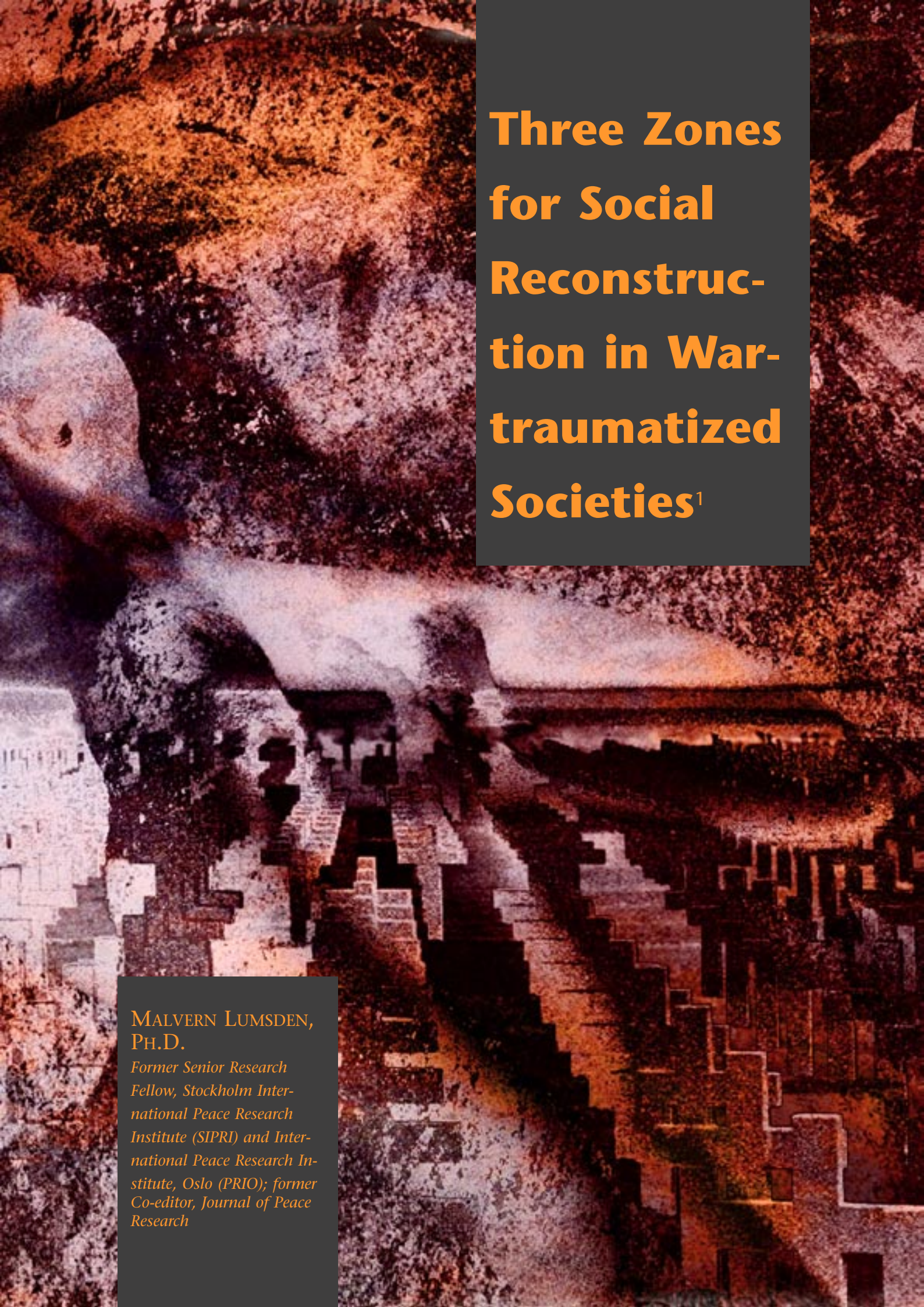

Three Zones for Social Reconstruction in War-traumatized Societies[1]

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Abstract

In this essay I present theory and methods of study of three "zones": the *outer*, social world which must be rebuilt in a post-war society; the *inner*, psychological world which must be reintegrated to cope with the impact of trauma; and a third, *transitional* "zone" between the two, the zone of play in childhood and "culture" in adulthood. This transitional zone is a space which allows healing, learning and creativity, a space where new ideas can emerge, emotions be expressed, and – perhaps symbolically – new relationships tried out, before these ideas are integrated psychologically or applied socially. It is argued that community activities in "Zone III" should be considered as complementary to the "Zone II" therapeutic activities which, though desirable, are unlikely to be available in sufficient volume to meet the needs of developing societies in post-war conditions.

Psychosocial Consequences of War

There are an increasing number of studies showing that not only the survivors of war (soldiers and well as civilians) but also many of their children are greatly affected by the psychosocial impact of war (e.g. Strøm 1974; Williams 1987; Gustafsson, Lindkvist & Böhm 1989; Prince 1985; Lavik et al. 1994). "Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)" is now a recognised diagnostic category but only recently has the importance of treatment become recognised, and this recognition is uneven. The trauma of war can result in long-term physical and mental health problems, adjustment problems, and such complex issues as survivor guilt. In some individuals it can also promote personal and spiritual growth.

The notion of "PTSD" has been complicated by the discovery of "complex trauma", a concept which (at the time of writing) has not yet entered the generally-accepted psychiatric classification systems DSM-IV and ICD-10. Complex trauma refers to the fact that many patients that enter treatment have a long history of traumatic stress behind them, not just single episodes (such as a car accident or rape). Such stress can be the result not only of violence in the family and sexual abuse but also of the inability of caretakers to relate adequately to the children in their care. As a result, children grow up with a complex of symptoms, including inability to regulate emotional outbursts, dissociation, somatic symptoms, negative feelings about themselves and others, and consequently difficulties in personal and social relationships. These symptoms are very similar to those identifying the 'owner'

as 'borderline' or personality disturbed.

What makes complex trauma particularly problematic is that much of it occurs in the first two years of life, while the emotional regulation mechanisms of the brain are still maturing and before logical reasoning and verbal explanation are available. This in turn greatly restricts the viability of verbal 'debriefing' and therapy later in life, which may well be adequate for mature people subjected to short-term, episodes of traumatic stress, but do not develop the neural mechanisms required for affect regulation, social relationships, and a new sense of self.

Now, since many contemporary conflicts are vicious civil wars lasting decades, in impoverished countries where some 50 percent of the population are young, it easy to imagine that complex traumatization due to difficult life conditions is common. Complex traumatization adds to massive burden on any society which attempts to establish peace, presents a challenge to the international community, and is very likely a substantial contributing factor to that symptom of social pathology known as 'terrorism.'

Further, there is evidence that the effects of war and trauma can carry over from one generation to another. The imagery and mythology of war can become an *unconscious organizing principle, determining how people see the world* a generation later and how they chose to act. According to a study by New York psychiatrist Robert Prince (1985), some of the children of survivors of the Holocaust show a *militaristic* coping strategy; some adopt a *heroic,* humanitarian "do good to others" strategy. Yet others adopt *schizoid, manipulative, depressed, paranoid* and *contemplative* resolutions of inner conflicts. Most individuals show a *combination* of several strategies.

In my view a similar set of strategies may be expected in other populations, though obviously that is a hypothesis deserving of empirical investigation.

The fact that different individuals adopt different survival strategies may explain why one cannot directly deduce adult behaviour from childhood trauma. It would seem that only a small number of traumatized and disadvantaged children account for the majority of adult violence in a "normal" peacetime urban society. The same is likely to apply to the survivors of war and their children. Thus, one study of 10,000 males born in Philadelphia in 1945 and tracked for 27 years found that 6 per cent of them committed 71 percent of the homicides, 73 percent of the rapes and 69 percent of the aggravated assaults (cited in Gibbs 1995). Studies of the "transgenerational transmission" of trauma thus suggest a variety of patterns, some people becoming artists, psychologists and social workers; some becoming political activists or warriors; while others become psychiatric patients or criminals. The traumatized population, in other words, contains resources for its own (and its society's) healing. But the small minority that adopts a milita-

Table 1. **World War II Population Losses as Percentage of Pre-war Population**

Country	Losses (thousands)				
	Military	Civilian	Total	Loss (%)	Rank
Poland	123	4,877	5,000	19.6	1
Yugoslavia	300	1,400	1,700	10.6	2
USSR	10,000	10,000	20,000	10.1	3
Germany	4,500	2,000	6,500	9.0	4
Greece	100	350	450	6.2	5
Austria	270	104	374	5.6	6
Hungary	136	294	430	4.6	7
Rumania	300	200	500	3.7	8
Japan	2,000	350	2350	3.4	9
Czechoslovakia	46	294	340	3.0	10

SOURCE: B. Urlanis, Wars and Populations. Moscow; Progress, 1971, pp. 294–295.

ristic strategy of revenge may become a major factor in precipitating a new round of violence should socioeconomic and political conditions deteriorate – a possibility that all societies must face.

The challenge facing the psychological community – as well as the international community at large – is how to rehabilitate the survivors of war and other trauma, and in particular how to reach the fraction who are potentially violent. The dilemma is that the needs are so great that we cannot hope to provide the therapeutic resources on a sufficiently large scale.

The Problem of Scale

In a report from the war in Croatia, Palme (1995) cited estimates from World Health organisation staff of 700,000 people needing psychological help – and resources for about one per cent. This is in a part of Europe, a popular holiday area in driving distance from major population centres. If there is such a large-scale problem there and such a shortage of trained personnel, can we ever expect a sufficient volume of psychological/psychiatric resources in areas like Africa, Afghanistan, Cambodia or Guatemala? In a study of young people involved in the violence of the South African townships, Straker (1992) concluded that some 20 percent showed post-traumatic stress symptoms several years after the original incidents. It is quite clear that individual psychological treatment (e.g. Meyer 1994) or small group therapy (e.g. Jelinek 1987) are options which will never be available for more than a tiny proportion of those who might benefit from them.

Table 2. **Cycle of Massacres in Rwanda and Burundi (estimates)**

Year	Rwanda	Burundi
1963	10,000	
1972		100,000–200,000
1988		5–20,000
1991		several thousand
1993		50,000
1994	500,000+	
1995	2–8000	

SOURCES: *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (London: Longmans), various issues; *Africa South of the Sahara* (London: Europa Publications), various issues; Filip Reyntjens,1995, *Burundi:*

Some efforts have been made to improve the situation. Whereas 15 years ago there were almost no psychologists involved in working with e.g. child survivors of war, now there at least some, working through organisations like UNICEF (Raundalen 1995). Aid agencies like MÉDICINS SANS FRONTIÈRES (http://www.msf.org/) now offer psychosocial rehabilitation programmes. But I fear we shall never have enough.

The mass media and to some extent educational systems can reach large numbers of people, and they can also mould attitudes, values and beliefs. However, in my view, this approach to peace is too superficial. (Indeed, in cases where no attempt is made to change the "outer world" but only to manipulate attitudes, this approach is pernicious.) "Attempts to deal through central control with problems like the disinhibition of aggression among youth will be doomed to failure. Countries which have attempted this by setting up, for example, development brigades have had little success." (Straker 1992: 139)

Therefore, I suggest that we seek out methods for working on a larger scale, combining some inputs of expertise with a wide variety of "amateurs" in community organisations of many kinds: women's organisations, schools, churches, trade unions and so on. This will include organisations established by the survivors themselves, much as the US Vietnam veterans who took the lead in setting up "rap groups" in the 1970s.

The Recreation of Meaning in Post-war Society

The construction of a peaceful world society requires that individuals, groups and nations can negotiate shared meanings, including coherent

but compatible identities and patterns of social relationship. Conversely, war and organised violence may lead to personal trauma and to social destruction which in turn lead to the breakdown of meaning and severe mental health problems. It is in the transitional zone between society and individuals that shared meanings can be (informally) constructed or negotiated, and it is shared meanings that form the core of group identity and culture, as well as peaceful interpersonal and intergroup relations.

With these notions in mind I wish to present a framework for working with the multiple problems of war-traumatized societies.

Three Zones

There is at present more literature on the destructive effects of war and other extreme trauma than on the positive means of reconstructing a peaceful society. Rather than looking at the reconstruction of the social world, or the rehabilitation of the individual, I will focus primarily here on identifying modalities for operating in a third, "transitional" space in which individual healing and societal reconciliation can take place.

To avoid confusion with the established concept of the "third world" here the term "zone" is used. Building on the ideas of D. W. Winnicott, "reality" is seen as having three aspects or "zones."

Zone I

Zone I is the "outside world", the world of nature, of material goods, and of social relations. This is the world of political systems and economic transactions. It is the world which sets the context for individual and group behaviour. It is this world which must provide the resources for the individual and group to survive, but which does not always do so. It is the world which the individual or group must act upon to satisfy their basic needs (Burton 1990). It is this world which is damaged and disrupted by war and which must be reconstructed in peace. And it is the limitations and incompatibilities of this world which are the main cause of social conflicts, in many cases leading to war. Consequently, economics, political science, law and a multitude of technological areas are all potential contributors to a transition from war to peace.

In previous papers, I made several attempts to conceptualize the complexity of the "outer world" from the point of view of conflict theory and to provide a framework for an analysis of the effects of war (Lumsden 1969, 1975, 1979, 1982). Human societies can be analysed as complex living systems (Bertalanffy, 1968; Miller, 1972) and even as "metabolic systems" (Newcombe, Kalma & Aston, 1978). In order to get a better

Table 3. **Zone I, the "outside world": Ecological system variables that may be affected by war**

- sun (sunlight)
- air (atmosphere, humidity, weather, climate)
- water (freshwater, sea)
- soil (degradation, erosion, covering with asphalt, concrete etc.)
- forests, grasslands, deserts, arctic areas, islands
- plants
- animals

Source: Lumsden, unpublished MS

measure of the impact of war, I suggested in a previous paper looking at three sets of variables: environmental (land and water, etc.; see table 3), social (table 4), and cultural (table 5). Productive land is diminishing while population is increasing, and this is an important factor in social development and to some extent in the equations of war and peace. Previous studies of the impact of war on several societies (World War II, North and South Korea; North and South Vietnam) indicated that societies have remarkable adaptive capacities but that in certain extreme conditions (e.g. Berlin at the end of World War II) there may be a massive rise in infant mortality rates, indicting the breakdown of the social system. These studies also indicated that developing, primarily agricultural societies take more time to recover from massive land war than industrial societies destroyed by mass bombing. I hypothesised that this was in part due to the fact that industrialised countries retain the skills required to construct a modern society – skills often lacking in developing societies.

Clearly, dealing with the issues of Zone I is an essential factor in building peace and breaking the cycle of violence. On the one hand, this involves (re)building a viable ecology/economy. On the other, it requires a workable political system in which the multiple social groups can participate to their satisfaction.

In a world suffering very severe population pressures and a declining resource base, this is no mean challenge. Already, the poorest third of the nations have less productive land than the middle and wealthiest nations. If the average area of productive land per capita of the middle third of nations (in 1975) were taken as a world average, there would be sufficient land for a world population of 2 billion (Westing, 1980). In 2003 are already over six billion.

Although the efforts may be far from adequate to the task, at least

Table 4. **Zone I, the "outside world": Social system variables that may be affected by war**

- The population subsystem
- The settlement subsystem
- The nutritional subsystem
- The energy subsystem
- The industrial subsystem
- The transportation subsystem (including water & waste)
- The communications subsystem
- The social welfare subsystem (including housing, health, hygiene, education and recreation)
- The economic and financial subsystem
- The social-administrative-political subsystem

SOURCE: Lumsden, unpublished MS

the international community is involved in economic development projects and, to a lesser degree, in post-war reconstruction projects. However, the examples of Yugoslavia and Rwanda suggest that international development projects in themselves are not adequate to prevent cycles of violence; it is a moot point whether much more substantial international aid could have prevented further rounds of massacre.

ZONE II

ZONE II is the "inner world" of individual human beings, their perceptions of social reality (Berger & Luckman 1967), their hopes and fears (Cantril 1965), their individual motivations. This inner, psychological world is built up through life experiences, different for each individual yet to some extent shared within a given community. These experiences and perceptions affect the decisions made by individuals – including political leaders – at a given time. One current area of political psychology is to study the processes of decision-making in general, and the specific styles of particular leaders (e.g. Winter 1993). Another development is the attempt to integrate the notion of "identity" into rational choice theory (see special issue of *Political Psychology*, April 1995). It is clear that war experience and war trauma influence identity and the sense of self, and the implication of these new theoretical developments is that these identity issues have an impact on decision-making – at various societal levels.

One challenge in building a world society is how to deal with the psychological stresses of war on the survivors. Building a sustainable

Table 5. **Zone I, the "outside world:" Cutural system variables that may be affected by war**

- The family relations subsystem (parenting, sexual and marital relations, etc.)
- The educational subsystem
- The ritual/religious subsystem
- The cultural expression subsystem (music, dance, theatre, festivals etc.)
- The cultural heritage subsystem (historical sites, museums etc.)
- The cultural narrative subsystem (literature, ballads, poetry etc.)
- The physical culture subsystem (outdoor recreation, sports etc.)

"outer world" is clearly a prerequisite. But in societies with massive trauma, rebuilding the "shattered self" (Ulman & Brothers 1988) is also a fundamental requirement for building a sustainable, peaceful society.

Inspired in part by the work of Daniel Stern (1985) I would like to make some comments on the notion of rebuilding shattered selves. The self has recently been regarded as a "fourth generation" in psychodynamic theory (Pine 1990). The first generation is represented by Sigmund Freud, who was in turn influenced by nineteenth century concepts of instincts and drives (the Id). His daughter Anna Freud and others like Hartmann put greater emphasis on the Ego, the second generation. Object Relations theorists – the third generation – emphasised the interplay of early childhood relationships. The notion of the self has been developed in several different traditions, from George Herbert Mead (1934), through Kohut, Stern and many others. The self is seen to develop in interaction with others not merely by "conditioning" as in a behaviourist interpretation but by means of trying out successive strategies which receive varying degrees of support from the surrounding social environment.

Stern, whose work of integrating experimental and psychodynamic traditions has had considerable influence, suggests that an initial "core sense of self" has a number of components (table 6). These are influenced by the nature of the interaction with the caring adult, usually the mother. The core sense of self is developed in the pre-verbal period, the first 18 months or so of life, and the verbal or "narrative self" builds upon it. One could also add here the need for a concept of the gendered self. The relational self is an further important addition to the Sternian conceptual framework, leading from the sense of self (see

Table 7. **Summary of Components of the Sense of Self (Modified after D. Stern)**

■ **The Embodied Self**

– bodily coherence, sense of being nonfragmented, physical whole with boundaries and locus of integrated action, both while moving and when still. (Loss ofor injury to leads to: fragmentation of bodily experience, depersonalization, out-of-body experiences, de-realization, somatoform disorders (Stern, 1985).)

■ **The Emotional Self**

– self-affectivity, experiencing patterned inner qualities of feeling (affects) that belong with other experiences of self. (Loss of leads to: anhedonia, dissociated states (Stern, 1985).)

■ **The Spatial Self**

– sense of being an agent in space: locomotion, ability to manipulate objects. Basis of much of cognitive processing. (Loss of leads to passivity, helplessness with respect to objects)

■ **The Diachronical Self (the Self in Time)**

– sense of coherent time, personal histroy, 'sense of enduring, of continuity with one's own past so that one 'goes on being' and can even change while remaining the same. (Loss of leads to: temporal dissociation, fugue states, amnesia, not "going on being" (Winnicott))' (Stern, 1985).)

■ **The Self as Agent**

– sense of authorship of one's own actions: having volition, control over self-generated action.(Loss leads to: paralysis, sense of non-ownership of self-action, loss of control to external agents (Stern, 1985).)

■ **The Relational Self**

– sense of belonging, participation.

■ **The (En)gendered Self**

– the sense of self as male or female (Loss or injury of leads to: fear of sexual, relationships, gender identity disorders, paraphilias, psychosexual dysfunction)

■ The Moral Self

– sense that one's actions are (or should be) influenced by social rules, collective rationality or philosophical principles, rather than immediate gains and losses

■ **The Verbal Self**

– sense of 'ownership' of language and of relationship associated with membership in a particular language community

■ **The Narrative Self**

– the self as a set of symbolic narratives (Loss of or injury to leads to neurotic or other problems in work and family relations)

■ **The Creative Self**

– sense of freedom and efficacy in transforming given forms, of dealing with chaos, and of expressing the self

■ **The Spiritual Self**

– a sense of the transpersonal, of transcendence beyond the confines of the individual self

table 7) to the sense of community (table 8).

It is directly obvious that torture in particular and war trauma more generally directly impact upon these various components of the sense of self and the sense of community. Indeed, torture may be described

Table 8. **The Sense of Community**

Sense of Collective Agency

- Sense that community has control over its actions

Sense of Collective Affectivity

- sense of shared feelings with other community members

Sense of Collective Spatial Coherence, Land "Ownership"

- geographical coherence
- diaspora?

Sense of Collective "Pulse/Rhythm", Yearly Calendar/Rituals, History, Heritage

- here and now
- past
- future

Sense of Common Language, Narratives

- sense of shared meanings

Sense of Shared Relationships, Collective Membership

- who can be a member? By what criteria?
- sanctions?
- expulsion? Freedom to leave?
- marking, symbols, rituals?

as the deliberate attempt to break down the core sense of self by injuring bodily coherence; by destroying the sense of time and space; by massive attacks on feelings (affectivity); and perhaps most importantly, by attempting to destroy the sense of agency.

The war in the former Yugoslavia has served to focus attention on the onslaught on gender identity: not only have there been many reports of mass rape of women but also of sexual brutality against men (Palme 1995).

Language identity is a major issue in ethnic conflicts. For example in the spring of 1995, attempts by Albanian-speakers in the Former Yu-

goslav Republic of Macedonia to set up a university were thwarted by physical devastation of the building and arrest of the rector. It is only a few years ago that the (Slavic) Macedonian language was distinguished from its Bulgarian and Serb cousins.

War, too, may have devastating impact on the sense of community, even though in some circumstances, with a clear external enemy, it may strengthen the sense of community.

The task of rebuilding the shattered self is complex. It requires both "rebuilding" and "excavation." By rebuilding, I mean focusing on the sense of bodily coherence and a safe surrounding environment; a stable, structured time; a holding environment in which emotions can be nurtured and eventually re-owned; and, perhaps most significantly, a sense of agency. As the self regains some coherence, some excavation work may be undertaken, trying to remove "unexploded munitions in the soul."

These tasks, not necessarily described in these terms, are familiar to those working with trauma. There are a variety of mechanisms which might explain the "transgenerational transmission" of trauma. We are learning – somewhat late in the day – something of what it requires to work therapeutically with victims of trauma. Undoubtedly a greater awareness of the need for therapy, and greater access to it, could help to avert the inevitability of cycles of violence, and the international community should do all it can to provide and promote therapeutic activities.

The dilemma, as mentioned above, is that skilled therapeutic resources – usually deployed on a one-to-one basis, or in small groups – are limited. They are likely to be much to small in relation to the needs for the foreseeable future. It is for this reason that I should like to introduce the notion of Zone III.

Zone III

The concept of Zone III – an intermediate or transitional zone between the personal/psychological and the social/structural – is derived from the work of Winnicott (1971). D. W. Winnicott was a major influence in child psychiatry.

In the process of learning to individuate from the mother-figure, children often attach themselves to "transitional objects" such as a blanket or doll. These objects have symbolic power, acting as a reminder of the mother and the breast when they are absent. One can also say that transitional objects, by forming linkages between inner desires and outer realities (e.g. absent mother) help to form coherent meanings.

In the life of children, play has enormous significance where they

themselves and their toys and other objects are accorded a variety of roles in a succession of dramas. Sometimes play is purely exploratory and amusing. But at other times, play, drawing, and other creative works, offer the child opportunities to take conflictual material from the inner world and reconstruct it outside themselves, not so much in the "real world" as in a metaphorical or transitional space.

This space is analogous to the theatre, stadium, church or circus ring, where adults construct a special arena in which normal states of consciousness are temporarily suspended and where symbolic acts can be performed. As pointed out by Aristotle, the dramas performed in such symbolic spaces can have a cathartic effect on the audience and in the modern age this notion has been widely developed in some forms of psychotherapy. However, transitional space is also a zone where new thinking, healing and the invention of new cultural elements can take place; it is a place for looking forward as well as backward.

Winnicott believed that it is in this transitional space, first explored in the play of children, that culture evolves. Here I wish to suggest that this notion be used as a working hypothesis in the area of pre- and post-war peacebuilding.

In brief, this approach suggests that:

1. In addition to social, economic and political reconstruction (e.g. democratization) (Zone I); and

2. In addition to whatever psychosocial rehabilitation can be offered to survivors (Zone II),

3. It is necessary to invest in a wide range of activities in the communal, cultural, transitional area, Zone III, between the personal and the social worlds. This is the area of "play" in the sense that play provides a space for internal conflict resolution and personal growth, as well as the area of "culture" in the sense of permitting creative experimentation both with a variety of media and with social relationships (e.g. as in the theatre). These activities would include such things as peace games (of which there is a highly developed tradition in (Western) Germany following the need for democratization of Nazi society after World War II; in North America there are New Games, cooperative games, theatre games and other variations); healing and cleansing or purification rituals, involving elements of confession and acts of reparation by perpetrators, and absolution by injured parties (activities of this kind have been reported from Zimbabwe (Reynolds 1989) as well as from North American Indian communities (Mansfield 1982; Silver & Wilson 1988)). Further, they would involve a broad range of music, dance, theatre, story-telling, writing and artistic activities, such as the peace circus project developed in Mozambique (UNICEF 1994).

Artists have always had important social functions in expressing the hopes and fears of their societies – sometimes, it is true, at the behest of political leaders for essentially propaganda purposes. The creative artists need to be encouraged in the creation of a culture of peace.

But the creative arts have also been widely used in therapy in the form of art therapy, music therapy, dance therapy, drama therapy, poetry therapy, psychodrama etc. What is suggested here is that the therapeutic functions of art as therapy be brought out into the community.

Zone III is seen as a bridge between the reconstruction of society and the rebuilding of shattered selves. It is a zone permitting both creative exploration and cathartic expression, where the former might be seen as too threatening for the "real world" and the latter as too threatening for the individual survivor. The real world must allow the creation of spaces where new ideas can be explored, before they can be tried out in Zone I. The individual must find spaces where, together with others, he or she can rebuild a sense of self and community.

In making this suggestion I am aware that there is something of a conflict between the seriousness of post-war reconstruction in shattered societies and the idea that the international community should promote "play." I think, however, that anyone that has worked with children, including traumatized children, will understand that play can be both serious and fun at the same time, just as a serious work of art can be both challenging and uplifting.

These comments are made against the background of the notion of a Culture of Peace being promoted by UNESCO (Mayor 1995). Essentially, by this concept UNESCO is referring to the cultural, education and media needs of post-war societies – though to some extent, attention is also paid to the needs of "pre-conflict" societies. My proposal is to make explicit in this concept two components which currently hover somewhat in the periphery: a therapeutic and a creative component.

For example, it is obvious that post-war societies need schools, and that UNESCO can play a role in building up educational facilities. My suggestion is that these facilities take account of the special needs of individuals and communities in traumatized societies. Children need not only to learn to read and write but to express themselves. Young people need to learn skills like how to build a house; but they also need to learn to build constructive social relations. In many cases, traditional cultures have a wealth of material to build upon, and building upon traditional culture where possible can help in the process of reconstructing meaning in the lives of shattered communities.

Table 10. **Gardner's "Seven Intelligences" as Alternative Approaches to the Creation of Order***

Kinesthetic (movement)

Model: choreographer Martha Graham

Applications: folk dance, African dance, Oriental dance, modern dance, social dances, ritual dances, jazz, yoga, t'ai chi, martial arts, dance/movement therapy, movement choirs, many games and sports, (physical) theatre

Visual-spatial

Model: Artist Pablo Picasso

Applications: visual arts, public art, art therapy, architecture, environmental planning/design

Linguistic

Model: Poet T. S. Elliot

Applications: Creative writing, speaking, song texts, poetry, personal diaries, verbal therapy, poetry therapy

Mathematical-logical

Model: Physicist Albert Einstein

Applications: Logical analysis, mathematical models and applications in physics, biology, economics, social sciences etc.

Musical

Model: Composer Igor Stravinsky

Applications: musical performance, musical composition, explortion of ethnic and other musical traditions, world music

Psychological

Model: Founder of psychoanalysis Sigmund Freud

Applications: psychotherapy, telling of tales and analysing them, psychodrama, drama, personal growth games

Social

Model: Founder of Nonviolence Mahatma Gandhi

Applications: sociodrama, Forum theatre, social development games (New Games, cooperative games, theatre games, peace games etc.)

Mixed Modes

"Total theatre," film, festivals, street theatre, "peace circus," adventure-based learning, etc.

*Gardner subsequently added and eigth "inelligence," a naturalistic ability to observe and categorize he myriad small diffeences in nature and oher aspecs of the physical world.

A Multi modal Approach

Creative, multi modal approaches have received support both in developmental psychology (e.g. Stern 1985), educational psychology (e.g. Gardner 1981, 1993) and in therapy (e.g. Robbins 1980). I would here like to suggest taking Gardner's "seven intelligences" as a point of departure for examining a set of approaches to working in Zone III. In my view, "intelligence" can be interpreted as the ability to create order in uncertainty or chaos. The seven "intelligences" may be seen as complementary approaches to the creation of order or meaning. In a conflict situation, the reality is usually one of the breakdown of order, even of chaos; this applies both to the outer world and to the inner world of the survivors. Building peace requires the construction of order, both in the outer world and in the inner world. (The political issue is always one of what kind of order and how to bring it about.)

Gardner's seven fields are potentially of great value in indicating a much wider range of "orders" than usually considered in conflict resolution and peacebuilding, particularly at the level of the transitional space between inner and outer worlds. They happen also to match rather well with the wide range of therapeutic and artistic approaches currently available to the world community (table 10).

These activities have several functions, including:

- *creativeness* – including exploring new relationships and means of problem-solving and conflict resolution, personal and communal;
- *healing* – catharsis, expression of anger, grief, rebuilding a coherent sense of self and sense of community;
- *education* – teaching a deprived generation of traditional and new elements of culture, ways of being, relating, expression, conflict resolution and expression;
- *communal* – reintegration of warriors, purging of "death pollution," opportunity for participation, for experiencing sense of belonging.

One of the most challenging problems is dealing with intercommunal issues in a post-war context. 1995 offers plenty of examples that the individual and collective memories of war last at least 50–80 years. It is possible that although "public opinion" changes over time this may be due to the growth of a new generation rather than to changes in

the views of those whose opinions were formed by direct experience of war.

"Zone III" can contribute to the cycle of violence if disadvantaged communities are ignored and fantasies and mythologies powered by conscious and unconscious drives to re-assert themselves are allowed to blossom. Such myths can lead to activities as diverse as poison gas attacks in Japanese subways and the massive bombing of public targets in Oklahoma City – not to speak of new rounds of massacre in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. Recently, for example, the minister of culture in Belgrade has complained of the extreme negativity of a popular musical mix of rock music, folk music and ethnocentric mythology.

At the same time, a culture of peace can only be created in Zone III. We have to find ways in which the forces driving violent fantasies are worked through and the energy released in the construction of positive social relationships. Zone III is a kind of "safe-house" in which fantasies, good and bad, can be worked through – before they destroy individuals and communities.

Summary and Conclusions

It has been my purpose here to put forward a new approach to peacebuilding. This approach is seen as a complement to – not a substitute for – institution-building in the wider task of constructing a sustainable world society. Institution-building has so far been of only partial success in creating a world society free of war. It is suggested that this may in part be because hitherto insufficient attention has been given to dealing with the massive traumatic effects of war, torture, massacre and atrocity; to integrating survivors and even perpetrators into a post-war society; to providing a space for creative problem-solving and conflict resolution; to the need for catharsis and emotional expression in a secure "holding environment"; to the need for reintegrating shattered selves (Ulman & Brothers 1988) and for reintegrating individual, community and nation.

The effect of trauma on the individual is to break down a coherent sense of self, of agency, of bodily integrity, of time, of feelings and of meanings. War destroys the integrity of social systems and services – the basis for the survival of individuals and social groups; while at quite high levels of stress war may increase social solidarity, at extreme levels, social norms may break down (Lumsden 1975). Thus the coherence of meaning of both the inner and the outer worlds is threatened, disrupted or destroyed (cf. Antonovsky 1987).

In a sense, the problem of post-war society is to help individuals re-

discover or reinvent a meaning to their lives, and to help social groups (re)negotiate shared meanings. This problem is particularly acute following civil war. Since the established meanings (cognitive frames, schemas etc.) of the parties are not shared, and can only with great difficulty be meshed, there is a need for space for the creative exploration of alternatives. And since "meanings" are affective as well as cognitive, space is needed as well as for the sharing of emotions, of anger and grief as well as of joy.

Notes

1. Revised version of a paper presented at the IV European Conference on Traumatic Stress, Paris, 8-11 May 1995; Annual Convention, American Psychological Association, New York, 11–15 August 1995; Israeli Psychological Association Conference, 23 October 1995. A short version appeared in the *Journal of Peace Research,* 1997, 34(4), 377–383. A longer version was published in Ho-Won Jeong (ed.) (1999). *Conflict Resolution: Dynamics, Process and Structure*. Aldershot: Ashgate. pp. 131–151.

2. Poland was a special case because of the Nazi effort to exterminate the Jewish population.

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