

Continuity and Change

Ross Ryan

The *Peace & Conflict Review* is pleased to be back online for this 2007-2008 academic year following the retirement of our former editor, Mr. Simon Stander. Thank you for all your excellent work Simon, and best of luck with your future projects.

In this issue, we present three articles from contemporary peace researchers addressing three distinct but interconnected aspects of peace and conflict studies:

Peace Education: Experience and Storytelling as Living Education, *Kevin Kester*

Conflict Tactics in a Mediation Setting, *Linda M. Johnston and Michelle LeBaron*

Fiji: Inter-group competitions and in-group fragmentation, *Sanjay Ramesh*

As always, comments and submissions are welcome. Please direct all mail to editor@review.upeace.org

Peace Education: Experience and Storytelling as Living Education

Kevin Kester

Peace Education is a living, dynamic organism, and as much as life itself is education, education must be living. This necessitates the transformation of anesthetized and oppressive classrooms into dynamic, participatory spaces of sharing and creating knowledge. Storytelling and experience, thus, is considered herein as substantial teaching methodology for education for peace, whereby listening to and vocalizing the lived experiences of those in subjugated roles within society counters the hegemony of dominant groups and 'conscientizes' minds. As education is a form of intervention in this world, able to both reinforce the status quo and unmask dominant ideologies, Peace Education as articulated herein is informed by the educational praxes of Paulo Freire, Augusto Boal, and Betty Reardon. A specific story of a colleague's experience with the A-Bomb in Hiroshima 1945 is shared as an example of subjective reflective teaching and learning. The article ends with a classroom activity for educators using creative writing and storytelling with participants for envisioning a better future.

It has become appallingly clear that our technology has surpassed our humanity.

--Albert Einstein

Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men [and women] that the defenses of peace must be constructed.

--Preamble to the UNESCO Constitution

STORYTELLING TO REMEMBER

Teachers College lives up to its reputation. As we sit in the chilled room on the 4th floor of the Mitsui Seimei Building, it's raining outside. Other towering complexes surround us and the sound of subway trains passes through the windows. The walls are freckled with poster paper. We're here to study peacemaking and conflict resolution, and our friend Kuniko Soga is telling a story from her youth. She begins the narrative following a sociodrama, and when I realize what she's talking about I'm awestruck.

Hiroshima 1945

All of a sudden, a flash of light, similar to what is often emitted by a light bulb when it goes out, but is much, much stronger and sharper, blinded our eyes. Then, a big exploding sound pierced our ears, and strong and uncomfortably lukewarm wind almost knocked us down, shaking the whole house and shattering into pieces all the windowpanes of the rooms facing toward the city. Terrified, we all ran into a half-finished shelter my uncle had carved out on the side of a hill right behind the house. After a while, it became very quiet as if nothing had happened. We came out of the shelter and walked up to the top of the hill. There up in the sky, we saw a strange-looking

cloud, somewhat like a huge mushroom, in shiny bright pink. We said to each other, "What is it? I haven't seen anything like that in all my life. The color is so beautiful." Then, we all fell into silence, stunned by the extremely unusual sight in the sky. I said to myself, "Yes, it is beautiful. It is "my color," the girls' color," the color of clothes and toys for me, an only girl child of the family.

However, it didn't take long before we realized that what had happened and was happening in the city then was nothing at all beautiful. Thousands of people were thrown alive into hell. Two hours later, breaking the silence of bewildered villagers, badly-injured or severely-burned relatives and friends from the city came running into their houses. Mother's younger brother who owned a sake shop near the central train station was among them with his wife and two boys whose faces were all covered with blood. They were hit in their heads by falling roof tiles as they escaped from the sea of fire.

That evening, we eagerly and anxiously waited for the two cousins to return home from their schools. Masae, the girl, finally dragged herself home late at night, walking all 20 kilometers from the city. Tsutomu, the boy, did not come home. The following day, my uncle and aunt walked into the city and to the junior high school Tsutomu attended, and saw the school building completely demolished; but they found metal lunchboxes left there placed in a neat line, one after another about 50 centimeters apart. The students who were to eat those lunches their mothers had packed that morning were nowhere to be seen. For nearly a month afterwards, my uncle and aunt went into the city every day, visiting makeshift clinics to look for their son. Tsutomu has never made it home.

One day in late September when the weather got a bit cooler, we had a funeral for Tsutomu. We put in a small wooden coffin his uniform and satchel from his elementary school days, his books and his carpenter's knife. He was fond of carving broken branches he found in the yard into objects of various shapes for his younger brother and cousins. My mother told me to put something in, too. I didn't want to put anything pink in the coffin. I chose a white seashell I found by the beach when we went swimming on a more peaceful day a few years earlier.

Sixty-one years later, I still see that huge pink mushroom whenever I look up at the sky and close my eyes. The image of the color is beautiful, but all those ugly scenes underneath keep coming back into my mind, too. Yes, any nation or group can start a war with such beautiful slogans as "Love your country," "Save those oppressed," "Bring peace to the world," etc. Under those beautiful words, lie agony, misery, and the inconsolable sorrow of individual families.

I was studying in the Peace Education program at Teachers College Columbia University in Tokyo with Dr. Betty Reardon, Janet Gerson and Tony Jenkins; and Kuniko, with her wisdom and kindness, had become a good friend. As the story recounts, Kuniko witnessed the tragedy and the dawn of the nuclear age from the distant safety of her home on the outskirts of Hiroshima city. She continues to teach for

peace and seek answers to the questions in her heart; but what followed for her that day was a bombardment of psyche and a long reconcilable process between her world, of distant horizons and a shared future.

It was in this learning moment, in this space, when Kuniko first shared her story with us that opened me up to, as an educator, for the possibility of using storytelling as a substantial teaching methodology for education for peace. This moment of experience sharing gave me a personal connection to one of the most horrific moments in the annals of humanity, and gave a grim face to old, yellowed pages in a history textbook. Suddenly history was very real, it was a part of today—today yesterday, yesterday today, and both informing the future—and the periphery of the present broadened for me. It was a collision of the famous words of T.S. Eliot—*Time present and time past are perhaps present in time future and contained in time past...In my beginning is my end...In succession houses rise and fall, crumble, are extended, are removed, destroyed, restored, or in their place is an open field, or a factory, or a by-pass*—and a living, breathing encounter of Elise Boulding's concept 'the 200-year present.' Boulding (1988) contends that in our 200 year present—those living today born a hundred years ago, and those living a hundred years from their birth today—we will have met many people, created great networks, and made great possibility. In that moment with Kuniko I met another world, and in the span of time of 'the 200-year present' extraordinary change is possible.

WHY PEACE EDUCATION?

Akin to Hiroshima 1945, current world conditions necessitate the urgency for Peace Education as education for social transformation. We live in cultures of violence that silence the voiceless and dying, and cultures of apathy that sustain the oppression of the weak and marginalized. Racism and sexism are active. Nations continue to stockpile weapons of mass destruction and use violence to resolve issues. Thousands of children around the world die each day from hunger, nearly half the world population lives in extreme or moderate poverty, and billions lack decent nutrition, health, shelter, and other basic needs of life to ensure happiness and full participation in society—rights that many of us take for granted (Sachs, 2005).

It is easy for many in the hegemonic North to blame undeveloped nations (by dominant hegemonic standards) for their problems, to ignore the role the North played and still plays in the origin of certain enigmas, to facade ignorance of the matters of other states that don't directly effect the North, and to lose sight of the connections between all life. Many live in shielded bubbles of isolation where they feel they do not have to interact with the larger community of life (Boulding, 1988). Recently, however, Hurricane Katrina illustrated the interconnectedness of all states and environs when it shocked and humbled the US by exposing the radical social inequalities that remain present in a country in which institutions, laws and norms seem to overlook inequalities in favor of meritocracy, and in which many don't see these inequalities as legitimate.

Tremendous injustices and inequities thrive in our presence, and it is important for us to constantly question what is and what can be. We must awaken ourselves and address the problems of our time, to develop strategies for the elimination of obstacles to a fuller humanity, for liberation. For the realization of a culture of peace, Peace Education as living education is an absolute necessity. Boulding (ibid, p. xxii) writes: “By drawing on our own life experience, with a little help on how to make the linkages, we can begin to map the outlines of the emerging world community, with all its diversity and challenge.” Additionally, the Hague Agenda (1999, p. 13) states: “In order to combat the culture of violence that pervades our society, the coming generation deserves a radically different education—one that does not glorify war but educates for peace, nonviolence and international cooperation.”

Peace Education and Classrooms of the Oppressed In the schools, classrooms are sites of oppression. They are learning sites generally dominated by an authoritarian facilitation of subject matter that keeps students silent and unengaged with the material and their peers. In such a classroom: 1) the teacher lectures for an entire period without space for students to raise questions and be critical of the agenda, 2) the teacher allows one or a few students to dominate concepts and class time, 3) students are encouraged to memorize ‘facts’ rather than think deeply about the content, 4) material is not relevant to the students and/or the ideas are brought in from another global region (i.e. US textbooks being used to teach Sudanese children), and 5) student-bullying goes unchecked and unchallenged by teachers and administrators who brush it off as ‘kids just playing.’

Students are afraid to make mistakes because they’ve been taught to dichotomize everything into categories of ‘right and wrong’ and asked questions that supposedly have ‘right’ answers. Anya Jacobson (2007, p. 2) writes, “In practice the structure of a classroom requires an omniscient teacher who ‘knows’ the right answer.” The focus on this facile division is a hindrance to future accords because students are taught that ‘right and wrong’ can’t coexist, essentially nullifying attempts to respect the Other—if Other is perceived as wrong instead of different.

Educational practice must be consistent with the mission of the education itself. If the goal is to create an engaged, critical, and active citizenry, valuing knowledge, understanding, skills, identity, and peaceful coexistence, then the philosophy and pedagogy used in the educational process must reflect this. The practice of authoritarian teaching, hence, is inconsistent with the transformative objective of peace education. Peace educators assist learners in understanding “a full range of possible world views, explanations, and solutions to social issues and problems” and “engage their learners in a constant dialogue, in order that basic assumptions underlying any worldview are critically analyzed and not passively accepted as given truths” (Toh Swee-Hin & Floresca-Cawagas, 1987, p. 30).

Chapters One argues that oppression, in the form of racism and gender biases, is perpetuated in Kentucky and Japanese schools, and across the globe. And, withal, the

enigmas are ardently illustrated herein. So how do we transform this historical and present station to nurture a culture of peace? What does a culture of peace entail? What is Peace Education? Peace Education in homogeneous schools, as a radically new approach to educating, helps raise consciousness and validate non-mainstream ways of life in a way that traditional didactic, axiomatic classrooms cannot. Peace education is teaching for interdependence rather than compartmentalization, cooperation rather than competition, aesthetics as well as science, and empirical knowledge as well as abstract. Peace Education is a living, dynamic organism, and as much as life itself is education, education must be living.

WHAT IS PEACE EDUCATION?

Peace Education, its history, goals, social purposes and pedagogy, is described in Reardon (1988), Boulding (1988), Harris (1988), Hicks (1988), Reardon and Cabezudo (2002), and Harris & Morrison (2003). Brock-Utne (1989) examined Peace Education with a gender angle and Reardon (2001) framed Peace Education from a gender perspective. Peace Education programs are also discussed in Toh Swee-Hin and Floresca-Cawagas (1992), Brenes (2002; 2004), and Jenkins (2004).

Peace Education is a mechanism for the transformation from a culture of violence to a culture of peace through a process of ‘conscientization’ (Freire, 2006). By raising consciousness of peoples to their world, their rights, and the issues at the core of our contemporary terrene—through exploration of our common values and aspirations—it is possible to negotiate a shared future based on love, respect, and human dignity. Coexistence in peace is not a utopian myth. “Peace education as ‘conscientization,’ then, is not a factory of dreams, but a school of realism. It is neither sectarian nor prophetic. Neither an ideology or religious offering of miracles” (Borelli, 1979, p.391).

To this analogous end, in its application Peace Education is holistic. The conceptual frameworks developed for the implementation of Peace Education programs emphasize comprehensive programs that are thoroughgoing. Holism refers to the “essential and integral interrelationship among and between all spheres of human experience, as well as all levels and areas of social organization. It asserts that peace education should be presented so as to illuminate interconnections among various knowledge concepts and pedagogical practices” (Jenkins, 2004, p. 12). Peace Education as holistic serves to educate from multiple perspectives, including values education (Swee-Hin and Cawagas, 1991), cultural understanding (Boulding, 2000; Groff and Smoker, 1996), human rights (Reardon, 1995; Muntarhorn, 1998), anti-racism education (Sefa-Dei, 1997), indigenous views (Bull, 2000), non-violence (Sharp, 1973; Adams, 1989), and education for the future (Hicks, 1994; Carson and Smith, 1998). And these are but a few amongst many that comprise the holistic values system upon which peace education is based.

Informed by John Dewey, Peace Education is grounded in active citizenship, preparing learners for assiduous participation in a democracy, through problem-posing and

problem-solving education, and a commitment to transformative action in our societies. Dewey (1938, p. 67) writes, “There is, I think, no point in the philosophy of progressive education which is sounder than its emphasis upon the importance of the participation of the learner in the formation of the purposes which direct his activities in the learning process.” This philosophy seeks to prepare learners with sound understanding of peoples’ principles through context and learner-centered exploration of normative values and creating a citizenry prepared for social agency.

Peace Education is most widely defined as aiming to prevent, mitigate and end violence; the core problematic to a culture of peace. Violence is manifest in varied ways across cultures and to address the multiple expressions of violence certain educational fields have been developed (i.e., global education, sustainable development education, multicultural education, etc.). Each of these fields chooses one or a few forms of violence to address. Respectively, there are multiple perspectives concerning peace and a number of conceptual frameworks that mirror these differing paradigms (i.e., Hague Agenda, Earth Charter, etc.). Though called by different names they serve a similar purpose—to bring awareness to the obstacles of peace. In the contexts of Kentucky and Japan—two homogeneous settings—racism and gender bias pose two hurdles to the establishment of peacebuilding mechanisms and peaceful behaviors.

At the heart of Peace Education philosophy is the conviction that teachers are learning with the students in the classroom. This concept is integral to the subversion of oppressive educational structures. “Through dialogue, the teacher-of-the-students and students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers. The teacher is no longer merely the-one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with students, who in turn while being taught also teach” (Freire, 2006, p. 80). Peaceful, democratic education is based on the notion that we are all lifelong learners and agents for learning.

Furthermore, Peace Education is overtly values-oriented and peace educators make explicit at the outset of the educational process (Toh Swee-Hin, 2004) that its intentions are “to educate for the formation of values consistent with peace and the norms that uphold it” (Jenkins, 2004, p. 13). All forms of education are intrinsically values based, although in many circumstances the values are part of a subtle curriculum, including such values as meritocracy, neoliberal globalization, ‘survival of the fittest,’ and didactic education. These values are part of the dominant ideology and become obstacles to educational change when they are assumed as natural and historically deterministic. Concurrently, many educators claim education to be neutral, apolitical, and areligious, thus not recognizing, or intentionally ignoring, the political underpinnings of such hegemonic values. However this is denial of the reality that we all, as humans, are biased according to our experiential basis for understanding the world, and educators thus teach through their subjective ideology (Freire, 1998). Peace Education is earnest however, honest with its purposes and values as a liberating force, in the words of

Dylan Thomas, to the exaltation of truth: 'do not go gentle into that good night; rage, rage against the dying of the light!'

PEACE EDUCATION AS LIBERATION PEDAGOGY

Peace Education pedagogy is participatory and dialogical, using such methods as dyads, cooperative learning projects, discussion groups, brainstorming sessions, problem-solving frameworks, alternative futures exercises, and case studies of peace movements across the globe in order to foster critical thinking (Reardon and Cabezudo, 2002). The participatory process is learner-centered and facilitated through a horizontal act of love, respecting learners as equal in human dignity, and exemplifying the idea that we are all learning. The pedagogy values diverse ways of life and examines the normative principles of varying societies. Lived experiences as the expression of those very principles is explored through storytelling methodology. Peace Education pedagogy, as practiced by the author, is informed by the peace praxes of Paulo Freire, Augusto Boal, and Betty Reardon.

Paulo Freire, as an adult educator, theorized about systems of oppression afflicting the poor in Brazil. He wrote a landmark work in 1970 titled *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* explaining his educational theory and practice. This work was subversive toward traditional forms of education, what he calls the 'banking' model (Freire, 2006, p. 72), and sought to rethink modes of teaching and learning. He articulated the oppressive nature of this system of education and charged that through dialogue and a constant reflection on 'reality' and systems, peoples would be liberated. Freire proclaims (ibid):

If it is in speaking their word that people, by naming the world, transform it, dialogue imposes itself as the way by which they achieve significance as human beings...And since dialogue is the encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world which is to be transformed and humanized, this dialogue cannot be reduced to the act of one person's "depositing" ideas in another.... (pp. 88-89).

Freire emphasizes the development of a resistant attitude towards violence and uses dialogue to seek alternatives. Peace educators produce critical thinkers who question the emphasis upon militarism [violence] found all around the world (Harris, n.d.). Education as conscientization focuses on 1) raising awareness to the oppression that steeps our states and institutions, as well as to the possible alternatives to the oppression that exist (in overcoming oppression Freire warns of the dangers of becoming the oppressors), and 2) true conscientization must lead to action for transformation. Freire, as well as the author, sees Education as conscientization as essential for an educators true humanistic devotion.

Augusto Boal, also a Latin American educator working in non-formal contexts, created in 1971, the Theatre of the Oppressed, influenced by Freire, and like Freire sought to rethink theatre and the role of a peoples' theatre in liberating minds and societies. Boal

differentiates his Theatre techniques between Image, Invisible, Forum, Newspaper, Rainbow of Desires, and Legislative. On Image Theatre he explains (Boal, 1992):

We must not forget that words are only vehicles which convey meanings, emotions, memories, ideas...which are not necessarily the same for everyone: the word spoken is never the word heard [*italics by Boal*]...When, in Peru, I understood that most of the time we were using the same words to mean very different things, or different words to mean the same thing, but that never were those things, or feelings, or opinions, or memories, completely rendered by the words, I started asking my students to make images...Of course those images don't replace words but they cannot be translated into words either—they are a language in themselves. They connote words just as words may connote images—they can be complementary (pp. 174-175).

The connection between dialogue and drama, what each brings to the classroom, is clearly complementary. And it is through this discourse, this communication, between dialogue as discourse and Image as dialogue that informs a comprehensive exploration of the problematic in Peace Education. Image is a catalyst for discourse and dialogue an agitator to the status quo. Betty Reardon teaches a Pedagogy of Democratic Engagement. This pedagogy encourages the active and equal participation of all in the learning community, is experiential and inquiry-based, committed to cognitive dissonance, provocative yet respectful in exchange. It promotes active resistance to the forces that silence. Reardon and Cabezudo (2002) declare:

Education for global citizenship in a culture of peace requires a pedagogy of democratic engagement. Active and participatory engagement of students in the learning process initiated by peace curricula is the most relevant and effective pedagogy to prepare students for active participation in the global change process now being carried forth by global civil society (p. 70).

On Pedagogy of Democratic Engagement, Jenkins writes (2006, p. 3): The Peace Education Center at Teachers College, Columbia University utilizes a pedagogy of engagement in facilitating transformative learning...A pedagogy of engagement fosters student reflection on reality and possibilities for action at the level of the individual learner; critical engagement with and analysis of existing knowledge; and engagement with the community around the issues under study toward the achievement of change. A pedagogy of engagement intentionally fosters a commitment to learning, and a commitment to others through the building of learning communities, both for the benefits of learning from and with each other and for the political and action possibilities...One of the intended political outcomes of learning in community is to foster community values and practices, such as sharing, participation and fellowship. This is in direct contrast to typical political processes that fragment and divide, rather than bring people together (p. 3). Each of the educators uses critical communication as a means of peacebuilding. For Freire it's the dialogical process, a participatory atmosphere where facilitators and participants exchange lived experiences and aspirations in order to create new possibilities. For Boal it is also the dialogical process, though not necessarily of words

but actions, the recognition that there are multiple ways of expressing oneself, particularly recognizing the strength and clarity of avoiding verbosity. The use of theatre as a tool of social change is to realize the value of the dialogical process but to take it a step beyond oral exchange. For Reardon it is the nurturance of learning communities committed to the development of new modes of thought.

Inspired by Freire, bell hooks, a critical pedagogue from Kentucky and noted Black feminist scholar (1990) accedes:

I have found that students are much more engaged when they are learning how to think critically and analytically by exploring concrete aspects of their reality, particularly their experience of popular culture. Teaching theory, I find that students may understand a particular paradigm in the abstract but are unable to see how to apply it to their lives. Focusing on popular culture has been one of the main ways to bridge this gap (p. 6). In consequence, the arts—theatre, music, film, literature—are used in the development of the curriculum intervention proposed herewith, because it is a paradigm with which Kentucky and Japanese youth can easily relate and understand. It is, for middle class White students ‘their world,’ and for minorities an expression of their enduring difference and marginality.

Much of my work with feminist theory has stressed the importance of understanding difference, of the ways race and class status determine the degree to which one can assert male domination and privilege and most importantly the ways racism and sexism are interlocking systems of domination which uphold and sustain one another” (ibid, p.59).

She begins her explanation of critical pedagogy: “For me, critical pedagogy is fundamentally linked to a concern with creating strategies that will allow colonized folks to decolonize their minds and actions, thereby promoting the insurrection of subjugated knowledge” (ibid, p.8). In this way critical pedagogy questions knowledge and power relations, and is fundamentally epistemological. This aspect of the pedagogies unites them in peacebuilding efforts, and is precisely the rationale for the employment of these practices in Peace Education, as well as the intervention program proposed herewith for Japanese and Kentucky schools.

STORYTELLING AS PEACE PEDAGOGY

The fundamental thesis behind this research is that schooling in homogeneous contexts perpetuates racist and sexist attitudes because students, teachers, administrators, and parents have not been exposed to non-dominant life perspectives, and the diversity that does exist within these schools goes unnoticed, or is intentionally ignored. However, this is not to suggest that growing up in homogeneous conditions warrants discriminatory attitudes, but that the singular context may reinforce such beliefs. Consequently, the subordinate groups quietly present within homogeneous situations experience a type of ‘blind’ oppression; and so long as the educators within these homogeneous schooling locales do not experience education and life within diverse

areas, they are probably doomed to replicating the homogeneous education they received with all its insidious power dynamics.

For many educators who leave these contexts to later return, travel to metropolitan regions, study in different locales, and appropriate cosmopolitanism, they bring back to their schools a radically different education. This education is not necessarily to be valued over, which in so doing would contradict the value of diversity, but is to appreciate the intercultural experiences gained through such an education. These experiences hopefully accompany greater understanding and sensitization toward others, particularly if gained through an experience of oppression, hence developing increased comprehension of motives of oppressors.

Christine Sleeter (1996) writes:

Teachers bring to their work a worldview that is constructed within unequal racial relationships, but they usually do not recognize it as such...Most whites live in racially homogeneous neighborhoods, families, social groups, and churches, and consume media that are dominated by whites. Most whites spend little or no extended time on non-white "turf," although they may incorporate a few people of color into their own worlds...Travel and contact experiences can sometimes help whites realize how much they do not understand about race relations and sensitize them to injustices and to perspectives and experiences of other groups (pp. 79-80).

One of the great successes of the feminist movement and other movements of the 20th century has been to expose the injustices that perpetuate social institutions (i.e., schools, governments, patriarchy, marriage, etc.). In unclothing these injustices feminist scholars have documented struggles by sharing and recording histories. This process of sharing, listening, and recording lived experiences of the marginalized empowers those 'without a voice' by giving the silenced vociferation. Essentially this act is accomplished through the art of storytelling. Listening to, respecting and earnestly being interested in the experiences of all helps to counter the hegemony of the dominant groups. Mies (1983) writes:

Women have so far not been able to appropriate, i.e., make their own, the social changes to which they have been subjected passively in the course of history. Women do make history, but in the past they have not appropriated their history as subjects. Such a subjective appropriation of their history would lead to something like a collective women's consciousness (in analogy to class consciousness) without which no struggle for emancipation can be successful. The appropriation of women's history can be promoted by feminist scholars who can inspire and help other women to document their campaigns and struggles (p. 127).

Senehi (2000) claims storytelling is a means of peacebuilding:

Storytelling—like all cultural production is a means through which community is constructed. Through stories, groups and societies create, recreate, and alter social

identities, power relations, knowledge, memory, and emotion... Thus, peacebuilding involves community building in a way that is driven forward by the parties themselves and not imposed from above or without (p. 97).

This style of respecting and being engaged with others' experiences is potentially accrediting for the subjected and presents the opportunity to rehear and understand the world from varied perspectives, especially those of the subjugated classes. And what is storytelling but an act of art. Like the recording of oral histories, storytelling also acts as a form of historical documentation. Storytelling is one of the great forms that give song to the unsung. As discussed above, this thesis proposes the intervention of Peace Education and the arts to deal with issues of injustice in the classroom. Cynthia Cohen (2005) writes:

Engaging with the arts can generate, for both individuals and collectivities, for creators and spectators, special qualities of attention and response -- such as disinterestedness, committed participation, meta-cognitive alertness, receptivity, and blissful serenity. These qualities of attention and response afford unique opportunities for learning, empathy, reflexivity, creativity, innovation and experimentation. The engagement with a work of art or cultural form that gives rise to these special qualities of attention and response can best be understood within the framework of aesthetic experience (n.p.).

Storytelling is, therefore, apparatus for conflict transformation. Through the use of storytelling an opportunity is given for participants to share their lived experiences, affirm each other, and create and internalize new possibilities. The use of the arts in the classroom leads to richer discussion and more complete engagement by the students who are aesthetically engaged, as well as scientifically, which in return promises deeper reflection, altered attitudes, and changed behaviors.

If all societies have elements of peaceful behavior (Boulding, 2000), the practice of peace storytelling then could be utilized as a technique for eliciting stories of peace, as well as for envisioning peaceful futures. This would in effect help to raise problems, dialogue solutions, and potentially lead to reconciliation through storytelling. Essentially this is a participative process of community building between the individual and society. Boulding refers to the influence of Fred Polak's work on her research as a sociologist. Polak discovered that the images of the future that peoples hold for themselves in fact influences their behaviors. Societies 'tended to be empowered by positive images of the future' (ibid, p.105). Peace storytelling acquaints us with stories of peace from the past and constructive ways of dealing with adversity, conflict and injustices today and in the future. Each society has numerous peace heroes of the past to write volumes on and to share with children. Augusto Boal's Theatre as a form of storytelling aids education cohorts in imaging peaceful cultures through exploration of human relations, particularly transition images from a system of oppression to a world of liberation.

STORYTELLING FOR TRANSFORMATION

We return to Kuniko Soga's story. Her vision of the future, 100 years following the bombardment, and several generations after but connected to that catastrophic morning of August 1945. Kuniko's vision offers faith, healing, and a critical mind. This chapter ends with her story as it exemplifies one possible classroom activity for schoolteachers—creative writing and storytelling as sharing and envisioning a better world—and is an exploration of values and, not least of all, hope. Storytelling is a means to remember, to share, and to create possibilities.

Hiroshima 2045

In July, 2045, Taro is sitting in a peace education class at a junior high school in Hiroshima. The class meets once a week, and what he learns has helped him a lot to resolve conflicts peacefully with his friends, siblings and parents. Since childhood Taro has been told by his parents and grandparents that an atomic bomb was dropped in Hiroshima by a US bomber in 1945, killing hundreds of thousands of people instantly. His great-grandmother was at school in Hiroshima city then, but she narrowly escaped from the sea of fire, by running for her life all the way home. Her younger brother was killed at the age of 12.

At that time in 1942-45 when Japan was at war with the United States, many young people went to battlefields, with the firm determination that they would put even their lives at risk in order to protect their own country, their parents or their families from the enemy. They believed that fighting fiercely was the only right way to resolve the conflict between the two countries, because information about situations in other parts of the world was not easily available due to the lack in information technology. The radio and the newspapers were practically the only means of mass media, and the news sources were strictly controlled by the government and the military. At school, students were indoctrinated to believe only what the military government wanted the young people to know. Taro is 12 years old now, the same age of his great-grandmother's brother when he was killed by the atomic bomb in Hiroshima 100 years ago. Education and information technology have changed greatly ever since. The global network of the Internet has made it possible for anyone, even a young boy like Taro, to access information he needs to investigate and get hold of social and physical environments he's currently surrounded with. Good English education has enabled the students to understand the vast pool of English information put out by diverse sources in the world. At school, students are taught how to analyze the information they acquire and raise proper questions to lead them into the next step in their search for the truth. Bringing together the results of their research to the classroom, the teacher and the students discuss a lot to broaden and deepen their knowledge and understanding of situations that surround them in the world.

In the past 30 years, Japan has maintained independent defense capability against a military or other violent attacks by any aggressive nation. It had taken Japan a long time since the end of WWII in 1945 to come out free of the US military umbrella by terminating the bilateral agreement of the Japan-US Security Treaty. Japan has put in

efforts to train professionals who can develop advanced scientific knowledge and skills in defending the country. They have also been educated about high moral values of non-violence and respect for the basic human rights of any person on earth. At the same time, our diplomats are well disciplined in negotiating with others to arrive at a peaceful resolution to any conflict. With the strong defense body staffed and supported by these capable scientific, technical and diplomatic professionals, Japan can now stand firmly on her own in dealing with other independent nations.

Such change in the attitude and structure of Japan's self-defense body has been promoted by the increasingly strong commitment of all the UN member countries to the multilateral efforts in maintaining peace in the world. Whenever any disruption to world peace or any conflict among nations should take place anywhere in the world, the revitalized UN takes an initiative in listening to parties involved, and bringing their cases to the discussion table of the UN. After the deliberate and fair judgment of each case, the UN negotiates with parties concerned or organizes some defense body for action, if necessary, to restore peace. In the latter case, every member country contributes their defense capability in one form or another in accordance to what the UN decides.

One-hundred years after the explosion of the atomic bomb over Hiroshima, Taro lives in a much safer world, because of good education, a strong sense of responsibility and capability by Japan for her own self-defense, and the firm commitment by all the UN member nations for cooperative and multilateral efforts in maintaining peace in the world. His life won't be violently nipped off early like his great-grandmother's brother was, but he can look forward to putting what he received through education to the service of making the world a better and safer place for the next generation of people. On the other hand, Taro feels grateful to his great-grandmother for running for her life from the atomic-bomb catastrophe. ?Because she had survived he's here today to enjoy a happy and peaceful life.

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Conflict Tactics in a Mediation Setting

Linda M. Johnston and Michelle LeBaron

This essay examines the results of a pilot study undertaken at George Mason University as a joint effort between the Psychology Department and the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. The authors discuss the task of behavioralizing tactics commonly used in conflict situations, defining particular conflict styles often used by participants in conflicts, and the ability of the participants in the study to identify and agree upon the tactics and styles when viewed in a film. The authors also examine the relationship of shame, guilt, and anger in the conflict setting as it relates to the tactics used.

This pilot study was designed to answer some initial questions regarding conflict styles and tactics, the practice of shame-trips and guilt-trips in a conflict setting, and the relationship between shame and anger in conflicts, with the understanding that the study would later be expanded to include more participants. These three sections of the study were accomplished on a small scale and served to inform the authors especially regarding operational definitions of conflict styles and tactics.

It has long been recognized that parties in a conflict situation use tactics to get their needs met and to convince the other party of their determination and sincerity. Some of these tactics seem to be widely understood by professionals in the field. Tactics have been defined by several authors and these definitions were used as a starting point for this study. (see, for example, Rubin, Pruitt, and Kim, 1994)^[1]

Various conflict styles have also been described in the literature and these descriptions were also utilized by the researchers as a starting point for this study. Killman and Thomas, for example, developed a forced choice measure of conflict-handling behavior.^[2] Other authors have viewed conflict styles from a cross-cultural perspective,^[3] or looked at preferred styles of negotiation.^[4]

The research on shame, guilt, and anger is fairly new to the conflict resolution field and has largely come from psychological studies. The plan of the research was to bring the study of shame and guilt into a different realm by examining the implications of shame and guilt for the process of conflict resolution. Shame-trips and guilt-trips have now been differentiated and the impact of them on conflict situations has been defined. The work of June Price Tangney and Helen Block Lewis has greatly increased the understanding of the effect of shame-trips and

guilt-trips on participants in conflicts. These authors posit that shame-trips aim to demean the global identity of the person, whereas the guilt-trips aim to demean the thing the person has done. Therefore, guilt is an emotion that stems from the negative evaluation of certain behaviors, and shame is about the self. This can be more simply stated by the following example:

Guilt-trip: "You did a bad thing."

Shame-trip: "You are a bad person."

Sometimes parties in a conflict combine guilt-trips and shame-trips. For example:

"Because you didn't take out the garbage, you are a bad person."

Individuals can also be either shame-prone or guilt-prone. This proneness can be measured by a psychological instrument known as the TOSCA, which assesses both shame-proneness and guilt-proneness along with a variety of other indicators. While the discussion of this measure is outside the scope of this paper, two points are very useful for conflict resolution practitioners.

Tangney and others note: "Shame-proneness was consistently correlated with anger arousal, suspiciousness, resentment, irritability, a tendency to blame others for negative events, and indirect (but not direct) expressions of hostility. Proneness to "shame-free" guilt was inversely related to externalization of blame and some indices of anger, hostility and resentment."^{[v][5]} In other work, Tangney also states: "...findings indicate that shame-prone individuals are not only more prone to anger in general; they are also more likely to do unconstructive things with their anger, compared with their less shame-prone peers."^{[vi][6]}

Helen Block Lewis, regarding the differences between shame and guilt, wrote: "The experience of shame is directly about the *self*, which is the focus of evaluation. In guilt, the self is not the central object of negative evaluation, but rather the *thing* done or undone is the focus. In guilt, the self is negatively evaluated in connection with something but is not itself the focus of the experience." (Lewis, 1971, page 30)^{[vii][7]} Lewis and Tangney have both described the feeling of shame as an acutely painful experience because the entire self is being scrutinized and negatively evaluated. Drawing distinctions between shame and guilt, as Tangney has done in much of her research, is important for conflict resolution. Tangney states: "The implicit distinction between self and behavior, inherent in guilt, serves to protect the self from unwarranted global devaluation."^{[viii][8]} The shame experience is far more painful and devastating.^{[ix][9]}

Dr. Tangney and her students have continued to develop new measures for assessing shame and guilt. For example, one doctoral project involved studying facial expressions and gestures as a way to differentiate shame reactions from guilt reactions. These indices could be very useful for conflict resolution researchers and practitioners in understanding and working with disputants' behaviors.

Tangney has proposed ways to differentiate shame-trips from guilt-trips. This is important work for conflict resolution practitioners and theorists because the impact of shame-trips and guilt-trips in conflicts is very different. Guilt-trips can actually help build relationships. For example, if one party in a conflict tells the other that something they have done has caused them unease, unhappiness, or some other kind of discomfort, then that person can examine what they have done, make redress, and build the relationship by demonstrating that they want to make the "thing" they did better or less discomforting. The opposite is true of shame-trips. When a person is shame-tripped, they do not attempt to go back to the person who shamed them and redress the problem. People describe their response to their shaming experiences by saying that they wanted to "hide under the rug," "fade into the wallpaper," or "run away." Shaming tends to leave the victim not wanting to approach the person who did the shaming because it involved the direct attack to his or her personhood. Shaming involves a sense of worthlessness and powerlessness accompanied by a sense of being exposed. Tangney states: "Thus, shame motivates behaviors that are likely to sever interpersonal contact."^[x][10] She goes on to say: "In sharp contrast, guilt is more likely to keep people constructively engaged in the interpersonal situation at hand."^[xi][11] "Whereas guilt motivates a desire to repair, to confess, apologize, or make amends, shame motivates a desire to hide—to sink into the floor and disappear."^[xii][12] Of interest to conflict studies also is the fact that shame and guilt do not fundamentally differ in terms of the types of situations that elicit them. It seems both shame and guilt can occur in any context, by any person, and in any realm of life.

Another finding by Tangney involved the relationship between shaming and anger. She found that when someone is guilt-tripped, their anger tends to be diffuse: at the person who guilt-tripped them, at the situation, and at the context that caused the conflict. Shaming is quite different. When someone is shamed, their anger is directed back at the person who shamed them. Miller^[xiii][13] identified two types of shame-anger interactions. When initially angered, one can become ashamed of the anger; this anger is directed at the self. More often however, an initial sense of shame can lead to subsequent anger toward a shaming other; this anger is directed at the other.^[xiv][14] Both Lewis^[xv][15] and Scheff^[xvi][16] have described the

“humiliated fury” of the person who has been shamed. For conflict resolution, this finding has impact for understanding and assessing the degree and the direction of anger in conflictual interactions. Tangney, et al, postulate that: “In redirecting anger outside the self, shamed individuals may be attempting to regain a sense of agency and control, which is so often impaired in the shame experience.”^{[xvii][17]} She also states: “From the initial passive and disabling experience of shame, the individual attempts to mobilize the self and gain control through active anger and aggression.”^{[xviii][18]} And later: “...shamed individuals may be motivated to anger because such anger is likely to provide some relief (albeit temporary) from the global, self-condemning, and debilitating experience of shame. In directing hostility outward and blaming others, the individual mobilizes the impaired self, while at the same time sparing the self from further condemnation.”^{[xix][19]} It seems the pain of shame itself can augment aggression and anger in the shamed individual, thus escalating conflict.

In summary, Tangney, et al, state: ...[T]here is now converging theoretical, clinical, and empirical evidence to indicate that shame may motivate not only avoidant behavior but also a defensive, retaliatory anger and a tendency to project blame outward. In contrast, guilt has been associated with a tendency to accept responsibility and, if anything, with a somewhat decreased tendency toward interpersonal anger and hostility.”^{[xx][20]} These differences between shame and guilt are important for third parties to understand as they seek to intervene in conflict with awareness of emotional dynamics and openings for collaboration.

Outline of the Study

A major component of this study consisted of arriving at and agreeing upon a set of definitions for commonly used conflict tactics and styles. This is important because the tactics and styles themselves may generate shame or guilt. As definitions of tactics and styles are generated, it becomes possible to ask observers to reliably identify behaviors and tactics that generate shame or guilt-related responses. Although conflict tactics and styles have been enumerated by several other authors, we felt it necessary to develop precise definitions for each of the tactics and styles. We then studied participants’ abilities to recognize these tactics and styles in a video-taped situation. Included in the list of tactics were shame trips and guilt trips.

A problem arose in arriving at definitions of styles and tactics that would fit precedents from psychological research and be useful to the field of conflict resolution. For example, several commonly used conflict tactics rely on the action of one party in the conflict and subsequent reaction of the other party in the conflict. “Gamemanship,” which is best typified by the game of “chicken,” is an example of the actions of two people toward each other. Psychological

colleagues suggested it would be much easier, clearer, and more accurate to only define and isolate the behaviors of one person, and therefore not rely on the interaction between the two parties for the conflict tactic to develop. Therefore, unidirectional tactics were the only ones included in this present study. Tactics like “gamemanship,” which relies on action/reaction, was not included in the study.

When the initial definitions of the conflict tactics and styles were completed, the authors mailed copies of the definitions to twenty professional practicing mediators for their comments and critique. In this first phase of the study, the authors asked the professional mediators to offer feedback as to the accuracy, completeness, and usefulness of these two inventories of styles and tactics. In particular, the mediators were asked to comment on three questions regarding conflict tactics:

- 1) Does the conceptual definition of the Tactic match with the Possible Behaviors?
- 2) If you saw a video-taped simulation of a conflict situation, do you think that you could identify each of the Tactics given the list of Possible Behaviors for that Tactic?
- 3) Are there any other Possible Behaviors that could describe any of the Tactics more accurately?

The same was done for the inventory of conflict styles, in that the mediators were asked to review the match between the style and the description of that style.

Based on the feedback received from these professional mediators, the authors revised the descriptions of tactics and styles accordingly. We also sought feedback from psychology colleagues on these descriptions. When all persons involved were satisfied with the accuracy of the tactics and styles, we proceeded with selecting study participants.

Twenty participants, all graduate-level conflict resolution students or recent graduates of George Mason University’s Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, volunteered for and participated in the study. The number of study participants was kept small for two reasons: first to test the accuracy and clarity of the tactics and styles described, and secondly, to allow for extensive feedback from the knowledgeable participants in the study prior to expanding to a larger number of participants. Because these participants were aware of conflict tactics and styles published in the literature, we thought that they could provide more thorough feedback than other participants.

Participants in the study were given copies of the descriptions of the conflict tactics and styles to be examined three to five days prior to their participation. They were asked to familiarize themselves with the descriptions before attending the study session. The conflict styles they were asked to review were: avoiding, competing, accommodating, compromising, and collaborating. The conflict tactics they were asked to review were: ingratiation, sarcasm, guilt-trips, shame-trips, persuasive argumentation, treats, and irrevocable commitments. These styles and tactics are described in detail below.

When they attended their appointment, participants were asked to watch a forty-minute video, note the conflict tactics and predominant conflict styles of the parties in the video, and fill out several evaluation forms at the conclusion of the film. The video was produced by Haynes Mediation Associates of Huntington, New York, entitled "Moving 100 Miles Apart." It depicted a simulated conflict involving two divorcing parents over the care and custody of their diabetic daughter.

The process took approximately one and one-quarter hours per participant and each participant viewed the video and completed the forms separately. After watching the video and noting the conflict tactics they saw, participants in the study were asked to answer these questions:

- 1) Which conflict style best described both the male and female disputant?
- 2) Rate the anger level of each of the disputants were based on a 1-5 Likert scale with 1 being "not angry" and 5 being "very angry,"
- 3) Describe how certain they felt in recognizing each of the conflict tactics, again on a 1-5 Likert scale with 1 being "not certain" and 5 being "very certain," and,
- 4) Provide basic demographic data about themselves in terms of gender, age, whether a Masters or Doctoral student, marital status, and whether or not they had ever been a party in a mediation setting.

Following these steps, the participants were asked to complete a TOSCA form that assesses, among other things, the shame-proneness and guilt-proneness of the participant themselves. The TOSCA assesses shame- and guilt-proneness by asking the participants to identify their likely reactions to everyday situations. The information gathered from this part of the research will be discussed in other work.

The demographics of the twenty participants in the study were:

14 women and 6 men

8 Masters students and 12 Doctoral students

The ages ranged from 23 to 64 with an average age of 39.

9 were single, 8 were married, 0 were widowed, 2 were divorced, and 1 defined their marital status as "other."

The following is a summary of the tactic and style definitions used in the study:

1) Ingratiation

Conceptual Definition: Ingratiation is the art of relationship building in order to accomplish a certain end. Its success depends on the lack of knowledge of the Other to the Party's plan. The process of ingratiation prepares the Other for subsequent exploitation or manipulation. It preys on the Other's weaknesses. In order to accomplish ingratiation, the Party must both appear credible and not seem to be the kind of person who readily hands out compliments or agrees with everyone. Ingratiation is easiest to achieve when it is least expected and when it is needed the least.

Possible Behavioral Tactics:

The Party compliments the Other, particularly the attractiveness of the Other's personal or professional qualities.

The Party's compliments are plausible.

The Party maintains credibility by not offering anything too outlandish or bizarre.

The Party's compliments are mixed with possible negatives or insults.

The Party's compliments involve the giving of favors.

The Party seems to be offering a special favor or showing a unique consideration for the Other.

2) Sarcasm

Conceptual Definition: Sarcasm is the offering of a jibe that is intended to mock, sneer, or taunt the Other. Sarcasm is often ironical, satirical, or humorous, but usually contemptuous. Its intention is to upset, intimidate, gain power over, or even embitter the Other toward the Party. It is most effective when the Other is already sensitive to comments made by the Party, is already sensitive to the issues raised by the Party, is insecure about their relationship to the Party, or when the Party has power and/or control over the Other.

Possible Behavioral Tactics:

The Party mocks, sneers, or taunts the Other.

The Party uses issues that the Other is already sensitive about.

The Party emphasizes the jibe by using or alluding to their power and control over the Other.

The Party jibes the Other repeatedly.

The Party directs misplaced or insensitive humor toward the Other.

3) Guilt Trips

Conceptual Definition: Guilt trips are an effort by the Party to point out a transgression or mistake done by the Other. This transgression or mistake may be a very small one but the Party makes it seem disproportionately large by societal norms. The purpose of a guilt trip is to make the Other more uncomfortable or unsettled in regards to the transgression or mistake while possibly easing the feelings of the Party. Guilt trips are easiest to achieve when the Other already feels badly about what they have done, when the Other has already admitted their wrong and apologized to the Party, or when the Party has power over the Other.

Possible Behavioral Tactics:

The Party wraps untruths or exaggerations about transgressions or mistakes within innocuous observations about “reality.”

The Party continually talks about an old wrong done by the Other.

The Party raises the discomfort level in Other by bringing up an old wrongdoing.

The Party takes Other’s small transgressions and makes them seem larger than societal norms would normally allow.

The Party shifts blame away from themselves.

4) Shame Trips

Conceptual Definition: Shame trips are an effort by the Party to make the Other feel worse about themselves globally as a person in regards to a transgression, mistake, or personal characteristic. This transgression or mistake may be a very small one but the Party makes it seem disproportionately large according to societal norms. The purpose of a shame trip is to make the Other feel bad about him/herself *and* about the transgression, mistake, or personal characteristic. Shame trips are easiest to achieve when the Other already has a poor self image, when the Other already feels badly about what they have done or who they are, when

the Other has already admitted their wrong, or when the Party has power over the Other to reinforce the feelings of shame.

Possible Behavioral Tactics:

The Party reminds the Other of repeated past sins, implying negative attributes about the Other as a person.

The Party reminds the Other of the Other's negative character traits.

The Party makes the Other feel personally responsible for a problem, blaming the problem on the other person's negative traits (character, abilities, intelligence, lack of empathy, etc.)

The Party attempts to make the Other have a poorer self image or disgrace the Other.

The Party categorizes the Other's behavior as repetitive and negative. "You always do that" or "You never do this."

The Party attempts to embarrass the Other.

5) Persuasive Argumentation

Conceptual Definition: Persuasive Argumentation is the art of using logic or reason to get the Other to comply with the Party's wishes. The process involves the Party getting the Other to lower his/her aspirations. The Party convinces the Other that the Party has the logical, legitimate, and/or moral right to a favorable outcome. The Party also convinces the Other that lowering their aspirations is actually in their own best interest. Persuasive Argumentation is most effective when the Party has greater verbal skills, factual knowledge, or authority than the Other; when the Other is weakened by outside forces; or when the Party catches the Other off guard and the Other is unable to reflect on the information adequately.

Possible Behavioral Tactics:

The Party encourages the Other to lower his/her aspirations through a series of logical or seemingly reasonable appeals.

The Party persuades the Other to do things that are in the Party's best interest.

The Party persuades the Other that the Party has a legitimate right to a favorable outcome in the controversy.

The Party convinces the Other that lower aspirations are in the latter's best interest.

The Party lowers the Other's resistance to yielding by imposing strong verbal logic or reasoning, or imposing unrealistic time restraints and pressures.

The Party uses "limpmanism," which is the use of minor injury or setback, to get sympathy from and distract the Other.

The Party calls upon a higher authority or moral superiority to substantiate their comments.

6) Threats

Conceptual Definition: Threats are strong messages on intention to behave in the future in ways that will be harmful to the Other. The purpose of threats is to elicit conditional compliance from the Other. Threats often involve the use of force, the removal of a privilege, or the need for an approval. Threats induce a state of upset in the Other, which allows the Party to achieve his/her goals. Threats are most effective when they are believable, when the Party has the capability to actually carry them out, and when the Other will be directly injured by the actions.

Possible Behavioral Tactics:

The Party gives messages of intention to behave in ways that are detrimental or frightening to the Other.

The Party provides information to the Other on how the Party will behave negatively toward the Other in the future.

The Party attempts to elicit compliance from the Other by threatening negative consequences.

The Party's statements often involve the use of proposed force (effective because the Other will often avoid a possible loss to get a possible reward or avoid a possible negative outcome).

The Party gives unilateral messages of negative consequences.

7) Irrevocable Commitments

Conceptual Definition: The presentation of Irrevocable Commitments to the Other is like the Party saying, "I have started doing something that requires adjustment from you and will continue doing it despite your efforts to stop me." The purpose of Irrevocable Commitments is to shift the focus or responsibility or what is already happening to the shoulders of the Other. The outcome is often that it forces the Other to take actions that they probably would not have taken otherwise. It also forces the Other to work hard at bringing about an agreement or at least satisfying the conditions of the commitment. The Party often uses a public forum to issue the commitment in order for the rest of society to witness the commitment and hopefully to put

outside pressures on the Other. The Party does not have to hold equal power to the Other in order to carry out the commitment. The tactic may be powerful because it does not require the Party to witness the commitment's ultimate consequences; i.e., they can essentially watch from the sidelines. It also allows the Party to be removed from harm's way as a result of any damage done to the Other. Irrevocable Commitments are most effective when they are public, plausible, and the Party has a history of keeping such commitments.

Possible Behavioral Tactics:

The Party shifts the focus of anything negative that is happening onto the shoulders of the Other.

The Party forces the Other to take action, go along with, or work at bringing about agreement even though this may not be in the best interest of the Other at the time or in this situation.

The Party may use non-violent resistance or a passive form of aggressiveness to carry out the commitment.

The Party often chooses a public rather than private forum to issue the commitment for the apparent sake of binding both the Party and the Other to the process.

The Party commits themselves to a particular course of action.

Conflict Style Definitions Used in the Study:

1) Avoiding may involve:

not addressing or responding to the conflict

not pursuing personal interests at this time or in this situation.

withdrawing, side-stepping, or postponing.

being absent from conversations.

withdrawing from the relationship.

employing indirect actions.

acting unassertively and submissively.

engaging the Other in distracting conversations or activities.

2) Competing may be:

adversarial.

looking for a win-lose outcome.

orientated toward taking power over the Other or purposefully putting oneself in a lower or lesser position.

controlling the discourse.

using only "I" language to express needs or insisting that the Other fulfill certain needs.

assertive, aggressive, and/or uncooperative.

using whatever power available to prevail.

3) Accommodating may involve:

being unassertive in this situation.

yielding to the Other in this situation.

being willing to drop personal interests for the sake of harmony or preserving the relationship.

being willing to acknowledge that an issue is not of primary importance.

acting in ways that are self-sacrificing, overly charitable or generous, or obeisant to the will of the Other.

4) Compromising may involve:

sacrificing some personal needs, but getting some personal needs met.

being willing to settle for and be happy with a portion of their original needs and interests.

giving some, taking some.

looking for expedient, mutually acceptable solutions.

5) Collaborating may involve:

looking for a Win-Win outcome.

working with the other party, not against.

educating the Other on their interests and vice versa.

exploring creative solutions and options for mutual gains.

using inclusive, rather than exclusive, language.

listening to and being receptive to the Other.

Findings

This pilot study aimed to develop and test a set of behavioralized definitions for conflict styles and conflict tactics. By showing participants a conflict video, we tested whether they were able to reliably identify styles and tactics according to operational definitions. We also asked them to fill out an instrument so that we could correlate their shame and guilt tendencies to their responses. Since the number of participants was purposely kept very small and the participants were all involved in a particular program of conflict resolution studies, the study needs to be expanded upon in order to test its overall validity and reliability. Our findings do point to some useful ideas for practitioners and researchers. Some of the most interesting findings were what we did not see in the results; for example, the lack of contrast between men's and women's responses. The results are summarized below.

Findings about Anger

Mann-Whitney tests were used to look at possible differences between how male and female study participants view levels of anger in the man and woman in the videotape. Male and female study participants did not rate the anger of the man and the woman differently. However, the Mann-Whitney tests did reveal a significant difference between how the Masters and Doctoral students rated the anger in the couple, with the doctoral students more likely to rate the female anger levels higher (mean rank 7.00 vs. 12.18 respectively; with $P=.041$). No other differences in the results appeared in ratings of anger and gender.

Using Pearson correlations to compare levels of anger with the conflict tactics of the disputing couple, it was found that, in female study participants, anger and ingratiation were negatively correlated (correlation at $-.560$, $P=.010$).

Findings about Conflict Styles

Chi-Square analysis was run looking for differences between the sex of the study participant and identification of the seven conflict tactics. No significant differences were found in any of these categories. One interesting difference in terms of style was noted, however. Female study participants categorized the conflict styles of the disputing parties in only two categories: compromising and competing. Male study participants, however, noted a broader range of conflict styles among the disputing parties: avoiding, accommodating, compromising, and competing.

Findings about Conflict Tactics

After the study participants watched the video, they were asked to rate how certain they were in recognizing the conflict tactics that were described in the study. Pearson correlations were run comparing these certainties between tactics. Two significant correlations were found here. The first was between threats and sarcasm. In other words, if the study participant was certain he or she recognized a threat, then he or she was also sure that they recognized sarcasm as conflict tactics (these were positively correlated at .458; $P=.049$). The second was between threats and shame trips. If they recognized threats, then they also recognized shame trips (these were positively correlated at .496; $P=.031$).

When looking at persuasive argumentation, female study participants were more likely to give a higher score on the certainty scale than male participants (.036).

When asked about their levels of certainty when identifying various conflict tactics of the man and the woman, Masters students were more certain that they were able to recognize threats than Doctoral students.

Implications

Overall, there were limited significant findings in these comparisons. Because this study was designed to be a pilot study, several findings are worth noting at this point. These findings will be taken into account in designing the larger study.

Threats seemed to be the conflict tactic most easily recognized, and with the most certainty. Interestingly enough, there was very little certainty among the study participants as to recognition of most tactics. Even though these conflict tactics are often stated and utilized in the conflict literature, this pilot study suggests that these tactics may not be clearly understood and recognized by conflict scholars even when very exact behavioral descriptions are offered to them. The fact that all participants were graduate students of conflict resolution makes this finding even more relevant. If people being trained at high levels of conflict studies are not certain of tactics in a film, work needs to be done to more precisely operationalize terminology and fine-tune training in the field. The same is true of the conflict styles described in the study. There seemed to be no agreement on the conflict styles of the man and woman in the video. This was partly due to the study design. When expanding this study, we will ask future participants to identify all the conflict styles they perceive instead of asking them to decide on one. One of the comments study participants offered to the researchers was that they saw the man and woman use several conflict styles during the course of the video and couldn't decide which one they thought predominated.

We had predicted gender differences between how our participants viewed conflict tactics used by the man and woman in the video. There were no significant differences in these findings. Of course, all participants were students of conflict resolution and had been trained to screen out gender bias. It would be an interesting for future study to offer this same video to students who were not in the field of conflict resolution to see if there were gender differences in their responses.

The same can be said of the certainty participants expressed regarding their abilities to identify conflict tactics. Perhaps because study participants were all conflict resolution students, they over-identified with some of the tactics and styles and so were less certain of their responses. Another possibility is that the student participants learned the lesson of resisting assumptions well, and this yielded more tentative assessments of their conclusions. This can be examined in greater depth when the larger project is undertaken.

This study lays the groundwork for future research. The behavioralization of the conflict styles and tactics will be useful in our future research, and that of colleagues. Comparisons could be run looking at differences between conflict resolution students and students of other disciplines, male and female study participants, and Masters and Doctoral students. This pilot study offers a starting point from which to continue the work in this area.

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Fiji: Inter-group competitions and in-group fragmentation

Sanjay Ramesh

There are common themes that run across the coups in Fiji and most prominent among them are racial and ethnic compartmentalisation or lack of inter-group contact, caused by colonialism. After independence, the indigenous Fijian chiefs, who took over the reigns of power, continued politicising ethnicity, resulting in military intervention and racial conflict. Beneath the ethnic conflict, there are deeper intra-communal tensions, which are often ignored by the western media due to its complexities. The Pacific rhythms of coups and ethnic domination were challenged by the Fiji military commander, Frank Bainimarama, in December in 2006, who broke the pattern of ethnic coups in the country by making inter-ethnic collaboration a central theme of his military intervention. However, indigenous forces which were targets of the coup re-grouped to challenge the commander. This article observes political developments in Fiji, in particular the 2000 and 2006 coups, within the theoretical framework of inter-group contact theory and argues that historically inter-group cooperation in the country was undermined by indigenous nationalist pressures for in-group solidarity.

Introduction

Ethnicisation of politics has played a major role in military interventions in Fiji. There exists a 'culture of mistrust' that is a product of society divided along ethnic and cultural lines. As a result, ethnic communities in Fiji strengthen their identity within their own culture and see others as a potential threat. These currents in Fiji's politics are a result of colonial policies which discouraged inter-group contact and promoted 'ethnic blocs'. By the 1960s, the leaders of the European community and the indigenous Fijian chiefs had formed inter-group alliance against Indo-Fijians. However, Indo-Fijians, who were introduced to Fiji as indentured labourers in 1879, found themselves struggling in their effort to form an alliance with indigenous Fijians against the colonial authorities. As a result, the Indo-Fijian push for de-colonisation resulted in further polarisation of Indo-Fijians and indigenous Fijian leaders. Following independence, Fiji continued to suffer from "colonial hangover" where inter-ethnic relations continued to be guided by ideology of indigenous political paramountcy. Besides, inter-group contact among ethnic leaders became "contact of communal convenience", without any regard for nation building, inter-ethnic conciliation or national identity.

This paper will analyse post-colonial 2000 and 2006 coups by using inter-group theory as its methodology. My argument is that a lack of inter-group contact since independence has bred prejudices and biases and assisted in the consolidation of an indigenous nationalist state, which led to inter-group and intra-group tensions and conflicts. My argument extends inter-group theory by highlighting that inter-ethnic

tensions and ethnicisation of the indigenous polity had caused intra-group conflict and these have featured prominently during the coups of 2000 and 2006.

Inter-group Theory

Inter-group contact in divided communities is a complex issue. It is complex because there are underlying cultural and sub-cultural currents that are not apparent in sociological observations. After World War II, researchers in the United States, influenced by the growing civil rights movement, started looking at the sociology of race. One such researcher Allport (1954) identified four conditions for a successful inter-group contact in his book *The Nature of Prejudice*. Firstly, he argued that all social groups, regardless of their size, should have *equal status*; secondly, there has to be *social enablers that promote inter-group cooperation*; thirdly, inter-group cooperation can only come about if there are *shared goals and values*; and fourthly, the whole structure of inter-group collaboration has to be assisted by an *agreed authority*.

Pettigrew (1998: 80) extended Allport's thesis and argued that 'individual differences and societal norms shape inter-group contact effects', and societies suffering inter-group conflict *both restrict and undercut inter-group contact*. Pettigrew advanced 'a longitudinal reformulation of the inter-group contact and distinguished between essential and facilitating situational factors and time dimension with different outcomes predicted for different stages'. Both the work of Allport and Pettigrew influenced the works of Susan Fiske (2002), Eric Oliver and Janelle Wong (2003) and Leonie Huddy (2004).

Susan Fiske (2002: 128) analysed the role of bias in inter-group conflict and concluded that education and opportunities for economic advancement for marginalised groups produced positive inter-group contact. She continued that 'genuine inter-group

friendships reduce stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination'. Eric Oliver and Janelle Wong (2003: 567-582) looked at inter-group prejudice in multiethnic environment and observed that:

In multiethnic contexts, relationship between racial environments and attitudes defy simple formulations. Hostility toward another group is based not simply on that group's size, but on its relative economic position, the historical period and the contextual unit being measured (579).

While both Fiske, Oliver and Wong emphasised economic factors, Huddy argued that there were contrasting theories on inter-group contact and none provided the holistic approach that integrated all the factors influencing inter-group conflict and cooperation. According to Huddy, social identity theory uncovered 'ubiquitous in-group bias and resultant inter-group conflict', system justification theory argued

that inter-group conflict may be absent among subordinate groups because they do not succumb to in-group bias and social dominance theory analyses ideological hegemony 'underlying various forms of discrimination' (Huddy 2004: 968-49).

Fiji Context

Fiji is a socio-cultural plural society that recognises that humans are subject to diverse social and cultural conditions. Plural societies are those that contain a number of ethnic, cultural, or sub-national groups, and socio-cultural pluralism can mean, either, the empirical recognition of diverse social practices, or, the normative claim that such separate cultures are in some way intrinsically or consequentially valuable. The empirical assertion of the anthropological difference is not a normative claim. It also has no necessary logical bearing on the question as to whether different communities or cultures ought or ought not to abide by certain universal moral imperatives (Vincent 2004: 210).

Fiji has a history of contested cultural values and identities, especially among two ethnically dominant communities, the indigenous Fijians and the Indo-Fijians. These contestations are the main cause of inter-group conflict in the country. In 1987 and again in 2000, cultural and ethnic competitions for political power and cultural identity have led to military intervention and racial violence. In fact, due to colonialism, there never was throughout Fiji's history any meaningful inter-group or inter-cultural contact between indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians. In Fiji, as well as elsewhere in the South Pacific, strong distinctions are made between natives and migrants According to Margaret Jolly (2005: 423), the native/migrant distinction is more compelling for Fiji where 'the white settlers were never a majority and where difference between native Fijian and migrant Indo-Fijian is still seen by many indigenous Fijians as a relation between guest and host'.

Indigenous Fijian academic Alumita Durutalo (2007: 580) observed that ethnic and communal orientation continues to influence election results in both communal and open seats and that 'multicultural politics may take a while to gain acceptance across the ethnic divide'. Since the coups of 2000, Fiji had two racially-charged general elections. The 2001 election had low voter turnout and ethnic communities voted for their communal leaders despite a constitution that encouraged cross-cultural alliances and party manifestos that had wider ethnic appeal. In 2006, Indo-Fijians and indigenous Fijians were deeply divided as some 80 per cent of eligible voters supported their own communal parties.

One of the consequences of a lack of inter-group in Fiji is abrupt seizures of state power by a predominantly ethnic military, raising questions about the fragility of political institutions and the role of the armed forces in nation-building. Ethnic coups have taken place in a number countries throughout the globe, including Thailand (2006), Pakistan (1999), Burma (1988), Burundi (1993), Ghana (1966), Libya (1969), Chile (1973), Brazil (1964), Guatemala (1954), Sudan (1989), Haiti

(1990), Nigeria (1993), Argentina (1976) and Fiji (1987, 2000 and 2006). In Fiji, however, in the past twenty one years, there has been four military coups. Two of these took place in 1987: the first one against a multiethnic government in May and the other one against the Governor General and the constitution in September. The cycle of military takeover in Fiji continued in 2000 against the multiethnic Peoples' Coalition Government. Both the 1987 and the 2000 coups were aimed at entrenching indigenous political hegemony. In 2000, the coup makers went further than 1987 and unleashed unprecedented violence on Indo-Fijians living in rural areas.

According to Aaron Belkin and Evan Schofar, 'there were approximately 357 attempted coups in the developing world from 1945 to 1985, and about half of all developing-world states experienced a coup during this period. Of these attempts, 183 coups were successful. This phenomenon is by no means fading: militaries staged 75 coups and coup attempts between 1986 and 2000' (Belkin & Schofer 2005: 143). The 2000 coup in Fiji, like the ones in 1987, was a successful coup because the coup leaders, who were eventually arrested and convicted for treason, were successful in ousting an elected government and putting in its place an indigenous regime that adopted the policies and priorities of the coup plotters. The interim regime, led by Laisenia Qarase, implemented immediately a 'blueprint on indigenous supremacy', which provided affirmative action programs for indigenous Fijians. Moreover, many coup sympathisers formed a political party, which became part of the governing coalition. Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase, on many occasions, defended the 2000 coup as an assertion of indigenous ethnic identity.

Nelson Kasfin (1979:365-366) argued that ethnic identities are both fluid and intermittent. Using the case study of Uganda, he argued that 'when political participation is based on ethnicity, individuals are necessarily constrained (though to a greater or lesser degree) by those objective indicators of common ancestry thought to be especially salient-culture, myths, language, or territory'. Kasfin continued that shared perception create social solidarity and turns 'individuals assigned to an ethnic category to an active ethnic group'. Kasfin (1979: 371) further noted that the British colonial rule created multiple ethnic identities, which according to Carmen White (2002: 14) are either 'ranked or unranked'. White argues that 'while in ranked societies, social conventions prescribe difference in subordinate groups concomitant with the perjorative assessment of their very worth, ethnic relations in an unranked system are marked by mutual ambivalence, with negative perceptions balanced by begrudgingly allowances for other group's competence in a given sector'. In her case study of Fiji, Carmen highlighted that colonial policies structured conflicting, political and economic interests for indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians, while colonial ideologies about the 'nature' of groups have survived in the form of invidious comparisons.

The impact of colonial rule in establishing ethnic compartments and grooming indigenous elite in Fiji is often under-emphasised. Benjamin Reilly (2004: 486)

noted that colonial rule had diverse impacts in the South Pacific Islands, where 'post-colonial state-building led to the growth of new cleavages which served to restructure politics along a more confrontational axis'. Matha Kaplan argued that in Fiji, the colonial encounter led indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians to 'construct each other in terms of their own, quite different cultural systems' (Kaplan 1989: 350). The British colonial rule consciously divided the communities along ethnic and cultural lines and intervened to circumvent cross-cultural collaboration or inter-group contact. However, Robert Norton (2001: 154) observed that 'Britain willingly perpetuated ethnic division is not supported'. However, ethnic divisions and a 'political system based on race' (Lal 2003: 347) have played a major role in colonial as well as post-colonial Fiji.

Indigenous cultural assertions or indigenous in-group militancy have played a dominant role in shaping political action in the South Pacific and strong distinctions are made between indigenous groups and migrants. Besides group differences, there are contested cultural values and heterogeneous indigenous Fijian strategies of 'de-legitimising non-indigenous elements' (Cretton 2005: 415), including parliamentary democracy, constitutional rules, human and minority rights. Vivian Cretton notes that indigenous cultural strategies are 'located in the continuity of the past in the present, consolidating cultural identities to various degrees, depending on the situation of the parties concerned'. Culture, therefore, has become a political tool for the unification of the indigenous Fijian society against the immigrant and less secure Indo-Fijian. Ironically, following the 2006 coup, democracy, constitutional rule and human rights have become legitimate elements for the indigenous leaders. As a result, indigenous political assertions in Fiji are ridden with contradictions and these contradictions have caused in-group fragmentation.

In Fiji indigenous nationalist assertions on the political stage have been made possible by an ethnicised and a politicised army. However, there is exception to this rule because from 2000, the commander of the Fiji Military Forces, Frank Bainimarama, challenged the indigenous government of Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase, resulting in the 2006 military coup. The military in Fiji is predominantly indigenous Fijian since the Second World War and following independence, the military became the final authority on governance and constitutionalism. The degree of politicisation of the Fiji military was illustrated in the biography of the 1987 Fiji coup leader Sitiveni Rabuka, following the election of the Indo-Fijian National Federation Party (NFP) in the April 1997 Fiji elections. According to Sharpham:

Rabuka, with his lack of interest in things political, was surprised by the [1977] election result, and found himself upset at the thought of serving a government that was dominated by Indo-Fijians...(Sharpham 2000: 59).

Fiji is not a special case when it comes to an ethnicised and a politicised army. There are similar currents following through the African continent, where

'previously separated groups held in check by colonialism suddenly became open competitors for political power' (Jenkins & Kposowa 1992: 274). The theme running across a number of political commentators on Fiji is that a lack of inter-group contact has played a significant role in amplifying ethnic conflict. Moreover, there is an apparent lack of initiative on the part of Fiji's communal leaders to address this issue because it undermines their political position within their in-group. More importantly, this lack of inter-group contact has led to ethnicisation of the Fijian state, resulting in indigenous political domination followed by in-group conflict.

Framing post-colonial discourse

John Kelly and Martha Kaplan (2001: 133) highlighted that from independence in 1970 until 1987, Fiji's national leaders were high chiefs and indigenous paramountcy firmly entrenched. However in May 1987, a popular multiethnic government was deposed by the military and democracy was suspended for five years as a military-backed interim civilian government administered the state in a rule marked by ethnic discrimination and terror (Premdas 1993: 997). Fiji's military remained dominated by indigenous Fijians who were, until 2006, susceptible to manipulation by indigenous chiefs.

According to Baba and Fields (2005: 20), it is Fiji's diversity of 'language, culture and politics which is at the core of a tragic cycle of conflict over power. However, indigenous cultural assertions due a lack of inter-ethnic contact have played a major role on nationalist claims on state power. Indigenous Fijians, in particular the 'militant section of the indigenous community' (Lal 2003: 158), have led both the 1987 and the 2000 coups, and Fiji's post-independence constitutions and legislature have failed to manage underlying communal divisions, even though Stephen Levine and Nigel Roberts (2005: 279) argued that 'Fiji's bicameralism reflects the ongoing efforts by ethnic Fijians to protect their lands, resources, status and perceived entitlements'. In fact, indigenous Fijian chiefs have throughout Fiji's history protected their position in the indigenous cultural hierarchy and at times taken the role of the colonial overseer by ensuring that Indo-Fijians and indigenous Fijians remain divided. Even the new 'Fijian ruling class' or the indigenous elite (Halapua 2003: 122) championed indigenous communal living because it provided the cultural legitimacy for claims on wealth, power and privilege.

The historical lack of inter-group contact was broken in December 2006 when the commander of the Fiji military, Commodore Frank Bainimarama, ousted an indigenous government of Laisenia Qarase, arguing among other things that there was an urgent need to bring the ethnic communities together. However, the commander's efforts of encouraging inter-group contact were met with resistance from the indigenous establishment, including the Great Council of Chiefs (GCC), the deposed Soqosoqo ni Duavata ni Lewenivanua Party (SDL) and the Native Land Trust Board (NLTB). Moreover, some non-government organisations, the Fiji Women's Rights Movement and various youth group argued that policies on inter-

group contact should be instituted only by an elected entity, thereby questioning and challenging the foundations of the 2006 military intervention.

The origins of the 2006 coup lay in the failure of inter-ethnic alliance following the 1999 general election where an Indo-Fijian became Prime Minister of the nation and attempted without success to manage a multi-ethnic coalition plagued in-group tensions. Before and after the 1999 election, Inter-group contact among communal leaders initially led to a broad multiethnic coalition in the form of the Peoples' Coalition Government. However, intra-group tensions caused by calls for in-group solidarity undid the coalition, resulting in the 2000 coup.

The 2000 Coup: Failure of inter-group contact

The coalition (the Peoples' Coalition Government) formed under the political hegemony of the Fiji Labour Party (FLP) collapsed by the end of 1999 as various indigenous political groups in government started to openly challenge the policies of the FLP. For the indigenous party, the multiethnic coalition was a smokescreen for Indo-Fijian domination. The irony was that similar arguments had been used before the 1999 election by mostly Indo-Fijian political leaders. The collapse of inter-group alliance resulted in indigenous communal fortification or in-group solidarity and on 19 May 2000, armed indigenous men, with the support of a section of the army, stormed Fiji's parliament and held cabinet members hostage for 56 days.

The May 2000 coup, third in a series of coups, was once again indigenous communal assertions against the failure of inter-group contact. However, unlike 1987, the 2000 putsch caused indigenous in-group conflict, paving the way for further military intervention. Like in May 1987, the 2000 coup leaders mistakenly thought that there would be overwhelming in-group support among indigenous Fijians for the takeover, following claims by indigenous nationalists that the Peoples' Coalition Government, led by an Indo-Fijian Mahendra Chaudhry, proposed a number of bills aimed at diluting the rights of indigenous Fijians. When the 2000 coup was not progressing according to plan, the coup makers attempted to oust the President of Fiji, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, who remained steadfast in his support for the multiracial 1997 Constitution, after indigenous petitions for its abrogation.

In-group fragmentation

As mentioned before, plans to consolidate an indigenous polity or in-group solidarity led to in-group fragmentation, because of divisions among indigenous Fijians. Firstly, there were indigenous groups that continued to support the constitutional government even though the government was incapacitated by armed gun men. Secondly, there were a number of influential chiefs that resisted plans to oust President Ratu Mara from office. Thirdly, and perhaps most important, there were divisions within the army, in particular among senior officers.

At the height of the crisis in 2000, Macuata Provincial Council Chairman, Sakeo Tuiwainikai, claimed that 'if the President steps down and gives his position to the Kubuna confederacy, then there will be no problems' (The Fiji Times, 24 May 2000). Fiji is divided into three confederacies: Tovata, Kubuna and Burebasaga, consisting of 14 indigenous provinces. Since independence in 1970, conflicting aspirations of the confederacies were managed politically by indigenous chiefs who exploited kinship and cultural ties. However, according to Alumita Durutalo (2000: 73-75), the indigenous political unity was a 'social construction', beneath which lay 'traditional political rivalry'. Intra-group solidarity among indigenous Fijians was used by Fiji's chiefly leaders in post-colonial Fiji to manage intra-group tensions. This solidarity was built on the ideology of ethnic and communal divisions in particular the need to manage the anti-indigenous Fijian ambitions of Indo-Fijian leaders. Once Indo-Fijians were removed from the political scene by force, traditional intra-group rivalries came sharply into focus as coup leader George Speight negotiated with the vanua of Vuda to nominate Ratu Josefa Iloilo (Burebasaga) to the position of the President and a high chief of Bau, Ratu Jope Seniloili (Kubuna) to the position of Vice President. The Speight group argued that President Ratu Mara had become an obstacle to their 'objective' because he had failed to persuade deposed Prime Minister Mahendra Chaudhry and his government to 'voluntarily resign', and 'address the grievances of the indigenous community in the light of the 1997 Constitution' (Confidential Draft, George Speight group, Parliamentary Complex, Suva, 21 May 2000).

George Speight produced more than divisions and fragmentation among indigenous Fijians. For the coup leaders, the consolidation of indigenous political rights meant unleashing a wave of racial vilification and violence. According to Graham Dobell (2000: 176), 'there were Pacific rhythms at work' and one such rhythm involved racial violence. After the Speight group failed to unite indigenous Fijians behind its cause, it started exploiting ethnic and cultural divisions and ordered indigenous supporters to attack Indo-Fijians in areas sympathetic to the coup. At the end of the 56 day siege of the parliament, George Speight and his rebels humiliated the military, divided the Great Council of Chiefs, and succeeded in having their own supporters in an interim government (Alley 2000: 515).

The interim government that was eventually established after the 2000 coup continued with the vision expressed by the Speight group. The interim Prime Minister, Laisenia Qarase, argued against inter-group contact or conciliation and emphasised that there was an urgent need to bridge the economic gap between indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians and implemented the 'blueprint on supremacy', which re-invented affirmative actions programs that had existed under previous indigenous governments. The 'blueprint', after the 2001 elections, was transformed into a government legislation, Social Justice Act 2001, which had scheduled 29 scheduled schemes, out of which '9 were discriminatory in racial terms' (Cottrell & Ghai 2007: 240-41). According to Citizens' Constitutional Forum (CCF), the Social Justice Act contained a number of anomalies that required revisions and

amendments. The CCF further observed that the weaknesses in the Act existed because it was promoted as a General Election promise (Citizens Constitutional Forum, 11 February 2002).

Historian Brij Lal notes that 'indigenous Fijian nationalists want Fijian paramountcy recognised as a right, but there is no basis on which the paramountcy of Fijian interests or Fijian political paramountcy can be elevated into a right ...But no constitution can guarantee political paramountcy of a particular ethnic group in a multi-ethnic state unless, of course, it abandons all claim to be democratic' (Lal 2000: 292). Brian Martin (1993: 53) observed that 'the use of ethnic divisions for political purposes has a long history in Fiji. The Labour Party itself represented a challenge to this political use of ethnicity, and the coup represented a reversion to this status quo', both in 1987 and 2000. However, after the 2001 election, the military had started to question ethnically exclusive policies of the Qarase government and in particular deliberate absence of policies on inter-group contact, especially after George Speight group caused irreparable damage to Fiji's race relations.

The Political Role of the Military

Indigenous in-group fragmentation continued despite some semblance of in-group solidarity after the military challenged the government following the 2001 general elections. The ruling Soqosoqo ni Duavata ni Lewenivanua (SDL) party and its coalition partner Conservative Alliance Matanitu Vanua (CAMV) were accused by the military of supporting coup suspects and muzzling inter-group contact by implementing nationalist policies.

The situation reached a melting point in December 2003 when allegations surfaced that the military commander, Frank Bainimarama, provided scenarios to his senior officers for deposing the SDL-CAMV government. In response, Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase instituted a National Security Committee (NSC) and recommended a Commission of Inquiry into the conduct of the army commander. However, the proposed Commission of Inquiry was rejected by the President, Ratu Josefa Iloilo, following consultations with the army.

The first high profile chief to take the full brunt of the force of the law was Vice-President, Ratu Jope Seniloli, who was convicted of treason. State witness Ratu Tua'akitau Cokanauto emphasised that 'in our traditional roles as chiefs, when Ratu Seru Cakobau (the king of Fiji who ceded Fiji to Great Britain) put down his club, he took up the rule of law' and coup trials forced indigenous Fijians to consider not only indigenous tradition but the law of the land as well (*Fijilive*, 4 August, 2004).

On 26 November 2004, Justice Anthony Gates convicted Naitasiri chief Ratu Inoke Takiveikata on three counts of inciting mutiny, aimed at deposing the commander of the Fiji Military Forces (*The Age*, 24 November 2004). It was alleged during the

trial that Metuisela Turagacati and another person known only as Kadi arranged a number of meetings between Takiveikata and members of the army's Counter Revolutionary Warfare Unit (CRWU) including its leader, Captain Shane Stevens. The two became state witnesses and revealed in detail how the Naitasiri chief wanted to repeat the events of May 2000 and get villagers to congregate and eventually barricade themselves inside the Queen Elizabeth Barracks in support of the mutiny in November 2000. (*Radio New Zealand*, 1 November 2004)

On the same day, the Attorney General and the Minister for Justice announced that Ratu Jope Seniloli would be released on Compulsory Supervision Order (CSO) due to health reasons. Seniloli and four others Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure, Peceli Rinakama, Viliame Volavola and Viliame Savu were convicted of taking an engagement in the nature of an oath to commit a capital offence. (*The Fiji Sun*, 29 November 2004) The Fiji Military Forces closely monitored the situation and the commander expressed disappointment at the decision by the Attorney General to free Ratu Seniloli. Bainimarama argued that the intervention by the state in releasing Seniloli sent a wrong signal to future coup conspirators.

In response, the government criticised the commander in the media for involving himself in politics. Supporters of the commander felt that the National Security Committee established by the Government was a political tool for special interest within the to oust the commander. The SDL-CAMV Government desperately wanted to replace the commander with an appointee from overseas. Justification for the government's move came following audit claims that the military misused \$3 million for the purchase of army uniforms. The auditor's 2004 report revealed that approvals from the Major Tenders Board (MTB) was not obtained for all purchases and this resulted in the unauthorised issue of Local Purchase Orders, totalling more than \$2.54million. (*The Fiji Sun*, 22 February, 2005).

Next budget restraints forced the army commander to withdraw bodyguards for Prime Minister Qarase. Members of Cabinet complained that the manner in which the guards were withdrawn was very unprofessional. Meanwhile, Fiji's military commander asked the United Nations to cooperate in returning a former military spokesman, to assist with investigations into the 2000 coup and subsequent military mutiny in the country. Lieutenant Colonel Filipo Tarakinikini was officially listed as a deserter, despite claiming to have resigned from the Fiji military. Following his departure from Fiji, he was based in New York for some time, and is now is working as a security officer for the United Nations in Israel.

During court martial trial of Corporal Lagilagi Vosabeci, former Government Printer Pio Bosco Tikoisuva told military court on 17 February 2005 that Fiji Military Forces spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Filipo Tarakinikini was to be the new chief-of-staff when George Speight and his group overthrew the elected government in May 2000 (*The Fiji Times*, 18 February 2005). Tarakinikini was the hostage negotiator

and played a leading role in negotiating the Muanikau Accord, which gave immunity to the George Speight group in July 2000.

On 4 April 2005, Lands Minister Ratu Naiqama Lalabalavu, Senator Ratu Josefa Dimuri, Tui Wailevu Ratu Rokodewala Niumataivalu and Tui Nadogo Ratu Viliame Rovabokola were convicted for unlawful assembly at Sukanaivalu Barracks in Labasa at the height of the political crisis in 2000. Immediately after the verdict, Prime Minister Laisrnia Qarase visited both Ratu Lalabalavu and Ratu Dimuri in prison and shortly afterwards both were released on the Compulsory Supervision Order.

The commander once again criticised the Government for demonstrating poor judgment and a war of words similar to the one a year earlier regarding the release of Ratu Jope Seniloli ensued. Citizens' Constitutional Forum (CCF) President Reverend Akuila Yabaki asked "what about the hundreds of prisoners who have been serving their sentences and have been on good behaviour? They will now learn that they are lesser human beings than a government Minister or Senator under the Qarase government. Are they going to release Senator Ratu Takiveitaka responsible for the mutiny and 7 deaths at the FMF as well? A Minister sentenced by our Courts should serve his sentence on the same terms as other citizens." (Citizens' Constitutional Forum, 14 April, 2005).

On 5 May 2005, another four individuals were convicted of coup related offences. Tevita Bukarau, Metuisela Mua and Eroni Lewaqai were sentenced to two-and-a-half years each while Viliame Sausauwai received a two-year jail term and Joji Bakoso, 15 months (*The Fiji Times*, 6 May 2005). On the same day, the Government of Fiji announced the establishment of Independent Reconciliation and Unity Commission.

Victim groups, opposition and Non Government Organisations (NGOs) expressed concern over the Prime Minister and the Attorney General's support for amnesty for individuals involved in the 2000 coup. Both argued that indigenous Fijians involved in the 2000 upheavals were simply fulfilling their customary obligations. As a result, the proposed Commission was given powers to pardon offences 'political' in nature. The Qarase Government further stated that over 20,000 indigenous Fijians converged on the Parliament at the height of the crisis in 2000 and that it would take a long time to finalise all investigations. It was, according to Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase, in the national interest to seek closure on the events of 2000 via the Racial Tolerance and Unity Bill (RTU).

The commander of the Fiji Military Forces criticised the Bill as an instrument designed to undermine the judiciary, the Office of Public Prosecution, the Fiji Police Force and the Military which played a leading role in ensuring that the perpetrators of the 2000 coup were brought to justice. The Fiji Military Forces argued that the amnesty provision in the Bill will provide license to coup perpetrators to continue on the path of lawlessness.

Meanwhile the Government went to various indigenous provincial councils and presented the Bill as an opportunity to heal the wounds of 2000. The Government explained that the Bill was inspired by the Christian ethos of forgiveness. However, it did not explain the inequities inherent in the Bill. For example, the perpetrators of racial violence may not tell the truth or seek meaningful reconciliation with the victims but could be granted amnesty, whereas the victims had to prove 'gross human rights violation' before being considered for reparation.

The Fiji Military Forces Commander saw the RTU Bill as a form of ethnic cleansing and set in motion a series of public criticisms leading to the 5 December 2006 coup. Commander Bainimarama argued that cultural assertions of indigenous nationalists were misplaced attempts to re-invent the indigenous elite, who failed indigenous Fijians. The commander, after the coup, 'peremptorily sidelined the once powerful cultural and social institutions of the indigenous community' (Lal 2007: 136) following the restructure of the Native Land Trust Board (NLTB) and the GCC.

In order to promote inter-group contact, the commander instituted a National Council for Building a Better Fiji (NCBBF) but indigenous groups, including the deposed SDL party, criticised the initiative. The 45-member National Council for Building a Better Fiji met at the Raffles Tradewinds Hotel in Lami, Suva on 16 January 2008. Among those present at the meeting at the Raffles Tradewinds Hotel in Lami were eight cabinet ministers and interim Prime Minister Commodore Voreqe Bainimarama, who co-chaired the council.

Also present were Fiji Labour Party president Jokapeci Koroi, who confirmed her membership of the 45-member council.

The following are the members of the Council: former Opposition Leader Mick Beddoes, Fiji Trade Union Congress President Daniel Urai, Ratu Jo Nawalowalo, chairman of the Kadavu Provincial Council, Ratu Jolame Lewanavanua (Lomaiviti), Jo Serulagilagi (Tailevu), Atunaisa Lacabuka (Serua), Teatu Rewi (Rabi), Taterani Rigamoto (Rotuma), Ratu Meli Bolobolo (Ra), Ratu Filimone Ralogaivau (Bua), Kamlesh Arya, President Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Diwan Chand Maharaj, President Sanatan Pratinidhi Sabha, Lorine Tevi (Fiji Council of Social Services), Selina Leewai (Labasa Town civil servant), Daryl Tarte (Fiji Media Council), Desmond Whiteside (businessman), Peni Moore, Reverend Akuila Yabaki (Citizen Constitutional Forum), Nasinu Town Mayor Rajendra Kumar and Fiji Visitors Bureau chairman Pat Wong (Fijilive, 16 January 2008).

There were a number of groups that refused to participate including the SDL president Kalokalo Loka, National Federation Party president Raman Pratap Singh, Fiji Islands Council of Trade Unions president Maika Namudu, Fiji Chinese Association of Fiji president Lionel Yee, National Council of Women Fiji president Miriama Leweniqila, Methodist Church president Reverend Laisiasa Ratabacaca, Fiji Council of Churches chairman Reverend Tuikilaikila Waqairatu, TISI Sangam

president Dorsami Naidu and Fiji Muslim League president Hafiz Khan. Bainimarama also approached the ousted Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase who also declined (Fijilive, 18 January 2008).

Coup leader Frank Bainimarama had argued that the Peoples' Charter aimed at de-ethnicising Fiji politics and promoting inter-group contact would form the basis for evaluating future government policies. Such a view had been criticised by the Fiji Law Society as unconstitutional. Moreover, the dissidents argue that policies aimed at promoting inter-group cooperation should come from an elected entity, thereby challenging the ideological basis for the December 2006 coup.

Both the coups of 2000 and 2006 highlighted the states and the civil society's failure to successfully implement inter-group contact. There was no common identity in Fiji except communal ones and Indo-Fijians were never accorded equal political status by various indigenous Fijian governments since independence. Post-colonial Fiji strengthened identities of the dominant indigenous group by implementing a series of affirmative action programs. But these programs led to intra-group dissention and conflict followed. In 1999, various indigenous political parties formed alliances with the Indo-Fijian-dominated FLP with the hope of promoting better inter-ethnic relations. However, communal in-group pressures caused inter-group alliance to fail, sparking indigenous nationalist intervention. But strategies to implement indigenous political paramountcy had an adverse effect on indigenous in-group solidarity. The military, which earlier played a leading role in strengthening the indigenous political bloc, had taken on the theme of inter-group conciliation much to the displeasure of indigenous nationalists. In December 2006, the military overthrew an indigenous government and implemented policies on inter-group cooperation, but entrenched indigenous interests challenged the military and called for indigenous in-group solidarity.

Conclusion

Post-colonial Fiji lacked any institutional or political framework for inter-group contact and as a result, racial prejudices reigned free leading military interventions and ethnic conflict. The indigenous chiefs and the Indo-Fijian leaders were not interested in pursuing inter-group contact because it diminished their power and influence over their communal bloc. As a result, an indigenous polity emerged and attempts to unseat it through inter-ethnic alliances led to military intervention. However, following the 1999 election, there was an opportunity to forge a broad inter-group alliance but communal in-group tensions led to political fragmentation and instability. The coup of 2000 was against inter-group contact and alliance but in an attempt to consolidate an indigenous state, the coup leaders caused in-group divisions and dissension. I have noted that there were three distinct layers of divisions within the indigenous community: divisions among indigenous political parties, among chiefs and within the armed forces. The 2000 coup and the following fragmentation of indigenous bloc led military commander Frank Bainimarama to

challenge the indigenous order and on 5 December 2006, the Fiji Military Forces deposed the government of Laisenia Qarase and instituted policies aimed at encouraging inter-group contact and conciliation. However, indigenous groups called for in-group solidarity and started protests against military intervention. The tensions between inter-group contact on one hand and pressure for communal in-group solidarity on the other is by no means over as Fiji continues to struggle with the cycle of political instability and ethnic conflict.

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