

Implications of the Convention on the Rights of the Child

For Children's Participation in Peace Processes

Through Visual Media Discourse

By

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to the required standard**





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




































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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes implications of United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child for children's participation in peace processes and presents theory, and examples of methods, for children's visual media creation, contemplation and dissemination as instruments of participation. A strategy to further develop children's participation in state peace processes, through a community-based approach, is recommended. Approaches of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child Committee, in guiding state implementation of pertinent child rights, and expert analyses of Committee actions in selected peace processes, are examined, with recommendations. The nature of children's participation rights, their enactment in current youth social justice and peace movements, and stumbling blocks to state implementation of these rights in peace processes are analysed. Lessons learned from children's visual discourse of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, expert knowledge respecting war-affected children, and insights from disciplines of psychosocial therapy, integrated education, conflict resolution and co-operative inquiry, also inform proposed approaches. Appendix One examines implications of recent findings in cognitive science for conflict resolution theory and the proposed visual culture approach to mediation. The exploratory nature of this research is acknowledged, and further studies are recommended.

Examiners:

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‘If we are to reach real peace in the world, and if we are to carry on a real war against war, then we shall have to begin with the children’

Mahatma Gandhi

‘No one is born a good citizen; no nation is born a democracy. Rather, both are processes that continue to evolve over a lifetime.

Young people must be included from birth.

A society that cuts itself off from its youth severs its lifeline; it is condemned to bleed to death.’

Kofi Anan

Secretary-General, United Nations

‘The last decade has seen increased attention to and awareness of children's rights throughout the international system,

and yet children are rarely represented during peace processes and are largely overlooked when post-conflict, peace-building agendas are hammered out.

The effect is to marginalize persistent problems like the rehabilitation and reintegration of child soldiers,

and to overlook valuable opportunities to address widespread systemic problems common to war-torn societies.’

Ilene Cohn

*Visiting Fellow, Human Rights Program
Harvard Law School*

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This document represents a significant outcome of my research respecting the use of visual culture as a tool for positive societal change. This work originated in a fellowship generously provided to me at the Centre for Studies in Religion and Society, University of Victoria, under the supervision of Director, Dr. Harold Coward.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. A Rights-based Approach to Children's Peace Process Participation

Children's rights of freedom of expression, assembly, access to media and participation, under the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), are intended to facilitate their proactive involvement in peace processes.¹ Children are frequently ignored in peace processes, although they often bear the largest burden in peace building, growing up to be primary actors in post-war society. Frustration of their rights and continued marginalization can lead to youth rebellion and 'deauthorization' of society. This has undermined some peace pacts and continued cycles of violence. Research suggests that children participating in peace processes using visual media methods will have an opportunity to: 1) seek optimal solutions through visual media and other means; 2) increase self-esteem; 3) develop methods of self-determination, 4) develop political skills and views; and 5) commence re-integration into the community.

This thesis recommends that state parties' facilitation of children's participation in peace processes, including funding and technical support form a commitment of cease-fire agreements or pacts to engage in peace processes. International community members are urged to provide technical supports to these states as called for by the CRC. Long- and short-term needs of war-affected children, and state and international resources to meet these needs, may be better identified, committed, implemented and evaluated through a framework of peace processes where children articulate their interests. Ethical management of children's participation is essential to ensure their health and safety and avoid adult 'manipulation.'

2. CRC Committee & State Actions Supporting Children' Participation

The international community has not offered states in peace processes sufficient supports to set up, or ensure, children's ethical, representative and safe participation in these processes.

¹ The three main caveats concerning the child's right to participation (compared to participatory rights in other UN instruments) are: 1) the participation right applies to a child who is 'capable of forming his or her own views;' 2) the right to 'express those views freely' extends to all matters affecting the child; and 3) the views of the child must be given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child. Within these caveats, children's participation rights under the CRC should have the same quality as other UN enunciations on human rights. Individual rights to participation also exist. Source: Hodgkin, Rachel and Peter Newell. 1998. *"UNICEF's Implementation Handbook for the Convention on the Rights of the Child."* New York, NY.: UNICEF.

Failure to implement children's participation by states is attributed to lack of resources, weak political will, adult reluctance to empower children, and little research or sharing of expertise. However, state leaders cannot continue to justify this omission. The CRC Committee has also lost opportunities to: 1) introduce longer term perspectives of children and youth, such as humanitarian, social justice, and democratic concerns, into peace processes; 2) ensure that the interests of war-affected children are understood and that their needs met through peace agreements and peace-building; and 3) provide children with the benefits of contributing to community well-being, developing important skills and abilities, and possibly breaking the cycle of conflict.

Unsuccessful attempts by the CRC Committee to influence peace processes, and their limited role in monitoring and guiding state implementation of the CRC in peace processes, are largely attributed to lack of resources. Peace process operational and jurisdictional issues to be addressed by the CRC Committee include: 1) a poor fit between CRC's requirement for periodic reporting of states and need for urgent communication between the CRC Committee and states during times of conflict; 2) problems of identifying or contacting authorities responsible for children, whether state or non-state parties, during conflict when authority of government may be in question, or non-state actors may be in control; 3) problems of ensuring children's safe involvement, fair representation, and ethical treatment in peace processes; 4) need for the design of new protocols for involvement of UN treaty bodies, such as the CRC Committee, and other responsible parties, to ensure children's rights in peace processes; and 5) need for greater coordination of UN treaty bodies, such as the CRC Committee, with those of mediators, UN peacekeeping representatives and other parties.

Recommendations to Implement Children's Participation in Peace Processes

While children increasingly engage in informal peace, social justice and democratic movements at the local, state and global levels, these do not appear to meet CRC requirements and do not involve formal peace processes. The CRC Committee should take a more proactive approach, with support of the UN Centre for Human Rights, the Voluntary Fund for Technical Cooperation in the Field of Human Rights, and other relevant bodies. The CRC Committee can show leadership by forming a coalition of like-minded state, international and NGO actors, regional security regimes, mediator and peacekeeping associations, and children's organizations to develop a strategy, sample tools and supports for

states to implement children's participation in peace processes. It is recommended that a role in co-ordinating and conducting research and providing advice to states be assigned to a coalition specializing in children's participation, such as the "Children as Partners" of the International Institute for Child Rights and Development of the University of Victoria.²

It is recommended that the CRC Committee, or a task force struck for this purpose, provide more guidance to states to overcome barriers, create a funding base, and develop theory, methods, best practices, and a code of ethics for community-based programs of children's participation in peace processes. The coalition should also monitor and report to the global community respecting CRC implementation in peace processes, via: 1) reports to the UN Security Council and leaders such as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, the Executive Director of UNICEF, and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, and the President of the ICRC; and 2) inclusion of measurable goals and targets in state or regional action plans of the World Fit for Children initiative stemming from the UN Special Session on Children.

The CRC Committee, other UN bodies with mandates to support children, and the international community need to: 1) target priority state peace processes and work with states to research, plan, implement, and evaluate methods for children's participation in these peace processes, and 2) ensure sufficient resources for this purpose. A UN Secretary-General's study and pilot project respecting participation of children in a peace process³ is a recommended starting point. Evaluation of the potential for psychosocial programs³ to be adapted as an interim vehicle for children's participation in peace processes is also recommended.

² "The purpose of the "Children As Partners" project is to provide governments and civil society organizations with critical information and resources to help them implement proven best practices to promote and manage meaningful and sustainable children's participation. It will eliminate bottlenecks in the implementation of CRC Article 12 by providing a wealth of information, material and expertise for use in the development of education, support materials (e.g., the General Comment for article 12), and implementation of meaningful participation. The coordinating organization for "Children as Partners" is the IICRD of the University of Victoria Centre for Global Studies. Other agencies involved or currently being contacted are: CIDA; Child Rights Information Network (CRIN), International and National NGOs, NGO Group for the Convention on the Rights of the Child, Save the Children Alliance, UNICEF, and UNESCO. Children's organizations, and professional associations, are also being invited to be partners in this project." Source: Centre for Global Studies, IICRD website. June 18, 2003. Available on the World Wide Web: http://web.uvic.ca/iicrd/proj_partners.html

³ The feasibility of, and methods for, ethical management of children's participation via visual media from psychosocial programs is part of this research.

This thesis recommends that the proposed coalition educate the public and encourage their support for: 1) children's participation in peace processes; 2) civil society discourse that welcomes children's peace process interests, expressed in visual media; and 3) civil society media guidelines that encourage inclusion of marginalized groups such as children and youth, and peace process discourse.

3. Children's Visual Media of the ICBL: Lessons for Peace Process Participation

Many lessons learned from children's visual media methods of the ICBL are applicable to children's participation in peace processes. Research indicates that children's visual media, and images of children affected by landmines, appear to positively influence the development of humanitarian norms as part of a state discourse on conflict matters.⁴ Positive implications for children's participation in peace processes stem from visual media as an apparent tool for discovering common interests and reframing military discourse as humanitarian. Humanitarian reframing appears to occur by introducing the following elements into society's visual discourse:

- 1) Visual discourse from marginalized groups such as children;
- 2) The refocusing of traditional, international military discourse about landmines towards a 'feminized' and humanitarian point of view, largely through visual media about, and by, child victims;
- 3) Innovative sources of images, such as art of child victims;
- 4) Rapid and broad dissemination of images through Internet, fax, news, and video communications and advertising;
- 5) Assertive employment of images and installations as reminders of shared goals and humanitarian concerns at meetings, conferences, and negotiations;
- 6) Visual media programs decentralized and managed independently at the local, state, regional and international level, with constant feedback and communication in order to co-ordinate between these groups; and
- 7) Globally disseminated images that foster a sense of belonging, and give momentum, to a global social movement to ban landmines.

⁴ In this study, ICBL visual media appears to provide an opportunity for a process I call 'hermeneutic reframing.' Stakeholders appear stimulated to question 'old' military or hegemonic discourse and reframe their understanding in humanitarian terms.

This research respecting children's visual media of the ICBL reinforces my theory about the implicit knowledge domain and its potential role in conflict resolution, using a visual culture approach. The ICBL study shows links between:

- 1) *Implicit Knowledge*: Creation, dissemination and contemplation of symbolic, humanitarian meta-messages from, or about, child victims of landmines, appears to result in increased social cohesion and parties' joint action to resolve issues;
- 2) *Perceptions and emotions*: Viewer empathetic reaction to child victim's visual portrayal of their story and their humanitarian interests, causes them to lobby for state humanitarian action;
- 3) *Changing Social Norms*: Rapidly evolving social norms toward a landmine ban and international treaty development, (exemplified by the treaty banning AP mines); and
- 4) *Visual / spatial activities to stimulate integrated-brain and other thought processes that access ethical knowledge and block aggressive reactions*: recent neuroscience of vision shows that contemplation of visual media leads integrated thought and other brain processes that, to varying degrees, access transcendent meaning, inform ethical perspectives and overcome anger and fear reactions.

Children's visual media of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) appears to reframe state and international military discourse as humanitarian. ICBL portrayals of landmines as maiming and killing innocent children, clash with preconceived images of landmines as state security tools that protect civilians. This apparently stimulates 'hermeneutic reframing' among viewers. Children's visual media of the ICBL also appear to generate a type of "CNN effect" that might also result from children's visual media in peace processes. Many citizens viewing children's ICBL posters demanded that their elected officials take action to create a landmine ban, assist injured children and prevent further victimization. State representatives responded to rapidly developing humanitarian norms about landmines, by negotiating a treaty in record time.

Many might welcome children's participation in peace processes if they were assured that this would stimulate similar public, stakeholder, and leader formulation of humanitarian norms and peace treaties. However, it is far too early to suggest any trends in children's interests that may occur in a large variety of peace processes and cultures, or the impact that children's participation may have on any peace processes. Considerable design, testing, implementation and evaluation of children's visual media methods in peace processes over a

period of years are necessary to draw any conclusions. Yet, the way in which children's ICBL media influenced state and international military discourse regarding landmines, indicates considerable potential for children to exert positive influences on peace processes. This opportunity has potential benefits for children and society, and is worth pursuing.

4. Children's Visual Media As A Peace Process Tool

Visual media offers children a chance to explore, reframe and communicate interests, experiences of war, identity and worldviews, as part of peace processes. My examples of four visual media exercises are based on adapted co-operative inquiry and participative action inquiry frameworks.⁵ These involve media production, dissemination, consumption and inquiry validation procedures, as are tools for understanding that: 1) The way in which the parties and cultures view the conflict, is, in part, 'constructed' by society's visual culture; 2) A closer examination of world-views likely shows fairly substantial areas of mutual interest such as children's social justice, or humanitarian concerns; 3) Mutual interests form the basis of joint construction of a "third overarching multi-culture" which respects original cultures of the parties; and 4) A jointly constructed 'third culture' may be a foundation for achieving super-ordinate goals, action plans and shared projects of mutual benefit to the parties.

Visual media exercises for war-affected children raise serious ethical, communication and practical concerns for state leaders. However, there are significant advantages for children in using visual media to communicate their concerns about armed conflict, such as ease of communication and reduced trauma. I present principles for design and implementation of visual media exercises to manage these concerns. The development of expert protocols for children's participation is also recommended. Areas for further research and development respecting children's participation in peace processes involve: 1) safe and appropriate timing, locations and methods for exercises; 2) means of fair and equitable representation; 3) ethical approaches that ensure children's protection, rights and freedoms; 4) sensitivity to age, gender, language, victimization and other attributes; 5) the need for psychosocial and other supports; and 6) trans-boundary issues.

⁵ Qualitative Media Analysis Techniques have been derived from sources such as: Altheide, David L. 1996. *Qualitative Media Analysis: Qualitative Research Methods Series 38*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications.

5. A Visual Culture Approach to Peace Processes

I have adapted a cultural transmission model to position children's peace processes visual media within society's larger visual culture discourse about peace and conflict. I recommend that each state examine its visual culture to assess any influences or taboos that may affect design of children's visual media exercises for peace processes. Peace process visual media exercises must be tailored to specific groups of child participants, journalistic cultures, and stages in peace and conflict processes. An area for future research involves the balance between children's rights and cultural practice in creation, dissemination, and contemplation of their visual media as part of peace processes.

My visual culture approach to peace processes is supported by theories from visual anthropology, and psychology, sociology, philosophy and the cognitive science of vision. These note the contribution of symbolic meta-messages in increasing social cohesion. However, these are elements of implicit knowledge that are largely omitted from traditional 'western,' analytical, dispute resolution, that focuses on explicit knowledge and problem-solving.⁶ The implicit knowledge domain involves perceptions, emotions, needs and values relating to identity, relationship, security, and interests, which are key to conflict resolution.

These three elements: the implicit knowledge domain, integrated brain processes and visual media, are linked as products, processes and tools used in the reframing of worldviews, a central function of successful conflict resolution. Strong functional links exist in the implicit knowledge domain between: 1) Visual culture activities, such as the creation of child victim's art about the conflict and the viewing of this art by larger society; 2) Visual/spatial thought processing to access transcendent meaning, ethical perspectives, and non-violent responses; and 3) Peace process visual media exercises involving art creation, dissemination and contemplation for discovery of: a) common interests, b) the parties' joint new norms, and c) a possible overarching

⁶ Many experts observe a gap in knowledge of techniques that may be used to transform contentious positions and values of parties to mutual interests and goals. This knowledge is essential to resolving conflict, as Galtung observes: "often those who wish to prevent war most desperately and sincerely lack the means to do so. A lack of means has two aspects: lack of ideas and lack of instruments." (Galtung, 1980). Galtung also asserts that, "during international crises. . . there is a general scarcity of good ideas." (Galtung, 1980). See *The True Worlds: A Trans-national Perspective*. New York, N.Y.: The Free Press. Pp. 359. A rapidly increasing number of disputes involve values and interests, particularly in intra-state conflict, where "it is impossible to establish that one side is entirely right and the other totally wrong . . . [these disputes] are more difficult to resolve." Fischer, Dietrich. 1993. *Non-military Aspects of Security: A Systems Approach*. United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research. Aldershot, England: Dartmouth Publishing Co. Ltd. The UNIDR describes our ease in solving disputes over facts or measurable resources: "it is relatively easy to settle the conflict by simply establishing the truth, through a scientific or legal enquiry." [ibid. Pp. 112]

‘third culture’ that embraces interests of all parties. These visual culture processes are pivotal to conflict resolution, especially for intractable conflicts about values. A compelling argument can therefore be made to further research and expand our repertoire of conflict resolution techniques to include visual culture exercises that are informed by the implicit knowledge domain.

As outlined in Appendix One, cognitive science can assist us in understanding and utilizing elements of implicit knowledge, and associated visual culture activities, as tools for conflict resolution. Best brain performance in the implicit knowledge domain appears to be facilitated by visual / spatial tasks. I propose that visual media tools be used in conflict resolution to: 1) Access ethical knowledge and practices of non-violence; 2) Explore and reframe interests to find areas of common interest, mutual benefit and possibly develop a joint ‘third culture’ with super-ordinate goals; 3) Create a new vision for improved society, based on a ‘constructed’ and integrated ‘theory of the present,’ rather than an extrapolation of the conflicted, divisive past; and 4) Communicate joint action plans and meta-messages to larger constituencies through peace process symbol systems embodying any shared ethical knowledge or joint interests developed by the parties.

Thesis research finds that children have a right to participate in state peace process decisions affecting them. In a manner similar to the ICBL, it is expected that children from all parties who participate in peace processes, may question the motives, operations and tools of war and open a space for humanitarian discourse. Experts in youth social movements, and the ICBL, identify humanitarian, democratic and social justice interests as primary concerns of most youth. These may arise through children’s participation in peace processes. Children’s peace process visual media may have the potential to reframe military and state security discourse of peace processes as humanitarian, in a manner similar to children’s media in the ICBL. However, great care must be taken in considering application of this very preliminary research. Children’s participation in peace processes has yet to occur, and program activity over a range of cultures and conflicts is needed to establish a baseline for evaluation. The theory and visual media methods presented here initiate a visual culture approach to peace process mediation. Substantial improvements and additions to theory and method are expected through further research, partnerships with children, and implementation of the CRC respecting children’s participation in peace processes.

Chapter One: BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

“Youth . . . are often marginalised from decision-making processes. . . they are expected to obey political and religious community leaders. . . they also have little say regarding the formulation and implementation of policies that are meant to protect their well-being at . . . wartime. Yet, they endure brutal. . . impacts and their long-term needs are left unmet.”¹

Peace processes have rarely included the participation of children, or their input.² Adult’s focus on military, political and economic issues in most peace processes, and frequent omission of youth as stakeholders, may deny children their rights and have negative impacts on conflict resolution. Issues important to young people, such as social justice, humanitarian, and inter-generational concerns, are often omitted. Lack of participation by children may limit options and solutions in a peace process and hamper implementation. Where conflicts are based on structural violence and avenging bloodshed involving youth, leaders omit youth participation in peace processes at their peril. In such cases, Stedman observes that successful peace agreements were achieved “but then very quickly we ran into the problem children of Angola, Cambodia and Rwanda. . . By a huge magnitude, more people died after the peace accords in Angola and Rwanda than during the civil wars that preceded them.”³

Social justice is a key concern of war-affected children who may experience violence and exploitation as victims or perpetrators. Ebrahimian describes youth drawn into retribution, as many have experienced,

“humiliation underlying structural violence [due to] divisions (between ‘masters’ and ‘underlings’) As . . . underlings rise to power, they turn to extreme acts and perpetuate extreme acts of humiliation. This is particularly true of hierarchical societies, such as Burundi, Rwanda . . . Sierra Leone. . . the Philippines, and Colombia . . . followers may be successfully instrumentalised with notions of avenging humiliation . . . In venting their feelings through actions, the majority are, in one way or another, killed, wounded or exploited. . . youth and adolescents, who experienced early aggression and a violent

¹ Ebrahimian, Laleh D. 2003. *Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention. Final Draft*. 41st session, UN Commission for Social Development in 2003. Available from the World Wide Web: www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/helsinki/ch14_conflict-ebrahimian.doc Pp.10.

² I use the Convention on The Rights of the Child definition of children as all human beings being below the age of 18.

³ Stephen Stedman, senior research scholar at Stanford's Center for International Security and Arms Control. Source: O'Toole, Kathleen. 2003. *Why Peace Agreements Often Fail to End Wars*. Stanford University. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://news-service.stanford.edu/news/november19/civilwar.html>

childhood, are at the highest risk of perpetrating violence. Unaccompanied children are both the victims and source of violence in Latin America and Africa.”⁴

Experts on war-affected children, and young people themselves, stress that youth need opportunities to strive for social justice and enjoy positive reinforcement from participation in planning and rebuilding civil society. Children's roles in community projects are known to help them to deal with war trauma and assist reintegration. Therefore, it is possible that children's participation in peace processes will signal an end to any instances of marginalization and humiliation, and greater assertion of their right to partner with the state in addressing their social justice and other concerns. In this thesis, I address these issues by analyzing implications of the United Nations [UN] Convention on the Rights of the Child [CRC] for children's participation in peace processes. The CRC Committee's review of state implementation of the CRC, and actions in peace and conflict processes of Bosnia and Herzegovina, are reviewed, with recommendations for improvement. Children's involvement in visual media programs of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines [ICBL] is studied for lessons learned for their participation in peace processes. I also analyse recent neuroscience relevant to conflict resolution, as a basis for new theory and method respecting children's participation in peace processes. I focus on children's involvement via visual media exercises, with examples and outlines of areas for further research.

Chapter One investigates the effect of armed conflicts on children and the need for their inclusion in peace processes. Influences on the role of youth in the cycle of conflict, such as victimization and marginalization, are contrasted with potential psychosocial benefits from children's involvement in peace processes. The role of youth involvement and authorization in successful peace processes and re-building of civil society is reviewed. While I recognize that issues of women's and children's participation in peace processes are intimately linked, I do not address the issue of gender, due to limits of the thesis.

I analyze the implications of the Convention on the Rights of the Child [CRC] for children's participation in peace processes in Chapter Two. The role of CRC Committee

⁴ Ebrahimian, Laleh D. 2003. *Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention. Final Draft*. 41st session, UN Commission for Social Development in 2003. Available from the World Wide Web: www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/helsinki/ch14_conflict-ebrahimian.doc Pp.10.

in the case of conflict and peace processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina is examined, and recommendations made. Considerations for states in implementing CRC requirements are outlined, as they pertain to children's participation in peace processes. I identify methods of addressing issues through children's participation. Children's current involvement in peace, democracy and justice issues at state and global level is reviewed as a precursor to formal peace process participation.

In Chapter Three, I consider the instrumentality of visual media as a tool for children's participation and expression, under CRC Articles 12 and 13. I examine the potential for visual media to meet CRC requirements regarding: 1) children's right to expression through non-verbal communication; and 2) their freedom to seek, receive and impart information of all kinds, through any other media of their choice. The societal, mediation and psychological benefits of inter-generational learning through visual media, and their application in peace processes are discussed. Children's visual media creation and dissemination in the International Campaign to Ban Landmines [ICBL] is analyzed for implications for their peace processes participation using visual media.

The thesis case study, analysing visual media of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines [ICBL], is presented in Chapter Three. Significant for children's participation in peace processes are lessons learned about representation of interests, visual contestation of meaning, and the humanitarian reframing of military discourse through children's art. Visual elements of the ICBL are analysed for their apparent role in mobilizing public opinion and human rights groups, stimulating government and international policy action and changing costs, benefits and norms associated with landmines. Based on indications from children's visual media participation in the International Campaign to Ban Landmines [ICBL], children's omission from peace processes is likely to result in loss of humanitarian discourse and an inter-generational perspective.

Implications of recent scientific findings are analysed respecting conflict resolution theory and practice and a social-psychological approach to peace processes is presented in Chapter Four. I examine ethical, planning and operational considerations for the use of visual media by children as a tool of peace processes. I portray the position of peace process visual media within society's processes of cultural transmission and appropriation. Models of children's participation are reviewed for their fit with requirements of the CRC.

Recommendations are made regarding a range of approaches for children's engagement in peace processes. Co-operative inquiry and participative action research methods are reviewed as frameworks for children's visual media exercises. I present several of my examples of children's visual media exercises in peace process mediation using both research methods. Some involve dissemination of children's art works to facilitate peace process discourse and broader "visual hermeneutic cognitive reframing" through society's processes of cultural transmission and assimilation.

In Chapter Five, I summarize findings, implications and areas of future research for children's use of visual media creation, contemplation and dissemination as a means of participation in peace processes. I base my conclusions on: 1) a review of the CRC and related treaty bodies actions respecting children's rights in peace processes; 2) the study of instrumentality of children's visual media in the ICBL; and 3) development of theory and sample methods for visual media as a mediation tool in peace processes based on recent cognitive and social science. I make recommendations for future strategies, action and research to ensure children's participation in peace processes and related development of theory, method and practice. Roles and actions are recommended for the Committee on the Convention of the Rights of the Child [CRC Committee] to provide leadership in facilitating participation of children in peace processes among state, international and regional actors. Stumbling blocks to children's participation in peace processes are anticipated, and measures to overcome them are suggested. Concluding remarks outline the substantial challenge in ensuring children's involvement in peace processes, and the considerable benefits that may be gained through success in this area.

In Appendix One, I examine the social-psychological dimensions of conflict and initiate theory governing use of visual media production and consumption as a mediation tool. The role of visual media in processes for positive change from social sciences, mediation, business, the military, social justice movement, the media and international relations is studied for applicability to conflict resolution. Visual media is portrayed as having not only an expressive role, but also an instrumental role in positive societal change.⁵ This chapter is exploratory, as the science available to explain this

⁵ Details are found in Appendix One, "Implications of Recent Findings in the Cognitive Science of Vision For Conflict Resolution Theory And A Visual Culture Approach to Mediation."

instrumentality is leading edge. Technology such as fMRI, document, in data and pictures, brain structures and processes responsible for visual, conceptual, integrated-brain thinking and knowledge processing that occurs during visual contemplation of an image. Differences in brain processes that occur as perceptual tasks change can also be documented. This provides a scientific basis for beginning to explore the development of theory and knowledge relating the use of visual media as an instrument of conceptual development or reframing in mediation. For example, one might engage in creation and contemplation of visual media as a means of exploring or reframing of concepts of identity about a conflict. In light of recent neuroscience, I review traditional, Western conflict resolution theory based on earlier cognitive science, noting knowledge gaps and potential for creation of new theory and methods.

1.2 War-Affected Children: The Challenge

*"One avoids battles, picks on unarmed civilians, and makes money, and calls this 'war.' "*⁶

20th century warfare has killed, maimed and exploited millions of children. More than 2 million children died in the 1990's, where they were "often deliberately targeted and murdered"⁷ in armed conflicts. Such conflict, in particular ethno-political intra-state war, is expected to remain a leading cause of violence against children in the coming decades.⁸ State, UN, NGO and other bodies are identifying concerns of war-affected children. Many children are suffering in worsening, long-term armed conflicts, as primary targets. Civilian war casualties increased from 5% in World War I to in excess of 80%.⁹ About 111, mainly internal, armed conflicts continue in the final decade of 2000, with these impacts on children: 1) 2 million killed; 2) 6 million disabled, primarily by mutilation and landmine explosions; 3) 10 million psychologically traumatized; 4) 12 million left homeless; 5) more than 1 million orphaned or separated from their parents; 6) 300,000 estimated to be child

⁶ Keen, David. 1998. *Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars*. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi Paper No.320 P. 26.

⁷ Buckoke, 1991. *Fishing in Africa: A Guide to War and Corruption*.

⁸ Machel, Graca. 2001. *The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*. UNICEF, 1996. Available from World Wide Web: http://www.unicef.org/graca/a51-306_en.pdf

⁹ UN Commission for Social Development, 2003, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. 2003. "Report on the global situation of youth: Final Draft." In: *Papers of The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki. October 6 – 10, 2002*. Available on the World Wide Web: www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/helsinki

soldiers;¹⁰ 7) a large number suffer drug abuse;¹¹ and 8) about 50 million civilian refugees and internally displaced persons who are denied many basic needs, according to UNHCR. Conflict resolution has been limited and many conflicts remain intractable as new sources of conflict replace those resolved. More than 80% of victims are women and children. Their main concerns are survival, food and security, and avoiding problems such as sexual exploitation and disease made worse by war.

Implementation related to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child [CRC] presents a huge challenge where areas without precedent, such as participation in peace processes, receive little attention. Historically, civilians had little part in war operations or peace negotiations, conducted on or beside designated battlefields. Today, children are often military targets in lengthy, guerrilla-style, intra-state wars with drawn-out peace processes, forced to take on adult, or illegal, roles such as soldier, drug dealer, head of a household of younger siblings or sex trade worker. Youth, in particular, may have detailed, on-the-ground knowledge of war and what is needed to survive and build a new society. Many also need psychosocial and other supports to overcome war trauma. Children and youth often bear the largest burden in peace building, and mature to be primary actors in post-war society. This adds urgency to CRC implementation of children's participation in state peace process decision-making that affects them.

Some experts wish to involve youth as participants,¹² and add indigenous methods and social, ethical knowledge¹³ to Western mediation approaches. In frequent intractable conflicts, the current Western mediation focus on rational solving of measurable resource and equity problems often leads to continual discovery of new, unresolved issues.¹⁴ Mediation in peace processes may increase success rates by including: 1) key youth

¹⁰ Machel, Graca. *The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*. [online] UNICEF, 1996. Available from World Wide Web: http://www.unicef.org/graca/a51-306_en.pdf See also Shah, Anup. *Children, Conflict and the Military*. June 13, 2001. Available from the World Wide Web: <http://www.globalissues.org/Geopolitics/Children.asp>.

¹¹ UNICEF, 2002. *Adolescence: A Time that Matters*. New York: United Nations Press. P. 36.

¹² Ebrahimian, Laleh D. 2003. "Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention. Final Draft." In: *Papers of The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki. October 6 – 10, 2002*. 41st session, UN Commission for Social Development; United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. 2003. Available from the World Wide Web: www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/helsinki/ch14_conflict-ebrahimian.doc Pp. 29

¹³ Lederach, John Paul. *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*. New York: Syracuse University Press. Pp. 14, 15.

¹⁴ Fisher, Roger and William Ury. 1991. *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In*. New York: Penguin Books. P. 40.

stakeholders who are primary builders of a future society; 2) holistic approaches that increase common ground; and 3) empathetic appeals to ethics and needs of all future generations. The need for children's involvement in peace processes is described below.

1.2.1 The Need for Children's Inclusion in Peace Processes

*"The peace vote was overwhelmingly successful. A main campaign image showed a little hand pulling a big hand to the ballot box. The Children's Movement for Peace . . . peace vote has spawned . . . further actions for peace. Columbia's two-main guerrilla groups, the FARC and ELN, have begun peace conferences with the government."*¹⁵

Children's right to participation in state peace processes decisions that affect them, is recognized by the CRC and is also good mediation. Understanding of children's needs and interests may assist the parties' discovery of overlapping interests and joint goals. Best practice in mediation incorporates *all* key stakeholders. To be consistent with the CRC, peace processes should include children where state decision-making affecting them is part of the process. This approach ensures that all interests are on the table and maximizes opportunities to find common ground among the parties. Inclusion of children may also introduce the perspective of the victim,¹⁶ and humanitarian concerns common to all parties. These children often have minimal skills and resources to mitigate the stresses of conflict and frequently experience lost or reduced care-giving. State and international actors in peace processes should urgently consider ways to meet the needs of children, based on accurate and direct input from child stakeholders. Children's participation in peace processes may also have a healing and confidence-building effect on both children and society, as described by Bragan, and Braungart and Braungart, later in this chapter.

In her report, "*The Impact of War on Children*," Graca Machel calls for strengthening of human rights monitoring, reporting and initiatives of peace operations, particularly as they relate to child protection. Machel recommends increased and more equitable distribution of resources to women and children affected by war, and 'child-focused' policy, planning and program creation. However, her recommendations for peace processes do not address children's input or participation. Rather, Machel calls for a study

¹⁵ Nuclear Age Peace Foundation. 2003. *The Children's Movement for Peace*. Available from the World Wide Web: <http://www.wagingpeace.org/articles/guidebooks/smallarms/youthleadershipprint.html>.

¹⁶ Girard, Rene. 1977. *Violence and the Sacred*. John Hopkins University Press. Pp. 112. See also: Girard, Rene. 1987. *Things Hidden Since the Foundation of the World*. John Hopkins University Press.

that focuses on the role of *women* in peace-building and *gender* dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution. States need to be reminded of their obligation to ensure the CRC participatory rights of children in state peace processes as decision-making that profoundly affects them. Such decisions may involve mobilizing care and protection for war-affected children, re-integration of child refugees and child soldiers, and re-building of state education and juvenile justice systems. Machel does recognize the importance of the participatory principle in particular programs: "a key principle of psychosocial programs is that children should be actively engaged in the planning of all community-based relief, recovery and reconstruction activities."¹⁷ I am not prescribing a much greater leap in recommending inclusion of children in similar community programs, as part of state peace processes.¹⁸

Implementation of children's participatory rights in peace processes may be the first opportunity for them to be heard in the aftermath of oppressive regimes. In cultures where children's participation is impeded by social and political taboos,¹⁹ they may be severely punished for voicing opinions. Laleh D. Ebrahimian observes, "youth and women are often marginalized from decision-making processes. At national and local levels, they are expected to obey political and religious community leaders. At the international level, they also have little say regarding the formulation and implementation of policies that are meant

¹⁷ Machel, Graca. 1996. *The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*. UNICEF. Available from World Wide Web: http://www.unicef.org/graca/a51-306_en.pdf Pp 90. Machel refers to an "Interregional Programming Workshop on Psychosocial Care and Protection," in *UNICEF Interregional Training Workshop*, conducted in Nyeri, Kenya. 1 – 5 September, 1998. Machel recommends that reports about war-affected children be placed by the High Commissioner for Human Rights, in addition to regular Security Council reports by the High Commissioner for Refugees, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, the Executive Director of UNICEF, and the President of the ICRC.

¹⁸ This thesis, and its proposal to involve children in peace processes, is constrained in several ways. My personal perspective is limited as a researcher lacking international experience with war-affected children; and as a person educated and steeped in Western, 'Canadian' culture. Substantial stumbling blocks to children's participation in peace processes also exist, such as lack of political, safety and logistical problems of involving children in state processes during war, adult reluctance to empower children and youth, and need for considerable research and development regarding ethical and culturally appropriate methods. Yet the potential for modest, positive outcomes also exists. These might include initiation of a couple of successful pilot projects for children's participation in peace processes. Any modest increase in children's participation in state peace process decisions affecting them, has potential to yield benefits such as: 1) an increased sense of well-being for children; 2) greater youth authorization of peace and civil society processes; and 3) targeting and delivery of resources to children and youth. Therefore, this thesis attempts to conduct background research, proposes theoretical and practical approaches, and initiates discourse and action to address children's involvement in peace processes.

¹⁹ The degree of latitude given children to speak out about conflict or violence varies greatly from culture to culture. See Martha Bragan's article "Evaluating Psychosocial Programs for Children Affected by Armed Conflict: A Community-Based Approach," in *Mind and Human Interaction* Volume 12: 2001, published by the Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press

to protect their well-being at peacetime and at wartime.”²⁰ Yet, when given a voice, children have overwhelmed military and security discourse blocking disarmament negotiations, by insisting that humanitarian, environmental and inter-generational concerns also are considered. This is apparent in my study of children's visual media in the International Campaign to Ban Landmines [ICBL].

Mediation attempts to find overlapping areas of interest where the parties can undertake joint projects.²¹ Sherif and Sherif found that achieving 'super-ordinate' goals overcomes inter-group conflicts and can lead to greater trust and an ability to address more contentious issues.²² Strongly opposing parties can improve relations through joint projects that meet the needs of children. For example, pro-choice and pro-abortion groups have proposed initiatives in support of teens, and engaged in joint dialogues.²³ In the ICBL, children's art about war concerns appear to bring together diverse state publics and their leaders, with formerly divisive military and security interests, under a common umbrella of humanitarian interests related to children.²⁴ The result was a remarkably rapid formulation, and broad adoption, of an international ban on landmines.²⁵ By ignoring the

²⁰ Ebrahimian, Laleh D. 2003. "Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention. Final Draft." In: *Papers of The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki. October 6 – 10, 2002.* 41st session, UN Commission for Social Development; United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. 2003. Available from the World Wide Web: www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/helsinki/ch14_conflict-ebrahimian.doc Pp.10

²¹ Fisher, Roger and William Ury. 1991. *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In.* New York: Penguin Books, 40.

²² Sherif, Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif. 1969. *Social Psychology.* New York: Harper and Row.

²³ Maloney, Maureen, Q.C. 2001. "Dispute Resolution and International Human Rights." Unpublished Dispute Resolution 507 Lecture Paper. Institute of Dispute Resolution, University of Victoria: Victoria, B.C. For example of joint dialogue, see: Richard Chasin, Margaret Herzig, Sallyann Roth, Laura Chasin, Carol Becker, Robert R. Stains Jr. "From Diatribe to Dialogue on Divisive Public Issues: Approaches Drawn from Family Therapy." In *Mediation Quarterly* vol. 13, 4, Pp. 323-344. New York: Jossey-Bass, 1996. Also available on the World Wide Web: http://www.publicconversations.org/pcp/resources/resource_detail.asp?ref_id=61. For an example of areas to work together see: Lenny Karpman, MD. Editorial, San Francisco Medical Society: *Teenage Sexual Choices & Consequences*. Quote: " areas where we might find common ground and actually consider working together. . . Principles and/or goals we may be able to agree upon for the betterment of all people." Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.sfms.org/sfm/sfm503o.htm>.

²⁴ Children's communication through the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) visual media is detailed in Chapter Three of this thesis. Full details of the ICBL are provided in: Cameron, Maxwell A, Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. 1999. *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines* Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

²⁵ 1997 Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction. Under Article 15, the treaty was open for signature from 3 December 1997 until its entry into force, which was 1 March 1999. The treaty has entered into force. Therefore, states may no longer sign it, but may become bound without signature through accession. According to Article 16 (2), the treaty is open for accession by any State that

voices of children in peace processes, state parties omit key areas of common interest that could lead to super-ordinate goal achievement.

Article 39 of the CRC calls on states to take "all appropriate measures to promote physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of a child victim of ... armed conflict." Society's post-war problems respecting children are often massive in scope and depth, including reintegration of displaced and refugee children, juvenile justice issues, demobilization of child soldiers, mine awareness and clearance, and removal of war's economic incentive, through training, economic development, and job placement as appropriate to support youth.²⁶ Children's involvement in peace processes may significantly improve the attempts of state and international actors to address short-term problems. Children's participation may also benefit both war-affected children and post-war society. Benefits may accrue in areas of finance, physical and mental health, medicine, civil society, justice, safety and peace building. Participation of children in peace processes may also motivate the parties and international community to more fully address children's long-term needs: to increase funding, efficiency and effectiveness of continuing support programs and to ensure ongoing implementation of the CRC.

The first step is to make sure that a firm commitment of cease-fire agreements, or pacts to engage peace processes is that state parties' fund, give technical support to, and facilitate children's participation in state decision-making during peace processes and peace-building.²⁷ The CRC requires international actors to support states in need during their implementation of the CRC measures,²⁸ such as children's participation detailed in Article 12.²⁹ These required supports could be a firm commitment of third parties, international

has not signed. As of 13 May 2003, there were 147 signatories/accessions and 134 ratifications, accessions or approvals. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.icbl.org>.

²⁶ Ilene Cohn, 1999. *Post-Conflict Programming Feelings Fatigue?* Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.un.org/Pubs/chronicle/1999/issue2/0299p36.htm>

²⁷ Ilene Cohn. 1999. *Post-Conflict Programming Feelings Fatigue?* Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.un.org/Pubs/chronicle/1999/issue2/0299p36.htm> Human Rights at Harvard University also calls for state support of programs to meet children's needs to be a firm commitment in cease-fire or peace agreements.

²⁸ Where state resources are insufficient for this task, states are to work within the framework of international cooperation in implementing the CRC. See "State Implementation of Child Participation in Peace Processes & International Supports" in Chapter Two of this thesis.

²⁹ "The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child reflects children's right to participation. Article 12, in particular. . . reveals participation as one of the guiding principles of the Convention, as well as one of its basic challenges. The principle affirms that children are full-fledged persons who have the right to express their views in all matters affecting them and requires that those views be heard and given due weight in accordance with the child's age and maturity. It

actors or peacekeepers involved in a state's peace process. I recommend that long- and short-term needs of war-affected children, and the state and international resources to meet these needs, may be better identified, committed, implemented and evaluated by the international and state parties through the continuing framework of peace processes and peace-building operations.

1.2.2 Lack of Funding & Knowledge About Needs of War-Affected Children

The specific needs of war-affected children, the type of programs required and program effectiveness in meeting children's needs are not well known:

“Organizations lack sufficient information about what works and why, in terms of post-conflict programming on quality-of-life issues for children. . . programme-implementing institutions do not solicit funding for substantive evaluations or impact assessments over the long term. Transition aid is traditionally linked to emergency aid . . . it is unclear whether, or to what extent, the international community's inability to learn lessons from past experiences derives from a lack of adequate methodologies for doing so, insufficient resources, competing priorities, or simple lack of deliberation & determination on the matter.”³⁰

A society in war, or post-war rebuilding, may lack resources and information for design and implementation of essential programs for children. International funding for post-war transition is most often tied to short-term emergency aid, where “ funds are limited, priorities. . . constantly shift and the next crisis. . . is always looming. The ‘programme horizon’ in periods of transition to peace is typically six months to two years.”³¹ Another stumbling block is rigid guidelines for funding which do not accommodate programs for war-affected children. Inconsistency results in huge disparities in aid, both geographically and among dominant and marginalized groups. Humanitarian relief in 1998 and 1999 provide one example, averaging of \$20 per child in Sierra Leone, \$216 per child in

recognizes the potential of children to enrich decision-making processes, to share perspectives and to participate as citizens and actors of change. The Convention sees a changed relationship between adults and children. Parents, teachers, caregivers and others interacting with children are seen no longer as mere providers, protectors advocates as negotiators and facilitators as well. Adults are therefore expected to create spaces and promote processes designed to enable and empower children to express views, to be consulted and to influence decisions.” Source: UNICEF. June 21, 2003. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.unicef.org/crc/crc.htm>

³⁰ Ilene Cohn, 1999. *Post-Conflict Programming Feelings Fatigue?* Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.un.org/Pubs/chronicle/1999/issue2/0299p36.htm>

³¹ Ilene Cohn, 1999. *Post-Conflict Programming Feelings Fatigue?* Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.un.org/Pubs/chronicle/1999/issue2/0299p36.htm>

Kosovo,³² \$11 per person in Ethiopia, \$61 per person in Mozambique, and \$238 per person in Bosnia and Herzegovina.³³

Efficient and effective delivery of long-term resources for children is possible, where current needs and a sense of urgency are highlighted by their participation in peace processes. Specific requirements of war-affected children, types of aid and programs, their estimated cost and preferred delivery methods, and stumbling blocks to delivery may be addressed in peace processes. Information about disparities among children from marginalized ethnic, age or gender groups can be used to address inequities in peace processes and other programs.

1.3. Understanding the Experiences of War-Affected Children

The way in which children's war experiences affect their psychosocial needs is reviewed in this section to: 1) understand some dynamics of children's feelings and communications about war; and 2) consider whether visual media exercises are appropriate for children's participation in peace processes. Children's experiences during armed conflict are complex and often traumatic. They include vulnerability to violence, or participation in it as victim or perpetrator. For children in Mostar, former Yugoslavia, a survey found that, during the war, 85% had been forced to leave their town; 57% had one or both parents wounded; 19% had been injured; 62% had seen dead bodies; 95% had been in a situation where they thought they might be killed; 75% had their homes attacked or shelled; and 67% had been shot at by snipers.³⁴ This survey also found that 53% of the children believed "life is not worth living," 71% had terrifying dreams, and 77% had stomachaches, thought to be psychosomatic illness. Similarly, a 'Mental Health Survey of Children in the Intifada' in Gaza found: 92.5% were exposed to tear gas; 42% were beaten;

³² Machel, Graca. 2001. *The Impact of War on Children*. Vancouver, B.C. University of British Columbia Press. Pp. 7. Graca describes minority and indigenous children as 'among the most vulnerable among displaced populations.' See also Pp. 34.

³³ Ilene Cohn, 1999. *Post-Conflict Programming Feelings Fatigue?* Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.un.org/Pubs/chronicle/1999/issue2/0299p36.htm>

³³ Machel, Graca. 2001. *The Impact of War on Children*. Vancouver, B.C. University of British Columbia Press. Pp. 181.

³⁴ UNICEF Office of the Special Representative to the Republics of the former Yugoslavia. 1998. *Mostar Psycho- Social Survey of Children*. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://w.w.w.unicef.org/reseval/evaldb/psychosocial%20projects%201992-98.doc>.

4.5% had bones broken; 55% witnessed beatings; 85% were exposed to night raids; and 19% were held for short periods.³⁵

Psychosocial experts report that children's adaptations to war may result in emotional trauma, arrested development, physical injury, and adoption of a social model of 'fear, violence, and hatred.'³⁶ Machel views altered behaviour of war-affected children as serious enough to interrupt crucial stages of childhood development, and, to possibly cause failure to develop the 'resiliency necessary to surmount hardships.'³⁷ A UNICEF guide to provision of services to children in war by Ressler, Tortorici, and Marcelino describes similar impacts.³⁸ Byrne also documents psychological problems developed by children trying to cope with challenges of death and destruction presented by ongoing political violence.³⁹ Dr. Martha Bragin, a consultant in programming for war-affected children, also details psychosocial problems they encounter. Trauma may result from a range of conflict-induced factors, including: 1) poverty; 2) long breaks from schooling and socialization; 3) witnessing, being victims of, or perpetrating, violent acts; and 4) disruption of family and community life, such as loss of caregivers or forced recruitment into fighting units. Parents described the following effects of armed conflict on their children, to Bragin: "not speaking, poor sleep, nightmares, night terrors, bed-wetting, 'flash-backs,' eating disturbances, repetitive aggressive play. . . not participat[ing] in the activities expected at their age level. . . violat[ing] rules of the community, not pay[ing] attention to elders. . . drinking and gambling. . . cannot pay attention and cannot learn or remember what they are taught. . . lose all interest in their expected future activities such as getting married or getting started in a family farming or trading business."⁴⁰

³⁵ Gaza Community Mental Health Programme. 1996. "Gaza Community Mental Health Programme Survey of Children Who Participated in the Intifada." In *Palestinian children and violence* by El-Sarraj Eyad. Paper presented at the Conference on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children. Belfast, 2-5 February, 1996. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.gcmhp.net/eyad/belfast.htm>.

³⁶ Goleman, D. 1986. "Terror's children: Mending mental wounds." In *New York Times*. September 2, 1986. Pp. 15.

³⁷ Machel, G. 1996. *Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*. New York: UNICEF / UNDP.

³⁸ Ressler, E., J Tortorici and A. Marcelino. 1993. *Children in War: A Guide to the Provision of Services*. New York: UNICEF.

³⁹ Byrne, Sean. 1997. "Belfast Schoolchildren's Images of Political Conflict and Social Change: Signs of Hope in Integrated Education." In *Mind and Human Interaction*. Vol. 8, No. 3, Fall 1997. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press. Pp. 174.

⁴⁰ Bragin, Martha. 2001. "Evaluating Psychosocial Programs for Children Affected by Armed Conflict: A Community-Based Approach." In *Mind and Human Interaction* Volume 12: 2001. Pp. 291. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

James Garbarino observes that "fanatical" ideology, while facilitating short-term coping among adults and children, can have negative long-term implications. Such ideology, developed through communal conflict, may extend conflict and block psychological processing of the conflict experience, resulting in long-term community weakness. Opportunities for children to explore new meanings and reframe fanatical concepts, via peace processes, may assist in mitigating this problem. Adult support is key to children's coping with the developmental challenges that result from growing up during war, concludes Garbarino in his study of children in five war zones. Garbarino documents "the impact of chronic stress and danger on the child's world view, the child's social map, and the child's moral development."⁴¹ Adult-led 'processing' of the young child's experience is highly significant to the child's psychosocial coping ability and development of morals, Garbarino finds. I suggest that one means of 'processing' such experience may be visual media exercises, guided by trusted adults, in the context of peace process participation.

Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD),⁴² is experienced by many war-affected children. The recalling of conflict-related experiences can be very traumatic for children. Bragan asserts, "it is important that the emotional status of children never be compromised in the name of monitoring, evaluation, or accurate research."⁴³ An ethical approach must be developed for children's participation in peace processes, and the use of visual media exercises in this context. The next section reviews psychosocial programs for war-affected

⁴¹ Garbarino, James, Kathleen Kostelny, and Nancy Dubrow. 1998. *No Place to Be a Child: Growing Up in a War Zone*. California: Jossey Bass.

⁴² Mitnick, Deborah G. 2003. Unpublished notes on PTSD. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.traumatir.com/services/moore_problem.htm PTSD is a category of diagnosis in the American Psychiatric Association's (1980) *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 3rd edition. Diagnostic criteria for posttraumatic stress disorder include: (a) existence of a recognizable stressor that would evoke significant symptoms of distress in almost everyone; (b) re-experiencing the trauma as evidenced by at least one of the following: recurrent and intrusive recollections of the event, re-current dreams of the event, and sudden acting or feeling as if the traumatic event were reoccurring, because of association with an environmental or ideational stimulus; (c) numbing of responsiveness to or reduced involvement with the external world, beginning some time after the trauma, as shown by at least one of the following: markedly diminished interest in one or more significant activities, feeling of detachment or estrangement from others, and constricted affect; and (d) at least two of the following symptoms that were not present before the trauma: hyper-alertness or exaggerated startle response, sleep disturbance, guilt about surviving when others have not, or about behaviour required for survival, memory impairment or trouble concentrating, avoidance of activities that arouse recollection of the traumatic event, and intensification of symptoms by exposure to events that symbolize or resemble the traumatic event.

⁴³ Bragan, Martha. 2001. "Evaluating Psychosocial Programs for Children Affected by Armed Conflict: A Community-Based Approach." In *Mind and Human Interaction* Volume 12: 2001. P. 297. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

children, and potential psychosocial benefits to children who assist in design and delivery of community-based peace processes.⁴⁴

1.4. Psychosocial & Other Benefits to Children Participating in Peace Processes

Benefits to children from peace process participation include increasing social competence and responsibility, capacity building, empowerment, political determination, and contribution to community well being.⁴⁵ Such participation may benefit children and communities by improving understanding of conflict social dynamics, providing a positive role identity for youth, and creating a constructive relationship between children and society. Alan and Susan Raymond observe that, "After the signing of the Oslo Peace Treaty . . . psychologically, the level of Palesinian children's neuroticism was significantly lower . . . and their self-esteem was raised."⁴⁶ Byrne observes that, by understanding children, we gain greater insight into structural mechanisms underlying ethno-regional conflict. Lederach also asserts that knowledge of the daily reality of war-affected children leads to increased understanding of ethno-regional and international conflicts,⁴⁷ necessary for greater cooperation and co-existence. Yet analysing effects of social change over time is challenging for developmental social scientists,⁴⁸ which may explain limited information about affects of war on children's growth. Richard and Margaret Braungart view the development of identity and 'self in relation to society' as primary tasks of youth.

⁴⁴ Chase, Rob. 2003. *Healing and Reconciliation for War-affected Children and Communities: Learning from the Butterfly Garden of Sri Lanka's Eastern Province*. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.waraffectedchildren.gc.ca/sri_lanka-en.asp. Author's statement: "The Child-Driven Logic of the Butterfly Garden: Everything in the Garden is shaped for and by children -- the physical layout; the play structures; the program; the food; the art work. As one animator put it, " children are the Alpha and the Omega of the Butterfly Garden." The result is a sense of ownership, comfort, and security, an oasis from the war-littered space beyond the walls of the Garden. The structure and process are derived from the children, not dictated by adults 'outside' or by what adults think children need or want. It is within this physical and psychic space that the opportunity for healing arises, allowing the child to leave the narrow - and often constricting and violent - world of adults and enter into the "sacred space" of play. It is through play that children are able to touch their own originality and to see the originality of those around them."

⁴⁵ ECPAT International, International Young People's Action Against Sexual Exploitation of Children, AusAid and UNICEF. 1999. *A Study of the Concepts and Practices of Young People's Right to Participation*. Philippines: The Children and Youth Foundation of the Philippines.

⁴⁶ Raymond, Alan and Susan Raymond. 2000. *Children in War*. New York, N.Y.: TV Books. Pp. 56.

⁴⁷ Lederach, J. P. 1995. *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformations Across Cultures*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press. Pp. 14, 15.

⁴⁸ Schulenberg, John, Patrick M. O'Malley, Jerald G. Bachman, and Lloyd. D. Johnson. 1998. *Life Paths into Young Adulthood: and the course of substance use and well-being: inter- and intra- cohort comparisons*. Paper 43 of Monitoring the Future Project. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://monitoringthefuture.org/pubs/occpapers/occ43.pdf>. Monitoring the Future is an ongoing study of the behaviors, attitudes, and values of American secondary school students, college students, and young adults. Each year, a total of some 50,000 students are surveyed.

These tasks become more important in the later childhood, as sophisticated brain development heightens psychological and social awareness.⁴⁹ Together with Elder, Modell and Park,⁵⁰ and Mannheim,⁵¹ Braungart and Braungart stress that the character of society during a youth's growing years has great influence on the relationship between self and society and the nature of youth cohorts. Elder developed the following principles for understanding long-term social effects of major events such as economic depression, or war, on children: "1) The principle of historical time and place...The life course of individuals is embedded in and shaped by the historical times and events they experience over their lifetime; 2) The principle of timing in lives...The developmental impact of a succession of life transitions or events is contingent on when they occur in a person's life; 3) The principle of linked lives...Lives are lived interdependently, and social-historical influences are expressed through this network of shared relationships; 4) The principle of human agency...Individuals construct their own life course through the choices and actions they take within the opportunities and constraints of history and social circumstances."⁵² These may assist experts in assessing long-term developmental challenges that conflict places on children and methods to empower children to voice their interests and opinions in peace processes, as part of their recovery.

Significant negative impacts are forecast for children and society embroiled in armed conflict. Byrne states that children in Northern Ireland have worldviews imbued by the intractability of the conflict and " a wide-spread sense of social futility [that] permeates

⁴⁹ Braungart, Richard and Margaret Braungart. 1997. "Why Youth in Youth Movements?" In *Mind and Human Interaction*. Volume 8, No. 3 Fall 1997. Pp. 156. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

⁵⁰ Elder, G.H. Jr., J. Modell, and R.D Parke. Eds. 1993. *Children in Time and Place*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

⁵¹ Mannheim, K. 1952. *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge Press.

⁵² Elder, Glen H., Jr. 1974. *Children of the Great Depression: Social Change in Life Experience*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. (Note: In 1999, reissued as 25th Anniversary Edition, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.) Elder's book, *Children of the Great Depression*, was based on an Oakland cohort where he used historical, social, and psychological approaches to analyse long-term implications of the depression on 167 people born in 1920-1921. Later studies compare Oakland with a younger birth cohort from the 'Berkeley Guidance Study.' A great many of the Oakland children overcame childhood disadvantages and had a full life to elderly years, possibly due to a relatively secure phase of early development in the 1920s. In contrast, children of the Berkeley study, born at the end of the 1920s, had 'extraordinary stress and instability in the Depression, during their most vulnerable years of childhood. Their teenage years occurred during "empty households of World War II" when parents worked from sunup to sundown in essential industry.

children's attitudes towards daily life."⁵³ Remarkable changes in children's attitudes, through programs such as integrated education, are required according to Byrne and Whyte. Otherwise, structural, 'deep divisions' may remain and be perpetrated.⁵⁴ Byrne fears ongoing social isolation in Northern Ireland, with "ideology of each community [being] autonomous, resulting in ideology structuring experience, rather than vice versa. The nature of the community divide is thus rooted in history."⁵⁵ A way out of such isolation may lie in integrative programs for children. These appear to improve tolerance, both in behaviour and political attitudes.⁵⁶ Integrated schools gradually expose the 'humanness of the other,' refuting negative stereotypes and building a larger, multi-cultural community. In addition to greater tolerance of difference, children in integrated education have a more optimistic outlook that seeks solutions to the conflict and means of positive societal change.⁵⁷

I propose that integration education program practices be researched for lessons learned that are transferable to peace processes. Research is recommended respecting potential integration exercises where children create mutual, 'visual dialogues' portraying emerging understanding of: 1) the 'personhood' and ways of thinking of the 'other;' and 2) any newly defined, pluralized community or new multicultural identity. Another topic for research is the suitability of visual narratives in integrating local conflict within larger contexts of regional co-operation and multiculturalism.

Children's participation in peace processes can provide a sense of increased self-esteem and purposeful contribution to a new, positive direction for society. Addressing

⁵³ Byrne, Sean. 1997. "Belfast Schoolchildren's Images of Political Conflict and Social Change: Signs of Hope in Integrated Education." In *Mind and Human Interaction*. Vol. 8, No. 3, Fall 1997. Pp174. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

⁵⁴ Whyte, J. 1990. *Interpreting Northern Ireland*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

⁵⁵ Byrne, Sean. 1997. "Belfast Schoolchildren's Images of Political Conflict and Social Change: Signs of Hope in Integrated Education." In *Mind and Human Interaction*. Vol. 8, No. 3, Fall 1997. Pp174. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

⁵⁶ Byrne, Sean. 1997. "Belfast Schoolchildren's Images of Political Conflict and Social Change: Signs of Hope in Integrated Education." *Mind and Human Interaction*. Vol. 8, No. 3, Fall 1997. Pp183. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press. Integrated school structures in Belfast, bring children together from very different, and isolated social and religious groups. These have broadened Irish community identity to be inclusive of all groups, via a mutual dialogue where children can understand hopes, fears, and worldviews of each socio-political group.

⁵⁷ Byrne, supported by Senehi, suggests the "weav[ing] together of [previously opposed]. . . narratives to forge a shared identity for the whole population." See Byrne, Sean. 1997. "Belfast Schoolchildren's Images of Political Conflict and Social Change: Signs of Hope in Integrated Education." *Mind and Human Interaction*. Vol. 8, No. 3, Fall 1997. Pp184. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

conflict problems via peace processes empowers children, giving health benefits to the community. An example is the Youth Millennium Project in Sierra Leone, where local children are teaching people about the peace agreement after nine years of war. Rebecca Slate, a Project co-founder, discovered that children who are aware of violence, “feel powerless to do anything because of their age. That is, until they get involved and learn that they can make changes.”⁵⁸ Dr. Jo Boyden’s evidence shows, “children who try actively to overcome adversity - by attempting to resolve the problems they face, regulat[ing] their emotions, protect[ing] their self-esteem and manag[ing] their social interactions - are likely to be more resilient than children who accept their fate passively, especially in the long run.”⁵⁹ Martha Bragin describes the benefits of psychosocial programs, which provide war-affected children “with the feeling that they can do something good within the community and can be active protagonists in building a secure future.”⁶⁰

Peace processes can prepare war-affected children to live in a peaceful world through programs that question aggressive methods and develop conflict resolution values, attitudes, and knowledge. Curricula for a conflict resolution culture in schools⁶¹ may be transferable to children in peace programs. School mediation programs are built upon: 1) instruction to students, aged 10 or over, and to teachers, in constructive conflict resolution and mediator training; and 2) a set of rules to apply during the mediation process.⁶² Johnson, Johnson and Holubec observe that fostering positive interdependence among

⁵⁸ Youth Millenium Project. 2002. *Guyana Outpost: Spreading the Word to South America: The Youth Millennium Project*. Available on the World Wide Web: http://guyana.gwebworks.com/features/spreading_word.shtml

⁵⁹ Boyden, Jo. 2002. *Social healing in war-affected and displaced children*. Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/casocialhealing.html>. Boyden states that “The ability to think critically facilitates the identification of valid alternatives and solutions to difficulties, thereby enhancing coping. It also helps shield children from simplistic interpretations of experience that can be self-defeating and socially destructive in the long term.”

⁶⁰ Bragan, Martha. 2001. “Evaluating Psychosocial Programs for Children Affected by Armed Conflict: A Community-Based Approach.” In *Mind & Human Interaction* Vol. 12: 2001. Pp. 294. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

⁶¹ Deutsch Morton. 1993. “Educating for a Peaceful World.” In *American Psychologist*. Vol. 48 (5) May 1993. Pp. 510-517. American Psychological Association. Such schools foster “cooperative learning, conflict resolution training, the constructive use of controversy in teaching subject matters, and the creation of dispute resolution centers in schools.” In cooperative learning, children realize that it is advantageous to each student, if all students in the group learn well, and disadvantageous to individual students if others do poorly.

⁶² Deutsch Morton. 1993. “Educating for a Peaceful World.” In *American Psychologist*. Vol. 48 (5) May 1993. Pp. 510-517. American Psychological Association. Deutsch reports that there is little research on school mediation programs.

children is key to cooperative learning.⁶³ Children achieve positive interdependence in these ways, according to Deutsch: “mutual goals (goal inter-dependence); division of labour (task interdependence); dividing resources, materials, or information among group members (resource interdependence); and by giving joint rewards (reward interdependence).”⁶⁴ Face-to-face interaction is a key to cooperative learning and development of ‘positive interdependence behaviours.’

‘Structured constructive controversy’ involving student consensus building and mediation training, may also be transferable to peace processes.⁶⁵ For example, structured controversy discussion rules,’ by David Johnson and Roger Johnson⁶⁶ help students create a conflict resolution culture by “ (a) being critical of ideas, not people; (b) focusing on making the best possible decision, not on winning; (c) encouraging participation by all; (d) listening to everyone's ideas, even if you do not agree; (e) restating what someone has said if it is unclear; (f) bringing out ideas and facts supporting both sides and then trying to combine them in a sensible way; (g) trying to understand both sides of the issue; and (h) changing your mind if the evidence clearly indicates that you should. . .”⁶⁷

Bragin observes that active participation in solving community problems “ help children reduce ‘bad’ feelings about violent experiences and come to terms with associated emotions. Participation provides “a sense that they can grow up to be valuable people who

⁶³Johnson, David W., Roger T. Johnson, and Edythe Johnson Holubec. 1993. *Cooperation in the Classroom. Collaborative skills: leadership, trust-building, decision-making, communication, and conflict-management*. Edina, MN: Interaction Book. Students learn that they need each other in order to complete the group's task.

⁶⁴ Deutsch Morton. 1993. “Educating for a Peaceful World.” IN *American Psychologist*. Vol. 48 (5) May 1993. Pp. 510. American Psychological Association.

⁶⁵ Johnson, D. W. & Johnson, R. T. (1992). *Creative controversy: Intellectual challenge in the classroom*. Edina, MN: Interaction Book. There are five phases involved in the structured controversy. First, the paired students learn their respective positions; then each pair presents its position. Next, there is an open discussion in which students argue strongly and persuasively for their positions. After this, there is a perspective reversal, in which each pair presents the opposing pair's position as sincerely and persuasively as it can. In the last phase, they drop their advocacy of their assigned positions and seek to reach consensus on a position that is supported by the evidence. In this phase, they write a joint statement with the rationale and supporting evidence for the synthesis that their group has agreed on. In consensus building, each of two pairs of students are assigned positions on the topics to be discussed, and the group of four is required to develop a consensus on the issue.

See also Johnson, D. W. & Johnson, R. T. (1987). *Creative conflict*. Edina, MN: Interaction Book; and also: Johnson, D. W. & Johnson, R. T. (1989). *Cooperation and competition: Theory and research*. Edina, MN: Interaction Book.

⁶⁶ Johnson, D. W. & Johnson, R. T. (1992). *Creative controversy: Intellectual challenge in the classroom*. Edina, MN: Interaction Book.

⁶⁷ Many war-affected children, under the age of ten, or who experienced physical or psychological trauma, may not be able to engage in face-to-face, cooperative learning, mediation or structured creative controversy without a lot of guidance, training and practice. These approaches may be a longer-term goal of children's involvement in peace processes, after treatment through psychosocial support programs.

are not forever tainted by the violence that they have witnessed and experienced.”⁶⁸ According to Bragin, “For . . . children, participating in community reconstruction projects or non-violent security activities can be very effective. It is also beneficial for adolescents to be given the opportunity to identify community problems and to help fashion appropriate solutions in which they can participate.”⁶⁹ Braungart and Braungart echo support for children’s involvement in community activities, which may be similar to peace process participation. They observe that youth are ‘politicized’ to “hope and dream of a better social and political world. . . in order to actualize their ego-ideal and fend off guilt, politicized youth often have a pronounced need to take action on their beliefs. Guilt, . . . is . . . central [to] . . . conscience [and] informs duty, obligation and justice.”⁷⁰

1.5. Youth Lack of Involvement in Peace Processes: Feeding the Cycle of Conflict

‘The older generation have failed us; and we cannot continue watching while our future is being mortgaged.’⁷¹

Frustrating youth by not offering them opportunities to participate in political and social decision-making through peace processes can be hazardous to society. In 1967, Victor Turner described youth, being neither child nor adult, as being in a “liminal” stage. Liminality is often expressed by excessiveness or rule breaking. Even in the absence of war, Williams, Knipe and Morolla observe, “adolescence is liminal. . . rebellion [is] natural to this state of development.”⁷² Braungart and Braungart advise that periods with greater societal problems [armed conflict is an extreme example] create increased inter-generational conflict. Strife, armed conflict, and “certain historical conditions [are] perceived to threaten young people’s future, sense of justice, and identity [and] have

⁶⁸ Bragan, Martha. 2001. “Evaluating Psychosocial Programs for Children Affected by Armed Conflict: A Community-Based Approach,” in *Mind & Human Interaction* Vol. 12: 2001. Pp. 294. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

⁶⁹ Bragan, Martha. 2001. “Evaluating Psychosocial Programs for Children Affected by Armed Conflict: A Community-Based Approach,” in *Mind and Human Interaction* Vol. 12: 2001. Pp. 294. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

⁷⁰ Bragan, Martha. 2001. “Evaluating Psychosocial Programs for Children Affected by Armed Conflict: A Community-Based Approach,” in *Mind and Human Interaction* Vol. 12: 2001. Pp. 160. Centre for Study of Mind & Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

⁷¹ Statement of a young Nigerian. 2001. *UNOY African Network of Peace-Builders*. New York: UNOY. Pp. 100.

⁷² Williams, J. S., Edward E. Knipe and JOSEPH A. Morolla. *Youth (culture) Subculture: A Useful Concept?* Available on the World Wide Web June 29, 2003: http://omega.cc.umb.edu/~sociology/volume%203_1.htm

provided the *raison d'être* for anger at adult authorities and institutions."⁷³ Periods of armed conflict and resulting rapid societal change are seen as leading to greater inter-generational strife, according to Eisenstadt,⁷⁴ and Karl Mannheim.⁷⁵ Ortega y Gasset⁷⁶ describes this as strongly opposed political groups and rebellion led by the young. Daniel Chirot speaks of revolt "reworked by a new set of discontented and brilliant young visionaries who are. . . now being hatched by sour intellectuals in. . . universities."⁷⁷

Unresolved, intense dissatisfaction among youth who do not participate in peace processes may result in future, more severe wars, according to experts in post- and between- war youth movements. Byrne found that the daily life of children in Northern Ireland was infused with a 'climate of political violence.' He claims that years of "socialization into their particular group's political nationalism, and religious beliefs, imagery and stereotypes, divide children, minimizing contact when they are beginning to develop political world views. . . these ethno-religious views become deeply entrenched within the minds of children."⁷⁸ A combination of stereotyping, hatred for the 'other' and socialization towards violence can perpetuate the cycle of conflict in subsequent generations. Children's socialization into violence appears supported by Lev Semonovich Vygotsky's theory of a child's social context as the key to learning. He suggests that: 1) children's concepts of the world, their forms of intelligence and their thought patterns are a product of their social interaction with adults; and 2) a unique form of cooperation between children and adults is fundamental to a child's learning process.⁷⁹ War-affected children,

⁷³ Bragan, Martha. 2001. "Evaluating Psychosocial Programs for Children Affected by Armed Conflict: A Community-Based Approach," in *Mind and Human Interaction* Vol. 12: 2001. Pp. 160. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

⁷⁴ Eisenstadt. S.N. 1956. *From Generation to Generation: Age and Social Structure*. New York: NY. Free Press. He observed age cohorts in different cultures and observed that in cultures that failed to transfer of adult skills [as may occur during war] various age group- related social mechanisms, or age based social movements, carried out that function.'

⁷⁵ Mannheim, K. 1952. *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge Press. Mannheim observes that such "trigger actions" release societal trends and events.

⁷⁶ Ortega y Gasset. 1979. Ortega y Gasset asserts that each generation must resolve problems presented by culture. A fundamental historical unit can be defined as the "generation" that brings about a change of collective *vigencias* , or conforming elements of a text or a society. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.kirjasto.sci.fi/grasset.htm>

⁷⁷ Chirot, Daniel. 2000. "What Was Communism All About?" In *East European Politics and Societies* 14(3) Fall. Pp. 665-75. See Also: Chirot, Daniel. 2000. *How Societies Change*. Thousand Oaks CA: Pine Forge Press.

⁷⁸ Byrne, Sean. 1997. "Belfast Schoolchildren's Images of Political Conflict and Social Change: Signs of Hope in Integrated Education." In *Mind and Human Interaction*. Vol. 8, No. 3, Fall 1997. Pp174. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press. See also Waddell and Cairns, 1991.

⁷⁹ Morris, Clifford. "Lev Semyonovich Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development." *Chapter 0195 Phi Delta Kappa News*: February / March, 1998. Ottawa, Ont.: University of Ottawa. Clifford Morris asserts that Vygotsky " emphasized the

are often unable to have consistent, healthy interactions with familiar adults as a base for learning. Application of Vygotsky's theories to war-affected children suggests they are likely to be deprived of normal intellectual development where this learning base is absent, and may develop thought patterns more centred on violence, leading to violent behaviour.

In their study of youth movements from the 1800's, Braungart and Braungart conclude "young people have been highly disturbed by what they perceive to be societal breakdown or repression. Such conditions sparked youthful protest throughout every era of youth movement activity. . . In particular the discontinuities and humiliation following wars and their treaties were a principle source of 'deauthorization' for the 19th century Young Europe movements and the 1930's fascist and communist movements in Europe and China."⁸⁰ They suggest that Loewenberg supports this view.⁸¹ He explained the rapid growth of the Nazi party in terms of the World War I and postwar childhood experiences of a large group of German people within a single generation. Deprived of essential needs during war, this group saw their fathers come home in defeat. They witnessed the collapse of imperial Germany, together with postwar devastation and unemployment. This generation of youth, "sought restitution of a lost childhood: fantasized about the . . . security, power and love, and found solace in simple-minded Nazi solutions. '[T]hey created . . . a repetition of their . . . childhoods.'" ⁸²

Laleh Ebrahimian observes that humiliation of marginalized children who suffered structural violence is a root cause of extreme acts of humiliation and rebellious violence by

social organization of instruction, writing about the unique form of cooperation between the child and the adult as the central element in the educational process. In short, his emphasis on the social context of thinking represented the reorganization of a key social system and associated modes of discourse, with potential consequences for developing new forms of thinking."

⁸⁰ Braungart, Richard and Margaret Braungart. 1997. "Why Youth in Youth Movements?" *In Mind and Human Interaction*. Volume 8, No. 3 Fall 1997. Pp. 155. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press. Deauthorization reflects young people's quest to find an identity and a place in society, and is said to occur where there is considerable intergenerational conflict, and youth challenging the authority of adult society, often through political discourse, social criticism in the arts, and youth slogans, songs and activities. See Braungart, Richard and Margaret Braungart. 1997. "Why Youth in Youth Movements?" *In Mind and Human Interaction*. Volume 8, No. 3 Fall 1997. Pp. 158. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

⁸¹ Loewenberg, P. 1974. "A psychohistorical approach: The Nazi generation." *In The Youth Revolution*. A. Esler ed. Pp. 82 – 105. Out of Print. Referenced in Braungart, Richard and Braungart, Margaret. 1997. "Why Youth in Youth Movements?" *In Mind and Human Interaction*. Volume 8, No. 3 Fall 1997. Pp. 160. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

⁸² Braungart, Richard and Braungart, Margaret. 1997. "Why Youth in Youth Movements?" *In Mind and Human Interaction*. Volume 8, No. 3, Fall, 1997. Pp. 160. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

these youth and adults as they rise to power in later years. This is “ particularly true of hierarchical societies, such as Burundi, Rwanda and Germany under Hitler’s reign.”⁸³ He describes the avenging of humiliation perceived as occurring during youth, in Rwanda, the Philippines and Columbia, noting consistency with Eva G. Lindner’s description of how followers, who are really only frustrated, may be ‘instrumentalized’ by their leaders to become rebels ‘venging humiliation.’⁸⁴

Extreme deauthorization can be very damaging to society, as “young people come into their own by demeaning and dehumanizing social groups perceived to be standing in their way. . . in some cases. . .specific ethnic and class groups, such as the fascist youth movements in Germany, Italy and Spain during the 1930’s, or the many ethnic struggles dotting the world in the 1980’s and 1990’s. Adult sponsorship of youth movements is common in these rancorous ethnic and cultural conflicts.”⁸⁵ This research suggests that, in many places, the active involvement of children in peace processes, and consideration of their interests, may be imperative for preventing the cycle of conflict among succeeding generations.

1.6 Youth ‘Authorization’ of Civil Society through Peace Processes

“Some of our Palestinian . . .stone-throwing children during the Intifada. . . had been empowered by such activities, [and] were reluctant to see lost that sense of national participation that their Intifada role had brought them, and so made the transition to an active role in the local electoral process.”⁸⁶

Can peace processes support children and youth and channel their critical energy in a constructive direction? Byrne says that children must be involved to ensure that post-war

⁸³ ⁸³ Ebrahimian, Laleh D. 2003. *Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention. Final Draft.* 41st session, UN Commission for Social Development in 2003. Available from the World Wide Web: www.un.org/esa/socdev/nyin/helsinki/ch14_conflict-ebrahimian.doc Pp.10. See also: www.un.org/esa/socdev/nyin/helsinki/+Laleh+Ebrahimian+&hl=en&ie=UTF-8.

⁸⁴ Lindner, Evelin Gerda, Dr. 2001. *Moratorium on Humiliation: Cultural and “Human Factor” Dimensions Underlying Structural Violence.* Paper to the Social Integration Branch, Division for Social Policy and Development, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations: New York, NY. United Nations.

⁸⁵ Lindner, E.G. 2001. ‘Moratorium on Humiliation: Cultural and “Human Factor” Dimensions Underlying Structural Violence.’ Paper to the Social Integration Branch, Division for Social Policy and Development ,Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations: New York, NY. United Nations . Pp.159. Italics mine.

⁸⁶ Raymond, Alan and Susan Raymond. 2000. *Children in War.* New York, N.Y.: TV Books. Pp. 56. See also: Garbarino, James, Kathleen Kostelny, and Nancy Dubrow. 1998. *No Place to Be a Child: Growing Up in a War Zone.* California: Jossey Bass. Garbarino, Kostelny and Dubrow state, “ After the signing of the Oslo Peace Treaty. . . the more actively they [Palestinian children] participated in the intifada, the more their self-esteem increased due to the treaty.”

society is changed: "not only does a complex historical period [of conflict] impact young children's political images, but each new generation helps to shape the historical context."⁸⁷ Hart believes that participation supports children's self-determination and creation of their own political beliefs. Key skills children develop through participation are comparison of perspectives and critical analysis.⁸⁸ Greenough asserts that, where problem solving is more physical, as in artistic activities, solutions are more multi-dimensional and clearly defined.⁸⁹ These findings imply that children participating in peace processes using artistic and other methods, will have an chance to: 1) seek optimal solutions through visual media and other means; 2) increase self-esteem; 3) develop methods of self-determination, 4) start to develop political skills and views; and 5) commence re-integration into the community. Peace process participation offers an opportunity to re-establish skill development and create a new standard of children's involvement in societal decision-making.

Psychosocial experts describe self-determination processes as positive 'authorization' by youth. Authorization occurs as "youth make it their generational mission to struggle for social and political change. . .[through] availability of large numbers of youth . . . and the leadership, resources and organization required to mobilize youth."⁹⁰ Braungart and Braungart document youth authorization of civil society over centuries and cultures: "During each of the five historical generations [studied], youthful authorization revolved around democratic citizenship. . .to implement the values of . . .freedom, equality and self-determination."⁹¹ New values of youth are the 'generational consciousness' supporting

⁸⁷ Byrne, Sean. 1997. "Belfast Schoolchildren's Images of Political Conflict and Social Change: Signs of Hope in Integrated Education." *Mind and Human Interaction*. Vol. 8, No. 3, Fall 1997. Pp174. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

⁸⁸ Hart, Roger A. 1992. *Children's Participation: From Tokenism to Citizenship*. New York, NY.: UNICEF – IDCD.

⁸⁹ Greenough, WT, J. E. Black, and C. S. Wallace. 1987. "Experience and brain development." In *Journal of Child Development*. June 1987;58(3). Pp. 539-59. These educational psychologists found that "Experience-expectant processes appear to have evolved as a neural preparation for incorporating information: synaptic connections between nerve cells are overproduced, and a subsequent selection process occurs in which aspects of sensory experience determine the pattern of connections that remains. The neural basis of *experience dependent*, environmental information that is unique to the individual, [such as learning about one's specific physical environment or vocabulary] appears to involve *active formation of new synaptic connections in response to the events* providing the information to be stored."

⁹⁰ Byrne, Sean. 1997. "Belfast Schoolchildren's Images of Political Conflict and Social Change: Signs of Hope in Integrated Education." In *Mind and Human Interaction*. Vol. 8, No. 3, Fall 1997. Pp. 161. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

⁹¹ Braungart, Richard and Margaret Braungart. 1997. "Why Youth in Youth Movements?" In *Mind and Human Interaction*. Volume 8, No. 3 Fall, 1997. Pp. 162. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

authorization, according to Braungart and Braungart. They state, "In . . . many a youth movement, . . . appeals are made. . . to view themselves as different from the adult generation in their ideas and . . . experiences; . . . urged to band together as a . . . unique force for change."⁹²

Democratic benefits can occur through children's involvement in peace processes. In Latin America, China and Europe, democratic citizenship has been the concern of a majority youth movements in the past two centuries:

"youth frequently have acted as the conscience of a nation in their eagerness to hold the adult generation accountable for not . . . living up to the democratic values of freedom and equality. Whether initiating their own. . . actions for change or working with adults, young people . . . have made it their generational mission to reconstruct the core values and institutions of their society."⁹³

Marginalization of youth is described a source of their identification with the human rights, democratic and citizenship demands of disenfranchised minority groups, which may be voiced as youth interests in peace processes. Youth movements support human rights because they are consistent with youth's desire to be independent, free, and to establish a separate identity from that of adults. This could create opportunities for reframing of frequent, divisive military discourse in peace processes towards a more humanitarian discourse that has common element of concern for victims on all sides. Governments or mediators must ensure ethical management of children's participation so that their opinions are not 'manipulated' by adults to meet any adult peace process goals, but are taken as described by children themselves. Children initiate a tremendous effort towards peace, if such a 'generational mission' can be facilitated by their participation in 'peace processes,' in contrast to their experience of adult-sponsored war.

⁹² Braungart, Richard and Margaret Braungart. 1997. "Why Youth in Youth Movements?" *In Mind and Human Interaction*. Volume 8, No. 3 Fall, 1997. Pp. 162. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

⁹³ Braungart, Richard and Margaret Braungart. 1997. "Why Youth in Youth Movements?" *In Mind and Human Interaction*. Volume 8, No. 3 Fall, 1997. Pp. 163. Centre for Study of Mind and Human Interaction. University of Virginia: International Universities Press.

1.7 Conclusion to Chapter One

Children have experienced horrific suffering from armed conflicts, often as military targets or where forced to take on adult, or illegal, roles such as soldier, drug dealer, household head or sex trade worker. This gives them knowledge of war and what is needed to survive and build a new society. Although they frequently bear the largest burden in peace building, and mature to be primary actors in post-war society, children, and CRC requirements, are often ignored in peace processes. War-affected children are often unable to have consistent, healthy interactions with familiar adults as a base for learning. Experts suggest that some war-affected children be deprived of normal intellectual development and may develop thought patterns more centred on violence, leading to violent behaviour. Children have a role in the cycle of conflict, often as a marginalized victim or perpetrator. Frustration of children's rights, and continued marginalization can perpetuate or increase youth involvement in the cycle of conflict. Such youth 'deauthorization' of society, when accompanied by rebellion has undermined some peace pacts and initiated or continued cycles of violence by children, youth and adults.

Assertion of children's rights and interests through participation in peace processes has potential psychosocial benefits and can lead to youth authorization of, and constructive involvement in, rebuilding civil society. Peace processes can prepare war-affected children to live in a peaceful world through programs that question aggressive methods and develop conflict resolution values, attitudes, and knowledge. Curricula for a conflict resolution culture in schools may be transferable to children participating in peace processes. Expert research suggests that children participating in peace processes through artistic and other methods, will have an chance to: 1) seek optimal solutions through visual media and other means; 2) increase self-esteem; 3) develop methods of self-determination, 4) start to develop political skills and views; and 5) commence re-integration into the community.

State parties' facilitation of children's participation during peace processes, including funding and technical support, should be a firm commitment of cease-fire agreements or pacts to engage peace processes.⁹⁴ International community members need to provide

⁹⁴ Cohn, Ilene. 1999. *Post-Conflict Programming Feelings Fatigue?* Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.un.org/Pubs/chronicle/1999/issue2/0299p36.htm> As a visiting Fellow on

technical supports to state implementation of children's participation rights as detailed in the CRC. Third parties, peacekeepers, allies and those wishing to support peace efforts also need to provide funding and other resources in most cases. 'Failed states' and those experiencing intractable conflict are likely to have the greatest need for support. Long- and short-term needs of war-affected children, and the state and international resources to meet these needs, may be better identified, committed, implemented and evaluated by the international and state parties through a framework of peace processes where children articulate their interests.

Management of ethical issues relating to children's participation is essential to avoid adult 'manipulation' of processes or results to meet adult goals. Research of youth movements in the past two centuries shows that they support human rights and have the potential to reframe frequent, divisive military discourse in peace processes towards humanitarian, democratic discourse. Children can initiate a tremendous effort towards peace, if such a 'generational mission' can be facilitated by their participation in peace processes, in contrast to their experience of adult-sponsored war.

Chapter Two:

IMPLICATIONS OF THE CRC & CURRENT PEACE INITIATIVES OF CHILDREN

2.1 Implications of the CRC for Children's Participation in Peace Processes

The CRC emphasizes the treatment of children as citizens with fundamental human rights.⁹⁵ It envisions child participation in a broad range of government legal and administrative decision-making processes that impact the lives of children. Although not identified specifically, state peace processes are within the scope of the Convention, being key government decision-making processes affecting the child. CRC provisions pertinent to child participation in peace processes are: a) the views of the child in formal decision-making in Article 12; b) a child's freedom of expression and choice of expressive media in Article 13; c) civil rights, such as freedom of thought, conscience, and religion in Article 14; d) freedom of association in Article 15; and e) protection of children affected by armed conflict, and rehabilitation and reintegration of child victims outlined in Articles 38 and 39. Gerison Lansdown summarizes the intent of the CRC: "young people are entitled to articulate their concerns, participate in the development of policy and be taken seriously. Participation represents a means for young people to advocate for their own cause and transform their situations. The General Assembly, since International Youth Year in 1985, has defined youth participation as comprising four components: economic participation, relating to work and development, political participation, relating to decision-making processes, social participation, relating to community involvement and cultural participation, relating to the arts, cultural values and expression. All four elements are reaffirmed in the Convention on the Rights of the Child and are central to the creation of a culture of respect for children and young people."⁹⁶

In order to affect human rights in the 21st century, Upendra Baxi claims that states must create participatory systems of governance and decision-making.⁹⁷ Under the CRC,

⁹⁵ The CRC was adopted in 1989 and is now ratified by all but two states: the United States and Sierra Leone. The UN's General Assembly first proclaimed youth economic, political, social, and cultural participation in 1985, the 'International Year of Youth.'

⁹⁶ Lansdown, Gerison. 2002. *Global Priorities for Youth: Youth Participation in Decision-making. Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention. Draft.* UN Commission for Social Development. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/esa/undev/unyin/helsinki/ch10_participation_lansdown.doc

⁹⁷ Baxi, Upendra. 1998. "The Development of the Right to Development." In *Human Rights: New Dimensions and Challenges UNESCO Manual on Human Rights*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing. Pp.100.

children are intended to participate in state decision-making that affects them, exercising their freedom of expression in a variety of media. I believe that children's participation rights of the CRC extend beyond the very general concept of 'the public interest writ younger.' The CRC's preamble signifies that it is directly descended from, and therefore must be consistent with human rights, including participation rights, outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (in particular in Articles 23 and 24), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (in particular in Article 10) and all subsequent UN Declarations and articulations of human rights. Therefore, the character of CRC rights may be best understood in the context of other UN covenants and declarations, with minor adjustments to accommodate a child's changing abilities during development.

There are three main CRC caveats concerning the child's right to participation compared to these rights in other UN human rights contexts: 1) it applies to a child who is 'capable of forming his or her own views;' 2) the right to 'express those views freely' extends to all matters affecting the child; and 3) the views of the child must be given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child. Within these caveats, children's participation rights under the CRC should be interpreted as having the same quality as other UN enunciations on human rights. For example, like the Declaration of the Right to Development, children's participation rights should have both collective and individual application, and the state has "a duty to 'hear, listen and respond.'"⁹⁸

A proactive, participatory stance by children is emphasized in the CRC by the enshrining of children's rights respecting freedom of speech and expression, fair access to media, and freedom of assembly, which are prerequisite to meaningful collective participation. Under the CRC, children may be expected to, subject to the 'three caveats' noted, exercise participatory rights by actively articulating their interests and concerns, and working towards particular goals, with the support of adults as facilitators. Children, who are sufficiently mature, have a human rights opportunity to: 1) identify their interests and issues; and 2) participate in public policy development and decision-making that affects them. The CRC's support of a proactive approach by children is appropriate for state

⁹⁸ Baxi, Upendra. 1998. "The Development of the Right to Development." In *Human Rights: New Dimensions and Challenges UNESCO Manual on Human Rights*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing. P.100.

decision making in peace processes, where many matters affect children profoundly. This generates a human rights responsibility among adults and the state to facilitate this process.

Children's expression of their interests, needs and opinions are indicated to be important aspects of pertinent state decision-making. Children are expected to participate in state decisions that affect them, to the full extent of their ability, individually and collectively. Within the UN Human Rights regime, learning power sharing, conflict resolution, tolerance and cooperation through childhood participation is the key to successful adult participation and endorsement of future civil society. In the UN Declaration of the Right to Development, participation in state decision making is paramount: "states have the right and duty to formulate appropriate national development policies that aim at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals [Article 2 (3) of the Declaration on the Right to Development] but . . .this duty requires solicitude regarding active, free, and meaningful participation of all individuals . . . appropriate development stands identified with participatory development. . .human rights. . .are not merely liberties. . .[but] betoken a responsibility to participate in all developmental decisions, both at the national and international levels. . Participation. . .has to be conceptualized as diffusion of public power and authority." ⁹⁹

Currently, there is little or no formal practice of children's participation in peace processes. In some cases, human rights treaty bodies have tried to ensure that children's rights are included. One example is work by the Convention on the Rights of the Child Committee [CRC Committee], and the Committee of the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination [CERD], to influence peace processes Bosnia and Herzegovina. The result is a General Framework Agreement [GFA] that includes the CRC in its annex and a constitution that references CERD. While annexing the CRC to peace agreements is a common practice, it does not meet the standard set by the CRC, where children have a right to participate in state decisions that affect them. My analysis indicates that this right of participation may be extended to many state peace process decisions.

Literature about the current extent of CRC implementation in peace processes is limited. Therefore, I concentrate on Micheal O'Flaherty's analysis of UN human rights

⁹⁹ Baxi, Upendra. 1998. "The Development of the Right to Development." In *Human Rights: New Dimensions and Challenges UNESCO Manual on Human Rights*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing. P.101.

treaty bodies, during the crises of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This focuses on the CRC Committee and Committee of the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination [CERD]. Also studied are treatises on international treaty law, and critiques of CRC implementation that discuss children's visual media.

2.1.1 A Rights-based Approach to Children's Participation in Peace Processes

The rights of children to participate in peace process are rarely recognized, despite CRC provisions calling for states to ensure *all* the rights of the child during times of conflict: "the need to underline the complexity of the question of children in armed conflicts, which should not be simply reduced to the consideration of a single provision of the Convention, namely article 38."¹⁰⁰ While not identified in the CRC, I believe peace processes are 'public decision-making processes that affect the child.' The CRC enshrines the right of children 'to participate and provide an opinion' in such processes. The CRC principle of 'best interests of the child,' can be ensured through a rights-based approach where children's participation, and consideration of their expressed interests, is a priority in state peace processes. The foundation for involvement of children in peace processes is embodied in CRC provisions for war-affected children and their reintegration, together with provisions for child participation in decision-making using a medium of their choice.

To act in children's 'best interests,' states are required by the CRC to take special measures during periods of armed conflict, as outlined in Articles 22, 37 (b) – (d), 32 –36, 38, and 40.¹⁰¹ The CRC describes "the need to ensure. . .effective protection of children in armed conflict . . . realization of all the rights of the child, inherent to his or her dignity and the . . .harmonious development of his or her personality."¹⁰² CRC Article 29 identifies state actions needed to ensure children's physical and psychological recovery and their social reintegration. Trauma from memories of war may be triggered by a child's participation in peace processes and are a key ethical and health concern. Psychosocial 'best practises' may be transferable from programs for re-integration of war-affected

¹⁰⁰ Hodgkin, Rachel and Peter Newell. 1998. *UNICEF's Implementation Handbook for the Convention on the Rights of the Child.* New York, NY.: UNICEF.

¹⁰¹ United Nations. Declaration on the Rights of the Child. New York, NY.: United Nations. Principle 8. The Convention also refers to relevant international humanitarian law, to ensure respect for and protection of the rights of women and children. The CRC focuses upon the right of children to 'necessary protection,' where "the child shall in all circumstances be among the first to receive protection and relief."

¹⁰² Hodgkin, Rachel and Peter Newell. 1998. *UNICEF's Implementation Handbook for the Convention on the Rights of the Child.* New York, NY.: UNICEF. Another key provision, through the Article 4 of Protocol II, stipulates that children under the age of 15 shall not be recruited into the armed forces, and shall not take part in hostilities.

children and child soldiers to support children in peace processes. Cohn advises that children's memory trauma may be healed via local and international methods, including mental health programs by Doctors without Borders.

To ensure realization of children's rights during armed conflict and peace building, it may be appropriate to consider children as stakeholders in peace process matters affecting them. Further research is needed regarding special supports to ensure age-appropriate input and participation, ethical treatment, fair representation, and clear communication of children's input to such processes. Potential input from children may range from peace process design to sharing of interests and opinions and participation in decisions. Peace process design should ensure children's sharing of their interests, their ideas about a post-war civil society, proposals for their re-integration, and other topics they identify. Key areas that affect children, such as health, education, the economy, the environment and social programs must be a high priority of peace processes to be consistent with the CRC. Ensuring representative participation of children from all groups in society is also needed.

Ilene Cohn, of Harvard University, advocates the inclusion of children in conflict transformation processes, through a 'child-conscious, rights-based approach' towards peace. Where it is 'politically expedient,' Cohn cautions that domestic and international actors will disregard violations of child rights. She asserts that children and their issues should be integrated in peace processes to improve the likelihood that long-term resources and attention will be devoted to them. Although children's movements may be manipulated by international actors, Cohn observes that they help mobilize attention to children's issues and political will for their involvement.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Goehsing Julia . 2001. Unpublished paper. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.sipa.columbia.edu>
"In order to ensure the inclusion of children's needs during the process of conflict transformation despite political inexperience, Cohn proposes a child-conscious approach towards peace. A child-conscious approach would need to implement measures to avoid abuses of humanitarian law guidelines, and support the enforcement of codes of conduct, training, and sanctions procedures for the U.N. and regional peacekeepers. Separately, norms, institutions, monitoring mechanisms and programs would need to be protected as well. It is in this context that Cohn recognizes the importance of coming to terms with the past. Establishing verification, ensuring demobilization, reintegration, (and) re-incorporation within a society through institutions such as Truth and Reconciliation Commissions or the International Criminal Court, raise numerous issues. The notion of redressing the wrongs that have been committed in the past to move towards a peaceful future highlights the problematic relation between principles of human rights law such as accountability versus the conflict resolution related approach of granting amnesty. Arguing in favour of limiting the scope of amnesty legislation, concerning the proposed implementation of the International Criminal Court, Cohn argues to support the step towards an international deterrence of international war crimes and emphasizes the importance of a therapeutic component for victims and witnesses within the institution. In sum, Cohn believes that a child-conscious approach strengthens and promotes the sustainable and stable transformation of an armed conflict."

The CRC Committee has a key role in identifying needs of the state in addressing war-affected children, through their review of state routine, or specially requested state reports about CRC implementation. The CRC Committee may wish to request, for the state, a range of NGO- or internationally sponsored supports for children's participation in peace processes. States should offer a range of information, communication, media, organizational and health supports to ensure children's safe, healthy and ethical participation in peace processes.

Amnesty International advocates an approach where all human rights must be enshrined in any future peace treaties. They assert that human rights of one individual cannot be founded on the loss of rights of another individual. For example, the 'road to peace' between Israelis and Palestinians must not repeat the "(mistake) of the Oslo Agreement of 1993 (which) failed . . . because human rights were not at its centre."¹⁰⁴ Included within these broad human rights are the rights of children to participate in peace processes. Olara A. Otunnu, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict has advised the Commission on Human Rights (CHR) of his integrative framework of initiatives to ensure rights of children in peacekeeping, consolidation of peace, and peace-building processes for the protection of war-affected children.¹⁰⁵ The Security Council endorsed this goal in Resolution 1261, where the Secretary-General was requested to ensure that "personnel . . . in peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace-building activities have. . . training on the protection, rights and welfare of children; . . . I have proposed the appointment of Child Protection Advisers. . . to . . . ensure that the protection of children's rights is a priority .. throughout the peacekeeping process and the consolidation of peace in war-torn countries."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ AI Index MDE 15/014/2002 . *Human rights must be a central part of the peace process*. News Service Nr. 36 Israel/OT/PA: 28 February 2002.

¹⁰⁵ Otunnu, Olara A. 2000. *Statement of Under-Secretary-General, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, to the Commission on Human Rights*. 11 April 2000. New York, NY.: United Nations.

¹⁰⁶ Otunnu, Olara A. 2000. *Statement of Under-Secretary-General, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, to the Commission on Human Rights*. 11 April 2000. United Nations. Additional provisions, described were 1) "the protection, rights and well-being of children be explicitly indicated as a priority concern in the mandates of peacekeeping operations; this . . .has been endorsed by the Security Council;" and 2) "ensure that reports to the Security Council on relevant issues and countries reflect the situation of children. The Security Council . . .has now requested the Secretary-General, through Resolution 1261, to make specific recommendations on the protection of children in his reports to . . .Council. CPAs will advise the relevant peacekeeping operations and, under the overall authority of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the field, will coordinate with relevant UN agencies, NGOs and national authorities to ensure that children's issues are incorporated fully into all relevant

This will assist implementation of children's participation and visual expression rights in peace processes.

2.1.2 War or Emergency and Child Rights to Participation in Peace Processes

The rights of the child under the CRC are unaffected by war and must be ensured by states in conflict:

“When basing the consideration of the question of children in armed conflict on the Convention itself, it was recalled that State Parties have undertaken to respect and ensure all the rights set forth therein to all children within their jurisdiction. [Article 2] State Parties have also made a commitment to adopt all appropriate measures in order to achieve such a purpose [Article 4], and that, in all actions taken, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration [Article 3]. *None of these general provisions admits a derogation in time of war or emergency.*”¹⁰⁷

The right of children to participate in state decision-making that affects their lives, including peace process decisions, must be ensured by states in conflict through special measures. With respect to children in a situation of emergency, refugee children, and children in armed conflict, state parties are to provide special legislative, judicial, administrative and other protection measures to promote physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of the child.¹⁰⁸ An urgent need exists to fund, research, develop and implement comparable special measures that ensure participation of children in state peace processes. As the CRC Committee observes, “more than 150 [conflicts] since [WWII]. . . affecting a growing number of civilians, particularly children.”¹⁰⁹

Children's involvement in peace processes may contribute to their rehabilitation. CRC Article 39 calls on states “to promote the physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of a child victim of. . . armed conflicts. . . foster[ing] the health, self-respect

peacekeeping and peace-building policies and programmes. CPAs will also work to ensure that all personnel involved in UN peacekeeping operations - both military and civilian - have appropriate training on the protection of children's rights. The first CPA has assumed her position with the UN peacekeeping operation in Sierra Leone, UNAMSIL and two CPAs have assumed their posts with MONUC, the UN mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and deployment in other UN peacekeeping operations is under discussion. Typically, CPAs will be sourced from key UN agencies and from relevant NGOs and development agencies with expertise in the protection of children's rights.”

¹⁰⁷ United Nations Committee on the Convention of the Rights of the Child. *Report on the Second Sessions, Committee on the Rights of the Child, September –October 1992, CRC/C/10*. Pp. 20, 21. New York, NY.: United Nations. Italics mine.

¹⁰⁸ United Nations. United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. New York, NY.: United Nations. Articles 22, 32 – 36, 38, 37 (b) – (d), 39, and 40.

¹⁰⁹ United Nations. United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. New York, NY.: United Nations. Articles 22, 32 – 36, 38, 37 (b) – (d), 39, and 40.

and dignity of the child.”¹¹⁰ I believe peace process mediation can be designed as a method ‘respectful of the views of the child.’ State departments of defence, foreign affairs, home affairs, social welfare and education are identified as agencies to implement this section of the CRC.¹¹¹ State and international actions to implement children’s participation in peace processes are discussed in the following sections.

During peace processes, there is often a period of ‘changing jurisdiction’ over children as new forms of governance are established. Children in post-conflict situations face the following issues pertinent to the peace process: return and reintegration of displaced or refugee children, demobilization of child soldiers, training and education toward non-war related employment, mine awareness, clearance of mines, and juvenile justice practice. Further research is needed to provide state and any international groups administering the peace process with guidelines and resources to ensure that the rights of children are respected, and their unique needs are met, during this transition.

2.1.3 Children’s Trans-boundary Issues and Their Input to Peace Processes

While all states have ratified the CRC except the United States and Sierra Leone, a gap in governance exists respecting trans-boundary effects of conflict upon children. The CRC governs state actions respecting children’s rights, which are not considered in a global or regional context larger than the state. The trans-boundary impacts of war on children, who reside far from the conflict and yet incur significant costs, could eventually be considered within peace processes. Costs to distant children could involve current or future damage, or lost opportunity, related to health, environmental, economic, humanitarian, social, cultural or political matters. Peace processes may be a suitable venue for affected state parties, mediators and the international community to address trans-boundary issues, and consider interventions, under the umbrella of children’s rights. One example involves issues of rights, justice and compensation related to children’s illness or death, resulting from contamination of many states after release of a biological or nuclear weapon.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ United Nations. 1989. *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child*. New York, NY.: United Nations. Article 39.

¹¹¹ Hodgkin, Rachel and Peter Newell. 1998. *UNICEF’s Implementation Handbook for the Convention on the Rights of the Child*. New York: NY.:UNICEF. Pp. 527.

¹¹² Van Bueren, Geraldine. 1995. *The International Law on the Rights of the Child*. Save the Children. Norwell, MA.: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and Kluwer Academic Publishers. Pp.340. Distant impacts might be caused by extreme environmental damage, or use of nuclear, chemical or biological WMD. Van Bueren notes that some military have considered civilians more ‘expendable’ due to WMD than soldiers. She observes that the saving of soldier’s lives was,

Types of conflict related, trans-boundary effects on children are: 1) cross-boundary kidnapping for child sex trade, soldiering, or forced labour; 2) child refugees; 3) separation of families across borders; 4) children's periodic migration across borders to better economies for work or sustenance; 5) distant impacts of environmental damage or chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction; 6) military incursions into neighbouring states that harm children; and 7) distant terrorism that stems from a particular conflict. States affected may be neighbours or, in cases such as conflict-linked terrorism, may be distant. Children's formal participation in peace processes to meet CRC requirements is likely to provide more information about these trans-boundary issues.

Depending upon the nature of the conflict and the type and extent of trans-boundary effects, the population of "affected" children who could give input to multi-state peace processes may become broad and cross state boundaries. In recent years, many child refugees who have fled war zones have attempted to informally influence peace processes. An example is a letter-writing campaign of former students of North and East Sri Lanka, now residing in Australia, conveying concerns about threats to the Norwegian Government-initiated peace process in Sri Lanka. United Nations interpretation of children's rights with respect to trans-boundary issues are likely to be required in some peace processes, whether considered under the CRC, or other international conventions. Such interpretations could set precedents, and eventually have considerable bearing on the scope and content of children's future participation.

Further research is required regarding trans-boundary effects of war on children, the nature of those effects, the right of such affected children to participate or provide input into 'distant' peace processes, under the CRC or other international conventions. Appropriate methods for incorporating input from distantly affected children into peace processes, or task forces reviewing trans-boundary issues, may eventually be needed. The creation, dissemination and consumption of visual media may be a suitable method for distant children to incorporate their interests into peace processes. It is recommended that the CRC Committee expand its requests for information from states to include conflict-induced, trans-boundary impacts on children, as part of CRC implementation monitoring.

according to Morgan, the rationale for Hiroshima's atom bomb attack , where, 'women and children [affected] were expendable.'

2.1.4 Visual Media as a Means of Child Input to Decision-Making Under the CRC

CRC Articles 12 and 13 require states to assure a child of his or her right to freely express his or her views in all matters affecting the child, through visual, non-verbal communication if desired. Participation in decision-making is to be taken into account in all state judicial, or administrative proceedings affecting the life of the child. Participation of children should be facilitated by appropriate methods, allowing the state to give 'due weight' to children's views, given their age and maturity according to the CRC. For example, where a child must prove a well-founded fear of persecution, the Guidelines on Refugee Children note that children do not express themselves in the same manner as adults and extra support is needed for them to express their fears, and for careful interpretation of these expressions. Those assessing the refugee child's testimony are to have the same cultural background and language, use "benefit of the doubt,"¹¹³ and give greater emphasis to the family circumstances and the situation in the country of origin.

In the CRC, Article 13 (1) expressly states, "this right [of expression] shall include the right to freedom to seek, receive and impart information of all kinds . . . through any other media of the child's choice." Geraldine Van Bueren found that, "a child's well founded fear of persecution may be more accurately assessed when children are able to express their traumatized feelings through less threatening forms of communication such as art."¹¹⁴ She observes "the work of Hvid using art therapy with child refugees in Sweden to help them express their real but hidden fears demonstrates the potential of 'the form of art' as a means of seeking and imparting information. It does take more time, but non of the international treaties limits the child's right of freedom of expression to a 'speedy' medium of the child's choice."¹¹⁵ Van Bueren views use of the visual for children's "seeking, receiving and imparting information [as] ha[ving] a wide potential [that] could be extended to the administration of justice."¹¹⁶ I believe the potential also extends to children in peace processes. Van Bueren suggests that using children's visual media may move official

¹¹³ United Nations. 1988. *UNHCR Guidelines*. New York, NY.: United Nations. Articles 15 (a), 16 (c), and 16 (e).

¹¹⁴ Van Bueren, Geraldine. 1995. *The International Law on the Rights of the Child*. Save the Children. Norwell, MA.: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. Kluwer Academic Publishers. Pp. 364.

¹¹⁵ Van Bueren, Geraldine. 1995. *The International Law on the Rights of the Child*. Save the Children. Norwell, MA.: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. Kluwer Academic Publishers. Pp. 142. See also Van Bueren. 1992. 'The International Legal Framework.' In *Child Refugees in Europe*. Swedish Refugee Council.

¹¹⁶ Van Bueren, Geraldine. 1995. *The International Law on the Rights of the Child*. Save the Children. Norwell, MA.: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. Kluwer Academic Publishers. Pp. 142.

discourse away from a focus on 'admissibility of evidence,' towards understanding 'what the child is trying to communicate.' Benefits of clearer understanding through children's visual communication could also benefit peace processes, increasing adult comprehension of their interests and needs.

2.1.5 Children as 'Bridges to Peace,' 'Safety Zones' or Reasons for Cease-fires

The CRC raises common concerns for the safety and well being of children that are proven to stimulate humanitarian, cease-fire and peace-building action among some parties in conflict. Similarly, the ICBL moved more than 120 states, previously unable to agree, to rally around children's humanitarian interests and create an international treaty banning landmines in a very short period. To Van Bueren, CRC implementation means "both sides have a mutual concern for children so that their needs can be seen as a bridge which all parties to the conflict have an interest in protecting."¹¹⁷ Before the adoption of the CRC, the International Red Cross [ICRC] and the UN Children's Fund [UNICEF] developed the concept of children as zones, or bridges to, peace, exemplified by hospital zones.¹¹⁸ This concept may be applied to whole sub-population of children where cease-fires are enacted through the "declaring of children as zones of peace, with its consequential cease-fires,"¹¹⁹ suggests Van Bueren. Andrew Buckoke gives examples of a ceasefire for inoculation of children in El Salvador and Lebanon and 'corridors of tranquillity' as part of Operation Lifeline in Sudan.¹²⁰ Success in using children's needs to create 'zones of safety' and ceasefires during conflict, suggests that the inclusion of children's interests in peace processes may offer creative avenues for peace that have not been fully explored.

2.2 Evaluating CRC Characteristics of State Legislation and Peace Agreements

2.2.1 CRC Requirements for State Legislative & Administrative Frameworks

The CRC calls for the state to establish a 'legal framework' and 'necessary mechanisms of implementation' of child rights to conform to the 'principles and provisions

¹¹⁷ Van Bueren, Geraldine. 1995. *The International Law on the Rights of the Child*. Save the Children. Norwell, MA.: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. Kluwer Academic Publishers. Pp. 341.

¹¹⁸ *Geneva Convention No. 4*. Article 14. This article creates hospital and safety zones.

¹¹⁹ Van Bueren, Geraldine. 1995. *The International Law on the Rights of the Child*. Save the Children. Norwell, MA.: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. Kluwer Academic Publishers. Pp. 341

¹²⁰ Buckoke, Andrew. 1991. *Fishing in Africa: A Guide to War and Corruption*. London: Pan McMillan. A journalist for "The Guardian", "The Times" and "The Observer," Buckoke writes about African governance, and activities of aid agencies, governments, rebels, and journalists while travelling through parts of Africa few Westerners have seen.

of the CRC.' The state is to implement child rights, such as participation and freedom of expression in peace processes, to the maximum extent of their available resources. Child rights are not simply to be enacted in legislation, but to be implemented by the state for enjoyment by all children under a state's jurisdiction. State legislative and administrative frameworks are not expected to comply with a prescribed model. Rather, states are to create CRC implementation frameworks that are culturally appropriate and fit their needs, level of resources, priorities and attainable goals. A variety of strategies may be used to ensure CRC delivery in all areas. The most comprehensive approach is constitutional recognition of child rights, creating results similar to a state incorporating the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights into natural law. The CRC Committee requires all domestic legislation to be compatible with the CRC. CRC policy must be developed and coordinated across, and between, all levels and programs of government. Comprehensive implementation will likely take years. In peace processes, where new forms of governance are being anticipated, the inclusion of CRC provisions should be part of early planning.

At present, cease-fire, peace process arrangements, and peace agreements contain little or no detail respecting the CRC. Examples of exceptions are special provisions for children included in the 1999 Lome Peace Agreement for Sierra Leone and the 2000 Burundi Peace Agreement.¹²¹ Several factors are suggested for consideration in drafting cease-fire, peace process arrangements and peace agreements, to ensure CRC implementation under the revised social order. These factors are adapted from "*General Guidelines Regarding the Form and Content of Periodic Reports to be Submitted by State Parties Under Article 44, Paragraph 1 (B) of the Convention.*"¹²² Cease-fire or peace agreements and descriptions of peace-building should refer to: 1) the CRC and its implementation; 2) children's rights to participation, and to their freedom of expression; 3) actions by the CRC Committee or other human rights treaty bodies, to advocate for children's rights generally, and for participation of children; 4) any state special measures

¹²¹ Machel, Graca. 2001. *The Impact of War on Children*. Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia Press. Pp. 191, 193. Although described as 'flawed' by Machel, the Sierra Leone peace agreement was the first to plan for the demobilization and reintegration of child soldiers, and their other needs.

¹²² Hodgkin, Rachel and Peter Newell. 1998. *UNICEF's Implementation Handbook for the Convention on the Rights of the Child*. New York: NY. UNICEF. Appendix. "General Guidelines Regarding the Form and Content of Periodic Reports to be Submitted by State Parties Under Article 44, Paragraph 1 (B) of the Convention" were adopted by the *United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child 343 meeting; 13th Session, October 11, 1996.*

respecting participation of children and other CRC measures; and 5) any international supports for participation of children and other CRC measures.

While the CRC is often annexed to a final peace agreement, treatment of the CRC as an afterthought' offers no opportunity to implement children's participatory and freedom of expression rights in state peace process decisions that affect them. Without children's involvement in peace processes, a gap or reduction in support to children occurs at this time. Macel observes: " Programming and resource constraints during the transition between humanitarian relief. . . and reconstruction. . . must be addressed if children's rights are to be realized in countries rebuilding after war."¹²³ Methods and supports needed to ensure children's ethical, representative and safe participation in peace processes are rarely considered, researched or offered to the state by the international community. Although states may believe that there are priorities that justify the overlooking children's participatory and expression rights in peace processes, such neglect is inconsistent with child rights under the CRC. Regional regimes and the international community need to be urged by the CRC Committee, UN Secretary-General peace process envoys and similar actors, to: 1) work with targeted states to research, plan, implement, and evaluate methods for children's participation in their peace processes, and 2) to ensure sufficient resources for this purpose. This approach may yield positive benefits to the state parties and children involved.

The creation of judicial remedies with respect to the CRC are also thought to be appropriate by the Committee on Rights of the Child [the CRC Committee] where they may be justiciable within the state legal system. Judicial and other remedies are also considered useful as they support the recognition and enjoyment of child rights, without discrimination.¹²⁴ Civil and political rights are considered to be legally enforceable. These are elements of almost all of the CRC Articles.¹²⁵ Test cases may define some rights. If

¹²³ Machel, Graca. 2001. *The Impact of War on Children*. Vancouver, B.C. University of British Columbia Press. Pp

¹²⁴ CRC Articles 7, 8, 13 and 37(a) are labelled 'Civil Rights & Freedoms' in *CRC Guidelines for Periodic Reports*, which note that 'these are not the only rights guaranteed under the Convention. In fact, it is clear that almost all other articles elements that constitute civil and political rights.' States party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights are already required, through Articles 2 (1), 2(3), 3 and 26 to ensure that, for persons whose Covenant rights that are violated, there is effective remedy. This includes rights of equality and non-discrimination.

¹²⁵ Hodgkin, Rachel and Peter Newell, 1998. *Implementation Handbook for the Convention on the Rights of the Child* UNICEF, p. 57. "as regards legal implementation, there is no question of the Convention being divided into two categories of rights – social / economic / cultural and civil / political- with only the latter being implemented as legally

considered a political right, children's participation in state peace processes could be perceived as enforceable, but action is unlikely. Legislation for economic and social rights may be justiciable, such as compulsory education.

2.2.2 International Supports to State Implementation of CRC Participation Rights

Where state resources are insufficient, states are to work within the framework of international cooperation set out in CRC. CRC guidelines require recipient states to report the degree to which international assistance supports their implementation of the CRC. Donor states are requested to identify the proportion of their government budget devoted to international aid under the CRC, together with budget levels for each sector under the CRC. Reporting by sector in all areas would assist the CRC Committee in their monitoring duties. State programs involving children directly in peace processes are difficult to find,¹²⁶ perhaps because leaders in peace processes appear preoccupied with overall security issues. The resulting lack of children's input to state peace process and peace building indicates an urgent state need for education and support that should be addressed by the CRC Committee.

The CRC Committee needs more resources for initiatives such as frameworks for international cooperation to facilitate participation of children in peace processes. This could be pivotal to comprehensively addressing problems of war-affected children whose states are involved in peace processes. However, the Committee appears heavily burdened with monitoring of overall implementation of the CRC by states and attention to crises in children's rights, often in areas of armed conflict. A comprehensive 'international framework' of recommended supports to state implementation of the CRC in peace processes has yet to be developed. Such a framework could include a plan and schedule that CRC, state, and other UN and international actors responsible for children, could use to deal comprehensively with problems of war-affected children. Tying their action to children's articulation of needs in peace processes with key parties, and international community support at the table, could lead to unified assistance to children.

enforceable rights" *Implementation Handbook for the Convention on the Rights of the Child*, New York: NY. UNICEF, p. 57.

¹²⁶ A survey of children's involvement in peace and social justice initiatives is found in the final sections of this chapter.

CRC guidelines do not prescribe or suggest the form that international supports to state implementation of the CRC should take. However, the CRC Committee may take the initiative in several areas. The CRC Committee may ask donor countries to direct considerable aid to state implementation of children's participation in peace processes. The Committee may wish, as part of its annual review, to fast-track implementation of children's participation in priority state peace processes where potential effectiveness is high. The CRC Committee needs more resources to be able to work with NGO, UN, state and international officials involved in children's rights and in conflict resolution to form a Task Force for each high priority peace process. Task Forces could be mandated to: 1) develop a framework for international support to their target states, as required by the CRC; 2) work with targeted states to plan, fund, develop, and implement programs for children's participation in peace processes.

The potential for international intervention to protect children where there are extreme cases of human rights abuse is discussed in the following section. A desire to avoid situations necessitating such intervention may help motivate state and international actors to provide the supports necessary to ensure successful CRC implementation. Children's participation in peace processes via the CRC merits further research and development of policy, legislation and methods, for best practices in state implementation and international support.

2.3 The CRC Committee in States of Emergency and Peace Processes

States in conflict offer a hard test for examining the extent to which UN treaty bodies such as the CRC Committee are able to implement their mandates. However, the nature, scope and stage of the conflict set the tone for involvement of children, as stipulated by the CRC, in any peace processes decision-making, which may occur. Peace agreement design offers an opportunity to ensure that mandates respecting the CRC Committee and other treaty bodies are followed, and that treaty provisions are entrenched in peace agreements. A key stumbling block is that the idea of including children in peace processes may seem impossible, of or little importance, where combating leaders have reluctantly agreed to politicized peace talks centring on issues of state security and strategic military capability. Nevertheless, there may be considerable value in including longer term, and often humanitarian, perspective of children in peace talks. Many agencies view children as

representing common concerns that 'bridge' discourse between conflicting parties, as described by Van Bueren. The ICBL study demonstrated that children's views, voiced through visual media, appear effective in reframing military and political discourse as humanitarian, in a way that bridges dissent.

An ethics and human rights perspective on international affairs suggests that international intervention to protect children's rights may be appropriate in cases of severe abuse. Individual responsibility for extreme human rights abuses by state officials has been established in the International Criminal Court and 'ad hoc' tribunals in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. Violators "are seen as having international human rights obligations to international society in addition to their direct and primary obligation to right-holders under their jurisdiction."¹²⁷ I believe international obligations also extend to children who are constant targets of war or genocide through direct state abuse or state failure to protect. Donnelly observes that "multilateral operations in Cambodia, Bosnia, Rwanda and Kosovo suggest . . . international responsibility. . . to provide . . . redress to victims. . . the international community will act on their behalf."¹²⁸

Donnelly also describes international intervention as justified "to restore conditions under which self-determination is possible."¹²⁹ Direct international intervention is likely to occur "when governments fail to protect their people or in fact are the perpetrators of the violation [of UN human rights]" according to Dr. Lloyd Axworthy, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade for Canada and Director for the Liu Centre for Global Issues, as quoted in the *Globe and Mail* on July 16, 2003. Interventions involving peace processes or related actions could also aim to establish children's participation in those processes, in addition to other CRC related measures. The violation of children's right to participate in state peace process decision making that affects them could be seen as falling within emerging international human rights law. The CRC Committee needs more resources to draw attention to these cases, and work with international and state

¹²⁷ Donnelly, Jack. 2001. "Ethics and International Human Rights." In *Ethics and International Affairs: extent and limits*. Coicaud, Jean-Marc and Daniel Warner, eds. New York, NY: United Nations University Press. Pp. 141.

¹²⁸ Donnelly, Jack. 2001. "Ethics and International Human Rights." In *Ethics and International Affairs: extent and limits*. Coicaud, Jean-Marc and Daniel Warner, eds. New York, NY: United Nations University Press. Pp. 141.

¹²⁹ Donnelly, Jack. 2001. "Ethics and International Human Rights." In *Ethics and International Affairs: extent and limits*. Coicaud, Jean-Marc and Daniel Warner, eds. New York, NY: United Nations University Press. Pp. 154.

actors to address these shortfalls. Children's participation in peace processes should be a key component to any international peace negotiation, or related interventions.

2.3.1 CERD & CRC Committee Actions In the Crises of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Very few analyses of CRC implementation or CRC Committee action during periods of conflict and subsequent peace processes are available. Therefore, I draw heavily from one recent example, Micheal O'Flaherty's examination of CRC Committee and other UN treaty body actions during the crises of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He observes "the [CRC] Committee neither sought nor received a report of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war period."¹³⁰ However, in January 1993, the CRC Committee adopted Recommendation 3 [Third Session] where it "request[ed] the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on the situation of human rights in the territory of the former Yugoslavia to take the CRC into full consideration in the fulfilment of his mandate and in his future reports." ¹³¹ O'Flaherty described the Special Rapporteur's sixth period report, containing an examination of children, as an: "important document of record . . . [and] a significant contribution to an overall understanding of the impact of armed conflict on children."¹³²

While it appears that little further direct action was taken by the CRC committee in the Bosnia and Herzegovina crisis, it is important to note that the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child is referenced as a key human rights instrument in the Appendix to the General Framework Agreement [GFA] signed by the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska. Some experts complain, however, that GFA implementation by the Office of the Ombudsman and the Human Rights Chamber tends to consider alleged or apparent violations of human rights, according to instruments referenced in the GFA text. In particular, use of the European

¹³⁰ O'Flaherty, Micheal. "Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 458.

¹³¹ O'Flaherty, Micheal. "Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 458. See reference to UN Doc. A/49/41 in Section 1 (E).

¹³² O'Flaherty, Micheal. "Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 458. See reference to UN Doc. A/48/18 Paragraph 468.

Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and relevant Protocols, is criticized, as it has a slightly lower standard of child rights.¹³³

O'Flaherty's analysis of the actions of other UN human rights treaty bodies during the crises of Bosnia and Heregovina may provide some 'lessons learned' for future actions by the CRC Committee and other actors respecting peace processes. The treaty body described as most involved in this conflict was the Committee of the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination [CERD]. In 1995, The CERD Committee met to discuss the crises situation of the country with the Special Rapporteur for human rights in former Yugoslavia. The Special Rapporteur prepared 27 reports on the crises from 1992 to 1997.¹³⁴ The CERD Committee supported 'the findings of fact' of the Special Rapporteur, and noted the importance of his role, despite disagreement with him regarding the political or ethnic basis of the conflict.¹³⁵

Both the CERD Committee and the UN Human Rights Commission [HRC] issued reports emphasizing the ongoing and binding nature of their fundamental human rights provisions, regardless of conditions of conflict. State, and occasionally non-state, parties were urged by HRC, CERD and CEDAW Committees to respect human rights. These bodies also recommended related actions such as stopping 'ethnic cleansing,' release of prisoners and cooperating with international bodies, such as the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. CERD Committee proceedings also preserved valuable analyses of the situation, according to O'Flaherty, although distribution was very limited. CERD comments in solidarity with oppressed groups, " offered support to at least one women's group in central Bosnia." ¹³⁶ The CERD Committee also offered technical

¹³³ O'Flaherty, Micheal. " Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 456.

¹³⁴ O'Flaherty, Micheal. " Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 444. O'Flaherty describes this as the first time the CERD committee considered human rights issues with a 'country' rapporteur. He reports that the committee 'vehemently contested' the suggestion by the Rapporteur that the conflict was politically and not ethnically based.

¹³⁵ O'Flaherty, Micheal. " Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 444. See reference to UN Doc. CERD/C/SR. 1071.

¹³⁶ O'Flaherty, Micheal. " Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 448.

assistance, proposed a mission to the area, made recommendations for international assistance, and strongly objected to initiatives to create 'ethnically pure states.'¹³⁷

The HRC was described by O'Flaherty as showing considerable flexibility in adjusting practice and procedures to meet urgent information needs during and immediately after the conflict. The HRC first requested an urgent report from Yugoslavia in November 1991, which was reviewed in April 1992. A second request for an unprecedented set of inter-session reports from Bosnia, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia resulted in reports which were received and reviewed in November 1992. The processing of urgent report requests were only approved, on an exceptional basis, by the HRC in November 1991, while procedures for inter-session reports were put in place by the HRC only after their initial request.¹³⁸

In spite of earlier protestations regarding the creation of 'ethnically pure states,' CERD did not comment negatively on the concluding of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina [GFA], but endorsed it in Decision 1 [48] of 1996. CERD's concerns may have been slightly ameliorated by involvement in constitutional design. O'Flaherty was "informed by members of the Foreign Ministry of Bosnia and Herzegovina that proceedings before the treaty bodies motivated the drafters of the 1994 Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to make direct reference to instruments such as CERD in the Constitution."¹³⁹ In March 1996, CERD initiated consultations with the new government in order to work with the new Commission on Human Rights of Bosnia and Herzegovina. CERD's endorsement decision was addressed to *all parties* to the GFA, offering CERD's assistance in implementation of the GFA within their mandate, although it also expressed concern regarding planned national elections. This decision was distributed throughout the state by the Office of the High Representative

¹³⁷ O'Flaherty, Micheal. "Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 458.

¹³⁸ Report of Croatia: UN Doc. CCPR/C87; Yugoslavia: UN Doc. CCPR/C/88; Bosnia and Herzegovina: UN Doc. CCPR/C89. Consideration of Reports: UN Doc. A/48/40 at paras. 311-32. O'Flaherty, Micheal. "Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 458.

¹³⁹ O'Flaherty, Micheal. "Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. . Pp.447. The author cites discussions in Sarajevo, March 1996.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, was reported in the local media, and was used by the Election Appeals Sub-Commission, in adjudication of election rules violations.¹⁴⁰

2.3.2 Stumbling Blocks to Treaty Bodies' Actions Respecting the Crises

Stumbling blocks to treaty bodies' analyses, reporting, liaison and acting duties respecting the human rights situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina were described by O'Flaherty as: 1) an 'image problem' resulting from failure of the parties to respect many treaty body recommendations calling for respect of human rights, and lack of treaty body consistency and follow-up to their earlier actions; 2) tremendous problems caused by 'regular reporting' work overloads for Committee members, leaving scarce resources for wars or other crises; and 3) very low staffing and resources of treaty body secretariats which can 'barely' meet regular tasks, and have no capacity for crises response. O'Flaherty observes, "during 1996, the CERD Committee secretariat had neither the . . .resources to prepare an analysis of the GFA, nor even to have the text distributed in its entirety to committee members."¹⁴¹ Clearly, member states of the United Nations must address this appalling lack of resources if the treaty bodies, including the CRC Committee, are to seriously enact their mandates in situations of human rights crisis. Another drawback is that, after the initial report from the state, regular reports are only due to the CRC Committee every five years, which does not permit the Committee to monitor the need for, or progress of, children's participation in peace processes of states, as may be required by many urgent situations.

2.3.3 Lack of Children's Participation in Peace Processes after the Crisis

There are many reasons for lack of involvement of children in state peace processes. First, sufficient resources and professional staff are not currently available to human rights committees to allow them to provide support to states in this matter.¹⁴² Evatt describe the

¹⁴⁰ O'Flaherty, Micheal. "Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp.451. The author cites discussions with the EASC legal team.

¹⁴¹ O'Flaherty, Micheal. "Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp.454. The author cites direct knowledge.

¹⁴² O'Flaherty, Micheal. "Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 440 Human rights committees, experience the "debilitating effect of overloaded programmes of work, and extremely limited secretariat support." Resources for CRC committee review of periodic state reporting appear constrained with little or no resources to address crisis situations.

problem as one of 'diminishing resources.'¹⁴³ Insufficient resources also appear to contribute to a "lack of consistency and of follow-up," regarding recommendations made during war, and in subsequent peace negotiations. Periodic state reporting to the CRC Committee is not flexible enough to deal with states in an urgent conflict situation. No procedures are in place for communicating with non-state parties who may control part of the territory and thereby exert jurisdiction over children. Also missing are procedures for coordinating the CRC Committee actions and reporting with UN human rights, peacekeeping and other personnel monitoring state actions during conflict.¹⁴⁴

In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, O'Flaherty found that "Certainly, [UN Human Rights] treaty bodies had no effect on the passage of the war, and there is no evidence that their findings were taken into account by any of the peace processes."¹⁴⁵ While a Commission of Experts was installed, their report does not refer to implementation of any findings of UN Treaty Bodies, including the CRC Committee.¹⁴⁶ However, the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina [GFA], sets a precedent by stipulating that, "all competent authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina shall cooperate with, and provide unrestricted access to. . .the supervisory bodies established by any of the international agreements listed in the appendix to the Annex." In this way, the CRC Committee and other UN human rights treaty-governing bodies are referenced by the GFA. They are also listed in the Annex to the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Article 7 of this Constitution also requires, "[a]ll competent authorities in the Federation . . .[to] co-operate with. . .the supervisory bodies established by any of the instruments listed in the Annex." The Republika Srpska and The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina are also to cooperate with the CRC Committee, according to the GFA.

¹⁴³Evatt, Elizabeth. 2000. 'Ensuring Effective Supervisory Procedures: The Need for Resources,' in *The Future of UN Human Rights Treaty Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 461.

¹⁴⁴ Evatt, Elizabeth. 2000. 'Ensuring Effective Supervisory Procedures: The Need for Resources,' in *The Future of UN Human Rights Treaty Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 440.

¹⁴⁵O'Flaherty, Micheal. "Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 440.

¹⁴⁶ O'Flaherty, Micheal. "Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 440. The author references UN Doc. S/1994/674.

The GFA requirement that all competent bodies cooperate with UN human rights treaty bodies creates an unprecedented opportunity for groups like the CRC Committee to participate in the peace building process. Ms. Rehn, the Special Rapporteur, attempted to reinforce this requirement. In September 1996, she supplied a succinct report to the CRC Committee, completed by herself, UNHCHR, the OSCE, WHO, and the UN High Representative. The Special Rapporteur asked them to, on an urgent basis, address the situation of children in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ms Rehn stated, "the Committee's capacity to influence the State's development of policy is greatly increased at the present time by virtue of the fundamental review and reform of institutions which is already underway."¹⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the CRC Committee did not respond at its next session, meeting Ms. Rehn only in January 1997, where it 'declined to take any particular action.' The CRC Committee did, however, ask Ms. Rehn to complete a special report on children in former Yugoslavia.¹⁴⁸ O'Flaherty suggests that the CRC committee may have declined this opportunity due to concerns about 'disturb[ing] the rhythm of consideration of its periodic reports' and recent enlisting of new, inexperienced members who were unwilling to undertake innovative procedures.

The lost opportunity for the CRC Committee to provide meaningful input into the development of new governance in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to ensure the input or participation of children in this process, is regrettable. The creation of the GFA offered substantial opportunities for CRC implementation to be described and planned from the point of conception with the CRC Committee or and other UN bodies responsible for children. However, it is understood that 'debilitating effects of overloaded programmes of work and extremely limited secretariat support' for the CRC Committee, and possibly protocol within the UN respecting peace processes, may have made this effort impossible. Surely, if real CRC implementation is to occur in such situations, and the participation of children effected, considerably more resources and a co-ordinated UN plan of action must be made available for this purpose.

¹⁴⁷ O'Flaherty, Micheal. "Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." In *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 458.

¹⁴⁸ O'Flaherty, Micheal. "Treaty Bodies: Responding to States of Emergency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina", in *The Future of UN Human Rights Monitoring*. Alston, Phillip and James Crawford, eds. Cambridge, UK.: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 458.

2.4 Implications for CRC Committee and States In Implementing Child Participation in Peace Processes

2.4.1 Operational and Jurisdictional Difficulties in CRC Implementation

In order to fulfill their mandate, the CRC Committee must work with other UN bodies, states, international and regional bodies, and NGOs to ensure the participation of children in the peace process. This is fraught with operational and jurisdictional difficulties, including:

- Poor fit between CRC's requirement for periodic reporting of states and need for urgent interaction between the CRC Committee and states during times of conflict;
- problem of identifying or contacting authorities responsible for children, whether state or non-state parties, during conflict when authority of government may be in question, or non-state actors may be in control;
- Problems of ensuring children's safe involvement, fair representation, and ethical treatment in mediation processes during difficult periods of conflict;
- A possible need for the design of new protocols for involvement of UN treaty bodies, such as the CRC, and other responsible parties, with respect to the ensuring of children's rights in peace processes;
- A possible need for greater coordination of actions of UN treaty bodies, such as the CRC, with those of International mediators, UN peacekeeping representatives 'on the ground' and other relevant parties.

The rights of the child under the CRC are not derogated in war or emergency. This has implications for increased child rights monitoring and vigilance by the CRC Committee, and by the international community, where a state is in armed conflict. Unlike some other Human Rights laws, where humanitarian law may take precedence in times of conflict, the CRC does not lose effectiveness, or become overridden by humanitarian law, in situations of emergency or conflict. Rather, states are expected to undertake *special measures* to ensure the protection of children's rights at such times. Reviewing reports of states or NGOs, where abuses of rights of war-affected children come to light, the CRC Committee needs more resources to sound the alert that special measures by states are not being taken. The CRC Committee has a role in recommending such special measures to the State Party, the General Assembly, other UN Bodies or the Secretary-General. In situations of conflict and extreme child rights abuse, through communication and requests for studies by the Secretary-General, a well-resourced CRC Committee may also cultivate an influence

which could trigger international missions or interventions, where appropriate, to ensure protection of the rights of children.

It is recommended that the CRC Committee, in a proactive manner, provide guidance for states, and work with regional, international and NGO entities, to develop approaches, legislation, policies and best practices governing the participation of children in peace processes. This is likely to require greater funding, and involve the UN Centre for Human Rights, the Voluntary Fund for Technical Cooperation in the Field of Human Rights, and other relevant bodies. Clearly, a carefully planned approach is needed for CRC Committee strategy and practice in dealing with states in conflict and peace processes. CRC Committee practices need to be coordinated with other UN bodies, such as those responsible for peacekeeping and mediation. These aspects are examined below.

2.4.2 The CRC Committee and Children's Participation in Peace Processes

Clearly, a review of the CRC treaty mandate, and actions of bodies, such as the CERD Committee, during the crisis in former Yugoslavia, and the formation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, reveals substantial opportunity [within their mandate and with innovative procedures] for treaty bodies contribute to, and shape, the nature of the peace processes and agreements. While CERD Committee preferences for non-ethnically pure states were not acted on, and their calls for an end to ethnic cleansing were unsuccessful, they have affected a mandate to influence the actions of the parties during the crisis and peace negotiations. With significantly more resources, it appears that the CRC Committee and other human rights bodies could take many more initiatives, and increase their effectiveness during the course of a conflict. New initiatives in implementation of the rights of children could include CRC Committee recommendation of, and co-ordination of support to, the participation of children in peace processes, as appropriate. However, such initiatives for children require considerably more resources than currently available to the CRC Committee.

Respecting urgent matters, such as initiation, development and maintenance of peace processes in areas of conflict, the CRC Committee may directly request the Secretary-General to execute special studies, under Article 45 of the CRC. Such requests could cover topics such as the right of children to participate in mediation or peace processes organized

through 'good offices' of the Secretary-General, or by any other means.¹⁴⁹ Occurring outside the regular CRC reporting schedule, such requests may result in more timely responses that ensure children's participation rights are met. States who are not party to the CRC may be subject to reports under Article 45 (c). This provision might become a method of investigating the right of children to participate in state peace processes for states that are not party to the CRC.

A review of CRC treaty implementation guidelines reveals the following ways in which the CRC Committee may increase opportunities for children's participation in peace processes: 1) emphasizing the need for participation of children in priority peace processes; 2) assessing needs of state parties and brokering international sources of support; and 3) proposing approaches to children's participation. The Committee may make recommendations about technical and other needs of a state to regional, international and NGO organizations and mediators. The Committee may also provide information such as data from state reports, where permitted. Substantial increases in resources, delegation of some tasks, and supporting research, are needed for the Committee to fulfill this role.

In a more general sense, the CRC Committee may also comment on the overall need for initiating and strengthening child participation in peace processes, under the auspices of national and regional bodies. Such comments may be provided, with relevant data from state bodies, as permitted, to supporting UN bodies such as the Centre for Human Rights in Geneva¹⁵⁰ and the Voluntary Fund for Technical Cooperation in the Field of Human Rights.¹⁵¹ These UN bodies may assist states, and organizations such as the OSCE, the OAU, the OAS, and NGOs, in conducting research and developing policies, methods training and supporting structures for children's participation peace processes. The CRC Committee, may also choose to examine the participation of children in peace processes as one of its major 'thematic discussions.' Under Articles 44 and 45, the CRC Committee

¹⁴⁹ Under Article 45(c), the CRC Committee has requested a study on children in armed conflict. However, topics outside of CRC enshrined rights may also be studied.

¹⁵⁰ The Centre for Human Rights in Geneva administers advisory services and technical assistance, in its role as the Secretariat of the UN on human rights issues. The Centre may assist states in training and technical advice, as described in Articles 55 and 56 of the UN Charter. Assistance approved include: expert advisory services, fellowships/scholarships, international and regional seminars, regional programmes, and national information and training programmes.

¹⁵¹ The Voluntary Fund for Technical Cooperation in the Field of Human Rights provides financial assistance for international cooperation which strengthens national and regional institutions which will improve the implementation of international treaties in the long term, outlined in UN Doc/CN.4/1993/61.

may receive information regarding children's participation in peace processes from sources around the globe. The Committee may forward findings from analysis of such information to states and the UN General Assembly, with comments and recommendations.

2.5 Children's Current Involvement in Peace, Democracy & Social Justice

Responding to an urgent need, children are becoming involved peace, social justice and democratic movements although their participation in peace processes remains mainly informal and limited. The United Nations, states and other bodies support many of these activities but greater resources are needed. Children's activities at regional and global levels, are described as background for an approach to more formal involvement in peace processes. Comprehensive literature on this topic is limited. Therefore, I focus on the Gerison Lansdown's excellent report: "*Global Priorities for Youth: Youth Participation in Decision-making.*"¹⁵² This report also provides a detailed review of children's participation at state and regional levels.

2.5.1 International Initiatives:

Internationally, many initiatives and reports have been developed in recent years to deal with war-affected children. These include: 1) Machel's 2001 book, titled, "*The Impact of War on Children,*" recommending plans for protecting children in armed conflict; including youth;¹⁵³ 2) the 1996 'Machel Report' on children and armed conflict, which called for peace processes to consider child protection issues and set an action agenda for improving protection and care of war-affected children;¹⁵⁴ 3) the World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond, of 1996, and the Lisbon Declaration on Youth Policies and Programs of 1998, that outlined concerns of youth respecting conflict;¹⁵⁵ 4) Security Council Resolutions 1261 (1999) and 1265 (1999) emphasizing threats to global security and legitimacy of protection of children in armed conflict; 5) a promise from Kofi Anan, the UN Secretary General, to recommend broad measures to

¹⁵² Lansdown, Gerison. 2002. "Global Priorities for Youth: Youth Participation in Decision-making." In *Draft Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention*. UN Commission for Social Development. A paper presented to The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki, Finland October 2002, sponsored by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/esa/undev/unyin/helsinki/ch10_participation_lansdown.doc

¹⁵³ Machel, Graca. 2001. *The Impact of War on Children*. UNICEF. Vancouver B.C.: The UBC Press

¹⁵⁴ Machel, Graca. 1996. *The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*. UNICEF. Available from World Wide Web: http://www.unicef.org/graca/a51-306_en.pdf

¹⁵⁵ Machel (2000a) Referenced at the Winnipeg International Conference on War-Affected Children.

address concerns of war-affected children;¹⁵⁶ 6) the Brahimi Report of 2000, demanding an integrated approach to peace-keeping by all UN, financial institution, government and NGO actors for ensuring human rights, improving UN peace-keeping and strengthening democracy – all important to war-affected children; 7) the Winnipeg International Conference on War-affected Children in 2000; 8) UN Security Council resolutions 1235, of 2000, and 1366, of 2001, stating that the Security Council's prevention of armed conflict is integral to its responsibility for maintenance of international peace and security; and 9) UN General Assembly Resolutions of June 2002, affirming the significance of education in the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non- Violence for the Children of the World, with a related action plan.¹⁵⁷ Many measures have been criticized by Ebrahimian and other experts as “failing. . . to ensure that the myriad needs of vulnerable people are addressed and verify that states, upon ratifying these instruments, domesticate them. This is largely due to the fact that youth do not feel accountable to procedures that exclude them from problem assessment of decision-making, implementation and monitoring processes.”¹⁵⁸ Peace processes involving children are needed to make better programs.

In the Global arena, youth are participating more frequently in democratic and peace building processes. The Children as Partners Alliance [CAPA] is a forum of children and adults working together to “ survey, collect, evaluate, systematize and disseminate relevant child participation research, experience and expert opinion”¹⁵⁹ respecting children's participation at local, regional and international levels. CAPA is an initiative of the International Institute for Child Rights and Development, of the Centre for Global Studies, University of Victoria, and cooperating partner organizations: CIDA, Child Rights Information Network (CRIN), international and national NGOs, NGO Group for the Convention on the Rights of the Child, Save the Children Alliance, UNICEF, UNESCO,

¹⁵⁶ UN's First Report of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict, A/55/163-S/2000/712.

¹⁵⁷ This resolution followed two reports of the UN Secretary-General, in 2000 (A/55/377) and 2001 (A/56/349), which provides overall strategy for the implementation of the Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace (GA resolution 53/243 B) and the International Decade.

¹⁵⁸ Ebrahimian, Laleh D. *Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention. Final Draft.* For the 41st session, UN Commission for Social Development in 2003. Available on the World Wide Web: www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/helsinki/ch14_conflict-ebrahimian.doc Pp.13.

¹⁵⁹ International Institute for Child Rights and Development, Centre for Global Studies, University of Victoria. 2003. “*Children As Partners: Achieving Meaningful Child Participation The Mandate of CRC Article 12.*” Available on the World Wide Web: http://web.uvic.ca/iicrd/proj_partners.html

children's organizations and professional associations. Sharing of expertise is essential to foster youth participation around the world, which has been 'inadequate.'¹⁶⁰

Lansdown describes how youth and state delegates have jointly attended the UN General Assembly, and may take part in decision-making. Youth empowerment and promotion of the CRC are now key goals of UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] strategy¹⁶¹ and UNICEF's Voices for Youth. In the "*Youth Declaration on Terrorism and War at UNESCO's 31st General Conference, Youth Forum*," youth advised states in conflict to use UN peace process mechanisms: "We. . . encourage leaders to: . . . discuss common problems, challenges and disagreements through peaceful mechanisms such as the United Nations system, as young leaders, representing over 90 countries, wish to build a future based on education for all, a culture of peace, . . . respect for cultural diversity and call for a permanent dialogue among cultures and civilisations."¹⁶² About the most recent of four World Youth Forums, Lansdown writes, "The outcome of the Dakar Youth Empowerment Strategy was a set of concrete recommendations for youth empowerment, addressing. . . social integration, peace, youth participation . . . It called upon the agencies of the UN to strengthen and co-ordinate youth policies and promote youth participation, and on national governments to provide the necessary resources to the UN to undertake this work."¹⁶³ Globally organized youth efforts to increase their democratic participation in political affairs include, according to Lansdown, the World Assembly of Youth [WAY] and Oxfam's International Youth Parliament.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰Lansdown, Gerison. 2002. "Global Priorities for Youth: Youth Participation in Decision-making." In *Draft Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention*. UN Commission for Social Development. A paper presented to The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki, Finland October 2002, sponsored by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/esa/undev/unyin/helsinki/ch10_participation_lansdown.doc Pp. 29.

¹⁶¹ See UNESCO's Medium Term Strategy. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001254/125434e.pdf>

¹⁶² Available on the World Wide Web: www.unesco.ca/english/Documents/YouthDeclaration.pdf+unesco+%22youth%22&hl=en&ie=UTF-8

¹⁶³Lansdown, Gerison. 2002. "Global Priorities for Youth: Youth Participation in Decision-making." In *Draft Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention*. UN Commission for Social Development. A paper presented to The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki, Finland October 2002, sponsored by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/esa/undev/unyin/helsinki/ch10_participation_lansdown.doc Pp. 25.

¹⁶⁴ Lansdown, Gerison. 2002. "Global Priorities for Youth: Youth Participation in Decision-making." In *Draft Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention*. UN Commission for Social Development. A paper presented to The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki, Finland October 2002, sponsored by the United Nations

2.5.2 State Initiatives:

State initiatives for youth participation in democratic peace and social justice processes vary greatly, according to Lansdowne. She describes: 1) a lack of detailed information in regions, such as the Middle East; which has a 'strict system of taboos,' and "little. . . experience of active civil participation by adults, let alone young people . . . current. . . systems do not support the right to children's participation. . . and indeed, pose many barriers to its realization;"¹⁶⁵ 2) great variability in culture and initiatives, within areas such as Europe; 3) active youth agencies that focus on services to youth rather than youth empowerment in Africa, except for continuing youth in social justice movements of South Africa;¹⁶⁶ and 4) growing youth involvement in Latin America where they have traditionally been excluded from decision making processes.¹⁶⁷ Limits of this thesis

Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/esa/undev/unyin/helsinki/ch10_participation_lansdown.doc Pp. 25.

¹⁶⁵ Lansdown, Gerison. 2002. "Global Priorities for Youth: Youth Participation in Decision-making." In *Draft Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention*. UN Commission for Social Development. A paper presented to The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki, Finland October 2002, sponsored by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland.

¹⁶⁶ Ebrahimian. Laleh D. 2003 *Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention. Final Draft*. For 41st session, UN Commission for Social Development in 2003. Available on the World Wide Web: www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/helsinki/ch14_conflict-ebrahimian.doc p.27 Ebrahimian observes: "African Networks of Young Peace-builders, . . . endeavor to mobilise youth, targeting ages 18 to 30, . . . make provisions that will advance reconciliatory and peaceful measures in their societies. The African Network for Young Peace-builders hold training, workshops, peace-building discussion and conferences that share field experiences and non-violent methods."

¹⁶⁷ Lansdown, Gerison. 2002. "Global Priorities for Youth: Youth Participation in Decision-making." In *Draft Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention*. UN Commission for Social Development. A paper presented to The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki, Finland October 2002, sponsored by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/esa/undev/unyin/helsinki/ch10_participation_lansdown.doc Pp. 25. In the past decade, youth have become more involved in planning and decision-making, in Latin America [Ekstedt, J. and B Momura. 2002. Participation in South America. *CRIN Newsletter, September 2002*.] mainly through working children movements. In Jamaica and Costa Rica, state programs encourage youth participation and free speech rights [United Nations 56th General Assembly. 2001. *Implementation of the World Program of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond*. United Nations General Assembly: Document A/56/180]. Youth participation and a stronger democracy are key goals of the foremost Chilean national youth movement, according to Lansdown. The state of Peru has made democratically-elected school councils, which support the CRC, mandatory. (Ekstedt, J. and B Momura, 2002. Participation in South America. *CRIN Newsletter, September 2002*.) These councils are recognized by local authorities, and work to support CRC implementation.] A program for schools to become 'centres of peace' was implemented in Bolivia. [UN Document CRC/C/70/Add.5; 5 January, 2000. *CRC Committee Consideration of State Reports Submitted Under Article 44 of the Convention: Periodic Reports of State Parties Due in 1998*: Report Submitted by Columbia 26 June, 1999. Website:

[http://www.unhcr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/898586b1dc7b4043c1256a450044f331/f663d6b606af4a41802568e7004ca9fa/\\$FILE/G0040076.pdf](http://www.unhcr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/898586b1dc7b4043c1256a450044f331/f663d6b606af4a41802568e7004ca9fa/$FILE/G0040076.pdf) The program is called the "Bolivarian Movement for Peace and Life, against Violence, Starting in Schools."] About twelve national youth groups are also on the Brazilian Youth Committee that involves local youth in international treaty implementation. Gerison Lansdown offers the following observations about child participation in different regions: While Asian children traditionally acquiesce to their elders, some programs now support the CRC requirement for state youth policies. [Karkara, R. and C. O'Kane, 2002. Children and Young People's Participation in

prevent a review of many states' initiatives, so an example from the state of Columbia is provided below.

Columbia's youth movement exemplifies informal peace processes within a state, initiated by children, and growing to attain international impact. Visual media was a significant instrument of the Columbian Children's Movement for Peace. UNICEF-generated images of a friendly, smiling hand, and a child's hand pulling an adult's hand to the ballot box, were used to successfully advocate a national peace vote and lobby for the CRC. The Movement for Peace demonstrates children's local and global reach:

“Students in our school belong to gangs. . . the guerrillas, the rightwing paramilitaries, criminals and . . . drug traffickers. . . . Many young people have been killed. . . to make schools a zone of peace, we would have to present some alternative. . . . We built cultural centres The discussion about the violence . . . encompass[ed] the whole society. . . . We were able to stop the war in our schools for two . . . years. . . as a result [of the Peace Curriculum]. . . . We want to include all the social movements in this process -- workers, women, youth, community leaders and others. . . . We want the negotiations between the government and the guerrillas to begin again, and civil society needs to be included. We need a cease fire. No other solution is possible except for negotiation.”¹⁶⁸

South and Central Asia. *CRIN Newsletter, September 2002.*] Democratic participation is rare, due to a focus on health, environmental and educational goals. Indonesia plans to encourage participation of youth in social affairs and politics and other areas. A Youth Movement in Kazakhstan is creating a new law to ensure greater youth involvement in public life, to be reviewed by parliament. In India, one agency specializes in provision of policy and program supports to transnational youth agencies, while another is responsible for state youth policy. [United Nations General Assembly, 2001. *Implementation of the World Program of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond*. United Nations: UN Gen. Assembly Doc A/56/180. State youth policy is the responsibility of the Indian Committee on National Youth Programmes] In Cambodia, human rights projects relating to youth have been undertaken by the Khmer Youth Association. States are slow and cautious in creating youth participation programs. The activities of Arab Federation of Youth Organizations is served by as secretariat residing in a Ministry of the United Arab Emirates, who describe their state youth policy as a high priority. The Ministry responsible for youth in Jordan has programs intended to prepare youth for responsible roles in society's future. As in Africa, Save the Children has conducted youth forums that proposed policies for youth to Lebanese and Jordanian parliaments. Promotion of children's right to participate in decision-making was a key aspect of the 2001 Arab Resource Collective, reinforced by youth identification of political awareness and participation as key concerns. [Karkara, R. and C. O'Kane, 2002. *Children and Young People's Participation in South and Central Asia. CRIN Newsletter, September 2002.*] Gerison Lansdown views these forums as an opportunity to “develop an network of young people throughout the region committed to promoting their right to participate.” In keeping with their contrasting experience in participative governance, European countries show a continuum of youth participation in democratic processes and peace movements. These range from hundreds of youth councils in France, who have a thirty-year tradition of voicing interests of youth to local authorities, to relatively recent initiatives in Kosovo, for youth to articulate their concerns through local radio stations and school newsletters. Youth councils or youth representatives are also attached to Swedish municipal governments, while a number of local councils in Spain have created elected 'children's assemblies' and a children's 'shadow council' who make recommendations respecting children's initiatives. At the regional level, youth groups have been able to exert considerable influence on youth policy formulation by government.

¹⁶⁸ Bacon, David. 2002. *Teaching Peace in a Time of War: Columbian Teachers Try to Separate Children from Guns: Interview with Ligia Inez Alzate, a Columbian Teacher in Medellin.* Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.zmag.org/content/Columbia/bacon_teaching-peace.cfm Being a teacher and union activist is considered one of the the most dangerous jobs in Colombia, states Bacon. From 1986 to 2001, 418 educators were murdered. http://www.zmag.org/content/Columbia/bacon_teaching-peace.cfm

The movement began in 1996, when the youth mayor of the 'local council of children' of Aparado, Columbia, participated in municipal government. Many youth municipal councils were set up to incorporate their ideas in municipal plans, with associated training for mayors. The children's government drafted a "mandate for peace" held peace walks, and, supported by UNICEF and agencies working with children, initiated 'The Movement of Children for Peace.' Apparently influenced by the Movement, FARC and ELN, Columbia's major paramilitary groups in, commenced peace negotiations with the government.¹⁶⁹ Attendance of representatives of Colombia Children's Peace Movement at the Hague Appeal for Peace Conference, where global youth addressed CRC, conflict resolution, and peace education issues, is described by Lansdown.¹⁷⁰ In Columbia, children's National Education peace initiatives are intended to increase awareness and skills respecting civil society and conflict resolution.¹⁷¹ A peace education program to create respect for ethnic diversity while also fostering national identity involved 2,500 outreach workers in "The Children of Columbia Travel Throughout Columbia." Columbian children's programs include the 'Peace for a Thousand Days' Program, and the 'Young Peace Managers' campaign. 'Children for Peace' sponsored civic activity in 33 regions. The "Youth Organization and Participation Program" ensured strong youth civil

¹⁶⁹ Cameron, Sara. 2003. *Making Peace With Children: The Power of Child Rights and Participation Against War in Colombia*. The Movement of Children for Peace was nominated for the 1998 Nobel Peace Prize for their peace work. An unprecedented 1/3 of the population voted, almost entirely for peace, during a period of high political violence and corruption. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.turnerlearning.com/cnn/soldiers/movement.html>; <http://www.wagingpeace.org/articles/guidebooks/smallarms/youthleadershipprint.html>

¹⁷⁰ Lansdown, Gerison. 2002. . "Global Priorities for Youth: Youth Participation in Decision-making." In *Draft Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention*. UN Commission for Social Development. A paper presented to The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki, Finland October 2002, sponsored by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/esa/undev/unyin/helsinki/ch10_participation_lansdown.doc Pp. 16 & 17.

¹⁷¹ Ebrahimian, Laleh D. *Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention. Final Draft*. For the 41st session, UN Commission for Social Development in February 2003. Pp. 22. Available on the World Wide Web: www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/helsinki/ch14_conflict-ebrahimian.doc Ebrahimian states, " In cooperation with local partners and the international community, the Colombia Children's Movement for Peace, nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize, mobilized youth to advocate for child protection and peace-building measures. The initiative, started by 27 youths throughout the country, paved way to a special election, known as the Children's Mandate for Peace and Rights, where over 2.7 million children marked their ballots with the for the rights of life and peace in 1996. The major supporters for this movement were UNICEF, The National Network for Peace Initiatives (REDEPAZ), the Red Cross, the Scout Federation, and the Catholic Church. The successful operation of this movement proved that multi-method approaches could bring early warning analysis and conflict prevention initiatives to the grassroots level."

society participation, in keeping with the 1991 Columbian Constitution, and Youth Act.¹⁷² Youth Information Centres, reaching over two million children, have been set up in four cities. Youth took part in the “National Meeting of Student Representatives in the Twenty-first Century Forum Fair.”¹⁷³ The nomination of members of the Columbian Youth Movement for the Nobel Peace Prize demonstrates the ability of youth to initiate and sustain peace processes outside of those formally endorsed by the state. If, through CRC implementation, Columbian youth formalize their participation in peace processes, their peace and humanitarian interests may be better realized.

2.5.3 Global Progress Respecting Children's Right to Participation

While sources are limited, in this section I survey a few expert assessments of the state of children's participation in peace and social justice or democratic processes. First, I examine expert opinion on the role of children in peace processes, from a Stanford University conference for scholars who are studying implementation of peace agreements in 15 civil-war-torn countries. Secondly, from the UN Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki, I review Ebrahimian's report about youth and conflict prevention,¹⁷⁴ and Lansdown's paper on the role of youth in decision-making.¹⁷⁵ I also analyse Machel's evaluation and recommendations relating to war-affected children and peace and reconstruction processes.

Peace process implementation often fails because the mediation does not include stakeholder groups who implement, and are affected by, the agreement, such as children, say experts meeting at Stanford University. “Nearly everyone at the conference felt that

¹⁷² Lansdown, Gerison. 2002. “Global Priorities for Youth: Youth Participation in Decision-making.” In *Draft Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention*. UN Commission for Social Development. A paper presented to The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki, Finland October 2002, sponsored by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/esa/undev/unyin/helsinki/ch10_participation_lansdown.doc

¹⁷³ Student Representatives of the Twenty-first Century Forum Fair. 2002. *The Twenty-first Century Forum Fair*. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. Available on the World Wide Web: http://srch1.un.org/plweb-cgi/fastweb?state_id=1057337379&view=unsearch&docrank=2&numhitsfound=15&query=Ebrahimian&&docid=87194&dccb=scletter&dbname=web&sorting=BYRELEVANCE&operator=adj&TemplateName=predoc.templ&setCookie=1

¹⁷⁴ Ebrahimian, Laleh D. 2003. *Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention. Final Draft*. For the 41st session, UN Commission for Social Development in February 2003. Available on the World Wide Web: www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/helsinki/ch14_conflict-ebrahimian.doc

¹⁷⁵ Lansdown, Gerison. 2002. “Global Priorities for Youth: Youth Participation in Decision-making.” In *Draft Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention*. UN Commission for Social Development. A paper presented to The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki, Finland October 2002, sponsored by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/esa/undev/unyin/helsinki/ch10_participation_lansdown.doc

implementers need to be brought into the [peace] process before negotiations are complete. . . to have a better sense of what has been left out . . . and where various parties are likely to waffle. The pattern tends to be that the implementers are completely divorced from the mediators. One set of individuals or states creates an agreement and hands it off to another group . . . [For example] What was fudged and omitted was the civilian aspects of implementation in the Dayton accords. . . a total hand-off with very little forethought or strategy.”¹⁷⁶

Where children are not considered in peace accords, particularly if their survival depends upon soldiering or other war related activities, they may play a part in unravelling peace. In a few instances, peace pact failure was attributed to behaviour of children and youth that changed little during ‘peace.’ Successful agreements were achieved “but then very quickly we ran into the problem children of Angola, Cambodia and Rwanda. . . By a huge magnitude, more people died after the peace accords in Angola and Rwanda than during the civil wars that preceded them.”¹⁷⁷ The continuing cycle of conflict may be caused in part because the needs of war-affected children and child soldiers were not considered in peace processes. Desperate children are forced by adults or circumstances to continue in the only ‘survival mode’ they know. “The brutally depressing fact is that for most of the parties in most of these conflicts, war is a safer bet [than peace]. . . [with] a familiar pattern; it imposes order, stifles dissent, generates profits in Angola and other places, provides employment, provides a pathway to advance.”¹⁷⁸ ‘Getting the process right’ the first time is key, because, “Negotiating a second agreement after one has failed is often more costly in time, money and lives, conference participants said.”¹⁷⁹ This suggests that states and third parties should plan children’s participation early in peace processes.

¹⁷⁶ O’Toole, Kathleen. 2003. *Why Peace Agreements Often Fail to End Wars*. Stanford University. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://news-service.stanford.edu/news/november19/civilwar.html> Quote is from Stephen Stedman, a senior research scholar at Stanford's Center for International Security and Arms Control.

¹⁷⁷ Stephen Stedman, a senior research scholar at Stanford's Center for International Security and Arms Control. As quoted in : O’Toole, Kathleen. 2003. *Why Peace Agreements Often Fail to End Wars*. Stanford University. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://news-service.stanford.edu/news/november19/civilwar.html>

¹⁷⁸ O’Toole, Kathleen. 2003. *Why Peace Agreements Often Fail to End Wars*. Stanford University. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://news-service.stanford.edu/news/november19/civilwar.html> Quote is from James Schear, deputy assistant secretary of defence for peacekeeping and humanitarian affairs, told the campus audience. Schear previously worked for the United Nations in Cambodia and Bosnia.

¹⁷⁹ O’Toole, Kathleen. 2003. *Why Peace Agreements Often Fail to End Wars*. Stanford University. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://news-service.stanford.edu/news/november19/civilwar.html>

Ebrahimian supports the use of visual media methods for youth participation in peace processes, in his recommendations for the 41st session of UN Commission for Social Development. He proposes to, “foster . . . ‘peace’ through community-accepted ‘unconventional tools that promote the commonalities. . . [E]ffective techniques include. . . joint activities and projects. . . as well as arts . . . [U]se of existing local . . . practices which promote peace and understanding, can also be extremely effective . . . Usage of . . . symbols. . . for resolving and preventing conflicts.”¹⁸⁰ Ebrahimian advises that “to address the roots of the problems that cause violent acts, . . . peace-building processes must gauge the interests of youth, who bear the brunt of these injustices. . . governments must ensure the integration of community actors. . . youth. . . and so forth – in processes and each actor must take on specific responsibilities.”¹⁸¹ Traditional state mechanisms are described as ‘top-heavy,’ ‘macro-level’ and ineffective in addressing conflict prevention problems, causing youth to initiate their own networking for prevention and peace-building. While a legal framework is in place via CRC state youth policies, Ebrahimian sees weakness in frequent lack of local support for, or implementation of, national policies. He also cites structural problems such as marginalization, lack of local peace-building skills, lack of local government accountability or transparency, and short-term solutions. Stressing youth participation at all levels, ‘including politically,’ he sees a need to prevent marginalization of youth: “the role of youth is recognized as critical in creating long-term stability. . . effect[ing] outcomes. . . [in] communities and protecting them from future conflicts.”¹⁸² He clearly supports youth participation in peace processes using visual media.

Ebrahimian recommends a cross-sector approach to conflict prevention and peace processes, emphasizing integration of all types of actors and roles at the local and regional levels, and inclusion of previously omitted stakeholders, such as youth and any trans-

¹⁸⁰ Ebrahimian, Laleh D. 2003 *Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention. Final Draft*. For 41st session, UN Commission for Social Development. *Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention. Final Draft*. For the 41st session, UN Commission for Social Development in February 2003. Pp. Integrated approaches were planned in several areas, but the significant potential for collaboration that exists in the areas of youth participation in decision-making, and youth involvement in peace processes, were not linked in report chapter development.

¹⁸¹ Ebrahimian, Laleh D. 2003. *Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention. Final Draft*. For the 41st session, UN Commission for Social Development. Pp. 29 Available on the World Wide Web: www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/helsinki/ch14_conflict-ebrahimian.doc

¹⁸² Ebrahimian, Laleh D. *Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention. Final Draft*. For the 41st session, UN Commission for Social Development in February 2003. Pp. 29. Available on the World Wide Web: www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/helsinki/ch14_conflict-ebrahimian.doc

national corporations involved. This approach may provide greater effectiveness for vulnerable local children and youth as political power struggles may distract those at the national and international levels from peace process efforts. He also recommends psychosocial programs for child victims, and youth 'empowerment through socio-cultural factors' including "formal education. . . training and cultural workshops, policy and advocacy forums, peace-building mediations and institution, [where] dialogue can be fostered between opposing parties. Informational campaigns [to] sensitise youth to the detrimental effects of violence. Peace and security education that is integrated in schools from an early age up to adulthood [to] teach students safety (especially where landmines are common), communication skills, and non-violent measures in handling conflicts."¹⁸³ Further research is needed to ascertain whether children's visual media from such psychosocial programs may be an ethical and appropriate interim source of their input to peace processes. Psychosocial programs for war-affected children should be reviewed for their adaptability as an interim method of children's participation in peace processes, while more comprehensive methods are developed.

Lansdown recognizes that youth and their advocates have delivered 'a proliferation' of child participation initiatives from the local to global levels, since the 'World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond.' However, she laments that these are insufficient, as "Respect for young people as social actors, as citizens or as active participants in their own lives is far from universal. The rights of many young people continue to be violated with relative impunity throughout the world, whilst the opportunities they have to challenge those violations remain limited."¹⁸⁴ Barriers to participation identified by Lansdown include:

- 1) Practicing sporadic and adult-led 'token' consultations rather than the required development of integrated, continuing processes of participation, 'embedded within existing political processes at the national, regional and global levels,' where children and youth are seen as 'partners and significant contributors to public policy;'

¹⁸³Ebrahimian, Laleh D. 2003. *Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention. Final Draft.* For the 41st session, UN Commission for Social Development February 2003. Pp. 129. Available on the World Wide Web: www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/helsinki/ch14_conflict-ebrahimian.doc

¹⁸⁴ Lansdown, Gerison. 2002. *Global Priorities for Youth: Youth Participation in Decision-making.* A paper presented to The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki, Finland October 2002, sponsored by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. Pp. 26. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/esa/undev/unyin/helsinki/ch10_participation_lansdown.doc

- 2) Lack of access to broadly disseminated information of a type easily used by children and youth, that covers relevant public policy, decision making processes, discourse and background to the issues, and lack of a role for youth in designing these information processes and related communication systems;
- 3) Lack of inclusion of children from marginalized groups in participation processes, such as minorities and the disabled;
- 4) Lack of support to young people to design their own organizations and processes rather than replicating adult forms;
- 5) Failure of adults to relinquish control of youth projects and agendas due to lack of confidence in the youth, exemplified by youth parliaments that are “showcases, rather than offering any real opportunity for children to articulate their concerns. . . and do not represent any constituency of young people;”¹⁸⁵
- 6) “Adults remain a major barrier to effective participation by children and young people. . . [and] must ‘unlearn’ attitudes . . . built deep within their cultures. . . [overcoming] presumptions of their [children’s] incompetence and the invalidity of their experience, traditions of adult power over youth, fears of losing status or control, fears that young people will lack respect and indeed evade necessary adult protection and, . . . for adults who themselves have never felt empowered, it is hard to accept the importance of empowering young people;”¹⁸⁶
- 7) Failure to ‘systematically and strategically’ implement children’s participation, even in states which redesign some institutions for this purpose, including failure to evaluate new initiatives or develop best practices;
- 8) An inappropriate focus on token ‘youth leaders’ with insufficient effort, resources and training directed to capacity-building among the general population of youth; and
- 9) Active discouragement and restriction of children’s participation in areas of rising fundamentalist regimes.

Observing that children and youth ‘remain marginal’ to most democratic processes, Lansdown calls on governments to improve their willingness to engage with children and

¹⁸⁵ Lansdown, Geison. 2002. *Global Priorities for Youth: Youth Participation in Decision-making*. A paper presented to The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki, Finland October 2002, sponsored by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. Pp. 27. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/esa/undev/unyin/helsinki/ch10_participation_lansdown.doc

¹⁸⁶ Lansdown, Geison. 2002. *Global Priorities for Youth: Youth Participation in Decision-making*. A paper presented to The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki, Finland October 2002, sponsored by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. Pp. 27. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/esa/undev/unyin/helsinki/ch10_participation_lansdown.doc

youth-led organizations, and provide greater support for these processes and bodies. The institutionalization of democratic systems for youth is urgently needed through legal reform of political and education systems or reform of public discourse processes, so as to maintain gains made, states Lansdown. UN leadership is essential, in her view, to stress the significance of youth movements and ensure that their participation is enhanced.

The greatest responsibility for supporting children in the transition from conflict to peace lies with governments and national NGOs, according to Graca Machel. Government leadership and action is key to establishing the 'human rights culture' essential to a safe and healthy post-war environment for children. Machel views the CRC as a significant framework for post-war reconstruction, and praises children's informal peace initiatives in Columbia. She highlights Sierra Leone's Lome Peace Agreement,¹⁸⁷ a recent exception to the usual lack of formal recognition for children in peace processes. Described as 'seriously flawed' she says, however, that this agreement "remains a precedent in recognizing children's importance with in the peace and reconstruction agenda."¹⁸⁸ However, Machel does not call on states to implement children's participation rights in state peace processes. At the same time, Machel observes that states 'in transition from conflict' to peace need greater political and financial support for CRC implementation during the 'struggle to rebuild:' "It is. . . crucial that commitment to children does not waver and that efforts are made to strengthen social infrastructure, in building towards a more secure and peaceful future."¹⁸⁹

Truth and reconciliation commissions that are part of, or follow, peace processes, give little or no of attention to crimes against children, laments Machel. I believe that children's

¹⁸⁷Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone. 1999. *Peace Agreement Between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone*. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.sierra-leone.org/lomeaccord.html>. Although flawed, and not upheld, the agreement contained provisions for special care and the protection of war-affected children and their inherent right to life, survival and development, in accordance with the provisions of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child. The agreement calls for mobilization of resources, both within the country and from the International Community, and especially through the Office of the UN Special Representative for Children in Armed Conflict, UNICEF and other agencies, to address the special needs of these children in the existing disarmament, demobilization and reintegration processes. Proceeds from diamond sales are to be 'public monies' with appropriations for education and assistance to war victims, and other public programs. The 2000 Charter of Sierra Leone's Truth commission also refers to "work to help restore the human dignity of victims and promote reconciliation. . .giving special attention to the experiences of . . . children within the armed conflict." The needs of child victims are also to be addressed, and their security, and confidentiality of testimony, assured in commission processes.

¹⁸⁸ Machel, Graca. 2001. *The Impact of War on Children*. UNICEF, Vancouver B.C.: UBC Press. Pp. 176.

¹⁸⁹ Machel, Graca. 2001. *The Impact of War on Children*. UNICEF, Vancouver B.C.: UBC Press. Pp. 177.

participation in peace processes would provide information about crimes against them, and help avoid “the possibility of offering amnesty as a ‘quick fix’ in peace negotiations [that Machel claims] can only lead to contempt for the law and the prospect of renewed cycles of violence.”¹⁹⁰ Children’s participation in peace processes may, I suggest, help break the cycle of violence, stress their need for long-term, better-targeted resources, and prepare children to make valuable contributions to post-conflict rebuilding. This is consistent with Machel’s assertion that young people must be seen as ‘a resource’ able to act as ‘key contributors in planning and implementing long-term solutions,’ rather than burdensome ‘problems or victims.’

2.6 Conclusion to Chapter Two

CRC rights respecting children’s freedom of speech and expression, fair access to media, and freedom of assembly, are intended to foster meaningful collective participation, and are found to apply to state peace processes. Failure to implement children’s participation peace processes by states is attributed to lack of resources, weak political will, adult reluctance to empower children, and little research or sharing of expertise. Unsuccessful attempts to influence peace processes, such as those of Bosnia and Herzegovina, by the CRC Committee, are partly attributed to lack of resources. This also affects their role in monitoring and guiding state implementation of the CRC. This results in lost opportunities to: 1) introduce the much-needed longer term, inter-generational, and often humanitarian perspective of children into peace processes; 2) ensure that the interests of war-affected children are understood and that their needs met through peace agreements and peace-building; and 3) provide children with the positive benefits of contributing to community well-being, developing important skills and abilities, and possibly breaking the cycle of conflict.

Despite these problems, children engage in rare, formal state peace processes, and an increasing number of informal peace, social justice and democratic movements at the local, state and global levels. However these did not appear to meet CRC requirements for children’s participation. Significant additional resources for states and the CRC Committee are needed for development of new strategies, principles, best practices, exemplary

¹⁹⁰ Machel, Graca. 2001. *The Impact of War on Children*. UNICEF, Vancouver B.C.: UBC Press. Pp. 177.

structures, and training programs for children's participation in peace processes. Resources are crucial to overcoming stumbling blocks, generate political will and guiding state and supporting international actors, in initiating and sustaining children's participation in peace processes.

The CRC Committee needs successes to create political will for increasing resources to involve children in peace processes. To this end, it is recommended that the CRC Committee and pertinent UN actors partner with a coalition of states, NGOs, experts and agencies concerned about children's rights, to reduce barriers, provide direction, and take a leadership role in initiating youth participation in peace processes. Selected initiatives empowering children in their right to participate, as stakeholders in peace processes, are recommended. One approach may be a Secretary-General's study and pilot project respecting participation of children in a peace process. This should include formal support from the CRC Committee and relevant UN bodies, and project partnerships with children and relevant state, regional, and international or NGO organizations in all stages. Methods and outcomes should be systematically documented, evaluated, and broadly shared. I recommend that UN representatives, the CRC Committee, and concerned state, NGO and regional actors, create strategies and supports to develop, test and share principles and best practices for children's participation in peace processes. This should include assessment of potential for visual media exercises of psychosocial programs for war-affected children to be adapted as an interim method of children's participation in peace processes.

Chapter Three

REFRAMING DISCOURSE VIA CHILDREN'S VISUAL MEDIA & THE INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO BAN LANDMINES

International discourse about landmines focused for decades upon state security and military images until the International Campaign to Ban Landmines [ICBL], using the Internet, news events and exhibits, inserted the art of children affected by landmines, and pictures of the child victims, into 'traditional' discourse. In this chapter I study the ICBL's use of visual media within our highly 'mediated' post-modern culture to introduce and sustain an alternative humanitarian visual discourse. This is a visual discourse by and about children. I examine this visual media of the ICBL: 1) as an inter-generational tool for children to communicate issues of peace and conflict; 2) to assess the manner in which it appears to impact state military and security discourse; and 3) to ascertain implications for visual media methods of children's participation in peace processes under the CRC. I review expert opinion respecting the use of visual media to stimulate children's highly creative, integrated thinking, and to facilitate inter-generational learning. Benefits of visual media as an instrument of psychosocial support for war-affected children are also described. I also study the apparent instrumentality of children's visual media in the ICBL in reframing military discourse as humanitarian.

At its inception in 1992, ICBL members knew that the public had little knowledge of the landmine issue and did not understand or support a ban. However, in 1997, when the treaty was signed, the ICBL enjoyed "public opinion . . . strongly supportive of action [to ban landmines], and political leaders. . . looking for something that they could say yes to."¹⁹¹ In this chapter, I examine how the campaign influenced this substantial change in public opinion and the actions of state leaders. My focus is upon the role of children's visual media in influencing public and state actors to move from a norm of landmines accepted as a traditional state security tool, to a new normative regime. In the new regime, humanitarian norms, and support for child victims, prevail, and landmines are viewed as a scourge that maims and kills innocent women and children. Evidence of prestige and

¹⁹¹ Tomlin, Brian W. "On a Fast Track to a Ban: The Canadian Policy Process." In *To Walk Without Fear: the Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Maxwell A. Cameron, et al. eds. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press. Pp. 205

authority of the humanitarian normative regime,¹⁹² fostered by the ICBL, is found in: 1) the awarding of the 1997 Nobel Peace Prize jointly to the ICBL and its coordinator, Jody Williams; 2) generation of 'sufficient international will,' from all regions of the globe, to continue landmine ban negotiations through the innovative, Canadian-led, 'Ottawa Process,' after the failure of the traditional Convention on Conventional Weapons; 3) 'moral authority' was a key factor influencing state officials to create and sign the AP mine ban treaty, reported by an independent survey of the 'Ottawa Process' sponsored by Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade; 4) the advanced stage of AP mine policy contained in the new treaty, that eclipsed existing landmine policy in virtually all states involved; and 5) rapid negotiation and signing of the international treaty to ban landmines and the large number of states involved.¹⁹³

3.1 Children's Art as a Means of Intergenerational Learning To Reframe Conflict Discourse and Create a Path to Civil Society

The Conflict in Colombia is very complicated, and sometimes adults do not know who to believe. They do not always trust the politicians or the newspapers or what they see on television – but when they hear a child speak about the war and violence they know they are hearing the truth." – Juan¹⁹⁴

3.1.1 Visual Media as a Means of Child Input to Decision-Making Under the CRC

Under the CRC, states are to assure children of their right to freely express their views. Participation in decision-making is to be taken into account in all state judicial, or administrative proceedings affecting the life of the child. Participation of children as described by the CRC, should be facilitated by appropriate methods, allowing the state to give 'due weight' to children's views, given their age and maturity. For some children, appropriate methods for expression of ideas or testimony may involve visual media rather than writing or verbal discourse. CRC Articles 12 and 13, respecting the child's right to

¹⁹² O'Neill, Barry. 1999. *Honour, Symbols and War*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press. P. 208.

¹⁹³ United Nations. 1997. *The 1997 Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines on their Destruction*. New York, NY.: United Nations. The treaty was open for signature, according to Article 15, from December 3 1997, until March 1, 1999 when it entered force. States may no longer endorse the treaty because it has entered into force, but through accession they may become bound to the treaty, as outlined in Article 16 [2]. By August 6, 2003, there were 147 signatories/ accessions to the treaty, and 135 ratifications, accessions or approvals.

¹⁹⁴ ----- . 2002. "Statement from a member of the Youth Movement." In *Waging Peace*. January, 2003. Available from the World Wide Web: <http://www.wagingpeace.org/articles/guidebooks/smallarms/youthleadershipprint.html>

freedom of expression, and the child's right to expression through non-verbal communication give support to the Guidelines on Refugee Children. Pertaining to a child's proof that he or she has a well-founded fear of persecution, these guidelines note that children do not express themselves in the same manner as adults, and extra support is needed for them to express their fears and for careful interpretation of these expressions. Guidelines advise that those assessing the child's testimony should share the same cultural background and language, use "a liberal application of the benefit of the doubt"¹⁹⁵ and give greater emphasis to the family circumstances and the situation in the country of origin.

The CRC includes a child's right to use visual media as a form of expression. Article 13 (1) states that the right of expression "shall include the right to freedom to seek, receive and impart information of all kinds . . . through any other media of the child's choice." While there is little or no related research respecting peace processes, Geraldine Van Bueren examined the experience of child refugees. She found that experts could more precisely assess realistic fears of persecution where child refugees used visual media to express their trauma, as it was found to be a less threatening form of communication.¹⁹⁶ Van Bueren claims that Hvid's art therapy with child refugees in Sweden demonstrates the effectiveness of visual media as a means for children to: 1) express 'real, but hidden fears,' and 2) seek and impart information. While more time consuming, such methods are consistent with the children's right of freedom of expression and 'medium of choice,' under the CRC, claims Van Bueren¹⁹⁷. She suggests that children's visual media be used as a tool of justice, to move courts towards a greater understanding what the child is trying to communicate. Van Bueren emphasizes the need for additional assistance for children, to enable them to exercise their right to freedom of expression and medium of choice. Children's right to communication and freedom of expression, through visual media should be similarly supported during their participation in peace processes.

As a background to visual media exercises involving children in peace processes, I examine recent education theory regarding integrated-brain learning in children that

¹⁹⁵ United Nations. 1988. *UNHCR Guidelines*. New York, NY.: United Nations. Refer to Articles 15 (a), 16 (c), and 16 (e).

¹⁹⁶ Van Bueren, Geraldine. 1995. *The International Law on the Rights of the Child*. Save the Children. Norwell, MA.: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. Kluwer Academic Publishers. Pp. 364.

¹⁹⁷ Van Bueren, Geraldine. 1995. *The International Law on the Rights of the Child*. Save the Children. Norwell, MA.: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. Kluwer Academic Publishers. Pp. 142. See also Van Bueren, 1992. 'The International Legal Framework' in *Child Refugees in Europe*. Swedish Refugee Council.

focuses upon creation of visual media as enrichment to both thinking processes and brain development. Imaging and use of visual media are emphasized. In 'integrated-brain teaching' a calm environment is maintained through gentle colours, music and teaching styles, to avoid the anxiety which can lead to primal-brain thinking and a loss of focus on integrated-brain processes.¹⁹⁸ Visualization, drawing and other visual media are employed to increase integrated-brain comprehension.¹⁹⁹ Storyboards, created by children using pictures, are one way to gather visual information about issues that concern them.²⁰⁰ Cooperative techniques, involving sharing of ideas and collaboration between children by trained facilitators, are also important to peace processes involving children from minority groups: "when educators introduce cooperative learning into classroom, minority children show disproportionate improvement in achievement" and "[racial] minority children are more likely to retain these cooperative strategies."²⁰¹ The degree to which such cooperative approaches in peace processes may be of social benefit to minority, war-affected or other children, or to society as a whole, is a key area for more research.

In the ICBL study of the next section, children's art appears to be instrumental in assisting children to develop and communicate ideas about a landmine-free, peaceful civil society, and to help adults envision a path to this goal. Educators and related experts see children's drawing as supplementing language and narrative development and as a suitable vehicle for developing ideas and planning narrative. Drawing is also one of the strong

¹⁹⁸ Caine, Renate and Geoffrey Caine. 2003. *Making Connections: Teaching and the Human Brain*. Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.funderstanding.com/brain_based_learning.cfm Theorists assert that brain functioning is key to learning, and teachers must create the right environment for best brain functioning, recognizing the following principles: "Teachers must immerse learners in complex, interactive experiences that are both rich and real . . . Educators must take advantage of the brain's ability to parallel process. . . Students must have a personally meaningful challenge. Such challenges stimulate a student's mind to the desired state of alertness. In order for a student to gain insight about a problem, there must be intensive analysis of the different ways to approach it, and about learning in general. This is what's known as the "active processing of experience." A few other tenets of brain-based learning include: "Feedback is best when it comes from reality, rather than from an authority figure. People learn best when solving realistic problems. The big picture can't be separated from the details." Because every brain is different, educators should allow learners to customize their own environments. . . Designers of educational tools must be artistic in their creation of brain-friendly environments. Instructors need to realize that the best way to learn is not through lecture, but by participation in realistic environments that let learners try new things safely."

¹⁹⁹ T. Buzan. 1976. *Use Both Sides of Your Brain*. New York, NY: Dutton. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.funderstanding.com/whole_brain_teaching.cfm

²⁰⁰ Ahsani, Mandana. 2003. *Children's Storyboards*. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.funderstanding.com/storyboards.cfm>, where storyboards are created from photographs and diaries created by children. I suggest children create their own pictures for storyboards, with descriptive phrases on or accompanying the art.

²⁰¹ Kagan, Spencer. 1989. *Cooperative learning: resources for teachers*. San Juan Capistrano, Ca.: Resources for Teachers.

modalities of communication for young children, particularly where language skills are insufficient.²⁰² If children have concerns for personal safety or well-being, where events or ideas related to the conflict are made too specific through language, drawing may also provide a welcome alternative communication. Coufal and Coufal, for example, found young writers employed drawing as communication where writing did not meet their expressive requirements for alternative or more intense meaning.²⁰³ In two studies, Esther Adi-Japha and Norman H. Freeman found that combined 'drawing and telling' activities by children facilitated their reporting of more than double the amount of information, with equal accuracy, as children who spoke only.²⁰⁴ If, as they assert, drawing may facilitate young children's ability to talk about their emotional experiences in clinical and legal contexts, visual media may be of real value in incorporating children's interests in peace processes.

The basis for inter-generational learning of a type necessary for child participation in peace processes may be found in drawing and visual media. Collaboration between adults and children in a jointly created social setting, using visual media, is seen as the foundation for societal learning by Vygotsky. Ideal learning, Vygotsky believes, occurs in the 'proximal zone of development,' involving the use of tools, such drawing, to mediate ideas between children and adults or peers of greater ability.²⁰⁵ Problem solving occurs in children as they use their speech, their eyes and their hands in unison. Unique human intelligence and behaviour is largely due to this 'internalization of the visual field' via the unification of perception, speech and action, asserts Vygotsky. This is consistent with anthropological theories of human intelligence, which is seen as largely stemming from their ability of humans to isolate and manipulate objects, such as tools, due to their

²⁰² Coufal, Kathy L.; Coufal, Dayna C. "Colorful Wishes: The Fusion of Drawing, Narratives, and Social Studies." In *Communication Disorders Quarterly*, Winter 2002, Vol. 23 Issue 2. Pp.109.

²⁰³ Coufal, Kathy L.; Coufal, Dayna C. "Colorful Wishes: The Fusion of Drawing, Narratives, and Social Studies." In *Communication Disorders Quarterly*, Winter 2002, Vol. 23 Issue 2. Pp.109.

²⁰⁴ Harlene Hayne and Juilen Gross. "Drawing Facilitates Children's Verbal Reports of Emotionally Laden Events." In *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Applied*. Vol 4 (2). May 1998. Pp. 163-179. American Psychological Association

²⁰⁵ Clifford Morris. 1998. "Lev Semyonovich Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development." In *Chapter 0195 Phi Delta Kappa News*. February / March 1998. Ottawa, Ont.: University of Ottawa. Available on the World Wide Web: [Clifford Morris](http://www.masse.ac.nz/~alock/virtual/trishvyg.htm#zoped) The 'zone of proximal development,' the most widely known of Vygotsky's theories, represented "the distance between the actual level of development as determined by independent problem solving [without guided instruction] and the level of potential development as determined by problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers." See also Trish Nichol's article about Vygotsky. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.masse.ac.nz/~alock/virtual/trishvyg.htm#zoped>.

opposing thumb and forefinger. Using artistic tools in the expression and discussion of issues of identity, conflict and society's future, could also result in unification of perception, speech and action and 'internalization of the visual field.' Research is needed regarding the links between Vygotsky's 'internalization of the visual field,' with integrated brain processes, which fMRI scans show are²⁰⁶ to be stimulated by visual contemplation, and a possible increased ability to reframe concepts. If such linkages occur, exercises involving manipulation of visual media and verbal discourse should be encouraged in mediation, as a means to stimulate more positive frames of identity, relations with the other, and the future of society.

Visual literacy is said to be as important as literacy in reading, writing and math, and vital to modern learning, according to Feinstein and Hagerty. Integrated brain thinking is stimulated during visual literacy, they assert, engaging right hemisphere together with other brain areas. Like Einstein, who used imaginary rides on elevators in outer space to develop the Theory of Relativity, Feinstein and Hagerty recognize the visual media's importance in conceptualizing ideas and, through the power of imagination, making them seem concrete and available for theoretical manipulation.²⁰⁷ Howard Gardner similarly describes a 'bodily-kinaesthetic spatial intelligence' within the multiple intelligences. He defined this as the "bio-psychological potential to process information that can be activated in a cultural setting to solve problems or create products that are of value in a culture."²⁰⁸ He advocates children's deep engagement in a subject "where they can build something, manipulate materials, or carry out experiments."²⁰⁹ Gardner values children's artistic production as a means of cultural problem solving, supported by multiple intelligences.

²⁰⁶ For example, Director of the Keck Laboratory at the University of Wisconsin, Dr. Richard Davidson conducts experiments in the new \$10 million 'Laboratory for Functional Brain Imaging and Behaviour.' He uses brain-scan technology, known as functional magnetic resonance imaging, or fMRI, to study brain processes of subjects as they engage in intense visual contemplation or meditation on images.

²⁰⁷ Feinstein, Hermine, and Robert Hagerty. 1994. "Visual Literacy in General Education at the University of Cincinnati." In *Visual Literacy in the Digital Age*. Beauchamp, Darrell G., Robert A. Braden, and Judy Clark Baca, eds. University of Cincinnati: International Visual Literacy Association.

²⁰⁸ Gardner, Howard. 1999. *Intelligence Reframed: Multiple Intelligences for the 21st Century*. New York, NY.: Basic Books. Pp. 33, 34. Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences suggests that we have eight intelligences, including linguistic, logical-mathematical, musical, bodily-kinesthetic, spatial, interpersonal, intrapersonal and naturalist intelligence.

²⁰⁹ Gardner, Howard. 1999. *Intelligence Reframed: Multiple Intelligences for the 21st Century*. New York, NY.: Basic Books. Pp. 171. Gardner, a Harvard psychologist, has seen positive educational results over three years, where his Multiple Intelligence (MI) theory used as a basis for school curricula in Harvard's Project Zero research among forty-one U.S. schools.

This supports my theory, outlined in Chapter 4, that children's participation in peace processes via visual media may facilitate integrated-brain processes and reframing of interests and actions towards more peaceful constructs.

I believe peace processes with children's participation may increase chances of success by involving mutually constructed, collaborative *visual* learning environments where adults and children learn together about their interests and concerns, and jointly develop a path forward. Coufal and Coufal call generative and interactive learning from social collaboration between children and adults 'constructivism.' They say such learning occurs where, in "an interactive environment children create new knowledge and form new cognitive constructs . . . [and] link their everyday understanding of the world with problem-solving and more formal or scientific concepts. . . in a generative and interactive process."²¹⁰ Much of this learning is described as visually based.

Expression of children's ideas in peace processes through visual media may more accurately portray their interests and assist in envisioning their participation in the inter-generational path to a more civil society. Many experts remain focused on communication as it occurs when sensory images of thought or knowledge are translated into verbal or written narrative. However, modern cognitive scientists and psychologists now view a 'thought picture' as smoothing the transition of thought into writing, which is especially helpful to children.²¹¹ Such a 'thought picture,' expressed in visual media, may also assist the communication of children's interests and concerns to mediators and other stakeholders in a peace process. This is reinforced by Gombrich's theory that the pictures "do not tell a story" as a realistic representation but are a symbolic system of constructed meaning representing the inner thought world of the artist.²¹²

3.2. Visual Media as a Means of Increasing Intelligence and Skills in Children

Drawing facilitates creative thinking in children; a process essential to the peace process, where brainstorming is key to reframing of conflict through consideration of broader interests. Education experts describe children's 'personal symbol systems' as easily used and more supportive of the flow of ideas, than writing, which is seen as less

²¹⁰ Coufal, Kathy L., and Dayna C Coufal. "Colorful Wishes: The Fusion of Drawing, Narratives, and Social Studies." In *Communication Disorders Quarterly*. Winter 2002, Vol. 23 Issue 2. Pp. 113.

²¹¹ Bissex, Glenda. 1980. *GNYS at WRK: A Child learns to read and write*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

²¹² Gombrich, E.H. 1995. *The Story of Art*. London, England: Phaidon Press. Pp. 52.

useful for brainstorming. For example, Coufal and Coufal view drawing as a strength in creative planning: "Drawing allows children to work from a more holistic perspective, adding to the composition as ideas evolve or they rethink what has been presented. Writing, on the other hand, is composed from part to whole, requiring rewriting as a result of rethinking, placing an added burden on the writer."²¹³

Juilen Gross and Harlene Haynes' study shows that drawing enhances children's ability to make, and recall, verbal reports of a unique, past experience. Drawers were able to recall more information, without losing accuracy, than a verbal-only 'control' group. Their research supports the assertion that beliefs, interests and ideas of children may be portrayed with greater accuracy through pictures than narrative or text.²¹⁴ In peace processes, this indicates that pictures may more accurately represent the beliefs, interests and ideas of children, than narrative or text. Peace processes often involve an array of interests and concerns, which may best be considered by children through drawing. Experts claim that children often can be more flexible in their thinking, master many more complex cognitive relationships, and acquire symbols to represent them, through drawing, than they can through talking.²¹⁵

Western perception studies show that, at a fairly young age, children can use and create or augment maps. Lynne Lieben and Roger Downs found that, by kindergarten, "children have a basic understanding of the representational correspondences between the space and the map. . .[and]were universally able to distinguish representational from non-representational paper space."²¹⁶ Mapping of areas and resources of particular value to children, such as schools, farms, parks, mines or water sources could become an important element of peace process visual media.

Experts note a few stumbling blocks to the use of visual media in communicating children's interests, which can be ameliorated. The viewer may interpret the image in ways that are unintended by the artist, reflecting the viewer's ideas or feelings, caution

²¹³ Coufal, Kathy L., and Dayna C Coufal. 2002. "Colorful Wishes: The Fusion of Drawing, Narratives, and Social Studies." In *Communication Disorders Quarterly*. Winter 2002, Vol. 23 Issue 2. Pp. 113.

²¹⁴ Gross, Juilen and Harlene Hayne. 1999. "Drawing Facilitates Children's Verbal Reports After Long Delays." In *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Applied*. Vol. 5 (3). August 1999. Pp. 265-283. American Psychological Association.

²¹⁵ Wilson M., and B. Wilson. 1982. *Children and Their Art, Methods for The Elementary School*. Fourth Edition. New York, NY.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. Pp.86.

²¹⁶ Downs, Roger M. and Lynn S. Liben. "Understanding Person-Space-Map Relations: Cartographic and Developmental Perspectives." In *American Psychological Association*. July 1993. Pp. 739-752.

Coufal and Coufal. To guard against misinterpretation, Coufal and Coufal suggest that visual media be supplemented by written or verbal notes interpreting the image by the artist, for greater accuracy in intended meaning.²¹⁷ Therefore, supplementary text is suggested as a technique for supporting visual media of children participating in peace processes. Adi-Japha and Freeman assert that, from their studies, that children below and beyond the age of six, have little difficulty undertaking such combined tasks of writing and drawing. However, at about age 6, they claim that the task of writing emerges to be more fluent than drawing, and initiation of kinematics of the drawing system interfered with the kinematics of drawing, and vice versa.²¹⁸ For children at this stage of development, which may differ from culture to culture, I suggest that drawings about their interests and concerns be supplemented by verbal explanations to peace process facilitators, which they can transcribe into verbatim text.

3.3 Visual Media of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines & Its Role in Transforming Military Discourse to Humanitarian

3.3.1 Introduction to the ICBL Study

The children's visual media program of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, [ICBL] coordinated by the International Red Cross [ICRC] is reviewed as an example of children's visual culture participation and influence upon an international disarmament process. I assess the manner in which the ICBL appears successful in challenging military discourse about landmines by: 1) broadly facilitating and disseminating children's visual media with humanitarian themes; and 2) stimulating campaign action by consumers of this media around the world. I examine literature respecting analysis of ICBL discourse and its impacts by expert, non-governmental and government analysts and actors. I also review themes of the child victim, humanitarian interests, and the 'feminization' of state security

²¹⁷ Coufal, Kathy L.; Coufal, Dayna C. "Colorful Wishes: The Fusion of Drawing, Narratives, and Social Studies." In *Communication Disorders Quarterly*, Winter 2002, Vol. 23 Issue 2. Pp. 113. Coufal and Coufal give an example of a teacher, integrating art work with social studies and current events by asking students to draw in response to the question 'what would you give to America after the September 11 crisis?' The children were given a piece of paper to fold like a greeting card. On the outside they designed 'gift wrap' and they drew their 'gift to America' inside. These expressed a range of concerns and ideas, which were used as a basis for supportive discussion, safety planning and a sense of community involvement, appropriate to their age.

²¹⁸ Ester Adi-Japha and Norman H. Freeman. "Development of Differentiation Between Writing and Drawing Systems in Developmental Psychology." In *American Psychological Association*. Vol. 37 (1). January 2001. Pp. 101-114. These findings about American children may differ substantially from child development in other cultures.

discourse. Existing literature respecting ICBL discourse also offer a few proxy measures of the impact of this discourse.

This review of ICBL visual media includes images created by children, and images, such as photographs, of children, developed by campaign volunteers and professionals to place the experiences of children in a specific context. A range of images are included, and some are analysed, to provide information about: 1) children's campaign picture-making; 2) campaign processes to organize and disseminate visual media; 3) the context in which adults in the campaign placed landmine victims, other children and their pictures, within the overall landmine discourse; 4) my reaction to selected campaign images. The intent of this review is to examine general methods and approaches used by the ICBL in influencing the creation of new, humanitarian norms about landmines.

Qualitative content analysis techniques from visual anthropology are used to inventory, describe, and assess selected elements of ICBL visual media about, or created by, children. Consistent with cognitive anthropology's 'experience near' approach, I provide a personal interpretation of selected ICBL visual media via 'stream of consciousness' writing. This is found in Section 3.5. In Appendix One, I provide theory to support this ICBL study, by analysing recent findings in visual neuroscience, cognitive anthropology and other disciplines. I also describe a visual cognitive process I define as "visual hermeneutic reframing," related to the ICBL construction of visual meta-messages and humanitarian reframing of landmine discourse. Apparently facilitated by visual media, hermeneutic reframing involves: 1) a neurocognitive review of values or information presented within *categories* of meaning; 2) stimulation, and preparation of, *new categories of meaning* to accommodate the new values or interests- possibly within a new, unified whole that encompasses greater diversity. The cognitive and social science behind this reframing process is found in Appendix One.

In this ICBL study, I give priority to elements that would contribute to a body of knowledge respecting the cognitive science of vision and its implications for visual hermeneutic reframing in conflict resolution. Therefore, in analysis of ICBL's visual culture, qualitative techniques were favoured over quantitative, for several reasons. My approach rests in cognitive anthropology, focusing on visual experience, emotional import of the image, and categories of meaning, which are of the implicit knowledge domain.

Qualitative knowledge is central to development of concepts and theory relating to visual hermeneutic reframing in this domain. Varlea's theories support this approach, observing that processes of implicit knowledge and rational analysis constitute separate cognitive domains that cannot be engaged simultaneously, and are informed differently.

Kracauer asserts that quantitative analysis based on pre-established categories can result in inadequate interpretation, while qualitative content analysis accommodates nuances of meaning.²¹⁹ Quantitative methods involving the frequency of antisocial images, as Burgelin observed in 1972, may not derive the real meaning of emotional content of the image. For example, frequent ICBL 'antisocial imagery' of landmine trauma is often used to elicit empathy, not promote violence. At present, insufficient data is available to measure content and impact of ICBL visual media within the time and design constraints of this thesis. Quantitative analysis is a key area of future study that may be better directed as a result of this exploratory research about visual hermeneutic reframing and the ICBL's contribution to landmine discourse.

3.3.2 The International Campaign to Ban Landmines

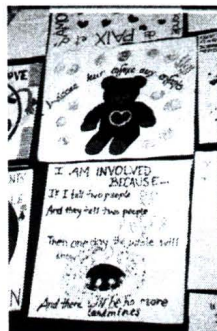
This review of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines [ICBL] visual media campaign indicates that visual media may positively influence the development of humanitarian norms as part of a broad international discourse regarding military or conflict matters. In this study, ICBL visual media appears to provide an opportunity for a process I call 'visual hermeneutic reframing.'²²⁰ Stakeholders appear stimulated to question 'old' military or hegemonic discourse and reframe their understanding in humanitarian terms. This reframing occurs in light of the visual media coverage of groups previously marginalized or silent in the dominant military discourse: women, children and other civilians impacted by landmines. Many international stakeholders chose to create new, humanitarian norms banning landmines through a process outside the Convention on Conventional Weapons [CCW], through the Ottawa Process and its resulting treaty. The

²¹⁹ Kracauer, S. 1952. "The challenge of qualitative content analysis." In *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 16 (4). Pp. 631-642.

²²⁰ Apparently facilitated by visual media, hermeneutic reframing involves: 1) a neurocognitive review of values or information presented within categories of meaning; 2) stimulation, and preparation of, new categories of meaning to accommodate the new values or interests- possibly within a new, unified whole that encompasses greater diversity. This reframing process is the primary topic of Appendix One.

ICBL, and in particular, its visual media campaign, appears instrumental in influencing this development. The intent of this review is to examine general methods and approaches used by the ICBL in influencing the creation of new, humanitarian norms about AP(anti-personnel) landmines.

FIGURE ONE:



Landmine quilt made for the ICBL 2002 International Youth forum

The International Campaign to Ban Landmines [ICBL] was established in 1992 by a group of forty non-governmental organizations. Their goals were: 1) to mobilize public opinion, as ‘the public had no clear beliefs or opinions on the mine issue at this time;’ 2) tactical development of a new approach to a ban, as conventional international diplomacy was unsuccessful; 3) to create a closer working relationship with governments on the issue. ICBL action occurred in response to the millions of anti-personnel [AP] mines that killed and maimed innocent citizens who were undertaking essential task such as farming, gathering wood, water and food, travel to market, and land development.

The ICBL and a non-profit group called Mines Action Canada [MAC] realized that success in banning AP landmines would stem from the mobilization of public opinion, media support, and subsequent public pressure on governments to change military policy. In response, the ICBL, MAC and affiliated member NGOs of many countries launched a massive humanitarian, visual media campaign describing the horrific killing and maiming of innocent women and children as a result of landmines. They stressed the application of ‘human security principles,’ together with those of ‘military security,’ in international policy development governing landmines and other conventional weapons. The ICBL publicly identified uses of AP mines in violation of international humanitarian law. The ICBL asserted that killing and maiming by AP mines was illegal under international humanitarian law, no matter how they were used, or under any circumstances. The legal

concept of 'proportionality' was also employed, which "demands that weapons and means used to accomplish military objectives not be so out of proportion that they inflict massive destruction on civilians and societies at large."²²¹ Due to their high socio-economic cost, MAC questioned the military utility of AP landmines, using socio-economic impact data to support their assertions.

The United Nations, peacekeeping governments, and humanitarian relief societies became acutely aware of the extensive nature of the landmine problem during their post-Cold War activities. The ICBL members supported innovative negotiations, called the "Ottawa Process," led by Canada, and involving an international coalition of states and NGOs. In this manner, the ICBL and like-minded actors were able to obtain wide endorsement of an international treaty banning landmines in record time.

3.3.3. Characteristics and Organization of the ICBL Visual Program

Elements of the ICBL Visual Program

The ICBL visual program includes core messages designed by NGOs in each country. This material portrays landmines, not in the 'traditional manner,' as a tool of state security, but as a 'scourge,' responsible for the indiscriminate maiming or killing of innocent women and children. Public advocacy by NGOs is a key part of the ICBL, exemplified by the International Red Cross Mines Campaign. The campaign is organized by national Red Cross and Red Crescent societies in cooperation with the ICRC, based on the following elements: 1) public advertising and information campaign; 2) dissemination of campaign materials, visual media and publications about the humanitarian costs of landmines; and 3) legal and medical expert support regarding AP landmines.²²² The visual campaign rapidly heightened public and government awareness, leading to a rapid international negotiation, termed the 'Ottawa Process,' of an international treaty to ban AP landmines.

The ICBL has no global media strategy, but relies on constant communications to coordinate local, regional and state-run campaigns against landmines. Through this approach, campaigns are expected to be sensitive to communication and visual cultures of

²²¹ Warmington, Valerie, and Celina Tuttle. 1998. "The Canadian Campaign." In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 52.

²²² Maslen, Stuart. 1998. "The Canadian Campaign." In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 86.

each group receiving ICBL messages. Individual country campaigns are responsible for working with media in their state, where many campaigns started with existing media contracts. "One by one, major media sources in almost all regions of the world began to endorse the concept of a global ban on AP mines. Prominent media outlets increasingly recognized the 'David and Goliath' nature of NGOs taking on governments and militaries to ban a weapon used by armies for decades."²²³ The ICBL visual campaign incorporates a broad range of media. Examples are described below:

- 1) *Photographic exhibits*: photographs of landmine victims, their communities and stories were provided at the Vienna, Geneva and Brussels conferences. For media releases, public information and posters, images of the 'seriously injured children, women and men' emphasize the high risk to civilians and the worthiness of a landmine ban. Narrative accompanying images focuses on the very high risk of innocent, essential daily activities, such as walking to school, collecting food and water, or planting.
- 2) A '*Wall of Remembrance*' exhibited pictures of victims of 230 mine accidents in Battambang Province, Cambodia. These people were killed or injured in the period between the closing of the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons [CCW] in Vienna, October, 1995, and the opening of the CCW Geneva Conference of April, 1996.
- 3) *Film*: Many films are produced by the ICBL and its NGO and government affiliates. For example, the National Film Board of Canada produced "*Than and the Invisible War*," a documentary about daily life of a Cambodian mine blast survivor. The ICRC also produces many videos, distributed worldwide in a variety of languages, with the message: "landmines must be stopped."²²⁴

²²³ Warmington, Valerie, and Celina Tuttle. 1998. "The Canadian Campaign." In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 52.

²²⁴ Maslen, Stuart. 1998. "The Canadian Campaign." In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 87.

Examples: Electronic Media from the Website of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Canada:

Video: *Measured Steps: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines* (2000; approx. 17 minutes) Provides an overview of the landmine problem, a history of diplomatic efforts resulting in the Ottawa Convention, a look at current mine action, and a section on "What You Can Do". Created primarily for a Canadian youth audience, *Measured Steps* provides a Canada-focussed primer on the anti-personnel mine ban and current work to implement it. Copies available in English and French, in a variety of country formats.

Video: *One Step at a Time: The Campaign to Ban Landmines* (1998; approx. 24 minutes) An award-winning documentary distributed in 26 countries, *One Step at a Time* describes the landmine problem and the drive for a global ban. Available in English, French, Spanish and Russian, in a variety of country formats.

Video: *In Years, Not Decades: The International Movement to Ban Landmines* (1998; approx. 8 minutes) A shorter version of the *One Step at a Time* documentary available in English, French, Portuguese and Arabic, in a variety of country formats.

CD ROM: *Ban Landmines! The Ottawa Process and the International Movement to Ban Landmines* (1998; PC compatible) An interactive, educational resource that leads you step-by-step through aspects of the movement to ban

- 4) *Posters*: 'Ban Landmine' posters are placed in conference facilities, buses, NGO, government and corporate offices, and public places to raise awareness before, during and after conferences. Art from child victims of AP mines is often used.
- 5) *Ban Landmine Stickers*: Stickers urging the ban on landmines were 'everywhere' at the Geneva Conference, other conferences and seminars, and are distributed to the general public
- 6) *Banners*: Banners are common throughout the ICBL, but were used with particular effectiveness at the Oslo negotiations of May 1997. Huge banners were erected in a central square, facing the conference facility, where their very large print could be easily, and unavoidably, read by delegates. The banner slogans were created daily to reflect ICBL strategy, especially the counteracting of United States negotiation tactics against the proposed landmine treaty. The overall banner slogan 'exhorted' delegates to negotiate a treaty with 'no loopholes, no exceptions, and no reservations.'
- 7) *Forms of 'installation art' or simulations of field experience*:
 - A) *Mountains of shoes*: Pax Christi, UNICEF and Save the Children Fund delivered six tons of shoes to the Austrian parliament during the Vienna CCW of September 1995. They claim this represented, "unneeded shoes by countless present and future mine victims."²²⁵ Mountains of shoes were also delivered to a similar event in Paris at the same time, and later, to Ottawa during the 'Ottawa Process.'
 - B) *Simulated minefields*: Fake minefields that looked real, and provided 'simulated experiences,' were installed at conferences, such as the Vienna Conference of 1995. At the Brussels Conference of June 1997, delegates also had to cross a simulated minefield daily, at the entrance to the meeting place. In Geneva, the simulated minefield was located in the United Nations conference hall, where delegates were required to negotiate their way across it several times a day.
 - C) *Clock measuring victimization*: A clock that counted a new landmine victim every twenty minutes was set up at the Geneva Conference, behind the 'wall of remembrance.'
 - D) *A Giant Pair of Jeans with One Shredded Leg Symbolizing Loss of Limb to AP Mines*: was displayed at the Brussels Conference by the Belgian ICBL, together with a 'landmine victim' outfit provided for the Brussels symbol, "Mannekin-Pis.'

landmines and the realization of the Ottawa Convention. User-friendly and filled with information, including an incredible archive of documents and images, all searchable through various categories.

²²⁵ Williams, Jody and Stephen Goose. 1998. "The International Campaign to Ban Landmines." In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press. Pp. 32.

FIGURE TWO:



Children create an ICBL banner in Paris.²²⁶

- 8) *Television:* Many state, public and private television stations address AP mine topics, by hosting public forums, commentaries, documentaries, dramatizations, news, coverage of conferences and government or agency action, and personal stories of landmine victims. One example is the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation television's *National Magazine* coverage. The International Red Cross [ICRC] also used TV and newspaper advertising to raise public awareness and stimulate momentum for a landmine ban. National and international ads were placed, free of charge, by the ICRC in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas, reaching an audience of 'hundreds of millions.'²²⁷
- 9) *Websites:* NGO, state, United Nations, international, regional and local members of the ICBL, and the media, develop either entire websites dedicated to the landmine issue, or specific website 'nodes' devoted to landmines.

Of particular significance are the large number of ICBL, media and other agency libraries of electronic images related to landmines. Many of these images were, and remain,

²²⁶ Photograph by Giovanni Diffidenti. ICBL Reference: Paris-avr2002-06/00001

²²⁷ Maslen, Stuart. 1998. "The Canadian Campaign." In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 87.

available for emailing, printing, fax, or other uses, free of charge. Also readily available for distribution are images on paper products such as posters, stickers and postcards. The transfer of these images among the public and other stakeholders appears to be fundamental to the raising of public and state official awareness of AP mine issues.

3.3.4 ICBL Visual Contestation of Meaning

Prior to the ICBL, conventional weapons discourse focused upon military effectiveness and state security. The questioning of landmines and weapons systems 'were effectively off limits to civil society.' The ICBL penetrates this discourse and engages in a predominately visual "contestation of meanings over landmines and their construction either as part of a state security discourse or as part of a humanitarian discourse."²²⁸ Radically different images are presented by ICBL to contest traditional state security discourse, which "rests on inherently masculine and patriarchal assumption, [that]. . . states are constructed as protectors . . . [with] legitimate authority over the instruments and use of force."²²⁹ Visual media of ICBL introduces: 1) a plurality of voices, introducing those of the marginalized, such as women, children and other innocent mine victims; and 2) a 'feminization' of discourse, considering issues of basic nurturing: the need for safety, food and shelter;²³⁰ 3) broader humanitarian issues such as human security; and 4) personal stories of the trauma of landmines.

²²⁸ Migeul de Larrinaga and Claire T. Sjolander, 1998. "(Re)presenting Landmines from protector to enemy: the discursive framing of a new multilateralism." In *To Walk Without Fear: the Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Maxwell A. Cameron, et al. eds. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press. P. 370.

²²⁹ Migeul de Larrinaga and Claire T. Sjolander, 1998. "(Re)presenting Landmines from protector to enemy: the discursive framing of a new multilateralism." In *To Walk Without Fear: the Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Maxwell A. Cameron, et al. eds. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press. P. 370.

²³⁰ The masculinization of war and 'feminization' of peace can be found in Machiavelli's work, which praises the virtues the masculine virtues of the 'warrior prince' and dichotomizes 'public' and 'private' life as characterized by male and female attributes, respectively. Public politics and war are expressed as the domain of men. Women are situated in the private sphere of home and family, interfacing with the public world as passive, reactive spectators rather than decisive, aggressive agents. The Just War tradition continued the 'Western' interpretation of war as a realist expression of the agency of men, while desire for peace became further feminized. Just War measures considered the protection and preservation of lives of women and children to be an honourable act.

Attempting to create a 'feminizing' discourse about state security rather than a realist, 'masculine' approach centred on state hegemony and war, appears to also have roots in feminist theory. Feminists describe the construction of male/war and female/peace frames of meaning as occurring throughout Western history. For example, Anne Tickner describes the individual, state and international system as "mutually constitutive and mutually reinforcing of one another and that each of them is described in 'masculine' gendered terms . . . these gendered constructs . . . generate a national security discourse that privileges war and delegitimizes other ways of thinking about security provisions. Security provision becomes an exclusively "masculine" task that valorizes traditionally male activities." [Tickner, 1991. *Man the State and War: A Feminist Reformulation*. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/ponsacs/seminars/Synopses/f91tickn.htm>.]

Turquet similarly argues that peace and related activities are associated with feminine ideals. She asserts that peace and broader security activities are described in realist theory as "not-war" and terms of their variance from the dominant realist view of the 'anarchic, war-inducing' state of the world. [Turquet, 2003. University of Sussex. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/SPT/journal/archive/pdf/issue7-4.pdf>.] Tickner also questions the realist concept of men warring to protect their state and its citizens. She cites modern war's dramatic toll of civilian victims, who are primarily women and children, as evidence of the failure of this realist approach to state security.

Masculinity has long been associated, in western culture, with political debate, securing state boundaries, fighting and weaponry. Carol Cohn examines imagery of arms and defence experts, finding it 'gendered' and 'sexualized' as male. She calls this a state security discourse that 'focuses on masculine virility' creating such a great distance from human impacts of weapons that 'victims are rendered invisible.' [Cohn, C. 1988. 'A Feminist Spy in the House of Death: Unravelling the Language of Strategic Analysis', in *Women and the Military System*, ed. E. Isaksson. New York: Harvester. pp. 288–317.] In examining Hans Morgenthau's concept of the "political man" from his book "Politics Among Nations," Tickner finds "a militarized version of citizenship which has a long tradition in western political theory and practice." [Tickner 1991]

Elshtain sees, in Machiavelli's writing, the portrayal of women as: ". . . mirrors to male war-making. . . a collective 'other,' embodying softer values. . . and subversive of realpolitik." [Elshtain, J.B. 1985. 'Reflections on War and Political Discourse: Realism, Just War, and Feminism in a Nuclear Age', *Political Theory*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 41–42.] She suggests that feminist international theory can enhance the ongoing debate in international theory between realism and idealism by adding 'feminine values' to idealism. To feminize realist, military and state security discourse, 'human security' elements long associated with the Western ideal of domestic 'bliss' are added. These elements relate to the 'female' and domestic realm, exemplified by peace, nurturing and idealism. They contrast with anarchic realism, aggression and interests of state security that characterize the 'male' realm of war.

Observing the association of women with peace and social movements 'removed from the centers of power,' Tickner notes in 1991 that women still tend to be marginalized in international relations as a result. She suggests that women take on more political leadership positions, and international relations be 'restructured' to ensure that 'women's experiences' are included on an equal footing with men. However, in "War, Peace and Feminism," written in 2003, Laura Turquet examines approaches of feminist international theory to international relations. She observes, "it is reduced to grafting some idealist, 'feminist' values, some maternal thinking and forgiveness, on to the existing [realist, patriarchal] model. In this view, war is the natural state of affairs. . . and feminist theory as idealism has potential only as far as it can be superimposed on realism to make it more feminine." [Turquet 2003.]

Drawbacks to the 'feminized' realist approach are severe, claims Turquet, because it continues to support, or even reinforce, realism. In realism, Turquet asserts, "possibilities of war as anything other than inevitable, and peace as anything other than a precarious cease-fire in the anarchic international system, are decisively foreclosed." [Turquet, 2003.] Turquet examines the work of Strange, Enloe and Elshtain, who question, she says, "what kind of agency is available to women to bring about peace, " observing that their accounts 'reassert. . . the possibility of agency for women in international relations, something that orthodox theory denies them through the construction of a specifically male subject, through an exclusive focus on politics, narrowly defined, and through an explicit association of women with peace, which is in itself subordinated to the more 'real' condition of war.'" [Turquet 2003.]

Traditional military discourse about landmines in forums such as the Convention on Conventional weapons, is often characterized by realist ideals of national defense. Military power and technological advancement of weaponry is frequently glorified in a sanitized and impersonal discourse with a focus on a distant 'enemy.' The mutilation and killing of civilian victims, and their horrific experiences, are rarely mentioned. This discourse emphasized distant use of landmines as a legitimate state security tool to defend a nation's 'boarders,' and key military targets, from invaders. Alternatively, 'feminized' visual discourse of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines employed images of landmines as a very personal scourge. Often years after a war, landmines remained, shifting in eroded soil to unexpected and unmarked locations. In the ICBL, landmines were shown killing or maiming innocent women and children as they went about daily chores such as farming, fetching water, or walking to school and market. One reason why the ICBL humanitarian campaign appeared to reframe state security discourses: senior military were loath to continue to demand to use of AP mines in the face of victims' horrific, personal images of killing and maiming by these weapons.

Until we have a description of processes of war and peace that are not founded in realist theory of male-gendered war and feminine -ascribed peace, but are neutral, we are likely to describe attempts to introduce peace-building and humanitarian elements, as a 'feminized discourse.' In the ICBL, this humanitarian discourse predominantly employed personal images created by 'innocent child victims.' The scope of this paper limits any further discussion of 'feminized' military and state security discourse. However, I recommend it as a significant area for further research respecting the ethics of war, visual culture, conflict resolution and peace processes.

3.3.4.1 The Negotiation of Meaning Through the ICBL Visual Campaign

ICBL visual media plays a key role in negotiating new meaning and supporting new humanitarian norms, for AP mines. Horne suggests that stakeholders must negotiate mutually agreed-upon understandings of 'how to be' in order to communicate. This involves interpreting the meaning of each other's behaviour or speech and giving clues to the other person about how they should act, so that people guide each other in their interaction.²³¹ In international policy-making about landmines, negotiation of new meaning is necessary because military and many hegemonic state players continue to use 'state security' as a meaningful context for landmines, while NGOs and 'moderate' states, introduce a 'human security' context.²³²

Application of theory of sociologists Becker²³³ and Heiss²³⁴ to the meaning of landmines, suggests that negotiation of meanings as context for behaviour is imperative. A large number of state and NGO stakeholders have opposing military and humanitarian understandings of landmines. In addition, some past contextual 'definitions,' no longer apply, such as 'Cold War' and 'Balance of Power.' The changed character of conflict also influences evolution of meaning respecting landmines. The style of fighting has moved away from formal, inter-state wars backed by superpowers, often with defined boundaries or battlefields, where landmines were first used, to post-Cold war, guerrilla-style, intra-state conflict. This evolution from defined 'arenas of conflict' toward guerrilla war has affected the location and use of landmines. They are no longer deposited primarily on borders and defined battlefields where they might be avoided by civilians, but are dispersed throughout countries. Human and environmental causes of soil movement, such as road works or erosion may also move landmines a considerable distance from their original location to well-travelled areas. Thus, landmines are part of the daily environment of civilians and become a 'scourge to daily living of innocent victims,' as portrayed by the

²³¹ Blumer, Herbert. 1969. *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. See also Blumer, Herbert (1986). *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. Ca: California University Press.

²³² Human Security has been described by Dr. Lloyd Axworthy, past Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Director of the Liu Centre for Global Issues, University of British Columbia, as including "security against economic privation, an acceptable quality of life, and a guarantee of fundamental human rights. . . the rule of law, good governance, sustainable development and social equity." Source: Axworthy, Lloyd. 1996. *Building Peace to Last: Establishing a Canadian Peace-building Initiative*. Speech to York University.

²³³ Becker, H. 1982. *Art Worlds*. Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Press.

²³⁴ Heiss, Jerrold. 1981. "Social Roles." In *Social Psychology: Sociological Perspectives*. Morris Rosenberg and Ralph H. Turner, eds. New York, NY.: Basic Books. Pp. 94-132.

ICBL. A significant aspect of the ICBL visual campaign is this re-interpretation of landmines, from a state security tool, to an inhuman scourge maiming and killing of innocent women and children.

The re-defined meaning of landmines, through ICBL visual discourse, emphasizes horrendous unintended effects, termed negative externalities. This is achieved by portraying landmines as removed, in time, space and function, from their original intent. Landmines themselves are demonized, but not the state military responsible for them, in order to ensure state support for an AP mine ban. Landmines are shown as unstable, moving from their original, marked and 'prescribed' positions and from intended use, by land movements, erosion, agriculture and other factors. The result is their detonation in areas where innocent women and children are victimized, rather than usually intended military targets. A key aspect of ICBL visual media is, therefore, the linking of AP mines to the maiming and killing of innocent women and children. This is a 'feminized' treatise,²³⁵ in contrast to the 'traditional,' realist, 'military' discourse of the Convention on Conventional Weapons. Governments and militaries have little recourse but to support of widespread concern for the safety of innocent victims, and promise change. Such a renegotiation of discourse can change norms, as people connect behaviour and potential results, liking actions that support them and disliking actions that hurt them.²³⁶ The ICBL successfully linked AP mines with maiming and killing of innocents, and appeared to establish a foundation for new international norms and for an almost universally supported treaty banning Anti-Personnel mines.²³⁷

Analysts report that "pictorial representations of landmine victims [in posters, brochures and films produced by a variety of national campaigns to ban landmines] predominately show women and children. . . the video for the Ottawa Process produced by Canadian DFAIT portrays three times as many women and children as men as landmine victims, and . . . shows children at play in a mined countryside, with tragic consequences."

²³⁵ See Footnote 259 for a brief discussion of the 'femization' of state security and military discourse, and the association of masculinity with war, and female attributes with peace, in International Relations.

²³⁶ McCarthy, M. and R. Carter. 1994. *Language as Discourse: Perspectives for Language Teaching*. London: Harlow, Longman.

²³⁷ The 1997 Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines on their Destruction. The treaty was open for signature, according to Article 15, from December 3 1997, until March 1, 1999 when it entered force. States may no longer endorse the treaty because it has entered into force, but through accession they may become bound to the treaty, as outlined in Article 16 [2]. By August 6, 2003, there were 147 signatories/accessions to the treaty, and 135 ratifications, accessions or approvals.

²³⁸ However, the International Committee of the Red Cross reports that only 31 % of all mine victims are non-combatants,²³⁹ while the World Health Organization estimates that about 35% of victims are women and children.²⁴⁰ Replacing portrayal of mighty state military defence via images of tanks, missiles and landmines, are stories of helpless innocents, facing senseless destruction: “what are the depths of dementia that we plumb when we permit such atrocities to be visited on our children, the most vulnerable among us?”²⁴¹ The ICBL gave voices to marginalized peoples “hurt in isolated, remote parts of the world, receiv[ing] only rudimentary medical attention, [who] were stigmatized and misunderstood by their societies, and yet whose voices were ultimately heard and became part of a platform for international action.”²⁴² The Canadian campaign shows peacekeepers as landmine victims, highlighting costs to Canadians. It also maintains the ‘feminization’ of discourse, as peacekeepers are considered ‘nurturers’ and re-builders of civil society.²⁴³

The ICBL’s visual media, and Canada’s leadership, appeared to facilitate questioning of traditional military norms respecting landmines, and ‘visual hermeneutic reframing’ of the landmine issue among officials of many states. Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister Axworthy asserted, “threats to human security – human rights abuses, inter-ethnic tension, poverty, environmental degradation and terrorism – have grown. . . civilians are their primary victims. . . Security is [now] found in the conditions of daily life rather than primarily in the military strength of the state.”²⁴⁴ He was summing up issues of the ICBL’s visual contestation of meaning, and humanitarian reframing. This was significant in the creation of ‘new political space’ and an accompanying ‘policy window’ of opportunity for the development of the International Convention banning landmines.

²³⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1997. *Ban Landmines: The Ottawa Process*. Video. Ottawa, Ont.: DFAIT.

²³⁹ ICRC, 1995. *The Worldwide Epidemic of Land Mine Injuries: The ICRC Health Oriented Approach*. Geneva, Switzerland: ICRC.

²⁴⁰ Kakar, Faiz. 1995. *Direct and Indirect Consequences of Landmines on Public Health*. Geneva, Switzerland: ICRC.

²⁴¹ Lewis, Stephen. 1997. *Ottawa Process II*. New York, NY.: UNICEF. Pp.1.

²⁴² Cameron, Micheal A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin. 1998. “To Walk Without Fear.” In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 15.

²⁴³ Migeul de Larrinaga and Claire T. Sjolander, 1998. “(Re)presenting Landmines from protector to enemy: the discursive framing of a new multilateralism.” In *To Walk Without Fear: the Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Maxwell A. Cameron, et al. eds. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press. Pp. 388.

²⁴⁴ Axworthy, Lloyd. 1997. “An Address by the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the opening of the Mine Action Forum.” Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. Pp. 2.

3.3.5 Child Victim Image: An Emotional Appeal that Provides 'Belonging'

Most research in the area of symbol and normative belief is 'descriptive ethnology.' However, Randall Collins emphasizes the emotional stimulus by which people attached meaning to their environment,²⁴⁵ building upon work by Goffman, described in Appendix One. Collins theorizes that a group is more likely to experience group belonging where there is intense emotional stimulus that would also lead to emergence of respect for cultural symbols.²⁴⁶ Together with the emotional stimulus, salience was found to progress to interaction and increased awareness of shared emotions. Symbols of group belonging are created through repeated associations of shared emotion, salience and interaction, over time. Collin's theory about emotions leading to salience and group belonging reinforces my idea that emotional content of visual media is one key to development of viewer support and sense of belonging in humanitarian movements such as the ICBL. Yet, research regarding links between the symbolic, emotions and norms of behaviour is observed to "lack. . . empirically testable propositions [where] . . . more general theories regarding the . . . processes through which individuals attach meaning to their environment could be proposed."²⁴⁷ This is considered in Appendix One, by analysing the affective import of visual media, meaning- and norm- making, and its implications for conflict resolution theory and practice.

The ICBL visual media campaign creates a highly emotional appeal to the viewer "The media . . . refer to landmines as indiscriminate killers. The public. . . empathize strongly with people forced to live with mines."²⁴⁸ This emotional appeal appears to reframe people's perceptions about landmines from one supporting them as state security tools, to viewing them as a scourge. By graphically portraying grievous injuries to innocent women and children caused by landmines, the ICBL visual campaign appears to stimulate a heartfelt, humanitarian reconsideration of the utility of landmines. This represents a new practice, primarily based on visual culture, which has previously

²⁴⁵ Collins Randall and Colin Hanneman, 1998. "Modeling the Interaction Ritual Theory of Solidarity." In P. Doreian and T. Fararo (eds.) *The Problem of Solidarity: Theories and Models*. Oxford, England: Gordon and Breach. Pp. 213-237.

²⁴⁶ Horne, Christine. 2000. "Sociological Perspectives on the Emergence of Social Norms." In *Social Norms*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage. Pp.12.

²⁴⁷ Horne, Christine. 2000 "Sociological Perspectives on the Emergence of Social Norms." In *Social Norms*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage. Pp. 12.

²⁴⁸ Warmington, Valerie, and Celina Tuttle. 1998. "The Canadian Campaign." In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 52.

remained largely outside of state security discourse. Visual hermeneutic reframing appears to occur with the viewing of ICBL images such as innocent child landmine victims, who may never again walk, or never see, or never hold someone's hand.

The ICBL child victim images may be considered as part of a tradition of emotional appeals to society from pictures of victims. These have generated shared meaning in a 'Western' culture for at least two centuries. Art of 'innocent victims' of the mid- 1800's is described by Raymond Grew: "[For] visual treatment of peasants and workers. . .there was a cultural wardrobe of images. . .that could evoke shared values. . . present[ing] the poor with sympathy, especially in scenes of the aged and the very young. . . In particular, highly sentimental pictures of young children (especially girls) . . . were so popular in the nineteenth century, [and] drew on the viewer's sympathy for the helpless (and therefore blameless) . . ." ²⁴⁹ Crew's analysis and conclusions support my thesis: that 'social commentary is more powerful' in 'pictures about victims.' He refers to art depicting scenes of 'contemporary social concern.' These include: powerless child and female victims of domestic violence, peasants victimized by 'brutalizing work and poverty,' refugees from human-induced famine, and marginalized emigrants, who are 'a struggling group cut off from society.'²⁵⁰ I recommend further research regarding an apparent Western artistic tradition where the image of the victim is a generator of shared meaning and sympathy. The possibility of 'visual hermeneutic reframing' from such visual culture is recommended for analysis, together with it's potential for generating shared or overarching humanitarian meaning in conflict resolution.

In an ICBL image of an innocent victim, comprehension of the emotional content of the visual appears to stimulate integrated brain networking in the re-processing of worldviews. For example, a person may see a wrenching landmine poster showing a child victim's missing eyes or limbs, that also gives information about humanitarian issues. This stimulates a mental review of the viewer's past core understandings of landmines as an essential tool of state security, mindful of the need for revision of this core understanding

²⁴⁹Grew, Raymond. 1988. "Picturing the People: Images of the Lower Orders in Nineteenth Century French Art." In *Art and History: images and their meaning. Studies in Interdisciplinary History.*" Jonathan Brown, Theodore K Rabb, and Robert I Rotberg eds. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 211, 212.

²⁵⁰ Grew, Raymond. 1988. "Picturing the People: Images of the Lower Orders in Nineteenth Century French Art." In *Art and History: images and their meaning. Studies in Interdisciplinary History.*" Jonathan Brown, Theodore K Rabb, and Robert I Rotberg eds. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 213.

based on the new perception: thousands of innocent children killed or maimed by landmines, often years after the conflict has ended. This new concept may be reinforced by subsequent viewing of this sort of image, or by experiences or information that confirm it: "Images and symbols played a powerful role in mobilizing public opposition to AP mines. . . stirring were images of dozens of prosthetic limbs lining field hospital walls, of mountains of shoes in Paris, of child amputees speaking with Diana, Princess of Wales, of children's art against mines, and media portrayals of the dangerous work of courageous deminers."²⁵¹

3.3.6 Visual Media and Changing Norms about AP Landmines

Visual Media Appear to Change Perceptions of Costs and Benefits of Landmines

For anti-personnel [AP] mines, the ICBL appears to have repositioned interests of many stakeholders, changed international state security discourse, and led to the forging of new norms in an international treaty, by providing new information about the maiming and killing of thousands of innocent civilians. This information, graphically portrayed through ICBL visual media, appears to have dramatically changed calculations of costs and benefits associated with AP mine norms, for a large number of stakeholders. My theory regarding ICBL visual media-induced normative change for AP mines is consistent with Christine Horne's research. She observes that changes in norms regulating behaviour can occur when new information is provided to show changes in costs and benefits associated with those norms. Horne's findings are based on her 'unified model of the emergence of normative rules' that considers the significant benefits and costs which may occur as a result of normative choices of individuals and the group.²⁵² Horne states, "changes that expose individuals to alternative possibilities are likely to result in negotiation, and in turn, to new norms. . . Exposure to other people who adhere to different norms leads to negotiation. . . Conflicting norms. . . may also lead to reassessment. . . social and technological change. . . create a recognition that other normative arrangements are

²⁵¹Cameron, Maxwell A. Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin. 1998. "To Walk Without Fear." In *To Walk Without Fear: the Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Maxwell A. Cameron, et al. eds. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press. Pp. 14.

²⁵²Horne, Christine. 2000. "Sociological Perspectives on the Emergence of Social Norms." In *Social Norms*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage. Pp. 14.

possible.”²⁵³ This ICBL influence is examined below.

“The ICBL ha[s] the tools to mobilize public opinion.”²⁵⁴ Visual campaigns of the ICBL, particularly as reported by the news media and interactively communicated by fax and website, appear to be a strong influence on public opinion. Public opinion moved from having no clear beliefs on the mine issue in 1992, to ‘strongly supportive public opinion’ and political leaders looking for a treaty, in 1997.²⁵⁵ Analysts describe the ICBL and its members as “work[ing] tirelessly to generate public interest in the AP mines issue, which could then be used to guide political responses to the crisis.”²⁵⁶ Sociologists recognize that changes in public opinion influence social norms: “ individuals internalize notions of ‘oughtness’ or . . . act from a desire for social approval.”²⁵⁷ The ICBL also caught the imagination of the international press. The humanitarian crisis of AP mines was often reported as a ‘David vs Goliath’ battle where NGOs urged governments and militaries to ban a long-used weapon.

Political analysts report the successful impact of the ICBL campaign: “In the face of media and public opinion increasingly united behind the view that AP mines were horrific and indiscriminate killers of women and children, militaries were very reluctant to try to justify publicly their ‘need’ for this weapon.”²⁵⁸ This is evidence of a change in norms regarding AP mines among media and the public, which the military became loath to refute. ICBL visual media appears to provide innovative opinion leadership. Horne finds this to be a crucial influence on normative change. She asserts: “the reasons that norms change [is]. . . that innovators receive social approval.”²⁵⁹ O’Neill similarly suggests that a “voice has greater legitimacy if it possesses prestige” and “normative prestige yields

²⁵³ Horne, Christine. 2000. “Sociological Perspectives on the Emergence of Social Norms.” In *Social Norms*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage. Pp. 14.

²⁵⁴ Axworthy, Lloyd. 1998. “Towards a New Multilateralism.” In *To Walk Without Fear: the Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Maxwell A. Cameron, et al. eds. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press. P. 453.

²⁵⁵ Tomlin, Brian W. “On a Fast Track to a Ban: The Canadian Policy Process.” in *To Walk Without Fear: the Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Maxwell A. Cameron, et al. eds. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press. Pp. 205

²⁵⁶ Warmington, Valerie, and Celina Tuttle. 1998. “The Canadian Campaign,” in *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 58.

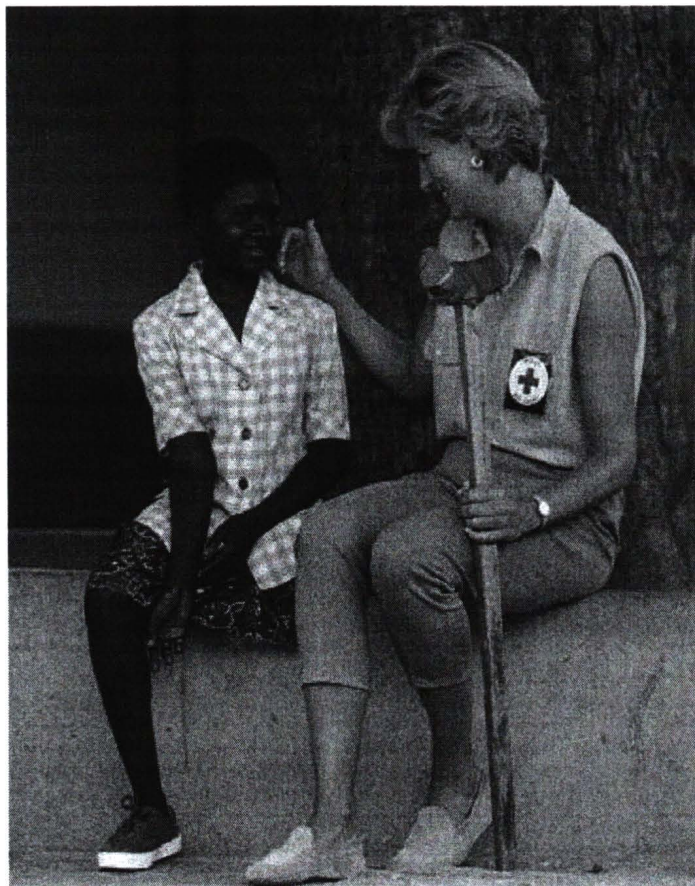
²⁵⁷ Horne, Christine. 2000. “Sociological Perspectives on the Emergence of Social Norms.” In *Social Norms*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage. Pp.8.

²⁵⁸ Williams, Jody and Stephen Goose. 1998. “The International Campaign to Ban Landmines.” In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 23.

²⁵⁹ Horne, Christine. 2000. “Sociological Perspectives on the Emergence of Social Norms.” In *Social Norms*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage. Pp.8.

moral authority,”²⁶⁰ in international negotiations respecting defence, weapons treaties and

FIGURE THREE:



In 1997, Princess Diana met 13-year-old Sandra Thijica, who lost her left leg to a land mine landmine while working the land with her mother in Saurimo, eastern Angola, in 1994.²⁶¹

peace processes. Evidence of prestige and authority of the ICBL's new normative regime²⁶² respecting landmines includes: 1) awarding of the 1997 Nobel Peace Prize to the ICBL and coordinator Jody Williams; 2) the innovative 'Ottawa Process,' successful continuation of negotiations and conclusion of a landmine treaty after 'stalled' CCW negotiations; 3) establishment of 'moral authority,' cited by state officials as the main reason for treaty signing; and 4) the rapid and broad endorsement of the Treaty by more than 120 states. The ICBL may have also exerted influence on stakeholders support for

²⁶⁰ O'Neill, Barry. 1999. *Honour, Symbols and War*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press. Pp. 196.

²⁶¹ International Campaign to Ban Landmines. Image Library. Photographer not identified. <http://www.icbl.org/>

²⁶² O'Neill, Barry. 1999. *Honour, Symbols and War*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press. Pp. 208.

new humanitarian norms about AP mines because “others . . . adopt behaviours that are growing in popularity,” according to Horne.²⁶³ ICBL norms were supported by highly influential global opinion leaders, such as Princess Diana of Britain. ICBL popularity is evident in Canada, where AP mine policy sustained support from ninety-five percent of the Canadian public in 1997, when the ban was effected.²⁶⁴

3.3.7 Creating Windows of Opportunity for Government Policy Development

One main area of influence by visual media is upon the process of policy formulation by governments. ICBL members, such as Mines Action Canada, knew that campaign success relied on raising public awareness of the AP mine crisis, providing information on existing government policy, and motivating citizens to lobby government for policy change. New policy making comes about, states Kingdon, when the following three ‘streams’ converge to open a ‘policy window of opportunity’: 1) political developments in terms of problems discerned from national opinion; 2) policy, ideas and proposals being put forward by a variety of policy entrepreneurs, agencies and special interest groups; and 3) government agendas defining problems to be addressed through consensus-building activities.²⁶⁵ According to Kingdon, proponents with potential new policy to solve ‘their’ problems compete for state attention, while government officials decipher the public ‘climate of opinion’ from sources such as the media, citizen’s mail, lobbyists and surveys.

This review of the ICBL indicates that children’s visual media may be a highly significant influence on public and leader opinion, although the extensive research required to prove and measure such influence is beyond the scope of this thesis. In analysing ICBL policy success, Tomlin proposes that, “Problems are not self-evident from their indicators, but require a push from a focusing event to carry them on to a government agenda. Such an event may arise from a crisis or the creation of a compelling symbol.”²⁶⁶ Both Kingdon and O’Neill²⁶⁷ suggest that a ‘policy window’ for government attention to a problem may be opened up by a focusing event or symbol. ‘Policy entrepreneurs’ are, Kingdon says,

²⁶³ Horne, Christine. 2000. “Sociological Perspectives on the Emergence of Social Norms.” In *Social Norms*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage. Pp.9.

²⁶⁴ Wallace, Bruce. 1997. “Second Wind.” In *Maclean’s Magazine*. 1 December, 1997. Pp. 19.

²⁶⁵ Kingdon, John W. 1995. *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies. Second Edition*. New York, NY.: Harper Collins.

²⁶⁶ Tomlin, Brian W. 1998. “On a Fast Track to a Ban: The Canadian Policy Process.” In *To Walk Without Fear: the Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Maxwell A. Cameron, et al., eds. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press. Pp. 187. [italics mine]

²⁶⁷ O’Neill, Barry. 1999. *Honour, Symbols and War*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press. Pp. 196.

government and private specialists who invest in particular policy ideas and proposals which, if implemented, would provide them with some benefit. A key lesson learned from this ICBL review is that policy entrepreneurs are more likely to ensure success by creating a co-ordinated visual media program that captures the imaginations of publics, and their governments, around the world, through portrayal of common humanitarian goals respecting children.

The development of focal symbols to arouse public sympathy and raise the AP mine issue onto the international policy agenda of governments was a key approach of the ICBL. O'Neill described focal symbols as communications which establish a focal point, requiring only a sender, and not necessarily aimed at particular receivers. Each receiver may be aware of the information or conclusions that other receivers are forming as a result of the focal symbol. Key to the focal symbol is that it have high visibility to the public, therefore focal symbols are often 'staged events' or are prominent in visual culture. Focal symbols may develop around a shared crisis in society, asserts O'Neill. He also describes focal symbols as having a possible effect of galvanizing diverse receivers into action, as they know that other receivers will support them. Focal symbols of the ICBL include: the 'mountains of shoes,' artistic and photographic images of innocent victims of AP mines, the 'Clock Measuring Victimization,' and the 'Wall of Remembrance.'

Susan Burgerman observes the effectiveness of mobilizing human rights movements around symbolic cases of victimization, as "the need to organize a plethora of information into a manageable narrative that can be packaged for the public."²⁶⁸ Such a narrative may be symbolized or summarized through photographs or illustrations for publication. Burgerman also describes how stories of individuals "carry a greater symbolic charge" because particular victims may be famous or influential, or hold moral authority, as exemplified by a religious leader. NGOs experience great difficulty in measuring incidence of human rights violations where conflicts are taking place and may resort to stories of individuals. "Statistics on human rights increase and decrease unevenly in waves, making it difficult to determine the cause of change. . . . [and may] indicate shifts in the form of violation. . . an increase in death squad assassinations may coincide with a

²⁶⁸Burgerman, Susan. 2001. *Moral Victories: How activists provoke multilateral action*. New York, NY.: Cornell University Press. Pp. 45

decrease in the number of arbitrary detentions and political prisoners.”²⁶⁹ By comparison, tracking and reporting of individual cases, particularly of innocent victims, may have a more compelling story and be easier to report.

Children's visual media in the ICBL may also be highly effective because transcendent ethical meanings central to the conflict resolution practices of many religions and cultures can be clearly communicated through common symbolic imagery of the victim. Marc Gopin describes victimization, or the violation of human dignity, as “not only an ethical failure and an immense personal injury, it is also an affront to God and the divine plan. . . . A personal affront to one human being is seen as an affront to the Umma, in Islam, or Islam itself. In Judaism, an assault on the dignity of a Jew is an assault on a member of God's own people, and on the image of God that every human being reflects.”²⁷⁰ Assaults on human dignity, especially the injury or death of women and children, “activate for Jews the metaphorical drama of the victimized righteous of God . . . much of this metaphorical drama is also played out in Christian literature, only now applied to the truly chosen lambs of God.”²⁷¹ Gil Baillie also emphasizes that, “Common concern for victims has gradually become the principal moral gyroscope in the Western World.”²⁷² He developed his views largely through analysing the work of Rene Girard.²⁷³

²⁶⁹Burgerman, Susan. 2001. *Moral Victories: How activists provoke multilateral action*. New York, NY.: Cornell University Press. Pp. 46.

²⁷⁰ Gopin, Marc. 2002. “Ritual Civility, Moral Practices of Interpersonal Exchange, and Symbolic Communication.” In *Holy War, Holy Peace*. London, Eng.: Oxford University Press. Pp.163.

²⁷¹ Gopin, Marc. 2002. “Ritual Civility, Moral Practices of Interpersonal Exchange, and Symbolic Communication.” In *Holy War, Holy Peace*. London, Eng.: Oxford University Press. Pp.164.

²⁷² Baillie, Gil. 1997. *Violence Unveiled: Humanity at the Crossroads*. New York: NY.: Crossroads Publishing Co. Pp. 20.

²⁷³ Girard, Rene. 1977. *Violence and the Sacred*. New York, NY.: John Hopkins University Press. See also: Girard, Rene. 1987. *Things Hidden Since the Foundation of the World*. New York, NY.: John Hopkins University Press. Rene Girard undertook an analysis of literature and historical data in many cultures. He created a theory about highly divisive human mimetic desire, or rivalrous envy, which can only be controlled through strong group cohesion. To Girard, historical data suggests that a strong social group coheres, and avoids in-fighting, through identification, and group sacrificial killing, of a scapegoat. Girard asserts that, in modern times, most societies except Christian ones, have been founded on the archetype of the sacrificial victim, even if this is not apparent today. Girard defines scapegoating, or marginalization of an individual, as crucial to group formation. This progresses to group killing of a scapegoat by an attacking crowd, described by Girard as a form of ‘sacrificial violence.’ Girard claims that this has a unifying effect on society. Later, he theorizes, that sacrificial violence is institutionalized, becoming the source of founding myths of almost all societies, even non-violent ones. The cultural or religious myths that originate in ancient sacrificial violence against a scapegoat, are, according to Girard's theory, an essential form of social control and group strength. Group action against a sacrificial victim is said by Girard to demonstrate societal control over life and death and, therefore, over the behaviour of all citizens. However, he notes that the sacrificial killing aspect of these myths may not now be hidden or little known. Nevertheless, Girard's description of the ‘victim’ as a marginalized outsider attacked by society as a whole presents a very different form of ‘unifying force’ from that of sympathy for the victim that he claims is characteristic of Christian

The largely ICBL – induced momentum of public and state opinion supporting an ban on landmines was assisted by Canadian Foreign Affairs officials, who perceived a ‘policy window of opportunity’ respecting landmines. They led, with support of NGOs such as the ICBL and ICRC, the design and negotiation of an international treaty outside the formal, but stalled, CCW. This innovative, “Ottawa Process” involved an ad-hoc group of negotiating states and supporting NGOs in a series of meetings to deliberate and adopt an international treaty banning landmines by the end of 1997. This was led by Canada’s Foreign Affairs Minister, Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, Jodi Williams, Coordinator of the ICBL, and supported by officials of Sweden and like-minded states. Analysts describe the success of the Ottawa Process as “result[ing] from the alignment of a complex array of conditions associated with problems, policies and politics and the associated actions of knowledgeable players. . .to exploit these opportunities to bring about change.”²⁷⁴ While this is undeniable, I believe substantial credit is also due to ICBL visual media stimulation of public anti-landmines sentiment. Only a few years earlier, little public knowledge or interest in landmines was evident. ICBL strategies led, relatively quickly, to a situation where the public wanted a landmine ban and political leaders were looking for a way to

culture, described below. I suggest that an important topic for further research involves the study of cultural differences in understanding, and responding to, images of the victim and the role of these differences may play in a visual culture approach to conflict resolution and peace processes.

Girard examines Christian belief and the accompanying humanistic concern for the victim, observing that Christianity is opposed to, and undermines, the ‘founding myths based on sacrificial violence’ of many other cultures. This occurs, Girard states, as the Christian God, presents himself as the ultimate sacrificial victim who overcomes death, and offers his redemptive power to others. Christianity’s removal of the fear of human sacrifice and death corrupts the meaning of social control based on sacrificial killing, according to Girard. Similarly, Gil Baillie asserts that Christianity undermines the social control effects of a multitude of ethnic or religious myths that are the foundation of many non-Christian cultures based on ‘sacrificial violence.’ Lacking a replacement for power of sacrificial victimization, he believes that these cultures try to assert power over life and death through more detailed defining, and fighting, of ethnic or religious enemies. Baillie asserts that the crucial societal control function of mythic and archetypal reference to sacrificial victimhood has been forever undermined by the spread of Christian myth.

The theory of both Girard and Baillie, while not directly addressing the role of the image of the victim in conflict resolution, suggest that this image will receive markedly different treatment, understanding and reactions in Christian and non-Christian cultures. There may be merit in researching, in a variety of cultures, any societal role played by the ‘victim,’ or victim- oriented founding myth, the nature of victim images presented in society, and their impact on a visual culture approach to conflict resolution and peace processes. Girard’s work suggests that victimizing, and victim images and myths, may play a role in creating rifts or bonds among social groups, and therefore may also stimulate aggression or humanitarian processes, depending upon how they are perceived. To Christian or ‘Western’ cultures, the ‘innocent victim’ images of the ICBL may appear rich with references to the ‘suffering righteous God’ who is a saviour, but who also calls on his followers to ‘save others.’ The sub-conscious metaphor of ‘saving innocent victims’ may one the driving force behind the ICBL visual media campaign in ‘Western’ culture.

²⁷⁴ Tomlin, Brian W. 1998. “On a Fast Track to a Ban: The Canadian Policy Process.” In *To Walk Without Fear: the Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Maxwell A. Cameron, et al, eds. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press. Pp. 207.

support this.’²⁷⁵ Largely as a result of ICBL visual media, public awareness and pressure on governments grew. Many states approached the ICBL to become a ‘pro-ban’ nation, and assist in negotiation of an AP landmine ban.

3.4 Summary: Visual Media of the ICBL As a Social Transformation Tool

Developing many characteristics of socially transforming knowledge creation and organization, the ICBL “cut across disciplines to bring together a diverse array of NGOs to work toward a single goal.”²⁷⁶ ICBL visual media gave a powerful voice to marginalized peoples, such as women and children, who were landmine victims. This was manifested through the use of their images, art and personal stories in photo exhibits, posters, websites, television, fax and film. Designed by local member NGOs and sensitive to numerous distinct cultures and needs, ICBL visual media expressed great diversity and attracted a multitude of followers, worldwide, to the AP mine ban. Dr. Lloyd Axworthy, then Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, used the term ‘soft power’ in describing ICBL effects: “In a wired world, knowledge and information confer international influence, and that influence is power. . . [it] works by attraction, not coercion. The strategic use of information and the ability to influence others by presenting attractive models and ideas have become central components of a nation’s ability to exert political, economic or cultural influence.”²⁷⁷ The power of ICBL visual media to influence stakeholder opinion was amplified through readily accessible and interactive visual media communications. The visual media campaign of the ICBL was, I believe, a significant element of ‘soft power,’ including what I call ‘visual hermeneutic reframing’ of norms.

The ICBL developed a reflexive communication process distinctive to transforming knowledge. This created strong relationships between governments, international agencies and local and international news media, the public and special interest groups. International, cross-discipline and inter-agency cooperation was symbolized by joint press

²⁷⁵ Tomlin, Brian W. 1998. “On a Fast Track to a Ban: The Canadian Policy Process.” In *To Walk Without Fear: the Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Maxwell A. Cameron, et al., eds., Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press. Pp. 205.

²⁷⁶ Williams, Jody and Stephen Goose. 1998. “The International Campaign to Ban Landmines.” In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 22.

²⁷⁷ Axworthy, Lloyd. “Towards a New Multilateralism.” In *To Walk Without Fear: the Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Maxwell A. Cameron, et al. eds. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press. Pp. 452.

conferences.²⁷⁸ In initial stages, the ICBL stressed the importance of disseminating knowledge: “education of the public and public officials about the landmine crisis would be essential to force changes in national and international policies and practices.”²⁷⁹ Educational goals involved raising public awareness of: 1) over-arching humanitarian values concerning the maiming and killing of innocents; and 2) negative socio-economic impacts of mine use, such as loss of agricultural land, lack of food security, lack of access to schools, markets, and work, and excessive emergency resource allocation to mine victims which took away from primary health care.

Throughout the campaign, all interested parties were invited to provide feedback or join the landmine discourse, receive education and information, volunteer with member NGOs and request or give resources or input to the ICBL. The ICBL also encouraged the public's communication of their increasing awareness and concern to government, the media and international agencies, through a variety of media, emphasizing the visual. The ICBL and its worldwide NGO membership established rapid, ongoing communication to officials by concerned parties, through interactive websites, 1-800 numbers, petitions, letter- writing campaigns, and fax and email communication protocols. Many of these included a library of ICBL or NGO images for rapid, accurate transmission. Television programs and internet websites with images, forums and articles concerning AP mines, are exemplified by the ICBL and UN websites and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation television's National Magazine programming on landmines.

Continual learning and adaptation through use of visual and other modalities of implicit and explicit knowledge was also pivotal to ICBL success. This was evident in the ICBL's “commitment to a constant exchange of information – both internally among members of the ICBL as well as with governments, the media, and the general public.”²⁸⁰ ICBL member NGOs became established as experts on the landmines issue through integration of

²⁷⁸ Exemplified by the joint press conference in May 1996, held by ICBL, the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs, UNICEF and the Government of Canada. Source: Williams, Jody and Stephen Goose. 1998. “The International Campaign to Ban Landmines.” In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 33.

²⁷⁹ Williams, Jody and Stephen Goose. 1998. “The International Campaign to Ban Landmines.” In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 26.

²⁸⁰ Williams, Jody and Stephen Goose. 1998. “The International Campaign to Ban Landmines.” In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 23.

knowledge at the local, regional and international levels. "ICBL member organizations regularly communicated, through the ICBL co-ordinator, information on their political strategies and tactics, campaign activities, successes and setbacks. . . provid[ing] members with a sense of the overall activities of the campaign was key to the creation and maintenance of momentum of the ICBL."²⁸¹ Communication tools favoured by the ICBL also facilitated transmission of visual culture. Initially, the fax machine was frequently used, and later in the campaign, the Internet became a primary modality.

The ICBL appears to use several of the mechanisms that O'Neill identifies for developing new normative regimes: argumentation, changing influences originating in culture, moral authority and 'the self-serving definition of the norms,' although O'Neill associates the latter with 'hegemonic states.' The ICBL, through the humanitarian action of the International Red Cross and other members, consistently demonstrated good conduct respecting the humanitarian norms, which was observed by all states. O'Neill identifies good conduct, recognized by others, as a key attribute that allows an actor to specify further norms.²⁸² Working with Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, ICBL members fostered the urgent, global, normative need for a landmine ban, and an created an opportunity for states to act quickly in response to public demand for an AP mine ban. This was symbolized by fulfillment of Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister Axworthy's challenge to Ottawa Process delegates. He asked them to negotiate and sign a treaty banning AP mines by December 1997. Analysts attributed AP mine ban "success. . . [to] the fact that the Ottawa Process was both supported and driven by public opinion."²⁸³

Visual media played a highly significant role by globally:

- 1) demonstrating good conduct in humanitarian norms by ICBL members;
- 2) portraying the victimization of innocent children by landmines and the need for new norms to the public;

²⁸¹ Williams, Jody and Stephen Goose. 1998. "The International Campaign to Ban Landmines." In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 23.

²⁸² O'Neill, Barry. 1999. *Honour, Symbols and War*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press. Pp. 208. O'Neill asserts that normative regimes are developed through mechanisms such as precedent, argumentation, changing influences originating in culture, "the self-serving definition of the norms by the hegemonic state," and by good behaviour that facilitates specification of further norms.

²⁸³ Warmington, Valerie, and Celina Tuttle. 1998. "The Canadian Campaign." In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 58.

- 3) communicating public support, and demand, for a landmine ban treaty to state and international authorities; and
- 4) communicating public and state support for a landmine ban to treaty negotiators.

Many political analysts heralded the success of the ICBL and Ottawa Process as a 'new model of diplomacy'²⁸⁴ where: 1) middle powers such as Canada can exert significant influence on international policy-making in a manner much different from 'superpower dominance' of the Cold War; 2) a global network of civil societies, such as the ICBL, and governments can work co-operatively towards common humanitarian goals; and 3) innovative negotiations can quickly develop strong international humanitarian law without a consensus rule,²⁸⁵ and outside of traditional forums. My analysis suggests another key element of this 'new diplomacy' involves assertion, negotiation and adoption of international humanitarian norms through mechanisms of visual culture. In the ICBL, children's visual culture discourse centres on innocent victims. In discourse about international conventional weapons, this appears to reframe meaning from military to humanitarian, stimulate formal endorsement of a new international normative regime by state actors, and prompt state action in the forms of a landmine ban, removal and victim assistance. This 'new diplomacy' model, and a visual culture approach to reframing of state security discourse based on children's art, may have important implications for children's participation in state peace processes.

3.5 Analysis of Sample ICBL Images

This thesis falls under the sphere of post-modern, 'cognitive anthropology,' choosing subjective interpretation of ICBL samples in recognition that a purely 'objective' is impossible. The use of the subjective, or introspective, as a source of implicit knowledge is recognized by Varlea and Laughlin, as described in Appendix One. My analysis of ICBL images is subjective, using a 'stream of consciousness' method of writing to express the emotional and symbolic impact of specific images. My reaction to the images stems from my perspective within a multi-cultural Canadian society that is largely urban and

²⁸⁴ Williams, Jody and Stephen Goose. 1998. "The International Campaign to Ban Landmines." In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 47.

²⁸⁵ Maslen, Stuart. 1998. "The Canadian Campaign." In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 95.

'westernized.' While I have no war experience I have a background similar to many 'Westerners' who viewed ICBL visual media about children with concern, and lobbied their governments for action. This analysis focuses on the 'exegetical' meaning of the symbols I encounter, as an 'indigenous informant' viewing the ICBL material.²⁸⁶

3.5.1 ICBL Photograph: Girl with Cosmos Flower by Tim Grant

This image is presented on the frontispiece of the book "To Walk Without Fear: the Global Movement to Ban Landmines."²⁸⁷ It embodies many hermeneutic reframing elements characteristic of ICBL visual media and, in my experience, arouses the viewer's empathy, intellect and spirit. These are a startling contrast to images of traditional state security discourse about conventional weapons that portray military force and readiness. These include expansive displays of weaponry's high technology, strength and global reach. The photograph, is a close-up portrait of the head of a black girl with a large purple Cosmos flower in front of her nose, mouth and throat. Her right eye (on the viewer's left) is open, looking out to the viewer, and she appears calm and attractive with smooth skin on this side. However, this attractiveness is marred by her left eye, which is a mangled pit of scar tissue where sight, and most likely the eye itself, is no longer. Her left forehead is also affected, and one wonders about the extent of damage [attributed to an AP mine] that may or may not exist under the cosmos flower covering her throat, mouth and nose. One comes to wonder what her eyes may have seen in the way of crimes against humanity during conflict, and about the terror she may have experienced in her own near-destruction by a landmine. One becomes aware that destruction of one's face is also destruction of identity, defacing 'who I am.' The girl's visage is thus, simultaneously one of beauty and horror, identity and obliteration, resting on the irony of a single, delicate, perfect flower.

The Cosmos flower, suspended very close in the field of vision, in front of her nose, mouth and chin, offers several images and ideas, in turn: 1) *cover (protection)* – but *stressing vulnerability*, it is no protection just as her youthful, feminine role in society

²⁸⁶ Exegesis is usually used in reference to a text and involves exposition, guiding, interpreting or explaining the ideas contained therein. Exegesis may also refer to the critical explanation of a text. I am using this term in reference to the interpretation of ideas contained in visual media and visual culture.

²⁸⁷ Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. 1998. *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Frontispiece.

FIGURE FOUR:



appears to have made her vulnerable and the injury is obviously an example of a failure of society to protect her; 2) *silence and powerlessness*– the flower covers her mouth, a symbol, to me, of the lack of voice of the women, youth and children in the state security discourse about landmines, and of their marginalization in many societies where landmines are prevalent – these have rendered them powerless; thus they may become victims of horrific maiming in killing while doing routine life tasks; 3) *mystery and concern for her existence*, as we do not know the extent of injury – does it extend to her mouth, affecting eating, expression, communication? Has she other injuries and traumas from her war-torn environment? Who is helping her and how does she live? 4) *A ravaging of symmetry and perfection* – the flower is a reflection of the ‘perfect Cosmos’ or Godhead, portraying the beauty of nature, hovering suspended in space as a symbol of the potential for timeless values of love and perfection which has been marred for this apparently innocent girl who happened upon an AP mine.

The *girl's eye and visage*, however, are not vacant, but appear intelligent, and her manner is composed, perhaps unusually mature, in spite of, or because of, her injury. In my view, the image of flower thus evolves through continued viewing to offer, ironically, *hope and survival*. The Cosmos now becomes viewed as a flower that might bloom out of her mouth. The ICBL, and this photograph, provide her a voice, albeit late, in the AP mines discourse. In this context, the blooming Cosmos flower may also be seen as a form of the Crown charka, which normally is portrayed above the head, in the shape of a lotus flower. The centre of the flower appears like the sun, a source of light, heat and energy, which could also be seen as the centre of the personality of the child. The flower appears perfect next to the imperfect face of the girl; at its most positive representing the flowering of personality and spiritual wisdom, through transcendence of the horrific landmine experience. Negatively, the flower could be viewed as imperfect and asymmetrical- there are gaps and overlaps in petals, for example, denoting societal failure in using landmines, and their damage to the personality and spirit, which requires much support and healing. The Cosmos may, in this final ICBL context, symbolize the larger universal, ‘cosmic family of peoples’ assisting landmine victims, such as this girl, with medical support, education, and future employment, landmine ban and removal, and, hopefully, some caring attention to her and her community.

Finally, I contemplate the overall composition: the dark, solid mass or globe which is the girl's head, comprising the upper two-thirds of the photograph, and the much lighter, frail flower beneath, making up the lower third of the picture. The delicate flower appears to "hover" over the girl's throat charka, mouth and nose. This leads me to consider reality as the prevalence of heavy sadness inflicted by the depraved, warring actions of humanity, represented by the large, solid human head. This is in stark contrast with our human ability to conceive of, and strive for the perfection that we idealize, portrayed by the ethereal, hovering Cosmos flower, which appears to have no earthly 'supports.' The key to overcoming this dark side of humanity seems to rest in the voice of the girl, which should bloom like this perfect flower. The picture calls out to the viewer to free the victim in the photograph by releasing her voice. The photo seems to compel the viewer to seek a way to open up her throat charka, by a combination of revelation - uncovering the mystery under the flower, and by transformation - allowing the flower to bloom more fully. The throat charka to be revealed and transformed is a most fitting choice for this subject. The throat charka manifests "the struggle against secondary things" through the "universal brotherhood, willing sacrifice, justice,' and an effort to "build. . .the dialogue" to bring all into "citizenship"²⁸⁸ - practices which the ICBL embodies.

3.5.2 Boy with Woman at Refugee Camp, by John Rodsted

This professional photograph is from the website of Global Education Motivators (GEM), an NGO associated with the United Nations Department of Information and the United States arm of the ICBL. GEM develops global education programs "to help teachers and students deal with their interdependent world, its promise and its problems."²⁸⁹ No supplementary information accompanies the photograph. The picture may be more characteristic of journalism than traditional state security discourse. It emphasizes the vulnerability of land mine victims, as individuals and families. The viewer is immediately struck by the figure of the boy, who is standing very straight and tall,

²⁸⁸ Zohar, Dana, and Dr. Ian Marshall. 2000. *Spiritual Intelligence: The Ultimate Intelligence*. London, U.K.: Bloomsbury Publishing. Pp. 252. Dana Zohar studied physics and philosophy at MIT before doing graduate work at Harvard University in psychology and theology. She teaches in the Oxford Strategic Leadership Program at Oxford University. Dr. Ian Marshall holds degrees in psychology and philosophy from Oxford, a medical degree from the University of London and is a psychiatrist.

²⁸⁹ Global Education Motivators. 2002. Available from the World Wide Web: <http://www.gem-ngo.org/pdl.html>

FIGURE FIVE:

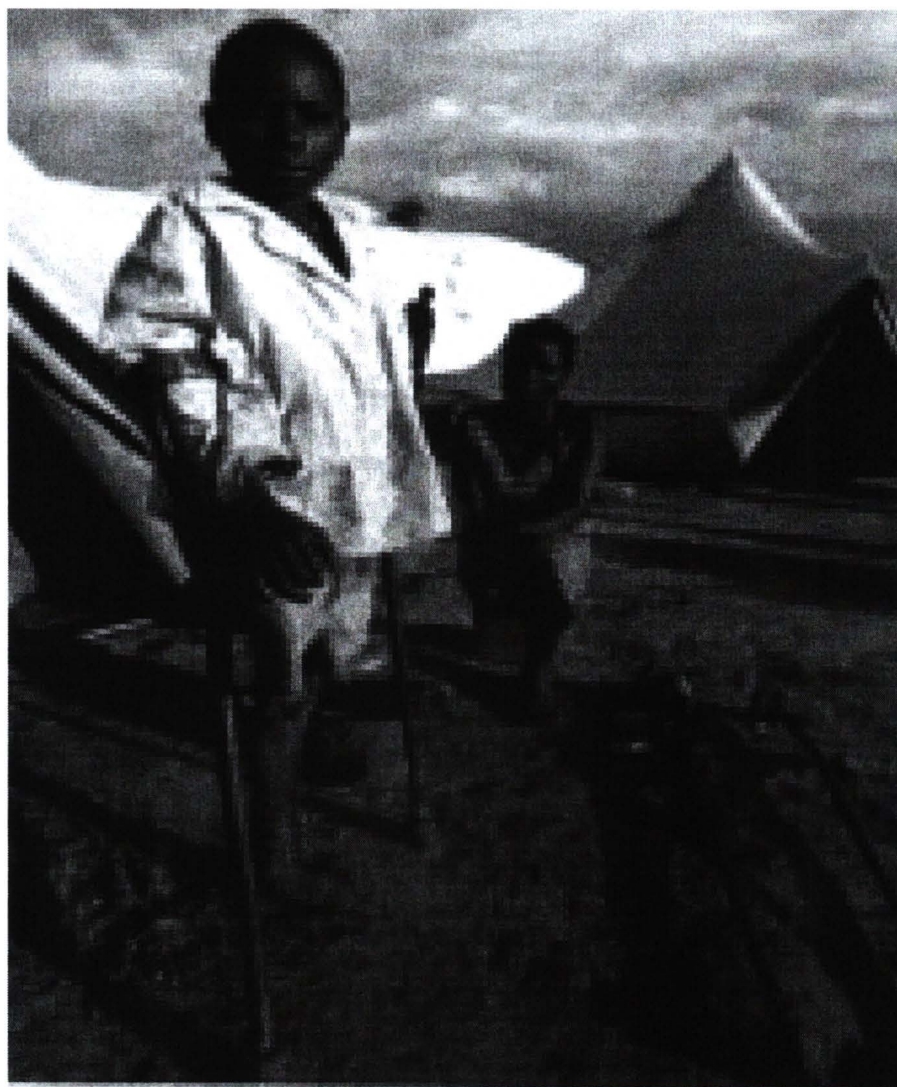


Photo: John Rodsted

despite his missing right leg and balancing on crutches. He dominates the picture and, due to the camera angle, appears larger than even the tents around him. He towers over a woman seated on a small box, who might be his mother, as this appears to be a domestic scene. The boy and woman are shoeless, have simple, minimal clothing and no obvious adornment, except for her bracelet. There are very few belongings, just a cooking pot on a tiny 'fire-pit' outside a tent, in what may be a refugee camp.

In stark black and white, the photograph suggests the situation of these two people may be quite desperate. The setting suggests a flat landscape, of bare dirt with no discernable vegetation or urban amenities. Apart from tents, very few cultural artefacts are in sight. One thinks of 'scorched earth' and wonder if this is a natural state of desert-living people [with imported canvas tents, this seems unlikely] or, more likely, a result of forced migration of people to marginalized lands, as refugees. Long shadows suggest it is late in the day, and, to this viewer, alludes to lateness in giving help to these people, who have, apparently, already faced much destruction.

The photograph delivers a sense of loneliness and isolation, both in its arrangement and subjects. The background is occupied by a couple of other tents. There is no sense of 'larger society,' except for a distant, lone, thin, silhouette of a curious adolescent boy, peering at the photography process. Marks and detritus in the dirt at the foreground of the picture tell a bit of a story, but nothing significant: footprints, scratching from a child with a stick or something sharp being dragged, circular marks of the bases of crutches, and possibly ashes from the cooking fire.

There are no men in the picture. One wonders if the men are the dominant in this society, in the same way that this boy looms over his mother in the photograph. Are the men nearby in conference, tending to an apparent crisis? The lack of cultural artefacts and sense of aloneness is so great that one wonders if able-bodied men and teenage boys are away fighting, or as if they have been killed by an enemy. Perhaps only these few in the picture, escaped, together with those unseen in the tents, who may be languishing from exhaustion, wounds or starvation. This raises the question of the future of these people, and of their entire society and culture. What is their situation and their future? How will they survive, not just as individuals but as a people? The face of the boy and the 'mother' suggest a deep sadness and trials to a point beyond exhaustion. The 'mother,' to this

viewer, has a feeling of anxiety about her, partly from body posture of crossed arms and the angular presentation of her face in the low sunlight. Also, she seems to have marks or wounds on her forehead, suggesting other violence.

Next, the viewer's eye is drawn to the long poles lying on the earth in front of the boy, compositionally arranged to lead one's eye into the picture, and toward the 'mother.' The poles are, at first, unfamiliar objects, but after examining the shape carefully, it becomes apparent that they are crude crutches for a taller person than this boy. One then looks more carefully at the seated women. In fact, she is also missing her right leg. This is a shocking discovery, to realize that, one tends to assume people are 'whole' until the eye provides evidence of disembodiment. The viewer then tests with the eye, searches the photo: what else is missing? The woman's hands are in deep shade – are they there, or have they also been maimed by landmines?

One wonders how prevalent the disembodiment and disfigurement from fighting and landmines may be among these people, and the horrific impact on their community. On closer inspection, it appears that the boy in the foreground also has an injured right eye, which appears unfocused, and may be sightless, likely due to the landmine incident. Searching the picture, we realize we cannot verify the presence or absence of the left hand and arm of the boy in the foreground, or of the distant, silhouetted boy's lower arms, or his right leg. This fearful inability to verify the extent, to which people are 'whole' or not, is a minuscule microcosm of the terror under which they have lived. The image's presence of disembodiment feels real, but not only physical, but also as a disembodied culture and as a disembodied, incomplete family. This picture tells of people very likely violently removed from their homes, with many lost or killed family members, especially males, forced to reside in a camp that has little meaning or sustenance for them.

These thoughts and feelings stir the viewer with compassion, realizing that this 'tent city' and its apparent lack of society or supports is overwhelmingly insufficient. Clearly, medical and rehabilitation services for landmine and war victims in such a place are minimal at best, and do not rebuild society. How can these people possibly survive, when more than one in a family appear unable to walk, carry water or materials to market, or to plant and gather food? One senses the temporary nature of this tent city. It may not even be a safe haven. Thinking of the news of slaughters, even in refugee camps, one is aware

that these people may be required to flee again. What sort of flight can be successful on crutches? Even after the conflict is over, one thinks this family will continually be marginalized by their disabilities, their ongoing experience of victimhood and few social supports. There is a sense of inner pain in the faces of the boy and the mother. Are their lives so traumatized, they cannot be 'put right?'

The picture is a stark reality of past, present, and possibly future trauma with little or no support in evidence. The viewer is, through this grim appeal, called on to understand this apparent refugee experience of physical and social disembodiment, at a visceral level, and to make a strong effort to help, albeit from a distant, sheltered place called "the West." Through this appeal, the picture embodies the ICBL message: landmines and war maim and kill innocent women and children, creating an impossibly cruel economic, social and physical environment. This stirs a response to find out more, and to ask what resources I, the viewer, may have that could assist this child and woman and others like them.

3.5.3 Child's "Imagine a New World" Poster

This ICBL collage poster was created by Deb Morris, a youth of Charlottesville, Virginia at a Church of the Brethren summer camp. The church, like other NGOs supporting the ICBL, sent many such pictures of protest asking United States President Clinton and other leaders to sign the international landmine treaty. The image is very hopeful in tone, portraying an 'imaginary new landmine-free world' where people can walk safely and unprotected in grassy fields of flowers. This is an almost literal, visual interpretation of the ICBL slogan: "To walk without fear." The image is transforming in that the picture pleads for the President to "imagine a new world," sign the Ottawa Treaty, and promises amazing results: "Paradise regained." The entire picture rests, compositionally, on the signing of the AP mine ban treaty, as does, in reality, the ICBL.

The focus of the poster is clearly upon walking safely, as two pairs of legs are shown strolling: those of a large, white adult, whose legs frame those of a young, dark-skinned girl. The large white legs may indicate those of the President, to whom the poster was sent, shown in a protective stance to the smaller girl. The placement of the feet indicates that the two people, although very different in age, race, and power, are walking in step, almost in unison. The 'mirroring' and synchronization of the two pairs of legs indicates like-mindedness, power-sharing and mutual understanding.

FIGURE SIX:



The artist's viewpoint, close to the ground, is that of a young child. The child-created and feminine child-centred image is characteristic of ICBL innovation in this type of visual media. At the same time, it is also an extremely unusual way to portray the leader of a globally dominant military power in visual discourse about state security. He would traditionally be shown in uniform, in an imposing posture on a military machine, at a historic or wartime site, or inspecting troops. The cross-cultural nature of the image, with a white adult walking together with a dark child, is also typical of the ICBL visual campaign. The ICBL sought to engage many nations and cultures in working together to ban the global problem of mines. Inter-ethnic co-operation was also an imperative of the ICBL, who assisted peace building in areas of intra-state conflict where landmines were used.

If this poster had been created by politicians, it could be interpreted as containing dominant, patriarchal 'Western' colonial-style meddling [portrayed by the large white feet of the President] in affairs of a small and weak the 'Third World' country [portrayed by the small, dark girl's feet]. However, the image was produced by a child, who likely has little knowledge of such ideas. Conversely, one could suggest that the culture of American dominance is so prevalent, that even children may express it. However, I do not believe that this young artist was thinking of dominance, but of protection from landmines.

To me, the picture portrays potential ICBL success. The 'garden' is paradise regained, as the American president walks safely and protectively with a girl who will no longer have to fear landmines among the pleasant grass and flowers. In either case, the image is one of Western or American strength being offered to youth of other nations to relieve them of trauma of AP mines. Here, child's art has successfully penetrated military and state security discourse on AP mines, offering entirely new, humanitarian norms.

This picture is an aspirational frame - a literal invitation to 'imagine a new world' without landmines. This is characterized in text as 'Paradise Regained.' The 'new world' newsprint text used may allude to earlier Presidential references to a 'new world order' and to America, itself as a relatively young and democratic nation. The poster implies a new world where an innocent young girl can walk safely in a 'Garden of Eden' or 'Heavenly' environment. The ideal of paradise is one that this young Christian artist was likely well acquainted with. This image is highly significant in connecting this ideal, not only to the landmine campaign, but to the specific health and safety needs of a young female child,

and to the act of signing the landmine ban treaty, by the President. This linking of the ideal to the real to is the foundation for new humanitarian norm formation respecting landmines and reinforces actions called for by the ICBL.

3.5.4 Child's Poster: Landmine Trauma on the Boundary of War and Peace

In 1998 the ICBL held a competition for children's drawings to be used as landmine pictures. This poster from the ICBL Image Library was created by "Krijan," a child from Nepal.²⁹⁰ The picture appears to portray a horrific experience of maiming and burning by a landmine at the boundary between the child's existing experience of war and a hoped-for world of peace. As the world is divided between war and prospective peace, so is the body of the key war-child character. As the war-child strides this boundary, his or her body is similarly divided, half appearing healthy and reaching for peace and half burnt and damaged by the landmine. Using the remaining 'healthy' part of the body and leaping with great effort, this child appears in mid-flight from the horror of landmine explosion to a bucolic world of peace. The war-child appears as a large, strong and vigorous survivor, despite an apparently missing hand and foot.

The middle right side of the picture is dominated by a landmine explosion, filled with masses of fire, smoke and burnt landscape. A tiny, dismembered, dark green bush, sprouts a landmine rather than flowers, and appears as the sole living survivor in this devastation. There is no sense of society, home or community. The only objects are landmines, similar devices, and an assault rifle. Distant blackness, and the red sky suggest replication of this scene over the countryside. In extreme contrast, the middle left side of the picture appears as a calm, welcoming refuge. About to step into a field of flowers, the war-child is being welcomed by another child, personifying peace, with a bouquet of flowers in hand. This child has an expectant air, already shifting weight onto one foot, to go forward and embrace the injured war-child. These delicate and colourful flowers, the green fields and the strong, lush tree indicate a highly nurturing, safe and healthy environment. The colourful clothes of the peace-child and the flowers appear to represent the vitality [red] and well-being or wisdom [gold] embodied by this landscape. In contrast, stone markers on the ground with wooden stick markers or crosses lie in the mid-ground between the

²⁹⁰ ImageLibrary, International Campaign to Ban Landmines. 2003. Available from the World Wide Web: http://www.icbl.org/imagelibrary/Around_the_World/Asia/Poster_Competition_1998

FIGURE SEVEN:



welcoming 'peace-child' and the striding war-child. This may be a reference to the children who have died from landmines.

The social, political and, perhaps, religious aspects of the conflict are personified in giant hands, looming in the sky over the scene. The 'hand of war' is higher and more vigorous than the peace hand, and larger, including part of the arm which is decorated with a political insignia on a red band. This hand appears to be bursting out of a grenade or other weapon, and is reaching down to grasp the child. The child flees, despite burning on the back and leg, and possibly a blown-off foot. The war hand is super-imposed on a violent, red sky with hints of the curve of a giant war - face and suggestion of an eye and eyebrow. The red sky or war-face appears to hover menacingly over the entire scene, although it occupies the upper right corner. The hand of peace is gentler, situated in a harmonious natural scene of rural beauty, framed by sunny blue skies, peaceful, green, distant hills, and fields of flowers. The 'peace hand' appears to be 'growing' out of a lush, green tree - an archetype of continuing life, truth and ethical knowledge.

The tree is leaning towards the boundary of war and peace, and the 'peace hand' appears to be opening towards that boundary, as if yearning to bring peace to the 'world of war' it is stretching towards. The 'hand of peace' is slightly lower and smaller than the war hand, and is reaching up in an, opening, goodwill gesture towards the hand of war. The viewer's impulse is to join the two hands, and help the peaceful, idyllic world tame the world of war through the tree of knowledge, truth and life. Careful inspection shows curved lines in the sky, reminiscent of clouds, but appearing as indicators of the hands' movements, mimicking a possible handshake. This is a strong visual metaphor for the archetypal "handshake of peace" that seals a peace treaty. The potential handshake conveys, to me, opportunities for possible landmine ban and peace treaty.

3.6 Conclusion to Chapter Three

Visual media methods discovered in the ICBL study included: 1) a plurality of voices, including traditionally marginalized groups, and women and children; 2) 'feminization' of visual media, where women and children were introduced to military visual discourse and portrayed as victims more often than actually occurred; 3) new, innovative sources of images, such as child victims' art works; 4) rapid and broad dissemination of images through, fax and Internet communications and advertising; 5) assertive employment of ICBL images and installations as reminders of shared, humanitarian concerns and goals at meetings, conferences, negotiations and rallies; 6) visual media programs decentralized and managed independently at the local, state, regional and international level, with constant feedback and communication in order to co-ordinate between these groups; and 7) use of the disseminated ICBL image to foster a sense of belonging, and give momentum, to a global social movement to ban landmines.

To alter hostile worldviews, some psychologists create factual or ethical inconsistency in the mind of the stakeholder, thinking that rational persons will want to create consistency, through changes in belief or behaviour. Pelton and Rokeach²⁹¹ propose techniques of 'inconsistency' in cognition, in order to change belief systems between conflicting parties and move them to favourable, non-violent relations. Their methods include: 1) providing information to an individual which is inconsistent with information held; 2) providing 'information about states of inconsistency' already existing within his own 'value-attitude system,' to instigate a 'searching of conscience' which may result in conceptual change; or 3) causing an individual to behave in a way that is 'out of character', as in the non-violent practice of non-cooperation.²⁹² Visual messages, such as children's ICBL posters, appear to be useful instruments for these methods. Children's visual media in the ICBL create value inconsistencies by portraying landmines as maiming and killing innocent children, clashing with preconceived images of landmines as state security tools that protect civilians.

My study of the ICBL campaign indicates that children's visual media, and images of children affected by landmines, appear to positively influence the development of

²⁹¹ Rokeach, M. 1968. *Beliefs, Attitudes and Values*. San Francisco, Ca.: Jossey-Bass. Pp. 167,168.

²⁹² Rokeach, M. 1968. *Beliefs, Attitudes and Values*. San Francisco, Ca: Jossey-Bass. Pp.173-178.

humanitarian norms as part of a broad international discourse regarding peace and conflict matters. This has positive implications for children's participation in peace processes using visual media as a form of expression. In this study, ICBL visual media appears to provide an opportunity for a process I call 'visual hermeneutic reframing.' Stakeholders appear stimulated to question 'old' military or hegemonic discourse and reframe their understanding in humanitarian terms. While qualitative and subjective, my 'stream of consciousness' narrative documents an empathetic response to three ICBL campaign images. I have also conducted a qualitative survey of viewer responses to the "iHuman Gun Sculpture," which is part of small arms discourse. Findings of this research, being prepared for future publication, reinforces the empathetic, humanitarian response noted here.²⁹³ Visual hermeneutic reframing occurs in the context of the visual media about, and sourced from, groups previously marginalized or silent in the dominant military discourse: women, children and other civilians impacted by landmine violence.

Landmine images displayed in the news, art exhibits and the Internet appear to generate a type of "CNN effect." Many viewers contact their elected officials insisting that 'something be done' about the killing and maiming of innocent children by landmines. At the international level, state representatives chose to create new, humanitarian norms banning landmines, negotiating outside the formal Convention on Conventional Weapons [CCW], through the "Ottawa Process" and its resulting treaty. The ICBL, and in particular, its children's visual media campaign, appear instrumental in influencing this development. The ICBL study suggests that an 'opening' in political space to question the motives, operations and tools of war, may be successfully created using children's visual media. Children use art to express their experiences, interests and concerns about issues of war and peace. As these findings are preliminary, care must be taken in considering their application to children's participation in peace processes in a variety of cultural and conflict situations.²⁹⁴

²⁹³ King, Evelyn Jane. 2003. *Viewer Responses to the "iHuman Gun Sculpture."* Unpublished Research Survey, University of Victoria: Victoria, B.C. Constructed by Sandra Bromley and Wallis Kendal, founders of iHuman Society. The sculpture is made from 7000 decommissioned assault rifles, land mines, handguns and grenades from Canada and around the world the sculpture opened at the Edmonton Art Gallery in 2000, and was exhibited at the Nobel Peace Prize centennial in South Korea, in the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa, and at the UN in New York.

²⁹⁴ Limits to this thesis did not permit analysis of a very large number of ICBL images to estimate the precise extent and nature of their influence in visual culture. This is an important topic for more extensive future research.

This chapter did establish links between the ICBL children's visual media campaign, their portrayal of humanitarian interests, and rapidly evolving social norms to ban AP mines. Children's visual media of the ICBL appears to reframe military discourse as humanitarian, and mobilize worldwide public and government action against AP mines. This suggests that children's visual media may be of value in peace processes. Such media holds promise as a tool for 'visual hermeneutic reframing,' possibly to reconfigure state military discourse as humanitarian. It may have the potential to mobilize state leaders and larger constituencies to express humanitarian concern for war-affected children through the development of a peace treaty. However, these are preliminary impressions based on a limited exploration of limited ICBL analyses and images. Further development of visual culture theory in mediation, including design and testing of visual media exercises, and more research respecting children's participation in state decision-making, is needed to establish this form of children's participation in peace processes

Chapter Four

INCORPORATING CHILDREN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES

4.1. Introducing Peace Process Visual Media To Broaden Visual Discourse

My priority is to ensure that a full array of children's interests are expressed and considered in peace processes of government, and to establish a safe and effective foundation of children's involvement that may be expanded to full participation. Gerison Lansdown outlines reasons for children's participation that are applicable to peace processes: " [1] it [participation] leads to better decisions and outcomes;. . . [2] It promotes the well-being and development of young people;. . . [3] It strengthens a commitment to and understanding of human rights and democracy; . . . [4] It protects young people better; . . . [5] Young people want to participate; . . . and [6] It is a fundamental human right. . ."²⁹⁵

Recognizing that it is impossible to be completely impartial in the exploration of visual media as a tool for children in peace processes, I have three primary aims. First, I introduce a visual culture approach to state peace process implementation of children's CRC participation rights. While providing examples of visual media exercises for children, I recognize that the most appropriate exercise will be one tailored to the specific cultural and conflict context of a particular group of children and their state's specific peace process. Secondly, I hope to contribute to ensuring children's freedom of expression under the CRC by developing visual media methods for them to articulate their interests. I am curious to see the type, nature and scope of the interests that children will portray, if given an opportunity. I am interested in the way in which children's visual discourse may influence current discourse in peace processes, which is typically adult, verbal and written. Dominated by military and security analysis and interests of state leaders,²⁹⁶ peace process discourse has few opportunities for alternative humanitarian 'frames of understanding,' or empathy with the plight of war-affected children. Thirdly, I hope to increase inter-group

²⁹⁵ Lansdown, Gerison. 2002. "Global Priorities for Youth: Youth Participation in Decision-making." In *Draft Report on the global situation of youth: Conflict Prevention*. UN Commission for Social Development. A paper presented to The Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth in Helsinki, Finland October 2002, sponsored by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the Ministry of Education of the Government of Finland. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.un.org/esa/undev/unyin/helsinki/ch10_participation_lansdown.doc

²⁹⁶ The visual contestation of military discourse appears to be achieved through humanitarian images that draw attention to negative impacts on the health, well-being and safety of innocent civilians, especially children. They are either accidentally injured, such as "caught in the cross-fire" or deliberately targeted, in apparent acts of genocide.

contact between children from different parties to the conflict and allow individual children to become familiar with individuals from the 'other' group. While it is difficult to arrange peace process inter-group contact among adult populations, in many states, large populations of children may participate in inter-group contact where participation is tied to any multicultural state education, health or social programs.²⁹⁷

Where safety or ethical concerns prevent children from attending peace processes, there is potential for mediators to undertake visual media exercises in children's neighbourhoods, refugee camps, clinics and the like. This media, with interpretation approved by children, would be input to the peace process. Further research is needed respecting feasibility of adapting existing psychosocial programs for war-affected children as a source of visual media input to peace processes. Psychosocial programs are already in place in many areas, can provide necessary supports to children, and, in the case of art therapy, have skilled staff to engage children in these exercises. Participating psychosocial experts would need orientation to peace process and mediation methods. Adapted psychosocial programs might not fully meet CRC participation requirements, but might serve as a useful interim measure until children's full peace process participation can be implemented by the state.

I have reviewed the strengths of ICBL that may be similar to those anticipated for children in peace processes. Visual media portrays expanded interests and appears to stimulate empathy. Through the visual overview of expanded interests, hermeneutic reframing of concepts of the conflict, self and the other may occur. These include the experience of humanitarian crisis experienced by marginalized groups, such as children, women and ethnic or religious minorities. Also significant to success was the 'feminization' of discourse that added many more common interests than hegemonic military discourse.

Conflict resolution media programs for children are created by Search for Common Ground. Talking Drum Studio in Liberia is an outlet of Common Ground Productions that models conflict resolution practice. Conflict reporting is geared to signals of resolution

²⁹⁷ Hewstone, Miles, and Ed Cairns. 2002. "Social Psychology and Inter-group Conflict." In *Ethnopolitical Warfare: Causes, Consequences and Possible Solutions*. Daniel Chirot and Marin E. P. Seligman, eds. Washington, DC.: American Psychological Association. They observe that it is difficult to create contact between conflict groups on a large scale, except for children, where it can be incorporated into educational programs.

rather than escalation. Talking Drum also provides information that “tests the limits of freedom of the press winning numerous battles with the government to stay on the air. Talking Drum Studio produces civic education and reconciliation programs as well as community drama shows that air on eight Liberian radio stations.”²⁹⁸ Search for Common Ground [SCG] describe ‘*Nashe Maalo*’ [Our Neighborhood] TV show in Macedonia as, “the first children's . . . [TV] program made to promote intercultural understanding, to encourage conflict prevention in a multicultural society, and to impart specific conflict-resolution skills that children can use. . . everyday [and]. . . presents a timely opportunity to influence an entire generation of children in Macedonia in the direction of mutual tolerance and respect.”²⁹⁹ The ICBL³⁰⁰ and Search for Common Ground encourage a plurality of children’s voices, expression of their interests and seeking of common purpose through conflict resolution-based media.

Experts suggest that inter-group contact, such as through the peace process participation by children, may not affect inter-group relations. Any positive contact that occurs between children of different parties via peace process exercises may be considered unique to that contact at that time. They suggest that positive affect of the experience may not be applied beyond that peace process exercise, or to different members of the ‘other group.’³⁰¹ Yet many experts consider contact and inter-group co-operation very useful, particularly as a lack of contact may result in declining future contact and “strengthen the assumption that the two groups have different [even irreconcilable] beliefs, maintain inter-group anxiety, and reinforce the boundary between groups.”³⁰² My proposed peace process exercises encourage individual artistic expression. This may assist child participants in differentiating each other as individual personalities rather than remaining as stereotyped

²⁹⁸ The United States Agency for International Development, Office of Transition Initiatives. 2000. *Program Information Liberia: Talking Drum Studios*. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.usaid.gov/hum_response/oti/country/liberia/libr2000.html

²⁹⁹ Common Ground Productions. 2003. *Program Overview: Television in Macedonia*. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.sfcg.org/activities.cfm?locus=CGP>

³⁰⁰ de Larrinaga, Miguel and Clair Turenne Sjolander. 1998. “(Re)presenting Landmines from Protector to Enemy: The Discursive Framing of a New Multilateralism.” In *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Cameron, Maxwell A., Robert J. Lawson, and Brian W. Tomlin, eds. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Pp. 369.

³⁰¹ Hewstone, Miles, and Ed Cairns. 2002. “Social Psychology and Inter-group Conflict.” In *Ethno-political Warfare: Causes, Consequences and Possible Solutions*. Daniel Chirof and Marin E. P. Seligman, eds. Washington, DC.: American Psychological Association. Pp.328.

³⁰² Hewstone, Miles, 1996. “Contact and categorization: Social psychological interventions to change inter-group relations.” In *Stereotypes and stereotyping*. New York, NY.: Guildford Press. Pp. 323-368.

members of a particular group. Art activity is likely to provide more detailed and personal information to permit familiarity with an individual as in Martin Buber's "I-Thou" relations.³⁰³ Brewer and Miller also support this 'personalization' approach to 'de-categorization' of the 'other'.³⁰⁴

I have adapted a cultural transmission model to illustrate the socially transforming effect of visual media. Diagram One, on the following page, is an adaptation of "A Structural Representation of Cultural Transmission: Appropriation or Assimilation?" by Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao.³⁰⁵ Their cultural 'model' portrayed visual culture processes of *informal* mediation between differing groups, simplified into 'domination' and 'subordination,' in a particular state. I adjusted model to show the role of formal peace processes at points "F" and "G," and to portray related children's peace process visual media within society's larger visual discourse, at point "J."³⁰⁶ Children's visual media, where disseminated from peace processes to larger constituencies, has the potential to stimulate an expanded societal visual discourse. Visual media techniques are also proposed as an instrument for communicating children's interests, identifying common ground between parties and embodying shared future goals.

Diagram One is a general model. Each state needs to examine its particular culture to ascertain visual media influences on peace and conflict discourse. Some cultures have taboos about the creation, dissemination and consumption of certain types of art. For example, fundamentalist Islamic prohibitions exist regarding the creation and display of particular images, and there are Jewish taboos against formation of certain types of images. Where strong taboos exert considerable influence in visual culture, visual media exercises may require adaptation to be consistent with the culture, or may not be the first choice for children's participation in peace processes. This is an important area for future research.

³⁰³ Buber, Martin. 1965. *Empathy from the Knowledge of Man*. M. Friedman and R.G. Smith, trans. New York, NY: Harper Torchbooks. Note: Appendix One, Section 4.2 of this thesis reviews of Buber's "I-Thou" and "I-It" relations.

³⁰⁴ Brewer, M.B. and R. J. Brown. 1998. "Inter-group relations." In *Handbook of social psychology*. Vol. 2. Gilbert, D.T., S.t. Fiske and G. Lindzey, eds. New York: McGraw- Hill. Pp. 554 – 594.

³⁰⁵ Ziff, Bruce and Pratima V. Rao. 1997. "Introduction to Cultural Appropriation: A Framework for Analysis." In *Borrowed Power*. Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao, eds. New Brunswick: Rutgers Press. Pp. 6. Includes insights from Jonathan Hart and Raymond Morrow.

³⁰⁶ Children's interests during peace processes may be similar to those of the ICBL study. The humanitarian and inter-generational interests of the ICBL contrasted significantly with society's visual discourse that emphasized hegemony, state security and military power.

DIAGRAM ONE: Positioning Children's Peace Process Visual Media in Society's Visual Culture



The above-left forms of power, with new emphasis on 'soft,' humanitarian- based power, provide resources and influence for:



**VISUAL CULTURE PRODUCTION,
DISSEMINATION & CONSUMPTION:**

C: MARGINAL CULTURE & Cultural Assimilation:
Subordinate agents

Marginal agents

Colonized agents

Resistance & Counter Hegemony

B: VISUAL CULTURE CONTESTATION

Sites of visual culture contestation & informal mediation, as found in mass media, popular culture, myth, film, advertising, law, fashion, discourse, museums, galleries, science, narrative, literature education, religion and cultural symbols

E: State Cultural Policy = Coercion & Legitimation

D: DOMINANT CULTURE & Cultural Appropriation:

Dominant / Elite agents

Core/ Central agents

Colonizer

Authority / Hegemony

F: Peace Process Visual Culture

Peace Process Mediation involving dominant & marginalized groups in visual media production, dissemination, & consumption { ICBL Visual Media an informal example }
- Increased understanding of 'other's' experience of conflict;
- Awareness of constructed nature of visual culture re conflict, humanitarian & peace issues;
- Expansion of positions into broad interests through visual media expression;
- Finding and visual articulation of super-ordinate goals –achieved via mutual cooperation

J: Children's Visual Media Program in Peace Processes:

A subset of F, above. Formal visual media exercises to: create a common history; share conflict experiences, identify common interests, share transcendent meaning, develop empathy for the 'other,' attempt to create an overarching 'third' culture with joint actions & goals; communicate with larger constituencies; & plan & conduct joint peace-building visual cultural projects and programs. Includes stakeholders from dominant, minority & marginalized groups.

Reflexive, iterative articulation & communication of goals, actions & results of mediation involving participants and leaders & communication to larger constituencies via visual media such as public art such as posters, videos, banners, film, symbols photography, art shows, & public installations.

I: Resistant & Subordinate Residual Visual Culture

H: Resistant Residual of Dominant Visual Culture

G: Emerging, "Overarching Third Culture" via Public Peace Process Visual Media

Via peace process visual media exercises and reflexive processes of visual production, dissemination, & consumption. Many "subordinate & dominant agents" may choose to unite into a broad social movement. Purpose: identification of super-ordinate goals through visual media that also creates public pressure for actions in pursuit of peace.

SOURCE: Adapted from the model, "A Structural Representation of Cultural Transmission: Appropriation or Assimilation?" Source: Ziff, Bruce and Pratima V. Rao. 1997. "Introduction to Cultural Appropriation: A Framework for Analysis." In *Borrowed Power*. New Brunswick: Rutgers Press. Pp. 6.

KEY: **A:** multiple sources of power; **B:** diverse & overlapping social / cultural networks & sites of power or 'arenas where production & reproduction of visual cultural products are contested and / or mediated;' **C:** Sites of visual culture of marginalized groups and any cultural assimilation; **D:** Sites of visual culture of Dominant group in society, including any cultural appropriation; **E:** Site of state cultural & associated policies. Ziff and Rao view current policies of most states as 'coercive' to marginalized groups, by espousing themes of dominant elites. In following state cultural policy, cultural agents (listed under C and D) produce visual material to influence society in a manner acceptable to the state through cultural contestation at B. Most societies, especially those in armed conflict, do not have strong public visual media supporting peace process themes from either marginalized or dominant groups. Market-oriented private media tend toward viewer-generating themes of violence & conflict or tension. **F:** My proposed 'state-sponsored, public media: peace process visual culture' largely created through mediator guided or cooperative inquiry peace process exercises such as examples in Chapter Four of this thesis. Peace process visual media is inserted into society's sites of visual culture contestation at B; and also may generate a new cultural group at G. **G:** My proposed 'new emergent peace process culture' - a 'third' visual culture that bridges or overarches society's dominant (D) and marginalized (C) cultures; **H:** Resistant Residual of Dominant Visual Culture. **I:** Resistant & Subordinate Residual Visual Culture, who have not assimilated or been 'colonized.' For example, in the case of peace processes this group would not accept visual media or ideas generated at points. **J:** My proposed 'Children's Visual Media Program in Peace Processes.'

Note: My changes to Ziff and Rao's model relate to visual culture and a planned human security/ humanitarian culture primarily in Areas B, F, G and J.

4.11 Using Visual Media as A Tool in Peace Processes

Limits of this thesis preclude a long exploration of visual media methods for children's participation in peace processes. Rather, I provide a framework for examining peace process visual media within society's visual culture, and three examples of visual media exercises for children. My proposed visual media methods for peace processes and related theory are based on research and best practices in dispute resolution and other fields. These include cognitive anthropology, cognitive science, political and organizational science, sociology, and visual culture studies. My proposed methods are also based on research respecting the ICBL, inter-generational and integrated-brain learning, peace building school curricula, and psychosocial art therapy for children affected by conflict. Knowledge of visual communication as a socially transforming tool stems from my studies of international business, foreign affairs, disarmament movements, and dispute resolution broadcasting.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁷ The following sources have also informed my derivation of visual media methods for conflict intervention: 1) sociological theory of critical examination of media; 2) symbolism, visual media, conflict and inter-group relations studies by political scientists; 3) journalistic culture studies; 4) Constructionism; 5) Organizational Science Theory of Group Cognition; 6) Organizational Science Theory of Shared Mindset; 7) The 'discourse principle' of Habermas; 8) Gopin's theory that imagination, emotional intelligence and "envisioning new realities" through cultural processes are "necessary for conflict resolution" or cultural transformation, and similar theory, from authors such as Mary Douglas, Marshall McLuhan and Edward Said. Selected sources are described below:

- 1) applicable sociological theoretical frameworks for critical examination of media (including the visual): evolutionism, structural functionalism and conflict theory;
- 2) symbolism, visual culture, conflict and inter-group relations by political scientists O'Neill [1999]; Horowitz [1982]; D. Black [1983]; Horowitz and Allan V and Schwartz[1974]; Rieder [1984]; Bloch [1961], Reid [1980]; and Reuter [1984];
- 3) 'objectivity' of journalistic culture in Britain, Germany, Italy, Sweden and the United States, where some differences in journalistic culture, and the means of analyzing and describing them, have applicability to visual cultures in different regions or states. Manheim (1999);
- 4) Constructionism, which emphasizes meaning, sense making and the representation of knowledge through symbol systems and descriptive logics. This theorizes that 'people actively construct' their environment by interpreting information from the environment and combining it with knowledge [Weick 1995]. The person and the environment are seen as interactive, where the environment includes the understanding of the person or group. This means that beliefs, values or 'truth claims' at the local level frame the way in which individuals and groups perceive their environment and influence the way they think, make judgements and behave. Constructivism focuses upon meaning and the representation of knowledge through "powerful symbol systems and logics for describing knowledge;"[p. xi] Concepts used to reference meaning in representation include: schemas, scripts, knowledge structures, causal maps, routines and semantic networks. Constructivism's focus upon sense-making rather than logical or mathematical calculation as a mode of cognition in a constructed world, fits with my concept of transcendent knowledge, where choice reflects 'truth claims' about the world ³⁰⁷ Constructivism offers an in-depth, detailed analysis of the way in which cognitive communities shape thought contents and processes, emphasizing the social context of group knowledge, and related 'inter-psycho cognitive phenomena' ³⁰⁷Very recent studies assume that all thought is described as being 'inherently social' and examine the way in which individual thinking derives from collective thought patterns;

Children's Visual Media in Peace Processes

I suggest that the children's visual media about conflict issues and interests holds promise as a tool to reframe the parties' interests, issues and goals. Children's visual media has the potential, as in the ICBL, to open a 'space' for humanitarian, democratic, social justice and other interests of children to become part of peace process discourse. My approach is based on analysis of the implications of recent neuroscience of vision, and theories of cognitive reframing, detailed in Appendix One. Methods proposed for children's use of visual media to participate in peace processes are based upon an 'issue development' approach to framing of ideas in conflict resolution practice. By concentrating on the way in which issues change during mediation, this approach "operates from the assumption that disputes are transformed through shifting frames or altering the way problems are conceptualized."³⁰⁸ Visual media provide a suitable means of discourse and argumentation regarding military and political matters. This form of discourse has been called 'contested sites of contention' and is populated by visual expressions of argumentation in the form of memes, signifiers, metaphors and symbols. The Australian Youth Parliament takes this view, ensuring that they are included in, and informed about,

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- 5) Organizational Science theory of group cognition: Within groups, cognition is distributed, where individual members interpret and test meanings, contemplate what they have learned from experience, and plan or engage in action. When individual members consider others in the group and their inter-dependence, coordinated performance and effects develop.
 - 6) Organizational Science theory of shared mindset (Fisher 1988): made up of a set of cultural assumptions or 'ideation order' of the group. Assumptions are tacit among members, [developed from experience] and passed on to new group members (Phillips 1990) and 'delineate central tendencies' of individual behaviour (Hofstede 1991, p. 253);
 - 7) Habermas's 'proceduralist' view of law, where self-determination is essential to development of the post-modern legal order. He views citizens as authors of the law in addition to being its subjects. Therefore, Habermas suggests that a 'discursive' model of law must replace the earlier 'contract' model, due to the inherent relation between the rule of law and democracy. See Jurgen Habermas (translated by William Rehg) 1999.
 - 8) Gopin has a theory that imagination, emotional intelligence and "envisioning new realities" are "necessary for conflict resolution." (page 23) Through "combinations of emotional knowledge, religious discipline, pluralism and conflict resolution, . . . a collaboration and sharing of skills and knowledge that authentic and effective methods of peacemaking could be discovered and carefully tailored to the circumstances. . . . finding a way to engage in a relationship-building process." (page 201) This form of peace-building and DR must include "emotions that are critical to the development of our intelligence. . . the key to our future may . . . be emotional training." Source: Gopin, Marc, 2000. *Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of World Religions, Violence and Peacemaking*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press.

³⁰⁸ Putnam, Linda and Majja Holmer, 1992. "Framing, Reframing and Issue Development." In *Communication and Negotiation*. Putnam, Linda L. and Micheal E. Roloff, eds. London, U.K.: Sage Publications. Pp. 138.

decisions affecting their lives, and recommending that paintings and photos from youth creative art workshops be used as input to decisions.³⁰⁹

My approach emphasizes the role of visual communication in the peace process. Visual mediation contemplation has been shown, through fMRI scans, to stimulate integrated-brain processing. This form of brain processing appears to play a significant role in the development of new frame meaning, categories and the transformation of frames. In peace processes, concepts examined may include self, the 'other,' issues and interests related to the conflict, and a future vision of civil society. Here, images created by stakeholders or their agents reflect their experiences, beliefs, interests and issues. Deep contemplation of these images, may also lead to integrated-brain processing with varying degrees of transcendent meaning and empathy, according to experts. This may initiate a growing sense of unity or social bonding among members of the parties, increased confidence to question and reframe 'old' ways of thinking about the 'other' and the conflict, and a stimulate a search for common interests.

I focus on aspirational frames that embody behaviours and attitudes. Those that are jointly constructed may be instrumental in conflict resolution.³¹⁰ These frames have been found to contribute to developing integrative agreements when used in conjunction with examination of a large number of issues.³¹¹ Children's visual media of the ICBL appeared to considerably broaden the scope of military and state security discourse by increasing the number of issues discussed and creating a humanitarian focus. Media by children may have a similar impact on peace processes.

A review of literature about the children's use of visual media as a primary communication tool suggests it has significant advantages for their participation in peace processes. Ease of communication is inherent in the 'picture story,' which is thought to smooth children's transition of thought into writing. Picture stories may also assist the communication of children's ideas about their interests and the conflict to mediators and other stakeholders in the peace process. Children may address the complex array of

³⁰⁹ The Foundation for Young Australians, *Youth Partnership and Participation*. Available on the World Wide Web: www.youngaustralians.org and <http://www.ayf.org.au/pdfs/Youth%20Partnership%20and%20Participation.pdf>

³¹⁰ Putnam, Linda and Majja Holmer, 1992. "Framing, Reframing and Issue Development." In *Communication and Negotiation*. Putnam, Linda L. and Micheal E. Roloff, eds. London, U.K.: Sage Publications. Pp. 135.

³¹¹ Putnam, Linda and Majja Holmer, 1992. "Framing, Reframing and Issue Development." In *Communication and Negotiation*. Putnam, Linda L. and Micheal E. Roloff, eds. London, U.K.: Sage Publications. Pp. 136.

interests and concerns considered in peace processes, with greater ease through drawing. For example, Wilson and Wilson assert that, through drawing, children can deal with more complex cognitive relationships than by talking.³¹²

An increased capacity for a creative thought, essential to brainstorming about overlapping interests, occurs through drawing, according to Caldwell and Moore. They found that, children's individual symbol systems were easily used and fostered a strong, large and flexible flow of ideas. This is important in peace processes, where many interests, issues and potential solutions may be contemplated. However, writing was found to be a more difficult vehicle for mapping ideas, because children were concerned about correctness.³¹³ Coufal and Coufal also view drawing as an ideal method of creative planning for children, stating, "Drawing allows children to work from a more holistic perspective, adding to the composition as ideas evolve or they rethink what has been presented. Writing, on the other hand, is composed from part to whole, requiring rewriting as a result of rethinking, placing an added burden on the writer."³¹⁴ Expert opinion supports the use of visual media as a primary means for children to participate in peace processes, especially where brainstorming and, consideration of complex ideas is likely.

I propose that visual media creation, contemplation and dissemination³¹⁵ be used in conflict resolution exercises. I propose the integration of artistic and narrative modes of communication in a reflexive conflict resolution method of co-operative or participative action inquiry. In my examples of visual media exercises, child stakeholders explore meanings related to the conflict, self and the 'other' through art, dialogue, writing and

³¹² Wilson M. and B. Wilson. 1982. *Children and Their Art, Methods for The Elementary School*. Fourth Edition. New York, NY.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. Pp.86

³¹³ Caldwell, H. and B.H. Moore. 1993. "Drama and Drawing for Narrative Writing in Primary Grades." In *Journal of Educational Research*. 1993. November / December. Pp. 100 – 110.

³¹⁴ Coufal Kathy L and Dayna C.Coufal. 2002. "Colorful Wishes: The Fusion of Drawing, Narratives, and Social Studies." In *Communication Disorders Quarterly*. Winter 2002. Vol. 23. Issue 2. Pp.109

³¹⁵ Contemplative activity appears to reinforce brain circuits that pacify aggression stemming from the limbic system. This may eventually trigger transcendent, ethical meaning and integrating impulses, over-riding the impulses of anger and fear. With practice, the 'peace of mind' that stems from this form of visual contemplation appears to negate sudden reactions to shocking stimulus. Director of the Keck Laboratory at the University of Wisconsin, Dr. Richard Davidson conducts experiments in the new \$10 million Laboratory for Functional Brain Imaging and Behaviour. He uses brain-scan technology, known as functional magnetic resonance imaging, or fMRI. Dr. Davidson, a psychologist, has worked with the Dalai Lama to discover how the brain can be trained to adopt a peaceful outlook, even during periods of conflict or high stress. Dr Richard Davidson and the Dalai Lama, suggest that such a meditation, 'mindfulness' stance may create a 'buffer' between the 'violent impulses' of the brain and 'our actions.' This may provide an opportunity for mindful, calm and quiet consideration in meeting any persons from the 'enemy' group, and in considering conflict issues presented. Details of my research, literature review, and theory, in this area are provided in Appendix One.

contemplation of images. These exercises are designed to stimulate integrated brain and other thought processes, detailed in Appendix One, that access ethical meaning. Such processes facilitate the brain's review of values or information presented within categories of meaning, and stimulate preparation of new categories of meaning. These brain processes also provide, to varying degrees, a reassuring sense of 'unity' or 'oneness with the world and others' that minimizes the risk often perceived in revising one's ideas or norms and considering new concepts about the world. I propose the term "*visual hermeneutic reframing*," to describe this process. It may revise or dispose of 'incongruent old meanings,' or accommodate them within a new, unified whole large enough to bridge the familiar and the new.³¹⁶ I recommend visual media collaboration by children in groups as part of peace processes to facilitate visual hermeneutic reframing and discovery of common interests. This may also lead to joint discovery and articulation of meta-meanings that initiate a new, 'third culture' that bridges differences between the parties. These concepts and processes, and relevant science, are described in Appendix One.

4.2. Psychosocial Supports to Children Participating in Peace Processes

Programs for children's participation in peace processes should include methods that limit the trauma of recollection, provide effective psychosocial supports where trauma occurs, encourage coping skills and self-confidence, and are age- and culturally-appropriate. Psychological trauma from war memories may occur during children's participation and psychosocial supports must be readily available. Many 'Western experts' dealing with war-affected or sexually exploited children have set out guidelines for supporting children when they recall or communicate their traumatic experiences to others in the community. Yet, in creating guidelines for peace processes, research is needed to develop approaches founded in the children's culture that are consistent with the CRC. Inappropriate application of Western models may result in "erroneous conceptualisations of children and childhood due to an absence of valid empirical and theoretical

³¹⁶ My visual culture approach to conflict theory and methodology uses strategies based on brain science and visual media activities. This includes visual media creation and contemplation to stimulate integrated-brain networking, which involves the left and right hemispheres of the brain simultaneously. This thought process facilitates access to 'transcendent meaning' that informs ethical thinking and encourages common, humanitarian goals and actions. Use of multiple intelligences through highly developed visual and verbal observational, analytical, intuitional and inferential thinking skills, is also encouraged to facilitate inter-hemispheric and networked brain processing. Scientists use fMRI scans to show that contemplative activity, often associated with art creation and consumption, appear to pacify the brain's limbic system. This activity also triggers varying degrees of experience of transcendent meaning and ethical apprehension.

information," cautions Dr. Jo Boyden of Oxford.³¹⁷ Research respecting the potential for psychosocial program support for children's participation in peace process is a key aspect of program planning. State, third party mediator, and NGO teams planning for children's peace process participation should include a psychosocial expert. A key task is assessment of needs, and situations, of child participants, to ensure appropriate methods and supports. Psychosocial programs have become a significant element in post-1992, UN peace-building and conflict resolution.³¹⁸

Humanitarian agencies have linked emergency programs to long-term aid via psychosocial programs supporting human rights, democracy and civil society.³¹⁹ This is exemplified by psychosocial programs in former Yugoslavia, based on well-established European practices of mental health care.³²⁰ Another example is the use of art and drama to heal war-affected children, in Uganda, by Linda Dale, coordinator of Ottawa's Children and Youth as Peacebuilders.³²¹ For five years in Sri Lanka, the "Butterfly Garden" has operated as a peace garden for creative healing of affected children, initiated by Canadian artist Paul Hogan and inspired by the Spiral Garden program at the Bloorview MacMillan Rehabilitation Centre, Toronto. The program has provided afterschool and weekend creative play programming to over 600 Tamil and Muslim schoolchildren from 20 communities around Batticaloa.³²² Clay work, drama, storytelling, music, arts and crafts,

³¹⁷ Boyden, Jo. 2000. *Social healing in war-affected and displaced children*. Refugee Studies Centre. Oxford, England: Oxford University. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/casocialhealing.html> Boyden states that, "Given the lack of systematic research and theory in many key childhood issues, policy affecting children in adversity has, by default, become heavily dependent on studies and normative ideas relating to children in North America and Europe."

³¹⁸ Schultz, K. 1994. *Building peace from the ground up: About people and the UN in a war zone in Croatia*. Lund, Sweden: Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research.

³¹⁹ Sperber, U. 2002. *Humanitarian Assistance and humanitarian skills and knowledge in Denmark*. Copenhagen: Centre for Development Research.

³²⁰ World Health Organization and Medecis sans Frontieres, 1995. *Proceedings of the First Workshop on the Role in Health Issues of International Organizations in Conflict Areas of the Countries of Former Yugoslavia*. Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization and Medecis sans Frontieres. Pp. 9.

³²¹ Legge, Gordon. "From Warriors to Children Again." In *The United Church Observer*. March 2003. available on the World Wide Web: http://www.ucobserver.org/archives/mar03_cvst.htm. Dale describes how local methods of forgiveness and reconciliation are successful in assisting children: "Each culture has its own way of re-uniting these children."

³²² With early funding from the Peace Fund, Canadian High Commission and the Butterfly Garden now has operational funding from HIVOS (Netherlands). The Butterfly Garden's model of a peace garden for children inspired an artist-led volunteer project Serunguli Walakale ('Kite and Clouds') for Colombo street children, and the new, MSF- Canada led project of Medecins Sans Frontieres: More than Bandages: Creative Resources and Training for Psycho-Social Rehabilitation of Children Affected by Armed Conflict. Source: Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.waraffectedchildren.gc.ca/sri_lanka-en.asp

are facilitated by local people from different ethnic groups who are trained to model conflict resolution, encourage creativity, and provide psychosocial support to children.

There are similarities between the use of art therapy in psychosocial programs for war-affected children, and my proposal for children's participation in peace processes, using visual media. Both offer opportunities for expression of children's history, trauma, interests, concerns and hopes for the future, in a safe and supportive setting. While there are significant ethical issues to consider, it may be possible for art from psychosocial programs for war-affected children to be used as initial input to peace processes. Art from psychosocial programs has been published to increase public awareness of their needs and concerns. An example is the book, and film of the same title, "Children in War," documenting experiences and art from therapeutic sessions of war-affected children in Bosnia, Israel, Northern Ireland and Rwanda.³²³ Children's artwork and interviews are accompanied by UNICEF psychosocial surveys and related data respecting war-affected children in these areas.³²⁴

In a school setting, psychosocial art exercises to prevent maladaptive coping skills for young children appear to also be useful for raising community awareness of children's humanitarian concerns and describing children's interests for peace processes. One example deals with children coping with stress following a 'shoot-out' with local police in their South Central Los Angeles neighbourhood.³²⁵ The procedure for the visual media exercise was explained, with an introduction and artistic warm-up where young artists were assured that the way in which they drew was not important. Then the shoot-out event was recalled, "where children's rage, fears, sadness, and vulnerability were poignantly portrayed [in art] coupled with words."³²⁶ Themes of the art included separation and loss; denial of the seriousness of the incident; identification with the terrorists and their victims;

³²³ Raymond, Alan and Susan Raymond. 2000. *Children in War*. New York, N.Y.: TV Books.

³²⁴ Survey from Yugoslavia: UNICEF Office of the Special Representative to the Republics of the former Yugoslavia. 1998. *Mostar Psycho- Social Survey of Children*. UNICEF. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://w.w.w.unicef.org/reseval/evaldb/psychosocial%20projects%201992-98.doc>.

Survey from Gaza: Gaza Community Mental Health Programme. 1996. "Gaza Community Mental Health Programme Survey of Children Who Participated in the Intifada." In *Palestinian children and violence* by El-Sarraj Eyad. Paper presented at the Conference on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children. Belfast, 2-5 February, 1996. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.gcmhp.net/eyad/belfast.htm> See also: UNICEF Kigali Information Office, Rwanda.

³²⁵ Langarten, Helen B. 1981. *Clinical Art Therapy: A Comprehensive Guide*. New York, NY.: Brunner Mazell Pub. Pp. 140.

³²⁶ Langarten, Helen B. 1981. *Clinical Art Therapy: A Comprehensive Guide*. New York, NY.: Brunner Mazell Pub. Pp. 142.

the 'innocent victim;' and fears of violence and kidnapping. This led to 'considerable anxiety' among the children, who were calmed by introduction of 'restitution talk.' The children held hands in a circle were asked to suggest alternatives to choices made. They independently suggested non-violent options, such as 'starving out' the terrorists who were 'holed up' in the house, surrounded by police. Langarten observed, "recalling the shoot-out and probing for alternative choices helped the children deal with this frightening experience in their community."³²⁷

The final activity, drawing a picture together, was a 'highly cooperative effort' as children created their own images and added to those of others. The children expressed feelings of mutuality and called the picture, 'The Best Pitchere in the World.' A child asked, "write down what it is. It is you and me and them and us."³²⁸ The children were 'delighted' that their feelings were validated, and their comments considered important enough to be written down by the adults. While this session ended at the school, the visual media created to prevent 'maladaptive coping' could also have been exhibited [with permission and anonymity of the child artists and, as needed, their guardians] to promote community awareness of the need for conflict resolution, counter-terrorism and gun control. Such as exhibit would 'communicate to larger communities,' and have a role in peace- and community building as proposed in this thesis.

Before the use of visual media from war-affected children's psychosocial programs could be considered as an interim form of input to peace processes, several key issues must be addressed. These include management of ethical issues and children's rights, and assessment of the feasibility of adapting psychosocial programs to meet children's psychosocial needs and provide input to peace processes. The type of permissions needed for use of children's visual media as input to peace processes, how the media will be used, and limits to use, also must be assessed. The appropriateness of employing images from children's art therapy, or visual media created in the same program, but for peace process purposes, must also be addressed.

³²⁷ Langarten, Helen B. 1981. *Clinical Art Therapy: A Comprehensive Guide*. New York, NY.: Brunner Mazell Pub. Pp. 145.

³²⁸ Langarten, Helen B. 1981. *Clinical Art Therapy: A Comprehensive Guide*. New York, NY.: Brunner Mazell Pub. Pp. 147.

4.3 Planning Considerations for Children's Participation in Peace Processes

Parties, mediators and the international community must take extra care to ensure that the children's participation is consistent with the CRC. The CRC clearly requires states to continually ensure children's rights during emergency and conflict.³²⁹ There is a critical need for research respecting factors such as ethics and safety that are beyond the scope of this thesis. During armed conflict, children may be difficult to reach. Yet, it may be possible to devise mobile child participation / consultation teams that can safely accompany protected wartime clinics for children as they travel to serve their young clients. Suitable guidelines for children's participation in peace processes are recommended for development and adoption by states and regional security regimes.

Some examples of best practices in children's participation may be found in alternative dispute resolution, truth and justice commissions, family court and psychosocial programs. Guidelines for participation programs involving vulnerable children may be also be applicable to peace processes. Guidelines for community-based organizations giving care and support to children, created by the International Institute for Child Rights and Child Development [ICRD] of the University of Victoria's Centre for Global Studies, and the Interagency Coalition on Aids and Development, are one example.³³⁰ These guidelines include: "1) developing holistic responses to the affects . . . on children and youth;. . . 2) empower[ing] people in the community to support children . . . their families and their community by using a rights based approach that stresses the importance of families and communities in all aspects of children's lives; 3) provid[ing] field workers to engage children (and their families and communities) to become active participants in building solutions; 4) outlin[ing] methods to build on cultural values supporting children in order to bring about the social and political changes needed to ensure that each child is allowed to live a safe and fulfilling life with dignity; 5) Creat[ing] a continuum of care and support that engenders a stronger civic response in supporting vulnerable children and youth."³³¹

³²⁹ This contrasts with treatment of human rights of adults, where some rights may be temporarily restricted at these times, and humanitarian rights also come into play.

³³⁰ Cook, Michelle R. *Beyond Borders: Affects of HIV/AIDS on Southeast Asian Children and Youth: Child-Centred Care and Support Guidelines for Community-Based Organizations*. Dr. Phillip H. Cook and Natasha Blanche-Cohen, eds. International Institute for Child Rights and Child Development [ICRD], University of Victoria Centre for Global Studies, and the Interagency Coalition on Aids and Development: Ottawa. Pp. 69 – 78.

³³¹ Cook, Michelle R. *Beyond Borders: Affects of HIV/AIDS on Southeast Asian Children and Youth: Child-Centred Care and Support Guidelines for Community-Based Organizations*. Dr. Phillip H. Cook and Natasha Blanche-Cohen, eds.

This guide also warns of stumbling blocks to children's participation, such as decision-makers failing to 'hear' children or lacking skills to facilitate their participation; and cultural taboos where the young are not to question, or comment on, opinions of their elders, and girls are discouraged from participating in front of boys or adults.³³²

Many war-affected children may have physical and /or psychological injury, illness or vulnerability. Due to their role in the conflict, child members of fighting units that are in the process of demilitarization may face ostracism or acts of retribution from the 'other side.' In some cases, children have great difficulty returning to their village because of atrocities warlords forced them to commit in their own communities.³³³ The strong emotions that may prevail during peace processes mean that participating children could be at risk if their identities cannot be protected. Methods for formally involving children in peace processes in a way that promotes their well being are needed. I recommend that methods used in community-based health, psychosocial and reintegration programs for children be analysed for applicable lessons learned.³³⁴ A related issue is how to develop a means for fairly and safely representing the interests of a large population of war-affected children with diverse needs, for whom civil society and family supports may be missing or destroyed. Lessons learned may be drawn from initial psychosocial support programs for

International Institute for Child Rights and Child Development [IICRD], University of Victoria's Centre for Global Studies, and the Interagency Coalition on Aids and Development: Ottawa.

³³² Cook, Michelle R. *Beyond Borders: Affects of HIV/AIDS on Southeast Asian Children and Youth: Child-Centred Care and Support Guidelines for Community-Based Organizations*. Dr. Phillip H. Cook and Natasha Blanche-Cohen, eds. International Institute for Child Rights and Child Development [IICRD] of the University of Victoria's Centre for Global Studies, and the Interagency Coalition on Aids and Development: Ottawa. Pp. 83.

³³³ Cameron, Sara. 1998. *Making Peace With Children*. Bogota: UNICEF. Guerrilla-style militia kidnap children to be soldiers and may send them back to commit crimes in their village, to ensure that they cannot return, and remain loyal to the fighting unit. Portions of Cameron's work available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.turnerlearning.com/cnn/soldiers/background.html>

³³⁴ Examples are reintegration programs proposed by Multi-Country Demobilization and Integration Program [MDRIP] in the Greater Great Lakes Region of Africa. In June 2003, the Local Ad-Hoc Committee of the MDRIP proposed a \$3.9 million [US\$] special project was in Burundi, for reintegration of child soldiers that includes their increased participation in community activities. Child soldiers are to be reintegrated from the Burundian national army, the Gardiens de la Paix and the two rebel factions of CNDD-FDD and FNL-Palipehutu, which recently signed ceasefires with the government. The program involves community preparation to receive children, support to families and foster families, education, sports and culture for children, special health and psychosocial care support for youth participation and community service involvement, skills and business training. Another example is a proposed MCDRIP project in the Democratic Republic of Congo [DRC], that will provide about US\$ 2.5 million in support for the Reunification and Reintegration of Former Child Soldiers in the DRC, sponsored by *Save the Children*. This project has objectives of: 1) increasing understanding of the needs of children associated with fighting forces - including girls - and to promote their rights during transition from military to civilian life; 2) creating and strengthening institutional capacity of government and NGO partners to ensure protection of child soldiers in the state demobilization and reintegration program; and 3) to provide transitional support, reunite families and increase community capacities in order to foster socio-economic reintegration of child soldiers into their communities. Source: Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.mdrp.org/index.htm>

large groups of children who have experienced some level of trauma. In some programs, children use visual media to illustrate their traumatic experience and their feelings about it, for use in initial assessment.³³⁵

Visual media exercises in peace processes must be tailored to specific groups of child participants, society's visual and other cultural attributes, and the nature of the conflict. Factors to be considered in planning such exercises include the need for inter-cultural communications; the degree of freedom of speech or freedom of the press, oppression or marginalization of any group; the degree of any human rights abuses; whether the conflict is inter- or intra-state; and the size of participating group; level of skills among participants, and availability of expert resource persons and materials. Details of a visual culture approach in peace processes should be planned in advance with indigenous and international experts operating in the area. Cultural use of visual media and circumstances of conflict differ markedly. Poorly developed visual media exercises or 'one-size fits all models' can have unintended negative effects that may be harmful to the peace process. Focus groups and pilot projects are one method for pre-testing appropriateness of visual media peace process exercises. Visual media created and disseminated by children must also be appropriate and not offend others. To be successful, dissemination of children's art works must be culturally appropriate, respect the dignity of the child, avoid cultural appropriation, and be well received by society.

The mediator may address many ethical issues by guiding the group in adoption of 'codes of conduct' for visual discourse in mediation. In some situations, visual media exercises may not be appropriate at all. Artists in peace processes may be vulnerable to threats or retaliation from hegemonic groups and, in many cases, should remain anonymous. The assessment of society's constructed meanings from a variety of perspectives may be difficult in state-controlled journalistic culture, or where there is hate propaganda. In these situations, the mediator may wish to provide images for group review that are appropriate for the age, interests and abilities of the group at each stage of the

³³⁵ Preliminary assessment of social and psychological needs of large groups of children after the Mexican earthquake in 2002 was undertaken by engaging children in expression of their feelings through art. This occurred during various states of their treatment. Conversation with Ms. Karen Leger, Consultant for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. July, 2002. Victoria, B.C. See also, from the World Wide Web: <http://www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/0/fd2d6c1ceb147ea3c1256bc300465ed9> Medicines Sans Frontieres also provided psycho-social therapy to children after the earthquake in San Salvador, El Salvador on January 13, 2001. Available from the World Wide Web: <http://www.msf.org/countries/page.cfm?articleid=0D44D56C-FD09-4429-A8B3CF580E278018>

process. Further considerations in a visual culture approach to peace processes are outlined in Section 4.5.1.

The International Campaign to Ban Landmines [ICBL] demonized the military tool of landmines, rather than denouncing the groups and individuals that used them. This strategy achieved maximum support from all groups, including landmine users and producers. Participants focussed their energies on abhorrence of the violence and military tools associated the conflict, rather than the actors. This led to a very broad coalition of stakeholders working together to 'stop the violence.' For children in peace processes, a similar approach might involve examination of visual media that glorifies the tools and tactics of war, such as pictures of military parades and scenes of victory. Participants may then wish to develop a visual lexicon that 'demonizes' armed conflict, but not the people involved. In the ICBL, this lexicon included pictures about, and by, child victims.

Areas for ethical and methodological research include, but are not limited to, the following:

- Appropriate points in the peace process for visual media exercises involving children;
- Ethical and appropriate locations, methods and processes for visual media exercises involving children;
- Assessment and mitigation of various risks and possible danger to children;
- Representation of children's interests in a democratic and representative manner;
- Equitable inclusion of children from all societal groups, including minority and marginalized groups;
- Provision of mental health supports where traumatic memories of war are triggered by the process;
- Freedom of information and speech issues including interpretations of children's ideas and materials to be conducted by the author alone;
- Issues of confidentiality and the formal permissions to use children's ideas and creations;
- Age-, gender- and culturally- appropriate methods;
- Supports for war-affected children involved in peace processes must not used, or implied, as incentives or punishments for state parties; and

- Visual media methods and peace process participation that fully implements CRC rights of children.

Principles that are tested and effective must be created to govern implementation of visual media exercises for children in peace processes, to deal with ethical, child rights communication and other concerns. Examples of key principles are offered below as an initial guide to children's input in peace processes. These will likely be revised during pilot projects and consultations with children:

- Consultations with children must be strictly confidential and occur in the child's 'mother tongue;'
- Ethics of using children's portrayals of victimization and misery during conflict, need to be carefully examined, to create guidelines respecting the privacy and dignity of children as outlined in the CRC;
- Special rules for handling of children's visual media in the peace process are needed. These should be tailored to address safety, health and ethical issues particular to each situation. For example an ethical plan for exposure of children's media to stakeholders or other parties may include the following elements: there should be a plan for the way in which children's visual media is to be used in the peace process; children and /or their guardians should be able to give permission for the use of their art and understand how it is being used; child-created visual media should remain anonymous to protect them from any possible retaliation; media should be securely stored, not used for any purpose other than the one intended and agreed to by child creators, and a plan made for future management of the media and related information.

Responsible, neutral persons, knowledgeable in the CRC and ethics respecting children's involvement in mediations similar to peace processes, should be appointed to assist mediators in managing the visual media exercises.

4.4 Levels of Children's Participation in Peace Processes

In designing approaches to children's participation in peace processes, experts should consider factors such as the nature of state peace and conflict processes, political will to implement the CRC, cultural understanding of children's roles, levels of acceptance of children's visual media, experience with children's participation, and domestic and international resources available. Ideally, participating children should represent all the peace process groups, including minorities and the marginalized. However, war presents many logistical and political stumbling blocks that make extensive participation by

children, and true representation, very difficult. Assessing and mitigating cultural and other barriers to the participation of children in peace processes are beyond the scope of this thesis, but merit further research.

Children's participation is key to understanding their interests and ensuring that peace processes and post-conflict peace building support these interests. In addition to CRC criteria, discussed in Chapter Two, elements of 'genuine youth participation,' described by Westhorp can be used in evaluation. These include aims, level, target group, support, barriers and evaluation methods.³³⁶ The degree of participation by children, as opposed to adult manipulation or tokenism, may also be assessed, using Roger A. Hart's model of participation, described below. Where youth participation is absent or poorly implemented, new programs of children's participation within the overall peace process should be designed and recommended. This should include an implementation plan including any international or regional support.

UNICEF studies show that children are able to participate successfully in roles similar to those of peace process stakeholder, such as administrators, advocates, peer counsellors, mentors/ educators, decision-makers, income generators, evaluators and managers of their environment.³³⁷ In designing flexible, mediator-led and co-operative visual media exercises, I hope to facilitate ever-increasing degrees of peace process participation by children. As capacities are developed, and constraints to children's rights are addressed, the mediators, parties and children involved may be able to increase levels of participation by children over time. Particularly in intractable conflict, children's participation in peace processes may fend off feelings of hopelessness, assist self-actualization, reduce social pathology, and contribute to the building of a healthy community. State and non-state

³³⁶ Westhorp, Gill. 1987. *Youth Partnership and Participation*. Youth Sector Training Council: Australian Youth Foundation. Available from World Wide Web: <http://www.ayf.org.au/pdfs/Publications/youthpart.pdf>. Westhorp identified a continuum of youth involvement based on increasing levels of youth control: 1) ad hoc input; 2) structured consultation; 3) influence; 4) delegation; 5) negotiation; and 6) control. Westhorp also presents a series of questions that should be addressed in order to ensure the genuine participation of young people in organisations. These include: Aims: What do we hope to achieve by youth participation, for young people and the organisation? Level: What kind or level or participation does the organisation want? What do young people want? Target group: Given the aims and desired levels of participation, what target groups are we looking for? Support: What will participants need, in order to participate effectively? Examples of needs include: information, money, peer support, training. Barriers: What are the barriers to young people's participation? What strategies can we develop to overcome these barriers? Evaluation: How will we know if we are achieving our aims?

³³⁷ ECPAT International, International Young People's Action Against Sexual Exploitation of Children, AusAid, and UNICEF. 1999. *A Study of the Concepts and Practices of Young People's Right to Participation*. New York, NY.: UNICEF.

parties may also consider a wider range of common interests and discover more super-ordinate goals where children are involved. Future implementation of pilot project exercises would offer an opportunity to research these possibilities.

Hart's eight steps in children's participation are summarized as: 1) manipulation by adults; 2) decoration; 3) tokenism; 4) assigned but informed (social mobilization) 5) consulted and informed; 6) adult-initiated, shared decisions with children; 7) child-initiated and child-directed; 8) child-initiated, shared decisions with adults. I propose the use of Hart's "ladder" model of participation, to describe a range of approaches to children's involvement in peace processes. Focusing on decision-making, Hart states that 'informed choice,' 'representativeness,' and the ability to 'decide and manage' are key to children's meaningful participation in society's decision-making processes.

Levels one, two and three are not recommended because children are consulted but uninformed, limited communication does not include feedback to children, and representative processes are not used. Adult-managed participation occurs in steps three, four and five, as children are increasingly consulted and informed at each level. At step five, children "understand . . . context and issues, contribute their perspectives, and are informed of results."³³⁸ Levels six, seven and eight of Hart's model embody children's increasing participation in decision-making and other processes. Children are considered stakeholders in an adult-initiated process at level six. At step seven, children design, implement and manage participation on their own. Step eight involves full participation and collaboration with adults including 'child-initiated, shared decisions with adults.'

Children may be organized to undertake visual media exercises at residences, shelters, refugee camps, clinics, or through existing psychosocial programs. Media documenting children's interests may then be transferred to the peace process, in accordance with the CRC and ethical guidelines, for adult review, possibly with participating children or their representatives. It is expected that any participation of children will be initiated, at a minimum level of engagement represented by Hart's 'Step 4' on the 'ladder of participation.' Step 4 is the "assigned but informed – social mobilization" level. Children's participation in peace processes should have a goal of rapidly developing higher

³³⁸ Hart, Roger A. 1997. *Children's Participation: The Theory and Practice of Involving Young Citizens in Community Development and Environmental Care*. London, Eng.: Earthscan; and New York, NY.: UNICEF.

levels of informed, collaborative and representative processes of children's participation as the skills, understanding and capacity of children and adults develop. These higher levels are needed to embody CRC principles in peace processes. At step seven, children collaborate with adults in decision-making that affects their well-being in a manner consistent with the CRC.

Peace processes consultation, design, implementation, decision-making and timing should be planned with input from participating children. Mediator and psychosocial support is needed to ensure a safe, ethical process consistent with children's rights. Levels of children's participation in peace processes using visual media may vary according to factors such as: 1) stage and nature of conflict, including any inter-cultural aspects; 2) characteristics of journalistic and visual culture including assimilation or appropriation of visual culture and acceptance of children's visual media as a bona fide form of communication in peace processes; 3) existing levels of respect for children's rights; 4) experience in implementing the CRC and 5) degree of international, regional and domestic resources available. Full CRC implementation would include children as stakeholders in key stages of the peace process and decision-making that affects them. Where cultural, safety or other concerns for children exist; mediators may take a management role with respect to children's involvement, at least initially.

Children need to understand the scope of the peace process including milestones, achievements and any changes to plans, in order to remain engaged and not become disenfranchised. Different age groups may require different levels of communication and participation in order to see that their contributions are valued and that constructive movement toward peace is possible. This is an important area for further research. Julie Johnson observes that documentation at various stages in a planning and implementation process may provide the tangible representation necessary to assist children's engagement in the process over the long term.³³⁹ Children may wish to document achievement of particular milestones in the peace process through visual media. Examples are the creation of children's media portraying their participation, plans, goals and achievements.

³³⁹ Johnson, Julie. M. 2000. *Design for Learning: Values, Qualities and Processes of Enriching School Landscapes* Washington, DC.: The American Society of Landscape Architects

4.5. Visual Media Methods for Children's Participation in Peace Processes

I envisage the following areas of peace processes as being suitable for child stakeholders' visual media exercises: 1) realizing that understanding of peace and conflict, and relations between groups, is largely constructed through society's visual media which might not include all perspectives; 2) adding to society's visual media by using peace process exercises to express unique individual and group stories; and histories that might not be 'officially recognized;' 3) exploring our interests through visual media, and contributing to or expanding the number and type of interests considered in the peace process; 4) using visual media to assist in identifying mutual interests, interdependencies and super-ordinate goals of the parties; 5) constructing a 'theory of the present' which includes the perspectives of all stakeholders, and expressing a vision of a better future in pictures; and, 6) if desired, sharing these within the peace process and with larger constituencies in society.

Visual media can 'add value' to the peace process by addressing gaps in society's visual discourse. For example, children of marginalized and minority groups and child soldiers or child sex trade workers often suffer greatly during conflict and yet have little or no voice in society's discourse. The [anonymous] sharing of their unique stories and their interests through visual media in peace processes may assist in their reintegration to society as their needs and interests are considered and included. Visual media exercises may contribute to the 'visual hermeneutic reframing' of concepts about self, 'the other,' 'the conflict' and 'state security.' The considerable psychosocial benefits to children through these activities were outlined in Chapter One of this thesis.

The proposed role of mediators or psychosocial program therapists³⁴⁰ is to guide children in visual media construction and contemplation with respect to aspects of the peace process mediation. Mediators, or children under the guidance of mediators, will be responsible for management and dissemination of [anonymous] children's visual media within the peace process, and to broader constituencies where this is part of the peace process plan. Children are rarely involved in formal peace processes at present, therefore

³⁴⁰ In this chapter I propose that, where appropriate [and with permission from children and their guardians] anonymous visual media expressing children's interests from psychosocial programs be considered for use as interim input into peace processes. There are serious concerns which must be evaluated in assessing feasibility. One involves consideration of the ethics and appropriateness of utilizing art created in psychosocial therapy for other purposes, even with permission.

adults are expected to be the primary peace processes delegates who consume the portfolio of children's visual media and ensure that their interests are considered in deliberation and decision-making, under the guidance of the mediator.

Within to each particular mediation situation as it evolves, testing and continual reflexive evaluation, redesign and adaptation of visual media exercises will be necessary to ensure compatibility with child participants. Where children have sufficient maturity and are a small group, the mediator and participants involved may decide for themselves the nature of visual media exercises and their involvement in peace processes. A mediator may wish to take the lead in visual media exercises where the parties are unable to cooperate, or with very young children. Designing visual media exercises requires training of, or partnering with, community members who work with, and are trusted by, local children and youth. Due to the sensitive nature of peace processes, the mediator should solicit ongoing feedback from participating children and adjust visual media exercises as needed. Guidance from other resource persons may be valuable, such as art therapists, psychosocial specialists, peace-builders, and youth group leaders or teachers trusted by children in the community.

Two approaches with varying degrees of independence for child participants are described in the following sections. These are accompanied by visual media exercises that are hypothetical examples. Exercises must be specifically designed for each group of children and peace process situation, to be safe and effective.

4.5.1. Creating & Managing Images in Society's Visual Culture

Visual media exercises, workshops and exhibitions require careful design as an integral part of the peace process and can cover a range of creation, dissemination and consumption activities by stakeholders, mediators and larger constituencies in society. To avoid cultural appropriation and creating any form of propaganda, mediators should consider input from stakeholders and advice of indigenous visual culture experts in sourcing and disseminating images from broader society to participants. Visual media activities are likely to range from: 1) *studying, as a group, existing visual media* found in newspapers, magazines and TV to understand that their society's visual culture of peace and conflict is constructed and might not portray all viewpoints equally; 2) *creation of original art* to: a) explore ideas,

such as history and relations between the parties, b) express feelings, such as needs and concerns related to the conflict, c) elicit information, such as ascertaining common interests and issues; and 3) *dissemination of art works to larger constituencies* to a) broaden society's civil society visual discourse, and b) to meet specific peace process goals, such as providing a 'voice' for the marginalized groups such as children, stimulating 'humanitarian reframing' of military issues; and encouraging a culture of peace.

Images from society's visual culture may stem from private and public sources, subject to copyright laws. Peace process participants may create images using art or photographic materials supplied. Participants might also direct professional artists or photographers, to create specific images. Artist competitions for peace process public art are also possible. Children's peace process art exhibits or image libraries may be placed on websites or transported to various communities, for display and use as a reference.

The mediator should ensure that simple and effective ethical 'codes of conduct' paralleling those used for verbal discourse, are understood and respected by child participants. Images used to assess society's visual culture, and for collage making, etc., should be age- and culturally- appropriate. Where participants review news or other portrayals of the conflict or the parties, mediators may wish to screen images, particularly in initial stages, and with very young children. State censorship guidelines may be of assistance, except where there is a state-controlled journalistic culture or condoned hate propaganda. In these instances, guidelines from 'civil societies' with balanced media may be appropriate. If relations between stakeholders are highly contentious, if conflict is intractable, or images about the conflict are too 'highly charged,' a 'neutral topic' may be chosen to demonstrate differing 'constructions' of meaning through visual media. Lessons learned through the 'neutral construct' can then be applied, outside the peace processes when youth are exposed to propaganda.

The introduction, timing and extent of mundane material and contentious media, such as hate propaganda or culturally appropriated images, is a matter of judgement by the mediator, psychosocial councillor and visual culture expert. Children's understanding of simple 'codes of conduct' respecting visual communication and build-up of trust in the group is needed prior to group review of any controversial images. Participant reaction to a range of images may be anticipated through earlier focus groups, if needed. Portrayals of

the humanitarian plight of children from all parties, or examples of overt cultural appropriation may be helpful in exploring problems and searching for common interests between parties. However, this must be balanced with respect for the dignity of children and peoples portrayed in such images and concern for reactions of child participants. Hate propaganda may be ruled out altogether, or only reviewed among mature youth who are assessed by the mediator as able to engage in meaningful discussion of the means to counteract such media. For this discourse, the mediator needs to ensure that there is a strong sense of trust and co-operation within the group, an understanding of visual culture processes, and knowledge of the CRC and pertinent human rights and freedoms.

Prior to the visual media exercise, the mediator introduces the children to their role as participants in the peace processes and, if possible, invites them to assist in designing exercises at an early stage. At the commencement of the exercise, the mediator, art therapist or psychosocial councillor, and visual culture expert, will explain their roles and format, method and intent of the visual media exercise. The mediator should also ensure that ample, good quality, visual media resources are supplied to meet peace process needs including planned art works by individuals, spontaneous works, and larger, jointly created works, such as permanent community murals. In some cases, the mediator may wish to request special fund disbursements from the peace process for art supplies and expert assistance. Larger scale, public art works may be created by a group of children under the direction of an art co-ordinator, to communicate their interests to broader constituencies. Funds and methods for appropriate storage, shipping, maintenance and display of the art exhibitions, where permitted by the child artists or their guardians, must also be available.

4.5.2. The Role of Artistic Expression in Peace Processes

Helen Langarten describes how individual and groups can use art exercises to express feelings and form the basis for improved communications among groups.³⁴¹ Individual artistic creations “frequently make a tangible statement about . . . hidden emotions, thought, or modes of functioning,” while group or “mutual art forms provide a platform for understanding and strengthening communication skills.”³⁴² Artistic production can centre

³⁴¹ Langarten, Helen B. 1981. *Clinical Art Therapy: A Comprehensive Guide*. New York, NY.: Brunner Mazell Pub. Pp. 5.

³⁴² Langarten, Helen B. 1981. *Clinical Art Therapy: A Comprehensive Guide*. New York, NY.: Brunner Mazell Pub. Pp. 4.

on issues relevant to 'a population,' and be instrumental in "consciousness raising, data collection and assessment."³⁴³ Of particular importance to children's involvement in peace processes, "cooperative art tasks [can be] specifically designed to . . . serve as a non-threatening mechanism for decision-making,"³⁴⁴ and assist in 're-socialization.'

In reflexive approaches proposed here, participants use their artwork to explore and document emotions and ideas associated with peace and conflict issues. They also make notes about this process by themselves or with the help of recorders. The art work and notes, which will likely be anonymous, are a useful joint media and information base about stakeholder identity and interests, conflict issues and peace mediation matters, for review and use in peace processes, as permitted by mediator and participants. Co-operation is crucial to creation of a visual media and information base that may be examined for emergence of common concepts, mutual visions, or 'shared mental models' by the parties. More rapid, informed decision-making, improved problem definition, evaluation and option generation, and use of 'all mental resources' are facilitated by shared models, according to Klimoski and Mohammed.³⁴⁵ Similarly, Vaill³⁴⁶ and Prahalad³⁴⁷ see such shared visions and aspirations as contributing to community well-being. Senge also views shared mental models and visions as keys to organizational and societal success.³⁴⁸ Therefore, the search for, and recording of patterns of meaning representing shared vision and common interests as they emerge, is most important.

The collection of media with commentary also acts as a record of the mediation process, with examples of successful leaps in understanding and communication that may encourage participants and reinforce the process. Similarly, where difficulties in

³⁴³ Langarten, Helen B. 1981. *Clinical Art Therapy: A Comprehensive Guide*. New York, NY.: Brunner Mazell Pub. Pp. 5.

³⁴⁴ Langarten, Helen B. 1981. *Clinical Art Therapy: A Comprehensive Guide*. New York, NY.: Brunner Mazell Pub. Pp. 5.

³⁴⁵ Klimoski, R. and S. Mohammed. 1994. "Team Mental Model: Construct or Metaphor?" In *Journal of Management*. 20, 2. Pp. 403-437. The authors note increased use of "all mental resources" which suggests integrated-brain thinking, rather than analytical processes.

³⁴⁶ Vaill, P. 1996. "The purpose of high-performing systems." In *How Organizations Learn*. K. Starkey, ed. London: International Thomson Business Press. Pp. 60 – 81. See also *Managing as a Performing Art*. San Francisco, Ca.: Jossey-Bass.

³⁴⁷ Prahalad, C.K. 1997. "Strategies for Growth." In *Rethinking the Future: Rethinking business principles, competition, control and complexity, leadership, markets and the world*. R. Gibson, ed. London: Nicholas Brealey. Pp. 62 – 75.

³⁴⁸ Senge, P. M. 1997. "Through the eye of the needle." in *Rethinking the Future: Rethinking business principles, competition, control and complexity, leadership, markets and the world*. R. Gibson, ed. London: Nicholas Brealey. Pp. 123 – 146.

communication or aggression are expressed and meanings behind these problems are portrayed, these can provide lessons for later review, when skills are better developed.

4.6. The Co-operative Inquiry Approach

Through co-operative inquiry, children are 'co-creators' with the mediator and share in decisions about content and method for their visual media exercises.³⁴⁹ For any research matter, such as exploring shared interests among the parties, experts in co-operative inquiry promise 'a consensus construction that is more informed and sophisticated than any of the predecessor constructions.'³⁵⁰ Over time, where common interests are explored, this may become the 'unselfconscious' or spontaneous creation of a possible 'shared, third culture' that enhances children's original cultures. Co-operative inquiry is unusual in emphasizing cognitive reframing, visual media and emotional experience in a reflexive research process of 'participative reality.'³⁵¹ This approach supports hermeneutic reframing and is therefore fitting for visual media exercises. It requires a level of independence where participating children, who may come from different parties, have sufficient inter-group communication, maturity and skill, and are motivated to co-operate. John Heron describes co-operative inquiry as a reframing process for a chosen subject. In peace processes there are many potential subjects participating children may decide to explore, reflect on and reframe. The mediator may suggest concepts such as identity, relations with 'other,' conflict history, or humanitarian vs. military factors in society.

Heron describes the *initial action phase* as the generation of ideas, images and other information by each individual, through a process of "radical memory."³⁵² Initial sense making involves activities such as studying visual media, generating and exploring ideas through visual art, stories and remembered experiences. The practice of free creative

³⁴⁹ Heron, John. 1996. *Co-operative Inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications. Pp. 37. I have adapted his summary to fit the visual media co-operative inquiry context of peace process mediation exercises.

³⁵⁰ Guba E.G. and Lincoln, Y.S. 1994: 111. "Competing paradigms in qualitative research." In Denzin, N.K. and Y.S. Lincoln 1994, Eds. *Handbook of qualitative research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. Pp. 105-117.

³⁵¹ "The cosmos or universe is a primordial ontological datum, while the 'world' is an epistemological construct, a form of understanding." Skolimowski, 1994, Pp. 177. See also Bateson, G. (1979) *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity*. New York: Dutton. See Also: Maturana, Humberto R. & Francisco J. Varela. 1980. "Autopoiesis and Cognition: The Realization of the Living." In *Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science*. Vol. 42. Cohen, Robert S., and Marx W. Wartofsky, eds. See Also Varela, F., Thompson, E., and Rosch, E. (1993) *The Embodied Mind*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

³⁵² Heron, John. 1996. *Co-operative Inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications. Pp. 81. Refers to 'extraordinary concentration in perception so that memory, and future meaning-making is enhanced.'

expression in exploring visual media expression of their feelings, ideas and meaning-patterns is a key aspect of the action phase. Here, children try to cultivate self-observation. This involves recording of personal “framing [of images of the subject] at the point of perception”³⁵³ using a variety of visual and other media or data techniques.

During the second, *communication phase*, individuals may choose to share some of their art works and findings from the action phase with the group. Reflecting upon the art and findings, the group examines patterns, meanings, and information and summarizes them through visual media and factual observation. In the third, *interpretative phase*, the group collates all individual accounts, and identifies common interests, differences, and seeks group consensus about meaningful patterns. Here, the group engages in wide-ranging, exploration of larger frames of meaning that involve visual media and memory, information, emotions and all the senses. Diverse co-creators encourage each other to be innovative in their discovery of over-arching meaning. This may involve jointly constructed art, such as murals, or group display of individual works with common themes.

After the first three phases, validity procedures are employed to ensure that the process is equitable, and achieving goals. To establish validity, the co-creators show that the process: a) involves fair and equitable access to resources, choices and decision-making; b) expands personal concepts, such as identification of their interests, or creation of shared goals and actions in peace-building (ontological authenticity); c) improves understanding of, and ideally, relationship with, the other (educative authenticity); d) empowers them as co-creators to reshape their culture towards conflict resolution because of improved awareness (catalytic and tactical authenticity) and e) uses special skills. Cognitive inquiry uses skills essential to hermeneutic reframing. ‘Imaginal’ knowing is recognition of “analogy, metaphor and pattern meaning.”³⁵⁴ Reframing involves “revising our perceptions of the world based on new experience, emotion or information.”³⁵⁵ Other special skills John Heron describes are empathetic listening, experiential knowing, or “the

³⁵³ Heron, John. 1996. *Co-operative Inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications. Pp. 87.

³⁵⁴ Heron, John. 1996. *Co-operative Inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications. Pp 58. Heron describes imaginal knowing as “being receptive to the meaning inherent in the total process of shaping people and a world by perceptually imagining them with sensory and non-sensory imagery.”

³⁵⁵ Revising our perceptions of the world based on new experience, emotion, or information. See John Heron. 1996. *Co-operative Inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications. Pp 59. Heron states, “We . . . not only hold in abeyance the constructs being imposed on our perceiving, we also try out alternative ones for their creative capacity to articulate an account of people and a world. We are open to reframing the assumptions of any conceptual context or perspective.”

arousal of empathy, resonance, 'indwelling' and bracketing, or the 'holding in abeyance of stereotypes and schemas to let ourselves perceive more immediate meanings.'

I envision four key stages to a visual media exercise in peace process mediation, using a modified co-operative inquiry approach where the mediator may provide guidance as needed. Co-creators, with the mediator, will design a visual culture exercise to enhance their engagement in a particular stage of the mediation. Elements to be planned include choice of a focal idea or project to be expressed in visual media; an action plan for the exercise with a statement of intent; choice of visual media production and presentation materials and methods; stimulation of creative approaches through metaphor and analogy; and choice of information generation, documentation and meaning-making methods. The following exercise exemplifies the kind of visual media exercise that might be designed and pursued through a co-operative inquiry process, focusing on visual media, for children's participation in peace processes.

4.6.1 Example of A Co-operative Inquiry Visual Media Exercise

This outline assumes that the exercise is designed to fit within peace processes that the necessary supports are in place, the needs and abilities of participating children have been assessed and they have been introduced to the peace process and co-operative inquiry. Children, as key stakeholders, act as co-creators with the mediator. Several 'iterations' of the inquiry process are likely. The will include: joint planning; exploration of meaning through art making; art exhibition and meaning-sharing; documentation; validity checking; and visual media dissemination to other peace process stakeholders and larger constituencies. Teenage youth who respect codes of conduct and are interacting well may develop a relatively sophisticated process where the mediator could play a 'co-creator role.' A process designed by younger children, or youth experiencing considerable conflict, will be simpler and require more mediator guidance. Despite advance assessment, the mediator may need to provide additional guidance to the cooperative inquiry process, or transform it into a mediator-led process, as the situation unfolds. Problems, such as traumatic memories from armed conflict, could reduce children's attention span and their ability to learn or relate to others.³⁵⁶ At various points the co-creators must ensure that the

³⁵⁶ Psychosocial and developmental problems of war-affected children are outlined in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

process continues to be fair, increases personal concepts and special skills; improves stakeholders' understanding of 'the other,' and help them feel empowered to act.

4.6.2 Exercise: Exploring & Expressing a broad range of interests, using

"Painted Interests Mediation:"^{ejaneking}

Stage One involves group planning of the visual exercise and encouragement of a supportive 'co-operative inquiry' environment in which to work together.

Co-creators design a method for exploring interests that are affected by the conflict, using visual media. They divide into groups and decide to use familiar small objects, such as large spoons, cups or plates as a 'canvas' for representing each interest their group discovers. The mediator may offer a range of objects as art supplies. The choice of object as a canvas may stimulate a discussion of losses of personal and community belongings due to the conflict. This could be a metaphor for interests and needs that seem 'lost' or are not being met due to the conflict. In choosing their 'canvases' children can think about how to express one of their interests on each object, and how to group objects representing common interests. For example, cups, bowls and spoons, with images representing individual's interests could be used to make a 'painted table setting' that represents mutual interests. Viewers of the exhibit could 'sit at the table and 'consume,' the ideas and understand the interests' displayed in front of them. Other small, interesting objects, such as painted rocks or driftwood arranged on a coloured blanket, can serve the same purpose.

The children, with the mediator, may wish to plan methods of developing, collecting and documenting interests expressed during the action and inquiry phases. For example, teenage youth could plan to display the objects in a fairly complex arrangement that portrayed complementary, overlapping and divergent interests. Young children might want to group similar interests and set apart unique or contrasting interests.

Children's documentation of the process, and characteristics of interests discovered, may vary substantially according to the nature of the group, available resources and the age and abilities of the children, but could include: a) the painted objects themselves, together with other drawings, paintings, sculptures, video tapes, journal entries and sketches of self or other, conceptual maps, video tapes, photographs and floor plans; b) documents such as descriptive notes, meeting minutes, reports, records, observations and feedback notes, questionnaires, rating scales and any planned physiological measures.³⁵⁷ These range from simple to complex.

Stage Two is the early action and inquiry phase of exploring interests beyond any narrow, initial 'positions' that children may have presented. The children investigate the meaning of their own 'interests' and how they are considered in mediation, and decide how to express them. The children may engage in discussions, tell stories and create drawings that explain their needs or concerns related to the conflict. Children may consider the

³⁵⁷ Cresswell, J.W. 1994. *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications.

impact of conflict on factors essential to daily living, and to their health, social, economic and cultural well being. Children may wish to consider a time when their society was peaceful, how things have changed during the war, and what elements have been lost that were important to a healthy, full life. They may examine the military aspects of war, and how violence or oppression has prevented them and their families from meeting their basic needs. This could include assessment of increased health and safety risks, disruptions to school, family, and community, and complications to daily living. This examination may assist in defining their interests.

Children should also research their rights under the CRC, using mediator supplied resources and support. They could also explore concepts of civil society and human security. They may wish to envision of a future, peaceful healthy life for each child and the community and contrast that with current conditions. This may provide a suitable background for them to understand and express their needs and interests with respect to the peace process. Conceptual maps, sketches, photographs, television reports, cultural objects, photographs, notes, observations, recordings of conversations, questions to invited experts or community leaders, and lists of priorities may be examined or created by children. These form the basis to explore, identify, expand and share their interests. Children can portray a meaningful array of interests using visual media in the next stage.

Stage Three is the 'deep immersion' action phase, where the children develop, express and share discoveries and interests from stage two within the co-operative inquiry group. This involves: i) each child's painting of several objects, each portraying a distinctive interest; ii) recognition by the group of the type and range of interests of all the participants; iii) presentation of art objects by each artist, and exhibition of the arrangement of the objects by the group; and iv) a search for a pattern of overlapping interests expressed through arranging of the painted objects by the group; and v) discussion of the range of interests represented, together with identification of any unique, common and super-ordinate interests. Where the children's arrangement and rearrangement of painted objects assists in identification of interdependencies and mutual interests, the art objects serve as manipulative aid to learning. For example, using the 'table setting' motif, children could group similar interests by placing many spoons around the same bowl, or several bowls and spoons representing common interests could be stacked or grouped as place settings. The objects may become a focal point for discussion about children's common interests and opportunities where they might work together. The use of the art objects as a means of disseminating information to others could also be discussed. This will lead to stage four.

To augment this exercise, the children may create additional visual media to express their new knowledge about common interests. The creation of new, joint art works to express common interests of the group may indicate an increased ability or willingness to work together. The mediator should have materials on hand to meet any visual media needs at this point, even for spontaneous, unplanned projects. For children from different parties to the conflict, jointly created visual media may be a first step in building a common 'third' culture which respects their cultures of origin, but provides another 'layer' of culture that integrates their original ones.

Stage Four involves a period of reflection upon the action phases, further meaning-making, and dissemination to the other parts of the peace process possibly including larger constituencies. Here, co-creators, with the mediator, examine the meanings and information generated during the previous three stages. Meaning making may be related to the children's painted objects and their arrangement, together with any other qualitative materials provided. Sharing of individual findings or art expressions may include art works, videotapes, journals, maps, photographs, notes, reports, records, observations, feedback, surveys, and rating measures.³⁵⁸ These are studied for patterns of meaning.³⁵⁹ The assembled visual media displays may be discussed, documented or photographed, and organized as art exhibitions for groups in the peace process and for larger constituencies.

Experience and knowledge gained throughout the process may be shared through further visual media creation, exhibition, interpretation and contemplation. New knowledge gained may stimulate the children to make additional visual media about new understandings relevant to the peace process. Children may notice interdependencies between the parties in the peace process and the change from their narrow, opening 'positions' to a broader range of interests. The children may find and document additional areas of mutual interests that they wish to express through joint art projects.

The co-operative inquiry could lead to children's development of an action plan to pursue mutual interests and super-ordinate goals. Such a plan could become a joint vision as part of the peace process through children's joint visual media. Such art may also communicate vision and action to the larger community. This exercise should also be reflected upon by the group and individuals, and documented. The children may also wish to create supplementary materials and displays to assist in interpreting their art exhibitions.

At this point, the mediator may wish to ensure that the children undertake a final, comprehensive validation of the co-operative inquiry process. This may be used in feedback for the ongoing peace process in which they are stakeholders, and future best practices in co-operative inquiry for children's participation.

4.7. The 'Participatory Action Research' and 'Action Inquiry' Approaches

Participatory action research [PAR] relevant to peace process mediation stems from liberationist research in the southern hemisphere and the 'West.' This approach is suitable for implementation of the CRC in state peace processes because it empowers and raises consciousness of stakeholders through their own action and attempts to enlighten

³⁵⁸ Cresswell, J.W. 1994. *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications. These are the most common methods of generating qualitative data.

³⁵⁹ Reason, P. and P. Hawkins. 1988. 'Storytelling as inquiry.' In P. Reason (ed.) *Human Inquiry in Action*. London, Eng.: Sage Publications.

marginalized people regarding the role of knowledge as an instrument of power.³⁶⁰ It also aims to sensitize members of the dominant society to the experience of oppression, humanitarian issues, and the 'shrinking' of civil society. PAR appears to support 'visual hermeneutic reframing' of attitudes and encourages children from all parties to consider mutual interests and actions to improve society as a whole. PAR's improvisation supports collaborative art and dialogue as a means for gaining knowledge. It is flexible, having no formal cycles of action and reflection.

I recommend a 'participatory action research' approach where greater management of the children's participation is needed.³⁶¹ Increased adult supervision may be required to ensure that ethical and safety concerns are met, and visual culture materials are appropriate. Greater adult direction may also be needed due to children's fear of, or aggression towards, the 'other',³⁶² or lack of attention span and learning difficulties due to war trauma. Children in the group may be unable to develop co-operative working relationships, have limited communication skills, or experience significant language or inter-cultural communication challenges. As the process progresses, and if children develop necessary skills and improved relations, the mediator may gradually introduce greater participation.

PAR's "supported action inquiry" method, described by William R. Torbert,³⁶³ is suitable for children's visual media exercises in peace processes. The mediator "supports, facilitates and supervises self-determination . . . [as] an intentional action inquiry,"³⁶⁴ by the children. The mediator guides children in creative art to explore ideas and inform peace processes through repeated action and reflection stages. Although the mediator

³⁶⁰ Fals-Borda, O. & M. A. Rahman. 1991. *Action and Knowledge: breaking the monopoly with Participatory Action Research*. New York, NY.: Intermediate.

³⁶¹ At present, very few states involve children in their peace processes. In most states, very few child or adult citizens are likely to have direct experience in this area.

³⁶² Hewstone, Miles, and Ed Cairns. 2002. "Social Psychology and Inter-group Conflict." In *Ethnopolitical Warfare: Causes, Consequences and Possible Solutions*. Daniel Chirot and Marin E. P. Seligman, eds. Washington, DC.: American Psychological Association. Pp. 330.

Where inter-group conflict is very strong, contact with 'the other' can provoke anxiety. See also Islam, M. R. and Miles Hewstone. 1993. "Dimensions of contact as predictors of intergroup anxiety, perceived out-group variability, and out-group attitude: An integrative model," in *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. No. 19. Pp. 700 – 710.

³⁶³ Torbert, W. 1991. *The Power of Balance: Transforming Self, Society, and Scientific Inquiry*. Newbury Park CA.: Sage Publications. Action inquiry, developed from action science by Torbert, emphasizes cognitive reframing and holistic awareness, and therefore closely fits methodological requirements for visual media exercises involving 'visual hermeneutic reframing' in peace process mediation.

³⁶⁴ Heron, John. 1996. *Co-operative Inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications. Pp. 24.

constantly seeks input from the parties, they have less freedom to plan or choose, and do not manage the process as in co-operative inquiry. Yet PAR is suitable for early implementation of the CRC in peace processes where interpersonal communications and learning are a challenge. I offer the following examples of an action inquiry approach to visual media exercises in children's peace process mediation.

**4.7.1. Exercise: Communicating With Larger Constituencies:
"Children's Art as a Peace Process Campaign"^{ejaneking}**

Through a mediator-supported action inquiry, Children are to identify, explore and express common interests and goals using creative art that will be the basis of a public information campaign.

The mediator provides leadership to the inquiry, and starts by teaching children about the CRC and the peace process. A mediator-led discussion of children's concerns about the conflict may include topics such as interruptions in school, family and social life, loss of, or separation from, loved ones; forced migration, severe illness or injury, child sex trade work, and child soldiering. In early discussions, the mediator assists the children to develop an understanding of the destructiveness of hate propaganda and to set codes of conduct against the use aggressive or derogatory visual media or speech against others in the peace process. These simple rules support the group's gradual development of a sense of safety and mutual trust, and facilitate the discovery of common interests. The children are then free to develop images that represent their concerns and experiences using visual media materials provided. Children are asked to study examples of existing visual culture about peace and conflict and are led in production of their own images for reflection, learning and dissemination to larger groups. This is done with the guidance of a visual culture specialist.³⁶⁵

The mediator guides a review and discussion of children's images expressing their concerns and interests related to conflict and peace building. The children may be asked to make images expressing any new meanings discovered through this process. The mediator encourages continued identification and expansion of issues and interests, and guides children to discover common interests of the parties. These are often assumed to be conflict-specific, but may also be related to children rights, lack of resources or infrastructure, environmental degradation, poverty, disease, refugee migration, overpopulation, or lack of education.

The mediator leads small groups of children in analysing their selected or created images, with the guidance of a visual culture expert. The children, guided by the mediator, review and talk about the images they selected or made. They are asked to describe concerns or positive aspects they see in the images and relate them, with help, to the CRC. Based on a sample list provided by the mediator, which the children may adjust, small groups create a list of concerns related to the CRC or interests that are found in their

³⁶⁵ The mediator and 'visual media specialist' may be the same person, where professional background is suitable.

group's collection of images, or remembered from their own experience. The list can be long, so as to include all types of interests, needs and concerns voiced by each child.

Each group of children then classifies the images according to categories that they define, or they may follow suggestions of the mediator. Examples of groupings³⁶⁶ are: 1) *Children's Rights* issues; 2) *Type of Problem*, such as children's rights ignored; forced flight from home, or war hazards such as sniper fire; 3) *Positive Elements*, such as health clinics, temporary schools, or finding family members; 4) *Messages Sent*; such as I want peace or my community needs help or ban landmines; 5) *Themes*, such as ceasefire, refugee camp, food supply delivery, child soldiers or future peace; 6) *Frame of Reference for the Image*, such as military, human interest, state, personal, special interest group, public institution; and 7) *Perspective or 'Angle' Presented*: such as business, moral or religious; daily life, victim/ oppression, or human rights.

Where appropriate, the mediator may lead groups further classify their images, asking for information such as: a 1) brief description of the apparent intent of the photographer [if a selected print image] or intent of the artist [if created by one of the group who is willing to provide intent] and 2) Date of Image; 3) Location of Image; 4) Size; 5) Source; 5) Language Describing Image; 6) Description of Visual and Compositional effects, such as choice of subject, background, camera angle / artist's 'viewpoint,' focus, visual content, lighting, composition, colour, technical alteration of media, and any special effects. Information may be left blank where unknown.

The children, guided by the mediator, review groupings of pictures portraying similar concerns or needs, to understand how they represent common interests. The children can be asked to look at all the groupings, and note common interests. Super-ordinate interests, that require the co-operation of all parties to the peace process to be met successfully, can be explained, followed by children's search for examples. The mediator may also explain the role that common and super-ordinate interests may play in achieving joint understanding and action in the peace process.

The mediator and visual culture expert will lead discussion about how visual culture is constructed by society, and may not include interests and perspectives of everyone. The children can be asked to comment upon the extent to which their concerns, or interests, respecting humanitarian and human security, are considered within the visual culture. The mediator may lead them in a reflection of what a future 'civil society' would look like, and needs and interests of the children that they would like to have met through peace-building. The children will be asked to consider ways to express and include their interests and concerns in society's visual culture. The mediator may also lead children to think of ways in which common and super-ordinate interests and goals can be demonstrated through their art works. Children will then be asked collaborate in designing and constructing joint art works that will express these concerns, interests, plans and goals. They should also discuss and plan for the way in which they want their art works to be used, to prevent visual culture appropriation.

³⁶⁶ Some qualitative media analysis techniques have been derived from: Altheide, David L. 1996. *Qualitative Media Analysis: Qualitative Research Methods Series 38*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications.

Collaborative art works may take the form of collages, banners, mandalas, or other artefacts suggested by the children. The mediator may show examples of jointly constructed community art so that the children have an understanding of the types of group art works they could produce. The children can first create sketches, plans or models for joint visual media projects expressing common and super-ordinate interests and goals for a future civil society. Then, in an iterative and reflexive process that will continue throughout the mediation, these composite images may be created or revised or added to, over a period of days or weeks according to the peace process plan. The composite images may be completed, and new ones initiated at different stages of inquiry, creation, analysis and reflection. Art works in various stages may act as a reference for the evolving ideas of the group, and should be documented, if possible through photographic or other means.

The final set of composite visual media could occur in several forms, such as: 1) a large public art project, such as a mural, mandala, banner, quilt, sculpture photographic exhibit or video; and 2) a series of easily reproducible art works for public display such as posters, small plastercine sculptures, or photographs. The art exhibition is then created by the group under the guidance of the mediator, and a visual media expert. At a time agreed by the mediator and the parties to the peace process, this public art exhibition may be prominently displayed or art works disseminated.

Depending upon resources and the nature of any mediation action plans for common and super-ordinate goals, the children may also wish to develop, with the mediator and a visual media expert, a public information campaign to disseminate the art. This could involve planning, development and dissemination of information campaign materials, visual media and publications. Examples include 1) Photographic exhibits; 2) Public information and posters, 3) Public Art; 4) Film, posters and banners and stickers; 5) Installation art; 6) Videos; 7) Television programs; and 8) Websites. Larger constituencies of the parties, supportive NGOs, and concerned international, regional and local agencies or NGOs may support these efforts.

4.7.2. Exercise: Telling Unique Stories of the Conflict Through the "The Mediation Story – Home"^{ejanecking}

This example of a visual media exercise may be adapted to co-operative or participative action inquiry processes. In this exercise, children are first led to study examples of societal visual culture about the conflict. Children may be asked by the mediator to bring examples of visual culture, or select images from the 'image library' provided, to share with the group. The mediator leads discussion and analysis of the images by the group with the support of a visual culture expert. From a discussion of pictures from news, cultural myths or other sources, children may see how reports of significant events often alter or omit points of view, including those of children. Some children may have experienced visual culture appropriation and associated feelings of marginalization and disempowerment. These can be discussed and expressed through art, together with a study of children's interests and how they can be met. Children's rights under the CRC, and prospects of implementation to address their concerns may also be reviewed. As in the two previous exercises, children are encouraged to identify their needs

and interests through individual reflection, creative art exploration, sharing with the group and group documentation and review.

The mediator facilitates the children's creation of art works to communicate their stories about the conflict, their interests and their hopes for the future, including impacts on them personally. To explore and communicate conflict and peace process experiences and feelings children use their art work to decorate pre-fabricated, indoor 'story houses' made of pre-cut, heavy, un-patterned cardboard or other suitable materials. The mediator provides tools and supplies for original art and collage.³⁶⁷ The mediator and participants decide jointly how participants will create the story houses, and whether they will work singly or in groups. Assistants should be available to help with art projects and document any commentary to accompany pictures, from children unable to write. The 'story homes' stand about 4 or 5 feet high in a large space such as a covered outdoor space or an auditorium.³⁶⁸ A short wooden or cardboard fence, perhaps 15 inches high, may also be used to create a small 'yard' adjacent to each house, to keep viewers from touching or entering the homes.

Children decorate the houses with images of their story of the conflict, their hopes for the future, and impacts, interests or issues of concern to them. Visual statements which they wish to make public are displayed on the outside of the 'story-home' while more private or personal statements are made inside the house, and require an invitation to view by the child creator. These story home projects may continue to evolve throughout the mediation, and may include visual expression of later peace process mitigation of some concerns raised in initial stages the story-home. At various stages of this expression, the mediator and group of children will engage in examining each home's exterior (and, if invited, the interior) to develop a deep understanding of the meaning and impact of the conflict to the home's creators.

Documentation of the evolution of art-works decorating the story homes may occur throughout the process, with permission of the child artists. Collage is suggested as one medium for decorating the house. However, participants may use any combination of workable media, such as paint, fabric, banners, drawings, life objects, or photographs. Installations, such as participant developed videos, or arrangements of meaningful objects, may be arranged inside or adjacent to, the house.

Where desired by the creators, the story-homes may be available for public display or selected viewing by invited groups from the peace process or larger community. Children

³⁶⁷ Permission for use of reproduced images or photos as collage materials must be ensured by the practitioner. In all cases, copyright must be considered and respected.

³⁶⁸ If space, or availability of materials, is a problem, this project could be developed in miniature. For example, quite small cardboard boxes may be cut with doors, etc. can represent the 'story home.' However, a much-reduced size results in loss of the experience of personal space boundaries of the home's yard and interior and substantially changes the exercise. Fabrication of cardboard 'homes' from materials such as refrigerator or other very large cardboard boxes is also possible, if prefabricated homes, as designed for children's playhouses, are not available. Where 'story home' construction is not possible, this visual media exercise may be adapted to free standing posters with a 'public' and 'private' (private side pinned to the wall) rather than a structure with outside and interior.

should provide input to the way in which the homes will be exhibited and be allowed to choose whether to exhibit their art. Where children do not want to display personal stories on the homes interiors, but wish the exteriors viewed, the window and door openings may be covered over. The homes should be of a design that permits ease of packing and reassembly for display in a number of locations. Permission of the creators is essential for any and all exhibits.

4.8 Stumbling Blocks to Children's Participation Using Visual Media

As one would expect of a 'proposed innovation,' many stumbling blocks are anticipated to children's participation in peace processes, using visual media methods. The inclusion of children, and their art, in highly sensitive and crucial political and state security peace processes is likely to be considered an anathema by many. Political and military leaders cutting peace deals are often highly trained in rationalist approaches and immersed in realpolitik. Creation of visual media to discover common interests, stimulate integrated-brain processing, and reframe military and state security perspectives towards a humanitarian view, may appear to some leaders as weak, misguided, or unscientific. However unorthodox, measures such as CRC implementation through children's participation in peace processes, and dissemination of peace process visual media to larger society, may be key to societal reframing of peace process military discourse to humanitarian, or other 'peace,' themes.

Political and military actors are likely to be closed to hermeneutic reframing processes of the type suggested here without excellent science to support theory. Further research respecting visual hermeneutic reframing theory and methods, explored in Appendix One, is needed to increase understanding, and implementation, of these methods. Leaders require more information about visual culture's powerful role in peace process discourse, and need knowledge of journalistic culture attributes that promote civil society discourse. A recommended starting point are peace process pilot projects for children's participation using visual media, in areas that are likely to be a success. These may gain support for more comprehensive and challenging programs of children's participation to follow.

Another stumbling block is found in social science that suggests that successful inter-group contact, such as proposed here for peace processes, might not affect inter-group relations. Experts assert that the positive contact that occurs contact between members of different parties is unique to that experience, and does not have any positive impact on

future relations between the parties.³⁶⁹ However, others consider contact and inter-group co-operation very useful, as a lack of contact may result in 'declining future contact' that "strengthen [s] the assumption that the two groups have different [even irreconcilable] beliefs, maintain inter-group anxiety, and reinforce the boundary between groups."³⁷⁰

My proposal for individual artistic expression, and sharing of this art in a group, may assist child participants in differentiating each other as individual personalities. This is part of visual hermeneutic reframing about identity. Rather than being viewed solely as characterized by ethnic, religious or other group membership, each child becomes known as an individual. Art activity is likely to provide more detailed and personal information to permit familiarity with an individual as in Martin Buber's "I-Thou" relations.³⁷¹ Brewer and Miller support a similar 'personalization' approach to 'de-categorization'.³⁷² To further a sense of the 'individual character' of members of the 'other group,' among society as a whole, it is crucial to ensure broad dissemination of the art of individuals as part of society's visual culture. Disseminated art emphasizes the individual by embodying the artist's experience, viewpoints and character. A visual hermeneutic reframing approach to peace processes is unlikely to be successful without broad dissemination of this visual media to larger society, within a human rights and 'civil society' context.

³⁶⁹ Hewstone, Miles, and Ed Cairns. 2002. "Social Psychology and Inter-group Conflict," in *Ethnopolitical Warfare: Causes, Consequences and Possible Solutions*. Daniel Chirof and Marin E. P. Seligman, eds. Washington, DC.: American Psychological Association. Pp.328.

³⁷⁰ Hewstone, Miles, 1996. "Contact and categorization: Social psychological interventions to change inter-group relations," in *Stereotypes and stereotyping*. New York: Guildford Press. Pp. 323-368.

³⁷¹ Buber, Martin. 1965. *Empathy from the Knowledge of Man*. M. Friedman and R.G. Smith, trans. New York, NY: Harper Torchbooks.

Note: see Appendix One, Section 4.2, of this thesis for a discussion of Buber's "I-Thou" and "I-It" relations.

³⁷² Brewer, M.B. and R. J. Brown. 1998. "Inter-group relations." In *Handbook of social psychology*. Vol. 2. Gilbert, D.T., S.T. Fiske and G. Lindzey, eds. New York, NY: McGraw- Hill. Pp. 554 – 594.

4.9 Conclusion to Chapter Four

I have attempted to use theory about the socially transforming effect of visual media, to develop approaches, and methods respecting children's visual media exercises. I have adapted a cultural transmission model to position children's visual media in peace processes within the society's larger visual culture discourse about peace and conflict. I recommend that each state examine its visual culture to assess any influences or taboos affecting the design of children's visual media exercises for peace processes. Design and implementation of exercises must be tailored to specific groups of child participants, journalistic cultures, and stages in peace and conflict processes. Freedom of expression, access to media, and cultural appropriateness must be ensured in children's participation, to be consistent with the CRC. An area for future research involves this balance between children's rights and cultural practice in visual media.

Visual media offers children a chance to explore, reframe and communicate interests, experiences of war, identity meanings and worldviews, as part of peace processes. The examples of children's exercises for peace process participation involve visual meaning expression, dissemination and contemplation. These activities appear to be facilitated through integrated-brain processing, according to visual cognitive theory in Appendix One. This approach differs considerably from quantitative or qualitative analysis³⁷³ based on rational, analytic processing. My examples of visual media exercises are based on adapted co-operative inquiry and participative action inquiry frameworks.³⁷⁴ These involve visual media production, dissemination and consumption and inquiry validation procedures, as are tools for understanding:

- 1) The 'constructed' way in which the parties and others view the world;
- 2) That a closer examination of world-views among the parties may show fairly substantial areas of mutual interest;
- 3) Mutual interests, such as children's social justice or humanitarian concerns, may form a basis for joint construction of a "third culture" which respects original cultures of the parties but takes advantage of opportunities for the parties to re-frame conceptions of self, the other', the relationship and the future as they focus on inter-dependencies and common interests; and

³⁷³ I am not recommending that the parties 'conduct research' in the sense of measuring or assessing units of analysis in order to develop findings, although this could be useful for problem-solving dispute resolution.

³⁷⁴ Qualitative media analysis techniques have been derived from sources such as: Altheide, David L. 1996. *Qualitative Media Analysis: Qualitative Research Methods Series 38*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications.

- 4) That the 'third culture' is a foundation for practical super-ordinate goals, action plans and shared projects of mutual benefit to the parties.

Visual media exercises raise serious ethical, communication and practical concerns are partially addressed in this thesis, but require more investigation. I review opinion and existing protocols for participation from experts such as the International Institute of Child Rights and Development [IICRD], Centre for Global Studies, of the University of Victoria.

³⁷⁵ I research and propose guidelines and principles for design and implementation of visual media exercises, and I call for further research. I suggest several areas for ethical and methodological research and development including: 1) safe and appropriate timing, locations and methods for exercises; 2) means of fair and equitable representation; 3) ethical approaches that ensure children's protection, rights and freedoms; 4) sensitivity to age, gender, language, victimization and other attributes; and 5) the need for mental health and other supports to children. In proposing children's participation in peace processes, particularly through visual media, I am exploring a very new area of potential conflict resolution. Therefore, I expect many of my approaches and examples to be substantially revised during pilot projects and consultations with children, to create practical and culturally appropriate methods.

³⁷⁵ International Institute for Child Rights and Child Development [IICRD] of the University of Victoria's Centre for Global Studies. The IICRD "Children as Partners" webpage identifies the coalition in this way, "Cooperating Organizations: Coordinating organization IICRD, other agencies involved to varying degree or currently being contacted: CIDA; Child Rights Information Network (CRIN); International and National NGOs; NGO Group for the Convention on the Rights of the Child; Save the Children Alliance; UNICEF; UNESCO. The IICRD webpage also indicates that, "Children's organizations, and professional associations are also being invited to be partners in this project." Source: Available on the World Wide Web: http://web.uvic.ca/iicrd/proj_partners.html#organizations

Chapter Five:

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Addressing the Needs of War Affected Children Via Participation in Peace Processes

Children's CRC rights of freedom of expression, assembly, access to media and participation, are intended to facilitate their proactive, collective and individual involvement in state decision-making affecting them, such as peace processes.³⁷⁶ Children have suffered from armed conflicts as marginalized citizens, victims or perpetrators. Many have knowledge of what is needed to survive, and motivation to build a better society that is valuable to peace processes. Children are frequently ignored in peace processes, although they often bear the largest burden in peace building, growing up to be primary actors in post-war society. Frustration of their rights and continued marginalization can lead to youth rebellion and 'deauthorization' of society. This has undermined some peace pacts and continued cycles of violence.

Participation in peace processes can help children develop conflict resolution attitudes and knowledge. These assist in their rebuilding of civil society and provide psychosocial benefits. Ethical management of children's participation is essential to avoid adult 'manipulation.' Research suggests that children participating in peace processes that combine artistic and other methods, will have an chance to: 1) seek optimal solutions through visual media and other means; 2) increase self-esteem; 3) develop methods of self-determination, 4) develop political skills and views; and 5) commence re-integration into the community. Expert studies show that youth movements have supported social justice and democracy in many cultures during the past two centuries. They have potential to reframe military discourse towards more humanitarian, democratic discourse in peace processes. History shows that children can initiate a tremendous effort towards peace. The

³⁷⁶ The three main caveats concerning the child's right to participation (compared to participatory rights in other UN instruments) are: 1) the participation right applies to a child who is 'capable of forming his or her own views;' 2) the right to 'express those views freely' extends to all matters affecting the child; and 3) the views of the child must be given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child. Within these caveats, children's participation rights under the CRC should have the same quality as other UN enunciations on human rights. Individual rights to participation also exist. Source: Hodgkin, Rachel and Peter Newell. 1998. "UNICEF's Implementation Handbook for the Convention on the Rights of the Child." New York, NY.: UNICEF.

harnessing of a 'generational mission' can be facilitated by their participation in 'peace processes,' as a contrast to their experience of adult-sponsored war.

State parties' facilitation of children's participation in peace processes, including identification of funding and technical support, are recommended as a firm commitment of cease-fire agreements or pacts to engage in peace processes. International community members are urged to provide technical supports to these states as called for by the CRC. Long- and short-term needs of war-affected children, and state and international resources to meet these needs, may be better identified, committed, implemented and evaluated through a framework of peace processes where children articulate their interests.

5.2 States' Rights-based Approaches to Children's Peace Processes Participation

The international community has not offered states in peace processes sufficient supports to set up, or ensure children's ethical, representative and safe participation in these processes. Failure to implement children's participation by states is attributed to lack of resources, weak political will, adult reluctance to empower children, and little research or sharing of expertise. However state leaders cannot continue to justify this omission. The CRC Committee's limited influence over peace processes, exemplified by Bosnia and Herzegovina, is largely attributed to lack of resources, despite recent, modest staff increases. The international community's lack of substantive support to states to implement CRC participation rights in peace processes, results in lost opportunities to: 1) introduce longer term perspectives of children, such as humanitarian, social justice, and democratic concerns, into peace processes; 2) ensure that the interests of war-affected children are understood and that their needs met through peace agreements and peace-building; and 3) provide children with the benefits of contributing to community well-being, developing important skills and abilities, and possibly breaking the cycle of conflict.

While children increasingly engage in informal peace, social justice and democratic movements at the local, state and global levels, these do not appear to meet CRC requirements and do not involve formal peace processes. The CRC Committee should take a more proactive approach, with support of the UN Centre for Human Rights, the Voluntary Fund for Technical Cooperation in the Field of Human Rights, and other relevant bodies. The CRC Committee can show leadership in developing, with a coalition

of like-minded state, regional, international and NGO actors, a strategy and supports for states to implement children's participation in state peace processes. It is recommended that the CRC Committee, or a task force it strikes for this purpose, provide more guidance to states to overcome barriers and develop approaches, legislation, policies and best practices governing the participation of children in peace processes.

For states to implement children's participation rights in peace processes with international community support, the following operational and jurisdictional issues must be addressed: 1) poor fit between CRC's requirement for periodic reporting of states and need for urgent interaction between the CRC Committee and states during times of conflict; 2) problems of identifying or contacting authorities responsible for children, whether state or non-state parties, during conflict when authority of government may be in question, or non-state actors may be in control; 3) problems of ensuring children's safe involvement, fair representation, and ethical treatment in mediation processes during conflict; 4) need for the design of new protocols for involvement of UN treaty bodies, such as the CRC Committee, and other responsible parties, to ensure children's rights in peace processes; 5) need for greater coordination of actions of UN treaty bodies, such as the CRC Committee, with those of mediators, UN peacekeeping representatives and other relevant parties; and 6) need for increased supports to states.

Significant additional resources for the CRC Committee and states are essential to develop strategies, principles, best practices, exemplary structures, and training programs for children's participation in peace processes. The CRC Committee, other UN bodies with mandates to support children, and the international community need to: 1) target priority state peace processes and work with states to research, implement, and evaluate methods for children's participation in their peace processes, and 2) ensure sufficient resources for this purpose. A Secretary-General's study and pilot project respecting participation of children in a peace process is a recommended starting point. Evaluation of the potential for psychosocial art programs for war-affected children ³⁷⁷ to act as an interim method for children's participation in peace processes is also recommended. Research is required regarding the nature of trans-boundary effects of war on children, and

³⁷⁷ The feasibility of, and methods for, ethical management of children's participation via visual media from psychosocial programs part of this research.

the right of affected children to participate or provide input into 'distant' peace processes under the CRC.

5.3 A Coalition & Strategy for Children's Participation in Peace Processes

I recommend the following strategy to develop children's participation in state peace processes. A coalition should be formed of like-minded actors who wish to support children's participation in peace processes, from states, the international community, children's organizations, regional security regimes, mediator and peacekeeping associations, NGOs and other groups. The coalition may strike a number of task forces to create and implement action plans for development of theory, method and best practices for children's participation in peace processes. The following list is suitable for division among numerous task forces, which may be mandated to:

- Promote children's participation in peace processes;
- Identify, and obtain commitment for, appropriate sources of long term, stable funding and resources for research, task forces, and delivery of children's programs of participation in peace processes;
- Create, seek endorsement of, and adopt a code of ethics and best practices for children's participation in peace processes;
- Develop a policy and program design framework for children's participation in peace processes;
- Offer examples of legislation, policy and instruments to states and other parties;
- Offer incentives for improved professional, state & international agency performance in including children's visual discourse in peace processes and civil society;
- Monitor and report to the global community respecting CRC implementation in peace processes, via: 1) reports to the UN Security Council by the CRC Committee and leaders such as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, the Executive Director of UNICEF, and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and the President of the ICRC; and 2) inclusion of measurable goals and targets in state or regional action plans of the World Fit for Children initiative stemming from the UN Special Session on Children;
- Assign a role in co-ordinating and conducting research and providing advice to states

respecting children's involvement in peace processes to a coalition specializing in children's participation, such as the "Children as Partners" program of the International Institute for Child Rights and Development of the University of Victoria Centre for Global Studies;³⁷⁸

- Develop and maintain a global, multidisciplinary database to monitor and evaluate trends, impacts and best practices in implementation of children's participation in peace processes;
- Undertake conflict mapping and recommend global and regional priorities, strategies, and supports for children's participation in peace processes;
- Develop guidelines for: 1) review of state journalistic culture; and 2) a variety of cultural approaches that ensure incorporation of children's peace process media in each society's visual discourse; and
- Develop, with the CRC Committee, a formal procedure for mandating and funding international supports to implement children's participation in peace processes, where a state and the CRC Committee request international technical support under the CRC.

A recommended overarching goal of the proposed coalition is to educate the public and encourage their support for: 1) children's participation in peace processes; 2) civil society discourse that welcomes children's peace process visual media about humanitarian, social justice and peace interests; and 3) counteracting peace process and societal discourses that marginalize or exclude the opinions of young people or focus primarily on violent, conflict events.

³⁷⁸ "The purpose of the "Children As Partners" project is to provide governments and civil society organizations with critical information and resources to help them implement proven best practices to promote and manage meaningful and sustainable children's participation. It will eliminate bottlenecks in the implementation of CRC Article 12 by providing a wealth of information, material and expertise for use in the development of education, support materials (e.g., the General Comment for article 12), and implementation of meaningful participation. The coordinating organization for "Children as Partners" is the IICRD of the University of Victoria Centre for Global Studies. Other agencies involved or currently being contacted are: CIDA; Child Rights Information Network (CRIN), International and National NGOs, NGO Group for the Convention on the Rights of the Child, Save the Children Alliance, UNICEF, and UNESCO. Children's organizations, and professional associations, are also being invited to be partners in this project." Source: Centre for Global Studies, IICRD website. June 18, 2003. Available on the World Wide Web: http://web.uvic.ca/iicrd/proj_partners.html

5.4. Children's Visual Media of the ICBL: Lessons for Peace Process Participation

Many lessons learned from children's visual media methods of the ICBL were applicable to children's participation in peace processes. Research indicates that children's visual media, and images of children affected by landmines, appear to positively influence the development of humanitarian norms as part of a broad international discourse regarding peace and conflict matters.³⁷⁹ Positive implications for children's participation in peace processes stem from visual media as an apparent tool for discovering common interests and reframing military discourse as humanitarian. This appears to occur by introducing the following elements into society's visual discourse:

- 1) Visual discourse from marginalized groups such as children;
- 2) The refocusing of traditional, international military discourse about landmines towards a 'feminized' and humanitarian point of view, largely through visual media about, and by, child victims;
- 3) Innovative sources of images, such as art of child victims;
- 4) Rapid and broad dissemination of images through Internet, fax, news, and video communications and advertising;
- 5) Assertive employment of images and installations as reminders of shared goals and humanitarian concerns at meetings, conferences, and negotiations;
- 6) Visual media programs decentralized and managed independently at the local, state, regional and international level, with constant feedback and communication in order to co-ordinate between these groups; and
- 7) Use of the disseminated image to foster a group belonging, and strengthen global movements that reframe military discourse, and promote peace and human security.

Children's visual media of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) appears to reframe state and international military discourse as humanitarian. ICBL portrayals of landmines as maiming and killing innocent children clash with preconceived images of landmines as state security tools that protect civilians. This apparently stimulates 'hermeneutic reframing' among viewers. Children's visual media of the ICBL also appear to generate a type of "CNN effect" that might also stem from children's peace process

³⁷⁹ In this study, ICBL visual media appears to provide an opportunity for a process I call 'hermeneutic reframing.' Stakeholders appear stimulated to question 'old' military or hegemonic discourse and reframe their understanding in humanitarian terms.

visual media. Many citizens viewing children's ICBL posters demanded that their elected officials take action to develop a landmine ban, assist injured children and prevent further victimization. State representatives responded to rapidly developing humanitarian norms about landmines, by negotiating a treaty in record time. Many might welcome children's participation in peace processes if they were assured that this would stimulate similar rapid, public, stakeholder, and leader formulation of humanitarian norms and peace treaties. However, it is far too early to suggest any trends in children's interests that may occur in a large variety of peace processes and cultures, or the impact that children's participation may have on any peace processes. Considerable design, testing, implementation and evaluation of children's visual media methods in peace processes over a period of years are necessary to draw any conclusions. Yet, the way in which children's ICBL media influenced state and international military discourse about landmines, does indicate considerable potential for children to exert positive influences on peace processes.

5.5. Children's Visual Media As A Peace Process Tool

Visual media offers children a chance to explore, reframe and communicate interests, experiences of war, identity and worldviews, as part of peace processes. My examples of four visual media exercises are based on adapted co-operative inquiry and participative action inquiry frameworks.³⁸⁰ These involve media production, dissemination and consumption, together with inquiry validation procedures, as tools for understanding that:

- 1) The way in which the parties and others view the world, and the conflict, is, in part, 'constructed' by society's visual culture;
- 2) A closer examination of world-views likely shows fairly substantial areas of mutual interest;
- 3) Children's social justice, democratic, or humanitarian concerns may form the basis for joint construction of a "third culture" which respects original cultures of the parties but takes advantage of opportunities for the parties to re-frame conceptions

³⁸⁰ Qualitative Media Analysis Techniques have been derived from sources such as: Altheide, David L. 1996. *Qualitative Media Analysis: Qualitative Research Methods Series 38*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications.

of self, the other', the relationship and the future as they focus on inter-dependencies and common interests;³⁸¹ and

- 4) A jointly constructed 'third culture' may be the foundation for achieving super-ordinate goals, action plans and shared projects of mutual benefit to the parties.

Visual media exercises for war-affected children raise serious ethical, communication and practical concerns. I present principles for design and implementation of visual media exercises to manage these concerns. The development of expert protocols for children's participation is also recommended. Areas for further research and development respecting children's participation in peace processes involve: 1) safe and appropriate timing, locations and methods for exercises; 2) means of fair and equitable representation; 3) ethical approaches that ensure children's protection, rights and freedoms; 4) sensitivity to age, gender, language, victimization and other attributes; 5) the need for psychosocial and other supports; and 6) trans-boundary issues.

According to psychosocial and education experts, children's visual media has significant advantages that may benefit their participation in peace processes. These include: ease of communication; an increased sense of security in communicating about traumatic events of armed conflict; consideration of a complex array of interests with greater ease; mastery of many more complex cognitive relationships; increased capacity for a creative thought, essential to brainstorming about overlapping interests; a more confident and prolific flow of ideas; structural advantages over writing; and the ability to work from a more holistic perspective, adding to the composition as ideas evolve or they rethink material presented.

Scientists use fMRI scans to show that contemplation of visual images, associated with art creation and consumption, appear to pacify the brain's limbic system. This activity also triggers varying degrees of experience of transcendent meaning that informs ethical perspectives. In my examples of visual media exercises, child stakeholders explore meanings related to the conflict, self and the 'other' through art, dialogue, writing and contemplation of images. These exercises are designed to stimulate integrated brain

³⁸¹ Putnam, Linda and Majja Holmer, 1992. "Framing, Reframing and Issue Development." In *Communication and Negotiation*. Putnam, Linda L. and Micheal E. Roloff, eds. London, U.K.: Sage Publications. Pp.136. Aspirational frames, exemplified by some ICBL media, may broaden the scope of discourse and developing integrative agreements when used in conjunction with examination of a large number of issues

networking and other thought processes that scientists have discovered access transcendent meaning and ethical information for reformulating core beliefs. Such processes inform and facilitate the review of values or information presented within *categories* of meaning, and stimulate preparation of *new categories of meaning* to replace the old, or *meta-meanings* that accommodate old and new. I propose the term “visual hermeneutic reframing,” to describe the process where visual media stimulates new meaning-making, or processes to accommodate a diversity of new and old values within a new, unified whole.³⁸² I recommend visual media collaboration by children in groups during peace processes to facilitate visual hermeneutic reframing, discovery of common interests and joint articulation of new meta-meanings that bridge differences.

Contemplation of visual media has also been shown by neuroscientists to override triggers of anger and fear from the limbic system. This may be particularly useful to ameliorate experiences of anger and fear among stakeholders, when meeting the ‘other’ in peace processes. With practice, the ‘peace of mind’ that stems from this form of visual contemplation appears to offer mindful, quiet and controlled consideration of contentious or anxiety-provoking issues, such as armed conflict, as they are presented.³⁸³ Further research respecting the contemplative and calming properties of visual media exercises is recommended for potential application as a conflict resolution tool.

5.6 A Visual Culture Approach to Peace Processes

I have adapted a cultural transmission model to position children’s peace processes visual media within society’s larger visual culture discourse about peace and conflict. I recommend that each state examine its visual culture to assess any whether there are influences or taboos that may affect design of children’s visual media exercises for peace processes. Peace process visual media exercises must be tailored to specific groups of child participants, journalistic cultures, and stages in peace and conflict processes. An area

³⁸² An ‘integrated brain networking approach’ to conflict theory and methodology uses strategies based on brain science. These facilitate use of multiple intelligences through highly developed visual and verbal observational, analytical, intuitional and inferential thinking skills. Scientists say this stimulates inter-hemispheric and networked brain processing, leading to a sense of ‘unity’ and accessing of ethical, transcendent meaning. This is detailed in Appendix One.

³⁸³ See discussion of scientific experiments undertaken by the Dr Richard Davidson and the Dalai Lama in Appendix One. They suggest that in such a meditation, ‘mindfulness’ stance may create a ‘buffer’ between the ‘violent impulses’ of the brain and ‘our actions.’

for future research involves the balance between children's rights and cultural practice in creation, dissemination, and contemplation of their visual media as part of peace processes.

My visual culture approach to peace processes is supported by theories from visual anthropology, psychology, sociology, philosophy and the cognitive science of vision. These note the contribution of symbolic meta-messages in increasing social cohesion. However, these are elements of implicit knowledge that are largely omitted from traditional 'western,' analytical, dispute resolution, that focuses on explicit knowledge and problem-solving.³⁸⁴ The implicit knowledge domain involves perceptions, emotions, needs and values relating to identity, relationship, security, and interests that are key to conflict resolution. These three elements: the implicit knowledge domain, integrated brain processes and visual media, are linked as products, processes and tools used in the reframing of worldviews, a central function of successful conflict resolution. Strong functional links exist in the implicit knowledge domain between:

- 1) Visual culture activities, such as the creation of child victim's art about the conflict and the viewing of this by larger society;
- 2) Visual/spatial thought processing to access transcendent meaning, ethical perspectives, and non-violent responses; and
- 3) Peace process visual media exercises involving art creation, dissemination and contemplation for discovery of: a) common interests, b) the parties' joint new norms, and c) a possible overarching 'third culture' that embraces interests of all parties.

These visual culture processes are pivotal to conflict resolution, especially for intractable conflicts over values. A compelling argument can therefore be made to further research and expand our repertoire of conflict resolution techniques to include visual culture exercises that are informed by the implicit knowledge domain.

³⁸⁴ Many experts observe a gap in knowledge of techniques that may be used to transform contentious positions and values of parties to mutual interests and goals. This knowledge is essential to resolving conflict, as Galtung observes: "often those who wish to prevent war most desperately and sincerely lack the means to do so. A lack of means has two aspects: lack of ideas and lack of instruments." (Galtung, 1980). Galtung also asserts that, "during international crises. . . there is a general scarcity of good ideas." (Galtung, 1980). See *The True Worlds: A Trans-national Perspective*. New York, N.Y.: The Free Press. Pp. 359. A rapidly increasing number of disputes involve values and interests, particularly in intra-state conflict, where "it is impossible to establish that one side is entirely right and the other totally wrong . . . [these disputes] are more difficult to resolve." Fischer, Dietrich. 1993. *Non-military Aspects of Security: A Systems Approach*. United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research. Aldershot, England: Dartmouth Publishing Co. Ltd. The UNIDR describes our ease in solving disputes over facts or measurable resources: "it is relatively easy to settle the conflict by simply establishing the truth, through a scientific or legal enquiry." [Ibid. Pp. 112]

Cognitive science can assist us in understanding and strengthening elements of implicit knowledge, and associated visual culture activities, as tools for conflict resolution, as outlined in Appendix One of this thesis. As best brain performance in the implicit knowledge domain appears to be facilitated by visual / spatial tasks, I propose that the use of visual media tools in conflict resolution to: 1) Access ethical knowledge and practices of non-violence; 2) Explore, ascertain and reframe interests to find areas of mutual benefit and develop joint action and principles; 3) Create a new vision for improved society, based on a 'constructed' and integrated 'theory of the present,' rather than an extrapolation of the conflicted, divisive past; and 4) Communicate joint action plans and meta-messages to larger constituencies through joint symbol systems embodying any shared ethical knowledge or joint interests developed by the parties.

My research respecting children's visual media of the ICBL reinforces theory about the implicit knowledge domain and its potential role in conflict resolution, using a visual culture approach. The ICBL study shows links between:

- 1) *Implicit Knowledge*: Creation, dissemination and contemplation of symbolic, humanitarian meta-messages from, or about, child victims of landmines, appears to result in social cohesion and parties' joint action to resolve issues;
- 2) *Perceptions and emotions*: Viewers' empathetic reaction to child victim's visual portrayal of their story and their humanitarian interests, causes them to lobby for state action;
- 3) *Changing Social Norms*: Rapidly evolving social norms toward a landmine ban and international treaty development, (exemplified by the treaty banning AP landmines); and
- 4) *Visual/spatial activities to stimulate integrated-brain and other thought processes*: recent neuroscience of vision shows that contemplation of visual media facilitates brain processes that, to varying degrees, access transcendent meaning, inform ethical perspectives and overcome anger, fear, and aggressive reactions.

Preliminary findings of this thesis suggest that an 'opening' in peace process political discourse to question the motives, operations and tools of war, may be created through children's participation, using their visual media. Experts in youth social movements, and ICBL research, identify humanitarian, democratic and social justice interests as children's

primary concerns related to the societal change. These interests may, or may not, be voiced by children and youth in peace processes. Great care must be taken in considering application of these very preliminary findings. This research, theoretical approaches and examples of visual media methods are presented as very early starting points in a fairly new area of research and methodology in conflict resolution. Substantial improvements and additions to theory and method are expected through further research, partnerships with children, implementation of children's participation rights of the CRC, and pilot projects for young people's participation in peace processes.

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APPENDIX ONE

Implications of Recent Findings in the Cognitive Science of Vision

For

For Conflict Resolution Theory

And

A Visual Culture Approach to Mediation

Implications of Recent Findings in the Cognitive Science of Vision
For Conflict Resolution Theory And For A Visual Culture Approach to Mediation

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1. The Role of Cognitive Theory in Approaches to Conflict Resolution

In this Appendix, I review the focus of 'traditional, Western' conflict resolution upon rational, problem solving approaches and explore implications of more recent neuroscience for this discipline. Current conflict resolution is largely founded in cognitive theory about dominance of the anger-generating limbic system in inter-brain conflict, as a primary cause of violent behaviour. There is a need to more systematically explore conflict resolution theory and methods that include and test implications of new cognitive science as it develops. I hope this work will encourage further research into a visual culture approach to conflict resolution, that bridges disciplines of conflict resolution, neuroscience of vision¹, educational psychology and visual anthropology. By cautiously examining and testing approaches founded in a wide range of cognitive science, relative to conflict resolution, our repertoire of effective practice may grow.

There are significant reasons for re-examining cognitive science as it relates to conflict resolution theory and method. 'Western' conflict resolution theory centres on brain and psychological sources of negative, aggressive behaviours. Aggression is said to stem from our crudest, 'reptilian brain' and parts of the 'mammalian' limbic system.² Use of the cerebral cortex, considered the seat of more highly evolved, rational thinking,³ was viewed

¹ Neuroscience is the study of the human nervous system, the brain, and the biological basis of consciousness, perception, memory, and learning. Recent findings in neuroscience of vision have significant implications for conflict resolution processes as detailed in this paper. See: <http://www.funderstanding.com/neuroscience.cfm>

² Edelman, Gerald. 1992. *Bright Air, Brilliant Fire: On the Matter of the Mind*. Basic Books. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.funderstanding.com/neuroscience.cfm> Edelman describes a 'triad' brain, consisting of: 1) the reptilian brain, controlling fundamental sensory motor functions; 2) the mammalian or limbic brain that controls emotions, memory, and biorhythms; and 3) neocortex or thought centre that controls cognition, reasoning, language, and higher intelligence. Unlike a computer, "the structure of the brain's neuron connections is loose, flexible, "webbed," overlapping, and redundant. It's impossible for such a system to function like a linear or parallel-processing computer. Instead, the brain is better described as a self-organizing system. The brain changes with use, throughout our lifetime. Mental concentration and effort alters the physical structure of the brain. Our nerve cells (neurons) are connected by branches called dendrites. There are about 10 billion neurons in the brain and about 1,000 trillion connections. The possible combinations of connections is about ten to the one-millionth power. As we use the brain, we strengthen certain patterns of connection, making each connection easier to create next time. This is how memory develops. . . When educators take neuroscience into account, they organize a curriculum around real experiences and integrated, "whole" ideas. Plus, they focus on instruction that promotes complex thinking and the "growth" of the brain. Neuroscience proponents advocate continued learning and intellectual development throughout adulthood." See also: Deporter, Bobbi. 1992. *Quantum Learning*. Dell Trade. Chapter 2. See also: Caine, Renate and Geoffrey Caine. *Making Connections: Teaching and the Human Brain*. See also: Robert Sylwester. 1993. "What the Biology of the Brain Tells Us About Learning." In *Education Leadership*. December, 1993.

³ Hildegard, E.R., R.L Atkinson, and R.C Atkinson. 1979. *Introduction to Psychology*. 7th Edition. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. The cerebral cortex is described as " more highly developed than any other organism," by Hildegard *et al.* Sandole suggests that, "we might expect human behaviour to be more governed by the cerebral cortex than by the

as best way to overcome aggression initiated in the two ‘lower-evolved’ brain areas. The result has been a conflict resolution theory that focuses on analytical processes, *realpolitik* negotiation, problem solving and verbal discourse. Recent scientific studies show, for example, that contemplative practice and associated integrated brain processes, may override impulses of fear and aggression. This is worthy of further conflict resolution research to develop new knowledge and tools. Increased interchange between experts in cognitive science and conflict resolution would be beneficial. Joint research to develop a visual culture approach may result in utilization of a broader repertoire of brain processes used in conflict resolution that may improve performance, particularly for value-laden conflict.

1.1 The Implicit Knowledge Gap in Problem-solving Dispute Resolution

Western theory and practice in conflict resolution focuses upon rational fact-finding, analytical problem solving, and verbal or textual discourse. This leaves a gap respecting social-psychological approaches, visual media, and creative methods of reframing worldviews employing thought processes such as integrated-brain networking. The following summary of the three main approaches to ‘Western’ conflict resolution⁴ portray this gap:

- 1) *Material / Analytical Approach*: a) Conflict is defined in terms of competing interests over an issue, such as scarce resources; b) This approach involves analytical brain processes, suppression of emotions, and explicit information: including, problem-solving, rational analysis, and controlling emotions by ‘separating the people from the problem;’
- 2) *Social/ Relational Approach*: a) Conflict is defined in terms of poor communication, competitive relations, power imbalance and dysfunctional social structures; b) This approach involves analytical brain processes, needs assessment; controlled emotions, and explicit information: including improving parties’ communications skills; moving toward cooperative relationships; addressing power imbalances and developing social structures to meet people’s needs; and
- 3) *Symbolic / Perceptual*: a) Conflict defined in terms of differing cultures, worldviews and perceptions; b) This approach involves analytical brain processes, limited emotional

reptilian and limbic brains.” See Sandole, Dennis J. 1993. “Paradigm, theories and metaphors in conflict and conflict resolution: Coherence or confusion?” In *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and application*. 9. Sandole, Dennis J. and Hugo van der Merwe, eds. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

⁴ Schirch, Lisa. 1999. *Ritual and Conflict: Creating Contexts Conducive to Transformation*. PhD dissertation. Fairfax, Virginia: Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University. Pp. 13.

expression, and explicit information to change parties' perceptions about the conflict, their identity and their relations with the 'other.' Verbal, but also written, symbolic 'frames' are used for talking about the problem, using myth, metaphor and ritual.⁵

Western problem solving approaches are similar to those employed in conflict resolution, and are described by Cragan and Shields as relational, rational and symbolic.⁶ Analytical, propositional-calculus reasoning is emphasized in all three types of conflict management as a way of generating common ways of thinking and understanding. This approach to conflict resolution was involved in methods called 'controlled communication' by Burton,⁷ 'third party consultation' by Fisher⁸ 'interactive problem solving' by Kelman⁹ and 'interactive conflict resolution' by Fisher.¹⁰

Marieke Kleiboer also views international mediation as an 'analytical repertoire,' being either 'power-brokering' and positivistic, or 'post-positivistic' but still analytical of intentions, interpretations and judgements. Kleiboer presents four mediation models: 1) *Power-brokerage*: where conflict over scarce resources is the main feature of international relations and conflict resolution involves tough negotiations where an effective mediator must wield power; 2) *Political problem solving*: where conflict is 'socially constructed,' largely through distrust among political and bureaucratic actors and may be resolved through mediator-led analytical problem solving using information and communication skills;

⁵ Some more recent aspects of the symbolic/ perceptual approach innovatively address differing views of the parties. However, these exercises primarily focus on explicit, verbal narrative and therefore continue the tradition of activities related to semantic, analytical brain processes.

⁶ Cragan and Shields, 1995. *Symbolic theories in applied communication research*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press. Pp. 20.

⁷ Burton, J.W. 1969. *Conflict and communication: Controlled communication in international relations*. London: Macmillan. See also: Burton, J.W. 1990. *Conflict: resolution and prevention*. New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press. See also: Burton, J.W. and F. Dukes. 1990. *Conflict practices in management, settlement and resolution*. New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press.

⁸Fisher, R. and W. Ury. 1981. *Getting to Yes*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. See also: Fisher, R. and S. Brown. 1989. *Getting Together*. London: Penguin Books. See also: Fisher, R. 1997. *Interactive conflict resolution*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press. Fisher, R. & Ury, W. 1996. See also: *Getting to yes*. London: Business Books.

⁹Kelman, Herbert C. 1997. "Interactive Problem Solving", in Fisher, Ronald J., ed. *Interactive Conflict Resolution*, Syracuse University Press. Pp. 56-74. See also: Kelman, Herbert C. 1991. "Interactive Problem Solving: The Uses and Limits of a Therapeutic Model for the Resolution of International Conflicts." In *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships*. Vol. II. Volka, Julius, & Montville, eds. Mass.: Lexington Books. Pp. 145-160. See also: Kelman, Herbert C. 1996. "The Interactive Problem Solving Approach." In Crocker et al, *Managing Global Chaos*. Washington D.C.: US Institute of Peace Press. Pp. 501-519. See also: Kelman, Herbert C. 1997. "Social-Psychological Dimensions of International Conflict." In *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*. Zartman, I. William, and J. Lewis Rasmussen, eds. Washington D.C.: US Institute of Peace Press. Pp.192.

¹⁰ Kelman, Herbert C. 1997. "Social-Psychological Dimensions of International Conflict." In *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*. Zartman, I. William, and J. Lewis Rasmussen, eds. Washington D.C.: US Institute of Peace Press. Pp.192.

3) *Domination*: where conflict stems from capitalism's structural inequities and mediators are viewed as part of the domination problem as exploited groups seek emancipation; and
4) *Restructuring relationships*: where socially constructed conflict occurs through institutions that do not meet people's needs, and mediators analyse problems and help the marginalized seek social justice.¹¹

According to Avruch and Black, "problem-solving depends on *analytical techniques that – on the assumption that people everywhere reason the same way – render cultural differences ultimately trivial.*"¹² However, Hamill compares two basic forms of logical reasoning in a variety of cultures and finds this assumption to be untrue. Propositional logical reasoning, or analysis, he asserts, is very different across cultures, due to semantic barriers to common meaning-making.¹³ Similarly, Ara Norenzayan, Edward E. Smith, Beom Jun Kim and Richard E. Nisbett found that "European Americans, more than Chinese and Koreans, set aside intuition in favour of formal reasoning. Conversely, Chinese and Koreans relied on intuitive strategies more than European Americans. Asian Americans' . . . reasoning was either identical to that of European Americans, or intermediate."¹⁴

Jurgen Habermas claims that societal tensions have intensified in the Realpolitik era, due to 'automatic' scientific advances in nuclear weaponry. The 'unplanned socio-cultural consequences of technological process,' states Habermas, have resulted in a need for society to "learn not merely to affect its social destiny, but to control it. . . [through] politically effective discussion that. . . brings . . . technical knowledge . . . into a defined and controlled

¹¹ Kleiboer, Marieke. 1998. *The Multiple Realities of International Mediation*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. Pp. 186,187.

¹² Avruch, K and Peter W. Black. 1993. "Conflict Resolution in Intercultural Settings: Problems and Prospects." In *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application*. Sandole, Dennis J. and Hugo van der Merne. New York: St. Martin's Press. Pp. 140, 141. (Italics mine)

¹³ Hamill, J. F. 1990. *Ethno-logic. The anthropology of Human reasoning*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press. P. 104. "Propositional patterns vary with language and culture because the semantic elements of the arguments mean different things in different settings. Semantic differences. . . have. . . linguistic and cultural sources." This appears to bourn out in mediation of intractable, inter-cultural conflicts, where resolution of one issue is inevitably followed by many others.

¹⁴ Norenzayan Ara, Edward E. Smith, Beom Jun Kim and Richard E. Nisbett. 2002. "Cultural Preferences for formal versus intuitive reasoning." In *Cognitive Science Society*. Vol. 26, No. 5. September – October 2002. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.cognitivesciencesociety.org/abstract/02norenzayan.html> The scientists examined cultural preferences for formal versus intuitive reasoning among East Asian (Chinese and Korean), Asian American, and European American university students. They investigated categorization (studies 1 and 2), conceptual structure (study 3), and deductive reasoning (studies 3 and 4). In each study a cognitive conflict was activated between formal and intuitive strategies of reasoning.

relation to our practical knowledge and will.”¹⁵ Similarly, Hans Freyer and Helmut Schelsky also describe technology is an ‘independent’ and ‘often harmful force’ with negative social impacts resulting from a lack of human ethical guidance.¹⁶ Our relatively minute investment in conflict resolution, compared to that devoted to war-related science and technology, is evidence of our ongoing realpolitik stance.

Jack Donnelly sees an ethics and human rights hegemony replacing realpolitik, which he views as “problematic. . .it is unclear, to say the least, why the interests of one’s own group ought to count as an over-riding ethical principle in dealing with others. . .contemporary international society has, in substantial measure defined . . . a life of dignity in terms of respect for international human rights. . .the current hegemony of human rights and the liberal democratic welfare state owes more to the normative power of this vision than to the economic and military power of the states that support it.”¹⁷ Donnelly asserts that a realist ‘distinction between morality and the national interest’ is less important. International intervention is justified where “the inter-national community acts to protect sub-national communities from a government that punishes them for their difference. . .”¹⁸ Donnelly’s call for a ‘human rights hegemony’ supports a rights-based, normative and visual culture approach to conflict resolution in value-laden conflict. Conflict resolution theory and methods proposed in this thesis support such an approach. However, realpolitik approaches are still essential and cannot be substantially reduced while terrorism, anarchy and war remain a prominent part of global society. The next section outlines new cognitive science

¹⁵ Habermas, Jurgen. 1990. “Technical Progress and the Social Life-World.” In *Technology as a Human Affair*. Larry A. Hickman, ed. New York, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. Pp. 467. Habermas asserts, “The tensions that Marx diagnosed and whose explosive character has intensified in an unforeseen manner in the age of thermonuclear weapons, are the consequence of an ironic relation of theory to practice. The direction of technical progress today is still largely determined today by social interests that arise autochthonously out of the compulsion of the reproduction of social life without being reflected upon and confronted with the declared political self-understanding of social groups.”

¹⁶ Habermas, Jurgen. 1990. “Technical Progress and the Social Life-World.” In *Technology as a Human Affair*. Larry A. Hickman, ed. New York, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. Pp. 466. Habermas refers to Schelsky, who claims, “political norms and laws are replaced by objective exigencies of scientific-technical civilizations, which are not posited as political decisions and cannot be understood as norms of conviction or weltanschauung. Hence the idea of democracy loses its classical substance, so to speak. In the place of the political will of the people emerges an objective exigency, which man himself produces as science and labour.”

¹⁷ Donnelly, Jack. 2001. “Ethics and International Human Rights.” In *Ethics and International Affairs: extent and limits*. Coicaud, Jean-Marc and Daniel Warner, eds. New York, NY: United Nations University Press. Pp. 154.

¹⁸ Donnelly, Jack. 2001. “Ethics and International Human Rights.” In *Ethics and International Affairs: extent and limits*. Coicaud, Jean-Marc and Daniel Warner, eds. New York, NY: United Nations University Press, 154.

fundamental to conflict resolution, that appears to help insert humanitarian discourse into the parties' realpolitik discourse, as a first step in an ethics and human rights approach.

2. Cognitive Science and Its Impact on Conflict Resolution Theory

Psychologists see crucial links between brain functioning, conflict behaviour, and conflict resolution: "one of the keys to understanding of conflict between individuals, groups or nations lies here in our understanding of the dynamics of cognitive systems. Without an understanding, we will not know well how to educate, how to persuade, nor how to resolve conflict."¹⁹ Yet, only recently, through magnetic imaging such as fMRI,²⁰ have neuroscientists been able to identify areas and processes of the brain that are active during different types of thought and behaviour. This presents the possibility of large increases in our understanding of brain dynamics and human behaviour as they relate to conflict and peace processes. To provide a context for considering the impact of new cognitive science in conflict resolution theory, I will briefly review the previous realist approaches to this theory. These focused on logical analysis, linguistics, and the limbic system as a key source of aggressive behaviour. Dennis Sandole's study of physiological theory and research in conflict resolution during the age of *Realpolitik* is the source of much of this review of cognitive science in the positivist era.²¹

MacLean's saw the human 'triune brain' as consisting of three parts from different phylogenetic evolutionary stages: the primitive, 'reptilian' brain, the more evolved, mammalian 'limbic system' and the highly evolved 'cerebral cortex.'²² MacLean theorized,

¹⁹ Pelton, Leroy H. 1974. *The Psychology of Non-violence*. Goldstein, Arnold P. and Leonard Kranser, eds. (SUNY). Elmsford, N.Y.: Pergammon Press Ltd. Pp. 49.

²⁰ Wilson, Robert A. and Frank Keils, eds. 1999. *The MIT Encyclopedia of Cognitive Sciences*. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Bradford Books. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://cognet.mit.edu/MITECS/Entry/colby.html> The authors state, "Magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) is based on the phenomenon of nuclear magnetic resonance (NMR), first described in landmark papers over fifty years ago. (Rabi et al. 1938; Rabi, Millman, and Kusch 1939; Purcell et al. 1945; Bloch, Hansen, and Packard 1946). In the presence of an external magnetic field, atomic nuclei with magnetic moments. . . encounter a separation in the energy levels of their quantum mechanically allowed orientations relative to the external field. Transitions between these orientations can be induced with electromagnetic radiation typically in the radio-frequency range. . . Based on the ability to obtain discrete resonances sensitive to the chemical environment, MRI has evolved rapidly to become an indispensable tool in chemical and biological research focused on molecular composition, structure, and dynamics."

²¹ Sandole, Dennis J. 1993. "Paradigm, theories and metaphors in conflict and conflict resolution: Coherence or confusion?" *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and application*. Sandole, Dennis J. and Hugo van der Merwe, eds. Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press. Pp.9 – 13.

²² MacLean, Paul. 1975. "On the evolution of three mentalities." In *Education and the Brain: 77th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

supported by Restak,²³ that animals exhibit paleo-psychic processes characteristic of ancient behaviours humans have inherited through evolution. Hildegard, Atkinson and Atkinson also observed that stimulation of the hypothalamus in the reptilian brain, and the amygdala in the limbic system, resulted in hostile or attack-preparation behaviours in animals,²⁴ processes that they thought were also likely inherited by humans.

All three brains were said by MacLean to operate in any situation. However, Restak noted that if perceptions of the three brains are substantially different in a particular situation, those of two brains may experience 'inter-brain conflict,' and be reconciled by the third brain.²⁵ MacLean's term "schizo-physiology" denoted the conflict he believed would occur between the limbic system's generation of feelings and the neocortical brain's generation of thought. Referring to theorized dominance of the limbic brain in interbrain conflict, Sandole observed, "MacLean may have provided a physiological basis for Spinoza's theory that violence is the result of reason being overwhelmed by passion. . . actors may 'feel' strongly about something but be completely in error."²⁶ Western conflict resolution theory during the 'Realpolitik,' and present era, is largely based on the premise.

Sandole, notes, that "under stress, reptilian and limbic 'rationality' may not be under the control of what 'common sense' might dictate, [or] neocortical 'rationality.'"²⁷ Sandole describes Arthur Koestler as 'reconfiguring' MacLean's work to make it compatible with *Realpolitik*. Sandole observes Koestler's concept of a "fatal engineering error built into . . . our nervous system,"²⁸ as schizo-physiology. Koestler's theory portrays humans as having a basic need to identify with an entity, such as a tribe. Koestler suggests that this may result in 'violent emotions,' 'surrender of responsibility' and 'ruthless cruelty towards the enemy or victim on behalf of [the entity].' Sandole describes Koestler's theory as "render[ing] . . .

²³ Restak, R. M. 1979. *The Brain: The Last Frontier*. New York, N.Y.: Garden City, Doubleday. Pp.36.

²⁴ Hildegard, E.R., R.L. Atkinson, and R.C. Atkinson. 1979. *Introduction to Psychology. 7th Edition*. New York, N.Y.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. Pp. 321.

²⁵ Restak, R. M. 1979. *The Brain: The Last Frontier*. New York, N.Y.: Garden City: Doubleday. Pp.51.

²⁶ Sandole, Dennis J. 1993. "Paradigm, theories and metaphors in conflict and conflict resolution: Coherence or confusion?" In *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and application*. Sandole, Dennis J. and Hugo van der Merwe, eds. Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press. See also MacLean, Paul. 1975. "On the evolution of three mentalities." In *Education and the Brain: 77th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 9.

²⁷ Sandole, Dennis J. 1993. "Paradigm, theories and metaphors in conflict and conflict resolution: Coherence or confusion?" In *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and application*. Sandole, Dennis J. and Hugo van der Merwe, eds. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press. Pp. 9.

²⁸ Koestler, Arthur. 1967. *The Ghost in the Machine*. New York, N.Y.: Macmillan. Pp. 10.

[MacLean's] work as compatible with Realpolitik. . .[and] encourag[ing] its use by Realists *as evidence* that their assumption of a violence-prone, flawed human nature, is valid."²⁹

Aggressive norms of behaviour are also theorized to be reinforced by the violent removal of a 'fake' threat that appears to be a real threat, but is actually a misperception due to limbic system dominance. In another misperception, 'where the limbic system dominates the neocortical brain,' Sandole asserts that the dissonance between preferred and actual situations may also stimulate violent behaviour. The limbic system is also seen by Sandole to play a role in Galtung's theory of structural violence, where marginalized groups in society cannot 'close the gap' between their subsistence level, and groups at middle or elite levels. They also have no decision-making power relative to resource allocation.³⁰ While structural violence is often not perceived by its victims, when it becomes acutely known to them, Sandole suggests that, "the limbic system may, indeed, become exercised, predisposing actors toward violent reactions against those. . .who have been opposing them."³¹ It appears that the limbic system is thought responsible for a violence in a wide variety of settings.

As Sandole correctly points out, this science is largely supported, and supports, ideals and systems of *realpolitik*. Overall, *realpolitik* is, Sandole suggests, "perhaps a limbic-dominated framework."³² Conflict resolution theorists are, according to Sandole, to be identified with *idealpolitik*, due to their emphasis on rationality, learning and problem-solving, and their belief that 'what is learned can be unlearned.' However, I suggest that conflict resolution's emphasis upon 'limbic-dominated, aggression,' and violent behaviour due to misperception and dissonance, may also reveal a *realpolitik* focus the inevitability of violence. In the next section, I study problems of post-modern conflict and the need for a mediated discourse, informed by ethics, to resolve complex, intertwining global and local issues. I also review recent cognitive science that shows how limbic, and other brain

²⁹ Sandole, Dennis J. 1993. "Paradigm, theories and metaphors in conflict and conflict resolution: Coherence or confusion?" In *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and application*. Sandole, Dennis J. and Hugo van der Merwe, eds. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press. Pp. 10.

³⁰ Galtung, J. 1964. "A Structural Theory of Aggression." In *Journal of Peace Research*. 6. Pp. 171.

³¹ Sandole, Dennis J. 1993. "Paradigm, theories and metaphors in conflict and conflict resolution: Coherence or confusion?" In *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and application*. Sandole, Dennis J. and Hugo van der Merwe, eds. Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press. Pp. 12

³² Sandole, Dennis J. 1993. "Paradigm, theories and metaphors in conflict and conflict resolution: Coherence or confusion?" In *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and application*. Sandole, Dennis J. and Hugo van der Merwe, eds. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press. Pp. 10.

systems, can be trained to suppress aggressive impulses and access higher ethical meaning through contemplative practice. While this research is of an exploratory nature, tentative approaches to conflict resolution theory and method, based on this new cognitive science are considered in later sections.

3. **A Visual and Normative Discourse Needed to Resolve Postmodern Conflict**

Traditional approaches to current conflicts are often unworkable because of highly complex, value-based problems of post-modern society. These problems have global reach, are often multi-cultural in nature, develop rapidly and may be intractable, with a long history. The intertwining of normative and practical dilemmas at the local and global levels can make it difficult to establish appropriate ethical approaches and methods for resolving such conflict. Existing legal frameworks are often found to be jurisdictionally inadequate, 'obsolete' or impractical. Morally and socially approved methods that are effective domestically, may, at the global level, be subject to untenable increases in 'order of magnitude' of decisions, their moral dimensions, risk of unwanted or unintended effects, and negative impacts on stakeholders. There is also occasional lack of clarity about the identity of 'victims' and 'perpetrators,' particularly in intractable disputes. At the local level, many different ethnic or interest groups have overlapping, long term, culturally justified, disparate and legitimate claims to dwindling resources. These problems are vexed by a 'global governance gap', and a domestic 'participatory gap,'³³ where "a growing number of public policy issues can no longer be effectively addressed in existing institutional frameworks."³⁴

Heather Bromber's tenets of the 'post-modern crisis of representation' help explain why an ethically-informed discourse that mediates values is increasingly needed to solve conflict, rather than realpolitik and authoritarian approaches: "1) [There is] No such thing as objectivity; 2) Scienc[tific] approach[es] to humanity are impossible, because we are after meaning and not causes – thus interpretive rather than explanatory; 3) Search for universals ignores cultural diversity; 4) [There is] No such thing as truth, only relations of power – who gets to speak for whom?; 5) Participant observation doesn't work, because cannot be both subjective and objective; 6) Culture is not place-bound, nor is it seamless. It is ideas

³³ Renicke, Wolfgang. H. and Francis Deng. 2000. *Critical Choices: The United Nations, networks and the future of Global Governance*. Ottawa, Ont.: IDRC. Pp. 9.

³⁴ Renicke, Wolfgang. H. and Francis Deng. 2000. *Critical Choices: The United Nations, networks and the future of Global Governance*. Ottawa, Ont.: IDRC. Pp.9.

and experiences of people that move all over the planet; 7) Traditional ethnography was exclusionary –[it] missed “silent” and ignored subgroups like women and ethnic groups; and 8) Ethnography was in service to the colonial powers, and in more modern times in service to trans-national corporations.”³⁵

A mediated discourse often appears to be a more effective method for resolving conflict than *realpolitik* problem solving or ‘rules’ based on science and authority. Yet it is difficult to modify institutions of society to take an alternative approach to conflict. Jürgen Habermas wonders how the ‘legitimacy of rules’ can be changed by a lawgiver. He notes that “this question becomes especially acute in pluralistic societies in which comprehensive worldviews and collectively binding ethics have disintegrated, societies in which the surviving post-traditional morality of conscience no longer supplies a substitute for natural law that was once grounded in religion or metaphysics.”³⁶ At the international level, Renicek and Deng observe an equally ‘acute participatory gap’ where mediation of global issues is needed. Habermas suggests that the answer is ‘democratic procedures for the production of law,’ which are the only ‘post-metaphysical’ source of legitimacy. He observes that growing “structural similarities between law and communicative action explain why discourses, and . . . reflexive forms of communicative action, play a constitutive role for the production (and application) of legal norms.”³⁷ A ‘discursive or deliberative model,’ where the legal community ‘constitutes itself on the basis of a discursively achieved agreement’ is proposed. Such a mediated discourse about norms is also needed in value-based conflict.

I suggest that visual culture is a highly significant discourse that continually mediates, establishes, confirms and communicates consensus and emerging norms in post-modern, multi-cultural society. At present, the lion’s share of this media serves ‘private’ interests, rather than being a public good. Television news and other visual media such as the Internet, play a very influential, but informal, role in the growing ‘discursive’ model of norm

³⁵ Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University. 2001. *Theory and Methodology: Lecture 15, January 14, 2001: Reclaiming Scientific Anthropology*. Available on the World Wide Web: www.neurognosis.com Summarizing points made by Heather Bromber.

³⁶ Habermas, Jürgen. 1999. *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. Translated by William Rehg. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. Pp. 448.

³⁷ Habermas, Jürgen. 1999. *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. Translated by William Rehg. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. Pp. 449.

formation that Habermas observes. However, as this discursive aspect of societal norm-formation grows, there is increasing need for a larger, and possibly more formal and participatory, visual discourse that is in the public interest at the domestic and international level. Renicke and Deng observe, “there is no global public space in which substantive discussion of trans-national challenges can effectively take place and be acted upon in an open and participatory fashion.”³⁸ Visual discourse presented to citizens, and in which they participate, focuses on commercial content and may be unbalanced respecting public interest. This is likely to have negative repercussions for peace process and conflict resolution discourse. While visual discourse retains some limited elements of ‘public good’, it is afforded declining protection and support in the ‘West.’ According to John D. Peters, public discourse has dwindled and developed “tragic flaws.”³⁹ Commercial media are increasingly privatized and concentrated. They focus on profit making through ‘sensational coverage’ of crises, with emotionally gripping stories, horrific imagery, and escalating tension and violence. In the limited world of prime time media, this largely replaces public discourse which may promote tolerance and non-violence. News medias’ management of crises for profit is examined by Bruck. This practice is described as ‘spectacularization’ that needs ‘material that can be turned into crises.’⁴⁰ When reporting exaggerates crises, it appears to reduce opportunities for conflict resolution. A factual, but de-escalating approach would be much more beneficial to conflict resolution and peace processes. Commercial discourse rarely has participation from children, or marginalized groups, that would more completely inform discourse, expand the range of interests covered and contribute to conflict resolution.

The challenge is to consciously develop techniques and ethics for visual discourse processes in the public good, including children’s participation, as part of formal discursive models. Public conflict resolution and state peace processes are suitable candidates for a visual culture approach to discourse. Conflict resolution, as a discursive model, should retain the capacity to promote formation of new, overarching cultural messages and norms. These would not necessarily replace other norms or values, but act as a bridge or overarching

³⁸ Renicke, Wolfgang. H. and Francis Deng. 2000. *Critical Choices: The United Nations, networks and the future of Global Governance*. Ottawa, Ont.: IDRC. Pp.9.

³⁹ Peters, John Durham. 1999. “Public Journalism and Democratic Theory: Four Challenges.” In *The Idea of Public Journalism*. New York, N.Y.: Guilford Press. Pp.115.

⁴⁰ Bruck, Peter A. 1992. “Crisis as Spectacle Media.” In *Media, Crisis and Democracy: Mass Communications and the Disruption o Social Order*. Marc Baboy and Bernard Dagenais, eds. London, U.K.: Sage Publications. Pp. 102.

agent to cultural, regional, and other forms of diversity. I suggest that visual media creation, dissemination and consumption stemming from conflict resolution and peace processes, could be instrumental in this bridging function. The parties involved could disseminate peace process visual media to the public to provide more balanced viewpoints within society's larger processes of visual cultural transmission.

3.1 Using Implicit Knowledge & Visual Media in Hermeneutic Reframing of Worldviews

In this section, I emphasize aspects of cognitive science that are largely overlooked in positivist conflict resolution theory. These are associated with the reframing of worldviews to develop more harmonious relations between conflicting parties in a diverse, globally connected society. I begin with theory related to visual media processes that support formulation of the new, overarching norms for multicultural societies. Examples by Tillich, Gandhi, and Geertz are reviewed. I then examine the way in which reframing of concepts, a valued skill in conflict resolution, appears to be facilitated by visual media creation and contemplation. Reframing appears to be associated with a form of thinking called 'integrated-brain processing' that occurs during visual / spatial activities. I examine recent neuroscience respecting integrated-brain and other forms of brain processing that are linked to visual media creation and contemplation. This science informs my development of theory and methods for visual media exercises as a means for children's participation in peace processes. These exercises incorporate the use of visual media creation, dissemination and consumption, and expression of conflict experiences, to explore the reality behind concepts of 'self' and the 'other,' and discovery of common interests among the parties. At later stages of peace process mediation, visual media exercises are suggested to support the parties' formation of joint meta-messages and super-ordinate goals.

'Western,' analytical, problem-solving dispute resolution addresses explicit knowledge relating to the conflict, and largely omits the domain of implicit, normative and ethical knowledge.⁴¹ In conflict resolution, this domain involves perceptions, emotions, needs and

⁴¹ Many experts observe a gap in knowledge of techniques that may be used to transform contentious positions and values of parties to mutual interests and goals. This knowledge is essential to resolving conflict, as Galtung observes: "often those who wish to prevent war most desperately and sincerely lack the means to do so. A lack of means has two aspects: lack of ideas and lack of instruments." (Galtung, 1980). Galtung also asserts that, "during international crises. . . there is a general scarcity of good ideas." (Galtung, 1980). See *The True Worlds: A Trans-national Perspective*. New York, N.Y.: The Free Press. Pp. 359. A rapidly increasing number of disputes involve values and interests, particularly in intra-state conflict, where "it is impossible to establish that one side is entirely right and the other totally wrong . . . [these disputes] are more

values relating to identity, relationship, security, and interests. These three elements: the implicit knowledge domain, integrated brain processes and visual media, are linked as products, processes and tools used in reframing worldviews. Strong functional links between visual culture, thought processing, and accessing and disseminating ethical information, is pivotal to conflict resolution in this domain of social and normative knowledge. Cognitive science can assist us in understanding and strengthening these elements and their links. As best brain performance in the implicit knowledge domain appears to be facilitated by visual / spatial tasks, I propose that the use of visual media tools to: 1) Access and comprehend ethical knowledge; 2) Explore, ascertain and reframe interests to find overlaps and develop consensus about joint actions and principles; 3) Create a new vision for improved society, based on a 'constructed' and integrated 'theory of the present,' rather than extrapolating from the conflicted, divisive past; and 4) Communicate joint action plans and common meta-messages to larger constituencies through joint symbol systems embodying shared ethical knowledge or interests developed by the parties.

Paul Tillich rejects democratic scientific rationalism as a means of solving value-laden conflict and creating a just society. Tillich differs from most socialists in suggesting that the people's struggle is cultural as well as economic. Like Geertz, he observes people's sense of concern about 'what is' and 'what ought to be.' Tillich claims that scientific "reason exacerbate(s) conflict in society, leading to revolution."⁴² Social science studies, he asserts, objectify people and allow them to be controlled by the state, according to 'scientifically determined laws.' He sees the social science approach as lacking true community involvement and omitting the implicit knowledge that is essential to a positive, future communal path for society.

In Tillich's view, the 'bourgeois Enlightenment' that promised freedom is, ironically, isolating people from the very sources of human life and origin that would transform society towards the utopian ideal. Social and religious practices that employ many powerful tools of implicit knowledge are ignored by the state or lost due to a separation of religious and

difficult to resolve." Fischer, Dietrich. 1993. *Non-military Aspects of Security: A Systems Approach*. United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research. Aldershot, England: Dartmouth Publishing Co. Ltd. The UNIDR describes our ease in solving disputes over facts or measurable resources: "it is relatively easy to settle the conflict by simply establishing the truth, through a scientific or legal enquiry." [Ibid. Pp. 112]

⁴² Baum, Gregory. 2001. *Nationalism, Religion and Ethics*. Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press. Pp.79.

secular matters. This loss “estranges people from their emotion, their imagination, their bodies, their community, and the profound aspiration to transcend their material concerns.”

⁴³ Tillich advocates for greater use of the powers of origin and tools of implicit knowledge to realize justice and a more humane society. A ‘myth of origin’ is, he asserts, the source of cultural identification, including love and sacrifice related to family, a regional environment and culture, and an ethical tradition. However, implicit knowledge and powers of myth should be restrained by a universal ethic and must evolve to some degree. The restraint of myth by common ethics, and evolution of myth to keep pace with the times is necessary, Tillich states, so that one cultural group cannot impose its ‘mythic superiority’ over another.

To deal with conflict and change, Tillich recommends an attitude of expectancy, and application of implicit knowledge associated with powers of artistic imagination, community and passion. Tillich observes that, despite rationalist assertions that history can predict future human, and societal, behaviour with accuracy, scientists are open to the possibility of unanticipated changes in historical patterns. Examples are ‘paradigm shifts.’ Tillich speaks of a ‘kairos’ or ‘breaking in’ of the infinite into the world of man. This ‘expectancy,’ or acknowledgment of the indeterminate character of history, together with the ability of people to transcend current and historical circumstances with unexpected, new behaviours and art, is very important to Tillich. He describes it as inherent in Jewish and Christian traditions, where God’s grace undertakes marvellous works that save people from their ‘predictable path’ of conflict.

The potential for ‘positive breakthrough’ is found in the Jewish practice of Tikkun. James DeFrancisco says, “we have the potential in each moment through our choices and interactions to do spiritual work & endash; . . .healing our souls and the souls of others while drawing closer to God. . . Tikkun ha olam is mending the world. We can mend ourselves and others in many ways. Keeping the commandments, acts of loving kindness, prayer, forgiveness, peacemaking, study of Holy Scripture, contemplation, meditation, thanksgiving, and awareness are some of them.” ⁴⁴ Tillich indicates that the expectancy that ethical values will be effective in society, must be expressed as a community vision. Gregory Baum

⁴³ Baum, Gregory. 2001. *Nationalism, Religion and Ethics*. Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen’s University Press. Pp.71.

⁴⁴ DeFrancisco, James J. 2003. *The "Kabbalah: On The Practical Essence of Tikkun*. Available from the World Wide Web: <http://www.metamind.net/kabbalah.html>

describes this vision as “embody[ing] communal values, dreams and passions of working people, linked to powers of origin.”⁴⁵

Tillich believes that logical analysis laid bare, but could not address, “the presence of something unconditional within the self and the world;” or, “an awareness of the infinite [that] is included in man's awareness of finitude.”⁴⁶ Tillich sees symbols as the means to express the ‘divine’ and inform society of ethics. He views modern, post-World War artists as agents who strip away distortions to reveal ultimate reality. This art demands social justice, portraying repressed truth, such as structural oppression and victimization. To Tillich, modern art provides a backdrop for the ‘beautiful and true,’ ‘against which the divine images are projected.’ Tillich appears to realize that a critical role of visual media within society is to point out problems of social justice, and to connect the artist and viewer to the transcendent meaning needed to deal ethically with societal problems:

“The manifestation of this ground and abyss of being and meaning creates what modern theology calls ‘the experience of the numinous’ . . . The same experience can occur, and occurs for the large majority of men, in connection with the impression some persons, historical or natural events, objects, words, pictures, tunes, dreams, etc. make on the human soul, creating the *feeling of the holy*.... *In such experiences religion lives and tries to maintain the presence of, and community with, this divine depth of our existence. But since it is ‘inaccessible’ to any objectifying concept it must be expressed in symbols.*”⁴⁷

Tillich makes important contributions to my theory respecting the instrumental role of visual media in conflict resolution and disarmament discourse. The instrumentality of visual media is apparent in the International Campaign to Ban Landmines. Children’s personal illustrations of landmine tragedy, and their visual articulation of a desire for peace, seem to motivate many viewers to call for ethical action in the form of a new social norm: an international ban of AP mines. Tillich sees visual media as a key vehicle for evolving ‘founding cultural myth,’ to fit a changing world. This, I believe, includes new norm formation tied to the experience of youth. For Tillich states, evolution of myth is based on

⁴⁵ Baum, Gregory. 2001. *Nationalism, Religion and Ethics*. Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen’s University Press. Pp.82. Tillich was a Protestant theologian and social justice advocate. He also cautions that civil strife and nationalistic aggression may stem from political movements, where they are sourced only in the myth of origin.

⁴⁶Tillich, Paul. *Systematic Theology Volume 1*. Chicago: University of Chicago. Page 206. Source: Henderson, Jr. Charles P. 1986. “Theism Rewritten for an Age of Science.” In *God and Science: the death and rebirth of theism*. Louisville, Ky.: John Knox Press. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.crosscurrents.org/Tillich.htm#N_37

⁴⁷ Tillich, Paul. *Theology of Culture*. In Henderson, Charles P. Jr. 1986, “Theism Rewritten for an Age of Science.” In *God and Science: the death and rebirth of theism*. Louisville, KY.: John Knox Press. Pp. 130 – 13. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.crosscurrents.org/Tillich.htm#N_37 (Italics are mine.)

the new experience of each generation: “ We cannot look at our world as if it was the familiar one from which our generation came. For the younger generation the present arts are not unfamiliar. They know that contemporary art is more adequate to the world that has been transformed by the sciences and by technological processes. . . .”⁴⁸ Tillich’s theory of evolving norms through the art of each younger generation, gives significance to my visual culture approach to children’s participation in peace processes. This may be particularly effective for value-laden conflict, where development of new, or common, norms is needed. Tillich’s theory also emphasizes the importance that children’s visual media exercises may play in peace processes. Visual media of children and youth, who are less indoctrinated in ‘tradition,’ contributes the more contemporary experience and ideals of youth, to the evolution of societal norms.⁴⁹ Tillich observes that societal coping with change and evolving norms, involves artists, especially the young, who embody an ‘attitude of expectancy’ in their visual media.⁵⁰

Tillich’s concepts are transferable to many aspects of conflict resolution and peace processes. For example, when the parties have developed some joint peace-building goals, attitudes of positive expectancy may be encouraged, expressed and disseminated to larger constituencies, through joint construction of visual media. Banners, murals, videos and other media created by stakeholder groups, or their agents, may portray a united community migration from the real, or ‘the conflict that is,’ to the ideal, or ‘the peaceful relations that ought to be.’ Tillich asserts that visual media is a tool that helps us face the harshness of reality, inform problems with an ethical viewpoint, engages us to cope with change, and is a vehicle for our future vision. The exposing, ethically informing, engaging, and motivating qualities that Tillich attributes to visual media are similar to Sobowale’s taxonomy of media effects, including visual media’s: 1) Distributing agency; 2) Magnifying agency; 3) Conflict-

⁴⁸ Tillich, Paul. 1987. *On Art and Architecture*. Translated by Robert P. Scharlemann. John Dillenberger and Jane Dillenberger, eds. New York NY: Crossroad Publishing. Pp.182 and 183.

⁴⁹ This is consistent with current use of implicit knowledge in business strategic development. A ‘theory of the present,’ is created as a proxy for forecasting, based on recent indicators. This takes the place of more traditional forecasting by extrapolation of past performance. Source: von Krogh, Georg, Kazuo Ichijo, and Ikujiro Nonaka. 2000. *Enabling Knowledge Creation: How to Unlock the Mystery of Tacit Knowledge and Release the Power of Innovation*. Oxford, Eng.: Oxford University Press. Pp. 69 – 99.

⁵⁰ Tillich notes that ‘expectancy’ of divine intervention, is not exclusive to Christianity but may also be found in other traditions. However Tillich provides a caveat that successful employment of the ‘myth of origin’ must be governed by universal ethical principles.

defusing agency; and 4) 'Mediatory' agency.⁵¹ Such visual media qualities may be instrumental in conflict resolution and are deserving of further research, development and implementation.

Anthropologist Clifford Geertz also observes that visual media fuses together the real and the ideal, where art and ritual appear to embody something similar to Tillich's 'passionate community vision.' Geertz describes "the world as lived, and the world as imagined [as] fused under the agency of a single set of symbolic forms, turn[ing] out to be the same world," where "ethos and worldview as synthesized, fused, or stored in symbols that are arranged in various systems, patterns or control mechanisms, such as... art."⁵² Symbolic systems are viewed as 'cultural patterns' that reveal meaning behind social and psychological elements by shaping this human reality, and being shaped by it. Catherine Bell agrees with Geertz, about intense participation in the artistic process being the method for "symbols. . .[to] emerge as forms of mental content or conceptual blueprints: they direct, inspire, or promote activity."⁵³ Geertz's theory of ritual suggests that artistic participation may move participants from mere intellectual conceptualization of revised worldviews to *lived belief* by integrating ideals, thought and action. Geertz also implies that the 'outside observer' of the artistic process, or the consumer of visual media, is less influenced than the person undertaking the creative work. Geertz's theory, applied to visual media as a conflict mediation tool, suggests that stakeholders may use visual media to explore and express concerns and plans, and to document the evolution of concepts, norms and interests, as part of the conflict resolution process.

⁵¹ Sobowale, Idowu. A. 1983. The Impact of Mass Media on Violence. In *International Violence*. Adeniran and Yonah Alexander, eds. New York, NY." Praeger Publishers.

⁵² Bell, Catherine, 1992. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press. Pp.26.

⁵³ Bell, Catherine, 1992. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press. Pp.19. Catherine Bell describes how Geertz distinguishes between symbols as representations of ideals, and the expressive process of creating symbols, which he terms dispositional action or ethos. Geertz's theory of ritual describes conceptual and enactment dimensions in the artistic process and the role of observers or participant. Geertz asserts that, in the 'conceptual dimension,' outsiders viewing the artistic product would only see ideals, or "models of what they believe" for aesthetic or scientific analysis. However, in the 'enactment dimension,' Geertz claims participation in artistic production would offer engagement through "models for the believing of it," offering meaning through experiential revelation. Bell, studying Geertz's role of the observer, suggests that the observer "has only conceptual categories" for what they see. Bell asserts that, "participants in contrast, actually experience . . .the integration of their own conceptual framework and dispositional imperatives." [Bell. 1992. Pp. 26] Bell contrasts the reality of meaning experienced by actors and observers: "Participants act, whereas those observing them think. . .Meaning for the outside theorist . . .comes differently: insofar as he or she can perceive . . .the true basis of its meaningfulness for . . . actors, that is, the fusion of conceptual and dispositional. . ."[Bell 1992 P. 26]

Canada undertook the evolution of a cultural myth to cope with post-modern diversity and complexity, in advocating a 'multicultural' society. This over-arching ideal invokes a kaleidoscope of images from our country's rich 'visual culture.' In reality, both transmission and, unfortunately, appropriation processes are at work in our culture. Perhaps Canada's able facilitation of an AP landmine ban through the 'Ottawa Process,' was partly due to our experience in this area. We continue to debate over the over-arching, Canadian ethical vision among differing cultural and regional groups, and struggle to effect norms of diversity, rights and freedoms.

Geertz used hermeneutics to study symbol systems in anthropology. Hermeneutics of visual media can also play a key role in stakeholder reframing of concepts as part of conflict resolution. Hermeneutics is defined as a "combination of empirical investigation and subsequent subjective understanding of human phenomena."⁵⁴ I propose to introduce stakeholders in peace process conflict resolution, to visual media exercises that may facilitate a form of 'visual hermeneutic reframing.' Here, stakeholders may engage in visual media creation, dissemination and consumption, to: 1) explore and reframe concepts such as, 'self,' 'the other' and the conflict; 2) further ascertain common interests and goals, and 3) increase their knowledge of how people "understand and act in social, religious, and economic contexts."⁵⁵ I theorize that visual hermeneutic reframing, in conflict resolution may have the potential to open a 'space' in conflict's hegemonic discourse, to introduce a humanitarian and peace-building discourse. This is detailed in Section 4.1.

3.2 Social - Psychological Dimensions of Peace Processes Fostered through Imagery

Mohandas Gandhi appears successful in tapping the power of implicit knowledge for transformation of a society in conflict in his *swadeshi* practice, involving passive resistance, non-cooperation and self-sacrifice. A return to Indian origins is advised in *Hind Swaraj*, where Gandhi refutes Western technological progress, and promotes Indian civilization as 'good or wise conduct' with legal, religious and cultural inclusion of marginalized people.

⁵⁴ Woodward, Mark R. 1996. "Hermeneutics." In *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*. David Levinson and Melvin Ember eds. New York, N.Y.: Henry Holt. Pp. 555-558

⁵⁵ Woodward, Mark R. 1996. "Hermeneutics." In *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*. David Levinson and Melvin Ember eds. New York, NY: Henry Holt. Pp. 555-558. Hermeneutics assisted Geertz in comprehending how people "understand and act in social, religious, and economic contexts " [Woodward, Pp. 557.]

Gandhi promotes non-violent transformation of society through implicit knowledge: the adoption of poverty, observation of chastity, pursuit of truth, and the practice of fearlessness.

Visual media, exemplified by the image of the spinning wheel, is key to Gandhi's effort to unify all Indian peoples. Gracing the first "official" Indian flag in 1941, the spinning wheel is portrayed as a symbol of 'powers of origin' expressed in Indian industry, creativity and civilization. Gandhi asked Indian people to reclaim their self-sufficiency and self-rule by abandoning European goods and culture and returning to the cottage industries and ideals that were the strength of their native civilization.⁵⁶ Gandhi wrote: "Hunger is the argument that is driving India to the spinning wheel. The call of the spinning wheel is the noblest of all. . . it is the call of love. And love is *swaraj*. . . The attainment of this *swaraj* is possible within a short time, and it is so possible only by the revival of the spinning wheel. I do want growth, I do want self-determination, I do want freedom, but I want all these for the soul. . . .The spinning wheel is the thing that all must turn in the Indian clime for the transition stage at any rate and the vast majority must for all time. . . the message of non-cooperation, non-violence and *swadeshi* is a message to the world."⁵⁷

Baum observes that Indian critics of Western science and technology have recently adopted Gandhi's attitude, "offer[ing] empirical evidence that borrowing the ideal of material progress and importing science and technology ha[s] not improved the lot of the majority of the population. . . undermin[ing] their culture and social cohesion. . ."⁵⁸ To peacefully end conflict and create a just society, Gandhi, together with Martin Buber and Paul Tillich, was convinced that expression of ethical knowledge through a significant cultural image was key. "[P]eople's creativity, their spiritual passions, and their access to the forces of life. . . their participation in a living tradition" led to transformation of inter-group conflict in society, but "it must be controlled by. . . an unconditional ethical ideal."⁵⁹

Recent ability to 'watch' brain processes through detailed fMRI scanning has led cognitive scientists to assert that visual / spatial cognitive processes and ethical meaning-

⁵⁶ Gandhi may also have viewed spinning as leading to greater spiritual awareness, similar to Punjabi Sufi saints, for whom the act of turning the spinning wheel is analogous to meditation.

⁵⁷ Gandhi, Mohandas. 1925. *Young India*. Referenced in: Fischer, Louis. 1962. *The Essential Gandhi: His Life, Work, and Ideas. An Anthology*. Toronto, Canada: Random House.

⁵⁸ Baum, Gregory. 2001. *Nationalism, Religion and Ethics*. Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press. Pp. 48.

⁵⁹ Baum, Gregory. 2001. *Nationalism, Religion and Ethics*. Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press. Pp. 83.

making are strongly linked, as vision becomes ‘visioning.’⁶⁰ According to Feinstein and Hagerty, integrated brain thinking is stimulated during visual literacy, by engaging the right hemisphere together with other brain areas.⁶¹ I theorize that brain processes accompanying visual /spatial tasks which scientists say may provide transcendent knowledge experiences, can be used as conflict resolution tools to ethically inform mediation discourse.⁶² Discourse is made more comprehensive through the inclusion of ethics by adding Kant’s realms of the ‘ideal’ and the ‘beautiful’ to that of ‘the true,’ expressed by realist, modern science Kelman describes a form of conflict resolution emphasizing ‘social-psychological dimensions’ that are largely ignored by realists. His approach appears to involve a broader range of thought processes, although cognitive science is not addressed in his theory.⁶³ Kelman emphasizes processes that can change negative images of the enemy, such as the recognition that ‘the other’ has similar needs and fears. He sees ‘collective needs and fears’ as the ‘drivers’ of conflict, which is ‘an inter-societal process of mutual influence.’⁶⁴ He observes that the meeting of human needs, such as security and identity, “are not inherently zero-sum, but can be met through the mutual action, such as mutual recognition of identity or mutual enhancement of security.”⁶⁵

Cognitive scientists, described in Section Five, now assert that there is a direct link between seeing an image, integrated-brain networking of that perception, creation of implicit knowledge, and responsive human action. I believe that these linkages are significant to conflict resolution because visual media exercises may stimulate types of brain functions that

⁶⁰ Wilber, Ken. 1998. *The Marriage of Sense and Soul: Integrating Science and Religion*. New York, N.Y.: Random House. Wilber’s interprets of Kant’s Critique of Practical Reason as, “The True,” Kant’s Critique of Pure Reason as “The Beautiful,” and Kant’s Critique of Judgement as “The Good.” He suggests that positivism focuses disproportionately on the ‘true’ proven by science, and that an infusion of ethics, or the ‘good,’ and ‘pure art,’ or ‘the beautiful’ is urgently needed to establish ethical balance in ‘Western’ society.

⁶¹ Feinstein, Hermine, and Robert Hagerty. 1994. “Visual Literacy in General Education at the University of Cincinnati.” In Beauchamp, Darrell G, Braden, Roberts A, and Baca, Judy Clark, editors. *Visual Literacy in the Digital Age*. New York, N.Y.: International Visual Literacy Association.

⁶²Newburg, Andrew, E. D’Aquila and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brain Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York, N.Y.: Ballantine Books, Random House. Pp. 34.

⁶³ Kelman, Herbert C. 1997. “Social-Psychological Dimensions of International Conflict.” In *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*. Zartman, I. William, and J. Lewis Rasmussen, eds. Washington D.C.: US Institute of Peace Press. Pp. 192.

⁶⁴ Kelman, Herbert C. 1997. “Social-Psychological Dimensions of International Conflict.” In *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*. Zartman, I. William, and J. Lewis Rasmussen, eds. Washington, D.C.: US Institute of Peace Press. Pp. 194.

⁶⁵ Kelman, Herbert. C. 1987. “Social-Psychological Dimensions of International Conflict.” In *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*. Zartman, I. William, and J. Lewis Rasmussen, eds. Washington, D.C.: US Institute of Peace Press. Pp. 358

facilitate reframing of worldviews about identity, relations with the 'other.' Where visual media involves reframing from military to humanitarian discourse, more humanitarian actions could follow. This apparently occurred through humanitarian reframing of military discourse about landmines in the ICBL, which resulted in an international treaty banning AP mines. Educational methods that facilitate integrated-brain processing also emphasize the creative arts, imagination and synthesis of ideas. Superior forms of thought and 'transcendent meaning,' involving the whole brain, are said to be achieved by "incorporating more patterning, metaphors, analogies, role playing, visuals, and movement into . . . activities."⁶⁶

3.3 Incorporating Transcendent Meaning in Conflict Resolution Theory

Hamill describes worldviews as involving generalities of human experience and the 'meaning of truth' which have the same architecture from culture to culture: "Meaning not only structures validity in human thought patterns, but also defines truth . . . [meaning is] structured in the same way from culture to culture."⁶⁷ Traditional approaches that focused on rational brain processes have, unfortunately, been found to vary from culture to culture and therefore do not form the presumed 'common base' for problem-solving approaches to conflict resolution.

Thomas McFarland also examines meaning making. He identifies three kinds of meaning: 1) Meaning by experience, which consists of primary meaning based on ordinary daily perception; 2) *Transcendent meaning*, which is rare, not experienced by everyone, and based on an exhilarated sense of being and of completeness, which is sometimes described as accompanied by a feeling of timelessness and of closeness to nature or to the unity of all living things; and 3) Meaning by equivalence or translation, where we understand meaning through others via analogies and cultural tools of knowledge such as language, mathematics and photography.⁶⁸ McFarland suggests that perhaps more than 90% people's knowledge

⁶⁶ Bernice McCarthy. 2003. *The 4-MAT System: Teaching to Learning Styles with Right/Left Mode Techniques*. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.funderstanding.com/right_left_brain.cfm

⁶⁷ Hamill, J. F. 1990. *Ethno-logic. The anthropology of Human reasoning*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press. Pp. 104. Hamill's finding that syllogistic, logical reasoning, was 'the same in appearance across cultures' supports a visual culture approach to peace process mediation that uses techniques of transcendent meaning-making. Syllogistic reasoning involves inference based on perception and is dependent on a triadic structure of: thesis, anti-thesis, synthesis.

⁶⁸ McFarland, Thomas. 1987. *Shapes of Culture*. Iowa City, Ia: University of Iowa Press. Pp. 39.

and understanding stems from meaning by equivalence. Transcendent meaning appears to support reframing of concepts, and may be of substantial value in conflict resolution.⁶⁹

A social scientist at the University of Chicago, Andrew M. Greeley undertook a survey of experiences of transcendent meaning among 1,460 people of all ages in the United States, chosen in a National Opinion Research Centre poll. He found that more than forty percent, answered that they had an experience of powerful, transcendent meaning, and, of these, more than sixty-five percent described this as 'highest' on an index of experience. The scientist described this as "in general, intense emotional experiences involved *knowing* something, . . . marked by changes in personality, either subtle or striking."⁷⁰ Seventy-five percent of those surveyed reported having such experiences several times, and five percent, or 1,500 people surveyed had them "often." Applying Dr. Norman Bradburn's test of psychological health to survey respondents, Greeley observed the maximum correlation between transcendent meaning and psychological well being. In an earlier study, William James also reported a strong correlation between 'authentic' experiences of transcendent meaning and psychological well being.⁷¹ In England, one half of the population report such transcendent meaning experiences.⁷²

A key source of transcendent meaning, according to McFarland, are certain exultant events of childhood, when one feels full of life and intimately connected to the joyfully alive world around us. While Greeley's data supports 'joyous' childhood and elder experiences, he also observes that forty-three percent of those reporting experiences of transcendent meaning were in their forties or fifties. Examples of this experience include a Wordsworth nature poem, times when one feels genuine love for another person, and in the joyful expressions of poets and novelists who have 'such meaning at the forefront of their awareness.' McFarland quotes Wordsworth's poem 'Tintern Abbey,' "While, with an eye made quiet by the power of harmony, and the deep power of joy, We see into the life of

⁶⁹ Newburg, Andrew, Eugene D'Aquili and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brian Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York: Ballantine Books, Random House. The effect of images and symbols is discussed on page 73.

⁷⁰ Greeley, Andrew M. 1975. *The Sociology of the Paranormal: A Renaissance*. Sage Research Papers in the Social Sciences, Vol. 3 No 90-023. London, England and Beverley Hills, USA: Sage. Pp. 61. This is further supported by a recent survey that indicates 40 percent of those residing in the US have this experience.

⁷¹ James, William. 1902. *The Varieties of Religion*. New York, N.Y.: Penguin Books.

⁷² Stevens, David. 1993. *Alex Haley's Queen*. Produced by Mark. M. Wolper, Burlington. New York, N.Y.: CBS Broadcasting, Inc.

things.”⁷³ The sense of vision is most closely associated with the transcendent experience, by McFarland and many others. While McFarland suggests that there is no difference in cognitive processing in the experience of primary or transcendent meaning, recent neuroscience, assisted by fMRI scans, has proven that there is significant change in brain processing during transcendent meaning experiences, as described in Section 8.

Transcendent meaning is highly significant to human culture, but cannot be easily shared in a manner similar to primary meaning. It requires a cloak of mystery or awe, as is offered by poetry or art. Thus, the pursuit of transcendent meaning is first a cultural pursuit and is significant in its ‘urgent appeal to the senses.’⁷⁴ Where transcendent knowledge is developed or experienced by a group, it appears that new cultural forms associated with that experience may be more readily adopted. McFarland appears to support this, saying, “Such moments of transcendent meaning. . .by their completeness energize as well as fit the shapes [of culture], and can validate them for cultural function independently of other forms of knowledge. Where completeness reigns, other forms of knowledge are not needed.”⁷⁵

Many philosophers and critics have observed the “willing suspension of disbelief” that an audience undertakes in order to fully enter into the viewing of a play or the contemplation of a work of art. I suggest that this may be described as a willing entrance into a state of ‘integrated-brain networking’- where almost ‘anything is possible’ and, potentially, a multitude of categories are available for meaning-making. When artistic endeavours are successful, transcendent knowledge may be attained by the viewer. This may appear as a heightened sense of unity with all life, or a sense of ‘community belonging’ with the creators or actors involved, and other viewers. Features such as increased social bonding and openness to new interpretations would be useful in conflict resolution.

Reframing of core beliefs appears to require experiential or strong emotional knowledge, as well as transcendent meaning associated with integrated-brain networking and other thought processes. Research findings suggest that not only may transcendent meaning be accessed at any age, but this form of meaning can be particularly fruitful for mediation. Individuals having this meaningful experience are reported to attempt to develop more

⁷³ McFarland, Thomas. 1987. *Shapes of Culture*. Iowa City, Ia.: University of Iowa Press. Pp. 49.

⁷⁴ James, William. 1902. *The Varieties of Religion*. New York, N.Y.: Penguin Books.

⁷⁵ McFarland, Thomas. 1987. *Shapes of Culture*. Iowa City, Ia.: University of Iowa Press. Pp. 62.

harmonious attitudes and relations, and to shed many selfish interests. According to Henry James, attitudinal benefits of those experiencing transcendent meaning include: 1) A sense of much larger possibilities available in life than the ‘selfishness posed by much of the world,’ accompanied by giving up of ‘vain and egotistical goals;’ 2) An understanding of ‘friendliness’ and ‘goodness’ pervading the universe, and a ‘surrender’ to this; and 3) A ‘tender respect for all things;’ including movement toward more loving and harmonious relations and magnanimous actions. Transcendent meaning occurs on a continuum of experience, and therefore is likely to have varying degrees of effect, as described by Newberg, D’Aquili and Rause in Section 8. However, small improvements in stakeholder attitudes stemming from transcendent meaning may benefit peace processes mediation.

Implicit knowledge of social understanding and worldviews, appear to be largely based on ‘experiential belief’ founded in a person’s understanding of the world as it is experienced.⁷⁶ Worldviews also appear to be more readily changed in a positive direction through experiences of transcendent meaning, according to Dr. Andrew Newberg, Dr Eugene D’Aquili and Vince Rause. They ascribe integrated-brain processing as key to this experience: “neurologically endorsed flashes of insight. . .[that] might take many forms, and can be triggered by many different ideas. . .[that] can unify logic and intuition, and lead to a state of left-brain and right-brain agreement. In this state of integrated-brain harmony, neurological uncertainties are powerfully alleviated as existential opposites are reconciled and the problem of cause is resolved. To the anxious mind, this resonant integrated-brain agreement feels like a glimpse of ultimate truth. The mind seems to live this truth, not merely comprehend it.”⁷⁷

Newberg, D’Aquili and Rause are describing a ‘neurological insight or resonance of the mind’ that, due to integrated-brain processing, appears to carry substantial impact on one’s worldview that may be greater than that of a particular real-life encounter. Integrated-brain processing, through visual / spatial activities such as art creation and contemplation may act as a gateway to ‘transcendent meaning.’ This is important in mediation, because such

⁷⁶ McFarland, Thomas. 1987. *Shapes of Culture*. Iowa City, Ia.: University of Iowa Press. Pp. 39. Even in highly controlled scientific experiments, the very act of observing is known to influence outcome at the sub-atomic level, therefore one’s observation is never purely objective.

⁷⁷ Newburg, Andrew, Eugene D’Aquili and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brain Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York: Ballantine Books, Random House. Pp. 83. The effect of images and symbols is discussed on page 73.

experiences appear to substantially influence, or even change, people's ideas or concepts, singly or in groups.⁷⁸ Where the experience of transcendent meaning can be introduced in mediation, views about self and 'the other' may move toward greater harmony.

To further explore a visual culture approach that reinforces reframing of concepts as part of mediation, joint research is recommended by the disciplines of cognitive psychology and conflict resolution. This is needed to:

- 1) Study the facilitation of integrated-brain and other thought processes, associated and with visual media creation and contemplation [described in Section 8] as a source of transcendent meaning in mediation;
- 2) Examine how these neurological processes and meaning-making appear to support reframing of military and conflict discourse as humanitarian and peace discourse;
- 3) Create and test a conceptual framework, theory and terminology for this area of expertise; and
- 4) Develop mediation techniques using emerging cognitive science as the basis for a visual culture approach to peace processes mediation.

Another task involves relating this science to children's cognitive development and participation in peace processes. At present, integrated-brain education has developed processes that may be transferable to children's participation in peace processes.

4. Neurocognitive Entrainment: Thinking Compatible with Conflict Resolution

4.1 Reframing of Worldviews Via Integrated-brain Processes Using Visual Media

One way that reframing of worldviews appears to occur is as a result of *vicarious* experience through powerful visual media. Experts Laughlin, McManus and d'Aquili explain experience as including perceived or imagined images: "by experience we are referring to 'that which arises before the subject' in consciousness. This includes perception, thought, imagination, intuition, affect, somesthesia and sensation."⁷⁹ These scientists

⁷⁸ A possible stumbling block to use of transcendent meaning in conflict resolution may be the occasional, incorrect association of visual contemplation with religion or religious fanaticism. A focus on the cognitive science behind visual media creation and contemplation may incorporate transcendent meaning in peace mediation while avoiding negative stereotypes or associations.

⁷⁹ Laughlin, Charles. 1988. "The Pre-frontosensorial Polarity Principle: Toward a Neurophenomenology of Intentionality." In *Biological Forum* 81(2). Pp. 245-262, and 108-11. See also Laughlin, C.D., J. McManus and E.G. d'Aquili. 1990. *Brain, Symbol and Experience: Toward a Neuro-phenomenology of Consciousness*. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press.

research transcendent or extraordinary experience in relation to: 1) symbolism, cognition and religious or cosmological practice, and 2) neurocognitive entrainment, or the manner in which brains create habitual patterns of thought.⁸⁰

Networked brain processes, occurring during creation and contemplation of visual media, appear to facilitate a person's ability to re-frame core understandings. Media with very emotional, humanitarian content appear to be particularly effective in this regard. One example is real-time, televised news images of innocent child victims of intra-state wars. These images prompted many North Americans to telephone their elected members, urging them to 'take humanitarian action.' This response became so prevalent that it was known as "the CNN Effect." In the ICBL study, an image which has a strong emotional impact appears to create an 'affective import'⁸¹ on the viewer. Therefore, the viewer appears to review a broader range of existing concepts, and to develop new ones, about the conflict and accompanying categories of belief in an attempt to accommodate the feelings generated by visual media. I term this apparent cognitive process of developing new concepts about a

⁸⁰ Laughlin, Charles D. 2002. "Consciousness in Biogenetic Structural Theory," Carleton University. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.neurognosis.com/Consciousness%20in%20BS%20Theory%20-%20AOC%20Version.rtf>. States Laughlin, "One trend is toward a greater attention to transpersonal experience; that is, to extraordinary experiences and phases of consciousness, and the relation of these to invariant patterns of symbolism, cognition and practice found in religions and cosmologies all over the planet. We have tried to track the greatest possible range of human experience and relate this to transformations in neuro-cognitive, autonomic and neuro-endocrine entrainment. By doing this we hope to understand: (1) the maximum potential genetic and developmental limits to patterns of entrainment and therefore to human consciousness, (2) the mechanisms by which societies condition patterns of entrainment so as to control (limit or extend) the range of human experience, (3) the mechanisms by which societies produce recurrent extraordinary experiences in some or all of their members so as to verify and vivify those societies' world views, (4) the possibilities and limitations of a transpersonal ethnology (Laughlin 1988c, Laughlin, McManus and Shearer 1983, Laughlin, McManus and D'Aquili 1990:18-21), and (5) by extrapolation, the possible evolution. . . of human consciousness (Laughlin and Richardson 1986)."

⁸¹ Stephan, M. 1990. *The representational visual image: a theory of understanding and response*. PhD Thesis 39-8198. Sussex, England: University of Sussex. In Chapter 7 of Stephan's Thesis, titled, "A Transformational Theory of Aesthetics," Stephan "hypothesise[s] that our dominantly right-hemisphere associated perceptions of a representational image's full existential life can cause a series of compensatory/adaptive cognitions and behaviours which transform the image into appearing to generate an experience I describe as affective import. Because affective import is habitually experienced as being generated by certain works of visual art, and because it is perceived as being of a special kind, it is often associated with what has been traditionally defined as aesthetic experience. Although generally conceded to be enigmatic, the experience nonetheless prompts linguistic discourses centred around establishing its nature. . ." (italics mine)

Stephan analyses the 'affective import' of an image, that he sees as a source of linguistic discourse in society. He describes how the 'affective import of the image appears to stem from a viewing 'experience,' that generates discourse about the nature of that experience. I suggest that the experience-based, affective import of visual media, and the discussion about it, insert of new discourse into existing societal discourse about the visual media's subject. In this manner, images related to peace, conflict and weaponry, may strongly affect societal discourse on topics important to conflict resolution, peace processes and disarmament. An example is the apparent insertion of the humanitarian concerns of the ICBL into international disarmament discourse, through the vehicle of children's visual media. Over time, ICBL visual media appeared to reframe state security and military discourse about AP mines, to a humanitarian discourse about the horrific maiming and killing of innocent women and children.

conflict through stimulation by visual media, “hermeneutic reframing.” Much more research in the science of visual cognition, in a conflict resolution setting using visual media, is needed to further develop a theoretical base for ‘hermeneutic reframing.’⁸²

Human thought and emotions emerge from, and influence, brain structure and function, according to cognitive neuroscientists. They view the brain as a modular system made up of multiple intelligences that are largely nonverbal.⁸³ Implicit knowledge that transforms worldviews appears to be frequently stimulated by an emotional and visual component, assert scientists. They are now researching the role of empathy in decision-making as related to the complex of neurons in the brain. World-views are not ‘stored memory’ but appear as electronic pathways in the brain, being developed over time according to thought patterns.⁸⁴ I theorize that processes of ‘visual hermeneutic reframing’ and associated integrated brain processing may stimulate new, positive brain pathways. These pathways may represent a ‘shift’ towards ideas of empathy and co-operation, that can, with practice, replace habitual conflict. Mediators often recognize a “shift” in the understanding of relations between the parties, that might be attributed to hermeneutic reframing. However, new perceptions must be reinforced over time to become habitual neural pathways, or new ways of thinking.

Links between improved visual and spatial thought processing, brain development, and innovative approaches to life challenges are found throughout human history. Art historians view visual media as providing clues to human brain development that support the advance of civilization.⁸⁵ An apparent link between unusually intensive, simultaneous pursuit of visual and spatial thinking and physical brain development is found in Alfred Einstein. This brilliant physicist was found to have a much larger portion of the brain devoted to mathematical reasoning. However, Einstein commenced his ‘scientific process’ by fusing

⁸² I use the term “*visual hermeneutic re-framing*” for the process of reframing worldviews or concepts about self, the other and the conflict through creation or contemplation of images, particularly those that arouse empathy or emotion. This complex and ‘deep’ intellectual process uses more extensive brain networks than the semantic or mathematical problem-solving characteristic of analytical thinking that predominates in traditional dispute resolution practice. I propose mediators guide the parties through ‘visual hermeneutic re-framing’ methods using a range of visual media exercises. This may facilitate the parties’: 1) expressing and understanding of each other’s conflict experiences and interests; 2) sharing of the re-framing process and ascertaining common interests; 3) joint meaning-making and joint construction of shared action plans; and 4) communicating to larger constituencies.

⁸³ Laughlin, Charles D, John McManus and Eugene G. D’Aquili. 1990. *Brain, Symbol and Experience: Toward a Neuro-phenomenology of Human Consciousness*. Boston, Mass.: Shambhala Publications.

⁸⁴ Childre, Doc. and Howard Martin. 1999. *The Heartmath Solution*. SanFrancisco: Harper Collins Pub. Inc. Pp. 23.

⁸⁵Gowans, Alan. 1970. *Lecture Syllabus and Reader for History in Art 120 and 490; Fall Term*. Victoria, B.C.: Department of History in Art, University of Victoria.

the visual, spatial and analytical in ‘thought experiments’ of a ‘visual and muscular type.’ In other words, he used his imagination to visualize solutions that he translated, through ‘laborious work’ into words and mathematics to create his theories.⁸⁶

Anthropologists attribute a quantum leap in human intelligence to development of upright posture, and our ‘opposing thumb.’⁸⁷ Objects held in, or created by, the hands are isolated from other things, facilitating intense visual, spatial and mental scrutiny that stimulates new meaning making and brain development. I suggest that the manipulation of visual media in sculpting, painting, or on a computer screen, appears to offer a ‘hypothetical framework’ for intense visual, spatial and mental activity isolated from the real world. This framework appears to facilitate innovative meaning making of the type I term “visual hermeneutic reframing.’ Intense contemplation of visual media is shown by fMRI scans to involve reduced stimulation [termed ‘deafferentation’] to the orientation/ association area of the brain. This is tied to experiences of transcendent meaning, increased social cohesion and development of new cultural norms, according to some cognitive scientists and anthropologists.⁸⁸ These brain processes are said to “soften the boundaries of self,” and facilitate new conceptions of the self in relation to others, as described in Section 8. This suggests that by visual media creation and contemplation, stakeholders may discover varying degrees of new meanings about self, other and the relationship in conflict resolution.

The ‘hypothetical mental framework’ offered by visual media may be safe place for experimenting with new, peace-oriented ideas about inter-group relations and other issues

⁸⁶ See Pinker, Steve. 1999. “Einstein: How His Brain Measured Up.” In *The New York Times*. January 24. Pinker says, “Einstein imagined himself riding on a beam of light and looking back at a seemingly frozen clock tower, he developed the theory of special relativity -- that time, length and mass vary with the relative motion of an event and an observer. From imagining himself inside a plummeting elevator and seemingly weightless, he developed the theory of general relativity -- that gravity and acceleration are the same. . . The neuroscientists who studied Einstein's brain had good reason to focus on his parietal lobes, the top rear quadrant of each hemisphere. Situated between the primary areas for vision and body sensation, the parietal lobes are the home of spatial sense, how we locate real and imagined objects in front of us. The inferior lobule, or lower bulge of the lobe, in particular supports abstract mathematical and spatial reasoning. Presumably that is because the core of number sense is an intuition about spatial extent; people reason about numbers as if they were places along a line. The difference between the inferior parietal lobules of Einstein and of us mortals is not subtle. Our lobules are deeply cleaved by a branch of the Sylvian fissure, the horizontal Grand Canyon of each cerebral hemisphere. Einstein's fissure veered sharply upward, skirting the lobule and leaving it undivided. Also, the inferior parietal lobule is ordinarily smaller in the left hemisphere, perhaps because it is crowded by adjacent areas involved in language. Einstein's left lobule was as large as his right, and both were larger than normal. But his brain, as a whole, was no heavier than average for a man of his age and height.”

⁸⁷ Hoebel, E. Adamson. 1966. *Anthropology: The Study of Man*. Toronto, Ont.: McGraw-Hill. Pp. 138.

⁸⁸ Newburg, Andrew, Eugene D'Aquili and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brain Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York, N.Y.: Ballantine Books, Random House. Pp. 121 -123.

surrounding the conflict. Visual media can be highly inclusive, containing both innovative ideas about peace or the 'other' while also embracing meanings closer to the 'status quo' that are accepted by the larger group. Such multiple-meaning images may be ascribed with progressive concepts over time.⁸⁹ A single image could also represent similar interests, such as care for children, among opposing parties.

In my case study of in the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, children's visual media appears to stimulate empathy and integrated-brain processing of new 'cognitive frames' relating to a conflict, possibly imparting varying degrees of transcendent meaning. In apprehending an emotionally-charged image about the conflict, the brain appears to create a 'readiness' to place the image within a broader array of categories of meaning about the conflict. Thus, ICBL visual media appear facilitate the individual and, over time, societal reframing of the landmine discourse from military to humanitarian. The key role of empathy in this process appears linked to integrated-brain processing, as supported by Benjamin Broome. He asserts that, in conflict resolution, "the focus on empathy is the process of arriving at mutually integrated understandings of each others perceptual field by an affective and cognitive assimilation of the other's values, meanings, symbols, intentions, etc."⁹⁰ Reardon also notes that empathy utilizes overall networks of the brain responsible for rational *and* emotional processes, as it is 'not wholly cognitive nor wholly emotional.'⁹¹

Some anthropologists appear to observe the attainment of transcendent meaning through cultural practice, although they could not describe it neurologically. Catherine Bell asserts that Geertz suggests that the 'observer' of ritual may facilitate "fusion of conceptual and dispositional categories- then the theorist can go beyond mere thoughts about activity to grasp [its] meaningfulness."⁹² Geertz appears to hope that the scientific observer of an activity, such as ritual art, might attain a degree of transcendent meaning if his attention was

⁸⁹ A single image could represent the parties' action towards peace, and later represent a move from armed conflict to a 'ceasefire agreement,' and ultimately through a peace process, to peace-building.

⁹⁰ Broome, Benjamin J. 1993. "Managing Differences in Conflict Resolution: the role of relational empathy." In *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application*. Dennis J.D. Sandole and Hugo van der Merwe, eds. New York, N.Y.: St Martin's Press. Pp. 101. (Italics mine)

⁹¹ Reardon, K. and R. Buck. 1989. "Emotion, reason and human behaviour in coping with cancer." *Human Communication*. Vol.1. P. 41-54.

⁹² Bell, Catherine, 1992. "Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice." Oxford University Press. New York, N.Y.: Pp.28.

raised to contemplative levels comparable to ritual involvement itself.⁹³ While brain activity certainly had not been viewed by fMRI at this time, Geertz appears to be aware that brain processes stimulating “fusion of the conceptual and dispositional’ offer “a veritable window on the most important processes of cultural life.”⁹⁴ Geertz’s idea of ‘fusing the conceptual and dispositional’ to grasp deeper meaning, may be applied to the fusion of thinking, feeling and action in artistic creation and contemplation. According to education psychologists, the simultaneous engagement in several different activities such as drawing, writing and thinking, stimulates integrated-brain processing and accompanying new forms of knowing and social cohesion.⁹⁵

David McDougall describes learning from visual media as a form ‘acquaintance’ rather than description. The creator and viewer of visual media, he says, engage in heuristic and meaning-creation activities that contrast with processes of verbal or scientific discourse. Principles of ‘implication, visual resonance, identification and shifting perspective’ are employed in visual culture, according to McDougall. In the visual, details may be provided without sacrificing ‘the whole.’ The mind and emotions are often deeply engaged while creating or contemplating visual media with a ‘shifting perspective’ that stimulates meaning making. This practice may, in a manner similar to an intense, new experience, stimulate new ways of thinking about relationships with the world and with other people.⁹⁶

Gombrich finds ‘the picture’ to be a symbolic system representing the inner thought world of the artist, rather than a realistic representation.⁹⁷ McDougall also observes that visual media is a ‘language metaphorically and experientially close’ to that needed to communicate emotion and the senses as they relate to identity. McDougall supports the idea

⁹³ I suggest that differences between the artistic process and the process of analysis and categorization of the artistic product and method, may be found in differences in brain processing associated with the two activities. The artistic process and contemplation of art appears to frequently involve integrated-brain processing of visual and spatial forms, while the critic or interpreter of visual media processes and products may primarily use analytical, left-brain processes that ‘slot’ concepts into existing categories.

⁹⁴ Bell, Catherine, 1992. “Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice.” Oxford University Press. New York, N.Y.: Pp.28.

⁹⁵ Coufal, Kathy L. and Dayna C. Coufal. 2002. “Colourful Wishes: The Fusion of Drawing, Narratives, and Social Studies.” In *Communication Disorders Quarterly*. Winter Vol. 23. Issue 2. Pp. 113. Coufal and Coufal call generative and interactive learning from social collaboration between children and adults ‘constructivism,’ where, in “an interactive environment children create new knowledge and form new cognitive constructs . . . [and] link their everyday understanding of the world with problem-solving and more formal or scientific concepts. . . in an . . . interactive process.”

⁹⁶: MacDougall, David. 1998. “The Subjective Voice in Ethnographic Film.” *Transcultural Cinema*. Princeton University Press. Pp. 221. See Also: Social Aesthetics and the Doon School: David McDougall. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.doononline.net/Pages/press27a.htm>.

⁹⁷ Gombrich, E.H. 1996. *The Story of Art*. London: Phaidon Press Ltd. P.52.

that visual media may more easily lead to empathetic understanding of ‘the other’ through “the value of the subjective voice. . .that can give access to the crossing of different frames of reference in society. . .one can only understand them experientially.”⁹⁸ Gombrich and MacDougall views’ suggest that visual media may better represent the parties’ beliefs and interests, and enhance empathetic understanding more than ‘objective’ analysis and semeotics. Visually enhanced understanding of different cultural frames may benefit conflict resolution, especially where identity issues are involved. The use of visual media as a for the parties’ joint meaning making and envisioning of joint actions, deserves further study.

4.2 Empathy and Integrated Brain Networking

Singer describes how science, while useful to practitioners, creates “a moral paradox. . .analytical and cognitive skills have relegated the human aspects. . .to a secondary role. . . [I] provide evidence on the vitality of empathy in change, healing, and recovery” in psychosocial programs.⁹⁹ Empathy has recently become important to mediation centred on dialogue. Benjamin Broome notes, “empathy has received [attention] in communication and psychology . . . [yet] there has been . . . little conceptual development in the theory of conflict resolution.”¹⁰⁰ Visual experts identify our experience and expectations as shaping our perceptions: “the mind actively organizes the visual world into meaning. . . Sometimes, our experience greatly determines what we perceive.”¹⁰¹ Parties in relationships characterized by a lack of empathy, or dissimilar cultures and experience, may have difficulty perceiving new, uncharacteristic, empathetic communication, or related attempts to bridge relations through shared experience. “What has not been experienced cannot be

⁹⁸: MacDougall, David. 1998. “The Subjective Voice in Ethnographic Film.” *Transcultural Cinema*. Princeton University Press. Pp. 221. See Also: Social Aesthetics and the Doon School: David McDougall. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.doononline.net/Pages/press27a.htm>.

⁹⁹ Singer, O. (2001) “The role of empathy in quality therapeutic engagement for increasing motivation for change in schizophrenia.” *International Journal of Psychosocial Rehabilitation*. 6, 45-50. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.psychosocial.com/current_2002/empathy.html.

¹⁰⁰ Broome, Benjamin J.1993. “Managing Differences in Conflict Resolution: the role of relational empathy.” *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application*. Dennis J.D. Sandole and Hugo van der Merwe, eds. New York: N.Y. St Martin’s Press. P.97. He observes that influential books by more than ten authors do not mention empathy, while others only give empathy ‘incidental’ notice.

¹⁰¹ Visual Experts: The Human Factor. 2003. Toronto, Ontario. Available from the World Wide Web: <http://www.visualexpert.com/contactus.html>

perceived.”¹⁰² Katz and Howell also observes the difficulty of engendering empathy between parties with differing values and experiences.¹⁰³

Broome observes that lack of bridging is due to a lack of ‘common understandings of empathy.’ He advocates, “a *relational approach* to empathy [where] mediators. . . pay a great deal of attention to variables . . . that might influence . . . understanding. . . shift[ing] focus to the context [of] conflict interaction.”¹⁰⁴ While Broome focuses on verbal techniques, his concept of ‘relational empathy,’ and a focus on ‘context’ of relations, support my proposed use of visual media in conflict resolution. The creation and contemplation of visual media is a framing process where consideration of context of relations is imperative. Broome highlights ‘creation of an overarching, verbal, third culture,’ by the parties, through relational empathy. Broome’s ‘third culture’ also arises partly out of each party’s culture but with jointly created, new elements, achieved through mutually creative “explorat[ion] and negotiate[ion] of alternative meanings for ideas and events.”¹⁰⁵ Hewstone and Cairns similarly suggest ‘re-categorizing’ of out-group members as “included within a [common] super-ordinate group structure. The common in-group identity model resolves in-group versus out-group conflict by changing group boundaries and creating a super-ordinate identity.”¹⁰⁶ Re-categorization is based on social identity theory where each person has several identities. One identity is likely to be common among members and therefore becomes a super-ordinate group identity which can unite previously ‘different’ groups.

Visual media may provide an important contextual frame for the parties conflict resolution or peace process discourse. Broome’s focus is “on developing new meanings . .

¹⁰²Broome, Benjamin J. 1993. “Managing Differences in Conflict Resolution: the role of relational empathy.” *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application*. Dennis J.D. Sandole and Hugo van der Merwe, eds. New York: N.Y. St Martin’s Press. Broom quotes Howell. See also: Howell, W.S. 1982. *The Empathetic Communicator*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice-Hall Pp. 108. See also: Bormann, E.G., Howell, W.S., Nichols, R.G., & Shapiro, G.L. 1982. *Interpersonal communication in the modern organization* (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

¹⁰³ Katz, R. L. 1963. *Empathy: Its Nature and Uses*. New York, N.Y.: Free Press. Pp. 6, 7.

¹⁰⁴Broome, Benjamin J. 1993. “Managing Differences in Conflict Resolution: the role of relational empathy.” *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application*. Dennis J.D. Sandole and Hugo van der Merwe, eds. New York: N.Y. St Martin’s Press. Broom quotes Howell. See also: Howell, W.S. 1982. *The Empathetic Communicator*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice-Hall Pp. 108. See also: Bormann, E.G., Howell, W.S., Nichols, R.G., & Shapiro, G.L. 1982. *Interpersonal communication in the modern organization* (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

¹⁰⁵ Broome, Benjamin J. 1993. “Managing Differences in Conflict Resolution: the role of relational empathy.” *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application*. Dennis J.D. Sandole and Hugo van der Merwe, eds. New York, N.Y. : St Martin’s Press. Pp.106.

¹⁰⁶ Hewstone, Miles, and Ed Cairns. 2002. “Social Psychology and Inter-group Conflict.” In *Ethno-political Warfare: Causes, Consequences and Possible Solutions*. Daniel Chirot and Marin E. P. Seligman, eds. Washington, DC.: American Psychological Association. Pp. 332, 333.

.[as] the basis for continual dialogue and relational growth”¹⁰⁷ To do so, he says empathy is key, and must be integral to the communication process itself and influence that process. I suggest that ‘transcendent meaning,’ may arise from empathy stimulated by visual media creation and contemplation. However, James also reports that the experience of transcendent meaning *fosters* an unusually high degree of empathy. These experts appear to support the use of contextual frames, such as visual media, and transcendent meaning, as a suitable context for developing empathy and new meanings in peace processes.

An empathic attitude and soulful interaction constitute deeper, true relations, for Martin Buber. He asserts that all persons have some capacity for empathy, which “rests. . . on ‘imagining the real’. . . to hold before one’s soul a reality arising at this moment but not . . . directly experienced. . . I imagine . . . what another man is. . . feeling, perceiving, thinking, and not as a detached contact but in his very reality, that is, as a living process in this man.”¹⁰⁸ Buber perceives very different meanings in understanding what constitutes “a person,” as revealed through “I – Thou relations,” and the make-up of “an individual,” or a stereotype, as gained through “I – It” or ‘superficial relating.’¹⁰⁹ An ‘individual’ is defined in terms of differences from other individuals, such as hair or eye colour, body shape and other external features. The ascertaining or defining of ‘individuals’ given by Buber relates directly to visual observation of differences, whether of a body form, sexual, racial or perhaps ethnic or cultural nature. This might, for example, include cultural clothing, adornment or body markings. These may also be the characteristics of stereotypes. The ‘person’ is defined very differently by Buber compared to ‘the individual.’ Qualities of a ‘person,’ are relational or aspects of character that become known through “genuine relations” or ‘authentic sharing.’ In peace process mediation, the parties’ deeper understanding of themselves, as persons, and the encouragement of steps towards “I-Thou” relations are very important. Visual media creation, dissemination and contemplation present opportunities for gradually revealing personal qualities and interests in an iterative mediation process.

¹⁰⁷ Broome, Benjamin J. 1993. “Managing Differences in Conflict Resolution: the role of relational empathy.” In *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application*. Dennis J.D. Sandole and Hugo van der Merwe, eds. New York, N.Y.: St Martin’s Press. Pp.103, 106.

¹⁰⁸ Buber, Martin. 1965. *Empathy from the Knowledge of Man*. M. Friedman and R.G. Smith, trans. New York, N.Y.: Harper Torchbooks.

¹⁰⁹ Gordon, Haim. 2001. *The Heidegger- Buber Controversy: The Status of the I- Thou*. London, Eng.: Greenwood Press. Pp. 130

Traditional, 'Western' dispute resolution, by analysing and highlighting identity and value differences of groups and issues, may lead to, "I-It" relations.' While this approach has resolved many disputes, it may exacerbate others, such as value-laden conflicts. Qualities of the person may be left out of meetings, where time pressures, formal 'business' relations, packed agendas and stress reduce opportunities for knowing participants as 'persons' and exploring integrative interests of mutual concern that may initially appear as a lower priority. This may occur whether conflict resolution meetings have a 'business/executive,' 'military /strategic,' 'political/ceremonial,' or 'protest/public information,' tone. This style of meeting is often dominated by narrow, analytical thought processes also appear to be a 'stumbling block' to reframing of concepts of self, the other, and the conflict.

To develop increased personal understanding between the parties, it may be useful to slow the pace, reduce the size and formality of gatherings, and introduce methods that will allow for sharing of implicit knowledge and personal feelings. Such authentic sharing may be found in the creation and contemplation of visual media that express feelings about self, the conflict, and portray desires for a future community. Artistic processes and products offer a means of developing 'I-Thou,' or relational levels of understanding. For example, Icelandic scholars theorize that art provides a means of understanding, organizing and communicating feelings at all levels, including broad public participation in those feelings. Pall Skulsson claims that visual media is "to foster understanding of one's own personal experiences and to forge direct relations to others, as well as oneself."¹¹⁰ Simon Agustsson asserts that the artist strives to render an experience understandable to self and others.¹¹¹

Rising frequency and intensity of conflict over identity and values gives urgency to the creation of visual culture mediation exercises that help the parties' develop overarching knowledge and meta-worldviews and communicate them to larger constituencies. Such methods may stimulate thought processes that facilitate stakeholder integration of multiple identities and values into a larger whole. Such 'inclusive' mediation approaches and methods will likely address broader humanitarian, ethical, environmental and inter-generational needs. Such interests can cause diverse stakeholders to embrace a complex

¹¹⁰ Skulsson, Pall. 1999. *Saga and Philosophy*. Reykjavik, Iceland: The University of Iceland Press. Pp.84.

¹¹¹ Agustsson, Simon Joh. 1953. As quoted in: *Saga and Philosophy* by Pall Skulsson, 1999. Reykjavik, Iceland: The University of Iceland Press. Pp.85.

array of group identities and values as part of a new, larger gestalt to which all belong. For example, in the ICBL, visual media expressing common concern for well being of children affected by landmines, appeared responsible for rapid formation of a coalition of states, NGOs, and citizens to ban landmines. ICBL success suggests that tested and refined visual hermeneutic reframing techniques may represent a timely and valuable conflict resolution tool. Recent neuroscience to support this theory is examined in the following section.

Recent cognitive science and mediation theory about visual media supports a visual culture approach to conflict resolution and peace processes. Broome and other experts appear to support my proposal for creation of new, shared meaning through images arousing empathy. Broome's 'third culture,' "can only develop through interaction in which participants are willing to open themselves to new meanings. . .through a focus on the context or framework in which the conflict takes place."¹¹² This approach may be directly transferrable as a visual culture exercise. Visual media exploration by the parties may result in an overarching, joint 'third *visual* culture.' Images expressing the third culture may be created, disseminated and contemplated by the parties and larger constituencies as part of peace processes. For many constituencies, and at many stages in the conflict resolution process, images from an overarching, 'third visual culture' may prove useful to: 1) arouse deep empathy and elicit the parties' common interests; 2) create a bond between previously opposing groups; and 3) represent super-ordinate goals and a vision of harmonious future relations. The ICBL's child victim is an example of an image that unites diverse parties in a 'third culture' of children's rights and human security.

4.3. 'Affective Import' of the Image and Its Link with Empathy

My theory about the socially transforming potential of the process of viewing an image, experiencing its emotional effect, reframing of worldviews and related normative discourse is supported by Dr. M. Stephan. In "The representational visual image: a theory of understanding and response."¹¹³ Stephan asserts that viewing of art stimulates a form of direct, non-linguistic experience that impacts the viewer's feelings and societal discourse.

¹¹² Broome, Benjamin J.1993. "Managing Differences in Conflict Resolution: the role of relational empathy." In *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application*. Dennis J.D. Sandole and Hugo van der Merwe, eds. New York, N.Y.: St Martin's Press. Pp.103.

¹¹³ Stephan, M. 1990. *The representational visual image: a theory of understanding and response*. PhD Thesis 39-8198. Sussex, Eng.: University of Sussex.

Stephan refutes theories asserting that: 1) picture perception is learned in a manner similar to learning a language; 2) our ability to interpret pictures is dependent upon ‘linguistically imparted knowledge;’ 3) language can explain visual images that are representational. Rather, Stephan “hypothesize[s] that our dominantly right-hemisphere associated perceptions of a representational image's full existential life can cause a series of compensatory/adaptive cognitions and behaviours which transform the image into appearing to generate an experience I describe as affective import. . . . Although generally conceded to be enigmatic, the experience nonetheless prompts linguistic discourses centered around establishing its nature and the nature of its object, for my purposes, the representational visual image.”¹¹⁴

“Affective import,” as conceived by Stephan, appears to be a suitable term for the effect produced by ICBL images of landmine victims, and their art, upon a large proportion of consumers of these images. Many viewers appeared stimulated by the ‘affective import’ of ICBL images to rapidly and effectively address the problem of landmines as a ‘scourge against humanity.’ I theorize that the ‘affective import’ of visual media about peace and conflict issues may stimulate ‘visual hermeneutic reframing’ about these issues by individuals. If these images are broadly disseminated, this process may also result in a shift in societal discourse and norms respecting peace and conflict issues.

Charles Laughlin takes a similar view to Stephan, although his theory is based in visual anthropology. He observes that visual media is often prescient about social trends, and asserts that the intentionality of symbols is never greater than the cognitive and experiential associations evoked by the symbols in the individual cognitive system. However, he does not clarify if this is due to the artist’s anticipation of social trends embodied in his art during production, or some futuristic element perceived in the art by the viewer. Perhaps both are at play. Laughlin’s study of natural categories of human thought, and the manner in which they are created and changed by art, has significance for development of a visual culture approach to conflict mediation theory and practice.

Laughlin laments that there is a ‘severe weakness’ where most models of conceptual categorization in cognitive psychology lack a foundation in brain science. He states, “it is often hard or impossible to map the inferred structures of perception and cognition defined in

¹¹⁴ Stephan, M. 1990. *The representational visual image: a theory of understanding and response*. PhD Thesis 39-8198. Sussex, Eng.: University of Sussex.

these theories onto what we have come to know about how the human brain works.”¹¹⁵ This reinforces my recommendation for further research. Like Laughlin, I believe that neuroscience should underpin theory and method respecting visual media as a tool for exploring and reframing concepts in conflict resolution. While Dr. Jim Tanaka describes a ‘canyon which will not be bridged for some time’ between the current neuroscience of vision and its application in conflict resolution, he advises that it is valuable to examine connections between these fields as they relate to my theory of ‘visual hermeneutic reframing.’¹¹⁶ This is explored in the following sections.

5. Recent Neuroscience Important to Conflict Resolution Theory

In examining mental processes and brain functioning involved in visual cognition, it is important to bear in mind that theoretical perspectives are changing rapidly as science advances. An overview of relevant science is offered, but the reader is cautioned that the limits of this thesis do not permit the full range of material to be outlined. Galin described dangers of assumptions about the brain, such as “dichotomania,” where cognitive functions are ascribed to only one hemisphere or the other. This resulted in the popular idea that the left hemisphere alone is language-focused and the right hemisphere is solely responsible for visual-spatial tasks.¹¹⁷ In 1985, Zaidel demonstrated that the right hemisphere is much more sophisticated linguistically than earlier believed. Recent advances in neuroscience, described below, show that integrated-brain and other forms of brain processing play a key role in understanding visual media, transcendent meaning and ethical worldviews embodied in visual culture. Given the scope and pace of scientific advance, the discussion here is considered purely theoretical, and subject to change. Yet, new discoveries highlight the significance of: 1) links between visual cognition, integrated-brain processing, and transcendent knowledge; and 2) their role in meaning-making and goal-oriented action. This

¹¹⁵ Laughlin, Charles, 1993. “The Fuzzy Brain.” In *Journal of Anthropological Research*. Carleton, Ont.: Carleton University Press.

¹¹⁶ Email correspondence with Dr. Tanaka, Fall 2001. Dr. Tanaka appointed as Canada Chair, Department of Psychology, University of Victoria, 2003.

¹¹⁷ Roger Sperry, of Caltech University, developed a Nobel prize winning theory of a “split” left-brain/right-brain model of thinking in the 1960’s which is now considered to be much too simplistic. The more analytical, left cerebral hemisphere was said to be responsible for verbal, rational and mathematical thinking, while the intuitive, right cerebral hemisphere was said to be responsible for our sensations and artistic, creative and holistic thinking.

science supports my theory that the visually oriented, manual and cognitive processes of 'visual hermeneutic reframing' may play a key role in conflict resolution.

5.1 Moving From a Semiotic to a Visual Culture Approach

Traditional theories of brain function and consciousness are based on a semiotic approach, summarized by Churchland: "by acquiring a language and then learning to speak silently to oneself, one allegedly creates a consciousness virtual machine in the brain."¹¹⁸ However, there are problems with theories of semiotic-based consciousness. For example, this would mean that 'preverbal infants are not conscious; that subjects with global aphasia or left hemispherectomies are not conscious.'¹¹⁹ Further Flanagan,¹²⁰ Block,¹²¹ Churchland, and many others have criticized this approach. Experts have supplied evidence against Dennett's hypothesis of a brain-based, semiotic 'virtual serial machine' as a basis for consciousness.¹²² The scientific view that now dominates asserts that : 1) "recurrent neural nets are powerful. . . and complex enough to manage this [recursive self-awareness] very nicely;"¹²³ and 2) consciousness appears more 'image- than linguistically- based.' Churchland observes that integrated-brain processing is essential to the perception and intergration of ideas: "the answer, to the brain's integrative task .of perception, memory and representations. . . lie in the brain's exploiting spatial properties. . .or temporal properties. . . or both. . . the nervous system does not have such a (single, small) region where it all comes together."¹²⁴ This supports my theory that visual - spatial thinking, engaged through visual media creation and consumption, performs key integrative tasks of perception, representation, framing, and identity formation that are key to successful conflict resolution.

Damasio and Damasio also link cognition of images, networked brain processing, and fundamental human agency. Significantly, they do not see language as playing a role in the

¹¹⁸ Churchland, P.S. 1996. "Toward a Neurobiology of the Mind.' In *The Mind-Brain Continuum*. Llinas and Churchland eds. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Pp. 294.

¹¹⁹Churchland, P.S. 1996. "Toward a Neurobiology of the Mind.' In *The Mind-Brain Continuum*. Llinas and Churchland eds. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Pp. 295.

¹²⁰ Flanagan, O. E. 1990. *Consciousness Reconsidered*. Bradford Books.

¹²¹ Block, N., O. Flanagan, and G. Güzeldere, Eds. 1993. *Consciousness: Psychological and Philosophical Essays*. Oxford: Blackwell. See also: Block, Ned, Owen Flanagan, and Guven Guzeldere. 1998. *The Nature of Consciousness: Philosophical Debates*. Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press.

¹²² Churchland Patricia Smith, and Terence J. Sejnowski. 1992. *The Computational Brain*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

¹²³ Churchland, P.S. 1996. "Toward a Neurobiology of the Mind." In *The Mind-Brain Continuum*. Llinas and Churchland eds. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Pp. 297, 298.

¹²⁴ Churchland, P.S. 1996. "Toward a Neurobiology of the Mind." In *The Mind-Brain Continuum*. Llinas and Churchland eds. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Pp. 297, 298.

emergence of 'subjectivity.' They claim that the sense of one's self as having free will and social agency is sensory- and image- based. They assert that the capacity to 'generate images' through vision, memory and creative imagination, "evolved and endured because images allowed organisms to optimize responses."¹²⁵ Damasio and Damasio propose that the interactiveness of seeing [or sensing] an image, processing image information in the brain, and responding to image- and organism-feedback, form the basis for consciousness.¹²⁶ This supports my concept that integrated-brain processing of the image, through artistic creation and contemplation processes, is fundamental to human agency in society. Similarly, Edelman proposed 'primary consciousness,' where subjectivity stems from non-verbal processes and, again, language is viewed as providing 'second-order verbal narratives' created out of non-verbal [image-based] narratives.¹²⁷

David M. McKay theorizes that integrated-brain information processing is undertaken when humans recognize faces or images. This form of thinking is described as very different from analytical cognition that occurs in textual or verbal discourse. In "Behind the Eye," this Rockefeller Fellow and past University of London physics lecturer, describes cognition of the visual image as a 'conditional readiness' to understand or see things. This is based on many 'clues' which interpret or 'grow' meaning through integrated-brain processing. Cognitive processing of the visual image involves the setting aside of detailed information that is irrelevant, in order to work with core models for framing the interpretation of the image, and, at the same time, a concept, ideology, or problem. McKay describes the implicit knowledge developed through integrated-brain processing of symbols: "from the clinical evidence. . .our right brain is better at the recognition of Gestalts, at the recognition of overall patterns, whereas our left brain is more specialized for handling speech. . . over and

¹²⁵ Damiso and Damiso. 1996. "Toward a Neurobiology of the Mind." In *The Mind-Brain Continuum*. Llinas and Churchland eds. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Pp. 19.

¹²⁶ Damiso and Damiso. 1996. "Toward a Neurobiology of the Mind." In *The Mind-Brain Continuum*. Llinas and Churchland, eds. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Pp. 19. The authors describe the existence of a 'convergence zone' where the brain "continuously holds, makes, and remodels' a construction consisting of 'an object,' 'an organism responding to the object' and a 'description of the organism in the process of changing in response to the object.' These are "held simultaneously in working memory and are placed side by side or in rapid interpolation in early sensory cortices. . . The neural device we propose to generate subjectivity serves to connect images with the process of life, and that is what we believe consciousness is most about. . . [this] could not be simulated by computer or machine." 'Images' are not just visual, but may be sourced in other senses, such as touch and smell.

¹²⁷ Edleman. 1996. Making Images and Creating Subjectivity, in *The Mind-Brain Continuum*. Llinas and Churchland eds. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 297, 298.

above this. . is the skill of symbolic representation in abstract terms. . . probably the one of parallel [integrated brain] processing, involving tacit knowledge. . . distributed widely over the neural net.”¹²⁸ McKay’s observations support my theory that ‘visual hermeneutic reframing’ stems from creation or contemplation of visual media, and accompanying integrated brain processing and apprehension of tacit or transcendent meaning.

While the left hemisphere is responsible for developing and maintaining conceptual models, the right hemisphere has a specialized capacity to revise conceptual models once a threshold of data refuting existing models is reached. This is described by Ramachandran: “When . . . anomalous information reaches a certain threshold, the right hemisphere decides that it is time to force the organism to revise the entire model and start from scratch. . . . thus forc[ing] a Kuhnian paradigm shift in response to the anomalies, whereas the left hemisphere always tries to cling to the original.”¹²⁹ Similarly, Leroy Pelton states, “a belief system, like a scientific theory, is a construction based on perceptual facts and designed to fit the facts and to predict facts, but it is not the facts themselves . . . when it loses the ease with which it can incorporate new perceptual facts consistently, the interpretations it gives become more circuitous and elaborate for the sake of maintaining internal consistency. . . under this strain new concepts are added, old ones are stretched. . . these kinds of changes are significant and are the ones we should look to achieve in our persuasion attempts. Eventually, the system might be abandoned and replaced with a new one altogether although this is rare.”¹³⁰ Cognitive scientists are now exploring the role of integrated-brain networking in these processes, as described in the next section.

5.2 Artistic Activity, Integrated-brain Processing & Transcendent Meaning

Leading-edge science is now exploring integrated-brain processing that utilizes the ‘neural network’ of the whole brain. Known electrical oscillations in brain neurones allow charged atomic particles, or ions, to pass through them. At 40Hz oscillations, common to mammals, this can create an across-the-brain electrical field, with ‘waves’ necessary to the

¹²⁸ McKay, David M. 1991. *Knowing More Than We Can Tell*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell. p. 244, 245.

¹²⁹ Ramachandran, V.S et al. 1996. “Illusions of Body Image: What They Reveal About Human Nature.” In *The Mind-Body Continuum*. Llinas, R. and P. S. Churchland, eds. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

¹³⁰ Pelton, Leroy H. 1974. *The Psychology of Non-violence*. Goldstein, Arnold P. and Leonard Kranser, eds (SUNY). Elmsford, NY: Pergammon Press Ltd. Pp. 49.

emergence of ‘consciousness.’¹³¹ Further, cortical pyramidal neurons, making up about 60% of the brain, have properties of oscillation that create waves in the outer layer of the cortex. Llinas and his colleagues observed that, through these waves, many individual oscillations, or ‘many voices,’ united as a ‘choir.’¹³² In artistic activity, Marshall and Zohar describe this as: “binding individual perceptual and cognitive events into a larger, more meaningful, whole.” They claim that the ‘artistic personality’ has a “deep motive of creativity and [a] need to transform existing reality. . . from a source of knowing beyond rationality or logic.”¹³³ This deep thinking process, which accesses transcendent meaning,¹³⁴ can be gained through the artistic act or contemplation of the image. It is concerned with the relationship of things to each other and a readiness to ‘see’ and reframe things in a new way.

Human experience is actually guided by neurological structures in the brain, according to Laughlin, McManus and d’Aquili,¹³⁵ who describe a ‘cognitive imperative’ to place new experience within existing frames of understanding. This occurs, they say, because physical brain networks and structures influence how experience is understood, and new information will follow existing patterns. Thus, there seems to be some cognitive resistance to changing worldviews, which appears to require deeply moving, emotional or transcendent experience. This supports the idea that analytical and rational thought remains within ‘cognitive frames,’ but ‘integrated brain’ processing of visual media supports ‘reframing of concepts’ by assimilating emotional, transcendent knowledge that may range from mild to intense.

Dr. Andrew Newberg and Dr. Eugene D’Aquili observe that the unification of logic and intuition, through integrated-brain processes, can lead to a powerful state of ‘left brain/right brain agreement. . . resonat[ing] integrated brain agreement [that] feels like a glimpse of the

¹³¹ Source: Association of Scientific Study of Consciousness, July 2000. *The Unity of Consciousness: Binding, integration and dissociation*. Paper given at a seminar by the University of Brussels. Quote: “Consciousness has many elements, from sensory experiences such as vision, audition, and bodily sensation, to non-sensory aspects such as volition, emotion, memory, and thought. The apparent unity of these elements is striking: all are presented to us as experiences of a single subject, and all seem to be contained within a unified field of experience. . . In recent years . . . Neuro-physiologists and computational modellers have investigated the mechanisms by which binding and integration of disparate information may take place in the brain, producing a unified experience. . . Some cognitive modellers have suggested that unity is a mere illusion, while others have emphasized the role of a central unifying system in integrating sensory and motor experience. And philosophers have analyzed just what the unity of consciousness comes to, and whether we have reason to believe that it exists.” Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.assc.caltech.edu/conferences.html#assc4>

¹³² Marshall, Dr. Ian, and Danah Zohar. 2000. *Spiritual Intelligence*. London, England: Bloomsbury Publishing. Pp.86

¹³³ Marshall, Dr. Ian and Danah Zohar. 2000. *Spiritual Intelligence*. London, England: Bloomsbury Publishing. Pp.147, 159.

¹³⁴ McFarland, Thomas. 1987. *Shapes of Culture*. Iowa City, Ia: University of Iowa Press. Pp. 49.

¹³⁵ Laughlin, Charles D, John McManus and Eugene G. D’Aquili. 1990. *Brain, Symbol and Experience: Toward a Neuro-phenomenology of Human Consciousness*. Boston, Mass.: Shambhala Publications.

ultimate truth . . . when it is shared with others [they] find meaning and power in the resolutions it provides. . . if they feel even a small degree of neurologically experienced emotion. . . passionate testimony will gain credence. They will believe him [the testator] not because they think he is right, but because they feel it.”¹³⁶ This team of doctor and anthropologist propose that the sense of unity or fulfilling completeness stems from the integrated-brain processing that occurs in comprehending symbols. This is how, they asset, symbol creation and comprehension leads to social cohesion in a time of crisis or conflict. Integrated brain processing that occurs in creation and contemplation of cultural symbols is seen as the driving force that unifies social relations during times of rapid change or crisis.¹³⁷ This theory of the role of the symbolic form may explain the success of the ICBL’s archetype of the child landmine victim. This appeared to stimulate a ‘normative crisis’ about the military versus humanitarian value of landmines. This ICBL child victim symbol appeared to bring together diverse groups of more than 100 states, including military and political leaders, NGOs humanitarians, students, citizens and physicians. They united to support a new treaty banning landmines, provide assistance to victims and remove existing landmines. Further research is recommended to fully understand cognitive, psychological and social processes behind the use archetypes to in disarmament and conflict resolution.

6. Ethical Personal Agency Stimulated by Visual Cognition

McKay suggests that integrated brain processing is fundamental to the creation, communication and deciphering of images, which embody tacit and socially transforming knowledge. McKay also observes that implicit knowledge can be more difficult to share with people, than serial, logically disciplined, analytical discourse. Therefore, it appears that one of the key functions of visual media is to communicate knowledge formulated through integrated-brain processing during the creative process. Tacit knowledge developed using individual cognitive pathways or patterns of thinking is highly influential in our choice of actions. States McKay: “ our tacit knowledge, as represented by all this parallel [integrated brain] structure, will be dependent on particular microscopical details. . .of the actual matter

¹³⁶ Newburg, Andrew, Eugene D’Aquili and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brian Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York, N.Y.: Ballintine Books; Random House. Pp. 71. The effect of images and symbols is discussed on page 94.

¹³⁷ Newburg, Andrew, Eugene D’Aquili and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brian Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York, N.Y.: Ballintine Books; Random House. Pp. 75. See also Jung, Carl. 1958. *Psyche and Symbol*. V.S. Lazlo, Translator. New York, N.Y.: Doubleday.

of our brains. . . [that] may be significant contributors to the content of your tacit knowledge. . . internal experiments conducted in the brain. . . in the vast experimental theatre of the brain's associative networks, have outcomes which play an essential part in shaping both the course and character of our embodied agency.”¹³⁸

McKay observes that implicit knowledge and associated brain processes are a source of self awareness, creative action and moral thinking: “personal agency comes in when cooperative self-supervisory activity starts up.”¹³⁹ McKay suggests that integrated brain processing, useful in reframing concepts about the world, involves an apprehension of the inter-connectedness or ‘unity’ of all things. Integrated brain processing can inform daily living and moral choices with ‘ethical’ modes of thinking, he asserts. McKay observes that integrated brain processing provides: “the neurological source from which ‘I’ emerge. . . the neurological ground of our unifying, contextualizing, transforming spiritual intelligence. It is through these oscillations that we place our experience within a framework of meaning and value.”¹⁴⁰ McKay supports my theory that creation, and contemplation of, visual media, may stimulate integrated brain processes, ethical thinking, new meaning making and socially transforming action of value to conflict resolution.

Informed by disciplines of philosophy, theology, psychological anthropology, and feminist theory, Bruteau examines the role of religious symbols, such as the Christian Imago Dei, the Incarnation, and the Trinity, and practices of contemplative insight, in transforming culture. She claims that experience of transcendent meaning removes fear and allows people to make ethically informed decisions in the face of perceived threats and uncertainty. She advocates individual and community transformation based on experiences of transcendent meaning. This level of meaning, Bruteau believes, produce a profound sense of spiritual ethics and personal freedom, thus enabling individuals to overcome conflict and create a community with a ‘shared vision.’¹⁴¹ Bruteau’s ideas also support my theory that visual media creation and contemplation may access transcendent meaning, ethical inform discourse and facilitate reframing of key concepts in conflict resolution. Recent observations

¹³⁸ McKay, David M. 1991. *Knowing More Than We Can Tell*. Oxford, UK.: Basil Blackwell. Pp. 251

¹³⁹ McKay, David M. 1991. *Knowing More Than We Can Tell* Oxford, U.K.: Basil Blackwell. Pp. 252.

¹⁴⁰ McKay, David M. 1991. *Knowing More Than We Can Tell*. Oxford, U.K.: Basil Blackwell. Pp. 251

¹⁴¹ Breauteau, Bernice. 2001. *The Grand Option: Personal Transformation and a New Creation*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

of Bruteau, Laughlin, McManus and d'Aquili, McKay in areas of visual anthropology, brain science, and cognitive psychology suggest that visual media methods merit research as a professional praxis in mediation. Related science is examined below.

7. **Biogenetic Structural Theory & Social Transformation Via Symbolic Culture**

D'Aquili, Laughlin, McManus, Shearer, Webber and MacDonald have created theories in biogenetic structural research that have elements in common with McKay's theories about the role of image creation and cognition in spiritual life, and formation of identity and norms. Biogenetic Structuralism is of interest because it examines the relationship between the cognition, the human sense of reality, and the abstraction of worldviews using visual media. Dr. Charles Laughlin and Dr. Eugene D'Aquili integrate anthropology, human evolution, phenomenology and neuroscience in biogenetic structural theory, to provide a framework for understanding the artistic portrayal of worldviews.¹⁴² Their theories describe brain-based patterns of thought and human consciousness, and the role of symbols in culture. Laughlin and D'Aquili believe that the nervous system is the primary seat of conception of human patterns of behaviour, understanding, art and culture. Charles Laughlin claims the symbolic assists adaptation to the environment by: 1) altering meaning attached to symbols or 2) creating new symbols with new meanings. This may be transferable to conflict resolution.

Biogenetic structural research examines the role of symbols as sensory stimuli affecting meaning making in neurocognitive models of the brain. Key research also studies the way in which neurocognitive models of the human brain are expressed in visual media and symbols. In 'perception mode,' the brain brings forward 'multiple frames of meaning associated with a symbol,' from which the 'symbolic construct' is perceived. In 'fulfilling mode,' frames of meaning are 'brought forth' by the brain in 'anticipation' of perception. In 'expressive mode,' which is a subset of 'fulfilling mode,' symbols represent perception and 'call forth' frames of meaning from 'brain constructs.' All these modes may operate where visual media or symbols are employed as a conflict resolution tools.

Biogenetic Structuralism contributes to theory about visual media exercises in conflict resolution because cognitive processes described are very similar, if not the same, as those that likely occur during processes of 'visual hermeneutic reframing' and communication of

¹⁴²Laughlin, C.D. and E.G. D'Aquili. 1974. *Biogenetic Structuralism*. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press.

meaning in peace and conflict discourse.¹⁴³ I propose mediation exercises would involve use of visual media in creation, reframing and expression of concepts. This may include neurocognitive models of worldviews related to the conflict, such as identity, cultural myths about peace and conflict and relationship to the ‘other.’

Biogenetic structural theory examines “evolution of the symbolic function that proceeds from primordial symbol, through cognized SYMBOL systems to sign systems, and finally to formal sign systems,”¹⁴⁴ Any or all of these symbol systems are thought to “operate at any moment in adult human cognition.”¹⁴⁵ Visual media created during conflict may evolve in a like manner and exert similar influences on society’s visual discourse as symbol systems. Biogenetic Structuralism supports my theory that visual media exercises may be instrumental in reframing of worldviews about identity and conflict by the parties’ and, through dissemination of media in society, by members of larger constituencies.

Laughlin and d’Aquili’s study of social control and the transforming of human experience and worldviews through symbolism is also pertinent. D’Aquili, and Laughlin study symbolism, and cognition, and their relation to transcendent or ‘extraordinary experiences and states of consciousness,’ in many different cultures.¹⁴⁶ Recent scientific discoveries related to ‘neurocognitive,’ ‘autonomic,’ and ‘neuroendocrinal’ ‘entrainment’ are examined. These are described as an attempt to understand “the mechanisms by which societies condition patterns of entrainment so as to control (limit or extend) the range of human experience, [and] the mechanisms by which societies produce recurrent extraordinary experiences in . . . their members so as to verify and vivify those societies’ world views.”¹⁴⁷ They describe conditioned patterns of [brain] entrainment, linked to symbolic production, dissemination and consumption, as a significant means of social control and social transformation. This suggests that prolonged creation and consumption of a ‘conflict resolution’ visual culture has the potential to change ‘thinking patterns’ among those

¹⁴³ Sample exercises are outlined in Chapter Four of this thesis.

¹⁴⁴ Laughlin, C. D., John McManus and Stephens. "A Model of Brain and Symbol." *Semiotica* 33(3/4). Pp. 211-236

¹⁴⁵ Laughlin, C. D., John McManus and Stephens. "A Model of Brain and Symbol." *Semiotica* 33(3/4) Pp. 211-236

¹⁴⁶ Laughlin, C.D. and E.G. D’Aquili. 1974. *Biogenetic Structuralism*. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press. See also: D’Aquili 1982, Laughlin 1985, 1988a, 1988c, Laughlin et al. 1986, Laughlin McManus and Shearer 1983, Laughlin, McManus and Webber, 1984. See also: Newburg, Andrew, Eugene D’Aquili and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brain Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York: Ballantine Books, Random House.

¹⁴⁷ Laughlin, Charles. 1996. "Recent Trends in Biogenetic Structural Theory." Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.carleton.ca/~claughli/synopsis.htm>

involved. Biogenetic Structuralism appears to support the use of visual media as a social transformation tool in conflict resolution. Related scientific findings about visual media activities a means to access transcendent meaning are reviewed in the next section.

8. Visual Media Creation and Contemplation Appears to Support Peace Processes and Foster Non-violence

Neuroscientists are starting to understand how the brain can be trained to override violent impulses, through meditation or visual contemplation. This training may allow stakeholders to engage calmly and without fear in a peace process with the ‘enemy,’ through ‘mindfulness’ that can prevent anxiety. Dr. Richard Davidson, a psychologist, has worked with the Dalai Lama, to discover how the brain can be trained to adopt a peaceful outlook, even during periods of conflict or high stress. Training in this technique is inexpensive and may be of real benefit to peace processes. At the Keck Laboratory for Functional Brain Imaging and Behaviour, Davidson has used fMRI brain scans of monks trained in an attitude of ‘mindfulness,’¹⁴⁸ to further understand the brain processes involved. The Dalai Lama says:

“ I have been encouraging scientists to examine . . . Tibetan . . . practitioners, to see what benefits these practices might have for others, outside the religious context. . . using imaging devices to show what occurs to the brain during meditation, Dr Davidson has been able to study the effects of Buddhist cultivation of compassion, equanimity or ‘mindfulness’ . . .to make people calmer, happier and more loving. . .less prone to destructive emotions. . . According to Dr. Davidson, there is now science to underscore this belief. Dr. Davidson tells me that the emergence of positive emotions may be due to this: Mindfulness meditation strengthens the neurological circuits that calm a part of the brain that acts as a trigger for fear and anger. This raises the possibility that we have a way to create a kind of buffer between the brain’s violent impulses and our actions. Experiments have shown that some practitioners can achieve a state of inner peace, even when facing extremely disturbing circumstances. . . .

Dr. Davidson told me about his research working with [ordinary, non-Buddhist] people in highly stressful jobs. . .taught mindfulness. . .After eight weeks, Dr. Davidson found that. . . the parts of their brain that helped to form positive emotion became increasingly active. *The implications of all this are clear: the world today needs citizens and leaders who can work towards ensuring stability and engage in dialogue with the “enemy” no matter what kind of aggression or assault they may have endured. It is worth noting that these techniques are not just useful, but inexpensive. . . You don’t need a drug or an injection. . .you don’t need to adopt a particular religious faith. . . modern technology*

¹⁴⁸ Director of the Keck Laboratory at the University of Wisconsin, Dr. Davidson conducts experiments in the new \$10 million Laboratory for Functional Brain Imaging and Behaviour. He uses brain-scan technology, known as functional magnetic resonance imaging, or fMRI.

guided by hatred can inflict immense destruction. Such terrible acts are a violent symptom of an afflicted mental state. We need to be guided by more healthy states of mind, not just to avoid feeding the flames of hatred, but to respond skilfully. We need to be reminded that the war on terror can be waged on this, the internal front, too.”¹⁴⁹

Bernice Bruteau has also developed contemplative theory, from a Christian theological perspective. She advocates Christian approaches to symbolism and ‘contemplative insight’ as a means of reducing conflict and transforming society to a community with a ‘shared vision.’¹⁵⁰ She suggests that ‘contemplative insight’ can help us overcome ‘domination, greed, and violence’ that stem from ‘a sense of insufficient and insecure being’ and lack of control. Bruteau asserts that a sense of ‘oneness,’ and ‘freedom from alienation and insecurity,’ developed through Christian contemplation and visual media, provides a ‘sure foundation’ for a better global community. Contemplative practice, she claims, can bring a change in attitude from ‘withdrawal, suspicion, rejection and hostility,’ to ‘openness, trust, inclusion, nurturance and communion.’ This has parallels with the Dalai Lama’s assertions of contemplative practice as a source of peace. It is also similar to assertions by Dr. Andrew Newberg, and Dr. Eugene D’Aquili, that joyous and peaceful experiences of transcendent meaning use brain processes accessed by a variety of contemplative and religious practices. This is discussed below.

8.1 Neuroscientists: Brain Processing of the Visual Facilitates Transcendent Meaning

Dr. Andrew Newberg, and Dr. Eugene D’Aquili are studying brain processes active during apprehension of transcendent or ‘third level’ meaning¹⁵¹ that are stimulated by intense contemplation of an image. In their groundbreaking work, they have relied mainly on functional magnetic resonance imaging studies [fMRI] to portray areas activated in the brain during different levels of visual contemplation. SPECT scanning ‘maps’ of the brain during deep contemplation, consistently show that two “orientation association areas” located at the posterior section of the parietal lobe, in the right and the left hemisphere, experience ‘dramatically reduced’ blood flow, or deafferentiation, during the height of contemplation.

¹⁴⁹ Gyatso, Tenzin. The Dalai Lama. 2003. *The Monk in the Lab*. The New York Times, April 26, 2003. Available on the World Wide Web:

<http://psyphz.psych.wisc.edu/~topolovich/Web%20Page/lab%20articles/The%20Monk%20in%20the%20Lab.pdf>

¹⁵⁰ Bruteau, Bernice. 2001. *The Grand Option: Personal Transformation and a New Creation*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

¹⁵¹ McFarland, Thomas. 1987. *Shapes of Culture*. Iowa City, Ia.: University of Iowa Press. Pp. 49.

This occurs when transcendent meaning or a sense of 'unity' is experienced, as described below:

"As the orientation area was deprived of information needed to draw the line between the self and the world – the scientists believed- the subject would experience a sense of a limitless awareness melting into infinite space. It seemed they had captured snapshots of the brain nearing a state of mystical transcendence . . .these are rare experiences, causing almost total blackout of the orientation area. . . .but lower degrees of blockage could produce a range of milder, more ordinary spiritual experiences, as when believers . . . feel a sense of unity. Their research suggests that all these feelings are rooted not in emotion or wishful thinking, but in the genetically arranged wiring of the brain."¹⁵²

The primary function of the orientation areas is to interpret sensory signals and form a 'mental representation' of 'self in the world.' The 'right orientation association area' creates a sensation of physical space in which to orient one's body, while the 'left orientation association area' is responsible for sensations representing the physical body and sense of 'self.'¹⁵³ Scientists find the 'orientation association area' to be 'instrumental' in shaping 'basic perceptions of space and time, self and ego.' This area is so important to goal-oriented thought and behaviour "that a number of researchers think of the attention area as the neurological seat of the will."¹⁵⁴ Therefore, the manner in which the orientation association areas function, and methods by which their functionality can be influenced, is crucial to perception of personal and group identity, value and ethics. These are fundamental elements to be addressed in conflict resolution, especially for value-laden disputes.

Brain processes that stimulate a sense of transcendent, ethical meaning, induced through deafferentation of the orientation association area, are of particular interest to my design of a visual culture approach to conflict resolution. Visual media creation and contemplation, by encouraging these brain processes and transcendent meaning, may facilitate visual hermeneutic reframing of concepts of identity and improve inter-group relations. Scientists,

¹⁵² Rause, Vince. 2001. "Quest for the Divine: Scientists have discovered that a rational universe still has room for incomprehensible wonders." *Los Angeles Times Magazine*. July 15, 2001. Los Angeles, Ca: Los Angeles Times Co. SPECT scanning imagery 'mapped' the blood flow in the brains of Franciscan nuns in deep contemplative prayer and Tibetan Buddhists meditating in 1990's scientific studies.

¹⁵³ Newburg, Andrew, Eugene D'Aquili and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brian Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York: Balantine Books, Random House. Pp.28.

¹⁵⁴ Newburg, Andrew, Eugene D'Aquili and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brian Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York, N.Y.: Ballantine Books, Random House. Pp. 83. The effect of images and symbols is discussed on page 29. Scientists caution that the orientation association area of the brain has a key role in defining the self, but does not act alone, relying on other parts such as sub-cortical regions.

anthropologists and philosophers recognize that joint symbolic practice, through visual media creation, dissemination of contemplation or related ritual, can facilitate growth of new, harmonious social bonds via shared transcendent meaning. Applied as a practice of conflict resolution, the parties' collaborative visual media experience may form a social and symbolic bond as a basis for articulating mutual interests, identifying super-ordinate goals and joint actions towards peace-building.

The orientation association area is activated during experiences that are highly emotional, and is strongly associated with neurological events leading to integrative, 'transpersonal or transcendent feelings.' These integrative feelings can be triggered by 'symbols' or 'meaningful cultural content' in visual media.¹⁵⁵ This suggests that, where impacts involving peace process visual media have been positive, favourable peace-building impacts could be extended to larger constituencies through dissemination of that media. Scientists suggest that such integrative brain processes, particularly those that occur during rituals or contemplation of meaningful images, "serve important functions by reducing acts of aggressiveness between the members of a group and by creating, in that group, a strong social bond."¹⁵⁶ Visual media creation and contemplation, may, therefore, be instrumental in facilitating brain processes that forge social bonds relating to joint peace-building by the parties. Dissemination of this media may also help 'bring onside' larger constituencies.

Through contemplation of meaningful art or symbol, Newburg, D'Aquili and Rause observe that the mind can trigger neurological mechanisms leading to 'transcendent' experiences. They describe these as occurring 'where one senses the integration' or 'oneness' of all things, or even the ultimate, mystical experience of 'absolute unitary being.' This sense of oneness, or integration with all others, stems from the orientation association area, a part of the brain described as responsible for self, identity and goal-formation. I suggest that the orientation association area's key role in human identity and goal formation is highly significant to conflict resolution practices in societies experiencing ethno-political conflict.

¹⁵⁵ Newburg, Andrew, E. D'Aquili and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brain Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York, N.Y.: Ballantine Books, Random House. Pp. 83. See also effect of images and symbols. Pp. 34.

¹⁵⁶ Newburg, Andrew, Eugene D'Aquili and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brain Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York, N.Y.: Ballantine Books, Random House. Pp. 83. See also the effect of images and symbols as discussed on page 94.

8.2 Ethno-political Conflict Resolution and Contemplative Practice

Ken Jowitt examines identity formation related to conflict and provides insight regarding approaches that may keep identity conflict in check, in some cases. He classifies ethnic conflict into three distinct modes, based on different combinations of 'identity' and 'entity' belonging. The first of these is ethnic conflict in the '*corporate setting*.' Here, people may become violent if their 'preference for absolute separation is not met,' and they act to socially 'barricade themselves' from 'other groups' due to social, religious, ideological or other differences. A second form of ethnic conflict is found in the '*individual setting*.' Here, typically, social, cultural, religious or political boundaries are more 'flexible' and 'relative,' based on 'resemblance, not difference.' 'Ethnic identification is more elastic,' in the individual setting, so that conflict is rarely violent. However, where there are 'no concepts of individual liberty and equality,' and where people are marginalized or oppressed, conflicts in individual settings can, Jowitt claims, become horrific. This occurs because 'ethnic barricading' is instituted at the individual level. Finally, Jowitt describes ethnic conflict in the '*ego setting*.' In this instance, 'barricading' is based on individual identity, and there is anarchy, or "no recognized religious, legal, ethical, political, or ideological discipline."¹⁵⁷ Anarchy may prevail in the ego setting, states Jowitt, as there is "no authoritative and consistent limitation of ego other than the external obstacle [power] and or internal disability [weakness]. . . [with] murderous and immoral. . . behaviour."¹⁵⁸ A strong culture of human rights and civil society appears an essential element in mitigating ethnic barricading.

Jowitt observes the 'intensely emotional quality of [ethnicity's] identity claims.'¹⁵⁹ He describes 'practical efforts' to construct and maintain civil society in order to reduce opportunities for flexible, relative, civic boundaries of 'resemblance,' to become 'corporate barricades' based on identity. However, he does not offer advice regarding the 'de-escalation, of intense, individual ethnic identification in societies experiencing 'barricading'

¹⁵⁷ Jowitt, Ken. 2002. "Ethnicity: Nice, Nasty and Nihilistic." In *Ethno-political Warfare: Causes, Consequences and Possible Solutions*. Daniel Chirot and Marin E. P. Seligman, eds. Washington, DC.: American Psychological Association. Pp.30.

¹⁵⁸ Jowitt, Ken. 2002. "Ethnicity: Nice, Nasty and Nihilistic." In *Ethno-political Warfare: Causes, Consequences and Possible Solutions*. Daniel Chirot and Marin E. P. Seligman, eds. Washington, DC.: American Psychological Association. Pp.30.

¹⁵⁹ Jowitt, Ken. 2002. "Ethnicity: Nice, Nasty and Nihilistic." In *Ethno-political Warfare: Causes, Consequences and Possible Solutions*. Daniel Chirot and Marin E. P. Seligman, eds. Washington, DC.: American Psychological Association. Pp. 35.

in the 'individual setting' or the 'ego setting.' I suggest that there may be important links to research, between an education in contemplative practice, where the 'orientation association' area of human identity and goal formation' is informed by transcendent meaning, and de-escalation of 'barricading' in the 'individual or ego setting.' Contemplative or mindful practice has been found to make people 'less prone to destructive emotions.' However, training offered to people embroiled in ethnic conflict is not a 'quick fix' and may often be impractical. Contemplative practice requires a motivated student, a suitable venue and teacher, and considerable uninterrupted, quiet practice time. Conflict situations rarely offer these elements. It is ironic, however, to discover that Paul Tillich developed his own form of 'mindfulness' using visual media while on the war front:

"As a diversion from the terror of the battlefield, he and his friends would entertain themselves by studying picture-postcard reproductions of the world's great art works. For the first time Tillich began to see the importance of art . . . he could escape the dread of the battlefield by contemplating the beauty of an expressionist painting, for example."¹⁶⁰

However, Tillich, a military Chaplain, did not have a 'typical' military background. Among adults and older youth who are soldiers, contemplative practice may be especially difficult to learn, although it may be a useful coping mechanism. This group is more likely to have habitual brain impulses and neurological pathways based on extended training and experience of combat. However, for children in societies with ethnic tension, education in contemplative practice might foster a decrease armed conflict and promote peace-building, as their generation takes charge. Such an education might also increase respect for human rights and promote non-violent behaviour among the younger generation. Of course, extensive research respecting such education, any possible negative effects, and cultural appropriateness, would be required. As part of peace process participation, under the Convention on the Rights of the Child[CRC], children should have the opportunity to identify their education interests. While children might not be aware of contemplative practices and their benefits, they have a right under the CRC to be informed of such

¹⁶⁰ Henderson describes Tillich's use of art contemplation as an escape: "As a diversion from the terror of the battlefield, he and his friends would entertain themselves by studying picture-postcard reproductions of the world's great art works. For the first time Tillich began to see the importance of art. He found that he could escape the dread of the battlefield by contemplating the beauty of an expressionist painting, for example." Source: Henderson, Charles P. Jr. 1986. "Theism Rewritten for an Age of Science." In *God and Science: the death and rebirth of theism*. Louisville, KY.: John Knox Press. Available on the World Wide Web: http://www.crosscurrents.org/Tillich.htm#N_37

alternatives. Any educational initiatives respecting peace-building must be well designed and tested, and consistent with the CRC. These are unconventional, but intriguing areas worthy of further research and collaboration between relevant disciplines.

8.3 Visual Media Contemplation Stimulates a Range of “Transcendent Experience”

Brain science underlying integrative, ‘mindful’ thought and the calming of violent impulses, supports my visual culture approach to conflict resolution. In support of my theory of visual hermeneutic reframing, I now review brain science describing the integrative impulses from the brain’s orientation association area that occur during the contemplation of visual media. Newburg, D’Aquili and Rause describe contemplation of visual media as stimulating “deafferentation,” or deprivation of information, in the orientation association area. Due to its technical nature, I quote their complete description of this process. As concentration on a visual image intensifies through contemplation, there is,

“increased neural flow [that] causes the right orientation area, in conjunction with the visual association area, to fix the object of focus . . . in the mind. Continuous fixation upon this image, induced by sustained contemplation, causes discharges from the right attention area to travel down through the limbic system to the hypothalamus, triggering the arousal section of the structure, resulting in a mildly pleasant state of excitation. As contemplation deepens, the flow of these discharges increases in intensity, until the arousal function of the hypothalamus reaches maximal levels. At this point, spill-over occurs, causing the immediate maximal activation of the hypothalamus’s quiescent function.

The simultaneous activation of both arousal and quiescent functions sends a flood of maximal stimulation surging back up through the limbic structures to both sides of the attention association area. As a result of this sudden neural flood, activity in the attention area is pushed to maximal levels, which amplifies the mind’s ability to focus upon the object of attention, causing significant repercussions in both the left and right orientation areas.

In the left orientation area, we observe the same result we saw in passive meditation – the restriction of neural flow exerted by the hippocampus leads to deafferentation, and a consequent blurring of the sense of self. The effect on the right orientation area, however, is quite different. Remember that the attention association area has been driving the right orientation area to focus more and more on the image. . . Now, as the attention area reaches maximal levels, it does not block the flow of information to the right orientation area, as it does to the left; on the contrary, the attention association area derives the right side to focus more and more intensely on the image. . .

To bring the mind’s focus more sharply upon this image, the attention area also begins to deprive the right orientation area of all neural input not originating from the contemplation of . . . [the image]. In other words, the right orientation area, as it strives to create a spatial matrix in which the self can exist, has nothing to work with but input streaming in from the attention area. It has no choice, therefore, but to create a spatial reality out of nothing but the attention area’s single-minded contemplation . . . As the process continues, as all irrelevant

neural input is stripped away and the mind becomes more focussed, the image. . ."enlarges" until it becomes perceived by the mind as the whole depth and breadth of reality.

As these changes unfold in the right orientation area, the deafferentation of the left orientation area is also in progress, causing the perceived limits of the self to soften. As the sense of self is completely undone, by complete deafferentation, the mind would experience a startling perception that the individual self had been mystically absorbed into the transcendent reality of [the image]. . .It's likely that, if active mediation carries [one]. . . as far as the *Unico Mystic*, it may carry him or her even further, to the ultimate unitary state. This would occur as [one] . . .tires, and the willed intention of the association area weakens. The mind would relax its efforts to focus concentration, depriving the right orientation area of its only neural input, and sending it, along with the left orientation area, into total deafferentation. At this point, the mind would enter the same selfless and limitless reality that can be reached through the act of passive mediation, the reality of absolute unitary being. . .

While in the state of absolute unitary being, subjective observations are impossible; on the one hand, no subjective self exists to make them, and on the other, there is nothing distinct to be observed; the observer and the observed are one and the same, there are no degrees of difference, there is no *this* and no *that*. . .There is only absolute unity, and there cannot be two versions of any unity that is absolute."¹⁶¹

The above passage describes various stages of progressive deafferentation that may occur with contemplation of an image, ending with the ultimate experience of 'absolute unity.' Newburg, D'Aquili and Rause assert that a "unitary continuum" exists. This is possible because the blockage of neural flow to the orientation area "can increase by any increment, and theoretically, until there is total blocking, a large spectrum of unitary states is possible."

¹⁶² Degrees of transcendent meaning are likely as variable as people and their range of contemplative experiences with visual media. However, absolute unity is a relatively unusual experience. The 'unitary continuum' of integrative experience ranges from a mild sense of belonging to an intense sense of 'oneness' with all humanity or all life, and, finally, to an 'absolute unity of being.' Such experiences can be stimulated by 'los[ing] yourself' in a great work of art, or 'being wonder-struck by the beauty of nature' where the "ego is stripped away and for a dazzling moment you are aware that you are part of something larger"¹⁶³ Where visual media creation and contemplation exercises may be utilized in

¹⁶¹ Newburg, Andrew, Eugene D'Aquili and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brian Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York, N.Y.: Ballantine Books, Random House. Pp. 121 –123.

¹⁶² Newburg, Andrew, Eugene D'Aquili and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brian Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York, N.Y.: Ballantine Books, Random House. Pp. 115.

¹⁶³ Newburg, Andrew, Eugene D'Aquili and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brian Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York, N.Y.: Ballantine Books, Random House. Pp. 113.

conflict resolution or peace process mediation, any experience on this continuum may foster a sense of belonging or unity among the parties. This may foster an increased willingness to develop more harmonious relations, find common interests and develop joint actions.

8.4 Visual Hermeneutic Reframing in Conflict Resolution and Peace Processes

I propose that numerous benefits may be derived from formally employing visual media creation, dissemination, and contemplation exercises in conflict resolution and peace processes. Benefits involve ‘visual hermeneutic reframing’ among stakeholders and include:

- 1) stimulation of participants’ respect for life, higher ethics, a sense of unity of the group, and reduced fear and aggression, which often accompany increased transcendent meaning and degrees of unitary experience within groups;
- 2) integrated-brain processing, review of gestalts, and receptivity to formulation of new concepts of self and new relations with others, which accompany visual cognitive processing; and
- 3) motivation to act, based on more ethical and humanitarian impulses stemming from an increased respect for life and transcendent meaning experienced [to varying degrees] through deafferentiation of the ‘orientation association area.’ (Part of the brain known as the ‘neurological seat of the will.’)¹⁶⁴

In my study of the ICBL, children’s visual media appear to exemplify my theory of ‘visual hermeneutic reframing.’ This media, embodying the emotional appeal of the child victim, and text references noting children’s desire for peace, appear successful in stimulating some transcendent meaning, and ethical responses, among many viewers. Initially viewers had little knowledge of landmine issues, but rapidly became informed, and supported a landmine ban. According to neuroscientists and philosophers already mentioned, many viewers would associate transcendent meaning and unitary experience of art contemplation with a heightened awareness of their respect for life. ICBL visual media may have stimulated of integrated-brain processes, which deal in gestalts and a ‘readiness for creating new categories of meaning.’ In this way, many viewers of ICBL visual media, may have been well-positioned to reframe their state security justification of landmines toward more humanitarian ideals supporting children’s well-being and a landmine ban.

¹⁶⁴ Newburg, Andrew, Eugene D’Aquili and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brain Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York, N.Y: Ballantine Books, Random House. Pp. 83. The effect of images and symbols is discussed on page 29. See also: Freith et al (1991); and Libet, Freeman and Sutherland (1999). Scientists caution that the orientation association area of the brain plays a key part in defining the self, but it does not act alone, relying on other parts such as the subcortical regions.

I have developed the theory of visual hermeneutic reframing with substantial support of anthropological observation, organization change case studies, and cognitive neuroscience detailed in the previous sections. My research suggests that transcendent meaning and ‘emotional affect’ embodied in the visual, may be a unifying force where visual media is created, disseminated and consumed as part of peace processes. If successful peace process methods can be derived, using visual media, every stakeholder involved may have an opportunity to experience some degree of transcendent meaning or unitary experience, and the higher level of respect for life that often accompanies this experience. In conflict mediation, this may lead stakeholders to improve integrated thinking, develop the will to create more harmonious relations, and work towards super-ordinate goals. There is a potential for other, positive attitudes and behaviours to stem from experiencing an expansive, feeling of ‘oneness’ and shared well being with others involved in the peace process.

A closer study of the use of visual media in cognitive reframing is needed, as a basis for designing mediation methods for children’s visual media production, dissemination and contemplation in peace processes. The following section reviews theoretical literature in visual anthropology, conflict resolution, legal discourse and cognitive heuristic science to establish a theoretical base for the instrumentality of visual media and images of the victim in conflict resolution practice.

9. Cognitive Framing in Social Sciences and the Media

Framing “refer[s] to the definition, meaning and or conceptualization of an issue,” according to Putnam and Holmer.¹⁶⁵ A modest amount of research has occurred regarding the role of framing in mediation and negotiation. However, it is limited to verbal and textual communication. The three main approaches to framing, as summarized by Putnam and Homer, include:¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Putnam, Linda and Majia Holmer. 1992. “Framing, Reframing and Issue Development.” In *Communication and Negotiation*. Putnam, Linda L. and Micheal E. Roloff, eds. London, U.K.: Sage Publications. Pp. 138.

¹⁶⁶ Putnam, Linda and Majia Holmer, 1992. “Framing, Reframing and Issue Development.” In *Communication and Negotiation*. Putnam, Linda L. and Micheal E. Roloff, eds. London, U.K.: Sage Publications. Pp. 138.

- 1) *Cognitive heuristic theory*, employing theories of behavioural decision-making¹⁶⁷ where frames represent stable, perceptual bias of the parties, which can be used reflectively to increase awareness of bias and surmount barriers to rational thought; and
- 2) *Theory of frame categories*, where frame meaning stems from stakeholder interpretations located in language and frame categories, such as issue development.

Similarly, Bateson's theory focuses upon the role of communication in the creation and alteration of psychological frames. Here, frames are viewed as dynamic 'social contexts' with implicit and explicit messages embodying individual aims and related conceptions of history, culture, and nature.¹⁶⁸ Gregory Bateson and Erving Goffman created a foundation for the development of Recursive Frame Analysis in discourse.¹⁶⁹ Bateson and Goffman understood frames as being our conceptual or cognitive views of particular situations. For an observer to comprehend a particular behaviour or action, that observer must identify or construct a context or frame for that event.

Visual media may facilitate social change supporting conflict resolution, where images made by stakeholders portray current, and alternative, 'cognitive frames' through which we may see ourselves and the world. Visual media exercises appear to facilitate integrated brain processing and 'out of the box' exploration of categories of meaning. While many forms of meaning may be transmitted through art, visual media remains one of the few ways to communicate transcendent meaning. In many cultures, transcendent meaning is regarded as

¹⁶⁷ Robert Putnam. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." In *International Organizatio*. 42. Pp. 427-460. Also relevant to participation in peace processes and public interest media are Putnam's works on social capital, and dwindling civic life in America. See: Putnam, R. D. 1993. "The Prosperous Community: social capital and public life." In *American Prospect*, 4:13 See also: Putnam, R.. D. 1996 "The Strange Disappearance of Civic America." In *American Prospect*. 7: 24. Putnam and others have researched the transformation of conflict through issue development based on verbal discourse, where "disputes are transformed through shifting frames or altering the way problems are conceptualized." (Putnam, 1996)

¹⁶⁸ Bateson, G. 1972. *Steps to An Ecology of Mind*. New York, N.Y.: Ballantine Books.

¹⁶⁹ Bateson and Goffman assert that choices of frames help us to hear certain aspects of a talk, while not helping us to hear other parts of the conversation. Here, frame denotes context. In Recursive Framework Analysis (RFA), "researchers use sequential analysis to observe semantic shifts in a conversation. A frame is a basic pattern of meaning isolated by a listener, or a bit of talk, or 'sound bite,' seen to be distinctly different from other parts of the talk. . . With RFA, researchers undertake practical analyses, attempting to understand the way in which speakers shift the flow of discourse. While listening, recursive frame analysts pay attention to conversational 'differences' to assess how content shifts, and who instigated, or assisted that shift." Source: Bateson, G. 1972. *Steps to An Ecology of Mind*. New York, N.Y.: Ballantine Books.

a source of protection and strength to deal with conflict and social change. My proposed visual culture and contemplative approach to conflict resolution, using integrated-brain processing and transcendent meaning, differs substantially from semantic, analytical, problem-solving approaches of traditional 'Western' conflict resolution. Cognitive science describes transcendent meaning as stemming from a meta-view of the world, which recognizes existing and potential relationships between entities and systems. The social and ethical knowledge needed to enhance post-modern mediation in a global, complex and diverse world is facilitated through implicit domain approaches to conflict resolution approaches. These may add to the repertoire of traditional, 'western' methods that depend on problem solving in the explicit knowledge domain.

Reframing of worldviews based on holistic understanding of one's environment is inherent the 'behavioural viewpoint' described by cognitive scientists Maturana and Varela. They believe that the organisation of a living system depends upon knowledge developed during 'synergistic interactions' of an 'evolving relationship between organisms and their environment.'¹⁷⁰ This includes knowledge gained from relationships with others. They assert that a person could view a system as a 'unity' or as an 'array of components,' but, significantly, these viewpoints could not be held simultaneously.¹⁷¹ Varlea's concept of viewing the system as a single unity or "the behavioural view," emphasizes the 'medium of engagement' or 'environment' for the system. This is area of inter-relationship or social control, where most conflict resolution takes place.

Varlea's 'behavioural view' of the 'system as unity' is significant to conflict resolution. Varlea's approach reinforces my theory that formation of new gestalts about peaceful relations can only be facilitated during the 'integrated brain processing,' and accompanying overview of categories of meaning. This is a 'systems as unity' view that is facilitated by visual / spatial activities such as the creation and contemplation of visual media. According

¹⁷⁰ Maturana, Humberto R. & Francisco J. Varela. 1980. "Autopoiesis and Cognition: The Realization of the Living." In *Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science*. Vol. 42. Cohen, Robert S., and Marx W. Wartofsky, eds. Dordrecht, Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Co.

¹⁷¹ Varela, F. 1979. *Principles of Biological Anatomy*. New York, N.Y.: Elsevier, Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Co. P. 86. Varela states, the 'recursive view' "emphasizes. . . components" and "arises when emphasis is place on the system's internal structure." In the recursive view, dynamic transformations are not seen in relation to the environment, but are explained as "phenomena framed with regard to the system's components and their configuration." In the 'behavioural view' a system is seen as a single unity. Source: Dr. Randell Whitaker, World Wide Web, accessed May 30, 2003: <http://www.enolagaia.com/UnityInOut.html#> In the 'behavioural view' a system is seen as a single unity.

to Varela, formulation of new gestalts about relations in the 'environment of engagement' cannot occur during examination of detailed components. Varela's research reinforces my premise that analytical approaches of 'traditional, Western' dispute resolution are unlikely to lead to new 'gestalts' or meanings about self, relationships or norms. However, 'traditional' approaches may be enhanced by visual culture methods. These provide opportunities for new meaning making and improved inter-group relations, potentially informed by mild to strong experiences of 'unity' and similar increases in empathy, respect for life, and the ability to reframe concepts. For this reason, a visual culture approach to conflict resolution deserves further research and development.

9.1 Systems Theory, and The Context or Frame of Events

Systems Theory expert Gregory Bateson, uses 'ecological thinking' as meta-theory for examining and understanding the world, entities, and their relationships, which form a unified whole. Largely informed by indigenous practice and philosophy, holistic systems theory examines interrelationships, where each element can only be understood in terms of synergistic relation to the whole. A holistic frame involves our relations with nature and culture and with other peoples and their cultures. Rhythms such as seasons, and cycles of abundance and scarcity, are associated with holistic thinking. This includes cycles of peace and conflict between peoples, particularly as related to resource scarcity. Intergenerational interest in stewardship of resources employs a holistic view. Concepts such as Martin Buber's 'I-Thou relations,'¹⁷² 'deep communication,' and many theories of art, are holistic approaches focused on interrelatedness of nature, culture, and people, informed by transcendent meaning.¹⁷³

¹⁷² Relating at a personal, spiritually informed level. A 'person' is defined very differently by Buber, than 'the individual.' Qualities of a 'person,' are relational or aspects of character that become known through "genuine relations" or 'authentic sharing.' Source: Buber, Martin. 1965. *Empathy from the Knowledge of Man*. M. Friedman and R.G. Smith, trans. New York, NY: Harper Torchbooks.

¹⁷³ Howard Perlmutter, emeritus professor at Wharton University, describes deep communication as 'beyond communication to communion, in a process that is 'very different from negotiation.' He says that those in deep dialog are 'inspired' to share knowledge and identify processes that promote or hinder communication. In complex and diverse discourse, such as peace processes Perlmutter believes that "deep dialog" is a key capability for organizations in the 21st century. I observe that 'essential processes for successful deep dialogue' have many characteristics of mediation. These include:

- 1) *Bridging*: dealing effectively with differences to bridge time, language, cultural and geographic distinctions; by bridging differences, participants remove obstacles to communications;
- 2) *Bonding*: developing relations based on mutual trust and respect - a personal chemistry that allows for heart-to-heart conversations;
- 3) *Banding*: developing a sense of collective identity, speaking of "we" instead of "I" and "you;"
- 4) *Blending*: combining ideas for innovations, building on strengths and

The systems theory approach emphasizes the context, or ‘frame,’ in which an event occurs, because of its meaning-making or symbolic importance. Applying systems theory to conflict resolution, suggests that the key to reframing relations between the parties is the development of new frames of meaning about self, the other and relations in society. Cognitive neuroscience indicates that this might best be accomplished through artistic creation and contemplation, and accompanying integrated-brain thinking.¹⁷⁴ This supports my proposed ‘visual media’ approach to mediation. Applying systems theory to art production suggests that progressive exploring of overall ‘gestalts’ through repeated image making allows new conceptual frames to be embodied and communicated.

Focusing on frame creation and change in a social context, Goffman views framing as the defining of social situations by stakeholders.¹⁷⁵ Goffman’s theory of reframing involves ‘keying,’ and ‘fabrication.’ In keying, interpretations of daily life events call to mind past experiences and issues in an open manner, of which all parties are aware. Similarly, frames are ‘anchored’ by their relevance to daily life, and to social, historical and cultural contexts. ‘Fabrication,’ however, involves deception in framing, where an attempt are made to manipulate the opinion or perceptions of other parties. Beneath fabricated frames,’ there may lie a ‘hidden agenda’ of legitimate interests or concerns. Relations between the parties shape framing and re-framing, which usually occurs on several ‘tracks’ of meaning. Framing becomes an iterative, reflexive process, which changes original conceptions.

The development of a visual media method for frame creation and change in conflict resolution lies in the application of framing theory to visual culture instead of verbal or textual discourse. For example, pictures portraying the stories of child landmine victims appear to represent a form of ‘visual keying.’ ICBL visual media ties images of a child’s horrific landmine experience with a global need for a new humanitarian frame for military discourse about landmines. The image of the child victim is also associated with social

collaborating creatively; 5) *Bounding*: or focusing on shared objectives; 6) *Binding*: as a result of creative blending and focusing, the parties in deep dialog commit to working on a shared project with shared stakes in the outcome; 7) *Building*: carrying out commitments in practical actions to implement a project, often creating shared architecture, vision and governance.

¹⁷⁴ In earlier sections, I explain how artistic creation and contemplation appears to facilitate integrated-brain processing that appears to facilitate formation of new gestalts, or new ways of seeing the world.

¹⁷⁵ Goffman, E. 1974. *Frame Analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. New York: Harper and Row. In earlier sections, I explain how artistic creation and contemplation appears to facilitate integrated-brain processing that appears to facilitate formation of new gestalts, or new ways of seeing the world.

change in the form new norms due to humanitarian reframing, and the resulting international treaty banning AP mines.

Gary Fine asserts that people use framing, or ‘cultural templates’ to give meaning to a particular event or circumstance. He describes framing as “contexts that individuals rely upon to learn proper action includ[ing] both scenes in which people have participated, and those that they have learned about through secondary sources.”¹⁷⁶ I suggest that visual media is a significant source of knowledge respecting changing contexts of peace and conflict relations. Images of overarching meaning, such as a concern for the welfare of children, can be developed and tapped as part of conflict resolution processes, to inform the parties and assist them in making positive changes. My proposed approach involves ‘hermeneutic framing’ of, where parties are encouraged to develop overarching cultural templates with shared meanings. This may be based on: 1) new sources of knowledge from transcendent meaning, greater empathy and an increased respect for life; 2) inclusion of marginalized groups, such as children and youth; 3) consideration of a broader array of interests; and 4) brain processes that encourage a holistic point of view, and the reframing of discourse toward mutual interests. In practice, each visual media approach must be tailored to particular parties, their characteristics and culture, the nature and stage of the conflict and other attributes.¹⁷⁷ The act of creating ‘cultural templates’ may also facilitate discovery, and expression, of common interests, interdependencies, super-ordinate actions and a possible ‘joint third culture’ as described earlier.

¹⁷⁶ Fine, Gary Allen. 2000. “Enacting Norms: Mushrooming and the Culture of Expectations and Explanations.” In *Social Norms*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage. Pp.148.

¹⁷⁷ Tailoring to a particular mediation is likely to include consideration of factors such as the character of the parties involved, their relationship, their relative and perceived power, available resources, stage in the conflict, humanitarian concerns, fighting style, military strategy, form of leadership and governance, level of inter-cultural awareness, degree of international interventions or supports, readiness to negotiate, ‘tiredness’ in conflict, and recent political events.

10. Conclusion:**Visual Meta-Messages and Hermeneutic Reframing As Peace Process Tools**

Many current conflicts are centred on concepts of group identity and security, and fuelled by military discourse and action. These cultural concepts and discourse are largely created and maintained by means of visual symbolism.¹⁷⁸ Related social-psychological aspects are also made manifest through visual media. Visual media also appears to be a powerful tool for reframing worldviews from hegemonic to humanitarian.¹⁷⁹ Visual media exercises in peace processes appear to offer opportunities to reframe the parties' discourse, and eventually redirect their actions, from military to humanitarian. However, in the visual media exercises proposed in this thesis, children are free to express whatever interests they wish, and the production of visual media should be entirely their own, consistent with the CRC. While the nature of children's interests and results for peace processes cannot be predicted, the impact of opening peace process discourse to children and youth from all stakeholder groups, and disseminating children's visual media to larger constituencies, is likely to be positive, based on my research.¹⁸⁰

This thesis supports a visual culture approach to conflict resolution exercises using visual media creation, dissemination and contemplation. This appendix has provided a theoretical framework involving: 1) cognitive neuroscience relating to brain processing during visual-spatial activities;¹⁸¹ 2) methods of accessing transcendent meaning, heightened empathy and awareness of ethics through visual-spatial and visual contemplation activities; 3) ritual and

¹⁷⁸ Le Baron, Michelle. 2002. *Bridging Troubled Waters: Conflict resolution from the heart*. San Francisco, Ca.: Jossey-Bass.

¹⁷⁹ For example, in the ICBL, children have been found to poignantly express, intergenerational, human security, and environmental concerns through visual media. Most often, these offer shared humanitarian frames of reference that appear to be powerful tools of persuasion. Apparent success of children's visual media in reframing military discourse as humanitarian through the ICBL, has implications for children's participation in peace processes, where their visual media may exert similar influences, or highlight any other common concerns of children and youth from all parties.

¹⁸⁰ Further research is recommended into the possibility of advocating 'humanitarian and ethical reframing' of military discourse as a specific peace process goal supported by regional regimes and the international community. This may be useful where such reframing is possible, without creating dangerous imbalances of power or other instabilities that could increase the severity of war. Drawbacks to this potential approach are that it does not emphasize full expression of interests and concerns by the parties, and is 'less objective' than stimulating the parties to expressions and reframing 'of their choice.' Therefore, an overt 'humanitarian reframing approach' may be viewed as manipulative and unsympathetic to the parties concerns and the level of threat they perceive. The feasibility and effectiveness of such an approach, and the manner it may be received, would have to be assessed as part of peace process mediation planning, by discussion between mediators, leaders and third parties.

¹⁸¹ Includes integrated brain processing facilitated by visual / spatial activities; and deafferentation of the orientation association area stimulated by visual contemplation.

symbolic theory, and theories of visual culture, meaning making and social control from anthropology, sociology and psychology; and 4) theories of framing discourse, relational empathy, and holistic systems from psychology and conflict resolution. This framework provides a theoretical background to the apparent humanitarian reframing of state security and military discourse of the ICBL study, through visual media production and consumption. Transcendent meaning seems to be accessed through visual media creation and contemplation in the ICBL and appears to introduce higher ethics, greater empathy and a humanitarian frame to state military and security discourse. This is supported by scientific literature about symbol systems, visual culture, meaning making and visual neuroscience.

Key elements of my proposed ‘visual hermeneutic reframing’ theory are: 1) visual media stimulation of brain processes that lead to viewer experience of some degree of transcendent knowledge, increased empathy, and greater concern for ethics, such as a humanitarian perspective. Integrated-brain processing appears to include a review of existing categories of meaning and a ‘readiness’ to consider new meanings and categories. Where this process creates new meaning that may advance common interests, such as a humanitarian perspective on armed conflict, I suggest that successful ‘visual hermeneutic reframing,’ can be said to occur.

A significant area of future study involves the collective learning that occurs through a visual culture approach to dispute resolution. My proposal respecting the use of visual media as a conflict resolution tool is largely based on neuroscience of individual cognition, although elements of societal learning and control from the social sciences are also examined. As conflict resolution primarily concerns collective learning and decision-making, further research in cognitive science regarding collective, or societal reframing of discourse through visual media, is recommended.

Education experts assert that inter-hemispheric, networked thinking encourages development of meta-messages that can bridge diverse cultures.¹⁸² In the thesis case study, children’s art in the ICBL appear to foster humanitarian meta-messages that stimulated rapid development of new norms and an international AP mine ban treaty. Scientists observe that transcendent meaning stemming from contemplation of visual media, stimulates mild to intense perceptions of ‘unity with all things or peoples.’ It appears that shared transcendent

¹⁸² Sheridan, Susan Rich. 1977. *Drawing / Writing and the New Literacy*. Amherst, MA.: Susan Rich Sheridan.

meaning from visual culture contributes to social cohesiveness, encourages integrative behaviour and possibly establishes new social bonds. Studies of ritual action by Clifford Geertz support this view.¹⁸³ Shared ethical or transcendent meaning appears to facilitate creation of over-arching messages and goals among stakeholders – a significant contribution towards civil society.¹⁸⁴ Stakeholder creation of over-arching, visual meta-messages appears to be a key approach meriting further research as a conflict resolution tool.

I propose that conflict resolution visual media exercises be developed and tested as peace process pilot projects. Common interests may be discovered and articulated through ‘conflict resolution visual media’ processes that encourage empathy for the other, and foster new meaning making about inter-group relations and conflict issues. Pilot projects should be designed to evaluate visual media exercises. Chapter Four of the thesis gives examples of visual media methods for children’s participation in peace processes.

This appendix summarizes my examination of research, theories and methods that support a visual culture approach to conflict resolution. My research, while highly exploratory, suggests that visual media may be successful in building relational empathy, identifying and communicating common interests, goals, and actions, and, in some cases, expressing a ‘joint third culture’ for the parties to conflict resolution. Visual media may also be instrumental in dissemination of the parties’ ‘joint third culture’ to larger constituencies using society’s visual culture processes of transmission and assimilation.¹⁸⁵ Support for a visual culture approach to conflict resolution and peace process mediation is found in a

¹⁸³ Bell, Catherine. 1992. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press. Pp.26.

¹⁸⁴ Newburg, Andrew, Eugene D’Aquili and Vince Rause. 2001. *Brian Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York, N.Y.: Ballantine Books, Random House. Pp. 83. The effect of images and symbols is discussed on page 34. Through contemplation of meaningful art or symbol, Newburg, D’Aquili and Rause assert that the mind can trigger neurological mechanisms leading to a continuum of ‘transcendent’ experience, where one may sense, at the ‘lower’ end, a feeling of joy or ‘integration,’ progressing to a sense of ‘oneness with all things,’ and, ultimately, to the supreme mystical experience called ‘absolute unitary being.’

¹⁸⁵ Those successfully completing peace agreements often fail in their attempts to ‘bring onside’ larger constituencies. This may be improved through construction and dissemination of joint visual culture, providing a images representing ideas, goals and actions that develop as a part of peace processes. Canada’s diverse visual culture, based on a multicultural policy, is an example of construction of an overarching ‘third culture,’ cited in this thesis. Examples of overarching visual elements in ICBL are found in humanitarian and inter-generational concerns expressed through children’s visual media from many cultures and sectors, described in Chapter Three of this thesis. The importance of developing methods for children’s participation in peace processes through visual media is articulated in Chapter Two of the thesis, respecting childrens’ right to expression in the media of their choice, under the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

diverse array of disciplines including visual and cognitive anthropology, cognitive science, sociology, psychology, political science and philosophy.

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Title of Thesis:

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