

What is Peace Psychology the Psychology of?

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Peace psychology emerged as a distinct area of research and practice during the Cold War, when the preeminent concern was the prevention of nuclear war. Now global in scope, the focal concerns of peace psychologists are nuanced by geohistorical contexts and the distinction between episodic violence and structural violence, the latter of which also kills people, albeit slowly through the deprivation of basic need satisfaction. Accordingly, the focal concerns of contributors to this issue vary depending on geohistorical context: some being primarily concerned with patterns of behavior and cognition involved in the prevention of violent episodes and others with the amelioration of structural violence. A systems perspective is used as a framework for integrating episodes and structures of violence and peace. Articles emphasizing “systemic violence” demonstrate the interplay between structures and episodes of violence. Articles on “systemic peacebuilding” examine intergroup contact, the nonviolent management of conflict, and movement toward socially just structures, thereby yielding an increase in cooperative and equitable relationships across levels, from interpersonal to intergroup.

Psychologists have been interested in war and peace since the beginning of modern psychology. James (1910/1995) called attention to some of the psychological dimensions of war and, quite appropriately, when the first issue of *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* appeared 85 years later, Deutsch (1995) wrote an article in which he referred to James as the first peace psychologist.

Peace psychology as an identifiable area of research and practice did not begin to emerge until the Cold War (Wessells, 1996), a period during which many psychologists broke from the tradition of supporting U.S. government policies. Among noteworthy publications at the time was a special issue of *Journal of*

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Social Issues (JSI), which provided a psychological and logical critique of the centerpiece of U.S. foreign policy, nuclear deterrence (Russell, 1961).

At about the same time, other important developments included *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, which first appeared in 1957 and helped legitimize the study of conflict reduction in the field of international relations. In another publication, *Preventing World War III: Some Proposals*, Wright, Evan, and Deutsch (1962) examined psychological dimensions of the superpower relationship. A few years later, Schwebel (1965/2003) edited a multidisciplinary reader that brought together a collection of scholarly papers, all focused on the issue of human survival and well-being in the nuclear age. In another edited volume, theory and practice in conflict resolution was examined at various levels of analysis, from intrapersonal to international (Smith, 1971). As Morawski and Goldstein (1985) noted, these Cold War publications contrasted sharply with earlier publications on war and peace in several ways:

First, the level of analysis was shifted from an exclusive focus on the behavior of individuals to a more inclusive focus on the behavior of nations. Second, psychologists began to emphasize the prevention of war rather than preparations for war. And third, whereas previous research had attempted to document or generate public consensus with government policy, the new work was critical of U.S. foreign policies (p. 280).

In the United States, for the better part of the 1960s and 1970s, the issue of nuclear war was partially eclipsed by domestic political concerns, especially the Vietnam War. However, the prospect of “mutually assured destruction,” combined with increasingly hostile rhetoric between the leaders of the superpowers in the 1980s, ignited a counterreaction among psychologists who would later identify themselves as “peace psychologists.” At the same time, a corpus of literature, loosely cohering under the rubric of political psychology, was beginning to give peace psychology some defining features. White’s (1986) edited volume, *Psychology and the Prevention of Nuclear War*, offered a collection of articles, written by psychologists and political scientists who described the threat of nuclear war in psychological terms and, in the process, added some academic legitimacy to psychological analyses of national security issues. Potential psychological and political antecedents of a nuclear holocaust were identified and elaborated upon. Emphasis was placed on the problems of an unbridled arms race, mutually distorted perceptions, destructive communication patterns, coercive interactions, competition for allies around the world, and other psychological and political processes.

During the final few years of the Cold War, several topics related to peace were addressed in *JSI*. Levinger (1987) edited an issue entitled “Beyond Deterrence,” which was intended to offer an intellectual framework for improving U.S.-Soviet relations. Lebow and Stein (1987) contributed the lead article that framed the entire issue by presenting specific international cases in which the policy of deterrence failed to keep peace. Further, they proposed a complimentary policy of

“reassurance” to secure peace and improve the U.S.-Soviet relationship. In the following year, an issue of *JSI* focused on “Psychology and the Promotion of Peace” (Wagner, de Rivera, & Watkins, 1988). Peace was defined as an active construct, characterized by friendly and cooperative relations between peoples and nations, a process thought to be dependent upon the satisfaction of human needs for all people. At the close of the 1980s, the problem of enemy images, originally proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1961) was reexamined—this time with an emphasis on perceptual and cognitive biases (Holt & Silverstein, 1989).

As the 1990s approached, the Cold War wound down but not before Division 48 (Peace Psychology) of the American Psychological Association was established (Wessells, 1996), an organization that represented yet another spin-off from Division 9, Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. For many scholars and practitioners, the “peace” in peace psychology continues to be associated with a narrow and Cold War focus on the prevention of nuclear war. Accordingly, it is timely to begin situating peace psychology within the post-Cold War context by highlighting recent developments in the field. In particular, three themes are emerging in post-Cold War peace psychology: (1) greater sensitivity to geohistorical context, (2) a more differentiated perspective on the meanings and types of violence and peace, and (3) a systems view of the nature of violence and peace.

Three Emerging Themes in Peace Psychology and in the Current Issue

Sensitivity to Geohistorical Context

After the Cold War, the growing internationalization of peace psychology meant that new voices were added to research and practice in peace psychology (Leung, 2003; Montiel, 2003). The current issue of *JSI* offers a sample of the conceptual, empirical and policy work of peace psychologists around the world and demonstrates how focal concerns vary with geohistorical context. For instance, countries aligned with the Global South tend to associate peacebuilding efforts with social justice in part because political oppression and the unequal distribution of scarce resources are salient and bear on human well-being and survival (Martin-Baro, 1994). Hence, in the Southeast Asian context, for example, Montiel (this issue) examines some social psychological substrates of emancipatory struggles that are aimed at redressing enormous inequalities in power. Here, the focal peacebuilding concern is how to reduce political and economic forms of oppression that are the hallmarks of authoritarian regimes.

In geohistorical contexts marked by deeply divisive conflicts and oppositional social identities, such as Northern Ireland, research and practice often focuses on the prevention of violent episodes through the promotion of positive intergroup relations (Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Hamberger, & Niens, this issue). The interest in promoting positive contacts between Catholics and Protestants is reflected in

policies the government has adopted to support projects that bring people together, projects as far reaching as the development of planned integrated schools.

Similarly, in Australia, intergroup tension between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal Australians, grounded in the geohistorical context of the invasion of Australia by Europeans, has become increasingly salient due to recently released documentation on the forced removal of Aboriginal children from their families from 1910 to 1970. A number of peacebuilding issues are now being examined by peace psychologists, including questions about the meaning and importance of “reconciliation processes” and reparations (Bretherton & Mellor, this issue).

In the African context, peacebuilding is wide-ranging and addresses problems such as ethnopolitical conflict, trauma, truth and reconciliation, post-war reconstruction, and the status of women. In the current issue, post-war reconstruction (Wessells & Montiero, this issue) and the views of women in Africa are examined (de la Rey & McKay, this issue). In the post-war reconstruction, peace psychologists emphasize a participatory action research methodology that is community-based, and culturally grounded, building on the strengths of survivors and honoring local traditions and wisdom (Wessells & Montiero). Research on women leaders in the South African context suggests their views of peacebuilding embrace a relational model that emphasizes people, the satisfaction of basic needs, and domestic issues such as the reduction of intimate forms of violence (de la Rey & McKay).

Given the superpower status of the U.S. military and economy, peace psychologists in the United States have made an effort to examine the uses and abuses of power, including the problem of conspicuous patterns of consumption that can lead to resource wars (Winter & Cava, this issue) and problems associated with globalization (Pilisuk & Zazzi, this issue). In addition, peace psychologists are concerned about violence at all levels, including interpersonal forms of violence. Accordingly, during the past few years, there has been increased attention given to the problem of bullying in schools, a problem that is part of U.S. culture and can be understood with a social-ecological perspective (Greene, this issue). Not surprisingly, since 9/11, terrorism has become a dominant feature of the U.S. security environment and peace psychologists in increasing numbers have sought to understand the origins and prevention of terrorism (Wagner, this issue). In short, part of the answer to “What is peace psychology the psychology of?” depends on the geohistorical context in which the observer and actor are situated.

A Differentiated Perspective on Violence and Peace

During the Cold War, the relationship between social justice and peace was given short shrift, being viewed as a distraction from what seemed the preeminent issue, namely, the nuclear threat and human survival (Smith, 2001). In contrast, post-Cold War peace psychology has adopted a more differentiated perspective on the nature of violence and peace, consonant with the interdisciplinary field

Table 1. The Domain of Post Cold-War Peace Psychology in a 2 × 2 Matrix

Episodic	Structural
Violence	
Also called direct violence	Also called indirect violence
Typically kills or harms people quickly	Typically kills or harms people slowly
Intermittently kills or harms people	Continuously deprives people of basic needs
Acute insult to well-being	Chronic insult to well-being
Dramatic	Normalized
Peacebuilding	
Reduces violent episodes	Reduces structural violence
Emphasizes nonviolence	Emphasizes social justice
Seeks to prevent violent episodes	Seeks to ameliorate structural violence
Produces intergroup tension reduction	Produces intergroup tension enhancement
Uses intergroup contact and dialogue	Uses intergroup contact and noncooperation
Supports status quo	Challenges status quo

of peace studies and the distinction made by Galtung (1969) between direct and structural forms of violence and peace. Direct violence occurs episodically and kills or harms people directly through bodily insult. In contrast, the recent emphasis in peace psychology on structural violence recognizes that social inequalities result in slow death by depriving people of basic human need satisfaction (Christie, 1997; Pilisuk, 1998; Schwebel, 1997). Moreover, the peace in peace psychology also has become more differentiated in the post-Cold War context. Direct peacebuilding efforts are episodic and aimed at the prevention and mitigation of direct forms of violence while structural peacebuilding is designed to yield socially just structures that ensure the sustainable and equitable satisfaction of human needs for all people. Hence, the domain of peace psychology can be characterized by a 2 × 2 matrix, contrasting episodic (direct) with structural forms of violence and peace (Christie, Wagner, & Winter, 2001), as illustrated in Table 1.

Examples of episodic violence can vary in scale from interpersonal aggression, such as bullying, to the organized form of interstate violence called war. In contrast, structural violence is an insidious form of violence that is built into the fabric of political and economic systems, both within and between nations, and results in slow death through the deprivation of human need satisfaction. Thus, if people are starving and there is food in the world to feed them, then structural violence is taking place (Galtung, 1969). Globally, for example, approximately 107 million preschool children are underweight and most of these children are living in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. (United Nations Millennium Project, 2005). Structural violence is what Gandhi was referring to when he remarked “the earth provides enough to satisfy every man’s need, but not enough to satisfy every man’s greed” (cited in Pyarelal, 1958, p. 552). The problem of structural violence is ubiquitous, occurring across time and space, and manifest whenever people do not have adequate material resources or political representation and voice.

Episodic peacebuilding seeks to prevent violent episodes and is apparent in efforts around the world to manage conflicts nonviolently, at multiple levels, from relations between people (Heitler, 1990) to intergroup relations (Worchel & Austin, 1986), although there are limits to the generalizability of specific conflict management principles across levels (Rubin & Levinger, 1995). In contrast, examples of structural peacebuilding can be found in nonviolent social movements around the world that seek to transform political oppression and economic exploitation and the cultural narratives that support social dominance (Mayton, 2001; Montiel, 2001; Steger, 2001). Most recently, in November and December 2004, a large scale pro-democracy movement in the Ukraine played an important role in overturning a fraudulent election and calling for reelections that yielded a president in favor of democratic reforms.

In short, peace psychology is a contextually nuanced endeavor that is defined by theory and practice aimed at the development of patterns of behavior and cognition that prevent and mitigate both episodic and structural forms of violence.

A Systems Perspective on the Nature of Violence and Peace

In addition to becoming increasingly differentiated and sensitized to geohistorical context, peace psychology is becoming more integrated within the family of academic disciplines. In the academic domain, peace psychology occupies a space that overlaps with political psychology and social psychology, sharing some constructs and perspectives with each. Like political psychology, peace psychology includes cognitive analyses of decision making along with some psychodynamic perspectives, particularly as they relate to peace and conflict. The overlap with social psychology includes an interest in the origins and management of conflict; however, peace psychology places greater emphasis on macro levels of analysis and explicitly values the understanding and promotion of constructive over destructive conflict management processes, where constructive refers to processes that promote cooperative relationships (Deutsch, 1973).

Peace psychology is most clearly distinguished from neighboring specialties by its frequent reference to the systemic and cultural origins of violent episodes. Hence, violent events are viewed as manifestations of interactions among a host of destructive inputs that are embedded in social, cultural, and historical factors (Cairns & Darby, 1998; Smith, 1998; Wessells, 1999).

The emphasis of peace psychology on cultures and systems can be gleaned from even a cursory review of the flagship journal for peace psychology, *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*. In regard to violent episodes, the structural inputs that have received a great deal of attention include social injustices, bystander passivity, militarism, and globalization. A range of cultural narratives support violence including, for example, ideologies that normalize social exclusion and violence. Similarly, the problem of peacebuilding is framed as the mitigation

or prevention of direct and indirect (structural) forms of violence through the interplay of multiple constructive inputs. Some inputs that have received a goodly amount of attention are peacekeeping, conflict resolution, reconciliation, peace education, nonviolent social justice movements, trauma reduction, and societal reconstruction in the wake of intergroup violence.

Organization of this Issue: A Model of Peacebuilding Processes

The 2 × 2 matrix in Table 1 that distinguishes between episodic and structural forms of violence and peace is used as the underlying conceptual framework for the current *JSI* number. Moreover, the 2 × 2 matrix is expanded and includes a systems perspective that underscores the structural roots of violent episodes, as illustrated in Figure 1.

To illustrate, the violent behavior of individuals and groups can be examined with a number of familiar constructs at the psychological and social psychological levels of analysis (e.g., mutual fear, the formation of oppositional group identities, group polarization). A systems perspective traces the preconditions of violent episodes to structure-based disparities in human well-being, depicted in Figure 1 with a bidirectional arrow that links structures and episodes of violence. Structural preconditions of violent episodes are often discernable regardless of the scale of violence. For instance, the origins of many forms of collective violence, such as genocide, can be found in structure-based inequalities that produce difficult life conditions for certain segments of a society and give rise to psychological processes including destructive intergroup ideologies (Staub, 1999).

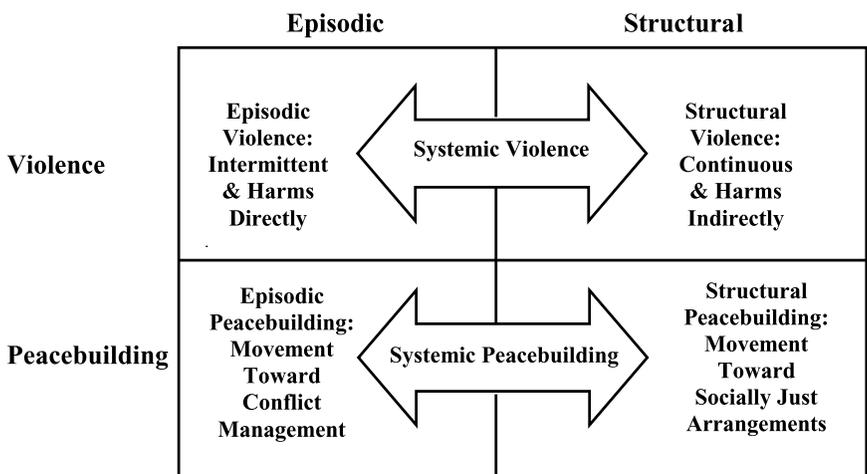


Fig. 1. Systems perspective on violence and peacebuilding.

At the level of interpersonal violence, the violence of men toward women, for instance, continues worldwide, in part because women's low status restricts choices and keeps women in a position of vulnerability and dependency vis-à-vis men, a structurally violent precondition that sets the stage for more episodes of violence (Bunch & Carrillo, 1998). Conversely, men's use of violence on women is a means of maintaining dominance and control in the relationship (Gelles & Straus, 1988). Hence, a systems approach can usefully delineate bidirectional influences of episodes and structures of violence at many levels of analysis.

Likewise, in regard to peacebuilding, a systems approach is useful. As Figure 1 indicates, although violence can be prevented and mitigated with episodes of peacebuilding, an enduring peace will require structural changes, that is, the restructuring of political and economic systems in ways that promote the equitable and sustainable satisfaction of human needs. For example, Kelman's (2004) interactive problem solving workshops, between Israelis and Palestinians, "seek to induce changes in individuals, through interaction in small-group settings, as vehicles for change in the larger system: in the official policies and the political cultures of the conflicting parties" (pp. 260–261). Similarly, it is possible to build peace by disarming and demobilizing child soldiers; however, if education, job generation, and a host of other structural changes do not take place, former child soldiers will be at risk of continuing the cycle of violence through banditry and crime (Wessells, in press).

In the current issue, some of the articles emphasize the problem of violence while others focus more directly on peacebuilding. In all of the articles, there is an appreciation for the structural bases of violent episodes and the need for peacebuilding approaches that address the structural roots of the problem. What follows is a brief overview of the articles and their relationship to the two main categories used to organize this *JSI* number: systemic violence and systemic peace.

Systemic Violence

Winter and Cava examine the potential for large scale episodes of violence under conditions of resource scarcity and intergroup competition. The problem of resource scarcity may well dominate the security agenda in the 21st century because (1) there has been a worldwide shift in the means for pursuing security, from ideological alliances to economic competitiveness; (2) there is increasing demand for resources worldwide, driven by population growth and the spread of industrialization; and (3) certain key resources—especially oil and water—are likely to reach the point of severe shortages. Hence, there is likely to be a proliferation of resource ownership contests (Klare, 2001). Winter and Cava echo the concerns of scholars who warn that current consumption patterns combined with population growth will soon exceed the earth's carrying capacity, especially

in the areas of fresh water, range-lands, forests, oceanic fisheries, and biological diversity (Brown & Flavin, 1999; Oskamp, 2000). Ecological stresses are already contributing to violent conflicts in the developing world, and as resource scarcities continue, there is likely to be an escalation of violent conflicts (Homer-Dixon, 1998).

Winter and Cava examine relationships among various kinds of resource scarcity and six cases of armed conflicts. Mediating factors (e.g., migration and poverty) have been identified in previous models of the relationship between scarcity and armed conflict (e.g., Homer-Dixon, 1998), but what distinguishes Winter and Cava's model is their inclusion of social psychological considerations. Their analysis suggests that social psychological variables mediate the bidirectional relationship between the unequal distribution of resources and episodes of violence. And while ethnic divisions have been given considerable attention as a precondition for violence, most of their cases illustrate the interaction between ethnicity and scarcity, suggesting that preconditions may be particularly ripe for violent episodes between groups when multiple fault lines coincide. Although the thrust of their research examines the psycho-ecological basis of violent episodes, Winter and Cava conclude with some recommendations from a systemic peacebuilding perspective that combines episodic (cooperatively based agreements) and structural (the just distribution of resources) peacebuilding efforts. Their work is in concert with a recurrent theme in peace psychology which suggests that environmental scarcity is fundamentally a psychological issue because movement toward sustainable development requires changes in the patterns of human cognition and behavior (Winter, 1996, 2000). Given the relationship between resource scarcities and violence, the primary strategy for preventing war in the 21st century may well be the pursuit of environmental security as contrasted with national security (Myers, 1993).

Pilisuk and Zazzi draw on a systems perspective and advance a theory of violent military actions which fuel and support globalizing trends and exacerbate inequalities in the world. Pilisuk and Zazzi use a comparative analysis of three cases in which military actions by the United States have occurred: Venezuela, East Timor, and Iraq. They illustrate how Western hegemony has emerged from an acceleration of global economic exploitation, supported by a set of beliefs that normalize inequality, suppress dissent, use military force to protect corporate interests, construe corporate interests as coterminous with national interests, and promote the legitimacy of using wealth to influence public opinion and policy. Their work is consistent with a recent wave of research in peace psychology that examines the worldwide spread of democracy and capitalism, globalizing phenomena that leave in their wake new societal divisions marked by intergroup intolerance, particularly among those whose voices have been attenuated or whose material well-being has been diminished due to political and economic transitions (Boehnke, Hagan, & Hefler, 1998; Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998). In short, like

other articles in this section on systemic violence, Pilisuk and Zazzi provide an analysis of the structural roots of violent episodes.

Greene examines bullying, a form of episodic violence at the interpersonal level that is prevalent in schools. Although bullying can be reduced to a victim and perpetrator dyad, the problem is multileveled, emanating from the individual, dyad, classroom, school, community, and even the culture at large. Greene adopts a social-ecological approach that addresses all of these levels. In regard to systems, the structural basis of violent bullying episodes can be seen in the power imbalance between the perpetrator and victim. Greene argues for a change in social norms that would place bullying in a human rights framework, thereby mitigating a “culture of silence.”

Bretherton and Mellor discuss Australians growing level of awareness of the structural violence that has been experienced by Aboriginal people. They situate problems of Aboriginal people in social, cultural, and historical contexts and discuss current power imbalances, racism, and prejudice. To address these structurally violent conditions, Bretherton and Mellor provide an overview and analysis of reconciliation efforts based on the “Stolen Generation Inquiry,” a recent report that documents government policies that separated Aboriginal children from their families between 1910 and 1970. Their analysis looks at structural violence especially in the areas of health problems, imprisonment rates, unemployment, and other disadvantages that beset the indigenous community. Also highlighted is the breakdown of traditional kinship roles, parenting skills, problems in child adjustment, and the sequelae for subsequent generations. The article raises a host of questions about the potential utility of structural change, reparation, apologies, and other initiatives that might promote reconciliation. Finally, Bretherton and Mellor take a critical look at the roles of psychologists who were steeped in a welfare model that supported the removal of children. A policy question that arises is what psychologists might be able to do to redress historical injustices and promote intergroup reconciliation. Bretherton and Mellor conclude that reconciliation in deeply divided societies requires a systems approach that promotes changes in human relationships across levels of societal complexity, from interpersonal to intergroup.

Systemic Peacebuilding

In conflicts that are deeply divisive and involve rival social identities, peace psychologists have concentrated on the promotion of positive intergroup contact as a means of preventing violent episodes (Cairns & Darby, 1998). Hewstone et al., point out that the “contact hypothesis” has been useful as an intervention to improve intergroup attitudes and as a theoretical framework for understanding conflict situations. Hence, the contact hypothesis is central to the work of peace psychologists who are interested in understanding and promoting

tolerance in deeply divided societies around the world. Although primarily focused on the improvement of intergroup relations through contact, Hewstone and colleagues acknowledge that structural issues are important, noting as others have that social, historical, and economic factors are likely to account for most of the variance in intergroup relations (Tajfel, 1982), which leaves psychology playing an important but modest role in mitigating intergroup conflict (Cairns & Darby, 1998). Hewstone and colleagues report on two studies they conducted in the Northern Ireland context. The first study provides evidence for the proposition that contact increases the willingness of Catholics and Protestants to engage in further contact with each other. The second study breaks new ground, suggesting that intergroup contact promotes not only positive attitudes between Catholics and Protestants, but also perspective taking, trust, and forgiveness.

The African context highlights the changing nature of organized violence in which interstate rivalry is being replaced by protracted cycles of violence across ethnopolitical fault lines. Indeed, a distinctive feature of armed conflict that emerged in the latter half of the 20th century was the high level of civilian casualties, estimated at about 90% (Garfield & Neugut, 1997). And while peace psychologists have made contributions to peacekeeping (Langholtz, 1998) and the resolution of conflict (Deutsch & Coleman, 2000), the newly emerging forms of organized violence, characterized by protracted cycles of intrastate conflict, require approaches that address the structural and cultural roots of the problem (Wessells, 1999).

A number of peace psychologists have approached the problem of collective violence with clinical tools aimed at the amelioration of trauma, in the interest of both individual and community well-being. Clearly, well-functioning people and communities are essential for the kind of cooperation that is required to build legitimate political and economic institutions (Agger, 2001). At the same time, the imposition of a medicalized version of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder by Western practitioners on non-Western societies can be a form of cultural imperialism that fails to honor traditional practices, wisdom, and the indigenous meaning systems in which traumatic events are embedded (cf. Honwana, 1997). Moreover, a de-contextualized trauma-based approach does not address the systemic and endemic factors of collective violence; hence, protracted cycles of violence can remain problematic (Wessells, 1999).

In this issue, Wessells and Montiero argue for post-war reconstruction efforts that are systemic, culturally grounded, and community-based. They describe a program situated in five provinces of Angola in which efforts have been made to reunify child soldiers with caregivers and reintegrate them into their communities. Using a participatory partnership approach, they offer a mix of quantitative and qualitative data to provide evidence for the scope and effectiveness of their program which links youth centered activities with community mobilization and development. Their work contributes to theory and practice that seeks to understand

and prevent child soldiering by addressing the structural causes of the problem through systemic efforts that integrate local, societal, regional, and global initiatives (Wessells, in press).

de la Rey and McKay examine conceptions of peace among South African women and effectively enlarge our view of peacebuilding processes. They begin by arguing that research and practice in post-conflict societal reconstruction has been carried out with little regard for gender issues and perspectives. More broadly, they note, gender analyses have not been central in the discourse of peace psychology, a problem that is replicated in the larger mainstream of psychology and in the specialty of international relations where feminist perspectives have been marginalized (McKay, 1995, 1996). Recognizing the intersection between culture and gender within distinct national contexts, de la Rey and McKay use participatory and qualitative research methods to collect and analyze data on how South African women peacebuilders understand the meanings of peace and peacebuilding. Because women generally work outside highly visible international institutions and governments, their peacebuilding work tends to be marginalized. Their gendered conception of peacebuilding emphasizes structural peacebuilding, processes, people, and relationships.

Wagner provides a peace psychological view of terrorism, which begins with the reasonable assumption that terrorism is a strategy that a group uses to achieve certain ends. When identifying motives for terrorist acts, Wagner suggests a mix of structural and cultural preconditions: difficult life conditions, disrespected social identity, devaluation of traditional values, a lack of voice in matters that affect one's well-being, among others. These conditions, alone or in combination, can prompt extreme ideology and action. In regard to responses to terrorism, Wagner effectively argues, using data and logic, that there are severe limits to the effectiveness of confrontational approaches that attempt to prevent and mitigate terrorism. Distinctions between peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding, are fleshed out, noting that peacekeeping may keep a lid on violence but does not resolve underlying grievances. Similarly, peacemaking may resolve the immediate conflict but fail to deal with underlying social injustices, whether real or perceived, and the frustration of basic human need satisfaction. In short, Wagner uses a systems perspective to make the case that episodes of violence have structural roots and a durable peace will require proactive efforts that build constructive relationships.

One of the most important, but seldom told stories of the 20th century is the power of nonviolent movements, many of which have successfully toppled oppressive regimes, often in the face of overwhelming military power. Nonviolent social change has been examined from religious (Smock, 1995), philosophical (Gandhi, 1951), historical (Ackerman & DuVall, 2000), political (Sharp, 1973; Ackerman & Kruegler, 1994), and other perspectives. Recent advances in peace psychology have delineated some political and social psychological substrates of organized nonviolent movements and the indivisibility of peaceful means and

socially just ends (Montiel, 2001), a perspective consonant with the views of Gandhi (Mayton, 2001) and King (1992).

In the current issue, Montiel examines pro-democracy movements, a form of structural peacebuilding that refers to actions in which pluralities of oppressed and/or marginalized individuals attempt to control and direct a conflict situation to meet their political goals without the use of physical violence. Three ongoing pro-democracy movements in the Southeast Asian context are examined: Cambodia, East Timor, and Philippines. Open-ended questions, tailored to the cultural and geohistorical context of each country were administered. Commonalities among nonviolent movements are extracted, yet the findings are nuanced, recognizing that the dynamics of human psychology are always embedded in sociocultural and historical contexts. Results suggest three common antecedent conditions for the movements: social injustices that deprive people of voice and representation; episodes of direct political violence on the local civilian population; the growth of opposition forces at a time when the authoritarian regimes were loosening up.

Montiel's approach is distinguished from other analyses of social movements because of the emphasis that is placed on the identification of social psychological variables that mediate the relationship between antecedent conditions and pro-democracy movements, including the role of attributional processes, motives, beliefs, leadership qualities, and organizational dynamics. Emphasis is placed on the importance of "conscientization," a psychological process in which individuals and groups are politically transformed by building a common consciousness that embraces the value of active political nonviolence. Active nonviolent movements become increasingly powerful as conscientization becomes broadly networked domestically and internationally.

In summary, episodic peacebuilding often involves the promotion of intergroup contact and nonviolent management of conflict. When implemented effectively, episodic peacebuilding reduces the likelihood of violent episodes and moves would-be combatants toward a more constructive relationship. In contrast, structural peacebuilding is characterized by large-scale social justice movements that promote equitable political and economic arrangements in a society. Taken together, episodic and structural peacebuilding can be combined to form a system of peacebuilding that addresses both peaceful means and ends; that is, the interplay between the nonviolent management of conflict and the movement toward socially just structures, an approach that yields an increase in cooperative and equitable relationships across levels, from interpersonal to intergroup.

Our treatment of post-Cold War peace psychology concludes with an article by Schwebel which conceptually extends the systems perspective of violence and peacebuilding in Figure 1 by drawing on three concepts: political reality, realistic empathy, and active nonviolence. Schwebel advances the argument that realistic empathy can mediate the relationship between political reality and active nonviolence in the pursuit of socially just ends. Schwebel begins by suggesting

that collectively, the articles in the present issue of *JSI* recognize political reality, namely, that those with power can equate their interests with national interests and thereby justify direct and structural violence to protect their interests. Realistic empathy, originally introduced by White (1984), can be viewed as a reciprocal process in which would-be combatants see each other through the eyes of the other. The use of realistic empathy can expose the powerful vested interests that fuel violence. In addition to using realistic empathy, the challenge for those who have few resources is to harness and direct the power of nonviolent social action toward the amelioration of structure-based inequalities. In short, peacebuilding can be conceptualized as a process that alters political reality toward socially just ends through the application of realistic empathy and nonviolent social activism.

Conclusion

In the post-Cold War period, peace psychologists have shifted away from a narrow focus on the prevention of nuclear war and have moved toward a more geohistorically nuanced, conceptually differentiated, and systemically integrated perspective on violence and peace. Violent episodes are conceptualized as manifestations of systemic factors, many of which are rooted in structure-based inequalities and destructive cultural narratives that are situated and operate in a particular geohistorical context. From such an analysis, it follows that the prevention and mitigation of violence and the promotion of a sustainable peace require systemic peacebuilding efforts that transform systems of violence into more equitable and cooperative interpersonal and social arrangements.

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