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Art and Artistic Practices in Peace Mediation

Building Common Ground and Creating "Ah-hah Moments"[1]

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Introduction

"Too often artists are called at celebrations, inaugurations, and victories, or when leaders' decisions need to be blessed, or when group and national ethos need to be solidified and sentiments of loyalty and allegiance affirmed, or when national grief needs to be expressed. Rarely, if ever, when faced with large-scale life-and-death issues do leaders invite artists – from musicians and poets to painters, filmmakers, and playwrights – to respond imaginatively from within their disciplines to the challenges they face as leaders. Yet in the aftermath of the events that follow, it is often the artist who penetrates the deeper essence of humanity's plight. Why not in the foremath? Why must politics be a field of human activity that relies almost exclusively on cognitive understandings of complex realities and by virtue of its self-definition limits its capacity to imagine whole new possibilities and insights?"[2]

John Paul Lederach, known for his pioneering work in conflict transformation, both as a practitioner and an academic, is calling on mediators to make space for artists in mediation. He argues that this could lead to "significant ah-hah [...] moments that penetrate complexity in the form of breakthrough insights", and could nurture attentiveness to individual and group intuition.[3] Similarly, *Peacebuilding and the Arts,* a recent publication that brings together academics and practitioners, argues that peace processes should be adapted and expanded to include filmmakers, musicians, artists, and writers because "[a]rtists and creators can be among those who 'train to wage peace' and contribute to processes of education, communication and healing in the service of peace".[4]

These insights speak to some of the questions the project *Arts in Peace Mediation* has been exploring since 2015,[5] asking in what ways art and peacemaking intersect and how these synergies could be harnessed more actively in formal mediation processes. Clearly, cultural and artistic elements are already being used successfully in post-agreement processes of reconciliation and dealing with the past.[6] There is a widespread consensus among practitioners who work with artists and artistic practices, often on the civil society (Track 2) level, that art has the power to shift perspectives, humanise the other, and create a common ground upon which a vision for a shared future can be built. This is often not the case in formal (Track 1) mediation processes, particularly in the 'West',[7] where political and technical formats dominate. Depending on the context, however, (insider) mediators[8] have been using artistic elements such as poetry for hundreds of years.[9] Moreover, most of the mediators who were

interviewed for this report have a set of tools and mechanisms they employ to make sure they respond to the cultural specificities of a geopolitical context and try to bring those into the mediation process. However, art as an expression of culture is not systematically being used in formal mediation processes and its potential remains underexplored.[10] Many mediators named a lack of trust, time, or funding as reasons for this.[11] Yet, most respondents also acknowledged that the 'old way of doing things' often does not lead to sustainable results and that, given the changing nature and increasing number of protracted conflicts and civil wars, innovation in the field of mediation is much needed.[12]

The aim of this research project was to investigate the potential for including art and artistic practices in formal peace negotiations, during the different tasks of a mediation process: humanising, analysing, mediating, and implementing. It tested the hypothesis that an engagement with art might not only lead to making peace processes more innovative but also more accessible for a wider range of stakeholders, particularly women and communities otherwise marginalised during formal talks. In order to make this intervention, this study asks; in what way can artists and artistic or cultural practice aid mediation processes? At which point during the multi-track negotiations can the inclusion of artistic practice make an impact? What methods need to be developed so that mediators and artists benefit from a systematic exchange?

Based on the interviews conducted and the literature consulted, this report finds that depending on the context, art and artistic practices already are an integral part of how mediation works. However, these processes are often not formalised but an intuitive part of how mediators work and how people relate with each other. The question that remains, then, is if and how established Track 3 processes and localised knowledge can be transferred into Track 1, and what mechanisms have to be created so that the potential of art and artistic practices becomes available to a wider community of mediators and peace practitioners?

Scope and Method

This research report sketches out the intersections between art and peacemaking, or how art and artistic practices can help foster common ground upon which negotiations can take place. In order to do this, three themes that emerged from the interviews conducted with 65 mediators, artists, academics and practitioners in the field of conflict resolution are discussed: timing, power and access. The report then outlines ways in which art and artistic practices are already being used in mediation and discusses some of the possible pitfalls. There is currently no qualitative ethnographic research that analyses the potential of art in the formal Track 1 and 2 negotiation processes, which is why this report is mostly based on interviews. The mediation experts consulted for this report are based in different geographies and disciplines: some are special envoys, others insider mediators. Most of the artists interviewed come from a region with a history of conflict or have produced work in a 'conflict landscape'. The interviewees were asked to elaborate on their practice, their experience with 'art in mediation', their views on potential openings in formal mediation processes for more artistic engagement, and how they assess the potential and challenges of working with artistic practice and artists, or mediation and mediators respectively. These interviews were semi-structured and often developed into a conversation or a brainstorming session, evolving around the question of how these experts could imagine art playing a more central role in formal mediation processes.

Timing and Funding: Not If, But How and When is the Question

"In a peace process everything is possible, but everything depends on timing", Julian Hottinger, who is deployed as a mediation and facilitation expert on assignments for the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, emphasised:

"Cultural events can be introduced when you have built trust, but how and when you sequence them is key. It is up to the parties how far they want to go and how receptive they are. If you only have 2–3 weeks to hash out a ceasefire agreement, you are not going to work with artists, it's too risky and the funders will not allow it. The longer processes, which take up to 3–5 years are the ones where you can introduce these elements. At the same time, most mediators, when they hear about your project, will say: God damn, I don't have the time."[13]

With this, Hottinger summarises some of the key issues when thinking about the intersections of art and mediation: timing, funding, trust, and context. Peace mediation is comprised of a series of issues, a mosaic-like effort with lots of smaller sub-activities taking place at the same time to eventually lead to a greater whole. There are no processes that are only Track 1 processes, and every type of mediation, e.g. mediation support, has different phases (pre, during, post) and operates on different tracks (government, professional, civil society). The formal negotiation is only a very short and highly stylised moment in the mediation process as a whole. Usually, the real negotiations take place elsewhere, either in the corridors of the hotels where the conflict parties are meeting, or in a different setting all together. In Yemen, for example, the men meet and discuss the real issues at Qat sessions.[14] During the formal technical negotiations, ceasefire agreements, demobilisation and reintegration are being discussed. In the thematic mediation, parties have to agree on issues around autonomy, power sharing, transitional justice, dealing with the past, gender-based violence, land restitution, refugees, and political participation.

Who will pay for artmaking in this highly tense and stylised environment? This was another recurring concern that came up in the interviews; however, as the examples discussed below illustrate, creative ways can be found to include moments of art or artists in the process. Mirko Manzoni, the UN Secretary General's Personal Envoy to Mozambique stressed that the timing of conflict parties and the mediation team often does not correspond: "We often want to close negotiations faster than the parties would like and they do not accept our timing. […] But still, anybody will pay [for artmaking] if you can justify it".[15] Mô Bleeker, a special envoy at the Human Security Division in Bern, who spent many years working on peace processes in Columbia and the Philippines, among others, argued that cultural practices could contribute to cathartic moments before and after to create a "conducive environment" for the mediation to take place.[16]

During the interviews with mediators and artists, it became evident that cultural and artistic elements are always 'there' but need to be brought consciously into the process. In Columbia, for example, culture and multiple forms of artistic expressions were

part of the mobilisation for the peace process and, as a result, there was an eruption of artistic activity in the public sphere that in many instances of deadlock helped the process to regain momentum. Through these cultural initiatives, the real human cost of violence became tangible, and it became very difficult for the parties to continue justifying the continuation of the war against an 'enemy', while thousands of civilians were bearing the brunt of the conflict. "Parties were shocked by what the victims told them, it somehow deconstructed the 'just cause' justification".[17] Simultaneously, there was a surge of memory museums and art productions, which were supported by regional and national governments. The Historical Memory Centre[18] sent victims to the negotiation process to convey their messages to the negotiating parties, some through poetry, others through short films.[19] Asked whether mediators are receptive to these kinds of methods, Mô Bleeker replied: "I would say that in general, women mediators would be much more inclined to use these kinds of methods."

Power Hierarchies – Or Making Women Count

Women have always played key roles in both war and peacemaking but have traditionally been excluded from the formal spaces of negotiations. The UN Women Peace and Security (WPS) agenda, following the landmark 1325 UN Resolution in 2000, called for the adoption of a gender perspective, which considers the special positioning of women and girls during and after conflict and to enhance women's roles in peace negotiations.[20] Over the last twenty years women's activism through political institutions and local communities, advocacy, litigation and scholarship have been instrumental in securing the progressive development of this resolution, in order to ensure equal rights for women to be included at all levels of peacemaking. Yet, transformation has been slow and women, especially minority women and LGBTIQ+ people, continue to be excluded from mainstream peacemaking initiatives or included only in small numbers.[21]

Women not only face a number of challenges on their way to the negotiation table, but also in peace and security institutions themselves. Miriam Bensky, who used to work for the HD Centre and is now an independent mediation advisor, argued in a recent article that:

"Every woman working in peace and security is familiar with the unsettling feeling of being the only woman in a meeting room, either overlooked or ogled as new prey. #Metoo has not reached the peace and security field yet, but the absence of publicly reported harassment cases should be read as a sign of feared retaliation rather than vindication. Male leaders in this field are known to recommend to each other female employees with praise such as 'cast-iron ability to keep her mouth shut'. Some speak of their staff as 'hunters' and 'gatherers,' as a way of distinguishing between those who do frontline fieldwork (men) and those who better focus on administering projects in headquarters (women). The replication of a traditional 1950s household is the model for many peace and security projects in 2020."[22]

Bensky further refers to a report conducted by the Geneva Graduate Institute and UN Women, which shows that the inclusion of women in peace processes does not per se increase the likelihood that more peace agreements are signed and successfully implemented. What makes a difference, however, is the roles women play and the influence they have on a process. "In short, making women's participation count is more important than merely counting the number of women included in peace processes."[23] This critique by feminist academics and practitioners is relevant for this project because they demonstrate the shortcomings and inadequacies in the workings of peace and security institutions. As one of the main goals of this project was to make mediation more transparent and inclusive through the inclusion of artistic practices, it is key to link this effort to the already existing work, often led by women mediators, politicians and academics.

In recent years, several women mediator networks have been established, in an effort to make women count and to challenge the patriarchal structures that prop up peace and security organisations.[24] During this study, 18 members of the Mediterranean Women Mediators Network (MWMN) and the Women Mediators Across the Commonwealth Network (WMC) have been interviewed and asked about their mediation practice, how they use creativity, and how their gender influences their work. It is important to note that this focus on women mediators does not seek to reproduce the old trope that equates men with war and women with peace and depicts women as the natural, often passive mother or peacemaker. Instead, this report asks whether women, due to their special positioning in society and distinct points of access, are more inclined to use creative and artistic tools to make their demands visible and their voices heard. Overall, it emerged that women mediators use artistic and creative

practices to amplify the voices of those otherwise unheard, to cross the conflict lines in a non-threatening way, to gain support for the peace process in wider society, and to heal as a community. Moreover, women see great potential in using artistic tools as a form of communicating what happens in Track 1 negotiations and at the level of Track 3 community engagement, where women's activities are usually sidelined to.[25] In what follows, the example of Cameroon will briefly be discussed to demonstrate how art is being used on a daily basis by women mediators and their allies and how art has the potential to transcend the boundaries between formal and informal, between pre-during-and-after conflict stages.

Cameroon: The Bakassi conflict is an ongoing insurgency which sees Nigeria and Cameroon fight over the border region of Bakassi. In 2006, Nigeria signed the Greentree Agreement, which marked the formal transfer of authority in the region, and the Nigerian Army partly withdrew from Bakassi. The move was opposed by many Bakassians who considered themselves Nigerians, as a result of which they started to arm themselves in July 2006. Since then, sporadic clashes have occurred in Bakassi. In this conflict landscape, women are subjected to gender-based violence such as rape, incest and kidnapping. "Peacebuilding is about the common woman who is in the village but women there were not listened to. So we had to find a way so that the politicians and diplomats would get the message: we want peace in Bakassi", Esther Omam, a Cameroonian mediator recounted:

"We organised a lot of workshops with the women where we taught them how to turn their grievances into lyrics, music, and a dance. In 2014, on the 50th anniversary of the reunification of Cameroon, a lot of heads of states and diplomats were travelling to Buea. We bussed 100 women from Bakassi, both Nigerian and Cameroonians, to Buea to perform their song in front of everyone that mattered in Cameroon. Imagine, 100 women singing and marching!"[26]

Asked about the effects this initiative had Omam replied: "They became the stars with their message of peace. Most importantly, when the rebels and the military forces saw how much support we have with their women, things calmed down. Some of the women are mayors now, others are senators." And most importantly, the renewed cycle of conflict in Cameroon has not entered Bakassi "because of the work we have done there", Omam reiterated.

At the end of these interviews, the women mediators were asked to what extent their gender impacts their work. The consensus among them was that women try to think creatively because they know that in so many instances 'classical' mediation tools don't work. Furthermore, it was emphasised that women often have to work a lot harder and be more skilful to be taken seriously. Mossarat Qadeem, a mediator in Pakistan who uses artistic tools such as storytelling and poetry to mediate between extremist groups stressed that "as a woman mediator in Pakistan, I have to know the history, culture and the religious references better than the men, in order to be listened to and be able to create a shared language".[27] Visaka Dharmadasa, a mediator in Sri Lanka further argued that women have to have more innovative tools because men have already been hired and get paid, whereas women have to be more vigilant, strong and effective to achieve the same status.[28] "In the end it is about trust", Bebhinn McKinley and Sara Cook, two mediators from Northern Ireland stated "Sometimes people trust you more because you are a woman and sometimes less. But if they do trust you, they will engage in well-thought-out and carefully planned creative endeavours under your watch."[29]

Access: Building Trust, Credibility, and Momentum

Under certain circumstances, artistic practices or specific artists can help to negotiate access to conflict parties. Jeremy Brickhill, a Zimbabwean mediator who has worked on security transitions in many African countries, including as a Senior Advisor for Security Sector Planning in Somalia recounted his experience when working in Somaliland in the 1990s:

"I was called to work on an UNDP-funded project to figure out DDR in Somaliland. At first, I was trapped in a UN compound, which gave me no access to the population or the militias I was supposed to work with. I escaped from the compound as often as I could, I needed to understand the place. If you don't understand the people you are dealing with, if you don't try to go deeper into their cultures and their customs, if you just stay in the hotel, you have no real way of understanding how you can facilitate a mediation, you are operating in a void. After a while, I understood that this was a society in which poets and poetry was the most significant cultural element. There had been no written language 20 years earlier, the poet had the role of the news reader and the historian and was absolutely critical. I put together a team of experts, former guerrillas from Zimbabwe that I housed in a base of our own, and I included a guerrilla poet from Zimbabwe."[30]

The UN did not respond kindly to the request to have a poet on the team, after which Brickhill relabelled him as a "heavy weapons specialist". "He became the most important member of my team. Wherever we went we took flour, sugar and tea, we said we've come to stay with you. And we have a poet here, we have come to share some of our experience and our poetry with you." He reiterated that in order to get access they had to do something unusual which would give them a reputation and gain the respect of the militias:

"You have to create a basis for respect, gain access, and build a reputation that enables you to be taken seriously. We were ex-guerrillas too, we could tell them about the battles we fought, bond over the weapons we both had, but the key thing was the cultural access. That poetry gave us the respect and helped us to gain public influence and momentum for the process."

Aside from building common ground through poetry, in their DDR efforts, Brickhill and his team started a campaign with women's groups, who were selling tea at tea stands. "Women were not armed so no one was taking them seriously. We asked them to put a 'no arms sign' outside the kiosk with agreement that they would not sell tea to anyone who was armed. We also organised music and poetry festivals."[31] The measures taken and described here by Brickhill prepared the ground for and eventually led to the establishment of a representative national coalition between 20 militia groups and the government.

How and when exactly do mediators facilitate that encounter so that it comes across in a non-contrived manner? The following example from Mozambique further demonstrates the importance of making a diversity of voices audible through creative means.

Mozambique: Artists play an integral role in society in Mozambique, and already during the Mozambican Civil War (1977–1992) it was artistic practices at the grassroots that prepared the ground on which peace (Rome General Peace Accords, 1992) was eventually built. Anthropologist Carolyn Nordstrom found that "average citizens unmade the possibility and the power of violence, and in doing so set the stage for peace". For Nordstrom, it was not through the work of international news organisations nor through the efforts of United Nations troops, but

through locally produced plays, prose, poetry and pictures that Mozambicans themselves created the conditions for peace.[32] In the aftermath of this conflict a number of art projects were initiated which saw the decommissioned weapons, collected since the end of the civil war, made into artwork, such as the Throne of Weapons,[33] or the Tree of Life.[34] When violence flared up again in 2013 and 2015, artists again played a key role in the peace process. Neha Sanghrajka, Senior Political Advisor to the Peace Process in Mozambique, recounted how she and her team came to collaborate with local artists during the last mediation process, which resulted in the signing of a peace deal in 2019:

"You have to identify who the driving force in a country is. It might be religious leaders; it might be the private sector. In Mozambique the civil society is not strong, but the religious community is powerful, and similarly, for the young people it is music and art. In the beginning, we reached out to key people of the art fraternity and they used their networks to get the message across. We worked with artists, poets, storytellers and musicians because they have a lot of influence over people. If a famous writer writes an op-ed he will be heard, also by politicians. Mozambique is quite small, and there are not that many famous people here, maybe 5–10. Artists are seen as apolitical; they can approach people differently. So our idea was that artists can not only help us get support for the peace process in society, but can also approach politicians and the business section, in an apolitical way, which can be very powerful."[35]

To create a new aesthetic around the peace process, Neha Sanghrajka and her team also asked artists, in collaboration with civil society groups, to come up with a new logo for the peace process, which resulted in an image of two people hugging under a tree, linked by a bridge, symbolising reconciliation, longevity and openness. This logo, gold on blue fabric, was then used everywhere, on flags, fabric and official documentation, and during the Covid-19 pandemic even as masks for the DDR (Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration) combatants.[36] Mirko Manzoni, Neha Sanghrajka's colleague, maintained that art used in a peace process can only come from the people themselves, it cannot be imposed by the mediator. However, once agreed upon, it can help people to gain a sense of ownership over the process; "Incorporating artists will give you more options. It is a matter of knowledge and feeling. You are not part of that society and culture, so that partner with that type of sensibility would give you more chances of succeeding in finding a new window into a society."[37] Including artists in the Mozambique peace process allowed the mediation team to obtain a more nuanced sense of society, gain access to different

stakeholders, foster support for the peace process itself, and prepare the ground for the agreement to succeed and last.

Context is clearly crucial when sequencing cultural and artistic elements. While the above examples suggest they could not have done their work without the support of poets and musicians, each context requires the adaption of frameworks used. Luxshi Vimalarajah, a mediator at Berghof Foundation, shared her experiences with these complexities:

"In the Basque context we tried to use creative means to bring the parties together, such as using songs or food, different ways to create empathy, so that both sides can associate and have a feeling for each other's grievances. But it was not really that useful, I have to say. It was ok, people felt relaxed, when it wasn't intellectually challenging, but in that cultural context, in the European setting, it was not taken seriously. It felt like, we are dealing with serious issues and you are bringing in things that we find ok for a while but now we have to deal with substance, thematic issues. In Nepal, we experienced different reactions to cultural practices. When we started off with small things like photographs, to get them to talk, people felt that they have never seen the other side's problems in such a way."[38]

Similarly, Antje Herrberg, a mediator at the European Union External Action, during one of our *Art in Mediation Mini-Workshops*[39] mentioned that art can also be a hindrance. "One time we brought together 30–40 Yemeni artists in Amman. I thought we will have a dialogue, and maybe they will talk differently to each other. This was absolutely not the case; it was very visceral and difficult to mediate. I don't know how we could have done it better, but I know it was not the right thing to do".[40] Herrberg raises the important point of structure and aim here. This project seeks to not simply bring together artists but find working models in which they, in exchange with mediators, can find new ways to collaborate on an equal footing.

Ali Saleem, a Bangkok-based mediator, who was one of those involved in the peace process in Mindanao, stressed the importance of the East/West divide: "Western mediators come with their inflated egos, their structures and checklists. But that's not how it works." Even if the parties sign an agreement, if mediation teams have not done the groundwork, if you did not take the time to create the critical mass, it will not be sustainable. According to Saleem, in 'the East', mediation work is much more about human relationships and spending time to transform

them, to create space for a political agreement. "Here mediation needs to be a way of life; you live with them, you suffer with them, and because you have helped them see an important issue in a different way, that experience of transformation doesn't go away". In practice, for Saleem, this means visiting the parties on a regular basis and celebrating their rituals with them. "Only after I have prepared the ground, sat with the leaders for days, after I have prayed with them do I bring the issues forward". For this, the venue, the place, has to be right so that the solutions can come from them. "All I as a mediator do is to give them a structure and international legitimacy". Saleem's accounts of his working methods show that artistic practices need to be considered in the wider framework of cultural practices, rather than limited to art or the artists themselves.

Instead of reproducing binaries between East and West, this report proposes that it is more useful to analyse the specific context in which a peace process is taking place to assess whether cultural and artistic methods might resonate. Moreover, a number of respondents pointed out that just because groups engage in an artistic activity does not mean that 'it works'. Or in Julian Hottinger's words: "In Latin America, they jump on anything that is labelled culture or art, they love it. But the next day they will continue stabbing each other."[41] This leads to the question of sustainability and impact. Conflict and post-conflict landscapes are well-populated with artistic projects that try to build bridges, heal wounds, and create empathy. But does it really work? "I always wondered about that", Sarah Jankowitz, a scholar at Queen's University Belfast who works on the intersection between art and reconciliation, cautioned. "What if, with your artistic intervention you shift the perspective of some participants, but others come away feeling retraumatised?"[42] Similarly, Stephen Duncombe, professor for media, culture and communication at New York University, struck by the recurring inadequacy of the conceptualisation of the relationship between activist art and social change asks, "does it work"?

"This is an uncomfortable topic for many artists since accounting for the impact of creativity is often considered a form of heresy. [...] The ability of artists to create worlds and move people,

which strikes fear into the hearts of philosophers and gods, is what makes art so powerful as a form of activism. Yet the exact nature of this power remains elusive".[43]

Duncombe does not answer the question whether 'it works' or not, and instead advocates for a methodology with which to think through the affect and efficiency (which he calls æfficacy) of activist art. During the interview for this report, Stephen Duncombe further stated that artists don't think so much about audience and impact. "Theatre people are the best in this, visual artists are the worst, their enterprise is not collaborative, they have been trained to separate themselves out. And we tend to let artists off the hook, if it didn't work".[44] The following section discusses a number of contexts where mediators used artistic practices, sometimes more and sometimes less successfully so.

In Practice: Putting Art to Work

Activist art or art that seeks a transformational process has a number of different aims. The artists may aim to foster dialogue, build community, make a place, invite participation, transform environment and experience, reveal reality, alter perception, humanise the 'other', create disruption, inspire dreaming, provide utility, amplify political expression, encourage experimentation, maintain hegemony, or make nothing happen.[45] As such, art and artistic practices have been used widely and successfully in civil society processes (Track 3) and post-conflict reconstruction phases across the globe;[46] however, aside from backdrop decoration, art has mostly been kept away from the negotiating table, especially in formal processes. Instead, during formal processes, 'informal formats' are used, sometimes as part of Confidence Building Measures (CBM),[47] which range from watching football together, drinking alcohol, going for nature walks or visiting cultural sites. It is here where many of the 'ah-hah moments' happen because the delegates get to know each other and 'show themselves' in a less strictly regulated environment. According to Antje Herrberg, during highly tense formal mediations, the moments of connections do not come through intellectual exercises, but through experiences in nature, singing together or watching other people dance and perform:

"I work a lot with very traditional diplomats who think it is a bit wacky but then always appreciated it. I always have music on at the beginning of a session because I feel like it creates a different vibration. I also have a set of A5 postcards of paintings, and I ask people to introduce themselves through a reflection of the painting they have in their hand. Interestingly, they always feel like I chose the painting for them and find a specific relationship to that painting. Yes, I do instrumentalise art, because it is another way of connecting people, of finding common space."[48]

The fundamental premise of the project *Arts in Peace Mediation* is that artists and art practice can assist mediators during certain stages of the peace process – if the parties are willing. However, to get parties to talk to the other side is difficult, and getting them into a space where artistic engagement is possible is even more challenging.[49] Only if trust is built and both parties agree, like in the above example, can artistic practice help to re-humanise the 'other', enable an emotional encounter with the impact of the conflict among victims and society, and offer a potential voyage into a shared cultural representation.[50]

Ali Saleem highlighted the importance of creating a critical mass when trying to garner support for a peace process. One way to achieve that is through artistic and cultural expressions, for which one has to think about a communication strategy and public campaigns, a complex web of activities that is rolled out, which need to be carefully interwoven with the larger peace efforts. In Asia, using artistic means such as dance, street performance, music, and theatre, is prevalent: "You need an excuse to bring people together and art can be that excuse. We often try to mobilise young people for art or sports to bring rival factions together. You can get politicians to accept that they are wrong through these kinds of initiatives".[51] Furthermore, art is useful in setting a new narrative around a conflict. Saleem uses what he calls "strategic communication", a communication strategy implemented alongside the peace talks in which each message has an objective and target audience:

"By designing talk shows, theatres and songs for specific audiences, you create a whole communication framework for all sides. You are not challenging the existing narrative openly; you are slightly adjusting it. You are tackling contagious and hidden issues without naming them and setting the scene for a shared future."[52]

Art is a medium of culture that is particularly effective in creating a safe space that encourages reflexivity and receptivity, a humanised space inspired by personal experiences, a creative

space for exploration of new perspectives on 'old narratives', and a shared space for co-creating new narratives. Eugene Koh, a Melbourne-based peacebuilding consultant who works on the intersection of culture, art and trauma, argues that art is able to introduce an idea in a non-threatening, non-imposing manner. It does this by simply allowing itself to be dismissed as 'only art'. Importantly, it can bring into the space the emotional dimension in a contained form. The strategic display of art from the culture of the respective actors involved in the mediation offers not only a softer version than flags and emblems but also a respectful acknowledgment of their context and an opportunity for dialogue over the creative work. A carefully curated exhibition or performance can encourage and assist those involved to engage with subjects that are 'unspeakable' or perhaps even 'unthinkable', such as past atrocities. These traumatic subjects are often pushed beyond one's awareness and yet have a powerful hold on negotiations. Art can bring these subjects subtly into consciousness, without any deliberate discussion of the topic. In other words, art can be a very potent addition to the peace mediation process, but it is a double-edged sword: it needs to be curated carefully, sensitively, and strategically to achieve its most beneficial aim.[53]

Scilla Elworthy, peacebuilder and founder of the Oxford Research Group, also opts for the strategic and careful approach in her work. Asked how she can envision artistic practices in formal mediation settings, she recounted that smaller, less intrusive activities are more conducive:

"You can say, 'gentlemen, we need to take some time to absorb what has been said'. You ask them for complete silence, to feel what has been said. I have done it in the toughest situations. And it works. They are permitted to stop talking and this enables people to move from their brain to their heart. Then you have a bridge. Not everything is possible during formal negotiations but it would be acceptable to introduce some quiet breathing, whenever things get tense. This is infallible as a methodology to shift the energy."[54]

She also underlined the importance of setting the scene, recounting an example when she was mediating a completely off-the-record meeting in an old manor house in the English countryside. "We put fresh flowers and home-made cookies in every room. Little touches of kindness and beauty. They all noticed it. We also had flowers in the mediation room, but no desks, no

computers and no notes".[55] Elworthy's experience demonstrates how important key aesthetic elements can be when creating a space in which parties can meet each other, a space in which something might shift.

Mô Bleeker, who has also been working on the Guatemala peace process for many years, shared another example:

> "In some processes, shamans would open the space for another kind of dialogue, and this introduction is a call to touch upon human values and community interdependence. One time, in a very difficult Track-1.5 negotiation process, an indigenous shaman opened the session through a long ceremony, we were standing around the fire. He asked the people to go back to the meaning of their existence and the deepest reason why they were engaged in this whole process and what they wanted to leave to their communities, their society; the call of the Universe to humanize, to treat each other as humans, otherwise, Mother Earth becomes too ill, and we do too. It was a kind of conditioning to open their souls, so that their deeper inside would be involved, driven by the conviction that the technical efforts only work if the 'inside', the soul, the deepest identity is involved. The whole art in our work is to put people in touch with these dimensions. It is a small step, but it can make a difference, beyond negotiations."[56]

The examples sketched out here demonstrate that in order to be useful and applicable globally, the definition of art has to remain broad; perhaps an immaterial aesthetic expression of culture and identity, the imaginary of a nation.[57] Mediation teams sometimes do find and collaborate with these artists, as the example of Mozambique illustrates. This project seeks to eventually equip the mediators with the tools and methods to tease out who these artists are and how they can collaborate effectively. Lederach, in his book *The Moral Imagination*, calls upon peacebuilders to "explore the moral imagination as the capacity to imagine something rooted in the challenges of the real world yet capable of giving birth to that which does not yet exist." However, moments when this is possible do not emerge through the application of strict processes or checklists, instead "[t]hey must be explored and understood in the context of something that approximates the artistic process, imbued as it is with creativity, skill, serendipity, and craftsmanship."[58] However, he finds that in the process of professionalisation mediators have lost their creativity and have become more technicians than artists, reliant on rigid techniques. Thus, he calls on mediators to return to aesthetics, because "[t]ime and again, social change that sticks and makes a difference has behind it the artist's intuition: the complexity of human experience captured in a simple

image and in a way that moves individuals and whole societies. The true genius of the moral imagination is the ability to touch the art and soul of the matter."[59] Importantly, many mediators do have an artistic or spiritual practice that influences their mediation practice,[60] however, this is not something that is encouraged in mediation training. What Lederach proposes is that each mediator finds his or her inner artist, already during conflict resolution, mediation, and peacebuilding training: "Much of what currently takes place in 'skill training' orients itself toward understanding and managing cognitive and behavioural responses in human interactions. Tapping the creative side, touching intuition, knowing things kinetically, visually, metaphorically, and artistically requires avenues of exploration in the educational process that tap whole other parts of human 'being' and 'knowing'".[61] In this line of argument, the mediators become the artist, in order to tease out hidden knowledge and new moral imaginations of the people they work with. Leading on from that, this project explored whether models could be envisioned and developed that would allow artists and mediators to collaborate during peace processes. Could artists play a more active role in mediation processes, as translators, discerning the complexities that the mediator might not otherwise have access to? And if so, which artists? Do they have to be embedded in the local communities? And who decides?

Most mediators and artists interviewed for this study cautioned against having an artist in the room or encouraging 'art-making' during highly politicised and tense negotiations. This is not to say that it is not possible, but again, it depends on time, trust and the sociocultural and political context. As the examples sketched out above illustrate, every mediator has different tools in his or her box to brighten the mood, create a break, and allow the parties to relate to each other in a new way, and make themselves known to the other side. "One time I brought the favourite fruit of the most difficult person in the negotiation, as a trick to keep everyone around the table. Another time, I invited a guitarist who lightened everyone's mood", Ali Saleem remembered. "We have done artmaking as well when we asked all the parties to draw instead of discuss the rules of procedure".

In summary, it is important to acknowledge that all art is political and to inquire how a collaboration between mediators and artists can harness that. Many mediators already sequence artistic or cultural elements, but this cannot be fully planned or staged. Furthermore, it is not possible to come up with a 'one size fits all' document or methodology for 'art in mediation', instead it has to be bespoke and new every time, in order to avoid becoming just another box to be ticked in an effort to innovate.

Propaganda Art, Instrumentalisation and Other Pitfalls

"If truth is the first casualty of war, then art is also a casualty, being quickly turned from a cultural ploughshare into a sword for propaganda and psychological warfare",[62] the Irish journalist Bernard Conlon writes, and so addresses one of the main challenges when working with art in conflict; the potential of art to both divide and unite, to draw out the worst in human beings and to foster beauty, justice and humanity.[63] Likewise, most of my respondents who work with the arts in practice expressed words of caution, emphasising that art is very powerful and can be a force of good and ill, and that art is a medium which is not better or worse than the people who use it. According to Colin Davidson, a painter from Northern Ireland, "there are a lot of egos in the artworld, but there is no room for bullshit in transformative art; the motives of the artist working with communities have to be right".[64]

Another recurring theme during the interviews was that of the instrumentalisation of artists. Rama Mani, a peacebuilder, poet, and performance artist, predicted that: "the artists will say 'Yay finally we will be included!' but the challenge is to not instrumentalise, tokenise, or co-opt". This project seeks to encourage and equip mediation teams to seek out those few artists who touch the nerve of a society and who put their finger on what the community feels.[65] In order to avoid the instrumentalisation of artists, once found, working models are needed that ensure a conversation on equal footing between mediators and artists can take place, in which creative practices can shed light on mediation practices, avoiding an 'add artists and stir' approach, which leaves existing power structures in place and merely adds a few moments of artmaking.[66]

Elizabeth Solomon, a mediator based in Trinidad and Tobago, recalled an instance when she was working on the Cyprus conflict and Track 3 initiatives were brought into Track 1 negotiation rooms. Artists were working collaboratively across the Turkish-Greek divide and their paintings were hung in the mediation room:

"When the two parties arrived, there would be coffee beforehand, which is a cultural tradition and they both drink their coffee in the same way. There were then discussions about the paintings in the room, but it wasn't a formal part of the talks, and we as the mediators could have guided that discussion more methodologically. The other challenge was that the talks were so secret that the artists had little to go by. There was no mechanism for people's expression, nor was something communicated from top down."[67]

Solomon recounted feeling like this was a lost opportunity but also mentions feeling hesitant to direct the parties towards more engagement with the arts when she saw her role as more of a guide. This example demonstrates what happens if artmaking is siloed to a side activity and is not part of the process as a whole; when the artists are not part of the wider process but sidelined to community engagement. This issue of weaving the arts in organically also came up in the interview with Anna Hess Sargsyan, a Senior Programme Officer at the Centre for Security Studies in Switzerland, who has worked in a number of contexts, including Nepal and Cambodia, where art, such as theatre and dance was an integral part of the everyday to deal with the consequences of the conflict. "Once one of our partners invited a German arts facilitator to work with us, which turned out to be a disaster, because the women were doing it anyway, in an intuitive way". Another risk of including artists and art, according to Sargsyan, is that art becomes yet another 'tick box', like gender. "Just because a UN person is sitting there, speaking about the importance of gender equality – or arts for that matter – it doesn't mean people believe it. People internalise it through training, practical exercises and personal experiences".[68] Both examples demonstrate that artistic interventions, either by artists themselves, or by 'artmaking', only makes sense if they are endorsed by the parties and organically part of the process.

Lastly, the challenges for artists to make art in a (post-)conflict setting are vast. Colin Davidson, who produced the portrait

series Silent Testimony, during our *Art in Mediation Mini-Workshop,* cautioned:

"There were many more reasons for me not to comment on the conflict than to do it. There is a risk that you may be seen as being patronising, as being self-promoting, as being overly self-conscious, and as artists, we are constantly walking this tightrope of our own self-consciousness of what we are trying to say, if we are trying to say anything at all. The power of art is in the engagement and the fact that the maker has left a gap in their art which is inhabited by and filled by the person who engages with that. In that engagement an answer can emerge. But it is not the art itself that gives the answer".[69]

However, not all art is transformative and perhaps doesn't have to be. But "if you want the artistic engagement to be transformative, it needs to start somewhere and go somewhere, only then can it lead to a new understanding", Hannah Reich, a facilitator and researcher in the field of constructive conflict transformation reiterated.[70] Similarly, Davidson said that in order for art to 'do something', it needs to be accessible and acknowledge the unspeakable; the loss, the pain, that which was not addressed in the Good Friday Agreement (1998). In practice this means creating clear structures and a safe environment in which these kinds of processes can take place. Riham Isaac, a performance artist from Palestine described these structures as follows:

"When I work, my participants want to feel like they are in control, like they can do 'it', because art can be very scary if you just tell them they have to be creative. You have to define the tasks, it is a journey from one task to the other, it is in a frame of a game, a game you know, like a football game that has rules. I always think about this when I do any [arts-based] workshops".[71]

During the *Mini-Workshop* in April 2020, Riham Isaac further urged us to always keep in mind the asymmetry between different artists. Colin Davidson suggested in the same workshop to do a series of portraits of Israeli and Palestinian mothers who had lost children in the conflict, without labels, leaving out their political and ethnic affiliations, to depict the human loss that affects both sides, similar to his Silent Testimony series. Riham Isaac vehemently opposed this idea, saying that one cannot talk about shared suffering under the conditions of occupation. Hence, just as mediators have to carefully assess power asymmetry during the peace process,[72] any activities that plan to bring together artists from across conflict lines need to take into consideration the different standpoints from which artists produce their work.

Conclusion

A peace process is a cultural, emotional and spiritual journey, aside from the political and technical negotiation process that takes place on Track 1; and peace treaties only hold if all of these dimensions are included.[73] Art as an expression of culture is present at every stage of a conflict and visible through symbols, murals, rituals, songs, colours and flags. Bringing art into the formal negotiations gives mediators a chance to use its potential, but also to defuse its polarising power. Through artistic engagement, different experiences and diverging truths can be expressed that are otherwise deniable or unspeakable.[74] However, it is crucial to be clear about the timing and aim of an artistic activity, which might include facilitating communication, creating bridges, bearing witness, and enabling healing.

Art is already being used in different capacities in peace processes around the globe, depending on the cultural context, be it poetry, dance, music, or storytelling. However, this is heavily dependent on the cultural context, the chief mediator, and the mediation team. Cultural elements such as sport (watching and doing), communal cooking and eating, or spending time in nature or at cultural sites are often sequenced at the appropriate time. Most mediators named a lack of trust, time, funding and political will as reasons why art is not used systematically in formal processes. Moreover, art as a transformative experience cannot be planned but needs to happen organically, a process that the mediator/facilitator cannot fully control or impose but that has to come from the parties themselves.

Importantly, women and insider mediators working in both formal and informal processes are already using a wide variety of culturally relevant and artistic tools to build bridges between different worldviews. The challenge that remains is to make sure that their efforts do not get sidelined as 'soft practices' or 'women's community art' but that their knowledge is transferred into formal processes.

Suggestions on how to work with art and artistic practices during peace processes:

- Include artistic training in mediation training: mediators discover their inner artist and acquire tools and creative approaches to mediations that actualise their potential and that of those in the room;
- Establish a culture by which each mediation design includes a bespoke and culturally sensitive artistic strategy, which runs alongside the economic, security and political strategies;
- Create space for an exchange between the mediation team and artists during the debriefing phase;
- Start dealing with the past early on in the process, collaborating with local artists who can offer a distinct access and window into society and people's grievances. Here it is important to carefully think through and plan these artistic interventions and ensure that the different strategies speak to each other in order to avoid the arts being sidelined;
- Include local artists and/or international artists from other conflict landscapes who are able to speak to the local sensibilities and operate as a bridge between the communities and the mediation team;
- Listen to the women. They are already doing the work.

NOTES

1 This chapter is a short and updated version of the research report Isabel Käser wrote in 2020 for the Embassy of Switzerland in the United Kingdom. A full, updated version of this report can be downloaded from: www.art-in-mediation.ch
2 Lederach, John Paul. 2005. *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.176.
3 Ibid., p.174.
4 Mitchell, Jolyon, Giselle Vincett, Theodora Hawksley, and Hal Culbertson, eds. 2020. *Peacebuilding and the Arts. Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies.* Palgrave Macmillan, p.5.
5 The project was initiated by Dagmar Reichert (*artasfoundation:* www.artasfoundation.ch) and Swiss Ambassador Alexandre Fasel, who held a first workshop on the topic in Geneva in 2015. Since then, the conversation continued among artists and mediators at the Embassy of Switzerland in the United Kingdom (London), and during the research conducted by Isabel Käser that led to this report (2019–2020). A part of the data from the original report will be published in a book chapter co-authored by Isabel Käser and Jolyon Mitchell in a forthcoming book with Wiley-Blackwell titled *Wiley Blackwell Companion to Religion and Peace* (2021).
6 Kim, Sebastian, Pauline Kollontai, and Sue Yore, eds. 2015. *Mediating Peace: Reconciliation Through Visual Arts, Music and Film.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing; Robinson, and Keavy Martin, eds. 2016. *Arts of Engagement: Taking Aesthetic Action in and beyond the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.* Indigenous Studies. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
7 The 'West' here refers to Europe and North America.
8 Insider mediators are people from the respective conflict regions, with in-depth knowledge of the context, who work in both the informal and formal process, Mason, Simon J. A. 2009. *Insider Mediators: Exploring Their Key Role in Informal Peace Processes.* Berghof Foundation for Peace Support, swisspeace and CSS.
9 Afrax, Maxamed Daahir. 2010. *Towards a Culture for Peace: Poetry, Drama and Music in Somali Society.* In Whose Peace Is It Anyway? Connecting Somali and International Peacemaking, edited by Mark Bradbury and Healy Sally, 72–74, and Mason, Simon J. A. 2009. *Insider Mediators: Exploring Their Key Role in Informal Peace Processes.*
10 Art here is defined broadly as an aesthetic practice of relating to the world, which is culturally specific but can have a cross-cultural appeal (Carroll 2000; Wiehl 2005).
11 Interview with Julian Hottinger, 3.7.2020; Interview with Matthias Siegfried, 30.6.2020.
12 In a similar vein, *AVIS28,* the Swiss foreign policy vision for 2028, emphasises the importance of Switzerland's good offices, and reiterates that those need to be continuously "modernised and optimally positioned" in order to stay relevant and respond to the complexity of conflicts. AVIS28, Switzerland in the world 2028. Report by the working group *Switzerland's 2018 Foreign Policy Visio*n to Federal Councillor Ignazio Cassis, p.31–33.
13 Interview with Julian Hottinger, 3.7.2020.
14 Qat is a plant native to the Horn of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula and is a key component of any social function, causing light euphoria, among other side effects. Qat serves a similar function as coffee or alcohol and brings people together across conflict lines. However, the Qat sessions are exclusively male: Yemeni women, for example, cannot enter that space but have their own sessions. Interview with Atiaf Alwazir, 5.6.2020.
15 Interview with Mirko Manzoni, 13.7.2020.
16 Interview with Mô Bleeker, 24.3.2020.
17 Ibid.
18 Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, in: https://centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/ (12.7.2020).
19 Interview with Mô Bleeker, 24.3.2020, Interview with Philipp Lustenberger, 6.7.2020.
20 See UN Resolution 1325 (2000), in: https://undocs.org/S/RES/1325(2000).
21 Despite women's contributions to preventing and resolving conflicts, they are often excluded from negotiating tables. In peace processes between 1992–2018 women only made up 3% of mediators, 4% of signatories, 13% of negotiators, only 2 women (Miriam Coronel Ferrer and Tzipi Livni) have served as chief negotiators, and only Ferrer has ever signed a final peace accord as a chief negotiator. A mere 19% of peace agreements contain reference to women, and 5% mention conflict-related gender-based violence, in: Council on Foreign Relations. 2019. *Women's Participation in*

Peace Processes: www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/ (9.9.2020).

22 Bensky, Miriam. 2020. *'Good Offices' for Others, Bad Offices for Us?* LSE Women Peace and Security (blog). 5 May 2020. https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/wps/2020/05/05/good-offices-for-others-bad-offices-for-us/.

23 Paffenholz, Thania, Nick Ross, Steven Dixon, Anna-Lena Schluchter, and Jacqui True. 2016. *Making Women Count – Not Just Counting Women: Assessing Women's Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations.* Geneva: Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative (The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies) and UN Women, p.5.

24 Catherine Turner and Fleur Heyworth. 2019. *Advancing Inclusive Mediation Through the Lens of Leadership.* Geneva: Geneva Centre for Security Policy.

25 Interview with Maria Butler, WILPF, 22.11.2019.

26 "All over Bakassi, women is peace (4x). Obstacles to peace, she tries to overcome, the armed conflict like kidnappings, all rapings she tries to avoid. All over of Bakassi woman is peace (4x). Obstacles to peace she tries to overcome, gossiping and incest she tries to overcome. All over of Bakassi woman is peace (4x)." As sung by Esther Omam during the interview with Esther Omam, 19.5.2020.

27 Interview with Mossarat Qadeem, 4.5.2020.

28 Interview with Visaka Dharmadasa, 4.5.2020.

29 Interview with Bebhinn McKinley and Sara Cook, 1.5.2020.

30 Interview with Jeremy Brickhill, 23.7.2020.

31 Ibid., see also: Brickhill, Jeremy. 2018. *Mediating Security Arrangements in Peace Mediation: Critical Perspectives from the Field.* CSS Mediation Resources. Zürich: Centre for Security Studies.

32 Nordstrom, Carolyn. 1997. *A Different Kind of War Story.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, p.220, quoted in Mitchell, Jolyon et al, p.12.

33 *The Throne of Weapons* by Cristóvão Canhavato (Kester) in 2001, see: http://museum.wa.gov.au/extraordinary-stories/highlights/throne-weapons/ (18.7.2020).

34 *Tree of Life* sculpture was created by four artists, Hilario Nhatugueja, Fiel dos Santos, Adelino Serafim Maté and Kester in 2005. Both the Throne and the Tree grew out of the project *Transforming Arms into Tools,* see: Tester, Frank James. 2006. *Art and Disarmament: Turning Arms into Ploughshares in Mozambique.* Development in Practice 16 (2): 169–78. For other more recent examples of 'weapons into artmaking' see *The Bell Project* (Iraq) by Hiwa K: https://aeon.co/videos/why-the-kurdish-iraqi-artist-hiwa-k-melts-weapons-of-war-into-art-for-everyone; and *Fragmentos* (Columbia) by Doris Salcedo: http://www.museonacional.gov.co/micrositios1/Fragmentos/index.html. The latter was part of the agreement that was signed in Havana, when it was decided that three monuments would be built.

35 Interview with Neha Sanghrajka, 11.5.2020.

36 Find an example of the logo in the Annex (p.22).

37 Interview with Mirko Manzoni, 13.7.2020.

38 Luxshi Vimalarajah at the *Art in Mediation Workshop,* 7.4.2020.

39 Due to the pandemic, the workshops that would have brought together mediators and artists in person to test some of our hunches had to be postponed. Instead, three 'mini-workshops' brought together a total of 12 participants on Zoom, discussing the need and possibility of including artistic practices in mediation processes.

40 Antje Herrberg at the *Art in Mediation Mini-Workshop,* 28.4.2020.

41 Interview with Julian Hottinger, 3.7.2020.

42 Interview with Sarah Jankowitz, 3.7.2020.

43 Duncombe, Stephen. 2016. *Does It Work? The Æffect of Activist Art. Social Research: An International Quarterly* 83 (1): 115-116.

44 Interview with Stephen Duncombe, 14.7.2020.

45 Duncombe, Stephen. 2016. *Does It Work? The Æffect of Activist Art,* p.120–124.

46 Cohen, Cynthia. *Creative Approaches to Reconciliation.* In The Psychology of Resolving Conflicts: From War to Peace, eds. Mari Fitzduff and Christopher E. Stout. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group.

47 Mason, Simon J. A. 2012. *Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) in Peace Processes.* In Managing Peace Processes: Process Related Questions. A Handbook for AU Practitioners, 1:57–77. African Union and the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

48 Antje Herrberg at the *Art in Mediation Mini-Workshop,* 28.4.2020.

49 Personal correspondence with Simon J. A. Mason, senior researcher CSS, ETH, Switzerland.

50 Interview with Mô Bleeker, 24.3.2020

51 Interview with Ali Saleem, 26.6.2020.
52 Ibid.
53 Interview and personal correspondence with Eugen Koh, 3.12.2019.
54 Interview Scilla Elworthy, 22.7.2020.
55 Ibid., see also: Elworthy, Scilla. 2020. *The Mighty Heart: How to Transform Conflict*. London: Peace Direct.
56 Interview with Mô Bleeker, 24.3.2020.
57 Ibid.
58 Lederach, John Paul. 2005. *The Moral Imagination,* p.29.
59 Ibid., p.73.
60 Ben Hoffman was a woodcarver, John Paul Lederach writes Haiku, and Brendan McAllister is a singer, to name a few.
61 Ibid., p.175.
62 Conlon, Bernard. n.d. *The Art of Peace in Northern Ireland,* in: http://poieinkaiprattein.org/kids-guernica/kids-guernica-in-usa/art-education-for-social-justice/the-art-of-conflict-and-peace-in-northern-ireland-by-bernard-conlon/ (22.7.2020).
63 Mitchell, Jolyon et al., p.10; Interview with Hannah Reich, 11.11.19.
64 Interview with Colin Davidson, 4.2.20.
65 Interview with Rama Mani, 20.3.2020.
66 Mitchell, Jolyon et al., p.25.
67 Interview with Elizabeth Solomon, 7.5.2020.
68 Interview with Anna Hess Sargsyan, 28.4.2020.
69 Colin Davidson at the *Art in Mediation Mini-Workshop,* 28.4.2020.
70 Interview with Hannah Reich, 11.11.2019.
71 Interview with Riham Isaac, 17.3.2020.
72 McAuley, James W., Catherine McGlynn, and Jon Tonge. 2008. *Conflict Resolution in Asymmetric and Symmetric Situations: Northern Ireland as a Case Study.* Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict 1 (1): 88–102, and; Aggestam, K. 2010. *Mediating Asymmetrical Conflict.* Mediterranean Politics 7 (1): 69–91.
73 Interview with Mô Bleeker, 24.3.2020.
74 Interview with François Matarasso, 10.12.2019.

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