structures that respond to relational needs rather than events or agreements.⁸ Ideally, grassroots organizers fostering interpersonal relationships acknowledge wrongs and personal loss, while extending grace to the other.⁹ Supporting a relational approach to peacemaking, Pope’s forgiveness model aligns with both Burton’s and Lederach’s approaches, asserting that forgiveness opens the door for reconciliation and restorative justice, as demonstrated through foundational teachings of the Christian faith, as those called to be

⁴ See Kate Fearon, *Women's Work: The Story of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition* (Chester Springs, PA.: Dufour Editions, 2000). Founded in 1996 following political gridlock, the Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition formed a cross-community network between Catholics and Protestants that contributed to the peace process, which culminated in the Good Friday Agreement of 1998, the negotiated political peace agreement.

⁵ During the civil war in Bosnia, over 150,000 people died, and almost two million people were displaced.

⁶ See Swanee Hunt, *This Was Not Our War: Bosnian Women Reclaiming the Peace* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

⁷ John W. Burton, “Human Needs Theory,” in John W. Burton, ed. *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 36-48. The nine ontological needs that Burton identified emerge from the work of American sociologist Paul Sites, to which Burton added one of his own: control, security, justice, stimulation, response, meaning, rationality, esteem/recognition, and role-defense, or the need to defend one’s role.

⁸ John Paul Lederach, “Justpeace: The Challenge of the 21st Century,” (n.d.)

<http://homepage.univie.ac.at/silvia.michal-misak/justpeace.htm> (accessed January 18, 2016).

⁹ John Paul Lederach, *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Process* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University, 1995), 37-39.

peacemakers and ambassadors of reconciliation.¹⁰ This theoretical base evidences in each of the three examples identified in this paper.

Following the presentation of principles relative to peace and reconciliation along with a brief analysis of war histories of Northern Ireland, Liberia, and *BiH*, this paper provides an exploratory case study, focusing on two women in *BiH* who have served as conduits of reconciliation efforts among Catholic Croats, Orthodox Serbs, and Muslim Bosniaks, the country's three primary ethnic and religious groups.

Principles Regarding Peace and Reconciliation

Peace and reconciliation initiatives begin and end with risk. Those on opposite sides of national conflict must risk being misunderstood by two entities: (1) those within their own respective identity group and (2) those outside of their respective identity group. Given that risk assumes taking action, four principles provide anchors for women involved in peace and reconciliation initiatives—regardless of context.

The first principle in establishing peace and reconciliation relates to *process*. Reconciliation is not a single event. Only through forgiveness can lasting reconciliation between peoples occur. Women are poised to usher in discussion and activity as peacemakers and reconcilers through working toward forgiveness.

Second, understanding the potential for *women's networking* is incalculable. Women are: (1) "adept at bridging ethnic, political and cultural divides", (2) "have their finger on the pulse of the community," (3) "innovative community leaders with or without formal authority, and (4) "highly invested in preventing and stopping conflict."¹¹ With these strengths, women often forge what male policymakers cannot, namely momentum and results.

Third, *changing the narrative* that keeps parties entrenched provides hope for change. History has proven that when women step across geopolitical, ethnic, and religious lines to foster dialogue, they create shared experiences leading to peace.¹² For example, ethicist Lisa Sowle Cahill calls for "a new or reconstructed narrative in which memories of violence are confronted, the past is truthfully acknowledged, and the violated identities of the victims are reclaimed," which is punctuated by "the exchange of stories, the airing of longstanding hurts, the sharing of meals and other rituals, and the practical work together toward mutually important goals. Familiarity may sometimes breed contempt, but it can also birth compassion."¹³

¹⁰ Stephen J. Pope, "The Role of Forgiveness in Reconciliation and Restorative Justice: A Christian Theological Perspective," in *Restorative Justice, Reconciliation, and Peacebuilding*, ed. Jennifer J. Llewellyn and Daniel Philpott, ed. (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 174-96. For a forgiveness model that aligns with Pope's, also see Everett L. Worthington, Jr., *Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2014), who views forgiveness through a biblical lens.

¹¹ Swanee Hunt, "Moving beyond Silence: Women Waging Peace," *Listening to the Silences: Women and War*, ed. Helen Durham and Tracey Gurd (Leiden, The Netherlands/Boston: Martinus Nihoff/Brill Academic, 2005), 252-56.

¹² See Cockburn, *The Space Between Us*.

¹³ Lisa Sowle Cahill, "Religious Identity, Justice, and Hope: The Case for Peacebuilding," *Criterion* 47, no. 3 (Spring/Summer 2010), 6 and 7.

Fourth, women should be an *integral part* of any formal (or informal) peace and reconciliation initiatives during and after national conflict. Women must be welcomed to the peace table. As United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon stated, “Women must be involved at every stage of efforts to reassert the rule of law and rebuild societies through transitional justice. Their needs for security and justice must be addressed. Their voices must be heard. Their rights must be protected.”¹⁴ Burton’s needs theory, Lederach’s conflict transformation through relationships, and Pope’s forgiveness model inform women’s reconciliation efforts identified throughout this paper, along with the four identified principles. Women’s establishing a process, forming a women’s network, changing the narrative, and actively participating in national reconciliation initiatives contribute to enduring peace. The role of women in reconciliation efforts cannot be underestimated.

The Role of Women in Selected Reconciliation Efforts Worldwide

Women as Victims of War

Unsurprisingly, women and children comprise a high percentage of victims of war through casualty, violence, rape, and displacement. Zainab Salbi, president and CEO of Women for Women International, notes that with 90 percent of casualties being civilian, at least 75 percent of them are estimated to be women and children.¹⁵ As a result of war, women are more likely to be displaced, to become sole providers for children, and to die of illnesses associated with war than their male counterparts. In any given society, the status of women often serves as a prelude to their treatment. Historical examples bear out this reality: the Taliban’s treatment of women in Afghanistan, the degrading of Rwandan women’s status prior to the 1994 genocide, and women’s abductions in Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein.¹⁶ Often, gender inequality, culturally accepted gender norms, power disparity, and social acceptance of violence fuel these tragic realities.¹⁷

Although women are more likely to become victims during war, they often are left out of subsequent peace and reconciliation efforts following armed conflict. Women have, however, created pathways to peace through strenuous advocacy initiatives, informal networks, and mass demonstrations. For example, in *Northern Ireland* in 1970, a mass demonstration of 3000 women galvanized needed food distribution. In 1976, in response to the deaths of four children, Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams organized and demanded peace through public awareness and signed petitions.¹⁸ In *Liberia*, school-teacher Mary Brownell catalyzed a women’s movement to stop the warlords from the deadly fighting. Out of this

¹⁴ United Nations New Center, “Women’s Participation, Leadership Crucial to Peace Processes – UN Security Council,” October 18, 2013, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=46283#.Vp0iNPkrLIU> (accessed January 18, 2016).

¹⁵ Zainab Salbi, *The Other Side of War: Women’s Stories of Survival & Hope* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic, 2006), 14.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

¹⁷ Sheila Meintjes, Anu Pillay and Meredith Turshen, eds., *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation* (London/New York: Zed Books, 2002), 40.

¹⁸ Sanam N. Anderlini, *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2007), 56.

informal initiative grew the Liberian Women's Initiative (LWI), which through advocacy, workshops, and reconciliation efforts contributed to the end of the Liberian civil war in 1996—something that fourteen cease-fire agreements orchestrated by men could not achieve.¹⁹ In *BiH*, women are increasingly working within the Evangelical church to establish bridges of peace through active outreach and service. Increasingly after national conflict, women have engaged in peace-building and reconciliation efforts. Through the lens of these four identified principles,²⁰ three primary examples take a deeper look at women's peace-building efforts.

Example One: Northern Ireland

The genesis of conflict in Northern Ireland dates back to the 17th century when the British gained a foothold on the island after quelling Irish rebellions. As a result, British and Scottish Protestant settlers secured portions of land, which increasingly shifted the balance of power in their favor over Irish Catholics. The Ulster Protestants, also called Unionists or Loyalists, desired for Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom (UK)—or at least under its control. On the other hand, the Roman Catholics, also called Nationalists or Republicans, desired to remain independent from the UK. Through the 1800s, the northern and southern sections of the country grew in economic disparity. The Anglican Protestants owned most of the land, leaving the Irish Catholics with a lower standard of living.

In 1920, Britain divided Ireland into two political entities, giving each some degree of autonomy. Although accepted by the Ulster Protestants, this arrangement was rejected by the Catholics, who demanded complete independence for a unified Ireland. Following a period of relative calm, violence erupted in the late 1960's, when bloody riots broke out from 1968 to 1969. After British troops came to restore order, the conflict intensified as the Catholic Irish Republican Army (IRA) and Protestant groups engaged in bombings and other terrorist activity. This conflict, termed "The Troubles," continued through the 1990's, with British troops fully engaged to quell the violence, which only exacerbated Irish anger and resistance and fortified their desire for an independent Ireland. One primary root of the Troubles lodged in differing religious identities.²¹

With over 3600 deaths and over 50,000 people maimed, the civil war had spiraled out of control in 1972 when 26 civil rights protesters were shot by British troops, which became known as "Bloody Sunday." Tensions continued well into the 1990s. Following continued bloodshed, U.S. President Bill Clinton dispatched George Mitchell in 1995 to mediate a peace agreement. Indeed, Mitchell's three-year role led to the Good Friday Agreement in 1998.²² However, what is little-known is the role of women leading up to this historic peace agreement.

In 1976, Roman Catholic Betty Williams witnessed the death of three children after their car was hit by another car, whose Irish driver had been shot by British authorities. The mother

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ The four principles include: (1) establishing peace and reconciliation is *a process*, (2) *women's networking* contributes to lasting peacebuilding initiatives, (3) *changing the narrative* of conflict assists to fortify reconciliation efforts, and (4) women should be *an integral part* of peace and reconciliation efforts.

²¹ Marianne Elliott, "Religion and Identity in Northern Ireland," in *The Long Road to Peace in Northern Ireland: Peace Lectures from the Institute of Irish Studies at Liverpool University*, 2nd ed., ed. Marianne Elliott (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), 175-91.

²² See Mitchell, *Making Peace*.

of the children survived the accident. Recognizing the potential for violent reactions, Williams garnered 6000 signatures from Catholic and Protestant women on a peace petition. Williams later joined forces with Mairead Corrigan, the sister of the woman who lost her three children in the accident, to establish the organization “Women for Peace,” which then morphed into “Community of Peace People” or simply “Peace People.” Both Williams and Corrigan received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1976 for their efforts.

The Women for Peace initiative catalyzed dialogue, understanding, and collaboration between Catholic and Protestant women, while also establishing platforms for political and social advocacy for women’s health care, job opportunity, and other social and educational reforms for women. One primary outcome of their advocacy was the Women-only political party, called the Women’s Coalition, which contributed to the final peace agreement and also advocated for statutory legislation promoting equality based upon religion and gender.²³

Additionally, the Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition (NIWC) advocated that women be elected to public office in order to be represented in the peace process, which in turn contributed to the emergence of a political party comprised of women. Through the NIWC and women’s contributions, the multiparty negotiations led to the 1998 Belfast Agreement, also known as the Good Friday Agreement.²⁴ Support for the peace negotiations was leveraged through relationship building with women from opposing parties and loyalties, community members, U.S. women as a part of George Mitchell’s negotiating delegation, and external experts.²⁵ The results were stunning: “As a relative outsider to the peace process, the women’s coalition was able to bring a freshness of perception that other, more vintage political representatives sometimes lacked due to preconceived assumptions.”²⁶ Women on both sides of the warring factions contributed to peace and reconciliation that has withstood the test of time, supporting Burton’s, Lederach’s, and Pope’s theories. When women are a part of the peace and reconciliation process, the chances of enduring peace are augmented.

The four principles of peace and reconciliation are clearly evidenced through the Catholic and Protestant women in Northern Ireland who understood that reconciliation was a *process*, that *women’s relational networking* was vital to bringing an end to the war, that by *changing the narrative* from Catholic-Protestant animosity to saving their sons bridged their common human needs, and that their direct advocacy made them an *integral part* of informal then formal peace negotiations. Their aim was insuring that the human need for security and safety was met,²⁷ that the process for peace was augmented by women’s relationship building in order to close the “interdependence gap,”²⁸ and that they achieved forgiveness of past wrongs in order to move forward peacefully.²⁹

²³ Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, Dina Francesca Haynes, and Naomi Cahn, *On the Frontlines: Gender, War, and the Post-Conflict Process* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 209.

²⁴ Avila Kilmurray and Monica McWilliams, “Struggling for Peace: How Women in Northern Ireland Challenged the Status Quo,” *Solutions* 2, no. 2 (Online), <http://www.thesolutionsjournal.com/node/893> (accessed January 18, 2016).

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Burton, “Human Needs Theory,” 36-48.

²⁸ Lederach, “Justpeace: The Challenge of the 21st Century.”

²⁹ Pope, “The Role of Forgiveness in Reconciliation and Restorative Justice,” 178-79.

Example Two: Liberia

The two civil wars in Liberia (1989-1996; 1997-2003) not only witnessed economic and infrastructure collapse but also the loss of 250,000 lives, with one-third of the remaining population displaced. Ethnic groups were pitted against each other. The first civil war was sparked by Charles Taylor, a former government minister who came from neighboring Côte d'Ivoire, and Prince Johnson of a rival faction in a coup attempt. After Johnson executed President Samuel Doe, accused of corruption, he and Taylor vied for control of Liberia. Taylor was elected president in 1997. With Johnson still claiming power, civil war erupted.

The second civil war prompted by dissidents in two rebel groups from Guinea and Sierra Leone, one in the north and another in the south, leaving Taylor with control of one-third of the country. More warring factions added to the complexity. Eventually, Taylor resigned in 2003 and was exiled to Nigeria. School teacher Mary Brownell mobilized women to pressure warlords to stop the fighting.³⁰ However, a group of women who organized the Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) made inroads after being challenged by Taylor to find the rebel leaders in order to stop the fighting. Other women also took up the challenge by sending a small delegation to Sierra Leone and arranged meetings between them and Taylor. These women become "objective intermediaries," putting their own lives on the line which led to dramatic steps toward peace.³¹ The WIPNET then spearheaded the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace Campaign, which directly challenged the rebels through women's travels around the country. Without this initiative, the disarmament process would have stymied.

The Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace, catalyzed by Leymah Gbowee, a social worker and founding member of WIPNET, first called a small group of women to pray for peace, a grassroots initiative that addressed their human needs for security.³² A national peace and reconciliation movement developed from it, turning the tide of the civil war but not before women staged a silent protest outside the Presidential Palace, which created a shift in the stalled peace talks. Further, Gbowee collaborated with a Muslim woman through interfaith cooperation from which Christians and Muslim women worked together to establish peace after 14 years of civil war. During their protests, they all wore white as a sign of peace and solidarity. Meanwhile, the male factions engaged in "rape and other forms of sexual violence, torture, abduction, slavery and forced marriage or forced recruitment."³³

Gbowee then led a women's delegation to Accra, Ghana to exert pressure on all parties involved in the formal peace talks. With the negotiations stalled, Gbowee and her alliance created a human chain preventing the warlords and Charles Taylor from leaving the meeting hall until a peace agreement was reached. After the security detail tried to arrest Gbowee, she brilliantly applied a tactic that proved successful. She threatened to disrobe, which if enacted

³⁰ Anderlini, *Women Building Peace*, 56.

³¹ Dorina Bekoe and Christina Parajon, "Women's Role in Liberia's Reconstruction," *United States Institute for Peace*, May 1, 2007, <http://www.usip.org/publications/women-s-role-in-liberia-s-reconstruction> (accessed January 24, 2016).

³² For more on Gbowee's life and peace/reconciliation initiatives, see the movie online entitled, "Pray the Devil Back to Hell," aired on PBS on February 11, 2011, <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/women-war-and-peace/full-episodes/pray-the-devil-back-to-hell/> (accessed January 18, 2016).

³³ Anne Theobald, *The Role of Women in Making and Building Peace in Liberia: Gender Sensitivity versus Masculinity* (Stuttgart, Germany: ibedem-Verlag, 2012), 46.

“would have brought a curse of terrible misfortune upon the men. Leymah's threat worked, and it proved to be a decisive turning point for the peace process. Within weeks, Taylor resigned the presidency and went into exile, and a peace treaty mandating a transitional government was signed.”³⁴ Further in 2006 while in Accra, Gbowee co-founded the Women Peace and Security Network Africa (WIPSEN-A), promoting women's participation in peace advocacy, security governance, and leadership equipping and empowerment of young women.³⁵

These combined efforts and initiatives led to Ellen Johnson Sirleaf being elected as the first female president of Liberia—a first for a woman on the African continent. Subsequently, Sirleaf was re-elected in 2011—just days before she and Gbowee were two of three recipients awarded the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize. Women mobilized. Women organized at the grass roots level, broke down ethnic and religious barriers, and changed a nation.

As was the case in the Northern Ireland peace process, the four principles of peacemaking undergird how Gbowee undertook reconciliation efforts to address war-torn Liberia. She took control of the process in order to insure security through addressing human needs of survival and hope.³⁶ Reconciliation proved to be a *process*, with *women's networking* being vital to bringing an end to the war.³⁷ By *changing the narrative* from clan violence to their shared interests in preserving their nation and subsequent generations, they secured women's *integral role* in catalyzing the end of the civil war. Through the aim of insuring security and safety, their peacebuilding was a process of relationship building rather than merely an event and their ultimate achievement was forgiveness of past wrongs across clan and religious lines in order to secure lasting peace.

Example Three: Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Bosnia war (1992-1995) in Eastern Europe where Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats, and Muslim Bosniaks were pitted against each other witnessed the deaths of over 150,000 and the displacement of over two million others.³⁸ The ethnically based war broke out after the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, which previously had been united as six republics under President Josef Tito through World War II.

After Tito's death in 1980, ethnic and nationalist tensions heightened. Various republics gained independence—Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia—but not without resistance by Serbian forces. As Serb leader Slobodan Milošević saw Serbian influence diminishing through republic independence, he along with other complicit leaders waged a campaign in Bosnia to protect Serbian territory and crush Muslim influence, while aiming for Serbian dominance. The Bosnian population reflected these ethnic/religious groups: Muslim Bosniaks (44%), Orthodox Serb (31%) and Catholic Croat (17%).³⁹

³⁴ “Leymah Gbowee – Biographical,” The Nobel Peace Prize 2011, http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2011/gbowee-bio.html (accessed January 18, 2016).

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Burton, “Human Needs Theory,” 36-48.

³⁷ Lederach, *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Process*.

³⁸ Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History*, 2nd ed. (Washington Square, NY: New York University Press, 1996), 252.

³⁹ Ibid. For a history of Bosnia, Malcolm's book provides a chronological survey.

Militarily strong and vying with Croatia for supremacy, the Serbs invaded Bosnia from all sides in April 1992. Being well-armed, the Bosnian Serb extremists and Serb militias had a well-planned military strategy. By the fall of 1992, Serbian forces controlled 70% of *BiH*. After ravaging towns and villages, including the Siege of Sarajevo, the Serb army committed mass killings, mainly singling out men and boys for slaughter—similar to the tactics employed in Srebrenica and Banja Luka that also included the raping women in pre-established rape camps, and enslaving survivors in camps such as Omarska and Trnopolje near Banja Luka.⁴⁰ Genocide, as characterized by Hitler’s Germany, now had new nomenclature in Bosnia: “ethnic cleansing.” Being systematic and sanctioned by the Serbian military, mass rape was designed to eliminate Muslim populations, given that Muslim women would be impregnated by Serbs, making their children Serbian and their being humiliated and unlikely to return to their villages. Rape became a weapon of war.⁴¹

The genesis of this civil war, however, derives from the fourteenth century, fueled by Serb literature and mythology. In 1389, the Ottoman Turkish and Serb forces clashed in Kosovo. Both Ottoman Turk Sultan Murat 1 and Serb Prince Lazar were killed in the Battle of Kosovo. In Serbian tradition, Prince Lazar’s death marked the end of Serbian independence and the beginning of five centuries of Muslim rule.⁴² During the nineteenth century, Serb writers established Prince Lazar as a Christ figure, who died at the hands of the Christ killers—Ottoman Turks—implicating any Slavs who converted to Islam.

Other myths about Prince Lazar developed and were celebrated by Serbians, fueling hatred of Muslims and leading to a strengthened Serbian national identity.⁴³ Called Christoslavism, the belief that Christian Slavs represent Christ and that Slavic Muslims (and those who tolerate them) are betrayers like Judas, further exacerbated militarization. Ironically, Muslim Bosniaks are not Turkish; they are Southern Slavs just like Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats.⁴⁴ Serbs perceived Muslims as the intentional aggressor, stoking fear, propaganda, and further aggression. In light of Serbian distrust of Croatia, particularly the Catholic Church based upon Croatia’s complicity with Germany during World War II, Serbia leaders replayed former history to enlist support for the war.⁴⁵ With deception afloat, Serbs created a sense of eminent Serbian genocide perpetrated by Muslims, a clever ruse; so they undertook genocide against Muslim Bosniaks instead.⁴⁶

While the world watched, the depth of atrocities, ethnic hatred and betrayal, and community devastation of those who had lived side-by-side as neighbors for decades was unfathomable. Yet, after the Dayton Peace Accord was signed in November 1995, signifying an

⁴⁰ Michael A. Sells, *The Bridge Betrayed: Religion and Genocide in Bosnia* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 9-12.

⁴¹ Sandra I. Cheldelin, “Victims of Rape and Gendercide: All Wars,” *Women Waging War and Peace: International Perspectives of Women’s Roles in Conflict and Post-Conflict Reconstruction*, ed. Sandra I. Cheldelin and Maneshka Eliatamby (New York: Continuum, 2011), 24-26. Also see Inger Skjelsbæk, “Sexual Violence in Post-Yugoslav Wars,” *Women and War: Power and Protection in the 21st Century*, ed. Kathleen R. Kuehnast, Chantal de Jonge Oudraat and Helga M. Hernes (Washington, D.C.: United States Institutes of Peace Press, 2011), 65-84.

⁴² Sells, *The Bridge Betrayed*, 31.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁴ Keith Doubt, *Understanding Evil: Lessons from Bosnia* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), 43.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 60-63.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 66.

end of the war and that *BiH* was an independent nation with land reallocated appropriately, tensions persevere to this day. The memory of unhealed wounds, the instability of governmental infrastructure, and the lack of agreement among the three ethnic groups regarding Bosnian history continue to breed division and suspicion. For their part, women were so terrorized and victimized that they had little opportunity to protest, a situation much different from that of Northern Ireland and Liberia.

Only after the official ending of the war in 1995 did women emerge from the protective cocoon of trauma in order to *network with one another* and *change the narrative* of ethnic and religious hatred dividing Muslims, Catholics, and Orthodox Christians. Unlike in Northern Ireland and Liberia, where women became the change agents in advance of peace accords, women in *BiH* share a different narrative, as they had become primary victims of violence through rape, if they indeed survived the war at all. In light of ethnic and religious tensions remaining high in Bosnia over twenty years following the Dayton Peace Accord in 1995, women in post-war *BiH* have gradually picked up the shredded pieces of their lives. Interestingly, the Evangelical church in *BiH* has emerged as one of very few conduits bringing Muslim Bosniaks, Catholic Croats, and Orthodox Serbs together with the distinctive goal of reconciliation. The next section describes the work of two women in the process of bringing peace and reconciliation to their nation of *BiH* across ethnic and religious lines. This exploratory case study provides a window into the slow process of peace building that has not moved as quickly as in the cases of Northern Ireland and Liberia.

Case Study of Women as Reconcilers in Bosnia and Herzegovina

For this exploratory case study, two personal interviews were conducted with two women who were born in and are current citizens of *BiH*.⁴⁷ Both interviews lasted one hour and were conducted over Skype, a free online audio/video communication tool. The interviews were later transcribed to assess their attitudes and perspectives to ascertain themes relative to women and national reconciliation within *BiH*. With their family backgrounds being Muslim, both women, whom I will refer to as Amina and Sara, became Christians during the Bosnian civil war from 1992-1995.⁴⁸

An analysis of their interview responses supports the four principles introduced in this paper. Reconciliation following war is a *process*, not a single event. Former U.S. ambassador to Austria during the duration of the Bosnian war, Swanee Hunt affirms this reality when describing the narratives of 36 Bosnian women who survived the war.⁴⁹ Women's *networking* initiatives with other women across sides contribute to reconciliation. *Changing the narrative* that keeps parties entrenched foundationally contributes to peace. Women should be an

⁴⁷ This qualitative component of this paper involving both interviews was approved by the Regent University Internal Review Board. Informed consent forms were signed by both interviewees.

⁴⁸ Their names have been changed to uphold confidentiality, and demographic details have been intentionally withheld to insure anonymity.

⁴⁹ Swanee Hunt, *This Was Not Our War: Bosnian Women Reclaiming the Peace* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), xii.

integral part of any informal or formal peace and reconciliation initiative.⁵⁰ Interestingly, for these case studies, the interview narratives reveal that forgiveness played a formidable role in bringing both women to the place of interacting and working with those of other ethnic and religious backgrounds. As Pope notes, “. . . Forgiveness involves a shift in the victim’s attitudes and/or emotions.”⁵¹ Indeed, these two women had a shift of their attitudes and emotions relative to the Bosnian war and its aftermath. A brief overview of their backgrounds sets the stage for their responses to interview questions.

Amina

At the outbreak of Bosnian War in 1992, Amina was in a neighboring country. When the Bosnian border suddenly closed, Amina was left with little choice but to seek safe haven in a refugee camp within the country where she would eventually meet and interact with Christians for the very first time. These Christians specifically came to minister to the Muslim refugees, which impressed Amina. She noticed how they earnestly prayed and talked to God, as though God was their friend, and how they genuinely tried to meet the needs of Bosnian refugees. These observations deeply touched Amina. She commented, “This was the beginning in my heart and mind”, as she saw that their God was personal and present. Further, she saw the love that these Christians had for one another. After a year in this refugee camp, she fled to yet another country where Muslims were more accepted. In this next country, she again met Christians and eventually began attending a church. Over the next two years, Amina determined to serve God and to foster reconciliation efforts among Muslims and Christians.

When she eventually returned home to her Bosnian village near the end of the war, Amina desired to highlight their commonalities rather than their ethnic and religious differences. When she arrived home, however, she saw the devastating aftermath of war, which tested her faith in God.

Forgiveness of Serbs and Croats who had ravaged Bosnians did not come easily for Amina. Her own forgiveness journey took two years. She asked herself, “I don’t hate Croats, but the question is this: ‘Do I love them?’” After the forgiveness process took root, Amina was able to see her identity not as a Muslim or a Christian but as a human being with capacity to bridge the ethnic and religious divides that fragmented her country.

When asked about the role of women in Bosnian culture, Amina replied that differing expectations exist for women in rural and urban areas. For the most part, she commented that “men dominate the culture” and that “women need to be twice as good as a man” for various positions and places of influence.

When asked about the current state of reconciliation between Serbs, Croats, and Muslims within *BiH*, Amina replied that she does not see many official efforts in either formal or informal settings. However, she did note that some assemblies gather Catholic (Croats), Orthodox (Serbs), and Muslim (Bosniaks) to discuss problems and issues associated with the political and social climate. Further, she noted that some Catholic priests have initiated efforts

⁵⁰ Ibid. Hunt notes: “Women must be included in the work [of reconciliation]. Coming out of a vicious war in which so many men were killed in fighting, Bosnia’s future may depend more than ever on its women” (xii).

⁵¹ Pope, “The Role of Forgiveness in Reconciliation and Restorative Justice,” 176.

to bring youth from the three ethnicities together, which she views as positive. However, women across the religious divide meet informally, which further contributes to reconciliation.

Asked about what the evangelical church in Bosnia is doing to foster peace and reconciliation, Amina pointed to two primary venues. First, the annual summer camp ministry, which brings together all different ethnicities including the Roma population, is the primary conduit for fellowship, fun, and spiritual growth. Second, women's events facilitated by various churches likewise attempt to cross ethnic lines and encourage cooperation and reconciliation. These events include annual conferences, seminars, and other special events just designed for women. Amina observed, "It is not easy for women . . . their self-esteem is pretty low. To bring them to the point where they would view themselves as God sees them is a long process." Although "women have been oppressed for so many years" and "don't know the way out," Amina views women as conduits for healing and reconciliation as they intentionally meet, invest in others, and often serve in unrecognized positions of influence. Generally in the case of Bosnian women, their networking efforts have not emerged as strongly when compared to those mentioned in Northern Ireland and Liberia. Yet she continues to network with women, especially Croats, to bridge the divide. In fact, her close friendship with Croatian and Serbian women bespeaks her own networking efforts, albeit on a smaller scale when compared with women's networking efforts in Northern Ireland and Liberia.

As for her own efforts to bring reconciliation between Croats, Serbs, and Muslims, Amina pointed to her work with young people in her village. Through coordinating sports initiatives that involve all three ethnic groups (i.e., Muslims Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs, and Catholic Croats), she is slowly changing the narrative. Because children "are poisoned" from an early age to distrust others from different ethnic groups, Amina believes that bringing them together early on is the only way to foster peace and reconciliation in the nation. For example, children from these three ethnic groups each have their own school system up to the eighth grade. In one school building, one ethnic group will take classes on one floor, while the other two floors are designated for the other two ethnic groups. Only in high school do Catholic Croats, Orthodox Serbs, and Muslim Bosniaks take classes together. By high school, Amina believes that the damage from vitriolic narratives has already been done, with suspicion and distrust the obvious outcomes. So her approach to reconciliation and peace is "Helping them—one person at a time." She continued, "There is no peace and reconciliation outside of [God]; unless we have peace with God in our hearts, nothing will move."

In summary, Amina's responses to interview questions support principles of reconciliation, namely that it is a *process* and that by *networking* with other women the narrative of war that keep ethnic groups entrenched can be changed. Further, Amina is a part of the *informal reconciliation* process in her work with young people and the friends whom she associates with from other ethnicities than her own. She has become integral to *reconciliation*, albeit in microcosm. Amina's unique perspective leads to the reflections of the second interviewee, Sara.

Sara

Similar to Amina, Sara was born in *BiH* into a Muslim family. Sara recalls that the war "was horrifying. The time was indescribable. . . . There was so much agony, fear, [and] hunger" and "you never knew if you would wake up tomorrow, or if one of your relatives [would] be

dead.” Speaking of the turmoil, Sara said, “Somehow it [a secure life] all crumbled in just a second.” Even today, she estimates that 70% of the current *BiH* population experiences post-traumatic stress syndrome, impacting physical and psychology health. Furthermore, she cites the unemployment rate in *BiH* as being 65%.

As for reconciliation efforts generally within *BiH*, Sara noted that there is an interreligious state committee, working together through seminars and conferences in Sarajevo to promote reconciliation. At the same time, she observes, “It is hard to reconcile . . . the problems are not resolved” because of strong national identities that preclude dialogue and understanding in promoting reconciliation. Like Amina, Sara sees little hope for reconciliation apart from God: “Having experience, I don’t think reconciliation can happen among the groups without first being reconciled with God. Because people do not want to forgive . . . Like in Srebrenica in 1995, much of the killing was by the Serbs, but what we see is only a piece.” In other words, Sara views all ethnicities as victims of suffering during the war—regardless of who received blame as perpetrators. Further, she views forgiveness as the key to reconciliation in *BiH*.

As for women’s active role in reconciliation efforts, Sara commented that women are natural communicators and reach out to other women through networking. Like Amina, she notes that some faith groups coordinate conferences, which bring women together from various ethnic and religious groups where understanding and exchange occur informally, as well as informal settings where women network around common interests.

In reflecting back to the Bosnian war when she was a refugee, she recollected the role that Christians played in humanitarian aid distribution. All three ethnicities came to receive aid, and aid was distributed to them on an equal basis. Through serving, she observed that sincere Christians became instruments of peace and reconciliation, underscoring that all ethnicities could find safety and acceptance in order for basic human needs to be met.

Related to her role in reconciliation, Sara pointed out that after her return to her hometown after the war, she and others forged meetings in homes that involved all three ethnic groups, a powerful demonstration of reconciliation, forgiveness, and love. In her current role, Sara now sees herself as being able to bring others together across ethnic lines. “I had to come to the point that [I] needed to respect people—regardless of their faith—for who they are. You must be able to listen to them and to [respond to] their specific needs.” Sara saw beneath ethnic tensions to the realities of human need.⁵² In all of Sara’s dealing with others’ various needs, she emphatically stated, “God is the only One who will help them and who will forgive them and help them in their need.” She adds, “If you do not understand who you are in God, there is no true faith. If you do not know God, you cannot help other people understand who they are.” So Sara’s role in reconciliation happens at the informal level without formal authority, similar to Amina’s lived experience.

In summary, Sara has participated in reconciliation efforts. Like Amina, however, her efforts have been more on an individual than an organizational level. She has viewed reconciliation as a *process*, has *networked* with other women, and has witnessed the changing of the *BiH narrative* from one of hostility and suspicion to one of hope through forgiveness.

⁵² Burton advances the notion that conflict will cease when the human needs that created conflict are met in “Human Needs Theory,” 36-48.

Furthermore, Sara recognized that more needs to be done in involving women in ongoing reconciliation efforts to overcome the war's aftermath—even twenty years after the war's end.

Both Amina and Sara were born into Muslim families. As refugees during the Bosnian civil war between 1992 and 1995, both were exposed to Christians who served them as refugees. Both experienced the horrors and aftermath of war. Both contended that women have played a significant, albeit informal, role in national reconciliation efforts in *BiH*. And both believe that they are making a difference toward reconciliation between Muslim Bosniaks, Orthodox Serbs, and Catholic Croats as a result of their faith and respective vocational expressions. Interestingly, while both Amina and Sara expressed that women are disempowered in their culture, women do impact other women on an individual and ministry level. Amina and Sara maintain that true reconciliation among ethnicities will first come through the process of forgiveness, followed by the intentional forging of relationships with women of other ethnic/religious groups. Women can and are making a difference in *BiH*, albeit often in hidden ways.

Conclusion

This paper began with a discussion of four principles of reconciliation following national conflict that contributed to this analysis. These principles were predicated on Burton's human needs theory, Lederach's conflict transformation theory predicated on relationships, and Pope's forgiveness model. Women's need for the end of violence, suffering, and death, their disposition to overcome conflict through relational networking with other women, and their ability to forgive perpetrators of violence all contribute to this analysis. The four presented principles highlight that reconciliation is a *process*, not a single event; that *women's networking* efforts are incalculable through the establishment of relationships that bridge disparaging sides in national conflict; that women *change the narratives* based on relational connections, and that women should be an *integral part* of any formal or informal peace and reconciliation initiative.

With these principles in view, the role of women in three selected peace and reconciliation efforts were highlighted: Northern Ireland, Liberia, and *BiH*. An exploratory case study based upon two interviews on women's perspectives and efforts in *BiH* was presented. The interview responses supported the four theoretical principles and underscored the importance of forgiveness as the seed bed for change.⁵³ In this regard, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s words ring true: "Forgiveness does not mean ignoring what has been done or putting a false label on an evil act. It means, rather, that the evil act no longer remains as a barrier to the relationship. Forgiveness is the catalyst creating the atmosphere necessary for a fresh start and a new beginning."⁵⁴ A fresh start and new beginning is what each nation needs following civil war. As seen in these exemplars, women contribute to the process and, in many instances, lead the way.

⁵³ Pope, "The Role of Forgiveness in Reconciliation and Restorative Justice," 174-97. Also see Christop Schwöbel, "Reconciliation: From Biblical Observations to Dogmatic Reconstruction" in ed. Colin E. Gunton, *The Theology of Reconciliation* (London/New York: T & T Clark, 2003), 13-38.

⁵⁴ Martin Luther King, Jr., *Strength to Love* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1963/2010), 45.

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Post Dominant Them: A Comparison of post-Soviet Estonia and post-apartheid South Africa

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Abstract:

Estonia and South Africa have a “post-dominant them”—a formally dominant group that has lost its position of political power due to a systemic change in the country. In Estonia, the group in question is ethnic Russians and in South Africa it is the white minority. After briefly discussing the “old system” of each country and “the change” each experienced, this article will compare the policies that have left some in the formally dominant group feeling marginalized. While Estonia and South Africa share this “post-dominant them” feature, even on this measure there is a significant difference. The end of the article will examine the differing motivations behind the policies some have called discriminatory and how they are based on differing values.

Keywords: *Estonia, South Africa, Russian minority, political transition, discrimination.*

At first glance the countries of Estonia and South Africa are not very similar. Upon further inspection, they still have very little in common. They are located on different continents with very different terrains. There is a considerable size difference between them in terms of both landmass and population. South Africa is over 25 times the size of Estonia in terms of area. The population of South Africa is approaching 50 million while Estonia has approximately 1.26 million residents. In fact, the population of the Johannesburg metro area (3.25 million) is more than double the entire population of Estonia. South Africa has a higher profile, hosting the World Cup and being included in the G20, and is generally thought of as having great potential. Even at its most successful, Estonia will probably still be a small country routinely mistaken for Latvia.

The two countries do however have one important feature in common. Both have gone through a systemic change that has resulted in a previously dominant group feeling marginalized and complaining of discrimination. In South Africa the group in question is white South Africans, and in Estonia it is ethnic Russians. After briefly discussing the “old system” of each country and “the change” each experienced, this article will compare the policies that have left some in the formally dominant group feeling marginalized. While Estonia and South Africa share this “post-dominant them” feature, even on this measure there is a significant difference. The end of the article will examine the differing motivations behind the policies some have called discriminatory and how they are based on differing values. These differences could result in one person seeing what South Africa is doing as “fine” while arguing that what Estonia is doing is “wrong.” At the same time a second person, with a different political orientation, might argue that Estonia’s policies are justified but South Africa’s are not.

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“Old System”

From the end of World War II until 1991, Estonia was part of the Soviet Union, and the things that defined the Soviet Union (planned economy, political monopoly of the Communist Party, lack of civil liberties) were very much present in Estonia. However, there was an additional important feature in Soviet Estonia. For much of the Soviet era Estonia and the other Baltic republics of Latvia and Lithuania were desirable places to live. Among other reasons, there was greater access to Western goods, and it was possible to pick up Finnish television stations. Internal migration was controlled by the government in the Soviet Union, and significant numbers of non-Estonians were allowed, if not encouraged, to move into Estonia. The new arrivals were mainly ethnic Russians, but there were also significant numbers of Ukrainians and Byelorussians. In many ways, this constituted a win-win situation. People wanted to move to Estonia, and the Soviet government wanted people to move there, provided they were the right people. The only “losers” in this scenario were ethnic Estonians who were becoming less significant in their own homeland. Because of the quality of life in the Baltic republics, they were a favored spot for retiring military officers. This provided the Soviet state with an extra benefit—military retirees were politically reliable.¹

This influx of outsiders coupled with a low birthrate for Estonians led to the percentage of those who were ethnically Estonian to fall through the Soviet period. By the last Soviet census in 1989, ethnic Estonians only made up around 60% of the republic’s population.² As Vetnik describes the demographic change, “the number of non-Estonians increased 26-fold, from 23,000 in 1945 to 602,000 in 1989. At the same time the number of Estonians decreased from about 1,000,000 in 1940 to 965,000 in 1989.”³ Russians dominated the northeast of the country and the capital, Tallinn, and they tended to interact with other Russians or russified Estonians. Very few ever learned Estonian. This level of migration, coupled with a language policy that offered fewer educational opportunities in Estonian and emphasized Russians, led Estonians to complain of, at worst, cultural genocide or at least russification.

The “old system” in South Africa was defined by the policy of apartheid—a system of racial classification that left the country’s black majority facing restrictions on basic freedoms and limited education and economic opportunities. It was a policy of white supremacy, a point Daniel Malan, who was Prime Minister of South Africa from 1948 to 1954, made very clear when he told the United Nations “we shall fight to the last drop of our blood to maintain white supremacy in South Africa.”⁴ The Malan government passed a series of laws between 1948 and 1951, like the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and the Bantu Authority Act, that gave shape and form to apartheid.⁵

¹ Ravo Vetnik, “Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation in Post-Communist Estonia,” *Journal of Peace Research* 30 (1993):273

² “Citizenship”, Estonia.EU—Official Gateway to Estonia

³ Vetnik, 273.

⁴ Quoted in Corrie Gerald Haines, “The United Nations Challenge to Racial Discrimination in South Africa 1946-1050,” *African Studies* 60 (2001): 196.

⁵ Haines, 199.

The policy was kept in place through systematic political violence, and it created strong opposition both domestically and globally. The domestic opposition was led by the African National Congress (ANC). The global campaign against South Africa resulted in the country facing economic and cultural sanctions. Opposition to apartheid at the United Nations was immediate. The government of India criticized the treatment of non-whites in South Africa at the first session of the UN in 1946, before apartheid was officially in place.⁶ The General Assembly passed a resolution in 1962 calling on members to cut economic ties with South Africa, and by the end of 1963, 46 states had done so with another 21 vowing to do so.⁷ The Soviet Union and other communist countries were quick to impose sanctions, which actually helped the South African government because this added a Cold War element to the issue. The United States and others resisted stronger action against South Africa citing fears of communism spreading.⁸ Because of the ability of the United States and United Kingdom to veto Security Council resolutions, attempts to establish a regime of sanctions against South Africa were conducted through the General Assembly which lacks the authority of the Security Council to make sanctions mandatory on all members of the UN.⁹ The United States did not impose sanctions on South Africa until 1986, and this only happened because Congress was able to override President Reagan's veto of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.¹⁰

"The Change"

Developments in both countries, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of apartheid in South Africa, show the importance of political leadership. In both places a new leader came to power convinced that the old way was not working. In the Soviet Union this was Mikhail Gorbachev, and in South Africa it was F.W. de Klerk. Both were Nobel Peace Prize winners, Gorbachev in 1990 and de Klerk, with Nelson Mandela, in 1993. Of the two, Gorbachev is the better known, but it can be argued that de Klerk was the more successful reformer. De Klerk started a process that was designed to prevent the social explosion in South Africa that many felt was inevitable. He was successful in that South Africa did not descend into bloodshed. Gorbachev, on the other hand, initiated a process that was supposed to revive the Soviet Union, but instead it unleashed the forces that ripped the country apart.

Upon coming to power, Gorbachev started a series of reforms designed to rejuvenate the Soviet Union. The names associated with different elements of reform became well known—glasnost for social reform, perestroika for economic reform and democratization for political reform.¹¹ These were supposed to unlock the initiative of the Soviet people and turn their desire for reform into a powerful force in society. What was unlocked, particularly by glasnost, was nationalism. When given a measure of freedom, people in many non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union began to air national grievances and elect nationalist governments in

⁶ Haines, 187.

⁷ Bronwen Manby, "South Africa: The Impact of Sanctions," *Journal of International Affairs* 46 (1992): 196.

⁸ Haines, 194-195.

⁹ Manby, 198.

¹⁰ Manby, 199 and Audie Klotz, "Norms and Sanctions: Lesson from the Socialization of South Africa," *Review of International Studies* 22 (1996): 180.

¹¹ Richard Sakwa, *Gorbachev And His Reforms, 1985-1990* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1990)

their republics. These nationalist governments began pushing for more and more autonomy from Moscow. As the 1990s began, there was a chance that the Soviet Union could survive, albeit in a very different form. This possibility ended with a failed coup attempt in August 1991. Forces opposed to the changes taking place in the country placed Gorbachev under house arrest, announced the formation of an “emergency council” to run the country, and then lost their nerve. In the face of opposition, most notably led by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the coup collapsed. By the end of 1991, the Soviet Union was gone and all 15 Soviet republics, including Estonia, were independent countries.¹²

De Klerk ascended to the presidency of South Africa after his predecessor fell ill, and he stunned many in a speech before the South African Parliament where he revealed his program for sweeping changes in that country’s basic political structure. The ban on previously illegal opposition political groups would be lifted, the Separate Amenities Act governing the segregation of public facilities would be repealed, and Nelson Mandela, who had been imprisoned for the last twenty-seven years, was to be released “unconditionally” and “without delay.” When he came to the part unbanning the Communist party there was an “audible gasp” in the chamber.¹³

Legalizing the ANC and releasing Mandela allowed negotiations on the ending of apartheid to begin. Through these negotiations, multi-race elections were scheduled for April 1994. His reforms were not universally supported by white South Africans, but de Klerk was able to consistently outmaneuver conservatives, within his National Party, the security bureaucracies and South African society more broadly, who were trying to maintain the status quo. At one point he called for a referendum, open to white voters only, on his reforms and received support from over two-thirds of those voting.¹⁴ “The referendum itself was announced by de Klerk with a statement that voting ‘no’ would mean a return to international isolation, economic disaster and violence from the black majority.”¹⁵ After the 1994, election the African National Congress (ANC) dominated parliament selected Mandela to be President. In the name of national unity and to ease the transition to a new South Africa, de Klerk became Vice President.

Post-Soviet Estonia

An important concept for understanding the path taken by independent Estonia is “state continuity.” This idea says a lot about how Estonia, especially the Estonian government, viewed itself, and it served as the foundation for many policies enacted after independence. State continuity is the idea that Baltic states were never legally part of the Soviet Union. They were instead independent countries that were illegally occupied by the Soviet Union. This was

¹² Stephen White, *After Gorbachev* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

¹³ Betty Glad and Robert Blanton, “F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela: A Study in Cooperative Transformational Leadership,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 27 (1997): 567.

¹⁴ Glad and Blanton, 570-574.

¹⁵ Manby, 213.

the position of the United States, which throughout the Cold War referred to the Baltics as “captive nations.” From this perspective, Estonia was not regaining its independence and sovereignty in 1991; legally it had never lost them.¹⁶ Instead the government and political system that was smothered first by the Nazis and then by the Soviets was being reactivated. The post-Soviet Republic of Estonia was not something new, but the continuation of what existed in the 1930s. Many of the measures Russians feel discriminate against them are based on this idea, coupled with the general belief that Estonia should be for Estonians.

Most of the complaints about discriminatory practices revolved around issues of citizenship and language. The two issues are related and have multiple components. Estonia’s approach to citizenship was heavily influenced by the concept of “state continuity.”¹⁷ The only people who automatically became citizens upon the collapse of the Soviet Union were those who were either citizens of the previous Estonian Republic or the descendents of those citizens. Those that moved to Estonia during the Soviet era were not considered citizens. Even children who were born in Estonia to parents who moved to Estonia during Soviet times were not considered citizens. The place where citizenship laws become most relevant is voting. Generally non-citizens can not vote. The first elections of the newly re-established Estonian Republic—to adopt a new constitution and elect the first post-Soviet parliament, had very little Russian participation. Few things better exemplify marginalization than having an entire community prevented from participating in an election.

The Russian population was eligible to gain Estonian citizenship through a naturalization process. Between 1992 and 2010, according to the Estonian government, 150,000 people gained Estonian citizenship in this manner. In the mid 1990s it was at a rate of 20,000 a year, but was less than 5,000 by 2005 and fewer than 2,000 in 2009.¹⁸ One of the main stumbling blocks to gaining Estonian citizenship was having to pass an Estonian language exam as well as an exam on Estonian history and culture, taken in Estonian. It is the language component of this policy that has caused the biggest problems for people. Estonian is not related to Russian and is widely considered to be a difficult language to learn. The Estonian government points to a pass rate of over 80% for the language component (even higher for the other parts), but according to critics of this policy, the failure rate is much higher in areas with larger Russian populations. Furthermore, only those who think they have a chance to pass the test take it. A focus on the pass rate doesn’t really take into account those who don’t bother to take the exam because they know they won’t pass.¹⁹ The response from the Estonian government has been to try to increase language proficiency among the Russian speaking population by providing more language instruction. Instead of having Estonia become officially bilingual, the goal is to help the Russian community become bilingual. However, Freedom House noted that as the global

¹⁶ Peter Van Elsuwege, “Russian-Speaking Minorities in Estonia and Latvia: Problems of Integration at the Threshold of the European Union,” *European Centre for Minority Issues Working Paper #20* (2004): 2-3.

¹⁷ Andrew Blum, “Recognition as Protection/Recognition as Threat: Understanding the Link between Minority Rights and Ethnic Hostility,” *Nationalism & Ethnic Politics* 7 (2001): 107-108.

¹⁸ “Citizenship”

¹⁹ Wayne C. Thompson, *After the Empire: Estonia and Russia Negotiate Borders and Citizenship* (Washington: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 2004), 8-9

economic crisis in 2008 reduced government revenue, funding for language programs was cut.²⁰

Language and, to a lesser extent, citizenship, also have an impact on employment in Estonia. Some jobs, particularly working for the government at any level, require citizenship. Perhaps the bigger issue is language requirements, established by law, for some private sector jobs. Some private sector jobs require a higher degree of language proficiency than needed to become a citizen. Amnesty International noted that the more contact you have with the public, the higher the language certification needed, even if you are working in an area where most of the public speaks Russian. To give this requirement teeth, there is a “Language Inspectorate” that monitors language use and conducts workplace “visits,” both announced and unannounced.²¹ This means that even if your language skills are good enough for citizenship, they might not be good enough to get the job you are trained to do. Unsurprisingly, unemployment for Russian-speakers was higher than for Estonians, 12.8 to 5.3, before the global recession.

A final area to consider is education. There has been a drive to reduce the role of Russian in education in Estonia. This has been done most thoroughly in higher education. In state institutions Estonian is now the only language of instruction. This is undoubtedly one factor contributing to the fact that 27% of Estonians between the ages of 20 and 24 are in university, but the rate is only 18% for their Russian counterparts.²² A similar process is taking place in a slower, piecemeal fashion in secondary education.

The manner in which Estonia, along with Latvia, were treating their Russian residents garnered attention from the European Union. (Lithuania, the third new Baltic state, had a much smaller Russian population and quickly made them all Lithuanian citizens.) Since the treatment of minorities was one of the standards on which the EU was evaluating prospective new members, often referred to collectively as the Copenhagen Criteria, both Estonia and Latvia were under pressure to make some concessions to their Russian communities. Among the concessions made by Estonia were allowing non-citizen permanent residents to vote in local elections²³ and passing a law providing Estonian citizenship automatically to children born in Estonia after independence to “stateless persons.” This most directly affected the Russian population in Estonia because most of them were legally classified as stateless—they were neither citizens of Estonia nor Russia. By way of comparison, Latvia passed a law on “children of stateless parents” a year before Estonia, in 1998, but never took the step of extending local voting rights.²⁴

Post-Apartheid South Africa

²⁰ “Estonia (2010)”, Freedom House, www.freedomhouse.org.

²¹ Amnesty International, “Estonia: Linguistic Minorities in Estonia: Discrimination Must End” (2006): 30.

²² Amnesty International, 17.

²³ Stuart Burch and David J. Smith, “Empty Spaces and the Value of Symbols: Estonia’s ‘War of Monuments’ from Another Angle,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 59 (2007) 919.

²⁴ Katia Papagianni, “The Impact of the European Union Enlargement Process on the Minority Policies of Applicant States: A Case Study of Estonia” (paper presented at the International Studies Northeast meeting, Philadelphia, November 8-10, 2001) and Dimitry Kochenov, “Pre-Accession, Naturalisation and ‘Due Regard to Community Law’” *Romanian Journal of Political Science* 4 (2004): 85.

Many white South Africans responded to the end of apartheid by leaving the country. By 2009 it was estimated that over 1 million, out of a total white population of 4.4 million, emigrated.²⁵ However, Revolution Homecoming, a South African NGO designed to help emigrants return home, argues that over 340,000 white South Africans who emigrated returned to the country between 2004 and 2014.²⁶

A high crime rate and a sense that the police were overwhelmed by the sheer level of crime, or perhaps were indifferent to white victims, were often cited as reasons for leaving. In 2004 a white South African, Brandon Huntley, applied for refugee status in Canada claiming he was subjected to persecution because of his race. His claims were based on racial discrimination he said he faced in the workplace and the lack of protection he received from crime. Canada's Immigration Review Board first supported his claims and awarded him asylum. This decision was criticized by both South Africa and the Canadian government, which appealed the decision. Huntley tried to get the Canadian Supreme Court to throw out the government's appeal, which would trigger a second review of his application. In this second review the Immigration Review Board reversed itself and ruled Huntley did not qualify for asylum. His appeals of this decision were rejected by Canadian courts, putting the final nail in the coffin of his asylum hopes.²⁷

Other white South Africans have responded to fear of crime by trying to privatize their security. In 2011, there were over 400,000 private security guards in South Africa, compared to just over 200,000 police officers.²⁸ This is being done against the backdrop of a generally falling crime rate, but one that is still high by international standards.

A bigger issue in terms of policy might be Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) policies which were designed to "deracialize the capitalist class." Huntley cited these in his asylum bid. The end of apartheid mean political power flowed to black South Africans but not economic power. BBBEE policies were designed to change this. Under these policies companies that want to do business with the government (in terms of procurement, contracts and licenses) have to hit certain benchmarks in terms of black economic empowerment. This creates a form of "racial auditing" focusing on ownership, management, spending and investing. It also creates an incentive to hire and promote blacks and to work with black suppliers.²⁹

The legislation that established BBBEE policies also set up an auditing system where companies can have a BBBEE scorecard created based on criteria created by the South African Department of Trade and Industry. These criteria are often known as the "Codes of Good Practices." Companies can get BBBEE certificates of differing levels, based on differing levels of compliance with the Codes. A higher level BBBEE certificate can benefit a company because it

²⁵ Andrew Geoghegan. "Reverse discrimination in South Africa", Australian Broadcasting Company online, September 13, 2009.

²⁶ Jane Flanagan, "Why White South Africans are coming home", BBC News online, May 2, 2014.

²⁷ Adrian Humphreys. "White South African's battle for refugee status in Canada ended by appeals court", National Post on-line, June 19, 2014.

²⁸ Ryan Lenora Brown. "Briefing: How violent is South Africa?" CSMonitor.com, February 22, 2013.

²⁹ David Yuill, Ezra Davids and Paul Schroder, "Overview of Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa," *Managing Partner*, (2010).

can make the company more attractive to some customers, particularly those worried about how well they are doing on their own scorecard. The scoring process always took into account who a company used as suppliers, and since a reconfiguration in 2013, the most weighted criterion in the Code is “Enterprise and Supplier Development.” Using a company with a higher BBBEE certificate as a supplier would earn your company more points. Given the emphasis placed on this criterion, changing from a supplier with a low certificate to one with a high certificate is one of the quickest ways to raise your score. The existence of these scorecards has led to the creation of new industries as consultants now offer “BBBEE Training Seminars” for managers, and companies advertise software to help prepare for the audits necessary to be certified for a BBBEE certificate.³⁰

While these policies have been enacted, white unemployment has increased, by some measures doubled. While BBBEE laws might not be the cause, some blame them for the poverty seen in some white areas. They can be seen as incentivizing discrimination when it comes to hiring and promotion because a company will be scored higher if they have more black employees or managers. BBBEE laws are “most resented by the beneficiaries of previously legislated advantage. They now consider it ‘reverse discrimination’ contradicting the ANC promise of colorblind non-racialism. While the ANC government views more equitable representation through affirmative action policies as a precondition for successful nation-building, opponents perceive the policy as undermining national reconciliation.”³¹

Comparison

While Estonia and South Africa share the “post-dominant them” phenomena, there are some differences to note. For starters, the relationship between Russians and Estonia is different than it is for whites and South Africa. White South Africans, particularly Afrikaners, have no home beyond South Africa. There is no other country to be “loyal” to as there can be for Russians in Estonia. At the same time, it could also be argued that the Soviet system wasn’t set up to benefit individual Russians like apartheid benefited whites in South Africa. Ethnic Russians were not freer or in possession of more rights than Estonians. In most cases they didn’t have any more opportunities than an Estonian who was fluent in Russian.

A more fundamental difference is that the discrimination at the heart of both of these cases is rooted in, and justified by, different values. The Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment laws can be seen as reflecting left-wing values (called “liberal” in the United States, but “social democratic” elsewhere in the world)—fairness and the need to redistribute wealth and opportunity in a more equal fashion. The restrictions on Russians in Estonia are more rooted in concerns of national security, protecting independence and sovereignty and even defending traditional Estonian culture. These can easily be classified as conservative or right-wing concerns. This difference can impact how an outsider might see each situation. For someone with strong liberal values, the BBBEE laws might seem entirely justified as a way to bring about a more equal society while denying someone the right to vote because of their

³⁰ BEESA GROUP, “Your Comprehensive Online BEE Information System” and “Codes for Better BEE”

³¹ Kanya Adams, “Affirmative Action and Popular Perceptions: The Case of South Africa,” *Culture and Society*, (2000): 52-53.

ethnicity or their “bloodlines” might seem entirely improper. At the same time, someone who prioritizes conservative concerns might see keeping restrictions on “outsiders” as a sensible policy needed to keep the country safe, but BBBEE laws would be seen as unjustifiable “reverse discrimination.”

Both of these cases have at their heart a clash between competing values, both involving classical liberalism. Tullberg and Tullberg discuss the South African example as being a clash between two different ideas of social justice—proportionalism and liberalism.”³² Individual liberty is at the core of classical liberalism, and it was a powerful part of the ANC’s opposition to apartheid. The BBBEE laws reflect proportionalism—that different groups should be represented in upper echelons of political and economic hierarchies in a rough proportion to their percentage of the population. With the Estonian case the conflict pits individualism, exemplified by the EU and NGOs like Amnesty International, who have both criticized Estonia’s citizenship and language policies, against realism which contends that having a sizable segment of your population potentially not supporting your independence and perhaps taking their cues from the leader of a neighboring country of great size is dangerous.

When taken together, these two cases raise questions about whether it is ever just or democratic to treat people differently based on attributes like race or ethnicity. Some would argue that individual equality is at the heart of justice, which would make the policies of both countries problematic. The governments of Estonia and South Africa would counter that other factors, security in the case of Estonia and economic equality between communities in the case of South Africa, are important enough to justify limited unequal treatment.

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³² Jan Tullberg and Birgitta Tullberg, “Proportionalism or Liberalism—Two Ideas of Social Justice,” *Politikon*, (2006): 147-161.

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Champions without trophies: Motivational factors behind women and their resilience in peacebuilding in post-conflict Eldoret, Kenya

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Abstract

This article presents women resilience in peacebuilding in a post-conflict Eldoret by exploring the factors that motivate the involvement of women victims of violence in post-conflict reconstruction. Case study design was used to uncover specific experiences of resilience of women victims of violence and their resilience in peacebuilding. The study relied on two focused group discussions of fourteen women peace builders who engaged in dialogue over two days. The findings revealed that irrespective of the experiences of women in conflict, women participation in peacebuilding is motivated by the fact that women bear the responsibilities of the aftermaths of conflicts, hence their need for a peaceful coexistence and their desire to overcome their past traumatic experiences. Women also engage in peacebuilding as a result of the fear and uncertainties that engulf them, their motherly care as well as the desire to nurture a generation that is devoid of ethnic animosities.

Keywords: Women victims of violence, resilience, Eldoret, Kenya.

Introduction

During the first two multi-party elections in Kenya (years 1992 and 1997) more than 1,500 people were killed and about 500,000 internally displaced, mainly in the Rift Valley province. The majority of the victims were women and children.¹ This conflict re-entered the national stage before and after the year 2002 general elections. During the inter-ethnic clashes, there was a spread of terror against soft targets such as pregnant women, new-born babies, children and the disabled. Crude weapons like machetes, knives and iron bars were used against the victims. There were also reported cases of rape and intimidation of political opponents.² Remarkably, these conflicts reached their peak after the year 2007 general elections where massive campaigns on ethnic cleansing took shape in the Rift Valley, especially within Eldoret, resulting into numerous killings and mass displacements.³

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¹ Axel, Harnei-Sievers and Ralph-Michael, Peters. Kenya's 2007 general election and its aftershocks. *Africa Spectrum*, 43, no.1 (2008): 133-144.

² Lafargue, Jérôme and Musambayi, Katumanga. "Kenya in turmoil: Post-election violence and precarious pacification." In *The General Elections in Kenya, 2007* ed. J. Lafargue (Nairobi: IFRA, 2009).

³ Sievers and Peters, 133-144.

Despite the impact of violence in Eldoret, women have exhibited extreme enthusiasm for peace thus engaging in peacebuilding initiatives since the year 1992 as evidenced by the formation of Rural Women Peace Link Association (RWPLA). The RWPLAs exist in 33 districts with more than 100 women groups who have experienced various success stories and challenges.⁴

A report by the Coalition for Peace in Africa – COPA, revealed a story of a woman in Eldoret who had lost all her possessions and lived with her brother whose wife had escaped with their children. As a result of depression and trauma, the brother committed suicide. Despite the loss of the brother, the woman sought counseling and healing vowing to assist other persons who may have exhibited similar suicidal characteristics of her late brother. This is an exceptional example of women resilience in peacebuilding amidst the tribulations that they encounter.⁵

Similarly, in *Kamuyu* location, an area adversely affected by the conflict in Eldoret, women peacebuilding groups conducting trauma healing and counseling sessions were cautioned against the hostility of the *Kamuyu* community and the risks that they exposed themselves to. Despite all the discouragements and instilled fears, the women were still determined to talk to the hostile *Kamuyu* community about the importance of peace. This is a clear indication of women resilience in peacebuilding despite adversities that come their way.⁶

Another instance of women displaying their resilience in peacebuilding can be deduced from two locations namely *Yamumbi* and *Kapteldon* which are separated by a river border, and inhabited by Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities, respectively. The two communities had a long history of animosity and hatred. Notwithstanding their differences, the *Yamumbi* women crossed the river that they had not crossed since the post-election violence in order to attend a peace conference, and they were highly welcomed by the women in *Kapteldon*.⁷

Nevertheless, common trends in literature on political conflict, revolve around the exclusion of women from the arena of national and international politics. This assumption is evident in the prevalent view of women as victims of conflict which tends to overlook, explicitly or implicitly, women's power and agency. However, shifting from a focus of victimhood to questions of empowerment may reveal information that is crucial to understanding women and their peacebuilding capacities.⁸ While women remain absent or marginalized from formal peace processes, they are conspicuously active in informal grassroots peacebuilding activities as grounded in the 1995 United Nation's Fourth World Conference on women held in Beijing, China, which mobilized the global network of women working to further peace and security.

⁴ Shitemi, Naomi L. "Coping with socio-environmental challenges in the Kenya's North Rift: Grassroots welfare initiatives." In *Risk and Africa: Multi-Disciplinary Empirical Approaches* eds. L. Bloemertz, M. Doevenspeck, E. Makamo, and D. Muller-Mahn, (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2012).

⁵ Coalition for Peace in Africa-COPA. A report of the debriefing workshop for trauma awareness. Workshops held in Eldoret and Mount Elgon regions on 8th and 9th June, 2010, from <http://www.copaafrica.org/home/index.cfm>, accessed April 5, 2015.

⁶ Ibid., 11.

⁷ Ibid., 11-12.

⁸ Sharoni, Simona. "Rethinking women's struggles in Israeli - Palestine and in the North of Ireland." In *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, eds. C. O. N. Moser, & F. C. Clark (London: Zeds Book Ltd, 2001), p.85-98.

This move contributed to the year 2000 UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on 'Women, Peace and Security.' The Resolution recognizes women's rights to protection from violence and participation in all forms of decision making to prevent, manage, and resolve conflicts.⁹

Existing Debates on Women and Peacebuilding

There exist divergent arguments pertaining to women and conflicts. Many feminist and non-feminist scholars have assumed a connection between women and peace whether in terms of the greater interest in peace on the part of women or their supposed peaceful feminine nature. Cultural feminists have argued that feminine traits like cooperation, caring, and nurturing have been devaluated but are actually superior to masculine traits of individuality, violence and dominance, and 'thus we can bring about peace by re-evaluating these feminine traits.'¹⁰

In the same manner, the most predominant single argument is that of a special connection between women and peace. This focuses on the 'maternalist' and 'motherlist' position which holds that, 'war is antithetical to women's natural childbearing and childrearing roles and by extension, women should organize as mothers to oppose militarism and war.' Further perspectives on women and peace are embedded in cultural feminism. The strand of cultural feminism discussions have been primarily, though not exclusively, dominated in the academic realm by Western feminists. However, ideas of woman, the peacemaker or 'maternalist' feminism have been used in women's peace groups and mothers' groups worldwide.¹¹

Feminist research has asserted that men and women experience conflict and post-conflict situations differently due to issues of identity and power. National and gendered identities coupled with women's disadvantageous location within global and local power structures combine to put women at risk, while simultaneously providing little room for them to voice their security concerns.¹² Nonetheless, many conflict narratives highlight a common theme of women actively seeking to end wars and minimizing the effects of violence through their divergent social roles. Thus, women are also fighters, warfare workers, community leaders, social organizers, farmers, and traders amongst other roles.¹³ This is a pointer towards women's strong resilience in post-conflict situations despite the tribulations that they encounter.

⁹Porter, Elisabeth. Why women's contribution to peacebuilding matters. *International Studies Review*, 10, no. 3 (2008): 632-634.

¹⁰Alison, Miranda H. *Women and Political Violence: Female Combatants in Ethno-National Conflicts*, (New York: Routledge, 2009), p.86.

¹¹Alison, p.86.

¹² Handrahan, Lori. Conflict, gender, ethnicity, and post-conflict reconstruction. *Security Dialogue*, 35, no.4 (2004): 429-445.

¹³ Pankhurst, Donna. The 'sex war' and other wars: Towards a feminist approach to peace building. *Development in Practice*, 13, no. 2-3 (2003): 154-177.

Women's desire for holistic notions of peace is defined in-terms of human security needs.¹⁴ Women are motivated to engage in peacebuilding because of their desire to counter stereotyped conceptions of men as combatants and women as victims, including their quest for empowerment. A peace and conflict gender analysis study conducted in Solomon Islands by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) showed that women and men act in and are affected by conflict and peace in different ways. Both men's and women's roles and experiences are complex and multiple, and do not fit precisely into the stereotypes of women as victims and caregivers, and men as combatants and community leaders. For instance, apart from being caregivers, in many cases when men were killed, women in Solomon Islands became heads of households and were actively engaged in economic production which was viewed as a preserve for men.¹⁵

Contemporary Africa is characterized by local, national, sub-regional and regional women's initiatives geared towards active transformation of socio-economic and political spheres through peacebuilding initiatives. Instances of women involved in peacebuilding endeavours include the Liberian Women Mass Action for Peace (LWMAP), which commendably mobilized for peace in a country that was besieged by fourteen years of civil war.¹⁶

In Kenya, assessments by the Wajir Peace and Development Committee revealed lack of cultural celebrations for the value of peace. As a response to counter the cultural feebleness, women in Wajir took it upon themselves to ritualize their way into the new cultural values.¹⁷ The desire to counter cultural biases by women propels them to seek lasting peace solutions through different approaches.

Motivational factors

Recent studies have shown that women motivation in post-conflict situations can be attributed to various factors namely: 'prior experiences of conflict, pragmatism, emotional/spiritual motivation, and compelling need.'¹⁸ For instance, the Somali women irresistible opposition to conflicts and their passion for peace is believed to have resulted from the agony and torment that they had experienced as a result of the civil war.¹⁹

When women engage in peacebuilding, it is their obligation as 'mother and nurture that fundamentally defines their prime identity and motivation to move away from communal violence.' This assertion is reinforced by examples of women in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Liberia, the Pacific Islands, Rwanda, Sri-Lanka, Somalia, South Africa and the

¹⁴ Anderlini, Sanam Naraghi. *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters*. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007), p.9.

¹⁵ Moser, Annalise. The peace and conflict gender analysis: UNIFEM's research in the Solomon Islands. *Gender and Development*, 15 no. 2 (2007): 231-239.

¹⁶ Karbo, Tony. "Peace building in Africa." In *Peace and Conflict in Africa*, ed. D. J. Francis (New York: Zed Books Ltd, 2008).

¹⁷ Schirch, Lisa. *Ritual and Symbol in Peacebuilding*. (USA: Kumarian Press, 2005).

¹⁸ Jordan, Ann. Women and conflict transformation: Influences, roles, and experiences. *Development in Practice*, 13, no. 2-3 (2003): 239-252.

¹⁹ Warsame, Amina Mohamoud. *Queens Without Crowns: Somaliland Women are Changing Roles and Peacebuilding*, (Nairobi: Life and Peace Institute, 2004), p.44.

Sudan who bank on the moral authority bestowed upon them by their societies as mothers and upholders of communal stability to call for an end to armed conflict.²⁰

Methodology

The study was guided by a case study design.²¹ The case study design uncovered specific experiences of resilience of women victims of violence in Eldoret and their resilience in peacebuilding. In-depth analysis of the cases revealed specific experiences of resilience of women victims of violence in peacebuilding. The study gave impetus to the numerous and varied reasons as to why women are engaged in grassroots peacebuilding processes. The target population of the study was women victims of violence who live in Eldoret and stakeholders involved in post-conflict peacebuilding activities.

The study utilized purposive and snowball sampling techniques.²² Purposive sampling was used to identify respondents for in-depth individual interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). Snowball sampling helped in identifying women peacebuilding groups, organization leaders, community leaders, government officials, and other peacebuilding stakeholders unknown to the researcher.

The study sample size consisted of a total of sixty-nine respondents. The study relied on two FGDs comprising fourteen members drawn from two diverse locations namely *Kapseret* and *Kapsaus* within Eldoret, and individual interviews. The study also obtained data from women peacebuilding groups and relevant stakeholders through structured self-administered questionnaires and narratives. Answers to the questions posed during the discussions and interviews were recorded during the process by writing and tape recording.

All issues pertaining to motivational factors behind women resilience in peacebuilding were discussed, but at the same time, flexibility in timing and the order in which questions were asked was allowed. The interviewer asked any additional questions in order to gain as much useful information as possible. The questions were open-ended, thus, the respondents were unrestricted in what and on how to give answers.

Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding refers to a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, sustains an array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict towards sustainable peaceful relationships. Peacebuilding entails involvement of grassroots and community groups.²³ In this article, peacebuilding implies the activities or initiatives employed by the women peacebuilding groups in Eldoret, in their endeavors to achieve a peaceful coexistence within their society.

²⁰ Porter. *Peacebuilding: Women in International Perspective*, pp. 74-75.

²¹ Kumar, Ranjit. *Research Methodology: A Step-By-Step Guide for Beginners*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publishers, 2005).

²² Silverman, David. *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*. (London: Sage Publications, 2005a).

²³ Lederach, John Paul. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), p.20.

Resilience

Resilience denotes the unpredicted or markedly successful adaptations to negative life events, trauma, stress, and other forms of risk.²⁴ In this article, women resilience refers to the understanding of what helps women to function well in the context of high adversity, and their ability to incorporate this knowledge into new practical peacebuilding strategies amidst the adversities and their innermost driving factors.

Women victims of violence

Victims of violence, incorporates those who are bereaved, maimed, scarred, injured, tortured, intimidated, humiliated, raped, and those who suffer from the loss of their homes, land, and dignity.²⁵ Women victims of violence are those women who have experienced direct aftermaths of the subsequent conflicts that resulted after the general elections as well as those women who are susceptible and vulnerable to looming conflicts within Eldoret.

Theoretical framework

The study was guided by field theory. Field theory was proposed by Kurt Lewin in 1934 and emerged from the field of organizational psychology to explain 'group dynamics' in industries. Field theory proposed that various forces in the psychological environment interacted and combined to yield a final course of action. Each force was thought to have a reactionary move that either attracted or repelled the individual. The essence of field theory in social sciences is to explain the regularities in individual action by recourse to position in relation to others. Field theory emphasizes on the force from within acting against external compulsion-conflict effect.²⁶

Field theory also embraces the use of social action. Further developments to Kurt Lewin's field theory affirm that social action involves real people engaging in real actions on behalf of real causes. This is usually done over an extended period of time, at some cost and sacrifice. Social action forms a basis upon which people join their own interests with the interests of other people to bond with their communities in order to become engaged with the entire community. In so doing, social action provides opportunities for understanding the psychology of volitional phenomena undertaken on the initiatives of individuals or groups.²⁷

In summary, field theory informed this study in the sense that, it guided in the exposition of specific motivational factors that led to the involvement of women victims of violence in peacebuilding in Eldoret. This is seen in the discussion of the findings contained in the narratives of the women victims of violence that reveals their motivation and resilience.

²⁴ Fraser, Mark W., Maeda J. Galinsky, and Jack M. Richman. Risk, protection, and resilience: Toward a conceptual framework for social work practice. *Social Work Research*, 23 no. 3 (1999): 131-143.

²⁵ Porter, Peacebuilding, p.119.

²⁶ Landy, Frank J, and Jeffrey M. Conte. *Work in the 21st Century: An Introduction to Industrial and Organizational Psychology*. (USA: John Willey & sons, 2012).

²⁷ Synder, Mark. In the footsteps of Kurt Lewin: Practical theorizing action research and the psychology of social action. *Journal of social issues*, 65 no. 1 (2009): 225-245.

Ethical Considerations

At the onset of the study, the researcher acknowledged that the data collected from the respondents would be treated with utmost confidentiality. Verbal consent from the respondents was attained after which the objectives of the research were clearly explained to the respondents.

The researcher anticipated possibilities of encountering women traumatized by conflict. As a result, the researcher took precaution by ensuring background information was obtained on issues of concern and by making pre-contacts with the groups to be interviewed. In addition, the researcher had gate-keepers who helped in the assessment of security within the areas of study.

Findings

Specific experiences of resilience of women victims of violence in peacebuilding

The study revealed several experiences of resilience among the women victims of violence who were engaged in peacebuilding activities in Eldoret. Eight women interviewed from Women Knitting for Peace Group (WKFPG) in *Kapseret* Location, *Kapseret* Division, in *Wareng* District of Uasin Gishu County, affirmed that they had been participating in peacebuilding undertakings since the year 2011. Their devotion to building peace was principally motivated by the fact that they were all victims of the year 2007 clashes and were forced together with their children to move to *Langas* area due to heightened insecurity. In addition to losing their property during the clashes, some women lost their husbands and sons. The women contemplated amongst themselves on way forward about their return to their respective homes. One of the women leaders from *Kapseret* asserted that:

During war, it is women who have a bigger burden since they have to tighten their belts to ensure that they deliberate on the issue of peace and they are also the ones who may stop the war within and outside the community. We were able to have long discussions as women and deliberated on how to return to our homes. We took it as our responsibility to discuss with our men, husbands, the youths, and our children discouraging them not to engage in any form of violence. We were also able to reflect on the Bible's teaching which says that we should not kill and we took this information to our homes and told our husbands the Bible does not accept bloodshed.²⁸

The women then conceived ideas on how to 'knit' peace by using traditional items such as "*sotet*" - and "*leketio*". "*Sotet*" is a Kalenjin terminology for gourds that are usually adorned with white cowrie shells whereas "*Leketio*" is a Kalenjin word for belts made of white cowrie shells that are a symbol of peace within the Kalenjin culture. In the course of the discussion with the WKFPG, diversified experiences emerged on their diverse sources of inspiration

²⁸ Women Knitting for Peace Group - WKFPG 01 - leader and peace builder from *Kapseret* Location in Eldoret, interviewed on 26 February 2013.

towards peacebuilding initiatives. These experiences helped in unraveling sources of motivation among the women peace builders as evidenced by one of the women:

The events of the year 2007 will always be a reminder in my peacebuilding endeavours. I lost my husband and my only son. My daughter was also raped by unknown rowdy gang that raided our home. I thank God that my daughter never died, conceived nor contracted a disease. Whenever I see my daughter, she is a constant reminder of my only family member left. It was such a tormenting experience for me but I refused to let these events tear me apart. Though these memories torment me, I vowed never to let other women experience such bad occurrences. This is why I am in the forefront in peacebuilding to ensure that my community is safe.²⁹

From the above account of conflict as presented by the woman member of WKFPG, it is deducible that she is motivated to engage in peacebuilding due to the permanent conflict memory that serves as her constant reminder of the impacts and effects of conflict in her life. The desire to shield fellow women from these traumatic experiences of conflict also motivated her to be an active peacebuilder within her community.

Two of the women from *Kapseret* involved in milk trade shared their experience of the market. They needed to reach more customers in *Langas* and *Yamumbi* areas. Initially, during the year 2007 clashes, these women only traded within the confines of their ethnic markets. They enthusiastically declared that:

When we went to sell milk, the women noticed that there were no ill feelings from us women of *Kapseret* and this led to trade between the two communities. Kikuyu women and men are now selling clothes and eggs. They are also buying milk and other products from the people of *Kapseret*. There is peace!³⁰

It is evident from the narrative that the women derive their inspiration for peacebuilding by need to establish good inter-ethnic relations and to bridge ethnic tensions. This is demonstrated by their need to expand economic links and trade together as a way of building trust.

Another instance of resilience was unveiled by one of the women leaders from *Kapseret* who strongly proclaimed that:

Before the year 2007 general elections in which violence occurred and enmity gained prominence over peace, I vividly remember how my two daughters freely played with the children of my neighbour who was from the Kikuyu ethnic community. One Friday evening of March 2008, my daughters came home crying! When I asked them why they were crying, they responded that our Kikuyu neighbours did not want to play with them because they feared that my daughters would kill them with spears. My heart was pained at the way the young generation was growing up breeding rage, animosity and hatred. It was

²⁹ WKFPG 02 - a woman peace builder, interviewed on 26 February 2013.

³⁰ WKFPG 03 - a woman peace builder, interviewed on 26 February 2013.

because of this reason that I took it upon myself to actively engage in peacebuilding in order to save this young generation from ethnic animosities.³¹

As presented in the narrative above, effects of ethnic conflicts often spill over to children. This particular woman felt compelled by the need to restore and protect childhood innocence and relationship that her children once enjoyed. She yearned to eliminate negative stereotyping that pose a threat to her children's social space. The stereotyping is that of the Kikuyu children's perception that her Kalenjin children would kill them using spears. In Kenya, the Kalenjin community is often associated with spears.

The second category of women that was interviewed was a group known as Muslim Women Group (MWG) situated in *Kapsaos* Location, *Turbo* Division, Eldoret West District of Uasin Gishu County. This group was established in the year 2000 and worked with people living with HIV/AIDs. However, in the year 2007/2008 when the post-election violence took place, they had the urge to handle the issue of peace building since it was the same stigmatized members of the group who also fell victims of the violence. The nine women interviewed confirmed that they had been involved in peacebuilding for five years. The group comprised of women from different ethnic communities namely Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Nandi and Luo.

Resilience amongst the Muslim women unfolded as the discussions gained momentum. Different incidences showed their motivations in peacebuilding. The women were motivated to take part in peacebuilding by the desire for trauma counseling and coping mechanisms. They were equally motivated to build peace because of the need to reach out to other women who were not involved in peacebuilding as confirmed by one of them who reiterated that:

During the year 2007 clashes, I was pregnant with twins. Unfortunately, I had a pre-mature birth and lost the babies despite my love for them. I already bought some clothes prior to giving birth hoping that after I deliver the twins I would be able to raise them in a proper manner! However, after the elections the conflicts were widespread and high hence there were no doctors to attend to me when I experienced pregnancy complications. I lost my twin babies! I was affected psychologically and at times I would regret the reason why I voted. It took me a long time to forget about it but because of this group, I have been able to forget about the loss and accepted it as God's plan. This has motivated me to ensure that my fellow women do not experience the same.³²

Whenever conflicts occur, discouragements and despair are bound to occur. The heartbreaking story of the woman who had a pre-mature birth to twins due to absence of medical attention since doctors had fled the area due to insecurity and instability, is a powerful pointer to her resilience in peacebuilding. The woman was motivated to actively engage in peacebuilding due to her search for lasting stability and her conviction to provide hope to other women. She is the voice of hope and restoration.

In the same vein, another respondent from MWG recounted her experience of the year 2007 incidence by recapping that:

³¹ WKFPG 04 - a woman peace builder, interviewed on 26 February 2013.

³² Muslim Women Group - MWG 01 woman peace builder, interviewed on 27 February, 2013.

We faced a lot of problems in *Maili Nne*. Most of the people did not sleep in their homes. My property was destroyed and stolen. We slept in the mosques and when we returned to our homes we were told that '*Mungiki*' were coming. It was not them, it was thieves! Women would run away with their children without food...there was war! Cars were burnt and houses torched. Men were taken at night to go fight yet they did not know whom they were fighting. If they failed to go, they were cut into pieces! My husband was one of the men who were slaughtered! After counseling and some encouragement, I managed to pick up my broken pieces and decided to join my fellow women of the MWG to preach peace for a better society.³³

Experiences of conflict often result into different identities. The woman's identity of victimhood as a result of conflict, and her search for lasting peace made her to join MWG in their peacebuilding activities.

Different women derive their aspirations based on certain very particular and peculiar experiences. A woman peace builder narrated her ordeal as follows:

I was in *Maili Nne* where I had taken my children to the reserve and the policemen who were present raped women. The police also escaped with other men's wives at night by chasing away their husbands, telling them to go look for jobs. Our boys also disappeared and they have never been seen or heard from since the election violence. We wonder whether they are dead or alive! Women have been crying wondering where they are. If they are dead let them tell us where they buried them and if they have been imprisoned, let them tell us where they are so that we may visit them. This is why I am an active peace builder, so that we women do not suffer.³⁴

Unanswered questions, unraveled miseries, and fear of their repetitions and recurrence in the women's lives is the major reason behind their unity in peacebuilding as seen in the touching story of the missing relatives.

Experiences of resilience also emerged as motivational factors although motivational factors moved beyond these experiences. Indicators of the motivational factors that emerged from the stories are those that encouraged the women to engage in peacebuilding. These factors affirm that women often bear the responsibilities of the aftermaths of conflicts hence their need for a peaceful coexistence and their desire to overcome their past traumatic experiences. Women also engage in peacebuilding as a result of the fear and uncertainties that engulf them, their motherly care and the desire to nurture a generation that is devoid of ethnic animosities. The interviews with the women peacebuilders of Eldoret offer convincing testimony that women are far more than victims of conflict as exhibited in their resilience.

³³ MWG 02 - woman peace builder, interviewed on 27 February, 2013.

³⁴ MWG 03- woman peace builder, interviewed on 27 February, 2013.

Conclusion

The analysis of the narratives that emerged from the study has clearly demonstrated that women in Eldoret are highly resilient in their peacebuilding activities. The women in Eldoret who are engaged in peacebuilding derived their motivations from the experiences that existed in their own environment. These experiences came from forces within the environment that were acting upon them, thus yielding a final course of action that either motivated or inhibited their actions. The stories of experience indicated that amidst the agonizing situations that these women were exposed to, they still had the determination to engage in peacebuilding to avert future recurrences of their hostile experiences.

Despite the fact that women in Eldoret have experienced overwhelming impacts of conflict, they have also perceived conflict as a condition that offers the community an experience to learn from so as to develop better solutions in the process of seeking peaceful co-existence. This is a strong pointer towards women's resilience in peacebuilding. Conflict is, therefore, not a negative experience which people should shy away from talking about, but an inevitable part of human life which provides great learning experiences.

Other than experiences of conflict, involvement of women in peacebuilding in Eldoret is also motivated by the compassionate nature of women that naturally compels them to seek a united society. The compassionate nature of women is reinforced by the fact that women feel that they are the ones who carry the greatest responsibility whenever the effects of violent conflict begins to bite. They bear the burden of having to live in the internally displaced persons (IDPs) camps and take care of very young children in environments with limited basic human needs, and constrained social space smeared with ethnic prejudices. Women's compassionate nature makes them to desire peace as they experience the effects of a disjointed society devoid of cooperation, trust, and love.

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Turtle Island 2016 Civil Resistance Snapshot

Tom H. Hastings*

Abstract

Native American (US) and First Nation (Canada) unarmed civil resistance is growing to connect with indigenous civil society around the world and with immigrant settler allies in the US and Canada. From pre-European contact, when some indigenous nations were experimenting with nonviolent alternatives to war—e.g., counting coup—to modern nonviolent native resistance to US-Canada pipelines and other threats to indigenous lifeways, nonviolent resistance to invasion, occupation, genocide, environmental destruction and oppression has been far more successful than has armed resistance. That this civil resistance originates from warrior cultures is remarkable yet sensible to students of civil resistance. Nonviolent conduct is often more disciplined when a culture values a warrior's commitment, loyalty, and resilience. This is often the case for indigenous movements in the Western hemisphere from above the Arctic Circle to the US-Mexico border.

The basic study of indigenous nonviolent struggle is unique in the northern Western hemisphere—now widely referred to as Turtle Island by indigenous peoples, from a Lenape origin story. Unlike other identity groups, indigenous groups retain their own governments, sometimes aligned with their civil society and sometimes seemingly the tools of the dominant culture. The sharpest differences can come from the loyalty of some tribes to their tribal governments as those governments themselves—in possession of a certain degree of sovereignty—resist the state/province and/or federal governments (Cobb, 2010). This allegiance of a civil society movement to a tribal government rather than the more normal US or Canadian civil resistance (some grouping of citizenry versus government) is helpful to analyzing US Native American resistance and Canadian First Nation civil resistance. Indeed, the not-infrequent rallying cry is some version of “We are nations, not minorities.” Civil rights and human rights usually relate to individual rights; tribal rights are collective (Sturm, 2014). This complicates both the practice and analysis of strategic nonviolence. Throughout this exegesis of Native American and First Nation civil resistance, I use examples from several struggles, but

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most pointedly and repeatedly from the one I immersed in for several years—the Anishinaabe struggle of 1976-1993 with the civil resistance at boat landings most massively from 1989-1992, when thousands of whites mobilized to attempt to stop Anishinaabe fishers and hundreds of nonviolent monitors and de-escalators trained and deployed alongside the tribal members.

Another unique layer of this conflict map is that it is overlain by individual band identities within tribal nations. The efforts by some to create a pan-Indian identity as the next step toward assimilation into the dominant culture (e.g., Native American instead of Santee Sioux or First Nation instead of Wet'suwet'e) completely failed (McKenzie-Jones, 2010)—the terms are used by externals far more than by Native Americans, for example. As with any peoples, attempts to impose ontology can only succeed in the most superficial sense—temporarily as an expedient in the face of real or perceived threat, and authentic agency is required to develop meaningful dialog (Desbiens & Rivard, 2014). Inevitably, even (or perhaps especially) in national Native American associations, each person is carefully identified by nation (Anishinaabe, Sioux, etc.) and by band (e.g. St. Croix Anishinaabe, Brule Sioux) and some individuals are also careful to denote clan within the band. Acting in coalition is not the same as assuming a common undifferentiated identity.

Many factors contribute to the growing success of Native American and First Nation nonviolent campaigns and movements, not the least of which is the sense, informed by a burgeoning history, that tribes have agency, something occluded, arguably, by historical norms that ignored any agency except futile violent resistance. Native and First Nation cultures—similarly to indigenous cultures in every colonized area of the world for many years—were assumed inferior. People were subjects of anthropological research, not participants with a role in determining methodologies, utilities, parameters or goals—this was a factor in essential erasure of indigenous agency in public policy considerations. This is changing (Lemelin, et al., 2014). The multipronged challenges—civil resistance, legal, political, media—conspired to change the dynamics. As the sophistication of the movements grows, and as coalitional efforts add to broader successes, the likelihood of a tribe choosing nonviolent civil resistance over either capitulation or violence increases.

Of course in the US, the black experience in the Civil Rights struggle pitted a different loyalty (to an improved version of the US Constitution, with a Bill of Rights and other Amendments) against a different opposition (loyalty to a tribal government and ambivalence toward the US government). Black resistance from the 1955-1965 period was a model in most ways for Native Resistance but also revealed marked differences. Rima Wilkes (2015) explores the contrasts between black and white Americans and in prior pieces (2004 and 2006) examines some of the variables in First Nations resistance, offering comparative insights. When considering Native American and First Nations unarmed resistance, then, the definition of civil society is unique; it includes governments at some level of sovereignty on both sides in many cases. It is quite likely that a First Nation or Native American struggle will include a member of a tribe's executive branch alongside an average citizen, with the imprimatur of the tribe backing the tribal official and the average tribal enrolled member as well.

Native American (US) and First Nation (Canada) unarmed civil resistance is growing to connect with indigenous civil society around the world and with immigrant settler allies in the US and Canada. Anticipating the allure of treaty rights and growing legal clout, Walter Bresette (Red Cliff Anishinaabe) declared to anti-treaty rights groups who were associated with the

blood sports—hunting, fishing (Rod and Gun clubs)—“Our treaty rights will be your best friend, you just can’t see it yet.” Indeed, during the Wisconsin/Minnesota/Michigan struggle for reaffirmation, Joe and Joe Dan Rose, James Schlender, and Bresette all went as individuals to anti-treaty rights mass meetings as brave lone emissaries. This was bold and gained them respect and even defections (Whaley & Bresette, 1994). Bresette was prophetic.

Indeed, many of the dominant culture individuals and groups who opposed Native American treaty rights are now in coalition with those tribes (Grossman, 2005; Lipsitz, 2008). From pre-European contact, when some indigenous nations were experimenting with nonviolent alternatives to war—e.g., counting coup—to modern nonviolent native resistance to US-Canada pipelines and other threats to indigenous lifeways, nonviolent resistance to invasion, occupation, genocide, environmental destruction and oppression has been far more successful than has armed resistance. That this civil resistance originates from warrior cultures is remarkable yet sensible to students of civil resistance. Nonviolent conduct is often more disciplined when a culture values a warrior’s commitment. This is often the case for indigenous movements in the Western hemisphere from above the Arctic Circle to the US-Mexico border.

Why are these cultures considered warrior cultures?

First, although many tribes and most First Nations never fought or lost a war to the invading settler nations, they did lose most control over most land for most of the time since Europeans invaded and since Canada and the US were formed as nation-states. This massive loss militates an emotional reliance upon a historical insistence of resistance—which, for most of our human history and even still for much of humankind—implied violent resistance. To help the generations know that the land used to belong to Native Americans and First Nations and was not simply abandoned or given away except under duress, the warrior identity is of great help. Anything less than irredentist aspirations forfeits a legacy of respect, only adding to the trauma of ancestral loss and present day poverty in so many cases.

Second, the history of empires is a history of stripping indigenous peoples of all their traditions and rights—religious, civil, linguistic, cultural, music, art, appearance (including dress and body/facial alteration and hair), land ownership, land use, motility, diet, financial/economic/property, legal status, educational opportunity—and only re-awarding those rights piecemeal as the conquered people step up to demonstrate loyalty to the empire, and especially to join the military of the empire to continue the process of conquering the next people. Native Americans volunteer for the US armed forces at high rates and honor that at virtually every opportunity—at feasts, speeches, powwows, etc. (Hafen, 2013) This prestige is given to those, then, who are buying a seat at the table by being willing to fight and die for the empire that conquered them. The warriors who serve the armed forces of the empire are doing so just as much—arguably more—for the glory and good name of their tribal nation as they are for the conquering nation.

As with any nonviolent struggle, identity formation is generally recursive (Smithey, 2013). In the Wisconsin case of the nonviolent struggle for the ability to exercise treaty rights, the fishers who braved hostile crowds to exercise those rights were honored at tribal ceremonies frequently, contributing to that recursive identity process of the nonviolent warrior.

Native American and First Nation nationalism is informed by all forms of ongoing resistance and by the status of each native nation in relationship to other native nations and

the dominant culture, a complex weave of feedback that in turn informs the resistance.¹ Externals can only barely begin to understand this complex of psychosocial cultural forces. The same indigenous warrior who fought in Afghanistan or Iraq may be first in line to defend tribal land and lifeways against a US or Canadian government-sponsored or permitted oil pipeline, fracking wells, coal trains, or rail tank cars full of chemicals used to mine. They may well commit to violent warfare in service of the empire and to absolute nonviolence in defense of the tribe at home, but it often feels similar in some profound senses and in warrior-worthy discipline.²

A snapshot of indigenous nonviolent civil resistance in this region shows the force of civil society struggle done with strategic skill and planning. While the indigenous peoples of the US and Canada are very small minorities (2.9 percent and 4.3 percent, respectively), the victories achieved defending treaty rights, protecting the environment, resisting harmful dominant culture practices, and fighting potential harmful legislation in both countries have been increasingly impressive. Those struggles are more enhanced by stronger coalitions with non-indigenous allies and indigenous peoples from around the hemisphere and the world as those formerly colonized peoples increasingly connect and engage in mutual support (Grossman, 2008; Hansen, 2015).

The catalog of campaigns, movements, issues, practices and policies that have resulted in tribal activism is broad and are, as one tribal activist framed it to this author, “all sovereignty” issues. Just in the last few years, across Native America and First Nations, there have been large and small campaigns related to all these concerns, and probably more—and each of these broad areas has subtopics (e.g. law enforcement, which breaks out into many policy challenges, such as jurisdiction, missing tribal children, murdered and missing tribal women, harm to tribal members while in custody by dominant culture agencies, conflicting tribal/dominant culture laws and social norms, etc.):

- treaty rights (e.g. usufructuary rights, including water, grazing, timber, fishing, hunting, gathering)
- environmental protection, including opposition to extractive industries (e.g., oil, gas, coal, copper, nickel, thorium, vanadium) and dumping (e.g., toxics, hazardous, nuclear, incineration)
- tribal health care (including experimental histories and ongoing fears of hidden agendas)
- law enforcement (both on and off reservations)
- borders, boundaries

¹ I attended such ceremonies on the Bad River reservation during that time period and was impressed, for instance, to see tribal officials speak highly of the fishers as they stood quietly on the stage receiving the strongest affirmations. Some were big men, some were small women, and all were honored publicly, no doubt contributing to that recursive identity formation of the nonviolent warrior in defense of the tribe and of the generations who came before and generations to come.

² As a member of the nonviolent monitoring and accompaniment group Witness for Peace working as allies with Anishinaabe treaty rights tribal members in the late 1980s, I asked one tribal member, a reservation Golden Gloves coach, about his injury, just minutes before, when he was standing in his small boat, wearing a headlamp to shine fish and was shot in the back with a ball bearing from a wrist rocket (used for hunting small game) by someone on land in the dark. He was in pain and he just said to me, “If it was any other time, I’d track him down and deck him, but we are doing this in our way.” He never used the word nonviolent but it was clear many times that “our way” or “the Anishinaabe way” meant nonviolent (Hastings, 2010).

- tribal dignity (e.g. mascots)
- consultation (e.g. foreign trade agreements, national policies that affect tribes)
- basic sovereignty (jurisdiction, decision-making)

In the US the treaty rights struggles peaked in the late 1980s and early 1990s with legal and direct action battles that resulted in victories in the courts of law and public opinion. Native activists from the Pacific Northwest and from the [Great Lakes region](#) focused their struggles on fishing rights and extended those rights to a legal defense of the healthy environment for those fish. Fishers in both regions were jailed for violating state and federal laws and were ultimately vindicated by US Supreme Court rulings that reaffirmed those treaty rights negotiated by chiefs from 150 years before—a startling coincidence with the indigenous Seven Generations philosophy that all decisions should be made keeping in mind the well being of the children seven generations into the future. Did those chiefs from the mid-19th century anticipate the radically changed conditions that allowed the reaffirmation of those rights by six or seven generations hence? They certainly must have known at the time that major provisions of the treaties would be abrogated almost before the ink was dry on their signatures. The dynamics of nations can produce long periods during which competing narratives produce profound misunderstandings (Kang, 2016).

In Canada, the legalities of tribal sovereignty and thus ability to affect and protect are even more complex, and in some areas are nearly reverted to pre-European contact (Roth, 2002), especially in the far west, in British Columbia, where most of the First Nations never entered into treaty nor war with invading Europeans. Some legal decisions there open possibilities of massive landscapes with completely clouded title, sovereignty, and competing national identities. Even small legal levers can help protect civil resistance campaigns from prosecution, if not enforcement, and can even bring competing law enforcement bodies into conflict over the rights of civil resisters.

For decades Native Americans have been at the front lines of nuclear waste dumping resistance, from the plans for a national high-level and transuranic waste dump to various schemes to dump or store so-called low level nuclear waste on tribal lands or on treaty-identified lands occupied in part by tribal members. Various notable Native American opponents to such plans include the late Grace Thorpe (1921-2008), daughter to legendary US Olympic athlete Jim Thorpe (Sac and Fox).³ Thorpe, a Women’s Army Corps Bronze Star heroine from World War II,⁴ fought many nuclear waste proposals made by the US Department of Energy that would have impacted tribes. The late Corbin Harney, Shoshone shaman/medicine man, led an increasingly broad coalition opposing both the DOE proposal to bury massive amounts of highly radioactive waste at Yucca Mountain and the ongoing below-ground nuclear weapons testing at the Nevada Test Site.

We now see the extraordinary alliance of Native Americans, First Nation, ranchers, farmers, and climate chaos activists that has defeated the Keystone pipeline project, that is

³ At the 1993 Indigenous Environmental Network Gathering at the Oregon/Washington Klickitat reservation, Thorpe, then 72, told me that she was like “the old firehorse who might be old and slow but who ran out kicking whenever the firebell rang, and that is what nuclear waste is to me, a firebell.”

⁴ http://www.boston.com/bostonglobe/obituaries/articles/2008/04/07/grace_thorpe_tribal_judge_and_daughter_of_jim_thorpe/

dampening other extractive and carbon-burning projects, and that is pushing with some success against Arctic oil drilling in the north, and fracking in the south—and against oil and coal trains and terminals (Grossman, 2008). Successes that are now seen as inevitable were unthinkable for years—the Keystone pipeline even into the year it was canceled, 2015 (Clarke, 2015). Native Action, a tribal organization on the Northern Cheyenne reservation (440,000 acres in southwest Montana), has fought various fossil fuel speculators, corporations, agencies, and extractive industry initiatives for years (Luft, 2016). As indigenous civil society strategic legal and organizing skills have developed they have gotten far more effective at drawing coalition partners and using their special sovereignty statuses to wield power disproportionate to their populations. Indeed, as the tribes have increasingly trusted their ancient wisdom—probably most commonly expressed in various forms acknowledging connection to the web of life, such as the Lakota, “*Mitakuye Owas’in*” (“All our relations”) (Brokenleg & James, 2013), and as more elements of the dominant culture also recognize the innate ecological wisdom of such philosophies, partnerships have formed that no longer seem exploitive of the tribes but rather jointly protective of them. In the US and Canada, some organizations that have practiced civil resistance for many years in defense of animals, for example, are finally not interfering with tribal hunting and fishing, recognizing the ancient ecological sustainability of most Native and First Nation lifeways. This has meant that, for instance, Greenpeace finally stopped opposing Muckleshoot and other Salish tribes who routinely killed a whale or two per year in support of their villages. Greenpeace wrestled with this internally and, when they decided to go forth accepting the tribal hunt it opened up many more coalitional opportunities that strengthen both the tribes and environmentalists in their civil resistance. Numbers are important and so are the advantages of tribal law.

In the US, for example, tribes have achieved victories without even so much as a vigil by simply letting authorities know that tribal lawyers are standing by, ready to use treaty rights law to file for air or water quality EPA standards that are equal to those which are enforced at US national parks—the most rigorous that exist. Extractive projects have been cancelled based on nothing more than that quiet notice—notice that was originally made possible by civil resistance inspired by young Native American student activists in some cases. In other cases, special classes of Native American victims banded together and pushed the law forward to finally protect or at least compensate and deter. The terrible history of US exploitation of, and disregard for, the Navajo (Diné), whose land was punctured by some 1,300 uranium mines to serve the US nuclear bomb industry and nuclear power industry, led to an epidemic of radiation-induced cancers.

In the 1960’s, as the incidence rates of lung cancer began to climb, Navajos began to organize. A group of Navajo widows gathered together to discuss the deaths of their miner husbands; this grew into a movement steeped in science and politics that eventually brought about the [Radiation Exposure Compensation Act \(RECA\)](#) in 1999. (Parker, 2016)

In the Upper Great Lakes region, it took two young Anishinaabe Lac Court Orielles brothers, Fred and Mike Tribble, studying treaties in school, to [realize that they had treaty rights](#), guaranteed by the 1837 treaty between their Anishinaabe nation and the US government, that included wild rice, fish, and other hunting and gathering usufructuary rights, on lands

otherwise ceded by the tribes to the US. In 1974, the Tribble brothers purposefully and openly fished on off-reservation waters that were located on ceded territory and when the game warden came to arrest them they presented a copy of the 1837 treaty guaranteeing the rights of tribal members to fish in those waters. They were cited and the courts went back and forth with the dispositive ruling coming from the 7th Court of Appeals that spearfishing by tribal members on any waters in the ceded territory was legal—the Supreme Court let that ruling stand, refusing to take the case when the state of Wisconsin appealed. When whites reacted with outright racism and violence to that decision, the tribes conducted a multi-year campaign, beginning in 1986, peaking in 1989, and tapering off almost completely in victory in 1993.⁵ Members would fish off-reservation on ceded territory waters and white mobs would show up to chant and hurl racial epithets. Over that period hundreds of allies were given nonviolence training and accompanied the tribal fishers to the boat landings to interpose between fishers and the mobs. There were times that more than 300 mob members were bellowing at five or six tribal fishers, “protected” by a handful of Witness for Peace ally monitors with just one or two local deputies standing by essentially uninvolved.⁶ There were pipe bombs, shotgun blasts, volleys of hunting slingshot ball bearings that hit fishers, but miraculously, no fatalities. The nonviolent discipline of the Anishinaabe was 100 percent, despite flagrant and frequent provocation. Local, state, national, and eventually international media looked at the story and the image of the state of Wisconsin was quite negative, with the governor and state agencies taking positions against treaties—and then those public officials finding themselves lumped alongside the inebriated racists filmed surrounding a small group of Native Americans and screaming foul racist curses.⁷ The brave and nonviolent Native Americans thus grew an image of discipline and dignity. Slowly, as these images were solidified, public opinion began to shift, and public officials shifted with it. While some nonviolent struggles feature a diminution of repression by security forces as a result of backfire (Bartkowski, 2013), the backfire in this case manifested itself as an evaporation of public antipathy and public official opposition to Native American treaty rights and the exercise of those rights.

The trainings for the treaty rights supporters promoted understanding of treaty rights but also understanding of the fears and resultant reactions by those in the most virulent ranks of treaty opponents. Anthropologist and First Nation tribal member Charles Menzies (1994) explains that understanding the most radical opponents is crucial and does not imply agreement nor even toleration. For nonviolence to work, however, that disagreement and even outright rejection of view and intolerance of behaviors needs to be grounded in understanding to be most effective.

The advantages gained by the chiefs who negotiated those treaties (three primary treaties: 1837, 1842, and 1854) were derived from the decision of the chiefs to negotiate peace

⁵ At one of the boat landings where treaty rights were being practiced by tribal members and opposed by whites, the author asked a tribal judge why suffer all these insults and potential violence for some fish. He answered, “Fish have as much to do with our treaty rights as a cup of coffee had to do with civil rights for black people.”

⁶ This author was one of the trainers and frequently accompanied tribal members to fish under these circumstances.

⁷ Slurs against Native American women were common, as was the redolent phrase, “timber nigger.” The contrast with focused, calm, sober Native Americans—men and women—simply preparing to launch small boats to go fishing was striking and had great effect.

treaties without having gone to war. They wisely saw the handwriting on the wall—waves of settlers were invading and were unstoppable. Unlike the great war chiefs, the peace chiefs who negotiated treaties saved their people the horrific suffering endured by the people led by the war chiefs. That suffering continues to this day—the descendants of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse live on the poorest reservations in the hemisphere with public health statistics worse than any place except Haiti. At the same time, the descendants of Chief Buffalo (no, you probably never heard of him, as he never went to war, just negotiated to save his people, their basic rights, and quite a bit of good land and many lakes full of wild rice and fish, his people’s traditional staples) live on relatively prosperous reservations and have at times been the largest employers in the northernmost tiers of counties in Wisconsin.

In contrast to the riots in the United States which have involved relatively high levels of violence (at least within a North American perspective), First Nation mobilization has not been violent.

—Rima Wilkes (2004, p. 573)

First Nation collective civil society resistance has essentially always been nonviolent, with no wars, no genocides even remotely comparable to those committed by European settlers and their descendants in the US and colonial America. Social movement researcher Rima Wilkes (2004, 2006) of the University of British Columbia examines the absolute and relative deprivation factors in both emergence and rates of participation in First Nation civil resistance. While absolute deprivation—hunger, poverty, unemployment, lack of freedom, lack of health care, lack of education, lack of language parity—is when civil society has the most to gain and the least to lose by rising up, relative deprivation—how little an identity group has compared to another privileged group—can also inspire protest and civil resistance. Wilkes found in her 2004 study of hundreds of First Nations protests, social movements, civil resistance, and some armed actions (but no shooting insurgencies) that the results were mixed on both emergence and participation—deprivation theory correlated to unemployment levels the strongest and had a negative correlation to low education. First Nations with higher levels of education had higher rates of participation in social movements, for instance. She did note that most such research on North American movements focused on US Civil Rights Movement, not on Native American movements.

In her 2006 article, Wilkes examined the relative conditions and states of civil resistance for Native Americans and First Nations, noting that in Canada, unlike the US, there was not a national First Nations ongoing movement. She attributes the comparative localized First Nations campaigns to the lack of a national First Nations identity in Canada compared to that generated over time in the US. There was no functional equivalent, for example, in Canada to the American Indian Movement in the US. AIM emerged in the trailing years of the Civil Rights era, in Minneapolis in July 1968, and staged many bold campaigns, mostly nonviolent.⁸

A change began in Canada, arguably, in the fall of 2012, when [Idle No More](http://www.idlenomore.ca)⁹ was formed in Canada by three aboriginal women and one non-Native ally (Wood, 2015). They opposed the

⁸ The author attended most of the early AIM powwows, held in the large basement of St. Stephens Church in South Minneapolis. AIM was just as cultural as it was political, striving to uplift the damaged self-image of many Native Americans even as it organized political protest events.

⁹ <http://www.idlenomore.ca>

Harper bill C 45, which would basically ignore or quash effective First Nation sovereignty in many cases in order to make way for more extractive industries with fewer environmental regulations and virtually no input from impacted First Nations. The movement grew across the country and even into the US and then connected to indigenous struggles elsewhere (Altemus-Williams, 2013). Round dances in public Canadian places, nonviolent blockades of rail lines, public protest fasting, and other real and symbolic acts of civil resistance have been part of the successes in pushing back incursions by predatory corporate extractions projects—and may have even been a factor in the downfall of Stephen Harper to Justin Trudeau.

Indigenous resistance to [Mount Polley mining disaster](#)—the failure of a tailings pond from mining that released some five billion liters of toxic sludge into the local waterways—was widespread, all ages from children to elders. It began 4 August 2014, the day of the dam breach—the largest mining pollution disaster in Canadian history, with emergency demonstrations from British Columbia to Toronto. The unceded Secwepemc Territory (that is, lands never officially relinquished by the Secwepemc tribe) was the impacted tribal region.

Tracy Friedel (2015) asserts that underneath most, if not all, First Nations struggles over issues is a long term effort to swing and amend colonial powerholder laws and practices toward those sustainably practiced by First Nations peoples for millennia. This might also be said for most, or possibly all, such struggles in the US (Nelson, 2015).

Over time it became clear to any long-term observer of, and participant in, Native American activism that the reservation-based campaigns were more unified in methods, in local coherent spiritual orientation, and in careful choice of allies than were the urban all-tribes actions organized by AIM—which were more likely to feature armed belligerents, use of alcohol, and far more strident language of uprising. There were no equivalent emergent armed Native American patrols to those of the Black Panther Party, but AIM and the BPP were allies and AIM security teams were physically imposing and often domineering. Debates within AIM about methods of resistance frequently caused ruptures in coalitions with others, although some AIM leadership did inspiring work in repairing those alliances at times.

The victories of Native American and First Nations tribes may sometimes seem symbolic—the success in 2015 of the Koyukon tribe in getting Denali back to its original tribal name, for example (Schertow, 2015)—but each cultural step toward equality can have ultimate legal buttress and social psychological centering for increased sovereignty. Getting the name change from Mount McKinley in Alaska may lead to more strict protection for that landmark. Sioux activists have long advocated for the original name for Devil’s Tower in South Dakota but the feature is so striking that many tribes from the region have names for it (Mathó Thípila, “Bear Lodge,” Ptehé Ğí, “Brown Buffalo Horn,” (Lakota), Wox Niiinon (Arapaho), Aloft on a Rock (Kiowa), Bear’s House (Cheyenne), Daxpicheeasáao, “Home of bears” (Crow), Tree Rock (Kiowa)). They have also been insisting that climbers not deface that site, sacred to them. As it stands now, tribal activists have succeeded so far in convincing most climbers to stay off the monument during the month of June, when tribes conduct ceremonies.

Just as in the US, Canadian tribal lands were targeted for nuclear waste. Western Canadian First Nations in northern Saskatchewan were targeted for a nuclear waste dump from eastern Canadian power plants and all three First Nations successfully resisted—Pinehouse Nation, English River Nation, and Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation. Astonishingly, the corporation seeking permission to bury the high level poisonous waste engaged in blatant lies and

attempted manipulation worthy of 19th century charlatans, actually cynically assuring tribal council members that taking the nuclear waste would help stop youth suicide for the tribes (Committee for Future Generations media release, 4 March 2015).

Empowered First Nation and Native American civil society, bolstered by many tribal governments, are utilizing their growing power and leverage to usher in a new era of a more advanced civilization—one ultimately either destroyed by violence or protected by nonviolence (Pardini, et al., 2012). Employing the counterfactual—what if the tribes had used violence to engage in these struggles?—produces a strong sense that the discovery of strategic nonviolence is a major step forward for First Nations and Native Americans—and the colonial governments and societies that are slowly learning from indigenous activists.

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Saving Lives and Staying Alive: Humanitarian Security in the Age of Risk Management, Neuman, Michael, and Fabrice Weissman, eds. London: C. Hurst & Co, 2016. Pp. 192. £16.99, paper.

This past May 2016, when *Medecins Sans Frontiers* (MSF) surprisingly pulled out of the World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul, some observers agreed with the organization's premise that there was a real failure taking place in the global humanitarian delivery system. In a new publication by MSF, *Saving Lives and Staying Alive – Humanitarian Security in the Age of Risk Management*, the authors richly explore one aspect of the operational contact zone that is undergoing severe stress in humanitarian operations: safety.

In the past decade, risk management practices have expanded deeply into the daily operational lives of corporations and governments thus changing the methods with which many services and goods are delivered. Real time communication capabilities between headquarters and remote agents, along with advances in data analysis, have shifted the decision-making power from the field to the professionals in home offices. This phenomenon has now started to get traction in the humanitarian space due to pressure from government sponsors, donors, insurance companies, and some executives in the organizations themselves. However, its applicability in the environments that humanitarian agencies find themselves today is in question. In this volume, MSF responsibly depicts the trends, the areas of success, and the many spaces where the fog of war has to be accepted and decisions must be left up to the field.

MSF is the right organization to describe the walk of this tightrope. They have experienced the death of workers, both domestic and international, as well as successful and unsuccessful resolution of kidnappings (some of whom are still held). They have limited and mitigated the negative outcomes while still delivering aid in the most dangerous parts of the world. Surprisingly, once adjusted for the larger scale of expanded operations, it is not statistically evident that today's operating theatre is indeed more dangerous than in the past, which alone is a testimony for the investment and skill that MSF and the other major deliverers have made in applying best practices to protect their most valuable assets. It is however impossible to completely eliminate risk. The culture of the volunteers themselves has shifted away from the bravery icon of the fearless doctor of the past, to today's field workers and staff who are constantly weighing the utility of what can be accomplished now against the uncertainty of the status of whatever local authority has promised them some measure of safety and independence.

As we begin to read this volume in the relative comfort of academia or within our practitioner organizations, we nod approvingly to the new appointments of security-focal point chiefs and the creation of comprehensive incident databases. The calming certainty of 'green-yellow-red' codes work expeditiously in both the board rooms as well as in the reader's minds. But then the MSF vignettes begin, leading us through the subtleties of individual cases, continent by continent, from hospitals clinging to independence in Syria to kidnapper negotiations in the Caucuses. Questions begin to emerge. Is there something innate, akin to unfettered bravery, in the international aid worker's world view? Does this uniqueness require abject restraint to be imposed on them by administrators thousands of miles away? Do today's instant communications give the home office a false sense that they have the right pulse? Are the anti-western themes prevalent enough that international workers should be pulled first or

is that an unethical stratification? When does the balance of risking a life to save a life get so skewed as to withdraw, and who makes the call? Is the weight of procedures and documents suffocating the mission's ideals? In a mere one hundred and forty-three pages, this book in turn prods, demands, challenges, and finally, through the examples depicted, assists the reader in forming their own mosaic from which to answer.

In a particularly illuminative chapter, Neuman interviewed Delphine Chedorge the MSF-France coordinator for the Central African Republic operations. One of the largest deployments in the MSF family, the CAF organization employs 300 international and over 2,500 national workers. It also had four workers killed since 2007. The vastly different personal contacts that she used to gauge risk levels included missionaries, gang leaders, government ministry staff, the ears of her own workers, local power brokers, other NGO's, and the French army systems. These disparate pockets of intelligence often all triangulated or coalesced enough that she was able to maintain a current picture depicting the degree of fragility of the operational environment. To stay behind the bunker was safer from a short term stand point, but being out in the community (both for the coordinator and the staff) yielded superior information albeit at some day to day personal risk. Information alone wasn't enough; respondent actions were sometimes required. She once embarked on radio, poster, and newspaper ads proclaiming the neutrality of her mission and demanding the safety of her staff. Contingency plans were made and executed, including the successful evacuation of twenty-four staff by road and boat in the matter of three days. In cases where MSF vehicles were borrowed at gunpoint, she was still able to get them returned days later (after they had been used in combat). Curfews were constantly being adjusted to reflect the facts on the ground. When a hospital patient was lynched inside a facility, she proclaimed that the grounds were officially neutral and any other violation would force them to cease all operations, to everyone's detriment. A picture emerges here that her power levers were in the nuances, and the validity of her hourly decisions was superior to those in the district offices.

As artificial intelligence, cell phone usage, and the monitoring of social media progresses, the tendency to develop and rely on automated systems is going to grow geometrically over the next decade. This is a timely book that prepares the reader to authoritatively enter into these discussions. Initially, I thought the book was written as a push back against both the manuals of human resource departments and board's acquiescing to the demands of insurance risk adjustors. Now I understand that it was written for all of us with an interest in the field. The decision to yield to bunkerization and out-source the safety framework to the data-security professionals or alternatively rely on the skills, contacts, and experience of the staff on the ground is going to continue to weigh on global humanitarian organizations.

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Young Generation Awakening: Economics, Society, and Policy on the Eve of the Arab Spring, Sayre, Edward A., and Tarik M. Yousef (eds), New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. 264, \$74.00, hardcover. Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: August 2016 DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190224615.001.0001

One of the most immediate issues facing the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) today is the “youth bulge,” a massive youth cohort seen as the driving force behind the region’s recent uprisings, or Arab Spring. The presence of the youth bulge has posed significant challenges to policymakers pre-dating the Arab Spring, and remains increasingly more significant today, with respect to issues ranging from security, education, the labor market, development, and peace and conflict.

Young Generation Awakening is a book that addresses these critical policy challenges. It is edited and co-authored by Tarek Yousef, former CEO of Silatech, a MENA regional initiative promoting the economic empowerment of Arab youth, and Edward Sayer, Associate Professor of Economics at the University of Southern Mississippi and former research director of Brookings’s Middle East Youth Initiative, two of the most widely known and respected authorities on the topic of youth employment in the Arab world. Yousef and Sayer nicely survey trends and offer a comprehensive overview in the introduction and conclusion, as well as each co-authoring one additional chapter. The other chapters are each written by different authors, offering a wealth of authoritative knowledge in the combined contributions.

The book was written as a follow up to a previous book on the same topic, *A Generation in Waiting* (2009), also edited by Yousef along with Navtej Dhillon, which was published before the Arab Spring that began in December 2010. The previous book missed the foundations of the uprisings and was lacking data from some of the most important countries such as Tunisia, where the Arab Spring began. This follow up also offers rich use of new data from 2009-2010 to fill the gaps in understanding the context of the Arab Spring. Scholars and practitioners interested in understanding the struggles of youth in the MENA, as well as those generally interested in peace, conflict and MENA studies, should read this book.

The youth issue is deconstructed from various angles with research methods employed spanning a range of disciplines. One aim is also to advance development literature by using a comparative microeconomic approach to development, to discern what factors are important for growth as well as showing micro-level growth. Fortunately, the discussion of quantitative data analysis is clear and accessible for all disciplines.

The topic of the Arab youth bulge is often framed through a number of analytical lenses: demographics, violent extremism, education, and unemployment. Beneath these overarching issues, the co-authors were successful in tying in the “why” and “how” the issues were created and sustained. It employs micro-level analysis and an institutional approach with an analytical framework based on the deprivation theory, leading to greater focus on relative outcomes and perceived gains and losses.

Scholars of peace and conflict will appreciate the plethora of both practical and theoretical exploration of factors contributing to conflict. For example, there is a robust review of gender equality and female participation in the workplace in chapter 4. The impact of conflict on demographic issues is considered in chapter 1, and the data analysis will be valuable for preparing for the secondary Arab youth wave predicted in 2030. There is also a good discussion

of the unique issues of youth unemployment in the Gulf Cooperation Council in Chapter 5, which is often assumed a non-issue due to oil revenues. However, this is more relevant than ever given the falling price of oil exacerbating the growing “youth bulge” in an unstable region.

For scholars and practitioners interested in understanding violent extremism, several sections of this book will be of interest; particularly when looking at the structural violence latent in the inequality of education in chapter 2. In addition, chapter 8 offers a game theory analysis based on data of factors leading to suicide terrorism or violent protest. An exploration of motivations for peaceful protest are coupled with a specific focus on the role of the internet and social media in chapter 6, which remains largely unknown in the context of democratization.

Political scientists will benefit from the contribution to the academic literature on the relationship between citizens and the political process in the MENA, reviewed in the context of the Egyptian revolution in chapter 7. Anthropologists will be interested to read a rare and important ethnography on young people in the informal economy in Egypt in Chapter 9, which is also crucial to exposing issues facing a large segment of the population excluded from official statistics.

Overall, the book serves as an excellent source for reference –rich in identifying new sources of data-, review, and debate on current Arab youth issues for all disciplines and provides needed policy analysis and recommendations.

However, a few points warrant further consideration. First, because of the wide array of secondary data used, the comparisons between chapters are often inconsistent when referring to the MENA region; some include Iran and Turkey, while others include Mauritania and Sudan. Next, discussions on education are often based exclusively on scores in Math & Science (TIMSS exams), potentially overlooking other important educational indicators, such as for literacy.

In addition, considerations of the motivation for female labor participation do not take into account the sizable role of expat domestic workers. When accounting for the effect that “family support” has on a female’s decision to join the workforce, the cheaply available labor of expat domestic workers is a major missing factor in calculations.

Further, it is disappointing that in a discussion of the causes of the Bahraini uprisings, the authors do not mention the ethnic dimension of the conflict, and describe it only as a result of youth frustration. Nevertheless, *Young Generation Awakening* certainly provides a value added for anybody interested in better understanding conflicts in the MENA region, and achieves its proposed aim: to expose the primacy of institutions that will not end with regime change and contribute to destabilizing conditions. It succeeds in highlighting the critical elements of the “youth bulge” and provides new and current analysis requiring the imminent attention of scholars, practitioners, and policy analysts today.

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Civil Resistance Today, by Kurt Schock. Polity Press, 2015. Pp. 246, \$24.95, paper.

Dramatic events such as the Arab spring, the Color Revolutions and the Occupy Wall Street movement capture both academic and public interest and recent years have witnessed the proliferation of studies and publications exploring various aspects of civil resistance. Yet, none of these previous publications offered a comprehensive introduction to the field of civil resistance, providing an overview of the conceptual, theoretical and historical aspects of this field. In his book, *Civil Resistance Today*, Kurt Schock attempts to address this gap by tracing the origins of modern civil resistance. He elucidates major contemporary questions and debates characterizing the field and provides students, scholars, activists and the general public with tools to analyze and understand contemporary campaigns.

The book starts with conceptualizing civil resistance. Schock defines civil resistance as the “use of methods of non-violent action by civil society actors engaged in asymmetric conflicts with authorities not averse to using violence to defend their interests” (page 2). He argues that civil resistance is not merely a stage in the continuum between violent action and conventional politics, but rather an independent category with its own unique dynamics, outcomes and consequences. The distinction between violent and nonviolent approaches and the superiority of nonviolent struggle as a strategy to achieve political change is a recurring theme throughout the book’s seven chapters. The first chapter lists the various methods of nonviolent action and highlights the strategic function of these methods. The chapter portrays important debates surrounding nonviolent popular struggles. It situates the study of civil resistance within peace and conflict studies, as well as the studies of social movements and revolution, while pointing to important theoretical tensions between those fields.

Chapter two provides a brief historical overview of the known instances where nonviolent methods were applied (workers and national struggles and struggles for democratization). Nonviolent methods, such as general strikes and mass demonstrations, were used historically as a pragmatic strategy. However, Schock points to the distinction often made by scholars between the pragmatic approach to nonviolence and the principled spiritual belief in nonviolence, embodied for many by Gandhi’s campaigns. He presents a genealogy of thinkers that theorized and applied Gandhi’s principled nonviolence paradigm to analyze various civil struggles both in the west and in the global arena.

Reviewing pivotal incidents of past century’s civil resistance, chapter three classifies the nonviolent struggles by the motivation of the movement. Within each category, the author uses prominent cases to demonstrate the trajectory of the resistances’ development, the tactics it applied, and the impacts that it achieved. Chapters four through six offer a coherently developed sequence, describing how resistance occurs, the dynamic between activists and the state, the impact of international actors and networks, the outcomes of the campaign, the processes of resistance, and the mechanisms of change. Finally, chapter seven synthesizes the findings regarding the processes and outcomes of civil resistance and the mechanisms utilized by civil actors to promote change. With respect to each of these dynamics, Schock explains the reasons for the superiority of nonviolent action relative to violent struggle. The book concludes by revisiting the debates described in the first chapter and addressing the gaps that require further research.

The principal strength of the book lies in Schock’s expansive and profound familiarity with the field. He is proficient not only in nonviolent struggles as events, but also in the field of civil resistance, its spiritual and intellectual roots, its leaders and opponents, and its wide repertoire of strategies. The author allows the readers to examine processes of social change through lenses of civil resistance by presenting more than a hundred civil struggles. The geographic scope of the review includes every corner of the world and presents a mosaic of cases. These include, among others, the nonviolent struggles against the dictatorship in Mali and Sudan, the Landless movement in Brazil, the People Power Movement in Philippines, the Palestinian Intifada, the LGBT movement in the US and the “Kitchenware Revolution” of Iceland. The historical span of the book is also impressive, as Schock follows civil struggles

from the rebellions of the plebs (495 BC to 402 BC) to such recent movements as the Jubilee 2000 and the Occupy movement.

While the scope of the book is truly impressive, the choice to address such a large number of struggles and movements at times results in somewhat superficial accounts of the events. It is not very clear, beyond anecdotal instances, how the specific cases addressed elucidate global and temporal trends. A comparative analysis of the cases along clearly defined criteria would have been an effective way to carefully investigate broad patterns.

Another weaker point in the book was the treatment of the movements themselves. At times, I found that the author adopts a somewhat idealized and simplified account of civil resistance, as the book seldom problematizes power relations within the movements themselves or between various actors involved in the struggle. When Schock discusses transnational NGOs, he does not engage sufficiently with the arguments often raised in the literature that problematize these movements. For instance, he ignores the fact that the framing of the issues at stake in the Global South as well as in the post-communist states is often determined by the demands of the wealthier Northern actors and by donors' preferences rather than by the needs of the local grassroots movements. Finally, despite arguing that violence and nonviolence are not only means to achieve goals but also forces that shape the outcome of struggles, the author fails to discuss the usage of civil resistance by civil society groups to promote anti-democratic agendas, policies of exclusion, and structural violence and inequality.

Despite these drawbacks, the book presents an excellent introduction to new scholars of the field, as it offers a rich toolkit of key concepts, as well as an extensive and detailed review of both the recent and classic literature on the subject. Schock's clear and engaging writing and the fascinating topic make the book accessible and appealing for both the general public and activists engaged in civil resistance. For the public, the book highlights the central role of a nonviolent approach in some of the most dramatic events in the past century. For activists, the book lists sources of alternative media, research and training centers, guidelines for direct action, and analytical tools to trace changes of political contexts. *Civil Resistance Today* is particularly relevant in our era of terrorism and state counter-terrorism as reading our history through the lens of civil resistance prompts one to question the use of violence as a means to resolve conflicts and achieve goals and inspires a quest for other expressions of collective power.

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Courage, Resistance & Women in Ciudad Juarez: Challenges to Militarization, by Kathleen Staudt and Zulma Méndez. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015. Pp. 216. \$24.95, paper.

The heavy militarization of the borderlands of Mexico is one of the more dramatic results of the Mexican and U.S. government attempts to put a stop to the war on drugs. Many organizations and researchers argue that the prevalent violence and common impunity from prosecution of crimes in Ciudad Juarez is aggravated by militarization, not solved by it. Ciudad Juarez is known as the border center point and hot spot for violence, murders and drug wars in Mexico. The city has experienced shockingly high amounts of murders that often go unresolved or unpunished. This is particularly true for crimes against women, which due to underreporting are even more invisible than other types of violence. Projects that focus on resisting militarization have so far been politically influenced and halted by the Mexican government and state. In their new book, *Courage, Resistance & Women in Ciudad Juarez: Challenges to Militarization*, Kathleen Staudt and Zulma Méndez offer an alternative framework for documenting the fight against militarization, one that focuses on the “hidden narratives” of social activists in Mexico through a gendered lens.

Staudt and Méndez’s main argument centers on the possibility of social change through publicly challenging the regime of militarization, corruption and violence in the borderlands of Mexico. The authors believe social change to be possible through a resistance movement known as *la Resistencia Juarense*. By documenting and analyzing the hidden narratives of civil-society activism, they highlight the many networks, organizations and social movements of women that come together to challenge the official narrative of the governments in both Mexico and the U.S.

One of the book’s most important contributions is looking at resistance movements through a gendered lens. The first two chapters take the reader through the history of femicide in Ciudad Juarez, providing a concise story of the state’s denial of femicide and the inextricable link between violence against women and militarization. These chapters further delineate the early stages of activism against femicide and against the mainstream media, reciting the government’s narrative about “the myth of femicide” and its discourse of victim blaming. Chapters three and four describe the unique background and challenges that the movements faced when trying to promote the issue of violence against women in Ciudad Juarez. They tell the story of state corruption and the intimidation of citizens and social-activists, using the media to instill fears and manipulate the population. Despite these difficulties, activists and grassroots organizations were successful in their struggle, largely thanks to the use of social media to organize and mobilize. This utilization of counter-media helped in fostering a sense of communal identity. Chapters five and six present the solidarity that civil society activism has been able to spread, both within Mexico and transnationally. Finally, the concluding chapter (chapter seven) revisits the feminist lens and gendered implications of the social movements. It highlights the importance of making public the hidden narratives of the female activists in order to influence the transnational elite to end militarization and violence in Ciudad Juarez.

The book’s main strengths lie in bringing the exhaustive narratives of those who are best suited to tell the stories of violence and murder and its unique gendered lens in examining the resistance movements, focusing on female leadership and mobilization. It also looks at gendered

differences in Ciudad Juarez. Here the authors use a gendered lens to identify gaps in the judicial system when it comes to violent crimes against women as opposed to violent crimes against men.

The authors present an impressive account and documentation of a counterculture in Mexico, which is often absent from the dominant discourse. Staudt and Méndez highlight the importance of analyzing these hidden narratives and focus on the women who fight against femicide. However, while the authors adopt feminist theories in analyzing the women fighting against femicide, they fail to do so in presenting the victims. The book does not clearly define femicide and the perspective of the victims themselves and their families is often mute.

Another problem with the focus of the book is that the authors, like many before them, equate the adoption of gendered lenses with looking only at women. In doing so, they leave men completely out of the picture. And by adopting this point of view, they reproduce the gendered expectations regarding who is involved in the discussion of violence against women. While bringing forth the voices of mothers (who are often vulnerable and unheard) is clearly important, opening the conversation up to men in a fight against violence that is predominantly inflicted by men should also be considered. Men who participate in mobilization should also be heard. For example, failing to include the voices of fathers might reinforce hegemonic masculinities and notions that violence against women is a women's problem and that men should not be involved.

Despite these shortcomings, this is an important book that encourages mobilization and non-violent resistance movements to combat violence in Ciudad Juarez. By presenting the often-unheard voices of the masses and particularly women, Staudt and Méndez showcase the power that lies in numbers and demonstrate to readers how mobilization and non-governmental organizations can impact social change.

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