Building Relationships: Quaker Peacebuilding in a Pacific Context

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Abstract

The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), have a long history of involvement as unofficial third party conciliators in world conflicts. Speaking truth to power, they walk the delicate line between advocating for the disempowered whilst building relationships with the adversary. Considerable scholarly ambivalence exists regarding religion’s dual agency in contributing both to violence and to peace. While a large number of studies on religion and violent conflict have been undertaken and the realities of religious extremism are well recognized, the good done by faith-based actors is not so well researched. This study responds to the call for empirical in-depth evaluation of religious peacebuilding practice. It explores peacebuilding approaches in two Quaker reconciliation initiatives in the Pacific region from a sustainable Peace Studies perspective.

Eight in-depth 70-minute interviews with four interviewees (two from Australia and two from Aotearoa New Zealand) were conducted and 22 Yearly Meeting Epistles were also examined. This data was analysed by using a responsive interviewing formal coding model and a grounded theory model. Resulting themes were then examined from Lederach’s transformational perspective of conflict, which argues that constructive change must occur across four dimensions—personal, relational, structural and cultural—for peace to be sustainable.

The over-arching theme that emerged from this study on Quaker peacebuilding was a transformative approach to peacebuilding that fitted strongly with the sustainable peacebuilding literature. In contrast to the traditional western-centric peacebuilding paradigm, the four Quakers’ approaches to peacebuilding put social reconstruction to the fore, embracing universal humanitarian ideals. These findings illustrate the peacebuilding processes of a lesser-known non-proselytizing religious movement—the Quakers—whose tradition is rooted in personal, social and political transformation. This study contributes to the mounting body of evidence that religious actors, given certain constraints, have the potential to contribute towards the constructive and peaceful resolution of conflict.
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## Key Terms

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<th>Term</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Conflict Transformation</strong></td>
<td>Underlying tasks of structural and cultural peace-building in the institutions and discourses that reproduce violence, as well as relationships between conflict parties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Country</strong></td>
<td>Spiritual rather than physical connection to environment for Australia’s First Nations People, shaped by the actions of spiritual ancestors who were nomadic and ‘dreamed’ the environment into existence.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples</strong></td>
<td>Declaration providing a framework for justice and reconciliation to the specific historical, cultural and social circumstances of Indigenous peoples.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>First Nations Peoples</strong></td>
<td>Collective term to describe the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People of Australia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>God</strong></td>
<td>Defined broadly within this thesis. For Quakers common substitutes are <em>light, truth, divine presence, and good</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indigenous Peoples</strong></td>
<td>Collective term for Māori, the indigenous people of New Zealand and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People of Australia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mana whenua</strong></td>
<td>Customary authority exercised by an iwi or hapu within a geographical boundary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td>Refers to the other person or group towards whom action is directed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Othering</strong></td>
<td><em>Othering</em> is a term often used in post-modern literature to refer to ways in which we make ourselves distinct and alienated from Others or the ways in which we objectify others and separate them conceptually and phenomenologically from ourselves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Party</strong></td>
<td>A participant in conflict; a disputant. Parties can be individuals, groups, organizations communities, or nations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peacebuilding</strong></td>
<td>Conflict transformation based on long-term relationship building with a broad spectrum of society rather than discrete sets of negotiations and settlements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reconciliation</strong></td>
<td>The long-term effort to build or rebuild relationships between people. This is aimed at the profound change from enmity, hostility or complete separation to mutual understanding or harmonious cooperation. Because it is very long-term, many of its activities must be appreciated as steps along the way, without any expectation of immediate result.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Identity Theory</strong></td>
<td>Theory that people think well of and favour their own group over other groups in order to enhance their self-esteem.</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Tangata whenua</strong></td>
<td>Iwi (tribe), or hapu (family group), holding mana whenua over an identified geographical boundary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Te Hahi Tuhauwiri</strong></td>
<td>Māori term for Quakers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Northern Territory National Emergency Response</strong></td>
<td>Also referred to as &quot;the intervention&quot;, it was a package of changes to welfare provision, law enforcement, land tenure and other measures, introduced by the Australian federal government under John Howard in 2007 to address allegations of rampant child sexual abuse and neglect in Northern Territory Aboriginal communities. In the five years since the initiation of the Emergency Response there was not one prosecution for child abuse come from the exercise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Torres Strait Islands</strong></td>
<td>Archipelago of more than 270 islands extending from the top of Cape York Peninsula to Papua New Guinea. Torres Strait Islanders are distinct from Aboriginal Australians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Treaty of Waitangi</strong></td>
<td>Founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand signed between the British and Māori in 1840. It granted right of governance to the British, promised that Māori would retain sovereignty over their lands, resources and other treasures and conferred the rights of British citizens on Māori. The Treaty has, however, limited legal status in the courts and Parliament; accordingly, protection of Māori rights is largely dependent upon political will and the ad hoc recognition of the Treaty. Two versions exist (English-language and Māori-language).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Waitangi Tribunal</strong></td>
<td>The Waitangi Tribunal was established through the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975) to deal with claims by the actions of the Crown from 1975 onwards had been prejudicial to them and had contravened the Treaty of Waitangi. This Act was amended by the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1985), which gave the Tribunal the right to hear cases that went back to 1840—in English and in its Māori versions—the year that the Treaty was signed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yearly Meeting</strong></td>
<td>There is a long history in New Zealand of Māori protest over instances where the Treaty of Waitangi was not observed. The Waitangi Tribunal was set up in 1975 at a time when protests about unresolved Treaty grievances were growing and, in some instances, taking place outside the law. By establishing the Tribunal, Parliament provided a legal process by which Māori Treaty claims could be investigated. The Waitangi Tribunal inquiry process contributes to the resolution of Treaty claims and, in that way, to the reconciliation of outstanding issues between Māori and Pākehā.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Yearly Meeting refers to a larger body of Friends, consisting of monthly meetings in a general geographic area connected
with the same branch of Friends. This body holds decision-making sessions annually. The term "yearly meeting" may refer to the annual sessions, to the body of members, or to the organizational entity that serves the body of members. For most purposes, a yearly meeting is as high as Quaker organizational structure goes.
## List of Acronyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>Australian Bureau of Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANTaR</td>
<td>Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATSIC</td>
<td>Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FNP</td>
<td>First Nations Peoples</td>
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<tr>
<td>FNPCC</td>
<td>First Nations Peoples Concern Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HREOC</td>
<td>Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWGIA</td>
<td>International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAC</td>
<td>Ministerial Advisory Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOH</td>
<td>Ministry of Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHC</td>
<td>National Health Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QPS</td>
<td>Quaker Peace and Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUNO</td>
<td>Quaker United Nations Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSF</td>
<td>Religious Society of Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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</table>
Introduction
Overview

This study is situated in the emerging field of religious peacebuilding with attention to sustainable peacebuilding practices. It is a comparative case study analysis examining approaches to peacebuilding in two Quaker reconciliation projects, one in Australia and the other in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is set in a Pacific context of the European colonization of the indigenous peoples of two countries: the First Nations Peoples (FNP) in Australia, and Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The focus of this thesis is a very small group of people, known informally as Quakers or Friends, who belong to the Religious Society of Friends (RSF). Historically, the RSF was a radical religious movement which began at a time of political, social and religious ferment in mid 17th century England (Bradstock, 2011). Engaging in nonviolent acts, they were viewed by their opponents as a threat “to turn the world upside down” (Hill, 1975). Quakers waged what they called a “Lamb’s War” against social, political and religious inequality, attempting nonviolently to change accepted customs, attitudes and laws of that time (Punshon, 1991, p. 34). The essential idea of Quakerism, both for the early Quakers and now, is of “a direct awareness of God within man” (Hubbard, 1985, p.15). According to Hubbard, this was not a new idea. As well as being found in other religions, it was a return to the essential teaching of Christ (Hubbard, 1985, pp. 15-16). The concept that God was directly accessible to everyone led the Quakers to reject priests, church buildings (“steeple houses”) and church services; to reject creeds; and to reject sacraments such as baptism and the Eucharist (Hubbard, 1985, p. 9). Unorthodox, and not regarding the Bible as the ultimate authority, the early Quakers considered their movement to be neither Protestant nor Catholic, but a third way. A corollary to the Quaker emphasis on the direct experience of the divine light within others and themselves means that this direct experience can transform them in this life, and, as well, can transform contemporary life around them (Williams, 2008).

Their core religious testimony that there is *that of God in everyone* led the early Quakers to adopt a social testimony to peace. Dating from 1652, and known today as the Quaker Peace Testimony, it is a non-credal, non-dogmatic statement; a corporately adopted guide to daily action (Guiton, 2005). This explicit statement on war, conflict and peace, together with the Equality, Integrity and Simplicity testimonies, are the *Social Testimonies* that together with the *Religious Testimonies* from which they emanate, form the religious foundation of this
small movement. This religious foundation led Quakers to become a community characterized by pacifism and the activism of its members for social change, and locates Quakers as principled non-violent actors within the field of religious peacebuilding.

Internationally, the Religious Society of Friends, like the Mennonites, has established a reputation for its transnational humanitarian undertakings in situations of conflict, war, poverty, and natural disaster (Bailey, 1979, 1993; Bartoli, 2004; Curle, 1981, 1986, 2002; Hubbard, 1985; Kraybill, 1994; Mendle, 1974; Sampson, 1994; Yarrow, 1977, 1978). In recognition of their work in the Indian-Pakistani conflict in 1948, they were awarded the Nobel Peace prize (Bartoli, 2004). The contribution of the Quakers and the Mennonites to both the theory of conflict resolution and to peacemaking has been significant (Bartoli, 2004; Featherston, 2000; Merry, 2000; Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2011). To date, analysis of Quaker peacebuilding has focused on their work in Cyprus, Africa, Nigeria/Biafra, India/Pakistan and the Balkans. With regard to their work in the Pacific, however, less is known. Indeed, no studies have examined their contemporary work in this region.

The focus of this research, therefore, will be on four Quaker interviewees—two from Australia and two from Aotearoa New Zealand—and the approach they have taken as they work for social change in their respective reconciliation projects. The Epistles (2001-2011) of their respective Religious Societies of Friends will also be analysed. Epistles are specially composed collective letters (Punshon, 1991), which reflect the state, concerns and priorities of the Society in each country at that time.

In particular, this study examines Quaker approaches to peacebuilding in the light of the literature on sustainable peacebuilding. In the late 1960s Johan Galtung, an influential scholar in peace research, expanded the definition of violence to include structural violence as well as direct violence (Galtung, 1969). By 1990, he further expanded the idea by distinguishing a third type of violence; that of cultural violence (Galtung, 1990). This study, in keeping with current Peace and Conflict Studies literature, will take this more expansive and inclusive definition of violence, which includes all three forms. As the direct violence of initial colonization happened a long time ago in both Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia, the peacebuilders in this thesis are concerned with what Galtung (1990) describes as positive peace: the overcoming of structural and cultural violence. Violence itself is defined as both the use of violence and the legitimation of the use of violence and concerns “any avoidable insult to basic human needs, and more generally life, lowering the real level of needs
satisfaction below what is potentially possible” (Galtung, 1990, p. 292). Peacebuilding is defined as any activity that attempts to overcome the contradictions that lie at the root of conflict, “by addressing structural issues and the long-term relationships between conflictants” (Rambotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2011, p. 32).

From a Peace Studies perspective, the European colonization of Australia and of Aotearoa New Zealand is a story of direct, structural and cultural violence. In both countries the European colonizers used force and military coercion to take, confiscate and hence displace the indigenous peoples from their ancestral lands (Consedine & Consedine, 2012; Gilbert, 1977; Groom, 1994; Read, 1999). According to Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (2012) “the legacy, however, of the fragmentation and alienation of a cultural ‘estate’ over hundreds of years is that the material connection between people, their place, their languages, their beliefs and their practices has been torn apart” (p. 92). To add to this cultural and structural violence, Christian missionaries in Australia removed thousands of Aboriginal children from their families (Haebich, 2000, 2005; Mellor & Haebich, 2002; Tatz, 1999). Furthermore, in both countries, the indigenous peoples, lacking immunity to the introduced European diseases, lost large numbers of their population, adding to already declining populations (Campbell, 2002; Pool, 1991).

In response to the cultural and structural violence that existed and exists in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, some Quakers became involved in peace, justice and reconciliation initiatives concerning their indigenous peoples. This study focuses on two such contemporary projects: the First Nations Peoples Concern Committee (FNPCC) in Australia and the Rowan Partnership in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The First Nations Peoples Concern Committee (FNPCC) was set up in the year 2000 to enable Friends from all over Australia to exchange information, to formulate national responses to, and to provide assistance and support on indigenous issues. It is a committee of Australia Yearly Meeting, the body comprising all Quakers in Australia. The main aim and activity of the committee is genuine reconciliation with First Nations Peoples at both a local and national level. The convenor of the FNPCC known as C, together with JM, a Committee member, are the two Australian interviewees in this study.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, two Quakers, J and D, set up the Rowan Partnership, to provide mediation, reconciliation, Treaty of Waitangi education and constitutional change workshops.
The aim of the Rowan partnership is to “be a support for legitimate Māori aspirations, and to have the Treaty recognized and acted on” (transcribed interviews, 2012). The Treaty education and constitutional change workshops are given to raise awareness on issues concerning the Treaty of Waitangi to a predominantly Pākehā\(^1\) public that have a limited knowledge on colonial history and Treaty obligations. Their core peacebuilding activity is to provide information to workshop participants on the history and ramifications of the colonial past and its implications for the present, as a pathway to reconciliation. D and J are the two New Zealand interviewees in this study.

**Thesis Purpose**

A large number of studies on religion, conflict and violence have been undertaken (Berger, 1999; Beuken, Wim & Kuschel, 1997; Ellis, 2000; Esposito, 2000, 2002; Girard, 1997; Juergensmeyer, 2000; Svensson, 2012). Juergensmeyer (2000) for instance, traced the connections between all the world’s major religions and political violence in *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global rise of religious violence*. Prior to 2000, this vast amount of literature from the fields of theology, psychology, sociology, and history placed emphasis on to the anti-social values of religion and its contribution to violence in conflict situations (Hertog, 2010). As a result, the horrors of religious extremism are well recognized, but the good done by faith-based actors is not so well recognized (Carter & Smith, 2004; Hertog, 2010; Johnston & Sampson, 1994; Vendley & Little, 1994). Hertog further argues that, despite this large and impressive body of literature on religion, peace, conflict and violence, few of these contributions came from the social sciences, let alone from the angle of peace studies (Hertog, 2010, p. 9). This study therefore, will take these two different perspectives: it will identify the peace-enhancing potential of Quaker peacebuilding approaches in two contemporary case studies and it will analyse these approaches in relation to the more general field of sustainable peacebuilding, from a Peace Studies perspective.

Hertog (2010) describes four characteristics that distinguish the field of religious peacebuilding. First, with a few exceptions, it emerged as a field of academic study in the year 2000. Second, religious peacebuilding promotes the view of religion’s inherent tendency towards ambivalence: it is a source of violence as well as peace (Appleby, 2000). According to Hertog (2010), this departure from the reductionist “either peace or violence” approach of previous literature has led to a “more balanced and constructive” analysis (p. 19). Within this

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\(^1\) Pākehā is a Māori language term for New Zealanders who are of European descent.
ambivalent paradigm is the third feature which “looks at the concrete dynamics of how and when religion prevents, condemns, lessens, or overcomes violence” (Hertog, 2010, p. 19), thus concentrating on the potential of religion. Therefore, rather than just explaining and describing, it takes a deeper analytical stance. This more analytical perspective aims to elicit the potential that religious peacebuilding can play in contemporary conflict—the final characteristic.

The purpose of this thesis is to contribute towards beginning to fill three gaps in the existing peacebuilding literature:

1. This thesis examines Quaker peacebuilding approaches in relation to their sustainability from a peace and conflict studies perspective.
2. It searches for peace-enhancing approaches in religious peacebuilding, rather than concentrating on the anti-social effects of religious peacebuilding.
3. It focuses on two Quaker peacebuilding projects in the Pacific region, where there is a paucity of literature.

Research Question

The research question for this thesis is: To what extent do Quaker approaches to peacebuilding fit with the literature on building sustainable peace?

To answer this question, eight in-depth interviews, with four Quaker peacebuilders, and 22 Epistles were analysed.

Limitations

Limitations to this research include the following. First, this is a very small study analysing the approaches taken by four Quaker peace actors involved in two Quaker peacebuilding projects, and the Epistles of their respective Yearly Meetings. Hence, while it is non-generalizable, it aims to begin building knowledge on religious peacebuilding in the Pacific region.

Second, I have identified as a non-theist Quaker for 26 years, so will need to be mindful of this in order to remain as unbiased as I can throughout the project. Gopin (2010), stresses the need for more empirical studies that are based on social scientific understanding as well as an
intimate knowledge of the lived tradition. In this light, my first hand experience could also be perceived as a strength.

Phraseology

For some of us, the phraseology and words of religion can form barriers. Therefore it is common within Quakers to substitute other words for God, such as “the light”, “Good”, “the divine”, “Spirit”. For simplicity, and in keeping with the fact that Quakerism is derived from, though not constrained to, Christianity, I have maintained the word God in most instances.

Thesis structure

This thesis contains six chapters:

Chapter 1. The first chapter consists of two parts. In the first part, I introduce the context for this research: the history and the legacy of European colonization that has resulted in conflict in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand and that has led to the need for the two peacebuilding initiatives. In the second part, I introduce the two peacebuilding case studies and the four interviewees—two from Australia and two from Aotearoa New Zealand—the focus of this study.

Chapter 2. Here I present the theoretical background. It is done as a literature review of two research areas relevant to this study. The first research area concerns the concept of sustainable peacebuilding approaches, providing an overview of the literature of the principal theorists researching this area.

The second research area concerns the concept of religious peacebuilding. The purpose of this second research area is to present the literature of religious peacebuilding theorists, to identify sustainable religious peacebuilding approaches and to identify gaps in religious peacebuilding literature.

On the basis of the literature from these two research areas, I identify ten sustainable peacebuilding approaches that have been advocated by its scholars and practitioners as contributing to sustainable peace.

Chapter 3. In this chapter I complete the theoretical background to this study. It provides the historical context for, the characteristics of, and a literature review on Quaker peacebuilding,
the central focus of this study. The purpose of this chapter is to identify sustainable Quaker peacebuilding approaches to further guide the analysis of the research question. I identify six sustainable peacebuilding approaches that have been advocated by scholars and practitioners researching Quaker peacebuilding as contributing to sustainable peace, that are contained within this data. These six sustainable approaches were also found in the literature in the previous chapter.

**Chapter 4.** Here I detail the methods used to analyse the two sources of data in this study: the ten hours of transcribed interviews from the four interviewees who were each interviewed twice, and the 22 Yearly Meeting Epistles.

**Chapter 5.** Next I outline, explain and analyse the findings that were identified in the eight in-depth interviews and the 22 Epistles. I explain the approaches that were examined, and the key theme that was identified.

**Chapter 6.** Finally I revisit the research question and discuss the significance of the results in relation to the literature presented in Chapter Two and Chapter Three. Finally, I conclude by outlining the implications of this research and areas for further study.
Chapter One: Colonization, the Social Context of Conflict in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, and the Two Quaker Reconciliation Projects
1.1 Chapter Outline

In this chapter I establish a context for the current study. It is in two parts. In Part One I outline the legacy of colonization in Australia and the context for the Quaker peacebuilding initiative. Subsequently, I introduce the Australian reconciliation project: the First Nations Peoples Concern Committee and the two Australian interviewees involved in this project. In Part Two I outline the legacy of colonization in Aotearoa New Zealand and the context for the Quaker peacebuilding initiative. I then introduce the New Zealand reconciliation project: the Rowan Partnership and the two interviewees in this study who jointly convene this project.

1.1.1 Social Context of Conflict in Australia

Contemporary life for the First Nations Peoples (FNP) of Australia has been immensely affected by the impact of colonization over the last 225 years (Gilbert, 1977; Haebich, 2000; Paradies, 2006; Paradies & Cunningham, 2009; Read, 1999; Tatz, 1999).

In June 2006, the indigenous people made up 520,000 individuals, only 2.5% of the Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007). At colonization in 1788 it is estimated that there may have been up to 1.5 million indigenous people in Australia (Gray, 2001). Nevertheless, British officials declared Australia “empty land”, and on this notion of terra nullius, declared sovereignty of New South Wales and ownership of the surrounding two million square kilometres (Reynolds, 1992, p. 7). The subsequent expansion of the pastoral industry brought increases in British immigration, which accelerated the taking of Aboriginal land. As a result, approximately 500,000 Aboriginal people living in several hundred tribal groupings lost ownership of their ancestral lands, and 20,000 Aboriginal people were killed in the violence as their land was taken (Reynolds, 1992, p. 58). It is described by Broom (1994), as “the most fantastic land grab which was never again to be equaled” (p. 37). By 1911, the confiscation of land with the resulting social and cultural alienation, together with introduced European diseases, had reduced the indigenous population to 31,000 (Consedine & Consedine, 2012, p. 58). It must be stated at this point that First Nations Peoples (FNP) in Australia have a profound spiritual relationship with the land, marine and coastal environments of Australia, that has grown over many thousands of years (Mikkelsen, 2012). Some estimates maintain that this complex connection has lasted for at least 40,000 years (O’Connell & Allen, 1998). The loss of their land, therefore, had profound
psychological consequences as well as the physical, economic and socio-political ramifications on the wellbeing of the First Nations Peoples.

As the 20th century progressed, each state in Australia framed and enacted legislation and policies that were both restrictive and punitive towards indigenous peoples (Paradies & Cunningham, 2009; Reynolds, 1987, 1992, 1996, 1999). Between 20,000–100,000 children were forcibly removed from their parents over a 200-year period that, according to Australian historian Anna Haebich, amounted to a form of cultural genocide of First Nations Peoples, due to the loss of language, the breaking up of families and the cessation of cultural practices (Haebich, 2005).

Aboriginal ill health statistics have been referred to as “Fourth World”; worse than Third World developing nations and made worse still by the fact that they occur in a country that has one of the highest standards of living in the world (Smith, 2012, pp. 155-156). Morbidity and mortality rates are high for First Nations Peoples, as they are for Māori (Smith, 2012). In 2004, a Canadian study by Cook (as cited in Jackson, 2004) reported that the quality of life for FNP was the second worst in the world, while the general Australian population ranked fourth best in the world. Life expectancy for First Nations Peoples is 17 years less than that of the rest of Australia (Mikkelson, 2013) and infant mortality rates between 2006-2010 for FNP across four of the six Australian states were twice that of non-indigenous people. Thus for New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia and the Northern Territory the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander infant mortality was eight infant deaths per 1,000 live births. This compares with a non-Indigenous infant mortality rate of four infant deaths per 1,000 live births (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012). And for all the six states, according to the International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs3 (IWGIA), infant mortality remains high at 10-15%, despite the fact that 75% of FNP live in regional centres or cities (Mikkelson, 2013). In 2005, the Australian Government re-appeared before the United Nations Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. The Committee expressed serious concern about the abolition of ATSIC (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission), the lack of genuine progress in native title, the continuing over-representation of indigenous peoples in prisons and the extreme inequities between indigenous peoples and others in the areas of

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2 Infant mortality is defined as the death of a child less than one year of age per 1,000 live births and is an indicator used to measure the health and wellbeing of a nation.

3 The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) is an independent and non-profit international human rights-based membership organization, that endorses and promotes the collective rights of the world's indigenous peoples.
employment, housing, health, education and income (HREOC, 2006). IWGIA does give hope, however. It states that while some government policies leave much to be desired, progress is being made in the area of cross-cultural land management and the legal recognition of traditional marine estates, as well as broader communication and understanding of the realities and the complexity of “remote” indigenous Australia (Mikkelson, 2013).

In sum, European colonization of Australia, consisting of the initial direct violence of invasion, was followed by the structural and cultural violence of the legislative policies and practices drawn up along ethnic lines. This structural and cultural violence displaced FNP from their land: the essential structure that supported them physically, culturally and spiritually (Read, 1999). Living in a world that systematically devalued indigenous culture, together with the effects of the enforced removal of their children, had profound effects on the FNP: on their social and emotional wellbeing, as well as on the physical health of individuals, families and communities (Campbell, 2002; Dudgeon, Garvey, & Pickett, 2000; Gilbert, 1977; Haebich, 2000, 2005; Mellor & Haebish, 2002; Paradies, 2006; Paradies & Cunningham, 2009; Reynolds, 1987, 1992, 1996, 1999; Tatz, 1999).

1.1.2 Introduction of the Quaker Reconciliation Project in Australia and Introduction of the Interviewees

In 1998, the Religious Society of Friends issued a “Sorry” statement to the First Nations Peoples in which they acknowledged, “they have been and are, part of a culture that has dominated, dehumanized and devalued Aboriginal religious, cultural and family life” (Australia Yearly Meeting, 1988). Two years later, this statement (see Appendix) was followed by the formation of what was the Indigenous Concerns Committee, and is now known as the First Nations Peoples Concern Committee (FNPCC). Its purpose is twofold. It aims to address past and present social, political, economic and environmental injustices and to set in motion reconciliation between the settlers and the First Nations Peoples. The committee states:

That real reconciliation between Australia’s indigenous and non-indigenous peoples can only truly happen when we engage in compassionate listening, acknowledge past wrongs and work together to create a new process where self-determination is acknowledged and respected by the non-indigenous community and governments and statutory authorities (Documents in Advance, 2011).

The goal of the First Nations Peoples Concern Committee is to:

Help bring about a new Australia, an Australia that is coming to terms with its past, acknowledging the relationship that Australia’s First Nations Peoples have to
the land, helping heal the hurt and trauma, and building right relationships with all its peoples. It hopes to do this on two levels: the individual level of person-to-person relationships and on the structural level (From documents in Retrospect, 2012).

The two Australian interviewees are C and JM. Both have been members of the FNPCC since 2007 and C has been its convenor since joining in 2007.

1.1.3 The Social Context of Conflict in Aotearoa New Zealand

According to Monin, the story of New Zealand colonization centres upon the changing power relations between European and Māori (Monin, 2009, p. 127). From the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 to the late 1850s, Māori exercised some autonomy due to the limited capacity of the colonial state. However, this period of dual agency and mutual respect was short-lived, as the settler desire for land exceeded the supply (Clements, 2010, pp. 23-24). “Colonial British rule meant that many indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand were stereotyped, labelled and objectified as primitive, uneducated and in need of humanizing and civilizing” (Clements, 2010, p. 24).

The civil rights movement in the United States in the 1960s heralded a change to this entrenched, dominant settler attitude, sowing the seed for New Zealanders to begin thinking about their own race relations and ethnic inequalities (Clements, 2010). Ranganui Walker (1990) describes “an underground expression of rising political consciousness” (p. 210) that saw radical Māori organizations emerge. The 19s saw the Māori Sovereignty Movement, a significant Māori land march in 1974, the occupation of Bastion Point between 1976 and 1978 and the occupation of the Raglan Golf Course in 1978 (Walker, 1990). As social consciousness grew, there were nationwide protests against the Springbok rugby tour from apartheid South Africa in 1981. Signalling a beacon of hope for the survival of Māori language, the 1980s also saw the development of Kōhanga Reo⁴ (Walker, 1990). These were some of the notable developments that served to awaken in the settler conscience the fact of racial injustices and as a result, increasing numbers of Māori and Pākehā called for the Treaty of Waitangi to be recognized as Aotearoa New Zealand’s founding document (Clements, 2010, p. 25). The Treaty of Waitangi, which was signed between the British and the Māori in 1840, promised Māori retention of sovereignty over their lands, resources and other treasures and conferred the rights of British citizens on Māori. To attempt redress for the structural and

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⁴ Te Kōhanga Reo is a total immersion Māori language programme for young children from birth to six years of age.
cultural violence of colonization, the Waitangi Tribunal was set up in 1975 and according to Clements:

… Māori Treaty workers and their Pākehā counterparts helped generate a climate of opinion and institutional provisions within which it was possible to start addressing the historic injustices that flowed from indifference to the Treaty for the first 150 years of European history (Clements, 2010, p. 25).

The two interviewees in my study are two such Pākehā Treaty workers, who provide participants with an understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi, the promises it made and the colonizing history of Aotearoa New Zealand.

According to Clements (2010) this new climate of opinion, and the institutional provisions that ensued, have provided “the basis for more equal exchange and respect and a restoration of some of that early ‘dual agency’ at the heart of a multicultural New Zealand” (p. 25). Consedine and Consedine (2012), who like Clements maintain that the growth of the Māori economy has been remarkable, argue that the public’s limited understanding of the Treaty “serves as a barrier in the government’s ability to observe its Treaty obligations” (pp. 130-131). Furthermore, Consedine and Consedine (2012) argue that although the Crown principles are incorporated into over 40 pieces of legislation, the Treaty itself is not protected by this legislation. As the Treaty of Waitangi has limited legal status in the courts and Parliament, the protection of Māori rights is largely dependent upon political will and the ad hoc recognition of the Treaty (Mikkelson, 2012).

Mason Durie summarizes the Treaty debate: “What is missing is a secure understanding, based on both Māori and Crown views, that commits the country to a position on the Treaty so that litigation, protest, alienation, and dispossession fade into history” (Durie, 1998, pp. 175-176).

According to historian Linda Tuhiwai Smith, colonization and the policies that are still in place two centuries later continue to anger First Nations Peoples, as they are still employed: to deny the validity of indigenous peoples’ claim to existence, to land and territories, to the right of self-determination, to the survival of our languages and forms of cultural knowledge, to our natural resources and systems for living within their own cultural environments (Smith, 2012, p. 1).

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5 The Crown is the foundation of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the New Zealand Government
On average, Māori have the poorest health status of any ethnic group in New Zealand (Ministry of Health, 2012). In 2010, 51% of New Zealand’s prison population was Māori, despite Māori then accounting for less than 15% of New Zealand’s total population. Māori life expectancy is 7.3 years less than that of non-Māori (Census 3013) and Māori household income is 72% of the national average (Mikkelson, 2010). In 2009, deaths from cancer for Māori were nearly twice that for non-Māori—Māori having an age-standardised cancer mortality rate of 210.0 per 100,000 Māori population compared to 119.8 for non-Māori (Ministry of Health, 2012).

In sum, the social, economic and ill health indicators have their roots in the structural and cultural violence of colonization. In Healing Our History: The Challenge of the Treaty of Waitangi, Consedine and Consedine (2012), maintain that the future of race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand requires addressing the limited knowledge that Pākehā have concerning Māori history, New Zealand colonial history and the Treaty of Waitangi; the resulting Treaty debate; and contemporary Māori social inequalities. They argue that, at its core, the Treaty debate is about the future of social, economic and political relations between Māori and Pākehā. To this extent, Clements (2010) also argues that further work must be done to address the underlying relationships and the remaining inequalities between the two cultures.

1.1.4 Introduction of the Quaker Reconciliation Project in Aotearoa New Zealand and Introduction of the Interviewees

In 1988, two Quakers, J and D, set up the Rowan Partnership. This freelance partnership works mainly with public bodies and voluntary organizations running Treaty of Waitangi workshops, educating participants about the history and legacy of European colonization. J and D also run workshops on constitutional change, team and organizational development, conflict resolution and mediation.

1.2 Summary

This chapter has outlined the context for this study. In both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand the effects of the direct, structural and cultural violence of colonization have been so far reaching that they still exist today. In both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, the

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progression of European colonization had devastating consequences for First Nations People and Māori. The social, economic and political systems of the respective indigenous peoples were dismantled and the loss of land and of authority “became the norm” (Consedine & Consedine, 2012).

The two Quaker reconciliation projects and four Quaker peacebuilding actors who were interviewed for this study, have been introduced. An analysis of eight transcribed interviews from the four interviewees, together with an analysis of 22 Epistles from the Australian and Aotearoa New Zealand Religious Society of Friends, will form the basis of this research and will be presented in Chapter Four.

In conclusion, this thesis aims to contribute to the literature on religious peacebuilding by providing an empirical, in-depth study on Quaker peacebuilding practice in the Pacific region. It will be a comparative case study analysis of two contemporary Quaker Peacebuilding projects in the context of colonization of indigenous peoples in the Pacific: the Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand, and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Peoples of Australia.
Chapter Two: Sustainable Peacebuilding
2.1 Chapter Outline

This chapter, a literature review of two research areas, provides the theoretical background to this study. The purpose of the chapter is to search these two research areas for sustainable peacebuilding approaches, in order to guide the analysis of the research question: *To what extent do Quaker approaches to peacebuilding fit with the literature on building sustainable peace?*

The first research area concerns the concept of *sustainable peacebuilding* approaches, providing an overview of the literature of the principal theorists researching this area.

The second research area concerns the concept of *religious peacebuilding*. The purpose of this second research area is to present the literature of religious peacebuilding theorists, to identify sustainable religious peacebuilding approaches and to identify gaps in religious peacebuilding literature.

On the basis of the literature from these two research areas, I identify ten sustainable peacebuilding approaches that have been advocated by its scholars and practitioners as contributing to sustainable peace. According to numerous scholars, peacebuilding after war and violent conflict has focused on economic reconstruction and physical reconstruction at the expense of “social reconstruction” (Kraybill, 1996; Lederach, 1995, 1997, 2000; Philpott & Powers, 2010; Rasmussen, 2001). While not excluding the importance of the former aspects of peacebuilding, these scholars and practitioners are calling for social reconstruction to be given its due importance and placed centre stage (Burton, 1990; Fisher, 1999, 2001; Galtung, 1998; Gopin, 2000; Hertog, 2010; Johnston & Sampson, 1994; Kelman, 1999; Lederach, 1997, 2005, 2010; Rasmussen, 2001). Social reconstruction attends to the more human elements, such as building relationships, reconciliation, truth-telling and the need for equitable social structures. These scholars maintain that social reconstruction is the glue that binds a peace agreement and makes the long-term process of peacebuilding more cohesive and sustainable (Hertog, 2010). The ten sustainable approaches, as advocated by these scholars, will provide this study with a line of inquiry for an analysis of evidence of sustainable peacebuilding.
2.2 An Introduction to Peacebuilding

The term *peacebuilding* originated in the field of peace studies in 1975, when Johan Galtung coined the term in his pioneering work: “Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding” (Galtung, 1975). In this article, Galtung proposed the idea that as peace has a structure that is different to peacekeeping and ad hoc peacemaking, structures must be found that remove causes of wars and offer alternatives to war in situations where wars might occur (Galtung, 1975).

Despite this paper opening the way for a more holistic approach to peacebuilding—during the following 15 years, right up until the collapse of the bipartite world in 1989— the United Nations (UN) continued to deal separately with security, peacebuilding and development. However, by the early 1990s, the UN’s publications, such as the “Agenda for Peace”, (1992) and the “Agenda for Development” (1995), reflected a new approach that showed the interdependent relationship between security, peacebuilding and development, and the subsequent need for an integrated approach.

In the “Agenda for Peace” (1992), the UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali defined the concept of peacebuilding as “the sustained, cooperative process by which an achieved peace is placed on durable foundations and prevents violent conflict recurring by dealing with the underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems responsible for the conflict” (UN 1992, #57). Thus the term *peacebuilding* was incorporated into the UN’s multi-dimensional peacekeeping operations.

Lederach (1997), while he agrees with the UN Secretary General that rebuilding war-torn societies and supporting peace accords is vital, points to two flaws. First, he maintains that militarized peace enforcement is a risky peacemaking tool and likely to be counterproductive in settings of protracted conflict, Somalia being a case in point (p. 20). Second, Lederach argues for a far more comprehensive and integrated approach to peacebuilding that views peace as a “dynamic social construct” rather than merely post-accord reconstruction that exists within a limited time frame (p. 20). The conceptual framework that Lederach (1997) proposes is “an interdependent set of perspectives and activities identified as structure, process, reconciliation, resources, and coordination” (p. 150).

Lederach is not alone in his critique of the traditional Western peacebuilding project of the past twenty-one years. These inadequacies have been seriously debated by many other
scholars of peacebuilding: Jabri, 2010; Mac Ginty, 2008, 2010; Newman, Paris & Richmond, 2009; Philpot & Powers, 2010; Pugh, 2000; Richmond, 2006, 2009, 2010; Reychler & Langer, 2006. Philpot and Powers (2010) have criticized the approaches of the traditional peacebuilding project for their Western-centric world-view, which gives primacy to security rather than the soft aspects of peacebuilding. Reconciliation, truth telling, building relationships and equitable social structures are four of their examples. According to these scholars, traditional approaches rely excessively on strategies that have to do with the hard aspects of peacebuilding—developing market economies, and developing certain features of liberal democratic domestic politics—and make an assumption that this is the path to peace.

Building peace, therefore, is a complex process, involving a broad range of functions and tasks to construct both the conditions and the infrastructure that are needed to transform social conflict into sustainable peace (Curle, 1971, 1981; Kraybill, 1996; Lederach, 1995, 1997).

2.3 Part One: Sustainable Peacebuilding: A Search for Sustainable Peacebuilding Approaches Building

2.3.1 Introduction

Three highly regarded scholars and practitioners in the field of peacebuilding are Adam Curle, John Paul Lederach and Johan Galtung (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2011). Curle, Lederach and Galtung have made important contributions to the theory and practice of peacebuilding (Featherston, 2000; Ramsbotham et al., 2011; Sampson, 1997). Curle and Lederach’s approaches to peacebuilding are informed by their practical and theoretical work and by their respective non-violent religious peace traditions, Curle being a Quaker and Lederach a Mennonite. Despite the religious backgrounds of these two authors, they are recognized as authorities in the more general sustainable peacebuilding literature. Curle (1971) and Lederach (1997) place importance on conflict transformation and building relationships as essential elements in the process of building sustainable peace. On the basis of the influential work of Curle, Lederach, Galtung and other peacebuilding scholars and practitioners this subsection will identify and discuss six sustainable peacebuilding approaches that subsequently will be used to guide the analysis of this thesis. The six approaches are relationship building (Curle, 1971, 1981; Lederach, 1995, 1997, 2000), persistence (Lederach, 1997, 2000), awareness of context (Lederach, 1995, 1997, 2000), awareness of culture (Lederach, 1995, 1997, 2000), local empowerment (Lederach, 1997,

2.3.2 Relationships, Fostering positive attitudes towards the Other and Persistence.

Adam Curle defined peace as a relationship, rather than a state or a condition (Curle, 1981, pp. 36-37). After his front-line experience of conflict in Pakistan and Africa, and especially after the intensive violence in the Biafran war with Nigeria, Curle sought to understand more fully the aetiology of conflict (Curle, 1971, 1986; Yarrow, 1978). Curle believed that the task of peacemaking has two dimensions: the first is transforming unpeaceful relations into peaceful ones; the second is working for conditions conducive to peace and unfavourable to violence (Curle, 1971). He formulated a model that saw conflict transformation as a movement from unequal to more equal power relations. This approach emphasized the importance of both the inequality of relationships between people, and also the structural inequalities of institutions, that enabled and favoured exploitative relationships (Curle, 1971). The path to peace was therefore a dynamic and progressive process over a period of time, transforming violent and destructive relationships into peaceful and constructive ones (Curle, 1971). This concept of structural inequality was subsequently built upon and expanded by Galtung (1969, 1975, 1990). Galtung (1969) coined the term *structural violence*, expanding the notion of violence from that of solely direct violence. *Structural violence*, as defined in Chapter One, represents the contradictions and injustices that are found within institutions and discourses that reproduce violence (Galtung, 1969).

Just as Curle found it helpful to define peace as a relationship, so Lederach emphasizes the building of relationships (Lederah, 1997; Sampson & Lederach, 2000). Lederach’s definition of peacebuilding, building on the work of Curle, adds the concept of sustainability to the definition of peacebuilding. Lederach refers to “activities occurring at any time in a conflict transformation process that are proactively constructive of the relationships and conditions that can achieve and sustain peace” (Sampson & Lederach, 2000, p. 257). Furthermore, Lederach emphasizes that for peacebuilding to be sustainable, it must focus on local communities, which necessitates “a comprehensive and complex infrastructure of a web of relationship building: from the ground up, inside out and vice-versa, as well as middle-out and top-down” (Sampson & Lederach 2000, p. 269). According to Lederach, this web of relationships is the “bedrock” upon which peace stands (Sampson & Lederach, 2000). Lederach emphasizes this relational interdependence, maintaining that it is what matters most.
in protracted conflict, where the depth of animosity, anger and suspicion must be realized and overcome.

Rasmussen (2001), like Lederach (1997), and Sampson & Lederach (2000), argues that, because building relationships and reconciliation are the foundation stones for a divided society’s social infrastructure, these need greater attention in any peacemaking process, necessitating strategies that focus on them. Rasmussen (2001) maintains that official peacemaking concentrates disproportionately on reconstructing the physical infrastructure, leaving the repairing of relationships and reconciliation to the unofficial sector (pp. 113-114).

To this end, Lederach (1997) formulated an integrated framework for peacebuilding that had both the building of relationships and reconciliation as its foundation stone. He maintains that this framework provides an infrastructure for peacebuilding that is “not merely interested in ‘ending’ something that is not desired” (Lederach 1997, p. 85). Galtung shares this view when he delineates the notion of peace into negative peace and positive peace (1964, 1969). Negative peace is the cessation of direct violence and positive peace is additionally the overcoming of structural and cultural violence (Galtung, 1969).

Galtung, in the same vein as Lederach (1997, 2000) and Rasmussen (2001), believes that the essential elements that make a peace process sustainable are social reconstruction, reconciliation and rehabilitation (Galtung, 2005, p. 1). Galtung (2000), like Lederach (1997), views peace as consisting of processes and structures. Galtung (2005) proposes that peacebuilding requires “a process, not a solution with peace as the answer” (p. 61). According to Ramsbotham et al. (2011), Galtung’s influence on the ideas of peace research have been seminal, as he broadened the concept of war prevention “to encompass the study of the conditions for peaceful relations between the dominant and the exploited, rulers and ruled, men and women, western and non-western cultures, humankind and nature” (p. 44). Galtung (1969) formulated a model of conflict, the conflict triangle, that consists of three vertices; attitude (A), behavior (B), and contradiction (C). Attitude refers to the parties’ perceptions of each other and themselves and covers “emotive” (feeling), “cognitive” (belief) and “conative” (desire, will) elements. Behaviour refers to cooperative or coercive gestures. Contradiction refers to actual or perceived “incompatibility of goals” between the conflicting parties (Ramsbotham et al., 2011, pp. 10-11). According to Galtung (1969), a full conflict requires all three components be present and a latent conflict refers to the absence of one of these components. Having already expanded the notion of violence to include structural violence
(Galtung 1969), Galtung further expanded the definition to include cultural violence. Both these forms of violence have been defined in the previous chapter. According to Ramsbotham et al. (2011), changing conflict behaviour ends direct violence, removing structural contradictions and injustices ends structural violence and changing attitudes ends cultural violence. With regard to the latter, fostering positive attitudes towards the Other is therefore a peacebuilding approach that contributes towards overcoming cultural violence. According to Galtung (1990) positive peace is the overcoming of structural and cultural violence, and for peace to be sustainable, a state of positive peace is required.

Galtung’s insights into different notions of violence provide a way of understanding the root causes of violence and hence a better way of addressing the changes needed to achieve sustainable peace. From a Peace Studies perspective therefore, sustainable peace in this thesis concerns positive peace. As the direct violence of initial colonization happened in 1788 in Australia, and in 1840 in Aotearoa New Zealand, the peacebuilders I have interviewed in this thesis are primarily concerned with what Galtung (1964, 1969) describes as positive peace: the overcoming of structural and cultural violence. Lederach (1995, 1997, 2000) and Curle (1971, 1981) have argued that the process of transforming and building relationships from destructive and violent to constructive and peaceful is essential to sustainable peace. Moreover, Lederach (1997, 200), like Curle (1971, 1981), regards being there for the long term as one of the essential elements in peacebuilding. Positive peace, he maintains, takes decades, if not generations, to achieve (Lederach, 1997, 2000).

From the research of Curle (1971, 1981), Lederach (1995, 1997, 2000), Galtung (1964, 1969, 1990), and Rasmussen (2001), the approaches of relationship building, fostering positive attitudes towards the Other and persistence will used in my analysis as a line of inquiry into building sustainable peace.

2.3.3 Awareness of Context, Awareness of Culture and Local Empowerment

As well as emphasizing the long-term process of peacebuilding, Lederach argues that peacebuilding is deeply rooted in context and culture (Lederach, 1997, p. 84). In the context of colonization, context and culture become inextricably linked (Gilbert, 1977; Smith, 2012). Context refers to the historical, social, political, cultural and economic factors that are present in, and affect, a particular setting. The context of this study, colonization, with its history of direct, structural and cultural violence, has been outlined and described in Chapter One. With
regards to culture, Kevin Avruch (1998), who comes from an anthropological perspective, places great importance, like Lederach, on the role of culture in conflict. According to Avruch (1998), theorists and practitioners of conflict resolution understand and use the word “culture” in such a variety of ways that a clearer understanding is required if the role of culture is to be more effective in conflict resolution processes. Avruch (1998) takes a more complex view of culture, arguing that this view fits better with the world of social action and the resolution of conflict within it. Avruch (1998) defines culture as “derivative of individual experience, something learned or created by individuals themselves or passed on to them socially by contemporaries or ancestors” (p. 5). Expanding this idea, Avruch states that this definition of culture is more concerned with social and cognitive processing than with patterning that was the focus in the past. According to Avruch (1998), by including the different social settings and experiences of an individual, culture encompasses “not just quasi- or pseudo-kinship groupings (tribe, ethnic group, and nation, are the usual ones) but also groupings that derive from profession, occupation, class, religion, or region” (Avruch, 1998, p. 5). Thus culture is linked with the context of the present as well as with the context of the past.

Avruch therefore, holds a view of culture that sees it as dynamic and derivative of individual experience. Avruch (1998) also argues that cultural differences are rarely the sole cause of serious social conflicts, but may easily exacerbate a conflict or stand in the way of peacebuilding. Avruch (1998) maintains that because “culture is to some extent always situational, flexible and responsive to the exigencies of the worlds that individuals confront” (p. 20) the peacemaker's job is to appreciate and recognize the many roles played by culture in conflict and its potential for management, resolution or transformation of conflict. His advice is that although peacebuilding practitioners cannot achieve fluency in all the world's cultures, they can aim for a fluent sensitivity to the power of cultural differences (Avruch, 1998).

To this end, Raymond Cohen (1993) in Culture and Negotiation describes two approaches that are required of the ideal negotiator. The first approach is to be “aware of the gamut of cultural differences and do not naively assume that underneath we are all pretty much the same” and the second approach is to “perceive the potency of religious and other cultural resonances” (pp. 35-36).

Avruch’s (1998) dynamic and complex view of culture, and the importance of cultural differences emphasized by Cohen (1993) both fit with Lederach’s iterative approach to
peacebuilding (Lederach, 1995, 2000). After doing extensive conflict resolution training for grass-roots leadership in Central America in the mid-1980s, Lederach replaced his emphasis on cultural sensitivity “with an orientation that is rooted in the centrality of context, culture and empowerment” (Lederach, 2000, p. 47). This elicitive approach sought to “interact with”, rather than simply “transfer” Western models of conflict resolution practice (Lederach, 1995, p.121). In Making Peace: Conflict transformation across cultures, Lederach (1995) emphasizes two important factors. The first factor is that trainers be aware and recognize the cultural and contextual assumptions implicit in their approaches to conflict resolution. The second factor is an elicitive approach that explores the participants’ “knowledge, cultural heritage and understanding of conflict in their context” (Lederach, 1995, pp. 121-122).

According to Lederach, inherent within a contextually and culturally aware approach to peacebuilding, and integral to any peacebuilding process, is the phenomenon of local empowerment (Lederach, 1997). “The greatest resource for sustaining peace in the long term is always rooted in the local people and their culture” (Lederach, 1997, p. 94). This means that the implementation of peacebuilding be settled by the very people who have been involved in the conflict, together with the support of outside actors to provide the necessary resources, mindful that these resources do not refuel the conflict (Lederach, 1995, 1997, 2000; Anderson, 1999).

Goodhand (2002), like Lederach (1997) also includes the concepts of structure and the local in his definition. He defines peacebuilding as “local or structural efforts that foster or support those social, political and institutional structures and processes which strengthen the prospects for peaceful peace coexistence and decrease the likelihood of the outbreak, reoccurrence or continuation of violence” (Goodhand, 2002, p. 839).

Featherston (2000) maintains that Lederach’s elicitive approach, founded on the idea that techniques of peacebuilding be developed and hence embedded in the local communities where they are employed, has advanced the thinking on peacebuilding intervention.

In the light of the literature of Anderson (1999), Avruch (1998), Cohen (1993), Goodhand (2002, 2006), and Lederach (1995, 1997, 2000), this thesis will take these three approaches—awareness of context, awareness of culture and local empowerment—as factors that contribute towards sustainable peacebuilding. In this regard, these three approaches will be used as a line of inquiry to guide my research.
2.3.4 A Socio-psychological Perspective of Conflict: Fostering Positive Attitudes towards the Other

 Anchored in socio-psychological principles and derived from the pioneering work of John Burton is the perspective of conflict that takes into account the psychological needs, rather than just the material needs, of an individual (Kelman, 1999, p. 191). These psychological needs are articulated through identity groups, which are important to the individual, and include identity, security, recognition, autonomy, self-esteem and a sense of justice (Kelman, 1999, p. 195). Closely associated with these basic needs are fears about the denial of these needs—for instance, fears, either real or perceived, to security (Kelman, 1999, p. 195). According to Kelman (1999) a socio-psychological perspective is essential to an analysis of conflict. In the final part of this subsection I will discuss further the work of peacebuilding scholars on the concept of fostering positive attitudes towards the Other; an approach to sustainable peacebuilding that will provide a line of inquiry into my analysis in this regard.

 Kelman (1999), in the same vein as Curle (1971, 1981), Galtung (1964, 1969, 1990), Lederach (1995, 1997, 2000), and Rasmussen (2001), emphasizes the importance of transforming relationships. “The real test of conflict resolution in deep-rooted conflicts is how much the process by which agreements are constructed and the nature of those agreements contribute to transforming the relationship between the parties” (Kelman, 1999, p. 201). Kelman was a leading practitioner and scholar of the problem-solving method, from the 1960s to the 1990s (Ramsbotham et al., 2011, p. 51). He is renowned for his work and writing on Arab-Israeli interactive problem-solving workshops. Kelman maintains that subjective factors play a role in both the perception of and interpretation of events, so that in a conflict relationship, “subjective elements may exacerbate the conflict by generating differences in the way the parties perceive reality and by imposing constraints on the rational pursuit of their interests” (Kelman, 1999, p. 193). This method involved influential but non-official participants meeting in private to listen, non-judgementally, to the other side. Its purpose was to build relationships at the micro-level, a constructive step towards transforming these relationships into more positive ones, thus complementing macro-level negotiations for resolving conflicts.

although issues of structural and resource control are perceived to be the cause of the conflict, they are, in fact, just symptoms of deeper problems which are at the relationship level.

Fisher (1999, 2001) takes a similar view to Kraybill (1996). Fisher argues that protracted conflict cannot be analysed simply by looking at political, cultural and economic inequalities. And like Kelman (1999), Fisher (2001) argues that social-psychological processes are essential to understanding protracted conflict’s deep-rooted nature (pp. 25-46). Fisher makes an important contribution to the peacebuilding literature by understanding more fully the complexity of drawn out conflict (Hertog, 2010). Like Kelman, Fisher (2001) draws on the work of Burton (1990), who argues that protracted social conflicts occur when people are not able to meet their basic needs. Basic needs include material needs such as food and shelter, and also psychological needs—outlined above—as well as fair access to political institutions and economic participation (Burton, 1990). When a dominant group tries to assimilate other groups by coercive means, basic needs are denied (Burton, 1990, p. 37). The colonizing history of the two countries in this study, as outlined and described in the previous chapter, demonstrates that the psychological needs of the First Nations Peoples in Australia and Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand were denied, resulting in protracted conflict that has lasted until the present time.


Therefore, from the peacebuilding literature of these scholars and practitioners, the approach of fostering positive attitudes towards the Other will be taken as a sustainable approach to peacebuilding and used as a line of inquiry to guide my research.

In summary, the definitions and descriptions of peacebuilding approaches, outlined and presented above, provide evidence of how various scholars view the complex task of peacebuilding and the approaches that they consider are important in building sustainable peace. Six approaches have been identified in this first research area, which will be used in the analytical framework of this study:


2.4 Part Two: Religious Peacebuilding

2.4.1 Introduction

This section will provide an overview of the literature on religious peacebuilding and the contributions of religious peacebuilding theorists to sustainable religious peacebuilding approaches. This section will also identify gaps in the literature on religious peacebuilding.

2.4.2 Religious Peacebuilding, History and Theorists.

There is an increasing body of evidence that religious peacebuilding can play a constructive role in conflict resolution, from the local level to the global level (Appleby, 2000; Gopin, 2000; Haynes, 2009; Hertog, 2010). Several authors from the conflict resolution field have noted the spiritual and theological resources for peacebuilding that can be drawn from the major religions (Abu-Nimer, 2001; Appleby, 2000, 2006; Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana & Abu-Nimer, 2005; Dubois, 2008; Gopin, 2000, 2005; Haynes, 2009). Some examples of religious traditions that have been a resource for peacebuilding include the Mennonites in South America (Gopin, 2000; Lederach & Jenner, 2002; Merry, 2000); the Quakers in Nigerian Civil War (Sampson, 1994); the Quakers in the Rhodesia to Zimbabwe transition (Kraybill, 1994); the Catholic and Moravian churches in Nicaragua (Hertog, 2010); and the international Catholic lay organization, Sant’Egidio, who played a key mediation role in ending the civil war in Mozambique in 1992 (Bouta et al., 2005; Haynes, 2009).
A seminal work in the religious peacebuilding field was *Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft* (Johnston & Sampson, 1994). It was the first systematic account of modern case studies in which religious or spiritual factors played a role in either preventing violence or achieving non-violent change (Hertog, 2010). In the conclusion of this book Vendley and Little (1994) maintain that the case studies reveal the potential for religious peacebuilding, with implications for both foreign policy and for religious communities.

In regards to religious peacebuilding’s potential, Abu-Nimer (2001) claims that religion can bring social, moral and spiritual resources to the peacebuilding process. Abu-Nimer (2001) asserts that the spiritual dimension, which is missing in the mechanical and instrumental conflict resolution models, can create a sense of engagement and commitment to both transforming relationships and to positive peace. The Roman Catholic lay non-governmental organization Sant’Egidio illustrates this relationship building capacity and sense of committed service during the civil war in Mozambique. According to Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana and Abu-Nimer (2005), Sant’Egidio, offered a unique dimension to the conflict resolution process—a reputation for neutrality and compassion. This reputation, on top of their relevant conflict resolution skills, enabled Sant’Egidio to mediate between previously warring factions and eventually to bring the civil war to a close (Bouta *et al.*, 2005, pp. 72-73).

However, Scott Appleby (2000) urges caution. While agreeing that religion offers much potential for peacebuilding, he also warns that due to its ambivalence, religion is a potent medicine that “must be administered prudently, selectively, and deliberately” (p. 8).

The potency of this medicine is demonstrated by the many instances, where in the past 2000 years, Christianity has been co-opted for political purposes, often inciting violent conflict (Carter & Smith, 2004, p. 283). Discussing the history of Christianity, Andrea Bartoli (2004) describes how two major and unfortunate transformations that became obstacles to peace took place within the Christian tradition. The first transformation was an intolerance of differing beliefs, both within Christianity—“heretics”—and outside it—“nonbelievers” (p. 150). The second transformation that occurred was when Christianity combined with secular powers to use political and military force to resolve this intolerance towards religious difference (Bartoli, 2004, pp. 150-151).

In the first few centuries of its existence Christianity was a web of small communities, with no access to political and military power. At this stage in its evolution, Christianity preached a
radical message of love, forgiveness and non-violence. Early Christians modelled the nonviolence of Jesus, preferring to die rather than to respond violently (Bartoli, 2004). However, according to Bartoli (2004), the merging of religious power with political power after Constantine’s conversion in the 4th century transformed Christianity into a hegemonic religion that relentlessly pursued homogenization. Bartoli (2004) points to the Crusades and to the later Religious Wars in Europe as examples that demonstrate both unfortunate transformations described above: an intolerant view towards the differing beliefs of others that used violence to resolve theological differences (p. 151).

Marc Gopin, in his conclusion to Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of World Religions, Violence, and Peacemaking, states that because religion has an historic dual legacy regarding peace and conflict, it needs to be studied by scholars both inside and outside the individual faiths with an eye to sharing this information as widely as possible (Gopin, 2000, p. 199).

According to Carter and Smith, (2004), in the last three millennia, “millions have been killed in the name of somebody’s God—notwithstanding the strict proscriptions against killing affirmed by the world’s great religions” (p. 279). Carter and Smith (2004), like Gopin (2000), point also to the dual agency of religion. Using the example of Martin Luther King Jr., they argue that Christianity has also contributed positively to social change, offering nonviolent resistance as an effective and just alternative to violent conflict (Carter & Smith, 2004, p. 284).

In this light, Vendley and Little (1994) researched four major religions—Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism and Christianity—for examples of ways that religious actors within each tradition had contributed to conflict resolution through nonviolent political and social change. Vendley and Little (1994) maintain that, because of the potential for religious individuals and groups to tap into both the theological and human resources that support positive peacemaking, religious traditions need not only to recognize the role they play in peace making, they need to exercise that role to a greater extent than that which they usually do (p. 306).

Scott Appleby (2000), mentioned above, has made an important contribution to the religious peacebuilding literature, articulating its ambivalence and providing modern day examples where religion has been co-opted to legitimize violence and war. Appleby (2000) contends however, that just as religion can be exploited for bad, it also has great potential for good. He
cites over one hundred examples of “religious militant” groups that strive for peace. These religious groups find sources within their own traditions that seek engagement with the adversary groups, forgiveness and restorative justice. Appleby therefore refutes the notion that religion cannot be expected to contribute to the peaceful resolution of conflict.

In *The Ambivalence of the Sacred* (2000), Appleby argues that religious militants, whether they are for peace or violence, are on the same continuum, but at different ends. They both hold clear sets of beliefs and values and both show intolerance of the status quo. However, they demonstrate this intolerance in markedly different ways. Appleby (2000) holds that their passionate “religious” convictions are the reason that they make a difference, for good or for bad. Appleby (2000) gives examples of religious militant groups that exacerbate already volatile situations by overwhelming moderates with their fanatical rhetoric. This polarizing effect causes the groups to erupt into violence, which then takes on the appearance of “religious violence”. Appleby reiterates that it is not *religion per se* that is the cause of violence, as conflict is never over religion as such, but that religion is exploited by militants and used to fuel violence. The conflicting groups are not warring over religious scriptures, doctrine and sacred texts, as was the case in the historical religious wars of the past. The cause of violence, Appleby stresses, involves complex contributing factors such as ethnicity, historical grievances, a lack of options, religious illiteracy and the selective use of the past. Another theorist, Gerard Power, provides the example of the so called religious violence that occurred in Bosnia, in which chauvinistic and exclusivist forms of “religious” nationalism were used to fuel the ethnic cleansing that took place there (Philpott & Power, 2010). Tragically, the religious resources that existed there were not effective in de-legitimating the ethnic violence that took place.

### 2.4.3 In search of Sustainable Religious Peacebuilding Approaches

In the following subsection, on the basis of religious peacebuilding literature of Appleby, Bartoli, Carter and Smith, and Gopin, I identify and discuss two sustainable religious peacebuilding approaches that will be used to guide the analysis of this research. The two approaches are 1) *Principled nonviolent action* (Appleby, 2000; Bartoli, 2004; Carter and Smith; Gopin, 2000) and 2) *Non-proselytizing* (Appleby, 2000; Bartoli, 2004; Carter and Smith; Gopin, 2000).
2.4.4 Principled Nonviolence and Non-proselytizing.

Appleby emphasizes two essential factors that must be present for religious peacebuilding to be an effective resource. The first factor concerns the power of religious language and symbols. Appleby maintains that religiously illiterate populations can easily be exploited, so that although religious education is important, it must be complemented by a moral/spiritual change of heart. He maintains “these peace teachings must be internalized, so that they are held in one’s heart and in the centre of one’s will” (Appleby, 2000, p. 284). The second most important external condition that Appleby identifies is the “independence of religious actors from the state” (Appleby, 2000, p. 284).

The historical merging of the religious with the political (Bartoli, 2004; Carter and Smith, 2004; Gopin, 2000), already discussed, and the more recent intra-state wars centring around ethno-nationalism, but which have a religious aspect, attest to the fact that the co-option of religion for political purposes has resulted in major destruction and loss of life (Appleby, 2000). With regard to the former, Johnston (1994) maintains that because of the perils of the past, the West now maintains a complete separation between the religious and the political.

Judy Carter and Gordon Smith in Religion and Peacebuilding (2004), discussing the potential for Christian peacebuilding, warn against not only the co-option of religion for political purposes, but also against intolerance, hypocrisy and forced conversion (pp. 283-284).

Marc Gopin, a Jewish Rabbi, is a major contributor to the field of religious peacebuilding. Like Appleby (2000), Gopin argues that, while all religions are capable of pro-social practices and peaceful paths, “the fusion of religious zeal and racism has led to the deaths and suffering of countless millions in history…” (Gopin, 2010, p. viii). In Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of the World Religions, Violence and Peacemaking, Gopin (2000) explores the reasons why some people, motivated by religious zeal, act violently and how others, despite the same religious zeal, act peacefully (p. 7). Specifically, he seeks to understand the contribution to peacebuilding of the inherent beliefs and practices of the world’s major religions. Gopin (2000) argues that, with the aid of certain interventions, organized religions can become an asset to constructive, nonviolent conflict resolution.

Gopin, like Lederach (1997, 2000), places people as central factors in his analysis of peace and conflict; emphasizing the individual choices that each person makes, especially at the level of inter-personal relationships (Gopin 2000, p. 5). A central theme in Gopin’s book is
that although the cause of conflict is multi-factorial, human identity is at the heart of religious militancy and violence. Gopin (2000) argues that when the moral or psychological self is incapable of dealing with two conflicting human needs—the need for integration and the need for uniqueness—religious militants do one of two things. Religious militants at the violent end of the spectrum either practice violence, or create violent structures to give their own subgroup a strong sense of uniqueness Gopin (2000, p. 6). They then couple this violence with their need for integration, and attempt to violently conquer others in this quest (Gopin, 2000, p. 6). At the other end of the continuum, Gopin argues, are religious militants who do not have to conquer others in the pursuit of a particular religion because they are able to balance the conflicting needs for integration and uniqueness. Gopin, (2000) argues that it is these nonviolent religious militants that have potential for peacebuilding and conflict resolution, giving examples of Mohandas Gandhi, the Dalai Lama and Martin Luther King, Jr. (p. 4). Gopin states:

To have a clear sense of one’s own uniqueness and to combine that with a willingness to explore and visit other worlds of meaning, without destroying them, are central ingredients in religiosity that is orientated to peacemaking and conflict resolution (Gopin, 2000, p. 6).

Furthermore, Gopin recommends that religious peacebuilders:

have a method of engaging in conflict resolution that does not impose its own theological assumptions on Others or that is at least prepared to adjust its methods as cultural and religious differences with outsiders become apparent (Gopin, 2000, p. 204).

The Netherlands Institute of International Relations in cooperation with the Salam Institute for Peace and Justice in Washington DC carried out a desk analysis of 27 Christian, Muslim and multi-faith organizations, who were working on peacebuilding in conflict situations. A key finding from this study, that was aimed at elucidating the peace-building potential of faith-based actors and more specifically to advise donors on how to deal with faith-based peacebuilding in policy, was the that faith based actors—to different extents, with varying levels of success and in various ways—have contributed positively to peace-building (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana & Abu-Nimer, 2005). Their report outlined more strengths than weaknesses (Bouta et al., 2005, p. 48). With regards to weaknesses, the first limitation was that of proselytizing.

Gopin (2000) maintains that the sort of moral development that enables an individual to have a deeply authentic expression of their own religiosity, plus a deep respect for non-believers, is crucial to long-term strategies for conflict prevention. To this end, Gopin (2000) suggests that
peacebuilders receive emotional training so “that we feel safe enough in our own faith positions that we are not threatened by Others” (p. 203).

In summary, together with the six approaches from the first research area, the approaches of: 1) Principled nonviolent action (Appleby, 2000; Bartoli, 2004; Carter and Smith; Curle, 1971, 1981; Gopin, 2000) and 2) Non-proselytizing (Appleby, 2000; Bartoli, 2004; Carter and Smith; Gopin, 2000) have been identified in the religious peacebuilding literature as sustainable approaches to peace. Because of the propensity for some religious militants to justify violence and religious intolerance “in the name of God” (Appleby, 2000; Bartoli, 2004; Carter and Smith, 2004; Gopin, 2000) both approaches are of central importance in sustainable religious peacebuilding. Both approaches, *principled nonviolent action*, the bedrock of Quaker peacebuilding (Curle, 1971, 1981, 1990, 1999), and *non-proselytizing* will be discussed further in the next chapter. Chapter Three will provide a background to Quaker peacebuilding by outlining the historical reasons for, and the approaches taken by a small religious body that exists within the broader field of religious peacebuilding.

### 2.5 Conclusion of Literature Review: The Ten Sustainable peacebuilding Approaches

This chapter, a literature review of two research areas has provided a synthesis of the literature to identify some of the essential peacebuilding approaches that contribute towards sustainable peacebuilding, the focus of this research. These approaches will be used as a line of inquiry to guide the research. They are:


The following chapter will provide the historical context for, the characteristics of, and a literature review on Quaker peacebuilding. It will complete the theoretical background to this study.
Chapter Three: Quaker Peacebuilding
3.1 Chapter Outline

The previous chapter, on sustainable peacebuilding and religious peacebuilding, provided part of the theoretical background to this thesis by giving an overview of the principal theorists and their approaches to peacebuilding. Its purpose was to identify sustainable peacebuilding approaches, in order to guide the analysis of my research question: *To what extent do Quaker approaches to peacebuilding fit with the literature on building sustainable peace?*

This chapter will complete the theoretical background to this study. It provides the historical context for, the characteristics of, and a literature review on Quaker peacebuilding, the central focus of this study. The purpose of this chapter is to identify sustainable Quaker peacebuilding approaches to further guide the analysis of the research question.

On the basis of the literature from this chapter, I identify six peacebuilding approaches that have been advocated as contributing to sustainable peace by scholars and practitioners researching Quaker peacebuilding. Of note, these six sustainable approaches were also found in the literature on the first and second research areas, as reviewed in the previous chapter.

3.2 A Brief History of the Religious Society of Friends

Within the field of religious peacebuilding there is a very small religious body, the Religious Society of Friends (RSF), also known as Quakers or Friends.

The RSF began as a radical politico-spiritual movement (Bradstock, 2011) that started by rejecting rules and creeds. Instead, Quakers began to search for the truth about the nature and function of man (Hubbard, 1985). Quakerism began in 17th century England, at a time of social, political and religious upheaval. The conflict between the Parliament and the monarchy caused a revolutionary situation in which small armies proliferated. As the authority of the Roman Catholic Church had been broken, religious sects, as long as they were Christian and neither treasonable or seditious, were tolerated (Hubbard, 1985, p. 16). These sects proliferated throughout the country (Hubbard, 1985). Quakers understood that the essence of Jesus’ teaching in the New Testament was based on self-sacrificial love; a theology that, because it rejected violence, was incompatible with war (Hubbard, 1985, p. 128).
Believing that God was directly available to them, Quakers disrupted church services, questioning the legitimacy of the priests and bishops to speak on God’s behalf. They also argued for religious tolerance and for the abolition of tithes. As well as these religious demands, the early Quakers made social and political demands. They argued for the equality of men and women, refused to doff their hats to their social superiors and refused to address their social superiors, as well as refusing to address them by the customary “you”. According to Bradstock (2011), the main political demands—which included liberty of conscience, the abolition of tithes and of universities, and a rejection of the State church—essentially amounted to a call for the overthrow of the whole clerical establishment (p. 108). With humble beginnings, the Quakers numbered 5,000 in 1652 but only eight years later, numbered a possible 60,000 (Bradstock, 2011). Because of this rapid growth, and because of their socially and religiously anarchic views, the Quakers—despite their nonviolent stance—were considered a threat to the “good ordering” of 17th century Cromwell’s Britain (Hubbard, 1985). Regarded as subversive, they were persecuted by the state: imprisoned, tortured, branded, stocked and even hung for their nonviolent refusal to accept the direct, structural and cultural violence of the times.

3.3 The Social and Religious Testimonies: their implications for peacebuilding

Although Quakers have no creed, they have a traditional set of principles, referred to as testimonies that serve to act as a guide by which to live. Testimonies are a characteristic of Quakers that are an expression of actions rather than a form of words (Quaker Peace and Social Witness, 2003). They reflect the interaction between faith and action and are therefore at the heart of Quaker spiritual experience and living (Quaker Peace and Social Witness, 2003). There are four religious testimonies and five social testimonies (Gregory, 2012).

3.3.1 An Introduction to the Four Religious Testimonies

The four religious testimonies are:

1) That of God in Everyone. This testimony refers to the potential that exists in all people and is the core religious testimony. It is not unique to Quakers. Quakers however, take this fundamental concept to its logical conclusion which is if “everyone is part of the same spirit, there are therefore no divisions and distinctions of race, gender, age and class”. This
fundamental concept of “that of God in everyone” is based not only on a common humanity, but also on a common divinity (Gregory, 2012).

2) **Direct communion with God.** This testimony refers to having direct access to God without being told by someone else what Quakers should or should not believe or do. There is no need for any intermediary such as a priest. Instead, guidance and insights come directly. What is important to Quakers is how they act on these insights that come directly to them, the actions being manifested as the social testimonies.

3) **Continuing Revelation.** This testimony concerns the concept that any understanding is at best an approximation of the truth. Quakers are therefore constantly open to new insights, which are not just bright ideas but arise from a deep place through love and humility and attentive listening. There is always the potential for transformative insights, beyond current understanding. According to Gregory (2011), the best is yet to come, which tends Quakers towards optimism. Quakers would rarely say, “we believe”, but instead tend to say “in our experience” (Gregory, 2011, p. 5). The essence of *continuing revelation* is that an understanding, being something that is always developing, is not frozen at a particular moment in history and cannot be captured in a fixed code of belief.

4) **All of Life is sacramental.** This religious testimony means that divine grace is not restricted to places, days or rites. Therefore Quakers integrate religion and everyday life. They hold that God can be found in the midst of everyday life and human relationships, as much as during a Quaker Meeting for Worship. Hence this testimony emphasises that everything Quakers do is important; their visible lives being an outward expression and reflection of their inward lives. William Penn put it this way:

> True Godliness does not turn men out of the world, but enables them to live better in it, and excites their endeavours to mend it: not to hide it under a bushel, but to set it upon a table in a candlestick (Penn, 1682).

Therefore Quakers integrate religion and everyday life. They believe God can be found in the middle of everyday activities and human relationships, as much as during a meeting for worship.

### 3.3.2 An Introduction to the Five Social Testimonies

Out of the four religious testimonies spring five *social testimonies* (Gregory, 2012): simplicity, peace, integrity, community and equality. They are thus grounded in the religious
testimonies. According to Lacey (2003), a direct experience of God is insufficient for Quakers: their direct experience of God, also referred to as “the inward light”, required Quakers to live each day carrying out their inner experience (p. 6). The social testimonies, therefore, have led Quakers to play an historical role in issues of social development (Clements, 2010). Of importance in this thesis are the Peace and Equality testimonies, which are central to Quaker peacebuilding approaches, the focus of this study.

3.3.3 The Peace Testimony

The two major peace declarations of George Fox in 1651 and 1661 have come to define the Religious Society of Friends (RSF) as one of the Historic Christian Peace Churches (Guiton, 2005).

In 1651, the first declaration was made to the Commonwealth Commissioners, in which George Fox stated:

I live in the virtue of that life and power that took away occasions for all wars and I knew from whence all wars did arise, from the lust according to James’s doctrine…I told them I came into the covenant of peace which was before wars and strife were (Nickalls, 1952, p. 65).

Ten years later, in 1661, the Quakers, when suspected of being subversive after the rise of an extremist group known as the Fifth Monarchists, clarified their position by stating:

…. And we do certainly know, and so testify to the world, that the Spirit of Christ which leads us into all Truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward Weapons, neither for the Kingdom of Christ nor for the Kingdoms of this World (Nickalls, 1952, pp. 399-400).

The current Quaker peace testimony has developed from these two statements.

According to Hubbard (1985), the Peace testimony is a required Quaker attitude and has been maintained throughout Quaker history, in difficult conditions and in many different regions of the world. Doncaster (1972) argues that the peace testimony, over the centuries, has developed as the circumstances have changed, and in doing so has lost nothing and has gained much (p. 26).
3.3.4 The Equality Testimony

The *Equality testimony* stems from the conviction that all people are of equal worth; the rationale being that as “that of God” indwells in all people, everyone is of equal value. Equality is a fundamental aspect of Quaker organization and worship; hence there is no clergy and no formal hierarchy. According to Bradstock (2011), part of the appeal of Quakers lay in the egalitarian nature of their theology, in contrast to the prevailing Calvinist theology of the time. The Calvinist belief in predestination saw the “elect” being privileged over everybody else (p. 101).

The *Equality testimony* led the Religious Society of Friends to play a vital role in the movement against both slavery and the slave trade (Carey, 2012). Quakers later spearheaded the international and ecumenical anti-slavery campaigns that by the middle of the 18th century were growing on both sides of the Atlantic (Carey, 2012; Hubbard, 1985). According to Hubbard (1985) “what started as the consciences of individual members became a matter of the conscience of the Religious Society of Friends and then of the conscience of the civilized world” (p. 44). Patricia Williams (2008) argues that, together with the denunciation of slavery, the West has adopted many Quaker practices. The Quaker commitment to equality saw the establishment of scientific education for women and men—once just a prerogative of aristocratic men—and the enactment of equality in the American Declaration of Independence (Williams, 2008, p. 7).

More than three centuries later, Picket and Wilkinson (2011), writing on why equality is better for every one, concluded that the more committed a society is to equality, the better they do on nearly all the political, health, economic and social indicators.

3.4 Characteristics of Quaker Peacebuilding: An Introduction

The corollary to the religious and social testimonies is the involvement of Quakers globally in peace and social justice concerns that promote international conciliation, educate public opinion, encourage disarmament, oppose military conscription, promote institutions for building peace and advocate for indigenous rights (Doncaster, 1972; Oates, 1981).

In Australia and in Aotearoa New Zealand, the Religious Society of Friends is an umbrella organization for the First Nations Peoples Concerns Committee and the Treaty Relations
Group respectively; two groups that advocate for the rights of the indigenous peoples of those countries.

Historically, some early Friends became concerned for the rights of indigenous peoples in the colonized countries that included America, Canada, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. In 1763, the Quaker, John Woolman, known as a gentle but radical critic of slavery and economic oppression, travelled among the American Indians and with characteristic humility wrote:

> that I might feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in, if haply I might receive some instruction from them, or they may be in any degree helped forward by my following the leadings of truth among them (Moulton, 1989, p. 127).

According to James and Wychel (1991), this approach would now be considered a multicultural stance that goes beyond the “superficial assertion of unity but does not take into account issues of oppression and differences of power” (p. 33). James and Wychel (1991) argue that with regard to the realities of power, most Friends had no adequate analysis (p. 34).

However, some 70 years later in the Pacific region, James Backhouse and George Washington Walker, prominent Quaker members of the Aboriginal Protection Society, visited Australia between 1832 and 1838, and voiced their concerns about the injustices they encountered (James & Wychel, 1991). Of note was the structural approach taken by Backhouse and Walker to change the violent structures that settlement politics had put in place. Having influence in both the British Parliament and the British social reform movement, they urged legislative action on penal reform, land rights, the treatment of Aborigines, and the rum trade (Oates, 1981). In 1834, they wrote, “we cannot but deprecate the short-sighted policy by which the lands of the aboriginal inhabitants have been wrested from them, with little or no regard for their natural and indefeasible rights” (Oates, 1981, p. 45). Oates (1981) also maintained that Backhouse and Walker showed an attitude to the Tasmanian Aborigines [sic] that was similar to Woolman’s attitude towards the American Indians [sic]. They showed “revulsion against white brutality and laudable curiosity, based on a respect for the Aborigines as fellow human beings” (Oates, 1981, p. 50). According to James and Wychel (1991), this stance, though not entirely absent, was less strong among Friends who were actually living as settlers in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. In the first few years of settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand, Friends, most of whom lived in towns, had little awareness that the predominantly rural-living Māori, although still in the majority,
were decreasing in numbers under the impact of disease, structural and cultural violence (James & Wychel, 1991). It was to take more than 100 years before Friends in Aotearoa New Zealand were to have enough unity to make a corporate public statement with regard to bicultural issues and honouring the Treaty of Waitangi (James & Wychel, 1991, p. 35). The Yearly Meeting statement of 1989 read:

We accept that honouring the Treaty will have implications for our personal and collective lives...but we acknowledge that it will certainly involve equitable power sharing of resources and the giving up by Pākehā of exclusive decision-making in the institutions of society (Aotearoa New Zealand Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 1989).

The devastating consequences of colonization on both First Nations Peoples in Australia and Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand have been described in Chapter One. According to Wychel and James, Friends who went to America or Australia to seek justice for indigenous peoples, despite playing a vital role in the Aborigines Protection Society, nevertheless perpetuated “the dualism of ‘uncivilized and heathen’ opposed to ‘civilization and Christianity’ and assume that the effective enjoyment of rights depends on assimilation” (Wychel & James, 1981, p. 34).

In 1998, the Australian Quakers, acknowledging their involvement in the cultural violence of the past, made a formal apology to the First Nations Peoples:

We are ashamed that we have failed to recognize the extent of dispossession, deprivation and trauma over the past 200 years. We have been and are part of a culture that has dominated, dehumanized and devalued Aboriginal religious, cultural and family life. For this we are deeply sorry and express our heartfelt apology to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians. We commit ourselves to working towards a reconciled Australia (The Australian Religious Society of Friends, 1998).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, the Ministerial Advisory Committee (MAC) described the direct, structural and cultural violence that occurred in New Zealand: “Māori attempts to direct and shape the Māori future in ways reflecting Māori values were resisted either militarily, legislatively or by ignoring them” (MAC, 1988, p. 58).

Some Australian Quakers developed an increasing awareness of the need for reconciliation and for education about the colonizing history of the past and about present indigenous social justice issues. This led to the formation of the First Nations Peoples Concerns Committee (FNPCC) in Australia. The Rowan Partnership arose out of a similar situation in Aotearoa.
New Zealand. These organizations have been introduced in Chapter One as the two case studies in my research.

The Quaker religious and social testimonies that have been outlined and described above, link Quakers into a peacebuilding process; a process that centres on three specific approaches. These three elements are *a culture of peace, active nonviolence and reconciliation*. According to Hertog (2010), these three *soft aspect* approaches, contained within some religious traditions, offer great potential for sustainable peacebuilding (p. 40). As outlined in the previous chapter, numerous peacebuilding scholars are calling for greater attention to be given to these soft aspects (Kelman, 1999; Kraybill, 1996; Lederach, 1995, 1997, 2000; Rasmussen, 2001; Sampson, 1997). *A culture of peace, active nonviolence and reconciliation* will be defined in the following sub-sections as these three concepts comprise both the inward and the outward manifestations of the Quaker religious and social testimonies and are integral to Quaker peacebuilding.

### 3.4.1 A Culture of peace

Hertog (2010) defines a *culture of peace* as a culture that strengthens values, attitudes, perceptions and feelings that nurture peace (p. 54). To this end, the UN declared the year 2000 “The International Year of the Culture of Peace”, and the decade from 2000 to 2010 “The International Year of the Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World”. Quakers, whose religious tradition affirms the peaceable nature of God’s kingdom on earth and refuses to use weapons, would not only endorse the above, but would regard this *culture of peace* as something that needs to be observed on a daily basis, not just for a year or a decade. According to Sydney Bailey (1979, 1993), a Quaker conciliator with experience in many international conflicts, peace begins with ourselves and involves families, work, leisure and our communities, as well as internationally. He maintains that “peace is a process to engage in, not a goal to be reached” (Bailey, 1993, p. 173). A *culture of peace* therefore is congruent with the Quaker Peace Testimony. According to Curle (1981, 1986), fostering positive attitudes by reducing suspicions, misperceptions and fears is an essential approach in Quaker peacemaking. Cynthia Sampson (1994), researching the Quaker conciliation team during the Nigerian civil war, described how the team set in motion a process of reducing suspicions, misperceptions and fears, so that each side were able to “re-perceive” their enemies, so that reasonable discussions could begin (p. 95). Ron Kraybill (1994), researching the Quaker conciliators in the Rhodesia/Zimbabwe transition, summed up the *culture of peace*
that the Quaker team maintained during their eight-year involvement. “The Quakers were a unique phenomenon: a travelling reservoir of unconditional and uncomplicated goodwill” (p. 234). According to Kraybill (1994), their simple and primary agenda to stop the suffering on all sides, earned them trust that opened doors (p. 236) so that they were able to establish human solidarity with all parties, “engaging the parties as human beings suffering a ghastly war and struggling to find a way out” (p. 233). He maintained that the Quaker team became the most strategically involved of any group working to negotiate an end to the war, noting that the “breadth of their connections was remarkable” (1994, p. 234). Between 1972 and 1980, the Quaker team made four missions to Africa to meet with the country’s three leaders of liberation factions—Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo and Abel Muzorewa—and to meet several top white government officials, as well as business and church leaders. Their networks extended to include the presidents and their top officials of the surrounding Frontline States—Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana—and officials in Mozambique, South Africa and Nigeria (Kraybill, 1994). On top of this, the Quakers sent delegations to both the Geneva (1976) and the Lancaster House (1979) conferences.

### 3.4.2 Active nonviolence

Interlinked and closely related to a *culture of peace* is *active nonviolence*. The ideology and practice of active nonviolence, which aims to achieve justice and peace nonviolently, is based on a positive view of human nature that sees the good in every living person (Hertog, 2010). According to Hertog, (2010) “the focus of nonviolence is to fight evil instead of people, to focus on the issue instead of the person, and to see the other party not as an enemy, but as a partner in the struggle to satisfy the needs of all” (p. 54). Furthermore, it is a path of deep personal transformation and self-realization that links the inner workings of the heart, mind and spirit with outer action (Hertog, 2010, p. 54). *Active nonviolence* therefore is congruent with the Quaker Peace Testimony, which, as described above, is a guideline for outward action based on an understanding that ‘there is that of God in everyone’.

A nonviolent action that has been a characteristic of Quaker mediation teams during the past 50 years, is advocating for a negotiated settlement in order to end the suffering of war. Curle, describing how Quaker conciliation is impelled and informed by this understanding, writes “…In working for peace I am simply doing what I’ve sensed is a normal human function: to realize—make real—the bonds between us all” (Sampson, 1994, p. 95).
3.4.3 Reconciliation

Peacebuilding scholars and practitioners have defined reconciliation in varying ways. Staub (2011) defines reconciliation as the “mutual acceptance of two groups of each other” (p. 290). Staub clarifies this by saying that “a genuine acceptance means trust in, and positive attitudes towards the other, and sensitivity to the consideration of the other party’s needs and interests”. He adds, “reconciliation also means that in people’s minds the past does not define the future” (Staub, 2011, p. 291).

Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall (2011), like Williams et al. (1994), define reconciliation as restoring broken relationships and learning to live nonviolently with radical differences. Furthermore, they view reconciliation as the ultimate goal of resolving conflict (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2011).

In *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (1997), Lederach proposes a conceptual framework for peacebuilding that comprises five interdependent activities, namely structure, process, reconciliation, resources and coordination (p. 151). Lederach argues that reconciliation is the foundation stone of this framework for building peace. Putting relationships to the fore, he states “the framework must address and engage the relational aspects of reconciliation as the central component of peacebuilding” (Lederach, 1997, p. 24). These relational aspects have been discussed in the previous chapter.

Lederach is influenced by the work of Hizkias Assefa, (1990) who proposed a new paradigm for peace that focuses on reconciliation and not issues. Assefa (2001) maintains that the most effective and sustainable way of resolving and preventing conflict is through reconciliation (p. 342).

In his book *In the Middle*, Curle (1986) emphasized the importance of reconciliation in the wider peacebuilding picture.

Sue and Steve Williams, Quaker mediators who represented Quaker Peace and Service in East Africa and Northern Ireland define reconciliation as:

> the long-term effort to build or rebuild relationships between people. This is aimed at the profound change from enmity, hostility or complete separation to mutual understanding or harmonious cooperation. Because it is very long-term, many of its activities must be appreciated as steps along the way, without any expectation of immediate result. In some ways reconciliation is the umbrella term that includes all the others (Williams & Williams, 1994, p. 116).
Again, this attempt at reconciliation was one of the three aspects observed by Cynthia Sampson researching the Quaker conciliation team during the Nigerian civil war. The Quaker team attempted to rebuild the relationship between the Nigerian and the Biafran leaders by faithfully carrying messages between the two sides and opening lines of communication (Sampson, 1994, pp. 94-95).

Reconciliation, like a culture of peace and active nonviolence is congruent with the Quaker Peace Testimony. My thesis focuses on one reconciliation project in Australia and one in Aotearoa New Zealand, both being Pacific countries that have experienced colonization. These projects have been outlined and described in Chapter One. It is to reconciliation within the context of colonization that I now turn.

3.4.4 Reconciliation and Colonization

According to Paulette Regan (2006), reconciliation in a colonial context requires the process of decolonization, what she calls “unsettling the settler within”. Regan (2006) maintains that two processes are necessary. The first process is that the colonial structural and cultural violence of the past must be recognized, and amends must be made. Similarly, this process is emphasized by Staub (2011), who maintains “members of a society learning about and engaging with the truth may be vital for national/societal reconciliation” (p. 446). Immense harm in the form of direct, structural and cultural violence was inflicted upon the indigenous peoples of Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand during and resulting from colonization. Montevile (1993), and Staub (2003, 2006) have written extensively on how groups are deeply affected by high levels of trauma. Tajfel and Turner, (1979) and Bar-Tal and Staub, (1997), showed that individual identity is deeply rooted in group-membership. Important to this study is the work of Staub, (2003), who showed that just as severe trauma diminishes groups and individuals (Herman, 1992); it also affects members of groups who were not physically present at the violent events. This is an important finding in the context of this study, as initial colonization in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand occurred a long time ago.

The second process that is necessary for reconciliation in a colonial context concerns changes in the inherited attitudes of the colonial mindset, as well as in the unjust social, political and economic structures (Regan, 2006).
These two processes suggest that for peacebuilding to be sustainable in a colonial context, change needs to occur at four levels; the personal, relational, structural and cultural (Lederach, 1997, 2000) This framework will therefore be used for analysis in my study and will be described in the following chapter.

The historical context for Quaker peacebuilding, steeped in a culture of peace, active nonviolence and reconciliation as informed by the religious and social testimonies, has been outlined and described above. I now turn to a literature search for the approaches taken by Quakers in the complex task of religious peacebuilding.

3.5 A Search for Sustainable Quaker Peacebuilding Approaches

This section is in three parts. It consists of (a) the literature of Curle, (b) the literature concerning Quaker peacebuilders working throughout the world and gaps in this literature, and ends (c) with a summary of Quaker approaches to peacebuilding. The purpose of this section is to identify gaps in the literature on Quaker peacebuilding and to search for sustainable Quaker peacebuilding approaches.

3.5.1 The literature of Adam Curle

This section reviews the Quaker peacebuilding literature of Adam Curle, who has written extensively in both the general field of peacebuilding (as presented in the previous chapter), and also in the field of Quaker peacebuilding.

Curle held the first chair of Peace Studies at Bradford University in the United Kingdom, and worked for over five decades in peace and conflict related matters. He supported mediation efforts in the Pakistan/India conflict, in Nigeria during the war with Biafra, in Rwanda after the genocide and during the war in the former Yugoslavia during the worst years of the fighting (Lederach & Jenner, 2002). Curle has made important contributions to the theory and practice of peacebuilding (Featherston, 2000; Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2011; Sampson, 1997). Curle’s model for conflict transformation is set out in Making Peace (1971). This defines peace and conflict as a set of peaceful and unpeaceful relationships and has been outlined in the first research area of this literature review. Furthermore, Curle has had a significant influence on Quaker peacebuilding practices, especially with regards to mediation (Guiton 2005, p. 301).
In *True Justice* Curle (1981) describes seven pillars of peacemaking; a metaphor for building a structure of peace that affords everyday protection (pp. 56-97).

The seven pillars for peacemaking consist of:

1. Acknowledging God in all.
2. Listening and Attention.
3. Earning acceptance.
4. Persistence.
5. Stimulating awareness.
6. Working nonviolently for change.
7. Establishing communication.

The two approaches—*acknowledging God in all*, and *working non-violently for change*—have been discussed in regard to the Quaker testimonies. The remaining five approaches have been discussed in the literature review in the previous chapter, some briefly and some in depth. Only a brief mention was made of *attentive listening, earning acceptance, and establishing communication* when discussing Kelman (1996) and his problem solving workshops. As they are three essential Quaker peacebuilding approaches, I will discuss these more fully.

### 3.5.2 Attentive listening

Curle (1981) describes how attentive listening enables the peacemaker to hear and understand the other in a profound sense, which then opens the way for communicating through the “true nature” of the listener. According to Curle (1981), this evokes a positive response in the person being listened to, who, in turn responds “from the true part of his or her nature” (p. 61). As a consequence of these reciprocal responses, positive feelings are aroused in both parties. Curle maintains that as well as discovering vital information, the two parties “reach the part of the other person that is really able to make peace, both inwardly and outwardly” (Curle, 1981, p. 61). Analyzing Curle’s role in Nigerian-Biafran conflict, Sampson (1994) observed that in order for the parties’ attitudes, perceptions and fears to be understood and for the messages to be carried faithfully, Curle demonstrated an ability to listen skilfully. Moreover, she noted how “listening had also a spiritual function” (Sampson, 1994, p. 95). For
the purpose of guiding the analysis in this thesis, the approach *attentive listening*, advocated as well by Lederach (1995, 1997, 2000) in the previous chapter, will be used.

### 3.5.3 Building Relationships and Working with both sides of the conflict.

The two approaches *building relationships* and *working with both sides of the conflict* identified in Curle’s work (1981, 1986, 2002) and in the work of Quaker conciliators (Bailey, 1993; Kraybill, 1994; Sampson, 1994) will be used to guide the analysis in this thesis. In the previous chapter, these two approaches were also advocated by peacebuilding scholars as essential elements in contributing towards sustainable peace (Galtung, 2005; Kelman, 1999; Kraybill, 1996; Lederach, 1995, 1997, 2000; Rasmussen, 2001).

According to Ramsbotham *et al.* (2011), Curle was an exemplar in the development of Track Two (non-official) mediation. Curle describes it as *active mediation*, a process that endeavours to get both sides to be willing to negotiate (Curle, 1986). This intermediary role, which has characterized much of Quaker peacemaking in the past, blends conciliation and mediation (Bailey, 1993), with the purpose of removing obstacles to a negotiated settlement by reducing the suspicions, misperceptions and fears that each party have of the other (Curle, 1990, p. 61). Curle describes *active mediation* as an active process that involves attentive listening (described above) and seeks to understand the perspective of each party. It had been described by Yarrow (1977) as “balanced partiality” in which the Quaker mediator endeavours to listen without judgement. This non-judgement is fostered by the Quaker tenet of “that of God in everyone”, so that all those in a conflict are respected. Curle, (1981) emphasizes that the sole purpose of mediation is to relieve the suffering for both parties, and not to take sides (p. 5). The knowledge of this by the conflicting parties, as outlined above, contributes to earning the trust of those parties, despite the fact that the mediators work with both sides.

In his book *In the Middle* Curle (1986) emphasized the importance of mediation and reconciliation in the wider peacebuilding picture. Outlining his approaches to mediation Curle describes how first he builds communication, and second, maintains and improves it. Curle achieves this by providing information both between and to the conflict parties, gaining their trust through deep listening and non-judgement. His third approach to mediation is to befriend the conflicting parties. Curle (1981) describes the Quaker approach to conciliation thus “virtually the sole dogma, if that word is not too emphatic, of Friends concerns “that of God
in everyone” (p. 5). Curle (1981) explains how this central tenet of Quakerism helps Quaker mediation teams not to pass judgement on the conflicting parties, despite the atrocities they have enacted. His fourth approach, described above, he calls “active mediation”

For the purpose of analysis in this thesis, the first and third approaches: building communication and befriending the conflicting parties will come under the approach of relationship building. The second and fourth approaches; providing information both to and between the conflict parties, and active mediation will be considered as the approach working with both sides of the conflict. Relationship building and working with both sides of the conflict will be approaches used for guiding the analysis in this thesis.

3.5.4 Local Empowerment

A final approach identified in Curle’s work, that will be used to guide the analysis in this thesis is local empowerment.

According to Ramsbotham et al. (2012), Curle’s approach to peace was an evolving one. In his 80s and still working, Curle was a peace practitioner at the Osijek Centre for Peace, Nonviolence and Human Rights: the location of the most intensive fighting of the Croat-Serb War. It was at this point in his peacebuilding work that he expanded his approach to peace to include local empowerment, an approach that involves the empowerment of individuals and civil society group in many and varied roles (Ramsbotham et al., 2011, p. 54). At the Osijek Centre, Curle (1994) realized that it was “essential to consider the peacemaking potential within the conflicting communities” (Curle, 1994, p. 96; Curle, 2002). Referring to similarities with the work of Lederach, who was doing training workshops in conflict resolution with local peacemakers in South America (Lederach, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2000), Curle saw that a vital role of peacebuilding was to empower local individuals and groups (Curle, 2002). To this end, he held workshops that facilitated local people to identify what they needed (Ramsbotham et al., 2012).

The definition of local empowerment, involves the notion that “conflict transformation must actively envision, include, respect and promote the human and cultural resources within a given setting” (Lederach, 1995, p. 212). As described in the first section of this literature review, local empowerment, as well as being considered an essential approach to peacebuilding by Curle (1994, 2002) and Lederach (1995, 1997), it is also advocated by other scholars such as Goodhand (2002, 2006) and Anderson (1999).
3.5.5 The Literature on Quaker Peacebuilders working throughout the world

As constituents of a historic peace church, there are a number of Quaker organizations and institutions aimed at increasing international understanding. According to Punshon (1991), the response of a body of Quakers in Europe and America to the destructiveness of the Great War resulted in a “much deeper awareness of personal spiritual responsibility to work for change” (p. 235), rather than inaction or to rely solely on politics. Quaker centres (embassies) were set up in London, Berlin, Vienna, Paris and other places. The Quaker United Nations Office (QUNO) grew out of this vision. QUNO has official UN status and serves as a Quaker presence at the United Nations representing the concerns of Friends’ at an international level (Punshon, 1991, p. 235). As well there are Quaker Peace and Service (QPS) organizations operating around the world, including Australia QPS and Aotearoa New Zealand QPS. As the name implies, these organizations outwardly manifest the Peace and Equality testimonies (Mendle, 1974). Thus Quakers, despite their small numbers, informed and guided by the Quaker religious and social testimonies for outward action, have been involved with peacebuilding within their own countries and internationally (Bailey, 1993; Bartoli, 2004; Brycchan, 2012, Hubbard, 1985; Kraybill, 1994; Sampson, 1994; Yarrow, 1977).

In what follows, I outline five approaches to peacebuilding used by the Quakers described above. These five approaches will be used for guiding the analysis in this thesis.

3.5.6 Attentive Listening, Working with both sides of the Conflict and Relationship Building

In his research on the Quaker mediation team during the civil war years of Rhodesia/Zimbabwe transition, Ron Kraybill (1994) identified five key traits. The approaches the Quaker mediation team used were 1) establishing human solidarity with all parties; 2) disciplined listening; 3) opening channels of communication; 4) supporting formal negotiation; and finally 5) advocating policies and action in support of reconciliation (p. 233-240). Kraybill noted “the Quakers did not intentionally seek publicity or success for their work but operated in such a way that their own contribution to any success would be invisible” (Kraybill, 1994, pp. 242-243). Humility, in this case, was also an approach, and according to Curle (2002) is a necessary approach to peacebuilding. As mentioned above, the approaches of attentive listening, working with both sides of the conflict and relationship building will be used to guide my analysis in the following chapter.
3.5.7 Persistence

Guiton (2005), a Quaker scholar, analysed 174 Quaker peace practitioners in third-world military conflicts. He identified seven key elements that were essential to the Quakers’ peacebuilding approach. The seventh identifiable finding was that because Quaker mediation was spiritually driven, the Friends’ belief system was not conditional on time and space. This meant that, unlike most secular third-party efforts, Quakers were engaged in a conflict for the long term. Walter Martin, a Quaker mediator, summed up this persistent approach:

It must not be thought that a Quaker mediating role can be switched on and off at will. It requires real concern, which should lead to deep commitment, perhaps for a period extending over many years (Martin, 1984, p. 973).

The approach of persistence, also advocated by Lederach (1997) in the previous chapter, will be used to guide my analysis.

3.5.8 Non-proselytizing

Non-proselytizing is a contemporary Quaker approach to peacebuilding. This has not always been the case, Quakers having been evangelical in their early years (Hubbard, 1985). Regarding more recent times, Wolfe Mendle (1974) maintains “Quakers have always resisted the implication that any particular organized form of religion is superior to any other” (p. 39).

In his Swarthmore lecture, Prophets and Reconcilers, in which he reflects on the Quaker Peace Testimony, Mendle (1974) illuminates this aspect of Quakerism. In describing the Quaker work camp movement after 1945, when people were brought together for prolonged periods of time to study and work on international problems, doing socially useful physical labour, the Quakers purposefully avoided proselytizing, deeming it to be inappropriate to convert others who either had different religious backgrounds, or none at all, and inappropriate when the purpose was to encourage friendship and peace amongst a diverse group of people with different and opposing viewpoints. Mendle (1974) argues that Quakers avoid proselytizing because they believe that actions speak louder than words, calling this non-proselytizing a “conscious formulation of the Quaker message” (p. 39).

Sampson (1994), describing the Quaker mediation team working in the Nigeria/Biafra civil war, noted, “their message was never religious per se, but in certain respects, it might be considered spiritual” (p. 96).
The approach of non-proselytizing, also advocated by Gopin (2000) and Appleby (2000), in the previous chapter, will be used to guide my analysis.

3.6 Gaps in the literature on Quaker Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding scholars and Quaker conciliators have written an extensive body of literature on Quaker peacebuilding. At an international level, the involvement of Quakers over the last 50 years as unofficial third party conciliators in some of the world’s major conflicts—Cyprus, Africa, India, the Middle East and East Asia—has been well researched; Bailey, 1979, 1993; Curle, 1971, 1981, 1986, 2002; Guiton, 2005; Princen, 1992 and Yarrow, 1977, 1978. Yarrow (1977, 1978) and Bailey (1979, 1993), both Quaker conciliators, have written about intermediary work they carried out in India and Pakistan in 1965, and in the Middle East respectively; Yarrow (1978), Princen (1992) and Sampson (1994) have written on the Nigeria/Biafra civil war; Kraybill (1994) on the Rhodesia/Zimbabwe war of Independence; and Princen (1992) on Quaker involvement in Sri Lanka. Adam Curle has written extensively of his involvement as a peace scholar, reflecting on his involvement in India/Pakistan and Africa (Curle, 1971, 1981, 1990, 1999) and on experiences in the former Yugoslavia (Curle, 1996, 2002). Bailey (1979) has described facilitating informal meetings between the Russians and the Americans during the Cold War, between Jews and Arabs, between Indians and Pakistanis during the Kashmir dispute and between the Greeks and the Turks in the Cyprus conflict. More recently, Guiton (2005) has written on Quaker peacebuilding in South Africa and Zimbabwe. However, an extensive review of the databases and catalogues has shown that there has been no research published on contemporary Quaker peacebuilding in the Pacific region. It is into this gap that I locate my thesis.

In summary, this chapter on Quaker Peacebuilding has identified a gap in the literature on Quaker peacebuilding and identified six sustainable approaches to peacebuilding. These six approaches have also been identified in the previous chapter as contributing to sustainable peace, and will used to provide a line of inquiry into an analysis of sustainable peacebuilding. They are:

- Local Empowerment (Curle, 1986, 1994, 2002; Ramsbotham et al., 2012)
• Persistence (Curle, 1971, 1981; Guiton, 2005; Martin, 1984; Sampson, 1994)
• Non-proselytizing (Mendle, 1974)

To this end, Vendley and Little (1994) argue that religious communities need both to search their traditions for teachings that promote peace, and to engage in a critical self-examination of their respective approaches to conflict (p. 312). The following chapter will outline the methods used to critically analyse the existence of peace-promoting approaches—identified in Chapter Two and in this chapter—in two Quaker peacebuilding projects, with regards to sustainable peacebuilding.
Chapter Four: Methods
4.1 Chapter Outline

In this chapter I detail the methods used to analyse the two data sources that I have collected for this study. This chapter is in two parts. In Part One, I introduce the two case studies, giving the reason for the selection of the two projects and the four participants. Then I present a brief overview of the context of colonization in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, the similarities and differences between the case studies, the ethical considerations, and the interview procedures. In Part Two, I introduce the method of analysis. In the first section of Part Two I introduce the coding structure used to search the data for approaches to peacebuilding. In the second section I introduce Lederach’s *transformational framework*: the perspective from which the approaches to peacebuilding will be analysed.

4.2 Introduction.

I conducted a total of eight in-depth 70-minute interviews with four interviewees, in order to investigate whether the ten approaches to peacebuilding, advocated by peacebuilding scholars as contributing to sustainable peace, were present; and to find other potentially peace-enhancing approaches present. Two of the interviewees work with the First Nations Peoples Concerns Committee in Australia; the other two interviewees’ peacebuilding work involves the Rowan Partnership in Aotearoa New Zealand. In addition to the eight interviews, I analysed 22 Yearly Meeting Epistles from 2001-2011, 11 from Australia and 11 from Aotearoa New Zealand. Epistles are especially composed collective letters (Punshon, 1991), which reflect the state, concerns and priorities of the Society in each country at that time. The purpose of having two sources of data was to conduct research on the practical work of contemporary Quaker peacebuilders (the interviews), and to get a more general sense of the visions and contemporaneous approaches to peacebuilding of the Society of Friends (the Epistles). Comparisons could then be made between the two sources, within and between each country.

4.3 Case Study

Case study is a research method that is a distinctive form of empirical inquiry (Yin, 2003). The central focus of this study, an analysis of the Quaker approaches in the complex and
dynamic process of sustainable peacebuilding, essentially asks the question “how?” According to Yin, case study research is a preferred option when the research is a “how” or a “why” question focusing on a contemporary set of behavioural events over which the investigator has little or no control (Yin, 2009, pp. 8-9).

Case study is also an appropriate method to use when there are multiple relationships involved in the investigation (Thomas, 2011, p. 11). As my research question is asking how Quakers perform peacebuilding in a range of contemporary situations over which I have no control, and there are multiple relationships involved, the preferred method of research in this thesis is the case study.

Finally, case studies are appropriate when the research is focused on exploring a holistic understanding of the issue (Thomas, 2011). In the same vein, Yin maintains that case studies are valuable when research seeks “to understand complex social phenomena” (Yin, 2009, p. 4) or “to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events” (Yin, 2009, p. 4). The case study method therefore fits this study, as peacebuilding is a complex, multileveled, multi-layered social phenomenon (Lederach, 1997), concerning real-life events, in this instance, Quaker approaches to peacebuilding.

I used two primary sources of information in this study: interviews and documentation.

1. Interviews: I carried out eight 70-minute in-depth interviews; interviewing each of the four participants twice. According to Yin (2003), interviews are one of the most important sources of case study information.

2. Documentation: I analysed twenty-two Yearly Meeting Epistles from 2001 to 2011; 11 from Australia and 11 from Aotearoa New Zealand. The Epistles give a sense of the spiritual life, the practice and the activities of the wider Religious Society of Friends.

According to Yin, “a major strength of case study data collection is the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence” (Yin, 2003, p. 97).

4.3.1 Case Selection

Two Quaker peacebuilding projects were chosen for this study: the First Nations Peoples Concerns Committee in Australia, and the Rowan Partnership in Aotearoa New Zealand.
These two projects, which have been introduced in Chapter One, work with both settler and indigenous peoples in the historical context of colonization and the protracted conflict that has resulted from this colonization.

All four interviewees are members of the Religious Society of Friends. Three of the four interviewees were invited to participate in this study, as they are committed, respected, well-known, and trusted peace workers. J, D and C also hold prominent positions within their respective organizations. “Interviewees should be experienced and knowledgeable in the area they are being interviewed about” (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 64). The fourth interviewee, JM, volunteered himself after my request for interviewees was forwarded to the regional Victoria Quaker meeting, of which he is a member.

The three “selected” interviewees are middle-level actors with professional backgrounds in education. Lederach maintains that the middle-level actors— who have links to, and often have the trust of both the top and the grass-roots level—have a greater potential for constructing an infrastructure for peace (Lederach, 1997, p. 15). Furthermore, they have “more flexibility of thought and movement than top-level leaders” and they are not so constrained by daily survival issues with regards to time and resources as those at the grass roots (Lederach, 1997, p. 94). The fourth interviewee, JM is a grass-roots actor. I have included interviewees from both levels in order to present a more balanced and accurate picture of Quakers working in the field (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 64). Lederach (1997), as part of his elicitive approach, stressed the role of both grass-roots and middle-level leaders at the conflict transformation stage.

4.3.2 The Australian interviewees
The two Quaker Australian interviewees are C and JM, both members of the First Nations Peoples Concerns Committee (FNPCC). Since its inception in 2000, the goal of the FNPCC has been to work towards genuine reconciliation with First Nations Peoples (FNP). This committee aims to achieve this by increasing awareness of indigenous concerns, and by encouraging Quakers to develop individual relationships with their local indigenous communities. Committee members link up with regional Quaker meetings throughout Australia, via internet video-conference, to exchange information, assistance and support, and to formulate a national response on indigenous issues.
I asked C, a member of the Australian Quakers, to participate in this study, as he has been involved in peace work, “since my teenage years” (Interview with C, September, 2012). He has been the convenor of the FNPCC—a voluntary position—since 2007.

The second Australian interviewee, JM, has been a member of the FNPCC since 2007 and is a dedicated peace activist. Every Monday for the past 13 years he has attended and coordinated a vigil in the Central Business District area of Melbourne. JM states that the purpose of this vigil is to draw attention to past and present injustices suffered by the First Nations Peoples (FNP), truth-telling being one of the steps towards reconciliation (Hertog, 2010; Johnston & Sampson, 1994; Lederach, 1997; Sampson, 1997; Sampson & Lederach, 2010; Staub, 2006, 1011; Staub & Bar-Tal, 2003; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The vigil activists, under a large banner, distribute informative leaflets on indigenous concerns, and as well, sit silently and pray. They talk to people who show an interest, and answer their questions. JM is a retired history lecturer and would be described by Lederach as a grass-roots leader.

4.3.3 The Aotearoa New Zealand Interviewees

The two Quaker interviewees from Aotearoa New Zealand, known as J and D, have been involved in peacebuilding for the past thirty years. They are active in mediation, reconciliation and Treaty education. To date, J and D have run over 600 workshops in nearly every region of Aotearoa New Zealand. They were major players, with others, in Getting On, Moving On, a community reconciliation movement that followed the 1995 iwi occupation of the Pakaitore/Moutoa Gardens in Whanganui.

Currently they are involved in the Pakaitore Oral History Group. This group is developing an archive of recordings of the iwi reclamation of the Pakaitore site and the ramifications of that reclamation up to the present, which will be used as a resource for understanding and reconciliation in the community.

In 1991, they delivered the Australian Backhouse Quaker lecture, entitled Loving the Distance Between: Racism, Culture and Spirituality.

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7 Iwi— the modern translation for iwi is tribe. Iwi refers to the Māori word for a set of people bound together by descent from a common ancestor or ancestors.
8 The Moutoa Gardens was the focus of a 79 day protest concerning the local iwi claim that the traditional fishing settlement and trading area of Pakaitore had been set aside from the purchase of Whanganui; the authorities denied this.

They describe being “propelled” into peacebuilding work after their experience of the Springbok Tour in 1981, in which both Pākehā and Māori groups united to protest against apartheid in South Africa. At this time, Māori groups were calling for their Pākehā allies to educate their fellows about race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand. Responding to this call, J and D added workshops, on both the Treaty of Waitangi and its ensuing responsibilities, to their repertoire of mediation and conflict management skills.

In 1988 J and D formed the Rowan Partnership, which enabled them to be self-employed and to continue their training work. The aim of the Rowan Partnership in its Treaty work is to be an ally for the legitimate aspirations of Māori.

J and D describe themselves as “translators”. In their workshops, to a predominantly Pākehā audience, J and D describe, in varying amounts of detail, the story of the Treaty and some of the many pieces of legislation that have subordinated and colonized Māori, and in doing so, demonstrate the direct, structural and cultural violence that resulted from colonization. Work that Māori often refer to as decolonization education parallels what J and D call Treaty Workshops (James, 1996).

### 4.3.4 A brief outline of the context of colonization in Australia and in Aotearoa New Zealand

As outlined in Chapter One, the colonization of Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand set in train a process of direct, structural and cultural violence against First Nations Peoples and Māori that has had devastating consequences. The social, economic and political systems of the indigenous peoples were dismantled, and the loss of their land and authority had profound effects. The ramifications of colonization are, for example, reflected in present day health, economic, and education indicators, where indigenous people in both countries die younger, suffer poorer health, have lower employment rates and lower scholastic achievement.

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9 *Decolonization*, once viewed as the formal process of handing over the instruments of government, is now recognized as a long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power (Tuhillow-Smith, 2012, p. 101).
4.3.5 The similarities between the two case studies

In this section I expand on the similarities between the two case studies.

1. The case studies are both concerned with Quaker peacebuilding actors working towards *positive peace* within the historical context of colonization; further, the two peacebuilding projects both address the protracted conflict that has resulted from the direct, structural and cultural violence towards its indigenous people.

2. The interviewees in the two reconciliation projects are practising primarily at the middle-level, and one is acting at the grass-roots level.

3. The four interviewees are working on indigenous social justice issues in their own respective countries. To date, most of the peacebuilding literature concerns Quaker peacebuilders working in conflict situations that are not in their own countries.

4. The two case studies are both situated in the Pacific region.


4.3.6 The differences between the two case studies

In this section I explore the differences between the two case studies in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand.

1. The major difference between the two case studies is the different structural arrangements that are in place within each country. Aotearoa New Zealand has a founding document, The Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti o Waitangi), which was signed by the Crown and Māori tribes in 1840. As a consequence of this, and in order to begin the process of acknowledging and making some compensatory contribution for past wrongs, the Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975. The Tribunal's purpose was to begin a legal settlement process between the Government of Aotearoa New Zealand and the indigenous Māori tribes.

In Australia, however, there was no founding document akin to a formal Treaty signed by the First Nations Peoples and the British colonizers. In contrast to Aotearoa New Zealand, it was over 200 years before there was any formal acknowledgement of the older historic
injustices that occurred in Australia, which started in 1788. In 1992, the Australian Prime Minister at the time, Paul Keating addressed a crowd, predominantly composed of First Nations Peoples, and publicly acknowledged the past. "We committed the murders. We took the children from their mothers. We practiced discrimination and exclusion. It was our ignorance and our prejudice" (Keating, 1992). Sixteen years later, on 13 February 2008, the then Prime Minister Kevin Rudd finally made a National Apology to the Stolen Generation.

Thus, the Waitangi Tribunal (1975), as a New Zealand government initiative, preceded by well over a decade Australian Government attempts towards reconciliation.

2. Related to the above, the reconciliation project in Aotearoa New Zealand project is older than the Australian project by 19 years: 1981 and 2000 respectively.

3. The Australian Constitution is considered by many academics, activists and the public to be discriminatory towards First Nations Peoples. Section 25 allows States to disqualify "all persons of any race" from voting at elections; a provision seemingly aimed at potentially disenfranchising indigenous voters. Section 51 authorizes the Australian Parliament to make “special laws” for “the people of any race”. There are no such statements in the Constitution of Aotearoa New Zealand.

4. There is a difference between the proportions of the indigenous populations in each country. First Nations Peoples in Australia make up only 2.5% of the population (IWGIA\textsuperscript{10}, 2013). In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori represent 17% of the total population (Mikkelson, 2010).

4.3.7 Ethical considerations

This project has received ethics approval from the University of Otago Ethics Committee (approval number 12/221).

Prior to the interviews, I sent a letter to the interviewees outlining the study and information with regards to their anonymity not being able to be preserved due to the relatively small numbers of Quakers in both countries (Please see appendix).

\textsuperscript{10} (IWGIA), International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs
4.3.8 Consultation with Māori

The Ngai Tahu Research Consultation Committee at the University of Otago met on the 18 September 2012 and have given their mandated response to my proposal. This consultation was initiated with Māori, in accord with the Treaty of Waitangi, to ensure that the study was culturally appropriate for Māori and of interest to Māori.

4.4 Interview procedures

Eight in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted; two interviews with each of the two New Zealand peacebuilders and two interviews with each of the two Australian peacebuilders. The first interviews were carried out in early September 2012 and were set up to create rapport and to get a background as to how they came to be doing their peacebuilding work. The second set of interviews, conducted two weeks later, was set up to determine the specific peacebuilding approaches of the participants. Each interview was approximately 70 minutes, resulting in a total of ten hours of transcribed interviews. (See the appendix for the interview questions.)

The interviews were semi-structured; conducted as “conversations with a purpose”, a flexible, fluid, conversational approach, in order to give as much freedom as possible for the particular approaches to be expressed (Burgess, 1984, p. 102). This approach seemed fitting, as I was trying to identify (from the Quaker interviewees) as wide a range of approaches to peacebuilding as possible.

Prior to the interviews in September, I was in email contact with the participants, to answer any questions they had of the project.

4.5 Method of Analysis

4.5.1 Introduction of the coding structure: the ten sustainable peacebuilding approaches

To analyse the data, I used a hybrid model: part way between the responsive interviewing formal coding model and the grounded theory model. The responsive interviewing formal model was specifically geared towards eliciting the ten sustainable peacebuilding approaches, described in detail in the previous chapter and outlined below. The grounded theory model
takes an open-coded approach, searching for other concepts other than those that I had originally set out to find. Rubin and Rubin state that “the more focused the interviews, the more efficient this hybrid is” (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 223). The purpose of using this hybrid model was therefore to expand the study from the first ten essential approaches to explore other approaches, should I find them. Rubin and Rubin maintain that grounded theorists who use open coding often have “fresh and rich results” (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 222). This search for depth complements my small study of four participants and 22 Epistles.

The ten sustainable peacebuilding approaches that I searched for, defined and described in detail in the previous chapter, were: Principled nonviolent action; Attentive listening; Non-proselytizing; Persistence; Working with both sides of conflict; Awareness of culture; Awareness of context; Local empowerment; Building relationships; and Fostering positive attitudes towards the Other. According to peacebuilding scholars and practitioners, (Appleby, 2000; Curle, 1971, 1981, 1990; Fisher, 1999, 2001; Galtung, 1969, 1975, 1996, 1998; Galtung & Jacobsen, 2000; Goodhand, 2002, 2006; Johnston & Sampson, 1994; Kelman 1999; Lederach, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2005, 2010; 2010; Murithi, 2009; Princen, 1992; Ramsbothan, Miall & Woodhouse, 2011; Sampson & Lederach), these have been shown to be important approaches towards building sustainable peace and have been found in the literature on Quaker peacebuilders in other parts of the world. My interview questions were specifically geared towards eliciting these ten approaches. These ten approaches are described and operationalized in Table 1 in the following chapter.

The seven open coded approaches that emerged were: Earning acceptance and trust; Quaker Testimonies; The Inner Self; A Vision of future social justice; Non-judgement; Curiosity and Humility; and Other peace enhancing approaches. These seven approaches are described and operationalized in Table 2 in the following chapter.

For the purpose of transparency and potential replication, and to show the emergence of strong themes, evidence of these approaches was categorized into three groups: evident, strongly evident and very strongly evident. Evident means finding the approach between one to four times; strongly evident, five to seven times; and very strongly evident, more than seven times. Table A1 in the Appendix shows the results the 17 approaches, for both sets of data in each country. The merged results for the interviews and the Epistles in each country are shown in Table A2 in the Appendix.
These 17 approaches were analysed from the transformational perspective of Lederach (1997) introduced, described, and outlined below.

4.6 Introduction of the analytical framework: the transformational perspective

Lederach (1997, 2003), like Curle (1971), highlights the importance of transforming structures and institutions by building relationships, over the long term, that change power relations from unequal to more equal. According to Lederach (2003), social conflict evolves from, and produces changes across, four dimensions. These four dimensions are: the personal; the relational; the structural; and the cultural (Lederach, 1997, pp. 82-83). Each of these four dimensions will be described in detail in the following chapter. Lederach argues that constructive change needs to occur at each of these four dimensions in the long-term process of transforming a conflict situation to sustainable and positive peace. Furthermore, Lederach emphasizes transformation at all these levels, because for peace to be sustainable it must create “a proactive process that is capable of regenerating itself over time” (Lederach, 1997, p. 75). A transformational approach therefore, rather than merely concentrating on conflict issues, looks instead at the underlying relationships that have been affected by conflict.

Ten sustainable peacebuilding approaches were found in the data that peacebuilding scholars deem as important in contributing to sustainable peace. A further seven approaches were found that, to a large extent, are in line with the writing of religious peacebuilding scholars on sustainable peacebuilding.

From the sustainable peacebuilding perspective of Peace Studies, I will argue, therefore, that if the 17 peacebuilding approaches evident in this study fit with Lederach’s four levels of transformative intervention, the overall approach to peacebuilding by the Quakers in this study is sustainable.

4.7 Summary

The purpose of using the seventeen found approaches is to provide a line of inquiry into peacebuilding to identify key peacebuilding approaches that contribute towards its
sustainability. The first ten approaches, as well as the seven open coded approaches that emerged from the data, will be analysed in the following chapter using the four-dimensional transformative framework of Lederach (1997, 2003).

This chapter has outlined the methods used to analyse the two case studies with regards to my research question: *To what extent do Quaker peacebuilding approaches fit with the literature on building sustainable peace?*
Chapter Five: Analysis and Findings of the Aotearoa New Zealand and Australian Case Studies
5.1 Introduction

Using the methods described in the previous chapter, this chapter will explain and analyse the findings identified in the interviews and Epistles that pertain to the two countries in this study, in order to answer the research question: *To what extent do Quaker approaches to peacebuilding fit with the literature on building sustainable peace?* I will conclude by summarizing the over-arching theme of both the interviews and the Epistles.

As discussed in Chapter Four, I conducted two in-depth 70-minute interviews with each of the four interviewees—two in Australia and two in Aotearoa New Zealand—for this study. In addition to the eight interviews, I analysed 22 Australian and Aotearoa New Zealand Yearly Meeting Epistles from 2001 to 2011. The purpose of having two sources of data was to conduct research using active Quaker peacebuilders (the interviews); to get a more general sense of the Society of Friends’ contemporaneous approach to peacebuilding (the Epistles); and to be able to make comparisons between the two sources, within and between each country.

5.2 Findings: A General Overview

Table 1 and Table 2 demonstrate the two general categories into which the 17 approaches fall. In both tables, the approaches have been described and operationalized. Key words for each approach have been added, as examples of what I was searching for.

I found all ten approaches that are discussed in the literature review and are advocated by scholars as being essential approaches in contributing to sustainable peacebuilding, in both the interviews and the Epistles. The first ten approaches (Table 1), while not exhaustive or definitive, are dominant themes in current sustainable peacebuilding literature.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approaches</th>
<th>Description and Operationalization</th>
<th>Key Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 <strong>Principled nonviolent action</strong></td>
<td>Activities that promote positive peace by addressing structural and cultural violence: “speaking truth to power”, education and raising awareness, peaceful protests, nonviolent passive resistance, civil disobedience, silent vigils</td>
<td>To occupy, to advocate, to educate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 <strong>Attentive listening</strong></td>
<td>The listener focuses her/his whole attention on what the other is saying without interruption or distraction. Not just hearing, but acknowledgement through hearing which in turn validates the experience and the feelings of the person being listened to</td>
<td>Deep listening. Acknowledgement, compassionate listening,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 <strong>Non-proselytizing</strong></td>
<td>Not seeking to convert/respect for beliefs and world views of the Other</td>
<td>Respecting the values and beliefs of others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 <strong>Persistence</strong></td>
<td>Committed to a project or activity and not being restricted to rigid or set time frames; thinking in decades and maybe generations.</td>
<td>For the long term, commitment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 <strong>Working with both sides of conflict</strong></td>
<td>Not taking sides but being open to the truth that both sides have. Being prepared to change one’s perception.</td>
<td>To mediate, to listen,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 <strong>Awareness of culture</strong></td>
<td>Viewing culture as derivative of individual experience, learned or created by individuals themselves, or passed on to them socially or by contemporaries or ancestors (Avruch, 1998). Attempting to learn about and understand owns own, and another’s culture. Viewing culture as dynamic and complex; deriving from occupation, class, religion and region. Recognizing diversity. Not making theological and cultural assumptions about the Other</td>
<td>Diversity as a strength, Te Ao Māori, the Dreaming, saying karakia, cultural injustice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 <strong>Awareness of context</strong></td>
<td>Attempting to learn about and understand the context of the conflict; e.g. colonial history, genocide in Australia, injustices, land confiscations, repressive acts of parliament, structural and cultural violence. Identifying the underlying causes of conflict</td>
<td>Colonization, land alienation, structural injustice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 <strong>Local empowerment</strong></td>
<td>Promoting including, respecting and facilitating human and cultural resources for conflict transformation within the setting so that local people are seen as resources and not recipients. Offering support and assistance in addressing structural and cultural inequalities if it is asked for. Not taking charge. Helping people participate in decisions that affect them</td>
<td>Acknowledge and support, Self-determination assist,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 <strong>Building Relationships</strong></td>
<td>Any activity that builds, maintains or enhances relationships between people or groups in conflict in order to achieve positive peace</td>
<td>Connects, works with, links with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 <strong>Fostering positive attitudes towards the Other</strong></td>
<td>Approaches that help to change the negative feelings or evaluation of “the other” and help to maximize understanding of the other. This helps to change negative perceptions (a belief about or a way of viewing other)</td>
<td>Truth telling about the past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Despite the fact that the interview questions focused on determining whether the first ten approaches were present (Table 1), the hybrid method of analysis I used enabled a further seven approaches to emerge.

In categorising the approaches I have made one exception. In my interviews, I did specifically question whether Quaker Testimonies influenced the interviewees’ peacebuilding practice. I have included this approach in Table 2 because it is a Quaker religious aspect that does not fit with the essential (more universal) approaches in Table 1. The other seven approaches in Table 2 were those that emerged from the two sources of data.

These additional seven approaches that I found are described and operationalized in Table 2.

Table 2: The Seven Additional Peace-building Approaches found in the Interviews and Epistles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approaches</th>
<th>Description and Operationalization</th>
<th>Key Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1 Earning acceptance and trust</strong></td>
<td>Through service, integrity, reliability and engaging in authentic relationship, gaining the confidence of both sides.</td>
<td>Responsible to, asked to, called upon, trusted, relied upon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2 Quaker Testimonies</strong></td>
<td>Centrality of Quaker Testimonies act as guides to live by: The four religious testimonies: the best known being ‘That of God in everyone’ The four social testimonies: Peace, Equality, Integrity and Simplicity. (Australia adds a fifth: Community).</td>
<td>Mention of the testimonies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3 The Inner Self</strong></td>
<td>(a) Self-reflection/awareness/stillness (b) Corporate Quaker worship (c) ‘Peace begins with me’ (d) The mystical (experience of divine love)</td>
<td>Quiet reflection. Meeting for worship. Being peace. The ‘light’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4 A vision of future social justice</strong></td>
<td>Having hope for sustained positive peace.</td>
<td>Hope, vision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5 Non-judgement</strong></td>
<td>An open mind. Not having pre-formed opinions. Being willing to question one’s stance and change position.</td>
<td>Willing to change position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6 Curiosity and Humility</strong></td>
<td>Curiosity: Being eager to learn about other cultures and beliefs. Humility: Not letting ego and/or self-interest get in the way. Being willing to admit error.</td>
<td>Learning about another culture. Concerned for the suffering of others, not for self-ego.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7 Other peace enhancing approaches</strong></td>
<td>Compassion: feeling with the ‘other’ Responsibility: accountability Service: dedicated work Empathy: entering into another person’s feelings Loving kindness: unconditional acts of caring Inclusivity: acceptance of everyone without distinction Joy: feeling of great pleasure/happiness</td>
<td>Their suffering. Responsible to, Committed Love, All are equal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The last seven approaches are to a large extent in line with the peace-enhancing values that can be found in the specifically religious peacebuilding literature (Curle, 1981, 1994, 1995, 1999; Gopin, 2000; Hertog, 2010; Lederach, 1995, 1997, 2005). They did emerge from the interviews as important approaches for the four Quaker peacebuilders. I had not beforehand coded for these seven approaches, as I set out in this study to view the Quaker approaches to peacebuilding from a sustainability perspective – not with regards to their religiosity. The value of taking an open coded approach was to open up the possibility of capturing other important aspects that emerged from the interview data.

5.2.1 Comparison between the interviews and Epistles within each country

Comparing the interviews and the Epistles within each country revealed that all 17 approaches were, generally, strongly evident and very strongly evident.

I found that the strongly evident approach of a vision for future social justice together with the five very strongly evident approaches (principled non-violent action, working with both sides of the conflict, building relationships, Quaker Testimonies and other peace-enhancing approaches) were the same in both the interviews and the Epistles. This result applied to both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand.

I found differences between the interviews and the Epistles, the interviews generally being stronger than the Epistles, when comparing seven approaches (non-proselytizing, awareness of culture, awareness of context, fostering positive attitudes towards the Other, non-judgement and curiosity and humility). Again this result applied to both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. This difference reflects the contrast between the depth sought in and elicited by the interviews, and the breadth exhibited by the Epistles. Epistles convey a more general sense of the essence of the Society’s activities. Therefore, I was seeking to ascertain whether the approaches in the Epistles were consonant with those of the four peacebuilders interviewed.

I found a significant difference (very strongly evident / evident) between the interviews and the Epistles for only two approaches: earning acceptance and trust, and local empowerment. Given that I talked with the interviewees at length about their specific projects and that the questions were geared towards eliciting the first ten approaches (one of which was local empowerment), this result might have been expected. Similarly, regarding earning acceptance
and trust, I talked specifically with the interviewees about their approach to reconciliation work, so the concept of being accepted and trusted was more likely to emerge from this set of data than from the Epistles. For instance, I asked one Australian interviewee about decision making and prioritising. His response was that the individual first nations person or that person’s committee, would be the one/s to decide what needed to be done and then would make the request/s for assistance. He emphasized that it was not the decision of the Quaker peacebuilder/s in the First Nations Concern Committee. This process demonstrates local empowerment. The act of seeking the assistance of the peacebuilder/s by the first nations person/s is evidence of earning acceptance and trust.

There was only one exception to the general result where the interviews were stronger than the Epistles (as outlined above). Again it applied to both countries. The approach called the Inner Self was very strongly evident in the Epistles compared to strongly evident in the interviews. The Epistles are more “considered” documents in that they are produced over a period of time, usually by a panel of appointed writers, and are then presented to the whole Yearly Meeting for scrutiny before appearing in their final form. They reflect the sense of the meeting as a whole, rather than that of an individual Quaker or a small group of Quakers. The interview questions were, on the other hand, focused around the activities of the interviewees and hence on their activism. Therefore this difference was not unexpected. However, despite this difference, the approach called the Inner Self was still strongly evident with the four interviewees; they all placed great emphasis on quiet reflection to keep a balance in their activist lives.

In summary, apart from some not unexpected differences, the overall results comparing the interviews with the Epistles within each country showed that they were similar.

5.2.2 Comparison between the countries

(1) The results comparing the interviews between each country were very similar.

(2) The results comparing the Epistles between each country were exactly the same.

The results comparing the interviews with the Epistles within each country showed that they were similar (5.2.1). There was also no significant difference shown when comparing the interviews between each country. Comparing the Epistles between the two countries revealed
matching results (5.2.2). Therefore, because of this overall consistency, an analysis can be made of the two case studies taken together.


5.3 Analysis of Peacebuilding Approaches in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand: a transformational four dimensional perspective

As discussed in the previous chapter, the data will be analysed from a four-dimensional conflict transformational perspective. According to Lederach, the impact of conflict changes a situation across four dimensions: the personal, the relational, the structural and the cultural dimension ((Lederach, 1997, pp. 82-83). Lederach argues that constructive change needs to occur at each of these four dimensions in the long-term process of transforming a conflict situation to sustainable and positive peace. Lederach explains how these changes can be viewed in two ways. The first is descriptively to describe the conflict changes and then prescriptively—to prescribe the changes that are required to transform the conflict to a self-generating positive peace (Lederach, 1997, p. 75).

The four levels; the personal, the relational, the structural and the cultural, provide a lens to view a conflict that both describes a conflict situation and provide, at a prescriptive level, the four levels of intervention. According to Lederach:

Conflict transformation represents a comprehensive set of lenses for describing how conflict emerges from, evolves within, and brings about changes in the personal, relational, structural and cultural dimensions, and for developing creative responses that promote peaceful change within those dimensions through nonviolent mechanisms (Lederach, 1997, p. 83).

As mentioned above, ten sustainable peacebuilding approaches have been identified that according to peacebuilding scholars, fit with sustainable approaches. A further seven approaches have been found in this study that, to a large extent, are in line with religious
peacebuilding scholars’ writing on sustainable peacebuilding. The latter will be explored in more detail in the next chapter. From a sustainable peacebuilding perspective, I will therefore argue that if the 17 peacebuilding approaches evident in this study fit with Lederach’s four levels of transformative intervention, the overall approach to peacebuilding by the Quakers in this study is sustainable.

In this next section I will demonstrate, with quotes, the Quaker approaches used at each of the four dimensions: the personal, the relational, the structural and the cultural. Each dimension will be briefly described. For clarity, when an example of an approach is found in the data and quoted, I will insert the approach it represents in italics after it.

5.3.1 The Personal Dimension

From a descriptive angle, transformation at the personal dimension refers to desired changes in the individual that include the cognitive, emotional, perceptual and spiritual aspects of human experience. Prescriptively, transformation at the personal dimension refers to intervention that minimizes the destructive effects of social conflict and also maximizes potential for personal growth that includes the physical, emotional, and spiritual (Lederach, 1997, p. 82).

Both reconciliation projects, the Rowan Partnership in Aotearoa New Zealand and the First Nations Peoples Concern Committee (FNPCC), used the approach of principled nonviolent action by educating, firstly themselves and then others, to perceive more accurately what happened during and as a result of colonization.

I asked C in Australia if it was important for settlers to fully understand the historical context and the impacts of colonization on First Nations People (FNP). His attention to the cognitive and perceptual aspects at the personal level, in order to foster more positive relationships came through:

I think it’s essential and it’s the starting block and without actually understanding the effects and the ongoing effects of colonization (awareness of culture and awareness of context, fostering positive attitudes towards the Other), then actually reconciliation and moving forward into a more integrated society (visioning future social justice) is impossible.

And when I asked the same question of J in Aotearoa New Zealand, she demonstrated her understanding of context and her awareness of culture:
I think it’s fundamental Peni. I think the effects of colonization are both in your face yet hugely subtle and they are not confined to the past, they exist now, and they are to do with the systems (awareness of context) which the colonizing group imposed on the indigenous population, (awareness of culture) little bit by little bit by little bit, and so I think understanding and unpacking the reasons why we are the way we are and how we got to where we are, are absolutely crucial to any kind of reconciliation (fostering positive attitudes towards the Other).

Again, I asked the same question of D in New Zealand:

Hugely important. Absolutely vital. Without a knowledge of the history (awareness of context) they [Pākehā11] have no sense of who the others are, the indigenous people are, and also, because the indigenous people always tend to be disadvantaged in the current context, people think they are starting off on a level playing field, you know, ‘New Zealanders together’ instead of seeing how vastly the field has been tilted (awareness of culture, awareness of context).

When I asked JM in Australia what approaches he considered to be essential in his peacebuilding work, he talked about the importance of love, curiosity and an awareness of context, three approaches that constantly emerge from the data sets:

Yea I think that’s a good question. I think the whole approach should be based on love (other peace-enhancing approaches) and as much knowledge as we can acquire (curiosity and an awareness of context), to listen carefully (attentive listening) to whoever speaks to us and to try and find out where they are coming from (curiosity and non-judgment).

All four interviewees view an understanding of the historical context of colonization as an essential step on the path to reconciliation. Education to raise awareness of each country’s respective colonial history is one of the approaches used to help change perceptions at the personal level. This change in perception contributes to fostering positive attitudes (Rasmussen, 2001), in this case, with First Nations People (FNP) and tangata whenua.12

In the Aotearoa New Zealand Treaty education workshops, the interviewees attended to the cognitive and perceptual aspects of the personal dimension by outlining, through the mechanism of story telling, historical examples of actions and oppressive legislation enacted by successive colonizing governments. They demonstrated the effects of colonization from the perspective of Māori, an aspect that is not commonly known by settler peoples in NZ. One of their methods was to set out a parallel Crown and Māori timeline of events since the Treaty with cards on the floor:

11 Pākehā is the Māori language term for New Zealanders of European descent
12 Tangata whenua, a Māori term for the indigenous peoples of New Zealand and literally means "people of the land" (see Key Terms for more detail).
We story-tell both those stories (principled nonviolent action) as the pathway to reconciliation so that when we understand the patterns and the interactions of the past (awareness of context) we know what we have to avoid in the future (awareness of context, awareness of culture and fostering positive attitudes towards the Other) if we want peace to be sustainable and if we want a relationship to last (vision of future social justice).

The “patterns” that J refers to above, are the structural and cultural injustices of colonization and the ‘interactions’ refer to the relational dimensions but are included here at the personal dimension, as both J and C refer to the importance of starting with oneself in building relationships for sustainable peace. The starting point for a relationship begins with the perceptions, cognition and emotions of that person towards oneself and the other (Curle, 1981; Fisher, 1999, 2001; Kelman, 1999; Lederach, 1997; Rasmussen, 2001).

With regard to being accountable and compassionate (other peace-enhancing approaches) J described how they were very careful never to put the learning group’s cultural safety at risk. J explained this concept as never making the group, who were in the main Pākehā, feel guilty, responsible or put down for what had happened.

The Religious Society of Friends, as well as supporting peacebuilding initiatives in their own countries, support peacebuilding efforts overseas through Quaker Peace and Service committees in both countries. The following two New Zealand Epistles show how the three approaches of nonviolent action through education, building relationships and persistence were used at the personal level to foster change in the military culture of the police in Indonesia:

We are heartened that pilot workshops on conflict resolution for Indonesian police (principled nonviolent action and building relationships), which were initiated by our Quaker Peace and Service committee, were successful. The hope is to change the culture within the police force, which until recently, has been part of the army. (Aotearoa New Zealand Yearly Meeting Epistle, 2001)

And two years later, the Quaker peacebuilder working in Indonesia was still persistently carrying out his nonviolent social action work:

We have reaffirmed support of a friend, working in Indonesia with their police, establishing training in non-violent techniques (principled nonviolent action and persistence) (Aotearoa New Zealand Yearly Meeting Epistle, 2003).

Interestingly, what emerged from the data concerning fostering positive change at the personal dimension was the importance and centrality of the two approaches of the Inner Self and the Quaker Testimonies. This led the Quakers in this study firstly to pay attention to
changing themselves, before attempting to change positively the perceptions of the other. I asked J what approaches she thought were essential when doing reconciliation work:

I think one fundamental thing is to be in a peaceful place inside oneself (the Inner Self); that’s the first thing, to be calm and to be centred and to not be preoccupied with any of your own issues (other peace-enhancing approaches). Being centred into ‘that of god’ within myself (Quaker Testimonies), and coming with no internal encumbrance. That would be the first.

Similarly, a 2010 Epistle stated:

we learned that a change in ourselves (the Inner Self), is required as a precursor to action and the education (principled nonviolent action) of others (Australia Yearly Meeting Epistle, 2010).

All the 17 approaches were found at the personal dimension. The strong approaches to emerge were those of principled nonviolent action (education), building relationships, an awareness of context, the Quaker Testimonies and the Inner Self. From a transformational perspective, the 17 approaches centred on relationships; repairing broken ones and building new ones.

5.3.2 The Relational Dimension

The relational dimension focuses on the changes effected in and changes desired in face-to-face relationships. Significantly, the changes resulting from social conflict make explicit (a) how close or distant people wish to be and (b) how they will use and share power (Lederach, 2003) Descriptively, this dimension refers to how patterns of communication and interaction are affected by conflict. It looks beyond visible issues to the underlying changes produced by conflict in (a) what people pursue and (b) how people perceive and how they structure their relationships (Lederach, 2003). Prescriptively, transformation within the relational dimension is concerned with intentional intervention to maximize mutual understanding, and to bring to the surface fears, hopes and goals of the people involved (Lederach, 1997, p. 82).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, D stated how the goal of the Rowan Partnership (the organization that he jointly runs with J) is ‘to be an ally for legitimate Māori aspirations and to have the Treaty recognized and acted on.’ In describing his Treaty work D revealed how they attempt to maximize mutual understanding between the settlers and FNP by working predominantly with the settlers in an educative role.

We see ourselves as “translators” (building relationships), taking what the radicals are saying and explaining it to others further back in the triangle, who are willing to listen but are ignorant of the facts (principled nonviolent action,
Working with both sides of the conflict, and fostering positive attitudes towards the Other).

I asked D what approaches he considered to be essential when doing his reconciliation work:

I suppose basically to be prepared to listen to everyone’s story (attentive listening and working with both sides of the conflict), not to make judgments quickly, umm, to recognize that everyone has had experiences that have brought them to a particular place (non-judgment) and to validate those experiences (other peace-enhancing approaches: empathy) while at the same time not necessarily accepting that the position is a fixed one. Encouraging everyone to be flexible. Valuing everyone (Quaker Testimonies), listening (attentive listening), those are the important things I think.

During the Moutoa Gardens\textsuperscript{13} occupation, the two Aotearoa New Zealand interviewees built close relationships with local iwi\textsuperscript{14} and played a crucial educative role by providing a series of three public lectures for the Whanganui community that at the time was deeply divided over the occupation. In these lectures they were able to explain the historical background and the Treaty obligations that had been transgressed by the Crown. D described one of the steps in the mediating process, showing his attention to the relational dimension:

We were not going to explain the occupation, that was for the people involved (local empowerment), but here is the more general background to this; it was straight Treaty stuff, but done with an audience in the hundreds (principled nonviolent action, working with both sides of the conflict, and building relationships).

After the Moutoa Gardens occupation, J and D joined others in organizing a series of public lectures called Getting On, Moving On, in which mainly Māori speakers were able to put their concerns to large public audiences.

The following two Aotearoa New Zealand Epistles demonstrated the second aspect of the relational dimension concerning the sharing of power, which is embodied by the Treaty of Waitangi:\textsuperscript{15}

We are called to maintain our commitment (other peace-enhancing approaches) to the Treaty of Waitangi signed by the Māori people and the new settlers in 1840. The situation of Māori has changed much in the intervening years, but the promises made so long ago have not been fulfilled, and demand our new

\textsuperscript{13} In 1995, the Moutoa Gardens was the focus of a 79 day protest. Local iwi claimed Pakaitore (these Gardens), a traditional fishing settlement, was left to them when the New Zealand Company purchased Whanganui on behalf of the Crown.

\textsuperscript{14} Iwi is a Māori language term to describe peoples or nations with tribal affiliations.

\textsuperscript{15} The Treaty of Waitangi is a legally binding agreement that forms a contract between the British Crown and Māori. See appendix for more details.
understanding and commitment (awareness of context and other peace-enhancing approaches). (Aotearoa New Zealand Yearly Meeting Epistle, 2006)

Five years later, showing persistent support for honouring the Treaty, the 2011 Epistle made a social statement concerning the purpose of the Treaty:

The present structure of government concentrates power in the hands of a small political elite influenced by lobbyists and overseas interests. This process ignores the promise of equal power that is embodied in the 1840 Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi (principled nonviolent action, awareness of context, persistence). (Aotearoa New Zealand Yearly Meeting Epistle, 2011)

And, in Australia, the First Nations Peoples Concerns Committee (FNPCC) strives to effect positive change with regards to both aspects of the relational level referred to above. C describes the goal of the Committee:

To help to bring about a new Australia (vision of future social justice), an Australia that is coming to terms with its past, acknowledging the relationship that Australia’s First Nations Peoples have to the land (awareness of culture), helping heal the hurt and trauma (awareness of context, awareness of culture, other peace-enhancing approaches), and building right relationships with all its peoples (fostering positive attitudes towards the Other, Quaker Testimonies). It hopes to do this on two levels: the individual level of person-to-person relationships (building relationships) and on the structural level (principled nonviolent action and awareness of context).

To this end, the Australian Religious Society of Friends echoed the FNPCC’s long-term commitment to meet face-to-face with FNP:

In our ‘welcome to country,’ we were heartened by an affirmation of mutual involvement (building relationships) between Aboriginal and Quaker communities over the years (persistence) (Australia Yearly Meeting Epistle, 2011).

One essential approach that informed all of the interviewees’ work across all dimensions was love (other peace-enhancing approaches.) It is included here at the relational dimension, as, for example, it helped J to go beyond emotions such as anger and seek a better understanding of ‘the other’. Three of the interviewees mentioned love and its links with Quaker Testimonies, in this case the religious testimony “that of God in everyone”. Two of the interviewees then went on to explain how this approach enabled them to work in difficult circumstances. J referred to her work as a Treaty educator:

And I think love (other peace-enhancing approaches) has a place here, I know it sounds a bit [pause] but we have actually to be in the spirit and in the heart of love

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16 Country is a First Nations’ term to describe relationships with, connections to and an understanding of the land. It is often used to describe family origins and associations with particular parts of Australia (see Key Terms).
when we do this work because so much of it, [pause] we encounter anger, and we encounter rage at times, and we encounter insidious criticism of different parties (working with both sides of the conflict) does that make sense, that we are in touch with those aspects of our humanity (the Inner Self) and we have to careful we don’t receive those (non-judgement), and have them come into ourselves and I think the essence of our Quakerism, is that of God in everyone (Quaker Testimonies), and that respect and recognition, however terrible the things we might be hearing we have to actually sit underneath that (attentive listening) and go underneath that (non-judgement and other peace-enhancing approaches).

When I asked J in Australia if a particular spiritual framework shaped his peace work, he replied:

Yes, you use the word Quaker spirituality and I feel it as a far better word than Quaker religion, I feel that my Quaker spirituality is crucial, that’s based on love (other peace-enhancing approaches), love for others, self and God (Quaker Testimonies) and that is the basis of my life and anything I do, and in particular, the work with the Aborigines.

I conclude this section with a quote from C in Australia. When I asked him if a particular spiritual framework shaped his method of peacebuilding, the centrality of the Quaker Testimonies in his overall approaches emerged. In this case they are the religious testimonies of “that of God in everyone” and “continuing revelation” (as described in Chapter Three). The social testimonies of peace, equality and integrity also emerged:

Yes, I think it definitely is. Because I think it is that fundamental concept of ‘that of God in the other’ (Quaker Testimonies), but also that err, it goes back to John Woolman, going out in North America, and going out to talk to the Indians ‘to see how truth prospers within them’, so I think historically Quakers have always accepted that the truth, the spirit, the divine can be manifested in many different ways (Quaker Testimonies) and that it’s always looking for another way of that happening (Quaker Testimonies) another way of tapping into that so I think that’s important and the perception that the other, in this case the indigenous people are equal to us (Quaker Testimonies), they have that of God in them (Quaker Testimonies) and they have the right to be able to express themselves as they wish (non-proselytizing and Quaker Testimonies) and also that this diversity is a strength (awareness of culture) so all of those things underlie our process, and also in dealing with those we disagree with, so not being violent (Quaker Testimonies) not being insulting (fostering positive attitudes towards the Other, and principled nonviolent action), attempting to work with people who have a different view from us (working with both sides of the conflict and principled nonviolent action) and trying to understand where they are at (non-judgement), deep listening (attentive listening) not only to Aboriginal people but also to those people who are prejudiced (working with both sides of the conflict) and where that comes from (non judgement) and why that may be the case (other peace-enhancing values), so attempting to understand the other (curiosity and humility).

17 John Woolman was an early American Quaker of the 18th century
5.3.3 The Structural Dimension

Effecting change at the structural dimension refers to: (a) identifying the underlying causes of conflict; (b) supporting changes to the system that address basic human needs; and (c) helping people participate in decisions that affect them (Lederach 1997, p. 83). As outlined in Chapter One and Chapter Four, the effects that colonization had on the FNP through the structural violence of colonialism’s political, judicial and economic systems had devastating consequences (Consedine & Consedine, 2012; Smith 1999).

A constitutional review process is currently underway in Aotearoa New Zealand. The following quote is an example of the Aotearoa New Zealand interviewees attending to the second and third aspects of the structural dimension: supporting changes to the constitutional system to recognize Māori as the indigenous peoples of this country, identity being a basic human need; and the third aspect: helping people participate in decisions that affect them. J described some recent work:

We’ve done a number of workshops on constitutional change over the last year (principled nonviolent action and fostering positive attitudes towards the Other) and we’ve just had a network meeting of Treaty educators in Wellington (principled nonviolent action and building relationships) where we’ve now finalized a resource booklet (principled nonviolent action) that has just gone online; and we’re talking about training other people (principled nonviolent action and building relationships) to be able to facilitate conversations around Constitutional change, with house groups, with U3A\(^{18}\) (building relationships); a whole variety of community education possibilities there.

The following Aotearoa New Zealand Epistle showed attention to all three aspects of the structural dimension. The Epistle asked Friends to become better informed about the options for constitutional change and also to be catalysts for further discussion in the wider community. Then it continued:

It was further developed in our consideration of the need for constitutional arrangements that better recognise the place of Māori (visioning future social justice) as the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand (fostering positive towards the Other). We feel the current system advances the interests of the majority at their (Māori) expense despite guarantees in our country’s founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi. (Aotearoa New Zealand Yearly Meeting Epistle, 2009)

This statement demonstrated the desire for a future where constitutional arrangements are put in place as a guarantee to protect Māori rights.

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\(^{18}\) U3A stands for University of the 3rd age
The Religious Society of Friends, as well as working within their own countries for structural change to protect the rights of their FNP and Māori, worked with principled nonviolence action at the structural level in a global context:

We were given a sobering insight into the devastation caused by continuing sanctions in Iraq (awareness of context) and were reminded of the part that we must play in getting our government to oppose them (principled nonviolent action and building relationships). (Aotearoa New Zealand Yearly Meeting Epistle, 2002)

C in Australia paid strong attention to the third aspect of conflict transformation occurring at a structural level: the participation of people in decisions that affect them. Helping to foster this aspect of structural change in the Northern Territory of Australia, C exemplified the two approaches of awareness of culture and local empowerment:

So a very current example is the “Northern Territory Intervention and Strong Futures” where there is disagreement within Aboriginal communities about whether they want the intervention. Our position has been that we have been requested by certain (Aboriginal) communities (earning acceptance and trust and building relationships) that they disagree with it, and they didn’t want it imposed on them and our stance has been that the legislation should only be applied to those areas that genuinely wish to participate and it shouldn’t be imposed on communities (awareness of culture and local empowerment).

As he continued talking he again demonstrated his attention to the structural dimension, using the four approaches of cultural and contextual awareness, local empowerment and persistence. He viewed the issue as a complex one in which ‘quick fix’ government policies have no place.

And our view would be saying, well we think more long-term wise (persistence), it’s not as simplistic as they think it is, when actually when you are imposing something on someone for their own good is a fairly fraught process (awareness of culture), it doesn’t work and hasn’t worked in the past (local empowerment and awareness of context).

Continuing, he revealed the FNPCC’s attention to all three aspects of the structural dimension, and that part of the answer for addressing the changes that have impacted on the FNP as a result of colonization involve changes to the Constitution.

It’s actually about recognizing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders as First Nations Peoples of Australia (awareness of culture) in the Constitution, but also removing the racist sections [section 25 and section 51], and introducing non-racist legislation (principled nonviolent action).

As was discussed in Chapter Four, the structural arrangements with regards to First Nations Peoples (FNP) are very different between Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia. The FNP of
Australia do not have a Treaty equivalent, and racially discriminating sections are present in the Australian Constitution. Despite being behind Aotearoa New Zealand with regards to positive changes in this dimension, the approaches taken in each country were the same, which shows constancy in the Quaker approach.

5.3.4 The Cultural Dimension

The cultural dimension refers to the ways that conflict changes the patterns of group life and also how culture itself affects the development of processes to handle and respond to conflict (Lederach 1997, 2003). As outlined in Chapter Three, the effects of the cultural violence of colonization had far-reaching and profound consequences for FNP and Māori. Basic human needs such as language, identity, and cultural and spiritual ties to the land, were violated. Additionally, in Australia, children were forcibly removed from their families and placed in institutions, a policy which lasted for 200 years (Consedine & Consedine, 2012; Smith, 1999).

Prescriptively, transformation at this level seeks (a) to uncover cultural patterns that give rise to violent conflict and (b) to build on mechanisms within a cultural setting for responding to the conflict (Lederach, 2003).

(a) With regard to the cultural patterns that give rise to violent conflict, the Quakers in this study educated themselves and others about the cultural violence of colonization by both giving and attending Treaty workshops, committees, vigils and lectures.

In Australia, the 2006 Epistle stated:

Taking a longer view, our perceptions of Australia's recent history of cultural genocide were challenged by Grant Sarra's hypothetical. Through role-play (principled nonviolent action), participants were exposed symbolically to the changes wrought by invasion and government policy (awareness of context and awareness of culture). This enabled a greater understanding of the spiritual and social problems (awareness of context and awareness of culture and other peace-enhancing approaches) faced by the indigenous community (fostering positive attitudes towards the Other).

The Epistle continued:

The theme of colonial racism was continued by Polly Daksi Walker in her Backhouse Lecture (principled nonviolent action). She suggested ways forward for Quakers (building relationships and fostering positive attitudes towards the Other) that reflected on her time with Aboriginal elders. (Australia Yearly Meeting Epistle, 2006)
Again, the Quakers were being made aware of the history of cultural violence through building relationships and education:

An elder of the Wurundjeri People (building relationships), reminded us of the cruel deprivation inflicted on the Aboriginal peoples in the Melbourne area in recent history (principled nonviolent action and awareness of culture and conflict). These wounds are unhealed (Australia Yearly Meeting Epistle, 2008).

(b) With regard to the second aspect of the cultural dimension, which is to build on the cultural resources that exist within a conflict setting, the following quote showed how the Quakers were being educated about indigenous ways as a step towards reconciliation:

For the Karuna people, their natural connection with the land and each other and their innate respect for land and life involves deep trust, deep closeness, deep dependence and oneness with the land and the earth (awareness of culture). These traditional connecting ways offer a path for healing between all peoples and the healing of the earth (principled nonviolent action). (Australia Yearly Meeting Epistle, 2010)

By describing what happened during and after initial colonization, the participants in the workshops were given insights into the distinctive culture that makes up Te Ao Māori.19

When I asked D if it is important for settler people to understand Te Ao Māori, he replied:

It’s desirable and respectful to know something about it (awareness of culture). I don’t think they need a huge, detailed…They are always going to get it wrong, to know enough to be able enter into somebody else’s world fully, so we are always going to put our feet wrong at some point and if we know quite a lot, we tend to think we know everything, so that can be quite dangerous (humility). On the other hand, I take it from the work that Irhapeti Ramsden used to do (curiosity and building relationships), and she said, look, the important thing is really, to understand your own culture (principled nonviolent action and awareness of culture), and to feel OK about it, but to recognize it is simply one of the variety of possibilities. And I think that’s probably more important than understanding somebody else’s culture, so you know, a bit of knowledge is useful. More importantly is to understand your own culture (the Inner Self and awareness of culture).

Similarly, in Australia, C demonstrated his awareness of culture and its importance for reconciliation:

The other thing too is that they have a very rich concept of spirituality that actually underlies all (of their) the society … and a dream time acts as a connector for all Aboriginal society so there is a very detailed spiritual framework (awareness of culture); where to a certain extent historically in Australia, Aboriginal spirituality has been demeaned as nothing more than sorcery and witchcraft or animalism so there is an extremely poor understanding of Aboriginal culture in Australia and even within academia, it’s always been prejudice and

19 Te Ao Māori consists of Te Reo the language, Te Tikanga the protocols customs, and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
racist with the way it has actually been dealt with (awareness of context). The other thing too is that what we are promoting within Quakers (building relationships) is the concept of spiritual sovereignty (awareness of culture) and that it is impossible to reconcile with Aboriginal people without dealing with the spirituality of their essence (working with both sides of the conflict). You can’t have a secular resolve in this, because like most indigenous people you can’t separate the secular from the religious. Their spirituality encompasses all aspects of how they live (awareness of culture). It can’t be negated in those conversations—why, because most settler communities are secular, in how (pause) in the way they actually structure their society, so yea, you can’t converge the two, there is actually a disconnect in many ways (awareness of culture).

In Australia, the connection between local empowerment and attentive listening emerged when I asked C who decides what needs to be done when the First Nations Peoples Concerns Committee becomes involved in a project or action.

We predominantly do that by actually, umm, dealing with Aboriginals and Aboriginal advocacy groups (building relationships) so where we advocate or where we put our views is within the areas where we have been approached by Aboriginal organizations or communities (earning acceptance and trust), to advocate this policy on their behalf (principled nonviolent action/advocacy). Yea, so really that’s where we get it from. So it’s not us deciding (local empowerment and attentive listening).

The interviewees were unanimous that they would not proselytize. Their understanding of proselytize was “to try to convert someone”. Regarding proselytizing as unprofessional, J added that neither did she want herself or D to be considered “religious nutters!” On the other hand, they were very clear that they would never hide the fact that they were Quakers if someone asked them. One interviewee wondered if perhaps Quakers err too much in the other direction and perhaps should be more vocal. This ambivalence on proselytizing will be discussed in the next chapter.

The second aspect of changes at the cultural dimension involves building on cultural resources within a conflict setting. The Epistles demonstrated attention to this aspect by promoting the formation of networks with other organizations within their own countries to empower and to advocate for indigenous groups. The interviewees formed networks throughout their own countries. The FNPCC in Australia linked up with church groups such as the Victorian Council of Churches; ANTaR (Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation); Concerned Australians; ATSIC (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, now disbanded); individual First Nations People and Aboriginal Corporations; and other groups. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the interviewees made links with District Health Boards, Councils, faith organizations and Māori Health groups, and were very involved with,
as well as influenced by, local iwi (building relationships). As well, the interviewees formed networks between countries; the NZ interviewees delivered a Backhouse lecture in Australia in 1991 on Loving the Distance Between: Racism, Culture and Spirituality, and JM was Australia’s Yearly Meeting representative in Aotearoa New Zealand in 2007.

5.4 Summary of Analysis of the Interviews and Epistles and the Overarching Theme

Analysis of the eight interviews and 22 Epistles showed evidence of 17 approaches to peacebuilding. Ten of these approaches have been advocated by peacebuilding scholars as being essential elements in contributing to sustainable peace.

- I found seven further approaches. Of these seven approaches, two (Quaker Testimonies and the Inner Self) could be perceived as belonging overtly to the religious sphere. The remaining five approaches that emerged, have characteristics of, but are not confined to, religious peacebuilding. For Quakers, the five approaches flow from the two “religious’ approaches”: Quaker Testimonies and the Inner Self. However, these five approaches are only religious in the context of this study.

- The data revealed strong similarities in approaches between the interviews and the Epistles, showing concordance between the activities of four of its peacebuilding members and the principles of the Religious Society of Friends to which they belong.

- There was strong evidence for the existence of a large proportion of the approaches across all dimensions: fourteen of these 17 approaches were evident at all of the four dimensions where change needs to evolve constructively for positive, sustainable peacebuilding (Lederach, 1997, pp. 82-83).
5.5 The Over-arching Theme

The over-arching theme that emerged from the data was a transformative approach to peacebuilding, guided and informed by Quaker religious and social testimonies and expressed as non-violent activism, which was centred on building relationships.

In the following chapter I will discuss the significance of the findings outlined above in relation to previous studies in other regions of the world and to the literature presented in Chapter Two and Chapter Three.
Chapter Six: Discussion and Conclusion
6.1 Revisiting the Research Question

In this chapter I discuss the findings in relation to the literature as presented in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, reflecting on my research question with respect to the empirical data that has been analysed.

As outlined in Chapter Four, this thesis asks the research question: *To what extent do Quaker peacebuilding approaches fit with the literature on building sustainable peace?* I conducted eight in-depth 70-minute interviews with four interviewees—two from Australia and two from Aotearoa New Zealand—and analysed 22 Yearly Meeting Epistles (2001-2011), 11 from each country.

This chapter is in three parts. Part One will discuss the first ten approaches (Table One in Chapter Five) in relation to the literature on sustainable peacebuilding. Part Two will discuss the further seven approaches (Table Two in Chapter Five) in relation to the sustainable peacebuilding and religious peacebuilding literature. It will focus on the religious peacebuilding perspective: Quaker spiritual understandings in the form of testimonies—religious and social—that influence and inform their work. The purpose of Part Two is to answer the call of Lederach and Sampson (2000) for religious peacebuilding researchers to make a legitimate connection between spirituality and the pragmatics of peacebuilding. Part Three will summarize and draw conclusions on the Quaker approach to peacebuilding as found in this study.

6.2 A General Overview of the findings

The over-arching theme that emerged from the data was a *transformative approach* to peacebuilding that was guided and informed by the Quaker religious and social testimonies, and expressed as non-violent activism that centred on building relationships.

The findings revealed ten approaches to peacebuilding that fit well with the literature on building sustainable peace, and another seven approaches that, according to Gopin (2000), are peace-enhancing. Of these seven approaches, only two could be perceived as belonging overtly to the religious sphere. Thus 15 of the 17 approaches were secular in nature, but despite this, all 17 approaches were integrally related to and informed by a religiosity that has
its core understanding in the presence of a divine essence in everyone. The first ten approaches (Table 1 in Chapter Five), while not exhaustive or definitive, are dominant themes in both general and religious peacebuilding literature; they are considered by scholars as being some of the essential approaches in contributing to sustainable peace.

For a comparative analysis, I collected two sources of data: interviews with active Quaker peacebuilders and—to get a more general sense of the Society of Friends’ contemporaneous approach to peacebuilding—an analysis of the Epistles. Comparisons could then be made between the two sources, within and between each country. The findings were as follows:

- Comparison between the interviews and the Epistles within each country revealed that all 17 approaches were, generally, strongly evident and very strongly evident in my data and that generally, they were similar. This finding applied to both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. This finding also demonstrated concordance between the activities of the four Quaker peacebuilding interviewees with the peacebuilding approaches of the Religious Society of Friends in their respective countries.

- Comparing the interviews between the two countries showed the strength of each approach was the same in 16 of the 17 approaches. The two reconciliation projects used the principled nonviolent action of education and mediation, to address the structural and cultural violence present in both countries; and fostering positive attitudes towards the Other—their indigenous peoples—by telling the truth about the history of colonization. Working with both sides of the conflict and strongly aware of culture and context, they listened deeply, advocating for local empowerment. The foundation of their work was building peaceful relationships for the long term, and, important to the field of religious peacebuilding, they did not proselytize.

- Comparing the Epistles between the two countries revealed that the strength of each of the 17 approaches was the same. The data revealed a consistency in approach to peacebuilding despite dis-similarities between the countries with regard to their respective stages in the reconciliation processes. Because of this overall consistency in the results between the countries, an analysis was made of the two countries taken together.

6.3 Part One: The Ten Sustainable Peacebuilding Approaches
The findings that were revealed in the eight interviews and the 22 Epistles demonstrated that the Quaker approaches to peacebuilding fit very strongly with ten of the approaches to peacebuilding that scholars in the field advocate as essential elements in contributing to sustainable peace. To recap, the ten peacebuilding approaches comprise the following:

1. Principled Nonviolence
2. Attentive Listening
3. Non-proselytizing
4. Persistence
5. Working with both sides of the Conflict
6. Awareness of Context
7. Awareness of Culture
8. Local Empowerment
9. Relationship Building
10. Fostering Positive Attitudes towards the Other

As the approaches do not exist in isolation, and are not mutually exclusive but occur together in varying combinations, I will in the following discuss them in overlapping groupings.

6.3.1 Principled nonviolent action, Awareness of Context, Fostering Positive Attitudes towards the Other and Awareness of Culture

Peacebuilding scholars have stressed the importance of being honest about the past (Chrisjohn, Young & Maraun, 2006; Lederach, 2005). Furthermore, Gopin (2002) maintains that revealing the truth and being heard is one of the necessary steps to reconciliation (p. 11). The principled nonviolent action of the two Aotearoa New Zealand interviewees, J and D, centred around educating predominantly European settlers about the lesser known truths of colonization history. Their Treaty workshops provided participants with an understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi, the promises it made and the colonizing history of Aotearoa New Zealand. In Healing our History: the challenge of the Treaty of Waitangi, Consedine and Consedine (2012) described how Treaty workshops gave the workshop participants the much needed insight towards advancing justice, reconciliation and healing between Pākehā and Māori.
J emphasized the importance of being aware and attempting to understand Māori culture and te Ao Māori\textsuperscript{20}:

I think it is important for the settler people to understand the processes which are important to Māori, the values which underpin some of the things that they do and some of the things that are deeply important to them and I think that without having that understanding we can’t speak across, we can’t bridge, the two worlds. And there are people who I think of as ‘bridge people’ who build those understandings cross-culturally (Interview with J, September 2012).

The four interviewees contend that education of the Australian and Aotearoa New Zealand settler people is very important. Many are ignorant of their history and hence the extent of the direct violence that took place and the structural and cultural violence that remains. Staub maintains, “Members of a society learning about and engaging with the truth may be vital for national/societal reconciliation” (Staub, 2011. p. 446). Elgersma (2012) argues “a significant step in decolonization is being honest and coming to terms with the past, and in naming colonial violence” (p. 96). Paulette Regan (2006) argues that reconciliation in a colonial context requires the process of \textit{decolonization}, describing the process of \textit{decolonization} as “unsettling the settler within”. Regan (2006) argues that it is not enough to just recognize and make amends for the direct, structural and cultural violence of the colonial past. She argues that inherited attitudes must be changed, as well as the unjust social, political and economic structures that remain. Elgersma (2012) maintains that “probably the most important part of personal decolonization is that it needs to be accomplished in the context of human relationships” (p. 97). Furthermore, Elgersma (2012) states “decolonization is not a prescriptive set of skills that can be learned but involves embedding our thoughts and actions in authentic enquiry and respect for the dignity and humanity of others” (p. 97).

Demonstrating how he fostered positive attitudes towards the workshop participants by being respectful towards them, and alluding to Fisher and Ury (2011), D reflected:

Regarding everyone as valuable, trying, and I’m not always good at it, trying not to lock horns with people, trying to affirm whatever you can about what others have to say, and being prepared to treat all questions seriously and give the best answer that you can. It’s not about winning over people; it’s about winning people over (Interview with D, September 2012).

Elgersma emphasizes that respecting the dignity of others involves respecting the “holistic nature and culture” of others (2012, p. 97). C in Australia demonstrates this cultural respect. He argues “we won’t have sustainable peace in Australia without genuine reconciliation, and

\textsuperscript{20}consists of Te Reo the language, Te tikanga the protocols customs, and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
a decision to recognize and accept First Nations Peoples’ culture, religion, ways of being, as being equal to the settlers” (Interview with C, September 2012).

6.3.2 Non-proselytizing and an Awareness of Culture

As outlined in Chapter Three, the Quaker conciliators in the Nigerian civil war succeeded in opening lines of communication that would otherwise have remained closed and were “the sole third party that won the complete trust of both parties in the conflict and sustained that trust for the duration of the war” (Sampson, 1994, p. 111). According to Guiton (2005), the fact that the Quakers did not proselytize, together with “the non-credal nature of Quakerism appeared to free Friends from adopting specifically defined church-based ideologies which might raise the ire of protagonists” (Guiton, 2005, p. 316). The Nigerians refused mediation attempts by the Roman Catholic Church due to their distrust of the agenda of that Church (Guiton, 2005).

Consedine and Consedine (2012) described how Christianity, with its proselytizing intentions, was at the “cutting edge” of the colonizing process by providing an ideology that affirmed European superiority and by legitimizing the invasion of the lands of many indigenous peoples (p. 73). The negative consequences of this implied superiority, in the form of cultural violence towards the indigenous peoples of both countries in this study, were outlined in Chapter One. To this end Gopin (2000) maintains that the religious attitude towards the rest of the world is a key litmus test of the (non-) embrace of a range of values supporting conflict resolution (p. 88). “To have a clear sense of one’s own uniqueness and to combine that with a willingness to explore and visit other worlds of meaning without destroying them are central ingredients in religiosity that is orientated to peacemaking and conflict resolution” (Gopin, 2000, p. 202). A constant theme that emerged in the Epistles was how to walk the delicate line between not hiding the fact of being a Quaker and yet at the same time not being evangelistic. D maintains that “I would never proselytize but I would like people to know that Quakers exist and what we stand for, and I am always ready to talk about that if it comes up, but I wouldn’t set out to do it” (Interview with D, September 2012).

Gopin (2000) emphasizes that the sort of moral development that enables an individual to have a deeply authentic expression of their own religiosity, plus a deep respect for nonbelievers, is crucial to long-term strategies for conflict prevention (p. 203).
A strong feature that emerged from the data was a deep respect for the spirituality of the Other, so that the interviewee’s own Quaker spirituality was only ever mentioned if they were specifically asked about it.

Describing his non-proselytizing approach in his peacebuilding work, C in Australia maintained:

> I think that actually resonates with our view of indigenous concerns, it’s that concept of that of god of others or that the light can be given to us by others, so therefore it is essential for our understanding of the truth and the workings of the spirit that aboriginals must have the rights to actually experience the spirit in their own way and that it is as valid and as important as any other group’s way of attempting to make sense of the divine or how the spirit works for them. (Interview with C, September 2012)

This awareness of the cultural and religious differences echoes the argument of Cohen, (1993), who, on the subject of conflict resolution, describes the ideal intercultural negotiator as a person who is aware of the “gamut” of cultural differences and does not naively assume that “underneath we are all pretty much the same” (pp. 35-36). In response to my question about the importance of understanding the culture of the other, D responded “It is important for us that perhaps we need a little more familiarity with it than the people that we are teaching will, without ever fooling ourselves that we understand it completely (Interview with D, September 2012).

### 6.3.3 Attentive Listening

The findings of my study showed much attention to attentive listening. D emphasized the importance of deep listening “We don’t listen to one another well enough; if we can create frameworks to listen to one another better, then things can be resolved” (Interview with D, September, 2012). According to Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall (2011), one of the six maxims of the *Harvard Programme on Negotiation* is to listen to the other side rather than to tell each other what to do. The reason for this is twofold; listening both facilitates communication and it builds trust. Curle (1981) holds that attentive listening is one of the seven pillars of peace making as it evokes a positive response in the person being listened to (p. 61). As described in Chapter Three, Sampson (1994) notes that Curle’s skilful listening abilities also had “a spiritual function” (p. 95). This view is echoed by Abu-Nimer, who maintains that dialogue can build powerful bridges that will never be broken, as people’s attitudes can change permanently (Abu-nimer, 2002, p. 15). One Epistle stated:
Our way is deep listening, mutual love and respect and a recognition that when each person speaks they hold up a facet of the truth...Let us practice these things, train ourselves in them and carry them beyond our Meeting in hope that they will be our gifts to a deeply divided world. (Aotearoa New Zealand Yearly Meeting Epistle, 2002)

6.3.4 Working with both sides of the Conflict, Awareness of Context, Awareness of Culture and Local Empowerment

Lederach (2000), after doing extensive conflict resolution training for grass-roots leadership in Central America in the mid-1980s, replaced his emphasis on cultural sensitivity with an orientation rooted in the centrality of context, culture and empowerment (p. 47). J demonstrated how, like the Quaker conciliators described in Chapter Three, she worked with both sides of the conflict, and how important context, culture and local empowerment were to her understanding of peacebuilding:

Our work is so embedded in working for justice for the indigenous population... we work with local people, and I think we are hugely influenced by them [Māori] and I mean, we would have to be because it is so much webbed into the way I think, the way I work; I mean there wouldn’t be a day when I don’t either read something, or hear something, or get something from the Māori Party or get a phone call, its just part of life, does that make sense, so I can’t separate it, so I don’t how much time because it’s part of everything that is always there.

(Interview with J, September 2012)

The goal of the Rowan Partnership is “to be an ally to support legitimate Māori aspirations” (Interview with D, September 2012). The Quakers in the study, as well as being aware of the context of past conflicts, are also aware of the present context for indigenous peoples. In both countries the reconciliation projects are now dealing with constitutional reform.

They [Māori] are saying to us, we don’t want the Treaty to be embedded in the constitution, we want the Treaty to be the absolute foundation starting point of any conversation about the constitution so that’s been important too (Interview with J, 2012).

The two Aotearoa New Zealand interviewees, in response to this changing cultural context of having the rights of Māori enshrined in law, have begun facilitating workshops on constitutional change. As Elgersma (2012) states “decolonization requires non-indigenous people to take a more critical, self-reflective, anti-oppressive and anti-racist approach to transforming relationships to address violence, not simply resolving disputes within the existing colonial structures” (p. 96).
6.3.5 Building Relationships and Persistence

As mentioned above, the over-arching theme that emerged from the data was a *transformative* approach to peacebuilding that was guided and informed by the Quaker religious and social testimonies, and expressed as non-violent activism that centred on building relationships. One of the central threads to the overarching theme that emerged out of the findings was the importance of *building relationships*. Hertog maintains “A process of true reconciliation not only entails initiatives to reveal truth and restore justice, but ultimately to restore or build relationships across divisions” Hertog, 2010, p. 51). Similarly, Lederach (1996), outlining six essential goals in a framework for sustainable peacebuilding argues that sustainable peacebuilding, rather than a technique and an outcome, is instead a commitment to truth and sustained restoration [*of relationships*]. Thus Lederach places importance on *social reconstruction* rather than agreements and results. The transformative approach, which looks at the underlying relationships across the four dimensions (the personal, the relational, the structural and the cultural), concentrates on this *social reconstruction*. As was outlined and described in Chapter One, the indigenous peoples in both countries in this study have been deeply affected across all these four dimensions. Moreover, the data findings from both reconciliation projects and from the Epistles demonstrated how the Quakers in this study focused on bringing about positive change at all four levels, taking a *transformative approach* which according to Lederach (1997) is required if peace is to be sustainable. Lederach (1997) further argues that peacebuilding requires an integrated approach that centres on reconciliation and relationships and involves three strategies: *middle range actors*, addressing *structural* and *cultural violence*, and taking a *long-term view*, working in time frames of decades, (Lederach, 1997, p. 81). As the analysis demonstrated, the interviewees had worked in their respective reconciliation projects for many decades, addressing contemporary conflict issues from a culturally and contextually aware perspective, with a focus on relationship building. The two New Zealand interviewees (*middle range actors*) had given over 600 Treaty workshops over the previous three decades—a *long-term view*—as well as workshops on constitutional change addressing *structural* and *cultural violence*. Similarly, the Australian interviewees (one a *middle range actor* and the other a *grass-roots actor*) had been members of the First Nations Peoples Concerns Committee for seven years and one had attended the Melbourne vigils for 13 years—a *long-term view* addressing *structural* and *cultural violence*.

The approach of relationship building is best summed up by the words of J:
You know my theme in all our conversations together Peni has been the importance of relationships, it’s fundamental, the relationships at every level, at group level, community level, interpersonal level, the economic and political interface, those things, they’re all important areas. All of those things; they are all important areas in working for change And in many ways, in true reconciliation processes, that’s what we’re absolutely doing as well; we’re listening deeply for what is coming from the heart as well as the substantive issues that are having to be dealt with so it’s deep listening really. (Interview with J, September 2012)

In summary, the ten approaches that were found in the eight interviews and 22 Epistles that fit with the literature on sustainable peacebuilding have been discussed. I turn now to a discussion of the seven approaches that emerged from the data.

6.4 Part Two: The Further Seven Approaches: Peace-enhancing values

In this part I will discuss the further seven approaches to peacebuilding that emerged from an analysis of the data. Some of these have been described previously in Quaker peacebuilding research (Curle, 1971, 1981; Kraybill, 1994; Sampson, 1994). The purpose of this second part is to respond to the call made by Lederach and Sampson (2000) for research on religious peacebuilding that makes a legitimate connection between spirituality and the pragmatics of peacebuilding.

The seven further approaches contained within the data were:

1) Earning acceptance and trust
2) Quaker Testimonies:
   • The four religious testimonies
   • The five social testimonies.
3) The Inner Self:
   • Self-reflection/awareness/stillness
   • Corporate Quaker worship
   • “Peace begins with me”
   • The mystical (experience of divine love)
4) A vision of future social justice
5) Non-judgement
6) Curiosity and Humility
7) Other peace enhancing approaches: Compassion, Responsibility, Service, Empathy, Loving Kindness, Inclusivity, and Joy
Of these seven approaches that emerged from an analysis of the data, two could be perceived as belonging overtly to the religious sphere. These are Quaker Testimonies and The Inner Self.

Hertog (2012) argues that besides the values of peace, religious traditions contain a set of values that are peace-enhancing (p. 77). To this end, Marc Gopin (2000), a religious peacebuilding scholar and practitioner, has outlined four sets of pro-social or peace-enhancing values that are vital for both conflict prevention and conflict transformation. Gopin used this paradigm to analyse the pro-social elements of Judaism (Gopin, 2000, pp. 176-182). The four pro-social and peace-enhancing sets are:

- values that focus on the inner workings of the mind and heart
- values that move one to an encounter with the Other
- values that move one to an encounter with a foreign, estranged or enemy Other
- values that move one to the construction of community

From a religious peacebuilding perspective, the seven peacebuilding approaches which emerged from the data on analysis all fit within one or more these four value sets. According to Hertog, (2010), these value sets form a basis for a system of religious ethics that guides behaviour along the lines of conflict prevention and pro-active nonviolent peacebuilding. For this reason, I argue that these seven approaches make a positive contribution to peacebuilding. These value sets are very similar to the intervention levels at the personal, relational, structural and cultural dimensions that are advocated by Lederach (1997) at the conflict transformation stage. Again, as above, I will discuss the seven approaches in groupings, as they occur in the interviews and the Epistles.

### 6.4.1 Acceptance and Trust

As discussed in Chapter Three, the Quaker conciliators in the Zimbabwe transition were able to establish human solidarity with all parties as their primary purpose was “engaging the parties as human beings suffering a ghastly war and struggling to find a way out” (Kraybill, 1984, p. 233). As Kraybill (1994) noted, “their simple and primary agenda to stop the suffering on all sides, earned them trust that opened doors” (p. 236). Similarly, the four interviewees in this study, whose sole agenda was to work towards sustainable reconciliation in both their countries, earned the acceptance and trust of their local indigenous communities, through tactful (*cultural and contextual awareness* and *deep listening*) service and
commitment to their projects, measured in decades. Curle (1981) maintains that for peacemakers to earn acceptance, they must prove worthy of trust. Trust is gained through tact, consistency, unwavering goodwill, clear impartiality, small kind acts of service and time (Curle, 1981). These trust-forming qualities require the linking of outward actions to inward conviction, and this linkage is manifest in the Quaker Testimonies, which follow.

6.4.2 The Quaker Testimonies: Inner Understandings, Outward Action

The Quaker Testimonies do not exist in any rigid, written form; nor are they imposed in any way (Testimonies Committee, London Yearly Meeting, 2003). They are an expression of the interaction between faith and action and thus act as a guideline for living. For my analysis, the approach of Quaker Testimonies was divided into two categories: the four Religious Testimonies (to be discussed first below), the main one being “that of God in everyone”; and the Social Testimonies, outlined and described in Chapter Three (discussed thereafter).

The Four Quaker Religious Testimonies

Many Quakers hold that the central testimony of Quakerism, from which all the other testimonies spring, is “that of God in everyone”. Interlinked with and from this testimony is the testimony concerning “the continuing revelation of God”. Its significance is that if this divine essence is accessible, and is being continuously revealed in every person, then there are no parts of life that are “secular” in contrast to other parts that are “sacred”. According to Doncaster (1972), this testimony, when it is enacted, affects the character and behaviour of Quakers in quite an unconscious way, their attitude to people becoming more positive, considerate and caring (Doncaster, 1972, p. 17). JM in Australia, commenting on what influenced his peacebuilding work:

I feel that my Quaker Spirituality is crucial, that’s based on love, love for others, self and God and that is the basis of my life and anything I do and in particular, the work with First Nations Peoples (Interview with JM, September 2012).

Doncaster (1972), maintains that this approach to life “seeks to make every human encounter a truly personal one, one which shows respect for and enhances the dignity of each person” (p. 19). He further argues that this approach to life in which everything is sacred leads logically to political and social involvement. If accepting the status quo was directly, structurally or culturally violent, as in the case of slavery, this was to abdicate responsibility for treating everyone with respect and dignity (Doncaster, 1972).
The four interviewees in this study did not view their peacebuilding approaches as “religious” but saw them as integral to the way they viewed the world because to them there is no separation between the religious and the secular (worldly). They were more comfortable with the word “spiritual”. Adam Curle, in personal communication with Cynthia Sampson regarding his conciliation work, replied “there is nothing specifically Quaker, or even religious, about this; any decent humanist would do and want the same thing” (Sampson, 1984, p. 110).

Cynthia Sampson’s research on the Quakers in the Nigerian civil war notes that the Quaker practice of conciliation is impelled and informed by Quaker faith (Sampson 1994, p. 95). Sampson (1994) also notes that “their message was never religious per se, but in certain respects, it might be considered spiritual” (p. 96). This finding is in line with that of other scholars researching Quaker peacebuilding (Curle, 1971, 1981, 1986; Guiton, 2005; Kraybill, 1994; Lederach, 1997, 2000; Princen, 1992). The findings of the present study fit well with these previous studies. Furthermore, they fit with one of the Quaker religious testimonies. As outlined in Chapter Three and above, a further Quaker religious testimonies is that "all of life is sacramental", a corollary to which, for Quakers, there is no distinction between the secular and the sacred (Hubbard, 1985, p. 9). C demonstrated this by saying:

The other thing too is that what we are promoting within Quakers is the concept of Spiritual Sovereignty and that it is impossible to reconcile with Aboriginal people without dealing with the spirituality of their essence. You can’t have a secular resolve in this, because like most indigenous people you can’t separate the secular from the religious. Their spirituality encompasses all aspects of how they live. It can’t be negated in those conversations. (Interview with C, September 2012)

Abu-Nimer (2001), a religious peacebuilding scholar, discusses spiritual values in relation to peacebuilding. He maintains that religious values and norms are central aspects of the cultural identity of many people involved in conflict dynamics. He argues that: “exploring the role of religion in peacebuilding is an essential step in the study of culture and peacebuilding” (Abu-Nimer, 2001, p. 686). He also holds that, as these religious values and norms are central in many people’s lives, it follows that there is a valuable role for religious peacebuilders in conflict resolution as they “speak the same language” (Abu-Nimer, 2001).

When interviewing D, I asked if there are similarities between Quakerism and Te Ao Māori. He replied, “There are lots of correspondences, for instance that all of life is sacramental and
there are no special times and places, and that is very much part of Te Ao Māori” (Interview with D, September, 2012).

*The Five Social Testimonies: Social Change; the Peace and Equality Testimonies*

Abu-Nimer (2001) argues that religion can bring social, moral and spiritual resources to the peacebuilding process. As mentioned, the Quakers have five *Social Testimonies* which as guidelines for living, and that are the outward manifestations of their essential understanding that there is a power within all people that can transform them into loving, compassionate, peaceful people (Williams, 2008). The five *Social Testimonies*, which spring out of the four religious testimonies, are: *simplicity, peace, integrity, community and equality* (Gregory, 2012). As outlined and described in Chapter Three, the five social testimonies, and particularly the Peace and Equality Testimonies, have led Quakers to be not only opponents of war and violence in all its forms (Punshon, 1991), but also to be nonviolent agents for social change (Clements, 2010). Quakerism itself began as a radical socio-political religious movement that broke away from Christian orthodoxy to return to its roots: the nonviolent teachings of Jesus.

According to Hugh Barbour (1964) in *The Quakers in Puritan England:*

> Friends’ contribution to statecraft was to realize that their Peace Testimony was not simply a response to actual war but... Friends saw that they could point to their attitude toward violence and 'carnal' weapons as part of their commitment to love. Their opponents could know and trust that Friends, on principle, would never use violence against them or cause them physical harm. (pp. 220-21)

This point was made by Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall (2011), who maintain that the persistence of the historical peace traditions of religious bodies, such as those of the Quakers and the Mennonites, together with the ideas of Gandhi and the non-violent theorists such as Gene Sharp, have cross fertilized with academia in the understanding of violent political conflict and the alternatives to it. Bartoli (2004) states that Mohandas K. Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jnr were convinced that peace would not come by accepting the unjust, oppressive and unequal structures of colonialism and institutionalized and legalized racism and furthermore, that nonviolent thinking and nonviolent methods were the only way to overcome them.

The religious and social testimonies, as an expression of the interaction between faith and action, are shown in this study to be the guide that not only informs, but, in the case of the interviewees, impels them, with others, to work towards positive peace. All the interviewees reflected how their peacebuilding work was integrally related to their religious values. J and C
maintained that for them all the testimonies were integral to each other and could not be separated.

I asked C in Australia what he considered was the most important testimony:

I think that all of them really provide a guide, an example of how to achieve peace, peace is a process, it’s a journey, and the elements of that journey, the things that will assist, that actually bring peaceful processes about, is actually being aware of things like the sense of the community, social justice, equity, all these things, integrity, (Quaker Social Testimonies) you know, being congruent with what you are saying and how you behave…both internally (Inner Self/’peace begins with me’) for the individual but also externally. (Interview with C, September 2012)

According to Hertog, principled nonviolence is a path of deep personal transformation and self-realization, since the outer action of nonviolence is inextricably linked to the inner workings of the heart, mind and spirit of the individual (Hertog 2012, p. 54). J, discussing her peacebuilding work:

Well it’s shaped by the fact that I am a Quaker, my Quaker spirituality, because that of god in everyone or the spirit in everyone, and the outworking of that is the issue of social justice so those things are inextricably joined up for me, so it is out of that spirituality that I work. (Interview with J, September 2012)

C in Australia discusses the concern of human rights for First Nations Peoples

…also that diversity is a strength so all of those things undermine our process and also dealing with those we disagree with, so not being violent, not being insulting, attempting to work with people who have a different view from us and try to understand where they are at, deep listening, not only to aboriginal people but also to those people who are prejudiced, and where that comes from and why that may be the case, so attempting to understand the other…. (Interview with C, September 2012)

6.4.3 The Inner Self and the Social Testimonies

The Quaker testimonies and the corporate Quaker worship (part of the Inner Self) are at the heart of Quaker spiritual experience (Punshon, 1991). A strong theme to emerge from the interviews was the attention given to the importance of the Quaker Testimonies and the Inner Self in relation to the interviewees’ activism (Principled Nonviolent Action). The inter-relationship between the Inner self and the social testimonies is illustrated by this quote:

If we are talking about aah all of the things that we do I’d say absolutely that it is, it is definitely the outworking (social testimonies) of my Quakerism, definitely is. There is the in-work that we do within ourselves (Inner Self: self reflection/stillness) and within Quaker meeting (Inner Self: corporate Quaker worship) and then for me there is how does my Quakerism express itself in my
work in the world (*Social Testimonies*) and that is absolutely what it is about for me. (Interview with J, September 2012)

Together with outward action, the approach of *the Inner Self* was demonstrated by both the Society as a whole (the Epistles) and the four interviewees. Peace, according to Bailey, (1993); Curle, (1981); Hertog (2010); Lederach (1997); and Rasmussen (2001), is a process that begins with at the personal dimension and then fans out to the relational, national and international levels.

The approach *the Inner Self* consisted of four aspects: a) *self reflection* and *awareness*; b) *corporate Quaker worship*; c) “*peace begins with me*” and d) *the mystical (experience of divine love)*. One of these aspects, *corporate Quaker worship*, involves sitting in stillness, opening the mind to a deeper or divine presence (Hubbard, 1974, p. 194). There is no prearranged form of service, and anyone can offer ministry. All four interviewees spoke about the importance and the need for quiet times in order to recharge and to self-reflect, as well as the importance of *corporate Quaker worship*. All four interviewees mentioned the second aspect of the *Inner Self*: “*peace begins with me*”. With regards to this subjective experience of peace, Hertog (2010) maintains that inner calm, tranquillity, a sense of harmony and wellbeing can all contribute to sustaining a reconciliation process (pp. 51-52).

Similarly Gopin (2000), discussing conflict prevention and the fulfilment of the self, notes that in the religious literature, from Buddhism in the East to Judaism in the West, careful attention is made to nurturing the inner life. He emphasizes that “conflict resolution needs to address the most protean origins of anger, suffering, love, and benevolence, and the skills of fair play and communication” (Gopin, 2000, pp. 178-179). Gopin stresses that, if the peacemaker does not attend to the self, deficiencies of character are bound to undermine the methods of conflict resolution that are being taught (Gopin, 2000, pp. 178-179). C in Australia discusses the concern of prejudice towards First Nations Peoples:

and also hopefully to try to not demonize them but actually understand them and actually assist them in actually moving forward and also realizing our own faults and prejudices within ourselves, so once more that concept, eer, it begins with me, I’m racist, I’ve got these problems that I seem to be juggling with and that I fail with, and being honest with that, and meeting the other where they are at, and having that conversation without attempting to judge them in any way. So speak from truth to justice but in a gentle way. (Interview with C, September 2012)

C further reflects:
As I’ve become more and more involved with Quakerism…. I’ve also understood that peace begins with me, it’s an internal process; you need the inner work to do the outer work, so that was really a shift in my peace concepts from being a very external thing and an external thing of other people changing, to an understanding that peace is an internal process and that you need to do the internal work before you can actually do the external work. (Interview with C, September 2012)

6.4.4 A vision of future social justice

There was strong evidence in the data for a vision of future social justice. Elise Boulding, a Quaker peacebuilding scholar and practitioner, was well known for the Imaging the Future workshops that she conducted all over the world. When asked by Lederach what she had learnt in her 60 years’ experience of peacebuilding work, she described how the book by Fred Polak The Image of the Future (1973) had influenced her ((Lederach & Jenner, 2002). In this book, Polak writes how throughout history, societies with strong, positive images of the future are empowered by their own imagery to create the future they envision (Lederach & Jenner, 2002, p. 302).

In the wider peacebuilding picture, Gopin (2000) emphasises that “vision is the antidote to the obsession with the past” (p. 192). While he does not underestimate and indeed places great importance on mourning, he argues that “there has not been sufficient attention given to the power of vision in secular peacemaking” (Gopin, 2000, p. 192).

Similarly Lederach (1997) incorporates the concept of a vision for the future, in his peacebuilding paradigm, which is built on a foundation of relationships and reconciliation. He defines the essence of reconciliation as “the point of encounter where concerns about the past and the future can meet” (Lederach 1997, p. 27). He suggests that the two necessary ingredients are both a space for acknowledging the past and a space for envisioning the future, as it is attention to both these things that reframes the present.

6.4.5 Non-judgement (and its relation to principled nonviolence)

Hertog (2010) maintains that, because of change in the personal dimension, principled nonviolence results in a specific kind of interpersonal relationship. As presented in Chapter Five, the analysis of the 17 approaches to peacebuilding used by the Quakers in this study shows how they place emphasis on the personal and relational, together with the structural and cultural dimensions. According to Hertog (2010) nonviolence centres on fighting evil instead of people, focuses on the conflict issue not people, and sees the other party not as an
enemy, but as a partner in the struggle to satisfy the needs of all (p. 54). Thus, nonviolence is based on a positive view on human nature and sees the potential for good in every living person (Hertog, 2010, p. 54).

D describes his approach to conflict resolution:

> When there are important decisions, we need to come with hearts and minds prepared, we have to know what it is we are going to talk about, we have to be well informed, and we have also to be prepared to put aside our own particular wishes and needs around those things and that is incredibly hard to do (non-judgement). We have to be willing to switch position. I think, how do we enable people to move out of a fixed place into a place where they are willing to dance with the other party as it were. To be in step in some way with them, and I think we do that in Quaker Business Meeting in very small ways. In major reconciliations then that process is much lengthier but I believe it happens. (Interview with D, September 2012)

### 6.4.6 Humility, Curiosity, and Love (Other Peace-enhancing Values)

For sustainable peacebuilding, Lederach emphasizes the ability to “sustain a paradoxical curiosity that embraces complexity without reliance on dualistic polarity” (Lederach, 2005, p. 5). Second to the importance of building relationships, the Aotearoa New Zealand interviewees believed that what was required for peacebuilding was “to come in the spirit of humility and curiosity [my emphasis] believing that the most successful peacemaking comes when we absolutely are a channel for things…” (Interview with J, September 2012). J and D had been deeply influenced by their conversations with Adam Curle, in which he had talked about de-construction of the ego, and not needing to believe or feel that anything he was doing was for any kind of personal kudos, fame or self aggrandizement. J added:

> and I think love has a place here, I know it sounds a bit [pause] but we have actually to be in the spirit and in the heart of love when we do this work…(Interview with J, September 2012).

In 2001, John Paul Lederach interviewed Adam Curle, who was 85 at the time and still working. He asked him how he understood and measured success in his work. Curle laughingly replied that he didn’t really think about success, but when pressed, he replied:

> I think if success is anything, it is that loving relationships have developed. That’s really the best one can hope for. And sharing: to share problems and the difficulties of those you work with and try to find ways out of them. (Lederach & Jenner, 2002, p. 308)

According to Gopin, “the humanization of the Other, the treatment of the Other with absolute dignity, even love, should be an important goal of conflict resolution” (Gopin, 2000, p. 132).
Gopin (2000) argues that *love* or *agape* is the deepest pro-social value of Christianity. In Hebrew biblical tradition, *ger* refers to the stranger who is supposed to be cared for every time the religious group meets to celebrate its religious holiday. He maintains that this idea demonstrates the need to celebrate religious uniqueness and identity, while at the same time respecting and integrating the stranger. According to Gopin (2000), “an awareness of Otherness” is one of the main tasks of the life of Jesus, as recounted in the New Testament (pp. 148-149). Alluding to Gandhi’s speech and how Gandhi described himself as being a Hindu, a Muslim, a Christian and a Jew, Gopin argues that this awareness of multiple identities is a key characteristic of successful peacemakers (Gopin, 2000, p. 149). J, when asked if her peacebuilding work was informed by her Quakerism:

> Yea… it is about the universality of the spirit in everybody and the fact that we become a community when we are together in that way so the things about the indwelling spirit, the inter-connectedness that we have with all human beings and with all of nature…and everything to do with my Quaker meeting, business meeting, …but the essence of my Quakerism is that indwelling spirit—there is universally in the Turk and the Jew, yea that’s what it is about for me and it leads absolutely quite logically into complete non-violence because how can you destroy or go to war… its inconceivable. (Interview with J, September 2012)

### 6.5 Part Three: Summary

This thesis, situated in the emerging field of religious peacebuilding, set out to critically examine the peace-building approaches of two Quaker reconciliation projects in the Pacific. The literature on religious peacebuilding in this region of the world has to date been scarce. I found 17 approaches in the interviews and the Epistles: ten of these approaches fit strongly with sustainable peacebuilding scholarship. I then examined the 17 resulting approaches from Lederach’s *transformational perspective* of conflict, which argues that constructive change must occur across four dimensions—the personal, relational, structural and cultural—for peace to be sustainable. All of the approaches fitted into one or more of these dimensions. This transformative approach to peacebuilding, that looks at the underlying relationships that have been affected by conflict, rather than merely concentrating on the issues involved, is especially needed in the context of colonization. This is because, as described in Chapter One, the situation of the colonized peoples in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand has been deeply affected over all these dimensions. The further seven approaches concerning: *trust and acceptance; Quaker testimonies; the inner self; non-judgement; curiosity and humility; and other peace-enhancing approaches* (such as service, commitment, empathy and compassion) all fitted with Gopin’s model. This model, described above, consists of four categories or
value sets into which peace-enhancing values that are vital for both conflict prevention and conflict transformation fit (Gopin, 2000, pp. 176-182).

Given that The Religious Society of Friends is one of the few remaining historical Peace Churches, with a history of nonviolent social activism, I expected to find pro-social approaches to peacebuilding. However, despite the fact that religious values, practices and teachings can be an important factor for influencing the attitude and behaviour of a particular religion’s adherents, there is not always a direct causal link between the two (Hertog, 2010, p. 76). Using two sources of data, I compared peacebuilding approaches within and between two countries, and found overall concordance.

This demonstrated a consistency, both within the Societies of Friends and, despite contextual differences, consistency also between the organizations in both countries.

This small study of four Quakers and the 22 Epistles of their respective Societies in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand showed strong evidence for 17 sustainable peacebuilding approaches that pay particular attention to the restoration of and building of relationships. The findings of these 17 approaches respond to the call of Vendley and Little, Gopin, and Appleby to search for peace enhancing approaches within religious traditions.

The Quakers in my study focused their reconciliation work on the historical truth of colonization through social reconstruction. They attended to the more human elements such as building relationships, reconciliation, truth telling and promoting more equitable social structures. As presented in the literature review and discussed above, scholars maintain that social reconstruction is the glue that binds a peace agreement and makes the long-term process of peacebuilding more cohesive and sustainable.

6.6 Conclusion: Colonization in the Pacific and Implications of this research.

Colonization has had devastating consequences globally. In the Pacific region, there are multiple examples where legitimate demands for basic human needs and access to political and economic power have resulted in extreme violence and in some cases war: the Solomon Islands, Bougainville, the Marshall Islands, Palau, East Timor, West Papua and Fiji. In this regard, further comparative case studies could be carried out on other religious or faith-based
movements to critically examine the existence of peace-enhancing approaches, and to compare the beliefs of that faith with their actions. From the work of peacebuilding scholars and the findings in this small study, I would argue that an ability to truly listen to a different religious paradigm and not be threatened by it, is an essential approach and starting point for any faith-based tradition engaged in peacebuilding.

As outlined in Chapter One, colonization and the legacy of structural and cultural violence continues to affect the indigenous peoples in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. In Australia, the dominant settler attitude considered the country to be *terra nullius* and its First Nations Peoples in need of “civilizing,” “saving,” and “humanizing”. This justified genocide, the taking of land, and the removal of children from their families. Similarly in Aotearoa New Zealand, the perpetration of cultural violence included land being taken and confiscated by military coercion and the enactment of oppressive legislation. As a result of this direct, structural and cultural violence, genuine reconciliation requires not only changes in both countries’ structural arrangements, but changes in the relationships between the colonizers and the colonized. Indeed, sustainable peace involves not just a restoration of broken relationships with indigenous peoples, but also a letting go of previously held attitudes that fit other world-views.

The findings of this study, with their emphasis on reconciliation, non-violence and a culture of peace, contrast with the liberal peacebuilding paradigm, which has been criticized for its Western-centric world-view, giving primacy to security rather than reconciliation and equitable social structures (Lederach, 1995, 1997; Mac Ginty, 2008; Newman, Paris & Richmond, 2009; Philpott & Powers, 2010; Richmond, 2006, 2009, 2010).

One main thread of the over-arching theme in this study, outlined in 6.2 at the beginning of this chapter, is the major emphasis paid by the interviewees and the Epistles to building relationships, especially in regard to the context of colonization and its lasting effects on First Nations Peoples in both countries. Interviewee C sums up the essence of this over-arching theme “Speak truth to justice, but in a gentle way” (Interview with C, September 2012).

The Australian First Nations Peoples Concern Committee, who advocate for, and build bridges between First Nations Peoples and settler Australians, is contributing towards the process of bringing about sustainable peace. C and JM, driven by a strong Quaker commitment to peace, equality and justice and a deep respect for everyone, are a local
resource for sustaining the change required for reconciliation in Australia. Demonstrated by the evidence of the 17 peacebuilding approaches, they go about addressing the structural and cultural injustices that exist in Australia from “a transformational perspective, without which there will be no sustainable peace” (Curle, 1981; Lederach, 1995, 1997, 2000, 2005).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, J and D contribute to the country’s sustainable peacebuilding processes. With their skills of educator, mediator, networker, reconciler, advocate and translator, they work to foster meaningful and lasting change in Aotearoa New Zealand. Their thirty years of commitment to education about the Treaty of Waitangi and about decolonization has been unwavering. They have built bridges between many groups: police, iwi, the Whanganui community, district health boards and councils. This thesis suggests that their approach to peacebuilding is transformational, rooted in their Quaker understanding that “there is that of God in everyone”, that accords everyone deep respect, and is coupled with humility and an openness to other ways of being.

Gopin (2000) discusses the cognitive ability of special individuals who, on the one hand, are strongly rooted in their own spiritual identities, but who on the other can also reach far beyond their own boundaries and “can travel anywhere with an open, benign, even loving disposition, because they know exactly where they ultimately belong” (p. 203).

As this research shows, Quaker peacebuilders have a role to play in promoting peace and therefore security, stability and conflict prevention by building relationships in the Pacific region.

As Adam Curle wrote, “No one can assess the impact of genuine peacemaking, undertaken with love. The ripples may spread throughout eternity” (Curle, 1981, p. 56).
Bibliography


Jabri, V. (2013). Peacebuilding, the local and the international: a colonial or a postcolonial rationality? *Peacebuilding (1)*1. DOI:10.1080/21647259.2013.756253


## Appendix

Table A1: Seventeen Peace-building Approaches found in the Interviews and the Epistles

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approach</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>New Zealand</th>
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<td>2. Attentive listening</td>
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<td>3. Non-proselytizing</td>
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<td>4. Persistence</td>
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<td>5. Working with both sides of conflict</td>
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<td>6. Awareness of culture</td>
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<td>7. Awareness of context</td>
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<td>8. Local empowerment</td>
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<td>10. Fostering positive attitudes</td>
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<td>1. Earning acceptance and trust</td>
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<td>2. Quaker Testimonies</td>
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<td>3. The Inner Self</td>
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<td>4. A vision of future social justice</td>
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<td>5. Non-judgement</td>
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<td>6. Curiosity and humility</td>
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Interview Questions conducted in mid September 2012.

Interview One

(1) How long have you been an attender/member of the Religious Society of Friends (RSF)?

(2) What drew you to the RSF?

(3) How did you become involved in taking the Rowan Partnership/First Nations Peoples Concerns Committee?

(4) How long have you been involved in this work?

(5) How many workshops (NZ interviewees) have you done over this time?

(6a) Were you involved in peace work prior to joining Friends?

(6b) Is your peacebuilding work related to your religious beliefs/have any relation to your involvement with the RSF?

(7) There are four testimonies that act as guides for the way Quaker’s live. Are these testimonies important to you?

(8) Which testimony is the most important to you?

(9) How does the testimony you have described/do the testimonies you have described, influence your peacebuilding work?

(10) With regard to your peacebuilding work concerning Te Tiriti o Waitangi workshops (NZ participants)/Indigenous Concerns Group (Australian participants), what is goal of your work? Do you take a long-term approach?

(11) Who do you work with and who are your partners? (other religious community leaders, local, regional or national government, international organizations?)

(12a) Are you explicit about your Quakerism in the sense that you would talk about Quakers when you have not been asked?

(12b) What does proselytize mean to you? Under what conditions would it come to play?

(13) Do you think that a particular spiritual framework shapes your approach to peacebuilding? Would you call it a spiritual or a religious approach?

(14) You have an exhaustive workload, travelling throughout NZ to give workshops and your involvement in your local Whanganui meeting to name some of the things you do. Not to mention the time and energy given to your children and grandchildren (NZ participants),[throughout Australia for Chris and just last sentence for John] You are
definitely not “retired” in the normal sense of the word. From where do you get your strength, energy and guidance both professionally and personally?

Interview Questions conducted in late September 2012.

Interview Two

(1)  With regard to sustainable peacebuilding and reconciliation, to what extent do you think that the historical context of colonization is important for settler communities to fully understand the impact it had on indigenous peoples?

(2)  With regard to sustainable peace, to what extent do you think that Pākehā understanding of Māori culture is significant for reconciliation?

(3)  With regard to sustainable peace, to what extent do you think that Pākehā understanding of Māori culture is significant for reconciliation?

(4)  In the peacebuilding and reconciliation work that you do, who is your target audience?

(5)  When you do your work, do you ever combine with other organizations?

(6)  In our last interview, you mentioned that you have been doing your peacebuilding work for 12 years (Australia) and 29 years (Aotearoa New Zealand). How long do you think the reconciliation of indigenous peoples with the settler populations will take?

(7)  Are there any shorter-range goals that need to be achieved, in order to make the peace lasting, i.e. sustainable?

(8)  With regards to the Treaty Issues Workshops that you do (Aboriginal Concerns Vigil), how do you ascertain what needs to be done?

(9)  To what extent do you see yourselves as being agents of change?

(10) How much time do you spend talking with and listening to, indigenous peoples? In what way do these discussions influence your work?

(11) In the reconciliation work you do, how important is your understanding of indigenous spirituality? To what extent does this influence how you approach your work for reconciliation?

(12) To what extent does your Quaker spirituality help you better understand Māori spiritual concepts?

(13) What role do women play in your work for peace? And youth and children?

(14) In the context of sustainable peace and changing the racism and structural violence that exists in NZ, whom do you think has the greatest potential as agents of change for
reconciliation? (e.g. politicians, police, pastors, educators, farm workers, factory workers, academics to name some).

(15) How much does the Quaker Meeting for Business method influence the way you work with other organizations and in your workshops?

(16) You mentioned in our first interview that your peacebuilding work has grown out of your Quakerism and is very much informed by it. From your many decades of accumulated wisdom in the field of peacebuilding, what approaches do you think are essential when doing reconciliation work?

**Quaker Sorry Statement**

The following is the Quaker Sorry Statement to the Indigenous People of Australia, given in January, 1998.

Since 1988, the bi-centenary of first settlement, or Governor Philip's arrival in Australia, churches have been dealing seriously with the dispossession and marginalisation of Indigenous peoples. In some ways, the churches were better prepared than the rest of society to respond to the issues raised by the Inquiry regarding the effects of past policies and the treatment of Indigenous Australians. The negative impacts of native missions on Indigenous people had already been recognised, as were the complexities of reconciling good intentions and genuine concern for the welfare of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people with actions that resulted in the denial of their human rights. Dealing with the past, while continuing to play a major influence in the lives of many Indigenous people, seems to have sharpened the conscience of many church leaders and members of church communities.

In dealing with issues of the past, present and the future, placed in the context of a broad societal discussion of the rights of Indigenous people, the churches have become major participants in the process of reconciliation. There is an awareness that active engagement with Indigenous people as partners is essential to the process. For many non-Indigenous church members there is a merging of broad themes. The specific matters reported on in Bringing Them Home are seen as connected with the historical dispossession and general marginalization of Indigenous people which transcend the particular recommendations of the Inquiry. The issues of dispossession, marginalization, disadvantage and the recognition of contemporary rights can only be met by a wider response.

We are ashamed that we have failed to recognize the extent of dispossession, deprivation and trauma over the past 200 years. We have been and are part of the culture that has dominated, dehumanized and devalued Aboriginal religious, cultural and family life. For this we are deeply sorry and express our heartfelt apology to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians. We commit ourselves to working towards a reconciled Australia.

(Australia Yearly Meeting, 1998)
Information Sheet For Participants

**TOPIC: QUAKER PEACEBUILDING: AN ANALYSIS OF QUAKER PEACEBUILDING METHODS IN A PACIFIC CONTEXT.**

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate I thank you. If you decide not to take part, there will be no disadvantage to you and I thank you for considering my request.

**What is the Aim of the Project?**

I am currently researching sustainable peacebuilding methods, with particular reference to Quaker practices of peacebuilding. In this thesis, peacebuilding is defined as “social change development directed towards reducing inequality and injustice”. The aim of this project is to examine Quaker peacebuilding practices in a Pacific context of colonization, from the perspective of sustainable peacebuilding practices.

This study is part of a masters research project that I am undertaking at the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Otago in Dunedin.

**Who Will Be Participating**

This study is seeking participants between the ages of 20 and 90 years who are engaged, or have been engaged, in peacebuilding projects concerned with addressing past wrongs of settler colonization.

(For the Australian interviewees):
I have been given your names by your Australian Yearly Meeting Clerk and through an Australian academic Quaker writer, Gerard Guiton. (This applies to the Australian interviewees).

(For the New Zealand interviewees):
I have been given your names by the two co-clerks of the Aotearoa New Zealand Yearly Meeting Committee. There will be four participants in this study. There will be no compensation or reimbursement or payment offered for your participation.

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to supply me with relevant documents of your Quaker peacebuilding projects: (such as progress reports, agendas, follow up reports, workshop outlines, and material published by yourselves). I will bear the cost of any postage, should the documents not be electronically available. I am very grateful to you for the time it will take you to access this data, and the inconvenience this may cause you.

**What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be Made of it?**

I propose to ask 30 questions in total. The first session will take approximately 50 minutes and involve 15 questions. The second session, approximately two weeks later, will involve 15 questions and involve approximately 50 minutes.

The first session will be about your history such as your involvement in the Religious Society of Friends and your general involvement in peacebuilding projects. The second session will be more specifically about the peacebuilding methods that you use. These
interviews will be digitally recorded, by Skype or telephone, as you find preferable. You can request me to stop asking you questions at any time. The personal information collected will be used to answer my research question that is an analysis of Quaker peacebuilding methods in the light of its sustainability. The purpose of my research is to contribute to the literature on religious peacebuilding in the Pacific. Very little research has been done on Quaker peacebuilding in a Pacific context, as compared to that in Africa, India and Eastern Europe.

Only Dr Karen Brouneus, my supervisor, and I will have access to the information. I will be responsible for transcribing, typing, and photocopying all of the raw data.

The data will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned above will have access to it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend, will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which time, the data will be destroyed by either Dr Karen Brounéus or Professor Kevin Clements.

Due to the nature of the research which concerns peacebuilding actors in the relatively small (1400 approximately) Religious Society of Friends in Aotearoa, New Zealand and slightly more in Australia, and because some of you are already well known within the society, it will not be possible for your anonymity to be preserved in the completed research. It is very important that you are aware of this and please consider this carefully before agreeing to participate.

You will have the opportunity to view the data and information that relates to you in the completed research and to alter and/or correct this information. This will be before I submit my thesis. The results of the study will be available to you. Should you request it, the thesis will be sent to you electronically, once it has been marked and returned by the University of Otago.

Part of this project’s data collection will be through two sessions of semi-structured interviews. I may need to follow up some of the questions to get a more in-depth view of their approaches and methods of peacebuilding. Therefore some of the questions that will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review all of the questions to be used.

What if Participants have any Questions?
If you have any questions about my project, either now or in the future, please do not hesitate to contact either:

[Peni Connolly]  and/or  [Dr Karen Brouneus]
Both at: The National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, Otago University.
03 4794546  03 4794547
peni.connolly62@gmail.com  karen.brouneus@otago.ac.nz

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (phone 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.
CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary.

2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage to myself.

3. The digitally recorded audio-tapes will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for at least five years.

4. This project involves some open-ended questions. The general line of questioning includes questions about your involvement with the Religious Society of Friends, your peacebuilding work and the spiritual influences on your peacebuilding work. Some of the questions that will be asked have not been determined in advance, as this will depend on the way in which the interview develops. In the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.

5. There will be no remuneration for involvement in this study.

6. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand).

7. I understand that my name will be used with reporting the results of this research.

I agree to take part in this project

............................................. .............................................
(Signature of participant) (date)

This study has been approved by the Human Ethics Committee, at the University of Otago. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (phone 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.