Peace Psychology in Asia

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Springer

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Foreword

The region of Asia has traditionally been acknowledged as a place of peace and harmony, attributed in great part to Eastern cosmology that upholds a philosophy of respecting diversity and creating harmony between human–God, human–human, and human–nature. Asia has also been regarded by many as the cradle of civilization. Many world religions and great faiths have major strongholds in the continent of Asia: from Hinduism and Buddhism, to Jewish, Christianity, Islam, and other faiths such as Shinto and Taoism. All strongly support and encourage their adherents to promote justice and create peace among all fellow human beings on earth. All Asian-born diverse religions and faiths convey the same message of peace: inner peace or salaam (Islam) and shalom (Jewish); peace, love, and mercy (Christianity); avoidance of violence or ahimsa (Hinduism); and absence of all chaos or nirvana (Buddhism).

However, it is disheartening to witness that Asia too is not immune to violent tensions and conflicts that have become key features that characterize many regions of the world. Direct and structural violence in the form of genocides, human trafficking, political and economic injustices such as poverty and corruption, ethnopolitical conflicts, and environmental conflicts, to name but a few, are occurring within underdeveloped and developing countries of Asia. Religiously nuanced conflict is also more common nowadays and has torn many Asian societies apart. Divisive claims of truth, compounded by economic and political imbalances, have often led to primordial sentiments. Religious discord and ethnic particularism have begun to respond to increased globalization and widening structural incompatibility as an anti-systemic counter-reaction. We should also note the increasing use of armed violence as an instrument to both resolve problem and achieve political objectives. We continue to witness the display of military prowess as an instrument of problem-solving by major powers such as the United States and its allies against countries unwilling to support the so-called Western hegemony. Global injustice pervades. As a result, violent conflicts erupted, making peace even more elusive. India, China, Tibet, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Myanmar, and Taiwan are only a few examples where conflicts that take place in various geopolitical realms are quite latent, manifest, and protracted.

Religions too have warned us about the potentials of human beings in shedding darkness, aside from illuminating lights into humanity. Islam, for instance, warns

that human beings have an intrinsic tendency to do harm and damage on earth. The Qur'an cites dialogue between God and angels on the divine plan to create human being, the first and the only creature equipped with a free mind and a free will. Qur'an states in the chapter of al-Baqarah 29–30: "Behold, thy Lord said to the angels: 'I will create a vicegerent on earth.' They said: 'Wilt Thou place therein one who will make mischief therein and shed blood? – whilst we do celebrate Thy praises and glorify Thy holy (name)?' He said: 'I know what ye know not.'" Hence, as we witness social suffering and conflicts in the Asian region, we may tend to lamentably justify that all of these are incurable, plunging ourselves to despair that a just and peaceful world for Asia is impossible to realize.

But there is hope. I do believe that instead, we shall hold on to the conviction that we, as women and men of faith, never give up in our struggle to help the creation of positive peace in our region and the world. We should continue to pursue our common dream of a new world civilization based on social justice, equality, harmony, and prosperity.

Various initiatives in these areas show that religions and religious leaders do have a positive role in the pursuit of justice and the building of peaceful communities. Deeply committed religious people are poised to take leaderships in the cause of reconciliation and service to the poor and disenfranchised. Religion does serve as a source of values and norms that could provide guidance for a peaceful and just world based on mutual understanding, mutual respect, and equality. Again, as an example from Islam, the Qur'an outlines in the chapter of al-Maidah: "O ye who believe! Stand out firmly for Allah, as witnesses to fair dealing, and let not the hatred of others to you make you swerve to wrong and depart from justice. Be just: that is next to piety: and fear Allah. For Allah is well-acquainted with all that ye do."

There will be no peace without justice and no justice without persons enjoying basic human rights. One way of achieving such objective is to work collaboratively not only to eradicate violence, but also to promote and advance the vision of shared security. The attainment of the vision of shared security, adopted at the Religions for Peace Eight World Assembly in Kyoto in August 2006, is not an easy task. However, it is a common obligation of all sectors in the society – the governments, civil societies, business community, and religious communities – to strive for the attainment of shared security at all levels: within a community, between communities, among the community of nation-states, and more importantly, among different civilizations and people of different faiths.

It is in light of all the above considerations, this important book cannot be more relevant and timely in offering understandings of violence and conflict in the Asian context. As a new, emerging discipline, peace psychology has started to give a meaningful contribution to peacebuilding and peacemaking for diverse Asian communities. This volume illuminates the peace discourse in a region shattered by direct and structural violence, by looking at subjective and objective human phenomena that are related to peace.

In an Asia context, the elimination of global injustice alone cannot guarantee the birth of a world free from violent tensions and conflicts. Many Asian societies still possess a colonial legacy saturated with direct and structurally violent collective

memories, social practices, and cultural narratives. Many countries in the Asian region likewise continue to bear the yoke of authoritarian governments, as well as superpower hegemonies. Collective feelings of oppressiveness, perceived injustice, victimhood, and besieged mentality feed on the already existing political and economic grievances. These social psychological realities need to be addressed respectfully and pragmatically by all segments of societies, and peace psychology contributes to this regional challenge.

Respect for human rights, and a democratic political order, are the paths that all of us should take in the Asian region. Human rights and freedom are the essence of all religious teachings: human beings should be liberated from exploitation by other human beings. The creation of political, economic, and cultural orders that ensure and respect human dignity in all three arenas – local, regional, and global – should be made a priority by both Asian state actors and civil societies.

Jakarta, Indonesia Din Syamsuddin

Preface

Our volume on *Peace Psychology in Asia* is a fruit of indigenous praxis in the region. Most of the chapter authors are Asian psychologists based in Asian universities. The volume brings together scholarly works about Asian peace and conflict, written not only as intellectual products, but also as attempts to make sense of our everyday lives in divided and war-torn societies.

Our book illuminates the psychological terrain of social peace and conflict in Asia. We hope to participate, as psychologists, in the multidisciplinary dialogue about global peace and realize that social peace is too complex a human phenomenon to be understood by a single disciplinary lens. Neither psychology nor any other discipline can address peace conditions in a monologue, because peace issues traverse sociology, anthropology, political science, and even literature, theology, and philosophy. Hence we write this book for a wide array of readers – psychologists and non-psychologists, practitioners and scholars, students, policy-shapers, activists, and non-governmental organizations – who want to get a picture of the psychological base of peace in Asia.

Our chapters cover conflicts in societies like India, Kashmir, Taiwan, China, Japan, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. But the innovative psychological concepts, methods, and practices put forward may inform other societies as well, especially in other volatile regions like Africa, Middle East, and South America. We emphasize subjective and collective aspects of peacebuilding and invite you to read about the paths to social peace we identify, such as syncretic cultures, pesantrens (Islamic boarding schools), collective remembering, ethnic and religious identities, technology in the service of massive mobilizations, forgiveness and justice, and community-based peacebuilding.

The chapters of this book come mainly from three recent psychology conferences in the Asian region. The volume was conceived at the 10th International Symposium on the Contributions of Psychology to Peace in Indonesia's Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta and Universitas Gadjah Mada, and we are grateful to our international peace psychology colleagues for their contagious enthusiasm. At the 7th Biennial Conference of the Asian Association of Social Psychology held at the Universiti Malaysia Sabah, and the 9th International Conference on Social Representations in Bali, Indonesia, we learned more about other peace psychology works being carried out by Asian colleagues. The regional meetings also provided

the venue for paper presentations and private discussions with authors about their developing drafts.

We thank the many individuals and institutions that supported the making of this book. *Peace Psychology* series editor Dan Christie brought up the idea of a volume on Asian peace psychology and has been our companion in this journey ever since. We most deeply appreciate Dan's brilliant yet culture-sensitive editorial guidance. Leading scholars from the Committee for the Psychological Study of Peace (CPSP), Asian Association of Social Psychology (AASP), and Australia/New Zealand universities also reviewed the manuscripts and offered the writers useful feedback. For their sage advice, we are grateful to our senior editorial advisory board members Diane Bretherton, Joseph Camilleri, Susan McKay, Emiko Kashima, Yoshihisa Kashima, and Kwok Leung. We especially thank James Liu, who volunteered to review many more manuscripts "beyond call of duty" and gave us and other writers not only detailed suggestions but also one-on-one discussion time during the Social Representations conference. For our Foreword, we thank peace psychologist Yayah Khisbiyah for bridging us to the Chair of Muhammadiyah Indonesia and President of the Asian Committee on Religions for Peace. Thank you Din Syamsuddin for this volume's introductory piece.

We appreciate the collegial support extended by our respective Psychology Departments as we worked on the book. Tina thanks her colleagues at the Ateneo de Manila University for their intellectual and personal friendships and graduate students Cecilia Bulos and Joanne Marie Diaz who provided editorial assistance for this book. Noraini extends her heartfelt gratitude to colleague Adrian Harre for editorial help and the International Islamic University Malaysia for granting her a stint in Cape Town providing her with a space to work without distractions.

Our own sensitivities and insights for a volume on Asian peace psychology arose out of personal histories as well, and we are happy to dedicate this volume to the individuals, groups, and experiences that colored our reflexive scholarly lenses on social peace.

Tina offers this book to the memory of Fr. Jose Blanco, SJ, the Jesuit priest who recruited her to a youth movement for social liberation, when Tina was in high school. She remained a Filipino social activist for the next 40 years. She likewise dedicates this volume to her political companions, living and dead/killed – comrades, they called each other – in KASAPI and PDP-LABAN. She is particularly grateful to her woman friends in the movement – Susan Cellano, Angge Pacifico-Herrera, and Doris Nuval – who loved their country's freedom as passionately as they loved and protected their little children in the midst of a ruthless martial law. She also appreciates her academic mentors Patricia Licuanan and Mary Racelis, who inspired her to develop a teaching-research career in a Philippine setting. Tina thanks her colleagues in the international peace psychology community who patiently dialogued with her and extended good friendships through the years – Dan Christie, Susie McKay, Judy van Hoorn, Mike Wessells, Di Bretherton, Deb Winter, Klaus Boehnke, Andy Dawes, and many many more – from the bottom of her grateful heart, she thanks you all. And especially, this book is for Tina's son Andoy, born and lovingly raised during the dark days of martial law; this is also for Tina's beloved

daughter-in-law Sab Paner-Montiel and grandson Nathan. Andoy, Sab, and Nathan enkindle Tina's life and give sense to everything else.

Noraini dedicates this book to her family. To husband Adin who is always there for her. To children Yuhanna, Elias, and Hirzi, who have grown up in different countries and gone through diverse experiences – may you all find your paths in life that can bring you closer to God and fellow men and women.

Manila, Philippines — Cristina Jayme Montiel
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia — Noraini M. Noor

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Contributors

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Sammyh Khan is a PhD student at the Centre for Applied Cross-Cultural Research (CACR), Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. Being born in Sweden of Indian Muslim and Israeli Jewish parents, intergroup relations in the developing world have always been a very salient feature in Sammyh's life. His

current PhD research investigates the ideologies of the Hindu nationalist movement in India from a social psychological perspective and their implications for communal conflict and harmony among Hindus and Muslims. Sammyh has authored publications in journals such as the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *New Zealand Journal of Psychology* and *Sex Roles*, addressing topics ranging from intergroup attributions in India to biculturalism and identity in New Zealand.

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Ichsan Malik is the Director of the Indonesian Peace Building Institute, formerly known as the Baku Bae Movement, one out of 64 success stories of grassroots reconciliation in the world chosen by the European Centre for Conflict Prevention. Malik presented the success story of Baku Bae at the global conference "From Reaction to Prevention: Civil Society Forging Partnership to Prevent Violent Conflict and Build Peace," hosted by the UN in New York last July 2005. He also teaches at the University of Indonesia's Department of Psychology graduate program, where he obtained his postgraduate degree in social psychology.

Cristina Jayme Montiel is professor of social psychology at the Ateneo de Manila University's Psychology Department. During the Marcos dictatorship, she chaired Lingap Bilanggo (Care for Prisoners), a social movement for the general amnesty of all Filipino political prisoners. Montiel has carried out teaching/research visits to Xiamen University (China), National University of Malaysia, University of Hawaii, Ohio State University, Georgetown University, Technical University of Chemnitz (Germany), and The Australian National University. Her recent publications include *Political Psychology of Nonviolent Democratic Transitions in Southeast Asia* (2006) and *Effects of Political Framing and Perceiver's Social Position on Trait Attributions of a Terrorist/Freedom-Fighter* (2008).

Hamdi Muluk is senior lecturer at Department of Psychology at University of Indonesia and also coordinates the Psychology Department's Master and Doctoral program. He obtained his PhD in Political Psychology from University of Indonesia in July 2004. His dissertation dealt with the role of collective memory in community reconciliation after political repression. His research interest covers the topics of social and political psychology and peace psychology, such as terrorism, prejudice, voting behavior, and conflict resolution. With the recent eruption of social conflict in Indonesia, he actively participated in the Baku Movement and Indonesian Peace Building Institute to build peace in Indonesia. He also served as the associate in the Centre for Research on Inter-group Relations and Conflict Resolution (CERIC) at University of Indonesia.

Noraini M. Noor is professor at the Department of Psychology, International Islamic University Malaysia. Her research areas are related to women's work and family roles in relation to well-being, women's empowerment, and health. She is also interested in the role of religion in peace building. She has been a recipient of the Chevening and Commonwealth Fellowship Awards, with research attachment at the University of Oxford, England in 1996 and 1999–2000, respectively. Her recent publications include *Malaysian Women's State of Psychological Well-Being: Empir-*

ical Validation of a Conceptual Model (2006), *Work and Women's Well-Being: Religion and Age as Moderators* (2008), and *Terrorism, Democracy, the West and the Muslim World* (2007, a book coedited with Abdul Rashid Moten).

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Tomohide Atsumi is associate professor of Center for the Study of Communication-Design at Osaka University, Japan. He received his PhD in social psychology from the University of Michigan in 1993. He served as the president of Japanese Group Dynamics Association and keeps close contact with Asian Association of Social Psychology. He has been interested in social issues from theoretical and practical perspectives. Besides the work in history and peace issues, he has been involved in disaster relief, recovery, and revitalization processes both as a researcher and as a volunteer member of a nonprofit organization for disaster since the 1995 Kobe earthquake. His recent publications include a theoretical article in *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, a book chapter on history coauthored by Dr. James Liu, and a picture book for the public to enjoy disaster preparedness.

Fan Zhou is associate professor of the School of Management, Zhejiang University, China. He received his PhD in psychology from Beijing University in 2005. His research interests include conflict, justice, individual differences, social entrepreneurship, and labor relations. In addition to his formal research work, he is also very interested in Chinese history and civil society's development in China during the current industrialization process.

Part I
Introduction to Peace Psychology in Asia

Overview of Peace Psychology in Asia: Research, Practice, and Teaching

Cristina Jayme Montiel

Peace Psychology in Asia: Research, Practice, and Teaching

A recent landmark paper on peace psychology punctuates the need to anchor the discipline in geohistorical settings (Christie, Tint, Wagner, & Winter, 2008). This volume presents peace psychology in a regional context that includes East, South, and Southeast Asia.

The Nature of Peace Psychology in Asia

In order to understand the social landscape that plays into the psychology of peace in Asia, one may need to view peace-related subjectivities through telescopic rather than microscopic lenses. This chapter is divided into three sections, each corresponding to a proposition about peace psychology in Asia. First, social peace and violence are embedded in more macro-layers beyond the individual, like politics, history, and culture. Second, direct and structural peace interact contingently with each other. Further, the discipline takes an ethical position to pursue nonviolence (direct peace) on all layers and to stand on the side of more equal structural configurations (structural peace). Third, despite its emphasis on macro-social phenomena, peace psychology remains attendant to that which is subjective, addressing not only the nature of subjectivities at the individual and group levels but also cultural narratives that support peaceful processes and egalitarian structures.

Embeddedness of Peace and Violence in Macro-layers

Peace psychology sees violence and peace embedded in layered analytical units that may vary in size from individuals, groups, social movements, states, and global systems. These layered human processes continuously interact with each other (Montiel & Christie, 2008). But even beyond providing a multi-layered and dynamic lens, peace psychology provides an ethical position to transform all layers toward peace.

C.J. Montiel, N.M. Noor (eds.), *Peace Psychology in Asia*, Peace Psychology Book Series, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4419-0143-9_1,

Peace psychology in Asia is saturated with history, politics, and culture. Political history comes to fore not only as a source of collective memories that press on present-day subjectivities, but also as a shaper of context conditions that impinge on contemporary peace and conflict situations. Culture, or rather cultures in Asia, provide indigenous ways of peacemaking. The first section of this chapter addresses political history and culture as they affect peace and social justice in the Asian context. Throughout, I draw on research and findings from chapters that appear in the present volume.

Political history and peace psychology in Asia. To understand peace in Asia, one needs to understand the nature of its history (Noor, Chapter 17, this volume). Asian history is characterized by foreign occupations, a devastating World War II, domestic dictatorships during the Cold War, and present-day transitions to democracy usually marked by active nonviolent power shifts and social destabilizations during a volatile transition period.

Centuries of foreign colonization continue to impact on contemporary conflicts. A number of chapters in this volume note the role of colonization in peace in Asia. For example, in India, Hindu–Muslim conflicts date back to British rule, as Hinduizing India became identified with nationalist aspirations, and the Muslim League organized in 1906 to strengthen Muslim influence in British India (Khan & Sen, this volume). The British likewise employed the divide and rule policy that prepared the grounds for communal divisions in Malaysia, as the colonizers encouraged unregulated labor immigrations of Chinese and Indians to harvest local mineral resources and cultivate rubber estates (Noor, Chapter 9, this volume). An account of the Ambon conflict in Indonesia (Muluk & Malik, this volume) details how Muslim–Christian divisions can be traced back to Dutch policies of *divide et impera* (divide and rule) in an attempt to control the thriving Maluku spice trade.

The history of World War II in Asia is a narrative of Japanese invasions. The impact of World War II on today's peace psychology has to do with issues revolving around remembering and forgiving such invasions. Ohbuchi & Takada (this volume) not only examine the dynamics of forgiveness in a laboratory, but also look into implications of forgiveness in Japan–Korea tensions traceable to the Pacific War. On the other hand, Atsumi & Suwa (this volume) raise issues of forgiveness in relation to China–Japan relations and how peaceful relations between China and Japan may necessitate remembering World War II events like the Nanjing Massacre. Because of its history of colonial subjugations, Asian populations tend to be wary of present-day foreign political intrusions in the name of peace or democracy.

Despite colonial attempts to dominate the lands of Asia, pockets of independence and sovereignty have survived the onslaught of foreign occupations. One example of this is the Indonesian *pesantran*, traditional institutions of Islamic learning, which resisted Dutch attempts to dominate Indonesia schools with the European-style school system (Pohl, this volume). In Mindanao, Moro struggles for independence from the central Philippine government date back to the Moro people's successful repudiation of Spanish and American subjugations in the Philippines since the 16th century (Batistiana, this volume).

Applications of Peace Psychology in Asia

Dr. James Liu invited me to his project on social representations of history in Japan, Taiwan, and China. We used a typical survey questionnaire, but I had a chance to see old Japanese people and ask about their experiences during World War II. I "just" listened to their stories, but it was, I hope, a good experience for them as it was for me. If you include natural disaster issues in the area of peace psychology, then I should tell you about my fieldwork in international disaster areas such as Taiwan (1999 Chi Chi Earthquake and its long-term revitalization processes) and Bam (2003 Iran Earthquake), as well as a disaster preparedness program in Kathmandu, Nepal. I am also now working in Sichuan, China with the survivors of the recent 2008 earthquake.

- by Tomohide Atsumi, Center for the Study of Communication-Design, Osaka University, Japan

Asian history took on another form as the Cold War intensified. During this period, many parts of Asia bore the yoke of authoritarian dictatorships backed by military forces. The dominant story of peace and conflict in Asia during the Cold War is not a story of nuclear fear and disarmament as in the West, but rather a narrative of dictatorships that oppressed their local populations. A parallel discontinuity can be mirrored between Western and Asian contemporary peace discourses. As the West grows more interested in international terrorism and religiously overtoned conflict narratives, Asian peace psychologists are concerned about intrastate peace and conflict and hesitate to tag intergroup conflicts as religiously triggered.

In the post–Cold War context, memories about large-scale dictatorial abuses needed to be dealt with by Asian societies. Further, the very processes of grappling with historical abuses can turn into a present-day community peace issue, an example of which is the survivors of the *Tanjung Priok* massacre under the Soeharto dictatorship (Muluk, this volume). Dictatorships muffled free speech. Without any open space to ventilate social contestations, centuries-old group conflicts dug into underground armed struggles. In the cradle of dictatorships, armed conflicts were born. The Moro National Liberation Front in the Philippines started in 1969 as Marcos' stronghold intensified on the civilian populations. Likewise, intergroup animosity in Ambon found little public space to ventilate ethnic issues, because Soeharto's politics of SARA (*Suku, Agama, Ras, Antar-Golongan*) suppressed public expressions of ethnicity and religion (Muluk & Malik, this volume).

Internal strife likewise caused mass migrations to new territories, fueling issues related to social identity and place. For example, the contentious debate on whether Taiwan is a nation or is part of China emanates from a history of the Kuomintang's withdrawal from mainland China as the communists grew victorious, and most Western nations backed the Republic of China (Taiwan) during the Cold War (Huang, this volume).

And then dictatorships fell and went rather peacefully through different versions of People's Power in the Philippines (1986), Taiwan (1987), South Korea (1987), Indonesia (1998), East Timor (2002), Thailand (1992), Nepal (2006), and Pakistan (2008). Relatively peaceful democratic transitions in Asia enriched the field of peace psychology by demonstrating that rigid political structures can be reconfigured through peaceful means (Estuar & Montiel, this volume).

However, transitions to democracy unleashed centrifugal and chaotic social forces previously controlled by central authoritarian rule. For example, after Soeharto's fall, some Indonesian *pesantrans*, freed to employ their own education policies by the central government, demanded that female students wear traditional Islamic garb and took on anti-pluralist interpretations of Islam (Pohl, this volume). Further, one of the triggering factors of the Ambon conflict was attributed to factions in post-Soeharto's military and political elites who had an interest in destabilizing the country in order to return to power (Muluk & Malik, this volume).

Applications of Peace Psychology in Asia

Last December 1997, Ms. Rohaida Misuari (the wife of Nur Misuari, then Chair of the Moro National Liberation Front) came to GZO Peace Institute and asked for assistance for the Moro women after the signing of a peace agreement between the MNLF and the Philippine government. Ms. Misuari saw the need for the Moro women to assist in a redefinition of peace that was not based on winning a war. Together with a colleague, we designed and conducted a 3-day workshop on Culture of Peace. Twenty-nine Moro women from different areas of Mindanao attended the workshop. Many of them were widows while a few were former armed combatant themselves. We assisted in making the atmosphere and structures open to honest sharing of their individual experiences, in establishing memory and truths about their struggle, and clarifying their own thoughts and feelings about peace.

At the end, they collectively identified the issues affecting them as women and as Moro, and some concrete ways to promote a culture of peace. It was in this workshop that I realized one thing: that understanding a culture of peace has a lot to do with understanding the individual and collective psychological wounds of the people involved in the conflict situation.

- by Josephine Perez, Director, Peace Education and Capability-Building Program, Gaston Z. Ortigas (GZO) Peace Institute, Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines

Democratic shifts advanced peace efforts by allowing the rise of new national leaders with political abilities to address social divisions. Noor (Chapter 9, this volume) points out how Malaysia's longtime party in power UMNO has been losing seats in recent elections, as opposition leaders mobilize more cross-ethnic unity among its party bases. In the Philippines, a peace agreement between the

government and the Moro National Liberation Front was signed in September 1996, with much support from President Fidel Ramos (Batistiana, this volume). The end of martial law in Taiwan likewise saw its new President Lee Teng-hui and his successor Chen Shui-bian distinguish between the national identities of Taiwanese and Chinese (Huang, this volume), recognizing that aside from migrants from mainland China, Taiwan also had local populations from other ethnic groups.

Culture and peace psychology. Asia is home to a kaleidoscope of ethnic groups that have been geographically entrenched in their own communities for centuries. The cultural mix in Asia is seldom produced by individual migrations of upwardly mobile or talented individuals seeking a better life, but by huge groups of peoples moving into or out of a place due to historical labor needs during the colonial period (Noor, Chapter 9, this volume) or smaller invasive conflicts by a more powerful group.

In relation to peace psychology, I define culture as a group-owned repository of subjectivities. From this storage of shared subjectivities, members derive peace-related narratives that work powerfully within the group, but are irrelevant among those who neither interact with nor belong to the group. For example, in the Ambon conflict, a once-popular mechanism called *Pela-Gandong* was used to establish communal peace. This indigenous mechanism was an oath of allegiance that bound together two villages, whether these villages were both Islamic or one was Christian while the other was Muslim. Local language also provides terms appropriate for peacemaking. At the height of peacemaking efforts in the recent Ambon conflict, conciliators found the term *Baku Bae* was acceptable to parties in the conflict who disdained the use of *peace* because *peace* meant surrender (Muluk & Malik, this volume).

A foreign peace worker may need to recognize that because Asian culture is highly heterogeneous, one needs to saturate one's self with the culture of the local place before moving toward social peace. From place-embedded culture, one can access the appropriate ways to pursue direct peace in particular localities. Although local cultures can be used for peacemaking (Noor, Chapter 9, this volume), one may likewise need to be vigilant because relatively soft Asian cultural orientations like harmony, shame avoidance, and face saving can be used by elite groups to subjugate populations (Lindner, this volume).

Applications of Peace Psychology in Asia

In relation to the *Baku Bae* peace movement in the Ambon conflict, I helped peace activists design a mediation procedure, and trained them how to procede. In the last 3 years, the *Baku Bae* Movement has been institutionalized as the Indonesian Peace Building Institute, and is led by Ichsan Malik who is also a psychologist. Ichsan and I have trained 3 batches of mediation workers since the institutionalization of this local peace movement.

- by Hamdi Muluk, Department of Psychology, University of Indonesia, Indonesia

It is also from the local culture that one can derive categories about social identities or a sense of belonging to one group and excluding (or fighting with) the other group in a society. For example, peace-related identities in Taiwan are related to one's sense of being a Taiwanese, a Chinese, or a combination of these two nationalities (Huang, this volume).

In Asia, religion tends to be part of public space rather than a private affair. Because religious narratives are part of the local culture, cultural scripts place religious leaders in positions of social influence where they can participate effectively in mediation and peaceful mobilizations. For example, Indonesia's Kiai Fawa'id, an Islamic religious teacher, involved his *pesantran* students in rebuilding destroyed Christian churches after the October 1998 Muslim–Christian violence outbreak (Pohl, this volume). In Cambodia, the Buddhist monk Venerable Maha Ghosananda led Walks for Peace, while in predominantly Catholic Philippines, Cardinal Sin's public call for People's Power played a key role in the 1986 nonviolent revolution against the Marcos dictatorship.

Religion likewise provides the basis for ethnic identities or social identities associated with particular groups in an intergroup conflict. Religion, however, can be a source of social conflict, contributing narratives that produce contention rather than cooperation across groups that hold different religions. However, words of caution are raised to avoid oversimplifying the causal link between religion and social conflict. At times, religion can be blamed for a conflict that is largely about unfair material and political power allocation between two religion-based groups (Khan; Khan & Sen; Muluk & Malik; Noor, Chapter 9; all in this volume).

Interconnectedness of Direct and Structural Peace

Christie et al. (2008) emphasized the need for peace psychology to seek structural peace alongside social processes marked by direct peace. Galtung (1996) enunciated a similar call for simultaneous attendance to both structural and direct violence in his book *Peace by Peaceful Means*. These voices come in the midst of a discursive world about peace, where too often academic and social movements and state utterances tend to emphasize either too much of direct peace or too much of structural peace, instead of attending to both levels of peace in a balanced way.

A peace psychology model identifies three states of a relationship – conflictual, violent, and postviolent (Christie et al., 2008). In each state, expressions of direct peace are identified as conflict management, violence de-escalation, and postviolence peacebuilding, respectively. Such expressions of direct peace are easily observable and have been popularly supported by state and international teams that hold social peace as part of their institutional agenda. However, these relationships are embedded in structural and cultural contexts that may be marked by social inequities. In order to produce a sustainable peace, positive or structural peace also needs to be pursued in tandem with direct peace interventions. The difficulty is that structural changes threaten the status quo and are often resisted. Hence, structural

issues may be less popularly addressed by state and international institutions. One major contribution of the peace psychology model proposed by Christie et al. is that it allows for conceptual lenses, cultural narratives, methodological tools, and practical skills to position structural peace on equal footing with direct peace.

Applications of Peace Psychology in Asia

Since 2006, I have taught peace psychology at Wako University in Tokyo. The introductory course "Peace Psychology A" is a lecture on theories and practice of peace from psychological perspective. I use the reference "Psychology for creating peace" which I edited and has been published by Nakanishiya as a textbook. I also teach "Peace Psychology B" as a workshop where students do exercises on conflict analysis and conflict transformation, using as my theoretical background Johan Galtung's Transcend Theory. Our special focus is reconciliation of Asian countries and Japan over World War II. I also teach a "Peace Psychology Seminar" as an independent research class for juniors and seniors. Our theme this year is prejudice reduction toward minorities in Japan.

Through an extension program open for local people, I likewise provide conflict transformation two-day workshops twice a year. I am also engaged in TRANSCEND-Japan as a vice-president for conflict transformation training and research, and in the Japanese Association of Macro Counseling as Journal Editor for development of people's well-being and social justice through research, clinical practice, and social action.

- by Takehiko Ito, Department of Psychology and Education, Wako University, Tokyo, Japan

But in the real world of everyday social interactions and power plays, calls for peace stand on one leg and tend to topple. For example, peace zones established in Aceh (Iyer & Mitchell, 2007) managed to establish temporary direct peace and stop the intergroup fighting temporarily, but when power imbalances between the conflicting groups remained unaddressed, the fighting erupted again and the peace zones collapsed. Likewise, liberation groups that use armed struggles to give birth to structurally inspired ideals of social justice and freedom from foreign occupations sometimes end up devouring their own children in violent intra-organization struggles for power and perceived righteousness (Abinales, 1996).

Social structures and peace psychology in Asia. Asian social life is marked by both structural and direct violence. Most of the episodes of direct violence are a result of intrastate and interethnic conflicts (Montiel, 2003). Structural violence in Asia can be gleaned not only from chasmic economic gaps between the rich and the poor (Zhou, this volume) but also from unequal distributions of political decision-making between ethnic/religious groups (Batistiana; Khan; Muluk & Malik; Noor, Chapter 9; all in this volume). Chapters in this volume demonstrate the seamless relationship between structural and direct peace.

In the political arena, surges of direct violence are embedded in deep-seated resentments over power inequalities between the dominant and nondominant groups, like the inequalities between Muslims and non-Muslims in Malaysia (Noor, Chapter 9, this volume), between Christians and Muslims in Ambon (Muluk & Malik, this volume) and Mindanao (Batistiana, this volume), and between the Kuomintang from mainland China and inside-province Taiwanese (Huang, this volume).

Economically, Asian countries are a mix of impoverished societies, growing economies, and well-to-do nations (Noor, Chapter 17, this volume). With a few exceptions like wealthy Japan and economically growing China, India, Taiwan, Singapore, and South Korea, the rest of Asia is generally impoverished. And even in the newly bourgeoning economies, populations languish from stark wealth inequalities between the cosmopolitan rich and the rural poor. A psychology of peace in Asia considers poverty-related subjectivities within the individual and between groups. Issues like sentiments of the poor toward the rich (Zhou, this volume), and vice-versa, can inform peace-related intervention programs, not only among the poor but also among the wealthy and between these unequal groups.

Applications of Peace Psychology in Asia

Over the last 5 years, I facilitated dialogues of parties in dispute, the most recent of which was between two networks of agrarian reform advocates. I have also facilitated multi-stakeholder conferences on themes related to land reform and peace building. I also trained community mediators, such as those of the *Barangay* (Village) Peace Committee, Peace Councils formed by the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process, Department of Environment and Natural Resources, Department of Agrarian Reform, Mindanao Women's Commission, and the Mediators Network for Sustainable Peace (MedNet).

- by Brenda Batistiana, Founding Member of MedNet, Doctoral student, Department of Psychology, Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines

Interfacing direct and structural peace. Some examples in this volume demonstrate how an eye for interaction patterns across analytical layers allows for transforming both direct and structural peace without leaving one or the other leg behind. I cite some examples below. Further, one may note that the peace psychology skills for direct peace can be largely located in the smaller human layers like the person and the group, whereas the peace psychology skills for navigating through and restructuring social configurations lie predominantly in larger layers like culture, society, the state, and even global relations.

Khisbiyah's (this volume) content analysis of magazines associated with politically positioned Islamic streams sees both direct and structural peace. Her findings indicate that discourses across a spectrum of Islamic groups contain different

understandings of direct peace, for example, constructions about the enemy, and of group orientations toward direct violence. The groups also hold different discursive positions about structural issues on interfaith relations and social justice.

Other studies demonstrate how direct and structural peace intertwine across time, with phenomena on one level directly relating to phenomena on the other level. Structural peace may precede direct peace issues. For example, after Philippine peace talks slightly restructured Muslim–Christian intergroup configurations, former women combatants went to members of the Moro National Liberation Front to explain the contentious agreements because if men did the explaining, disruptive organizational arguments may have arisen (Batistiana, this volume).

More frequently, however, issues of direct peace arise first and occupy center stage as a common goal shared by antagonistic groups, and then structural and social justice issues are raised and prioritized during the process of moving toward the goal. For example, Atsumi and Suwa (this volume) propose that before genuine forgiveness and apology take place between Japan and China, the harmful subjugation of China by Japan during World War II may need to be recognized in Japanese narratives of history.

A popular relation between structural and direct peace can be found in direct-peace endeavors that attend to structural issues. Such structural issues can be raised as process integral. During negotiations for direct peace, the peacemaking process may be characterized by intergroup equality between negotiating parties, as for example in Kashmir (Khan, this volume) and Ambon (Muluk & Malik, this volume). In other situations, structural solutions arise as outcomes of efforts to prevent future episodes of direct violence, as in Malaysia (Noor, Chapter 9, this volume).

Studying Subjectivities in Macro-human Phenomena

Direct violence and peace stand on familiar territory for psychologists, because unlike structural violence and peace, the former can be associated with a specific subject, target, intent, and interpersonal behavior (Berkowitz, 1993; Galtung, 1975). But can psychology remain within its domain of human subjectivities and likewise attend to structural violence and peace without morphing into a discipline about ideas (philosophy), social acts or class relations (sociology), the state (political science), or cultural dynamics (anthropology)? Yes, it can, and it is in the domain of subjectivities where peace psychology contributes to a multidisciplinary peace discourse. For example, peace psychology looks into subjective aspects of philosophical discourse (Lindner, this volume) and ventures into disciplinary fields that lend wider lenses to understand subjectivity in class relations (Zhou, this volume), international state relations (Huang, this volume), and cultural phenomena (Noor, Chapter 9, this volume).

How can peace psychology study macro-subjectivities? Japanese social psychologists Atsumi and Suwa (this volume) propose a 2×2 framework for doing

research about peace-related subjectivities. They first classify sciences into nomothetic and narrative sciences. Nomothetic science finds universal laws by testing hypotheses by the criterion of true or false. Narrative science, in contrast, focuses on characters, plots, the flow of a narrative, and its interpretation by the criterion of similar or non-similar. Sciences can also be categorized as epistemic and design sciences. Epistemic science is interested in the nature of a phenomenon ("What is it about?"), while design science is goal oriented ("What do you want to do?") and looks at patterns inside and around the phenomenon of interest.

In regard to the nomothetic–epistemic science approach, peace psychology can rigorously apply well-developed research methods in studying peace subjectivities. One general strategy would be to collect relevant data by accessing individual minds through experimental or survey research. Here, the endogenous variables may be psychological beliefs and emotions about structural issues such as justice (Ohbuchi & Takada, this volume), feelings toward the rich (Zhou, this volume), or interethnic inequality (Huang, this volume). Data analysis takes the track of comparative or multivariate statistics using as predictors demographic variables and other psychological properties of individual research participants.

One may also vary the participants' structural position and then test whether structural position acts as a moderator variable by investigating interaction effects between a person's group and other peace-related subjectivities. For example, one study in Malaysia and the Philippines showed how the label of *freedom fighter* and *terrorist* produced no main effects on trait attributions (about the politically violent character in a vignette), but held significant interaction effects. Findings showed that members of nondominant groups described a freedom fighter more positively than a terrorist, while participants from dominant groups attributed more positive traits to a terrorist than a freedom fighter (Montiel & Shah, 2008).

The second approach, a narrative–design peace psychology, may develop along a trajectory with three dimensions. This trajectory sees peace-related subjectivities as beyond individual, context saturated, and fundamentally relational, and dynamic rather than static. Atsumi and Suwa claim that conventional social psychology has developed in the same category of doing-science as physics and chemistry, as a nomothetic–epistemic science. But if we think in terms of peace psychology science, we may look at another part of the matrix as well. Doing narrative–design science in peace psychology (Atsumi & Suwa) allows for thick descriptions about peace processes, searches for contextualized patterns, and is goal defined because it is positioned on the side of peace.

Peace subjectivities in Asia as also beyond individual For beyond-individual psychological phenomenon, one does not look inside the mind of individuals, as survey questions do, but observes what goes on between at least two people. This allows a wider array of data types that can be collected in a discipline that needs to sensitize itself to subjectivities of macro-units. This understanding of psychology raises the possibility of having as subjects (not only as objects) larger subjective phenomena among collectives like ethnic groups, the state, and also non-state collective actors like prodemocracy movements.

Clearly, data outside the minds of individuals would exist, at the least, between two people. Subjectivities can be located within collective units, or units containing a plurality of individuals, where the subjective nature of the collective unit is more than the sum of its parts. In understanding peace psychology in Asia, one needs to utilize conceptual tools about collective orientations, emotions, and cognitions.

Applications of Peace Psychology in Asia

Peacemaking and peacebuilding are central to my work both as a researcher and as a social activist. Greatly disturbed by the communal riots in 2002 in Gujarat, India, when state intervention and political muscle were deployed for the first time in communal rioting, I initiated my present research. The research is in collaboration with Prof. Wolfgang Wagner, University of Linz, Austria. It focuses on ethnic conflict, the subjugating of minorities, and the role of women in non violence. The research uses the Gandhian philosophy as an overall framework. I have since published co-authored research in various international and national journals and this has received significant positive feedback.

Since 2002 I have divided my time almost equally as a researcher and social activist. As an academic I have tried to understand the nature of fundamentalist tendencies, secularism, myths and symbols which engender conflict that often finds violent resolution. As an activist I have tried to contribute to peacebuilding and augmenting of social capital through my role in various non government organizations related to civil society and empowerment of women.

- by Ragini Sen, Peace Mumbai, India

Khisbiyah (this volume) offers an example of three distinct collective orientations about peace and social justice within the Indonesian Islamic community: conservative-exclusionists, moderates, and progressive-inclusionists. Another example of a collective orientation has to do with the *pesantran's* (Islamic schools) institutional role in building peaceful coexistence and a pluralistic society in Indonesia (Pohl, this volume). Collective emotions, on the other hand, can be conceptualized as a community feeling. For instance, in explaining the anatomy of violence in Kashmir, Khan (this volume) asserts that political violence may be unrelated to individual complaints but linked directly to the feelings and grievances of an entire community and how this group has been negatively treated by more powerful groups. Not surprisingly, because violence is collectively inflicted, emotions toward such violence and peace are likewise communal.

A peace psychology in Asia recognizes that peace is collectively constructed, and hence meanings of peace evolve external to an individual but internal to a social group. Here I borrow from the lens of social construction. A social constructionist lens posits that meaning is created from interactions and communications

across people, rather than from within individuals (Coyle, 2007; Schwandt, 1994). Understanding psychological aspects of peace may require looking at social psychological processes of how groups create their subjective realities on the collective level and how macro-subjectivities interface with individual psychological phenomena. Empirical evidence about subjectivities outside individual minds can be based on data that stores communication between two or more human entities. This kind of communication can be characterized by symbols and expressed in symbolic interactions.

Peace psychology in Asia can benefit from the contributions of social constructivist and symbolic lenses. I now discuss the more specific constructivist-symbolic concepts of cultural carriers (Moghaddam, 2008) and social representations of history (Liu & Sibley, this volume) because these concepts are particularly useful in an Asian region that contains a high level of cultural heterogeneity and a heavy historical past.

Moghaddam (2008) elucidates that the macro–micro link can be explained by cultural carriers. These are symbolical containers of sociopolitical narratives that convey a rich array of values, norms, rules, and ways of thinking. The macro–micro link is sustained because one's personal identity and cognitive configurations are inextricably linked with particular social narratives contained in the cultural carrier (Moghaddam, 2008). Khan and Sen's chapter in this volume illustrates the potency of a cultural carrier, the *Babri Masjid* monument in India, which is symbolically associated with social narratives that have the power to ignite widespread violence and consolidate Hindu nationalist ideology.

Cultural carriers may help explain the continued collective hostilities, unforgiveness, and stereotyping that thrive even after official peace agreements establish peace at the formal level. One may just visit the village monuments, or war museums, or do a checklist of the kind of local holidays that a town celebrates to get a sense of cultural carriers that sustain narratives of conflict, despite political declarations of intergroup peace.

A conceptual tool that is useful for the study of psychological properties of larger analytical units beyond the individual is the social representation of history. Social representations, as different from mental representations, are subjectivities located among a plurality of people (Moscovici, 1988). Because Asia's peace and conflict configuration is steeped in historical remembrances, the field of social representations of history lends itself to the study of how a people's subjective history activates itself in the pursuit of social peace in Asia, in today's public arena.

For example, one can ask how ethnic and national groups construct their collective history about social conflict. Liu and Sibley (this volume) propose using social representations of history to study collective cognitions related to social violence and peace. Asserting the importance of history on contemporary dynamics of peace and conflict, they map out both theoretical and methodological tools for investigating subjective representations of history among people. History is conceptualized as a symbolic terrain of a collection of people, on which they interact with each other and formulate their social identities. To investigate social representations of history, one would study history discourses and institutional practices, using a