

EXPERIENCES THROUGH A LENS: EXPLORING EFFECTS OF TRANSFER IN A  
YOUTH PEACEBUILDING INITIATIVE

by

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A Thesis  
Submitted to the  
Graduate Faculty  
of  
George Mason University  
in Partial Fulfillment of  
The Requirements for the Degree  
of  
Master of Science  
Conflict Analysis and Resolution

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Date: 29 April 2013

Spring Semester 2013  
George Mason University  
Fairfax, VA

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Spring 2013  
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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the support of the Global Youth Village and Legacy International staff who supported and contributed to this research, as well as all of the research participants. Thanks also to my thesis committee for their work and support. My wife, helpmeet, and editor deserves far more thanks than I can give. Additionally, thanks to all the musicians who unknowingly kept my writing process going.

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **EXPERIENCES THROUGH A LENS: EXPLORING EFFECTS OF TRANSFER IN A YOUTH PEACEBUILDING INITIATIVE**

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The current research is concerned with the effects of transfer in youth peacebuilding initiatives. Through examining one particular ICR effort, this thesis attempts to explore if transfer occurs and how youth participants transfer what they learn and practice in a short summer program into their adult lives, and sometimes, into a life-time of peacebuilding and intercultural work. Additionally, it calls into question the nature of just what is being transferred. Through the course of the research it became clear that the tangible outcomes – volunteer work, political activity, etc. – that the researcher was initially interested in were not what research respondents were interested in talking about. Instead, their responses frequently dwelt on internal, emotional changes. The research utilized a mixed methods case study approach, including an online questionnaire and interviews. Additionally, the researcher has worked for the program being studied, and so was able to incorporate insider observations and personal communications with research subjects. The research found that transfer does occur, though primarily in the



form of changed views of self and participants relationship to the world. It found six primary themes that encapsulated the effects of transfer – personal connections and cultural experiences, self-learning and reflection, the uniqueness of the experience and inability to explain it, practicing for later, follow-up, and cumulative effects. As transfer in terms of internal changes is under theorized in youth peacebuilding, the research identities questions and avenues of exploration for future research.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Since the 1960s, Interactive Conflict Resolution (ICR) approaches have been used to explore and suggest solutions to intractable conflicts – those which, for a variety of reasons, resist resolution (Fisher, 1997). This approach differs from more traditional negotiation in that it brings together groups of individuals who may have little formal or actual influence on the conflict to explore potential solutions, many of which may never be implemented. Since its development, ICR has been used in a wide variety of conflict settings with diverse participants, including, in the case of this research, children and teenagers (Fisher, 1997). Over the course of this development, understandings of the goals and outcomes of ICR have also developed. While early ICR efforts were more focused on individuals, as opposed to nations, the primary goal was still negotiated settlement of conflict. However, as ICR evolved processes began to focus less on actual resolution and more on potential resolutions, with the idea that the creativity and potential actions conceived of in the process would create traction on conflicts that seemed otherwise intractable. Some ICR practitioners began to focus even more on individuals and their experiences, which necessitated changes in how ICR is conceptualized and evaluated.

Evaluation of ICR approaches is notoriously difficult, because ICR hinges on relationships between people, changes to those relationships, and internal feelings and

attitudes, which are difficult to measure and which are difficult to attribute to any one activity or experience (Kelman, 2008, p. 39). ICR is not so much a specific technique, but rather a set of similar and sometimes interrelated processes. Additionally, while tangible outcomes, such as peace agreements or termination of outright hostilities, may follow ICR efforts, ICR is typically just one tool of the many that are applied in seeking resolution. Kelman (2008) offers the concept of “transfer,” wherein ideas and strategies developed in an ICR activity are later transferred, possibly in an altered form, to another setting where they can be implemented. Kelman’s notion of transfer and how to measure it hinges on changes and activities that are largely external, such as joining a political party or working with others on a joint project. Because Kelman is focused on external actions as the primary outcome of ICR, evaluation approaches that use his framework seek to measure primarily, or even only, actions taken by ICR participants. However, before ICR participants are able to act on the training they receive or the activities they take part in, internal changes must take place. This research is concerned with those internal changes as a means of facilitating the external actions with which many researchers are concerned. This is in keeping with the approach to ICR evaluation used by D’Estree et al. (2001), who suggest looking at four different results of ICR: changes in thinking, changes in relations, foundations for transfer, and foundations for outcomes of implementation.

While there are multiple conceptions of transfer, this project is primarily concerned with Kelman’s (2008), because it is applicable to programs such as the one being studied and because it is often the concept of transfer considered in the literature on

ICR. Transfer is key in youth peace processes because, as the participants cannot yet vote or run for office, the overarching success of the process depends on them transferring what they learn and experience to those around them, and on them retaining it until they can turn it into concrete action, which may not be until they are adults. ICR approaches are frequently used with youth participants because young people are de facto barred from traditional negotiation (though some negotiated settlements have included a focus on the needs of youth).

Through examining one particular ICR effort, the Global Youth Village (GYV), this thesis attempts to explore if transfer occurs and how youth participants transfer what they learn and practice in a short summer program into their adult lives, and sometimes, into a life-time of peacebuilding and intercultural work. Additionally, it calls into question how transfer occurs and examines the intermediate measures of whether transfer is occurring. Through the course of the research it became clear that the tangible outcomes – volunteer work, political activity, etc. – with which the bulk of the literature is concerned and which the researcher was initially interested in, were not what research respondents were interested in talking about. Instead, their responses frequently dwelt on internal, emotional changes. While many studies of ICR focus on more tangible or measurable external changes and actions, this research posits that change is happening through a diversity of mechanisms, and manifesting not just as external actions but as deeply personal emotional growth and change. While the personal changes in and of themselves are not transfer, they appear to be related to transfer and may potentially be seen as indicators that transfer is occurring or will soon occur. As will be seen below,

research respondents indicate that these changes are quite important for them, however, as will be seen, not a lot of research has focused on these changes.

Drawing on much of the existing literature, the researcher set out to conduct a longitudinal study of youth ICR, using primarily external indicators of transfer such as those outlined by Kelman (2008). However, over the course of the research it became clear that there were tensions in the research – while the researcher was interested in external measures of success in ICR, the research subjects were primarily reporting on internal, individual changes created by the GYV experience. Understanding these tensions and differences necessitates a shift in how these programs are evaluated. Rather than focusing only or primarily on external indicators of change, such as working for an NGO or working in an ethnically mixed neighborhood, researchers should listen to the stories being told by ICR participants about the internal changes that are happening to help them to understand how these changes come about and what can be done to ensure that they are lasting.

## **RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS**

The subject of this research is the Global Youth Village and its participants. GYV is a peacebuilding and cross-cultural communications summer program that works with youth from conflict and recent post-conflict regions and their peers from around the world. The initial primary questions posed by the research are does transfer, primarily as theorized by Kelman (2008), occur for GYV participants, and, if so, through what mechanisms does it occur. For Kelman and others, transfer necessitates some sort of external action. However, as will be shown below, through the research it became clear that fuller understanding of the mechanisms of transfer was needed, as the internal changes being experienced by participants also appear to be key to creating transfer. In this section, the researcher, the research design and its evolutions, and the methods will be introduced and discussed. As will be seen below, all of these underwent significant changes over the course of the project. What has emerged from the project can be seen more as a pilot or exploratory piece, seeking to examine emerging data and theories on the study of internal changes that occur as a result of ICR, rather than a static or complete project. Therefore, the research posits that not only should ICR projects such as GYV be viewed as one part of a larger process, or in the words of Kelman (2008), as some of the links in a chain that create peace and conflict resolution, but that the program serves as a lens through which participants focus their understanding of both the experience and

themselves. Understanding the mechanisms through which these changes occur for participants can provide a better understanding of just what is going on in ICR, and thus enrich the study of conflict resolution activities.

At GYV, participants engage in a process of peacebuilding education that encourages change on multiple levels. While GYV incorporates many elements of traditional ICR, which will be discussed in the literature review, the changes which GYV is seeking to create in participants are largely internal and individual, rather than external and systemic. This is not to say that other efforts are unconcerned with internal, individual changes, but the focus on them is frequently as a means to an end – external, systemic changes. This study shows that more focus is needed on those internal changes.

### **About the Research and the Researcher**

The theoretical grounding of the research will be examined below. However, it is necessary to give a bit of background on the researcher and the type of research being conducted, which also necessitates a brief break from the academic third-person voice. I, the researcher, worked at GYV for three summers and formed close bonds with participants and staff, many of whom are quoted here. I am deeply personally committed to the work of GYV and similar programs, and rather than setting out as an outside evaluator trying to measure the program's successes and failures, I began as an insider seeking to understand just what was happening in this place where I was spending so much of my time. In my earliest conception of the research, I framed it as seeking, as a researcher, to name and explain what I knew instinctively as a practitioner was happening

with GYV participants. However, being a novice researcher, I initially sought to reduce my research to a set of questions which were mainly concerned with tangible, measurable results. However, it soon became clear that the questions I was asking were not getting to what was most useful to understand. Additionally, my research subjects, many of whom are my friends and colleagues, were telling me a different story than I was asking them for. This led to a switch to a research design that attempted to focus on the results and internal changes created by the experience at GYV, as the research subjects were presenting it, in an attempt to get a bigger picture view of what happens for participants during ICR in terms of transfer. While it was not possible to wholly redesign the research or the research instruments, it was possible to change the focus of elements of the design. The original research design and the changes made to it will be discussed below. What effect my own personal attachment to the research may have will be discussed in the discussion section, but here I feel compelled to quote C. Wright Mills (1963), in particular, the quote which became his epitaph: “I have tried to be objective. I do not claim to be detached.” (p. 10).

### **A Note on Data Reporting and Terminology**

All responses from research subjects are presented verbatim as they were given, including spelling mistakes. Several research subjects are not native speakers of English, and this is sometimes reflected in their responses. When necessary, subjects are identified by the first letter of their first name, though nearly all responded to the questionnaire non-anonymously and provided their names and email addresses for



follow-up. Some data is drawn from interviews and personal communications. In this case, responses are either reported verbatim, in the case of interviews which were recorded, or paraphrased, from notes and memory. The paper will refer throughout to “participants” – this should be understood to refer to participants in the GVV program, as this is the preferred language of the program, which takes great pains to avoid terms such as “kids,” “teens,” or anything else that might indicate a lesser regard for the young people in the program. When necessary, the distinction will be made between *research* respondents or participants and *GVV* participants.

## **Problem Statement and Initial Research Design**

The program being studied is rooted in ICR, and thus the conceptual and theoretical framework of the program is the same as other ICR initiatives – that small groups of people in face-to-face situations, working with a facilitator, can create solutions and conditions needed to change or resolve the conflict in which they are engaged. GVV, though, is not focused on solving a specific conflict. Instead, participants engage in discussion and training which helps them to explore their world and the changes they would like to see and create in it. The difference here, again, hinges on with what outcomes of ICR researchers and program designers are concerned. While much initial work in ICR and its evaluation focused on a specific international conflict, GVV and other programs like it are concerned with conflict as it is manifested in the lives of participants – be that ongoing violence in Israel/Palestine or a disagreement with a roommate over bed times. This reflects a belief that all conflicts, regardless of scale,

share certain similarities. While this approach to conflict resolution does offer new avenues to approach conflict, it also offers a complication to the evaluation of ICR at GYV, because what is being evaluated cannot be limited to specific actions related to the resolution of large-scale conflicts. This is why the research approach below was determined to be helpful. The primary research question is whether transfer occurs and through which mechanisms it does occur.

In addition to its roots in ICR, GYV also incorporates elements of specific ICR processes, including peacebuilding workshops and dialogue processes, which will be discussed below. There are elements of contact hypothesis theory also built into the GYV program. Contact hypothesis theory, developed by Allport (1954) and expanded on by Abu-Nimer (1999), is the theory that contact with members of other groups can reduce prejudice and negative feelings, and thus facilitate conflict resolution, even if the contact does not directly involve conflict resolution activities.

The initial research design was a mixed methods case study, comprised of an online questionnaire, interviews (face-to-face when possible, and over Skype if necessary), and limited document review. The questionnaire consisted of two portions, a Likert scale measuring attitudes and beliefs of former participants in regards to members of other ethnic, racial, religious, or cultural groups, and an open-ended question section seeking information on experiences at GYV and subsequent actions – careers, involvement in social or political groups, intergroup relationships, etc. The full instrument is provided in Appendix 1. This portion of the design attempted to elicit whether participants are working in a field that relates to the training they received at

GYV and whether they have a positive attitude toward members of other groups (for example, Shi'ite Iraqis for Sunni participants). It was designed to seek out how successfully participants embraced and adopted the goals of the program and acted on them after the program ended. What exactly is meant by “success” in ICR will be examined in the Review of the Literature and subsequent sections. The researcher intended for the Likert scale to comprise the bulk of the data, with the narrative responses being used to categorize respondents and add detail to the analysis. As GYV has been in existence for over 30 years, the goal was to seek responses from a wide variety of participants from different eras in the program’s history. The design was deeply rooted in evaluation-style research and surveys/questionnaires. While not quantitative in nature, the design was intended to generate data that could be counted, graphed, and presented in tables.

Initially, the researcher was interested in whether this program creates a long-term improvement in attitudes and beliefs toward “the other” and whether these changes could be measured using indicators such as engagement in politics, activism, or social justice work. Additional questions for the research included whether the effects of the program were more salient for participants from conflict regions because their attitudes and beliefs might have been more polarized to begin with, or whether participants from non-conflict regions were more affected by the program because its concepts were new to them. As the program contains elements of focused peacebuilding training as well as contact hypothesis theory, the researcher also attempted to discern whether more structured activities, such as communication and conflict resolution training, or unstructured

interactions with diverse participants have the most effect on participants in the long term.

In addition to the questionnaire, the researcher intended to conduct interviews with a select group of respondents. Here, the aim was that one representative individual could be chosen to speak for their “group” – one Iraqi, one American, one older participant, one younger, one who came back as a staff member, and so on. Whether this was ever an optimal research design is subject to debate; however it became clear that the idea of a “representative” individual was problematic in all senses. Each research participant was able to tell one story: his or her own. When pushed in interviews and conversations to do otherwise, respondents resisted. Gradually it became clear that what the researcher had designed the research to elicit was not what participants found most important about the GYV experience, and the data did not give a good picture of the mechanisms through which transfer was occurring. This necessitated a reconceptualization of the research project.

## **Evolution of the Design**

From the beginning, it was understood that the completed research would be given to GYV to help program administrators improve the program. As explained above, the research was designed to capture representative numeric data about attitudes from a wide group, with written responses and interviews supplementing that data. However, it quickly became clear that what was emerging as important in the data was what was intended to be the secondary information – the written responses, interviews, and

personal conversations the researcher had with the research participants, in which respondents were providing rich detail on the changes which occurred internally for them as a result of their experiences at GYV, which shaped much of their subsequent lives. These results, which were not measures of effectiveness of specific program components, but rather personal stories of individual and internal changes fostered by GYV, revealed the underlying personal changes that seemed to be facilitating transfer in the lives of participants. Because of this and lower than expected response rates to the questionnaire, the researcher abandoned the longitudinal nature of the study and focused instead on exploring the personal experiences of a smaller group of participants. What was intended to be a longitudinal case study was reconceptualized as a richer, more in-depth exploration of the experiences of a smaller group of participants and staff. From the beginning, the research sought to involve research participants (primarily the GYV staff) in the development of the project. However this involvement could have been much more comprehensive and holistic. This and other implications and directions for further research will be considered in the final sections of the paper. The next section, the Review of the Literature, will first explore how ICR has been traditionally implemented and evaluated, then delve into adaptations and criticisms of ICR.

## **REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE**

This review of the literature will explore the history of ICR, how it and its evaluation developed, and how the literature as it stands relates to the current research. As will be seen below, ICR initially sought to help leaders and decision-makers create traction on intractable conflicts. The literature review will explore the development of ICR and the theories and mechanisms that underlie it. In the early sections of this review, the main theory of the research, transfer, will be discussed, along with contact hypothesis, which is core to the work of GYV and similar programs. It will also introduce two of the primary techniques of ICR: peacebuilding workshops and intergroup dialogues, both of which informed the development of programming at GYV. A later section of the literature review will consider how ICR has been evaluated. As mentioned above, evaluation of ICR is quite difficult, and those difficulties will be explained and examples of how various ICR programs have been evaluated will be presented, along with a critique of much of the traditional evaluation of ICR. Finally the review will present gaps in the current research and how this study can serve to fill some of those gaps.

## **Conceptions of Youth**

Before delving into theories and techniques, it is first necessary to examine what is meant by youth and how youth can be conceptualized. GYV has worked with participants of various ages, ranging from six to eighteen years old. However, in addition to the youth participants, the program also employs a number of youth as staff. These staff are over the age of eighteen, but are often still in college. Internationally, the conception of youth varies. The United Nations considers people between the ages of 15 and 24 to be “youth” (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, n.d.).

Some of the works in the literature review examine ICR done with youth exclusively, and several others consider mixed programs of youth and adults, such as the workshops conducted by Doob and Foltz (1973). However, there is little written strictly on youth peace processes with the model being considered, so the literature review will also explore related processes with other models and with adults. The lack of scholarship on youth peacebuilding is reflective of an issue that pervades this research – because they often have limited ability to affect conflict situations or resolution attempts (except as youth combatants), youth, like other marginalized groups are often left out of peacebuilding and other attempts at resolution. As will be seen in the literature review and in the results section, despite the lack of scholarship on youth peacebuilding, these programs are common and ICR may be especially well suited for implementation with youth, because of the unique developmental features of adolescence.

## **Origins of Interactive Conflict Resolution**

Interactive Conflict Resolution is a form of small group, face-to-face, informal conflict resolution that is not directly seeking a negotiated settlement. The term was coined by Fisher (1993, 1997) to describe processes that can take on a variety of forms and employ a variety of techniques, including the workshops and dialogues to be discussed later, which typically utilize a third-party facilitator from outside of the conflict groups to help parties in a conflict work through differences in a constructive manner. In contrast to traditional negotiation and mediation, in which the end point of each process is ideally resolution or settlement, ICR focuses more on relationships between parties in conflict and seeks to find creative solutions to on-going conflict, which may be outside of the scope of other types of intervention or resolution. Fisher (1997) states that ICR “refers to efforts for improving the relationship between adversaries toward greater trust and cooperation, more accurate perceptions and attitudes, a more positive climate, and a stronger political will to deal constructively with their differences” (p. 11).

ICR was, in large part, a backlash to the “Great Powers” theories of conflict. It posits that individuals matter, not just nations. In this sense, it was quite radical at the time. Practitioners of ICR theorized that in order for conflicts to be resolved, the needs and fears of individuals and communities must be addressed, rather than just the interests of nations. Burton’s (1997) theory of basic human needs is, of course, the prime example of this new way of understanding conflict and its resolution. In this theory, Burton, drawing on Maslow’s (1943) psychological work on the hierarchy of needs, suggested that there are “basic human needs” which cannot be ignored or denied, and when they are



not met, conflict will result. This was in contrast to many traditional theories of conflict, which either ignored individuals entirely to focus on nations or suggested that people engage in conflict when they see a strategic benefit in doing so. Burton argued that, if basic human needs were not met, people would engage in conflict even if there was no possible strategic benefit. This and related ideas about conflict were foundational to ICR, resulting in a focus on individuals and their needs, fears, and interests. Subsequently, some ICR practitioners have also incorporated other theories, including identity and narrative theories. Practitioners of ICR (and many other conflict resolution scholars and practitioners) sought to balance the psychosocial realities of human life with the international relations emphasis on strategic interests of nations<sup>1</sup>. Of the development of ICR (in particular, Burton's contributions), Mitchell (2001) wrote:

It is also clearly the case that much of the thinking that underlay the development of the new approach had its roots in the "behavioural" challenge to the traditional and stultifying power political thinking that dominated International Relations - and especially British International Relations - scholarship at the time, a challenge which emphasised the importance of decision making processes (Snyder, Bruck & Sapin 1962; Holsti & North 1965), of the psychology of distorted perceptions (Kelman 1965), and of the potential instability of conflict systems in which a small input of new information made at a key point in the system could bring about major changes in structure and inter-action (Deutsch 1963) (n.p.).

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<sup>1</sup> For more on this, see Ramsbotham, Woodehouse, and Miall (2005), Chapters 2 and 14.

While ICR is still a common and generally well-regarded method of conflict resolution, there are some critiques of it, which will be examined later in the literature review.

As said above, ICR is not so much one method or technique, but multiple approaches, which share similar characteristics and an underlying theoretical framework. Fisher (1983) sums up what he considers to be the core strategies of ICR by defining the roles of the third party facilitator:

The core strategies of the model are expressed in the third party functions: (1) inducing mutual positive motivation for problem-solving; (2) improving the openness and accuracy of communication; (3) diagnosing the issues and processes of the conflict; and (4) regulating the interaction among the participants. (p. 304)

Fisher's approach is primarily concerned with processes that ultimately lead to resolutions, and because of this he is primarily concerned with relationships between participants as they can aid or hinder conflict resolution. Other theorists, though, are more concerned with relationships for their own sake as important aspects of ICR and peacebuilding.

In their consideration of ICR, Rothman and Olson (2001) are mainly concerned with small-group dynamics as a way to approach conflict. They say, "When parties come to understand themselves and each other more fully as they analyze the causes and nature of their disputes, they may begin to discover new ways of defining themselves, each other, and their relationships" (p. 295). Hill (1982) states that "the interventions of the third party are designed to enable the parties to see how their particular conflict relates to more general characteristics of conflict processes" (p. 119). Thus, one of the goals of

ICR is to give parties the tools to resolve any type of conflict, not just the one that they are involved in. This is particularly important in youth peacebuilding processes, where conflicts between individual participants and within families or small groups are typically used as metaphors and models for larger scale conflicts, and training activities are often based around micro-level conflicts such as might be experienced at school or with friends, rather than the macro-level conflict the participants are living through. This is a component of the model used at GYV. While discussion of international conflict and the conflicts participants are living through do occur frequently, the peacebuilding and dialogue workshops at GYV often focus on interpersonal conflict. This, and the scaling of conversations, from less contentious to more contentious over the course of the program, allows GYV participants to explore conflict in a variety of ways and to engage with the issues that they feel prepared to discuss at the point at which they are. Following sections of the paper will provide more detail on the structure and goals of the GYV program, but first the theoretical background of the program will be explored further.

### **Concepts of Transfer in Peacebuilding and Transfer's Effect on Youth**

The mechanisms of transfer, as theorized by Kelman (2008) primarily operate in two ways. In one mechanism, participants transfer what they have learned and experienced to their own lives, acting on the experience at some later point. In the other mechanism, participants transfer their insights and experience to others around them, who may have more ability to implement potential solutions. This second mechanism is the rationale for a focus on mid-level leaders, who have access to higher-level decision

makers. While these concepts of transfer are by far the most common in peacebuilding literature, there are other ways to conceptualize transfer. It should be noted that both of these concepts of transfer hinge on concrete action being taken at some later point, and that they are not specifically concerned with the internal changes and processes that need to occur in order for ICR participants to act on their experiences. However, some practitioners and theorists are more explicitly concerned with creating change within individual participants, including increased trust and better relations with members of the opposing group. Boehringer, Bayley, Zeroulis, and Boehringer (1974) note:

Workshops usually aim, through the use of psychodynamic techniques, to increase the level of trust and communication between the warring factions, thus enabling them to come to more reasonable, less destructive, appreciations of their opinions and the social structure in which they are all involved. (p. 257)

This is reflective of ICR's origins and intense focus on individuals, and the specific goals and dynamics of workshops as they relate to ICR and the current study will be discussed in a separate section. On how these changes take place, Austin (2001) writes:

In training, individual change – of attitudes and behaviour – comes first. Such change involves seeing things in a new way, un-learning old patterns and learning and testing new patterns of thought and behavior. (p. 222)

While Austin's work highlights the importance of internal changes, it also implies that these changes are neither the primary goal of ICR nor the main point of study. This raises questions of what happens after internal changes occur to create external changes. Mitchell (2001) finds:

Changing people's minds is intimately linked to changing their behaviour, although which change comes first is something of a matter for debate among social psychologists. A common sense approach would hold that, until a change has taken place in the perceptions, evaluations or goals of people in conflict, behavioural change is highly unlikely, although some commitment theorists have argued that it is a change of behaviour that leads, through a process of habituation, to new attitudes and beliefs. ( p. 94)

However, measuring and tracking internal changes in individuals is even more complex than measuring and tracking more tangible effects of ICR. These internal changes are under-theorized in conflict resolution literature (although other fields, such as psychology, have explored them in depth). There is a clear need for more research on internal personal changes that occur as a result of ICR, and this study seeks to provide additional information on how these changes help facilitate transfer.

Regarding how these changes come to be, Doob and Foltz (1973) say of their Stirling, Scotland workshop with Belfast residents:

In the most immediate sense, we sought merely to provide a milieu in which persons of many persuasions, abilities, and interests could learn in one another's presence something about how they personally and collectively operate when they work with their fellow citizens on projects that interest them. (p. 493)

It should be noted that the Stirling workshop has been widely criticized for employing techniques that many argue were ultimately harmful to participants.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, Doob and Foltz (1973) stand by their research, and many elements of their work have been adopted by subsequent practitioners.

Doob and Foltz's 1973 Stirling workshop is particularly applicable to youth peace processes because participants planned a project they would work on when they returned to their home communities. The aim was that participants would learn to actually work with those on the other side of the conflict, and through the project would be able to transfer this to their community. Many youth peace workshops, including GYV (when funding and specific programs permit) include a similar element, where youth plan group community service projects, or work in groups to develop individual projects.

Interestingly, in the Stirling workshop the only group that initially set out to plan a joint Catholic/Protestant project was the only group which consisted solely of youth. Doob and Foltz (1973) relate that this group was most effective in dividing responsibilities and exploring limits, as well as maintaining its independence from older groups (p. 505).

Their article does not explore this further, but it indicates that youth groups might be more effective than older groups at grassroots, person-to-person peacebuilding in part because of the desire for independence and autonomy that comes naturally during the teenage and young adult years. Erikson's Stages of Development, as cited in Gross

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<sup>2</sup> Critics allege that Doob and Foltz were engaging in psychiatric work without the proper training and support structure, and several team members subsequently distanced themselves from the project. For more information see Rationale, Research, and Role Relations in the Stirling Workshop. Daniel I. Alevy, Barbara B. Bunker, Leonard W. Doob, William J. Foltz, Nancy French, Edward B. Klein and James C. Miller. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Jun., 1974), pp. 276-284.

(1987), one of the most foundational works in developmental literature, categorizes adolescents (ages thirteen to nineteen) as being in a stage characterized by the existential question “Who am I and what can I be?” Youth are exploring their own identities and their relation to the world, and engaged in intense boundary pushing. Gross (1987), in a volume on Erikson, describes this stage of development thus:

What is unique about the stage of Identity is that it is a special sort of synthesis of earlier stages and a special sort of anticipation of later ones. Youth has a certain unique quality in a person's life; it is a bridge between childhood and adulthood. Youth is a time of radical change—the great body changes accompanying puberty, the ability of the mind to search one's own intentions and the intentions of others, the suddenly sharpened awareness of the roles society has offered for later life. ( p. 39)

As youth are engaged in deciding who they are in relation to the world, it makes sense that they would be inherently interested in shaping the world around them.

As noted in the Introduction, transfer is important to youth peacebuilding processes because young people are not yet able to engage in many of the behaviors that can be easily identified as working toward political action and conflict resolution, such as voting, working for an NGO, or running for a political office.<sup>3</sup> Young people may become involved in valuable peace efforts before they reach voting age and many GYV participants do, as will be seen below, but some outcomes, like full-time work, university studies, and political activity will not become possible or apparent for years. However,

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<sup>3</sup> There are, of course, exceptions to this, however, for the most part, youth can be assumed to be individuals under the age or majority and/or who are still pursuing education.

this also indicates a gap in much literature, because smaller actions, such as engaging in conversations with others and diversifying a peer group are not typically measured by ICR evaluation and research. The current study does make some attempt to gather information on these kinds of activities, as do other studies, including Wayne's (2008), but in general not enough attention is paid to smaller scale intermediate actions.

Rouhana (1995) has argued for inclusion of lower level and grassroots leaders in ICR, as these people might be less entrenched in bureaucracy and more willing to develop creative, innovative solutions to the conflict. This argument is also central to youth peace processes, as it is assumed that young people are more open to change and do not have firmly entrenched opinions, thus ICR and related processes would have a great deal of positive effect on them. Based on personal communications with practitioners, many believe that cycles of violence can be stopped if youth can be reached before their attitudes harden and they themselves become entrenched in the conflict.<sup>4</sup> There is also an assumption in youth ICR that involving youth in these processes creates a sense of agency and engagement for youth who may otherwise feel disenfranchised or marginalized. Peacebuilding Initiative (2007) quoted Bush and Salterelli in their report on youth and peacebuilding, saying:

Some programs also aim at allowing children and youth to take on a different role in the society. "Too often, history is presented as a rigid concept and children are led to believe that their place in history and their associated roles cannot be

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<sup>4</sup> Just how early these interventions need to begin is in itself a worthy topic of research.



challenged, let alone changed." To give children a sense that this can be different is to invite them into a transformative process. (n.p.)

In situations of overt, violent conflict, involving youth in ICR has the potential to keep them from becoming child combatants, or to move them out of that status. In less overt conflict settings, or simply those where youth combatants are less common, youth ICR has the ability to give youth a sense of agency and empowerment that may not otherwise be present in their lives. The next section of the literature review will explore contact hypothesis theory, another key component of ICR initiatives, especially those involving youth.

### **Contact Hypothesis Theory**

Most ICR efforts include some aspects of contact hypothesis theory, which has its roots in Allport's (1954) work on prejudice and its reduction. In that work he makes the crucial distinction that while contact with an outgroup (he was writing about racial and ethnic relations in the US) can help reduce prejudice, this is only true if the contact is positive: "Whether or not the law of peaceful progression will hold seems to depend on the *nature of the contact* that is established" (Allport, 1954, p. 251). He outlines six different approaches for prejudice reduction: informational approach; vicarious experience approach; community study-action approach; exhibits, festivals and pageants; small-group process; and individual conference (1954, p. 450). Through positive contact facilitated by these approaches, prejudice against others can be reduced. Many of these approaches are features of ICR initiatives.

Abu-Nimer (1999) expanded on Allport's (1954) and others' work on contact hypothesis theory and its role in conflict resolution, specifically in Arab and Jewish encounters. He explains it thus:

Contact hypothesis theory refers to the approach that brings members of different cultures together over a concentrated period of time. By using group techniques, these meetings seek to strengthen interpersonal relations and thereby change participants' attitudes and opinions toward one another. (p. 1)

Like Allport, Abu-Nimer reminds readers that the contact has to be positive for the process to work. This is important in all forms of ICR. Kelman, paraphrased in Fisher (1993), discusses the idea that while hopes for resolution should be raised through ICR, they should not be raised to the point that they are unachievable and that messages should be reassuring but still invite response (p. 146). Contact hypothesis theory is important to the work of GYV and related programs because much of the work of the program is done through unstructured activities and cultural sharing, which do not address conflict in the same way as the peacebuilding and dialogue workshops, but still work to create better relations and understanding between groups. However, as Allport, Abu-Nimer, and others note, contact only creates positive attitudes if the contact itself is positive. In practice, GYV and other programs initially attempt to help participants explore their similarities, then gradually begin looking at differences and conflicts, once relationships have been created and solidified. The specific structures and components of the GYV program and how it seeks to promote success will be discussed below. Now that the background and theoretical basis of ICR have been explained, two particular methods of

ICR – problems solving workshops and intergroup dialogue – both of which inform the structure of the GYV program, will be explained.

### **ICR Method: Problem Solving Workshops**

Problem solving workshops are likely the most well known method of ICR, and the majority of other approaches are indebted to problem solving workshops for key aspects of their theories and techniques. Problem solving workshops were initially utilized as a space in which to develop theories of conflict resolution. Problem solving workshops are a form of ICR developed primarily by John Burton in the 1970s and 80s. They grew out of the training group model developed by Lewin and Lewin (1973) and others in the 1940s and 50s. Lewin and Lewin believed that theory could be best developed through interventions and applied research, rather than detached, laboratory or simulation-based research (Rothman & Olson, 2001, p. 295). Regarding the training group model, Fisher (1983) wrote, “The racially and ethnically diverse participants were divided into mixed discussion groups that diagnosed intergroup problems and used various exercises to develop ameliorative strategies” (p. 315). The problem solving workshops developed by later practitioners incorporated many elements of the training groups, but used them specifically to study and resolve conflict. These workshops sought to provide both a chance for researchers to explore the dynamics of a particular conflict and for parties engaged in the conflict to explore potential solutions (Hill, 1982, p. 111). Hill (1982) says, “The development of this approach arose from a belief that conventional

methods of third-party intervention, based on legal and diplomatic traditions, were not highly successful in resolving conflict” (p. 111). Further, Fisher (1983) writes, “Since international relations build upon many of the same social-psychological processes as intergroup relations, it is understandable that some have attempted to apply similar methods of small group problem solving” (p. 318). As noted previously, this is reflective of ICR’s origins as a backlash to Great Powers theories of conflict. Early (and not so early) problem solving workshops focused on areas including Northern Ireland, Cyprus, and Israel/Palestine, where conflict had been ongoing for generations.

The goal of those workshops was not necessarily to resolve the conflict, but to provide better insight into the conflict and to examine potential solutions (which may not necessarily be implemented). Hill (1982) frames it thus: “the concern of the workshop technique is not the elimination of conflict, but rather the management of conflict” (p. 113). She goes on to note that:

If conflict is defined subjectively, the method of resolving it must include changes in the subjective orientations of the parties. Thus the goal of this approach to conflict resolution is to achieve through synthesis a common perspective on the conflict. This involves a mutual "reperception" of the conflict from a contest to be won to a problem to be solved; hence the term "problem-solving" workshop.

Therefore, an implicit assumption of this approach is that any zero-sum conflict may be reformulated as a positive-sum game. (Hill, 1982, p. 114)

Again, this highlights the importance of internal changes as a means to facilitate transfer and subsequent external actions as a result of ICR. In the course of workshops and other

ICR efforts, participants not only reformulate conceptions of the conflict, but they also explore potential solutions. Chataway (2002) notes that problem solving workshops were “primarily designed to create movement in protracted social conflicts” such as Northern Ireland and Israel/Palestine (p. 166). Because problem solving workshops offer an opportunity to re-frame conflict and re-envision potential solutions, they provide more opportunities to shape and change an on-going, entrenched conflict than some traditional methods of diplomacy or negotiation.

Initial workshops invited leaders (middle- and higher-level), but there was subsequent debate about what type of participants to invite to the workshops. Chataway (2002) argues for the inclusion of “middle-range leaders who are respected ... within each society, who also have connections with top decision-making leadership” because, as Lederach notes, these participants are best positioned to “build momentum and support for change at the grassroots level while communicating possible approaches to change within decision-making circles” (in Chataway, 2002, pp. 182-183). Workshops including middle- to higher-level leadership have been able to create concrete steps toward solutions, including a series of letters drafted by an Israeli/Palestinian workshop to Israeli Prime Minister Peres, PLO Chairman Arafat, and King Hussein of Jordan inviting them to a conference on reconciliation. The invitations were rejected; however all participated in the Oslo meetings several years later, and Chataway (2002) notes:

No causal connection can be drawn between the proposal for a peace initiative developed in the 1986 workshop and the Oslo Agreement in 1993; however, this proposal can be seen as one of the many seeds of influence that led to a shift in

official Israeli thinking about the approach to peace with the Palestinians. (p. 174)

Paffenholz (2005) sees the Oslo process as exemplary of the long-term effects of ICR. She writes: “The contribution of the Oslo Process was not so much linked to the peace agreement itself, but rather to the structures for peacebuilding that were established when the process was initiated” ( p. 10). This is a prime example of how transfer is intended to function, though it is rather unusual and thus somewhat limiting, because very few ICR processes or participants have the potential or ability to reach such high-level decision makers. In the following section, intergroup dialogue, an ICR method focused less on resolution and more on reducing tensions, will be explored.

### **ICR Method: Intergroup Dialogue**

Intergroup dialogue is another subset of ICR and is closely tied with problem solving workshops. Dialogue processes can be a part of an on-going workshop, and workshops can be some of the activities in an on-going dialogue. Intergroup dialogues typically engage a mixed group of parties in conflict in a series of facilitated conversations to help them better understand the conflict they are involved in and how to positively affect it. Wayne (2008) defines intergroup dialogue as “face-to-face, sustained, facilitated communication undertaken to build relationships and consider difficult issues affecting members of different social identity groups” (p. 452). The underlying theory is that, in order to maintain self-esteem and positive social identity,

members of a group consider their group more favorable. Dialogues help people in conflict share positive things about their own groups and use these shared experiences to build a more positive view of others (Wayne, 2008, p. 453). When members of one group learn information that is not consistent with their negative views of the other group, this facilitates attitude change. This relates closely to Allport's (1954) idea of contact hypothesis theory, which also uses communication to build positive views of others, though not necessarily in the structured ways that intergroup dialogue works.

Though in general she seems to find them effective, Wayne (2008) also spends some time considering how intergroup dialogues can also be potentially harmful. She notes that groups need to “have equal status..., seek common goals, have a cooperative relationship, and have support from those in authority,” all in keeping with Allport's “contact hypothesis theory” (Wayne, 2008, p. 453). Tensions can quickly arise if the groups have or perceive that they have unequal status or differing goals, and if not properly dealt with, this can have a severe negative impact on the process. Asymmetries in relationships and the role of power seem to be constant undercurrents in much ICR research, even if they are not dealt with as explicitly as they could be in all studies. The next section will further explore how ICR processes can be evaluated.

### **Evaluation of Workshops, ICR and Youth Processes**

While problem solving workshop participants and facilitators often agree to keep the content of the workshop confidential for the safety of those involved, the aim of the

workshop is that those ideas will resurface later in more direct resolution efforts. In a case mentioned above, that of the Oslo accords and ICR processes leading up to them, while the initial invitations to discuss resolution were rejected, it is entirely possible that the earlier effort helped smooth the path for the later meeting. This concept is key in ICR, because, as mentioned, there are seldom direct, measurable effects of ICR. However, transfer is a remarkably problematic issue for researchers, because it can be nearly impossible to measure. When ICR has been evaluated, evaluations have typically focused on the period just after the program or intervention, not whether attitudes and behavior are still affected years later. This is not because practitioners and researchers are not interested in long-term effects, but rather it reflects the reality of lack of funding for long-term evaluation and the difficulties of keeping in touch with participants over a long period of time, especially those living in conflict zones. Additionally, transfer is a complex idea and those involved in ICR may not themselves be able to readily identify when and how transfer occurs, an issue which is quite relevant for the current research. In the case of many of the efforts examined in the literature review and the one being studied, several peacebuilding attempts may occur over the course of multiple years, and individual participants may be involved in more than one ICR program, which further complicates identifying the effects of a particular program. It is possible that effects are shorter-term than practitioners hope, or that intervening events have a large impact on participants when they end the ICR process they were involved with. However, unless there is an ability and commitment to track participants over longer periods of time than most programs are able to do, researchers will continue to struggle to understand which



aspects of ICR create change and transfer and how long the effects of ICR might last for participants.

Fisher (1993) notes that much of the work done in ICR is of a pilot nature, “with a small number of participants of limited influence meeting for a short time” (p. 130).

While Fisher was writing twenty years ago, this is unfortunately still true, and due to budget realities, some programs, including GYV, have been forced to shorten their program lengths even further. Kelman (2008) is critical of ICR evaluation as well, saying:

The standard model of program evaluation, which seeks to examine the effects of an interventions on various relevant outcome measures, is neither appropriate nor feasible for the evaluation of [encounter-based conflict resolution] (p. 30).

This reflects the evaluation questions and challenges outlined above. Fisher also relates that much of the research that has been done on ICR and workshops is based on case studies and consultant impressions, rather than rigorous and well-designed research. In exploring how to improve research on ICR, Fisher (1993) suggests:

Applications of ICR should be designed with pre- and post-assessments, documentation of process, and follow-up of outcomes and transfer effects. Long-term demonstration projects involving a series of workshops should be directed toward peacebuilding among a range of influentials rather than political decision-making with high-level informal representatives. (p. 13)

These improvements are in keeping with what many practitioners and researchers would suggest, but nevertheless, it is still difficult to convince funders to fund this kind of long-

range work, which is outside of the scope of many funding cycles, which may be as short as six to twelve months. Rouhana (1995) argues for an adjustment in how ICR workshops are considered, and that to assess them properly, researchers must recognize that the workshops are not attempting to achieve the goals of diplomacy, but rather to change the environment surrounding the conflict, in an attempt to make parties more open to resolution (p. 300). D'Estree, Fast, Weiss, and Jacobson (2001) also suggest changing how interventions are evaluated, and posit four types of changes that should be considered when evaluating ICR: changes in thinking, changes in relations, foundation for transfer, and foundation for outcomes of implementation (p. 105).

Lazarus (2011) introduces two competing narratives of success in ICR – “Leaders of Tomorrow” and “That Didn’t Work” ( p. 4). The “That Didn’t Work” narrative seeks to measure “Peace Writ Large”, which Anderson, Olson, and Doughty (2003) describe as asking “whether, in meeting specific program goals, an agency makes a contribution to the bigger picture” of ending the conflict ( p. 14). Examined this way, many, if not most, ICR efforts are failures. However, if one seeks to examine ICR in terms of the “Leaders of Tomorrow”, then youth ICR efforts can be seen as successful if they give young or emerging leaders the skills, tools, or drive needed to effect positive change in the future. Lazarus (2011) notes further that:

In recent years, leading scholar-practitioners have moved away from defining "success" solely in terms of attitudinal change, devising evaluation models aimed at a) accounting for dynamic context, b) giving participants equal voices in defining the goals of an intervention, and c) identifying if, how and when

participants act to apply insights derived through an intervention in their home contexts. (p. 50)

However, even in this sense, there are serious questions about the success of ICR. As Lazarus relates in another passage:

One does not need an impact study to see that the slogan of “empowering the children of war to break the cycle of violence” has proven far beyond the reach of this or any other contemporary peacebuilding intervention, at any level. A more appropriate aspiration might be to empower youth to challenge, to critique, to protest, to question the cycle of violence, and indeed to prevent the cycle of violence from breaking them. In the intractable reality of the contemporary Israeli-Palestinian conflict, that would be “good enough”. ( p. 60)

In personal conversations with ICR practitioners, this has come up repeatedly as an area of concern: that they may be poorly or insufficiently equipping participants to deal with the realities of protracted conflict, while also assuring them that they are now so equipped and any failures at conflict resolution are now in their hands.

Kelman (2008) argues for evaluating ICR and related processes with a “links in a chain” approach, where the individual processes are considered as part of a larger peace process. It is impossible to separate out exactly which interventions had which effects, but the process as a whole can be validated (p. 51). It is Kelman’s theory that most heavily influences the research approach used in this study, because in addition to being one of the more foundational ideas of ICR, it best mirrors the structure of GYV, works with youth to prepare them to be leaders in the future. While GYV is often the first such

program participants attend, many go on to take part in other peacebuilding activities and seek out additional conflict resolution trainings. GYV does not seek immediate resolutions to specific conflicts, but to foster engagement in conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

Kelman (2008) also argues that ICR needs a model for evaluating social movements as a whole and their effects on the political culture, rather than simply evaluating discrete interventions (p. 41). Evaluation of ICR, and especially youth processes, ranges from non-existent, to entirely subjective and qualitative, to attempts at longitudinal tracking and quantifiable results, but in general, researchers admit that more work needs to be done in the field. In identifying internal changes as so salient to creating lasting effects in ICR, the current research offers new ideas for evaluating ICR initiatives. As some theorists, such as Mitchell (2001) and others have suggested, and the current research will show, for transfer and external actions to take place internal changes must first occur. While external manifestations of transfer are very important, research and evaluation should not neglect the internal changes as well. However, many studies of ICR do, either because they consider external actions to be more important or because internal changes are too complex and individual to evaluate easily. Evaluations of specific case studies of ICR will be considered later, but next this literature review will examine conditions that can encourage either success or failure in ICR.

## **Conditions Which Encourage Success or Failure in ICR**

Fisher (1997) suggests a set of five conditions which should lead to positive changes in the attitudes and behaviors of participants:

First, a setting which allows a high degree of 'acquaintance potential' by which participants from different groups become familiar with each other in a personal way helps to break down stereotypes and barriers to further interaction. Second, equal status is essential to respectful and productive interaction. Third, the social norms of the interaction, particularly those supporting friendliness, respect, openness, and trust, will have important effects on both the expectations and the behaviour of the participants. Fourth, the involvement of participants in a co-operative task and reward structure will tend to build a collaborative atmosphere that will support positive attitude change and problem-solving behaviour. Fifth, the characteristics of individuals will affect the process and outcomes of intergroup contact. (p. 451-2)

Programs can be evaluated, in part, by whether they foster these conditions. How well GYV does in fostering them will be discussed below.

There are some potential pitfalls in ICR, particularly in working with youth, that must be avoided (these are distinct from criticisms of ICR, which will be discussed later). Fisher (1993) paraphrases Kelman, saying that “hopes must be raised and fears lowered through communication involving reassuring messages that are not too threatening to the sender and yet invite reciprocation by the receiver” (p. 461). This is especially important in instances when ICR participants have unequal status. Strong facilitation is key to

ensure that communication in the workshops is not threatening to participants. Abu-Nimer (1999) sees power as an issue seldom addressed explicitly in ICR, and which should be addressed. He says “Avoidance of the issue [power] reflects a major tendency among traditional dispute resolution intervenors whose core values/motivations include values of harmony, avoidance of conflict, and maintainable of order” (Abu-Nimer, 1999, p. 45). Greer’s (1985) study of an ICR program for Protestant and Catholic youth in Northern Ireland illustrated this difficulty. He found that Catholic youth were more open to interactions with Protestants than Protestants were to interactions with Catholic. He suggests that this is because of Protestants’ unique situation as the “double minority” in Ireland, because while they are the ruling establishment in Northern Ireland they are a minority in the country as a whole and this creates a “profound sense of insecurity” (p. 288). These contributions suggest some potential problems or flaws in ICR processes that can explain why some programs do not perform as well as expected, if facilitators and planners do not take issues of relative power into consideration, especially when dealing with minorities. On the surface, it may seem that programs involving youth are less susceptible to issues of power, but it is not the case. Youth are far from immune to issues of unequal status. One program, Seeds of Peace, adopted a camp tee-shirt, worn at all the times, to downplay status or income inequality, as well as to bolster a camp-wide group identity. Status inequalities between participants as youth and staff as adults and authority figures have the ability to affect conversations and relationships. There is a possibility that power has an even more important role to play in ICR with youth, because young people are automatically placed in a position of lower status relative to adult staff

and facilitators. As will be seen below, some GYV participants reported that they found interaction with and activities led by fellow participants more valuable than those involving staff. In the next section of the literature review, specific case studies and their evaluation will be considered to shed further light on how ICR is currently being evaluated.

### **Case Studies and Their Evaluation**

There are multiple methods of both conducting and evaluating youth peacebuilding that have been presented by various researchers in the form of case studies. This section will present some of these case studies, and while it is not an exhaustive list, it does give a fairly representative survey of the field as it stands. Ungerleider (2001) gives a model of an ICR youth peace process for Greek and Turkish youth from Cyprus. Like many ICR programs, the model contains elements of problem solving workshops and intergroup dialogue and also features activities that are not a part of traditional peacebuilding. He says:

Students break stereotypes through human contact and cultural sharing, build understanding of opposing points of view through dialogue, establish group camaraderie through team-building exercises and cooperative games, and form genuine friendships through social and recreational activities. (Ungerleider, 2001, pp. 584-5)

The participants worked in small mixed groups and spent time discussing problems and practicing conflict resolution skills. Ungerleider (2001) shares how even non-structured

activities became part of the curriculum when a late night prank became the center of a discussion of the spiral of revenge (2001, p. 585). As in other models for ICR, the youth began by exploring their perceptions and stereotypes of the other side, and then began the work of changing those perceptions and stereotypes. Upon returning to Cyprus, the youth convened further dialogues and worked together on joint community projects. However, while Ungerliedier provides favorable quotes from participants, he does not discuss his methodology or the structure of the evaluation something that limits the usefulness of his study.

Malhotra and Liyanage (2005) studied a four-day youth peacebuilding program for Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim youth in Sri Lanka, and found that even a short program could have a long term effect on participant attitudes (p. 920). The program included “mini-lectures, peace workshops, creative activities, a cultural show, and tours of multiethnic villages,” as well as socialization time (Malhotra & Liyanage, 2005, p. 915). However, despite the overall positive assessment, the authors note that the program participants were only tracked for one year after the program, and that in general, for most similar programs and studies, longer and more rigorous study is needed (Malhotra and Liyanage, 2005, p. 911 & 920).

Maoz (2000) researched a youth peacebuilding program for Jewish-Israeli youth, focusing on the political leanings of the participants and how this shaped the effect the program had on them. Participant attitudes were surveyed upon completion of the program, and it was found that those who had the most extreme negative attitudes going in to the program had a greater proportional shift toward positive attitudes (Maoz, 2000,



p. 710). Maoz theorizes that this might be because the encounter is more unique for those with more negative views, and that their views are more negative primarily because they have had less contact with those in the other group. One of the implications for peacebuilding programs in highly charged situations is that targeting those with more extreme views might be more beneficial in the long term, or as far as donors are concerned, because it has the most measurable effect (Maoz, 2000, p. 711). This is in contrast to how many programs, including GYV, are run: selecting a group of participants already motivated toward peace and understanding of the other group, and who are largely self-selecting.

Ohanyan and Lewis (2005) suggest that ICR processes, in this case a youth process with Georgian and Abkhaz participants, might benefit from considering the impact of both general and concrete attitude changes in participants. They say:

General attitudinal change was limited to the attitudes of the participants to the notion or idea of conflict in general, rather than the Georgian–Abkhaz conflict in particular. Concrete attitudinal change referred to the feelings of the participants toward their counterparts from other side. General attitudinal change was assessed by reactions to statements such as “Peaceful solution to a conflict is possible” and “Sometimes resorting to violence to achieve one’s goals is necessary.” More concrete attitudinal changes were explored by “My feelings for the other side have changed since taking part in the program” and “Because of the program I now trust the other side more.” (2005, p. 64)

The approach taken in this research is heavily influenced by Ohanian and Lewis (2005), in particular in the focus on changes that are internal to participants. Church and Rogers (2006) briefly suggest a similar approach when evaluating the effects of peacebuilding attempts directed at children (p. 1). Both these approaches can add a deeper understanding of the exact type of changes that have occurred and, when combined with Kelman's ideas, how they might be transferred to other situations.

Wayne's (2008) study was perhaps the most relevant for the current project, because it tracked participants over the course of several years, something not found in much of the other literature reviewed. She studied participants in a year-long dialogue process for African-American and Jewish high school students in Washington, DC. At the time of the study's publication, the program had been running for fifteen years, with twenty to twenty-four participants taking part each year. The program consists of a series of short workshops and lectures, followed by a month-long summer residential program, and ending in a phase where participants do outreach in their communities. Wayne (2008) found clear evidence that the program had a positive effect on participants' attitudes, both in the immediate post-program survey and over the long term (p. 475). Wayne utilized a rigorous evaluation framework that collected data on a number of different changes in attitude and behavior, and quantified these changes. She did note certain gaps in the study, however. One of the goals of the program is fostering activism in participants, and the evaluation found that it did foster willingness to be an activist, but did not survey whether participants were actually working as activists, something Wayne (2008) sees a need to study further (p. 465).

## **Critiques of the Evaluation of Interactive Conflict Resolution**

As mentioned above, attempts to evaluate ICR have been rather few and far between. There are several reasons for this. First are the practical reasons, that evaluation is difficult, best undertaken by trained professionals, and hard to do well on a limited budget. When the researcher was initially discussing this project with GYV staff members they were excited, because while they were interested in long-term evaluation, it was something they had neither the funds nor the expertise within the organization to do well.<sup>5</sup> When evaluation does take place, it may attempt to measure the “wrong” things, such as the number of people trained rather than lasting impacts and impact on peacebuilding (Scharbatke-Church, 2012, p. 460).

## **Critiques of the Concept of Interactive Conflict Resolution**

While it sounds innocuous, ICR is not without its critics. One of the most frequent criticisms of ICR approaches is that they seldom succeed (Paris, 2010, p. 337). For example, countless ICR attempts have taken place in Israel/Palestine and Cyprus, however the conflicts in those regions are far from resolved. This criticism, however, can be answered in part by some of the above works on the difficulties of evaluating and measuring ICR and the changes it creates. Paris (2010), in particular notes that current

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<sup>5</sup> This is not to imply that GYV does not conduct evaluation. Each summer concludes with careful debriefing of staff and examinations of what worked well and what needs improvement. However, this is conducted by staff members, not outside evaluators and is done and revisited as staff feel appropriate, rather than conducted and followed-up on in a strategic and well-planned manner.

criticism of peacebuilding efforts is in large part a result of the over-enthusiasm of peacebuilding practitioners, rather than of any actual failures of peacebuilding (p. 338).

Because of funding limitations, ICR initiatives far too often are either one-time events or end too quickly, before participants achieve a critical understanding of what the process is trying to achieve, leaving them at a point where they feel that the other, now that they have had a chance to meet her face-to-face, really is a threat to their way of life. Additionally, if participants gain some skills and insight but do not get sufficient help or practice with implementing them, they may return to their conflict situation ready and willing to affect change, but still lacking the correct knowledge and tools to do so, which could be discouraging and lead them to be less likely to try to implement conflict resolution techniques (Vukosavljevic, 2007, p. 272).

Youth peacebuilding efforts have also been subject to specific criticisms. One of the most common critiques is rooted in what many practitioners see as one of the primary strengths of these efforts: that they remove youth from their conflict setting and bring in outside practitioners to facilitate the effort. Programs are criticized because they are inefficient, as they only serve a small, often elite, group of participants. One ICR researcher, Ahmad Safi, was quoted as saying of Arab/Israeli youth ICR initiatives:

They go there (abroad), spend 10 to 14 days in a good environment, and they have fun, but they are much too far away from the reality. They find they can be friends as humans. They talk. They discover they can live with each other, but in Germany or the USA, not here. Then when they return back here, they found that it is useless. (as cited in Kalman, 2008, n.p.)

This can lead to disillusionment with the ICR process.

Other critiques are more nuanced and harder to answer. ICR and peacebuilding in general have been accused of being liberal and Western, and because of this, implicitly hegemonic and anti-revolutionary. In Lazarus's (2011) examination of Seeds of Peace (SOP), he found that while the program had tangible, lasting effects, Israeli and Palestinian participants consistently stated that they knew their situations best, and what they wanted from Westerners was not facilitation but resources, space, money, and facilitators from actual conflict situations. He quoted one SOP participant who said:

I would expect that they would give us a place, time, and money. That's all they have to give. If they want people to facilitate, they should bring people who have lived in conflict, who know what fear is, who know what it means to struggle for Independence. (Lazarus, 2011, p. 39)

Lazarus's study was not the only one to relate similar statements from participants.

Anderson et al. (2003) quote one participant in ICR who exclaimed angrily:

They came in and 'taught' us human rights. As if we do not know what that means! We have lived under much more serious oppression than they can even imagine. I was insulted by their assumption that I do not hold the right values! (p. 31)

Unless they approach the local context very carefully and respectfully and consider participants to be experts on their own situations, practitioners are likely to be perceived as arrogant and ignorant. If power and marginalization are not dealt with, then ICR can be used to reinforce structural violence. Traditionally, many conflict resolution

practitioners felt that to be objective and fair, they have to be neutral. However, the idea of neutrality has been widely criticized, in large part because when parties involved in conflict resolution attempts have power asymmetries, then approaching them with neutrality is far from fair.<sup>6</sup>

### **Gaps in the Literature, and the Role of the Current Research**

Through the review of the literature, several clear themes of ICR emerge as avenues for study. As Fisher (2001) notes, relationships are key in these processes. Relationship building happens through the formal events and activities, but also through the contact and socialization that occurs. Many ICR processes are ongoing or residential, meaning that participants are in close contact over a period of time. In personal communications with practitioners (including Fisher and others), it becomes evident that while studies may not be focused on it, with such exceptions as Abu-Nimer's (1999) work on contact, practitioners view the close contact outside of formal processes to be central to the effectiveness of ICR. At a training conducted by Fisher and Romanova (2012) that the researcher attended, Romanova spoke about the importance of the bonding that occurred as Georgian and Abkhaz women cooked dinner together each night during a problem solving workshop she conducted (Fisher & Romanova, 2012). Related to this, several scholars note the importance of social-psychological and psychodynamic processes in effective ICR – done well, ICR can produce changes in group process, small

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<sup>6</sup> Many would also question whether neutrality is actually even possible. For more information on this, see Mayer (2004).

group dynamic, as well as effects on individuals such as increased trust and decreased stereotypes. Socialization and forming friendship are key to ICR. Further, as this research will show, socialization and relationships appear to be crucial for the internal, personal changes which aid transfer. Especially interesting for the current research is Ohanyan and Lewis's (2005) parsing of the difference between concrete and general changes. This research proposed to shift language and use external and internal rather than concrete and general – the external changes being those that are visible and measurable from the outside, such as willingness to work with someone of a different background, and the internal changes are characterized by a new understanding of self and others.

While ICR was born from related approaches initiated in the 1960s, it is clear from the above literature review that the research on how and why ICR works has not kept up with the development of the techniques themselves, and until the mid-1990s much research on ICR was anecdotal. Hoffman (2004) says:

It is only relatively recently that practitioners or organizations involved in peacebuilding have even bothered with [evaluation]. Those that did often regarded such evaluations as an irrelevance or a necessary burden, performed only to satisfy their donors, or even as a positively dangerous set of practices in which ignorant outside consultants are encouraged to engage in unqualified pejorative judgments. ( p. 58)

Because of this, there is a lot of learning that still needs to take place on just *how* these efforts work. Much of the previous research has focused on the external results and

changes – actions taken and solutions implemented, for example, as the key and perhaps only indicator that transfer has occurred. Some researchers, including Church and Rogers (2006) and Ohanyan and Lewis (2005), have focused on changes in participants' attitudes, but again, this focuses mainly on external manifestations of change, such as willingness to work with or live near members of an opposing group. Where the research is somewhat thin is on what is happening internally to people engaging in ICR. Ohanyan and Lewis (2005) and Church and Rogers (2006) attempt to further the understanding of what happens for youth participants, as discussed above, but until recently the research has focused on the program, rather than the individual engaged in the program. What the current research seeks to explore is what is happening internally when participants engage in ICR. As will be seen below, while research participants did give ample evidence that transfer occurred for them – both in the form of actions they took and in the form of changes in attitude – they also indicated that emotional or internal changes were as important or even more important to them than more tangible evidence of transfer. This will be discussed further in the results section and the implications for the field will be considered in the conclusion, but from the review of the literature it is clear that understandings of how transfer occurs and the changes that facilitate it need to be theorized more fully.



## **ABOUT THE GLOBAL YOUTH VILLAGE**

The Global Youth Village is a summer peacebuilding program for youth from conflict regions and around the world. It has been in operation for 33 years, and various program years have had different focuses, including Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland, and the Balkans. Legacy International, the parent organization of GYV, describes their mission as: to work with individuals and communities around the world to foster peacebuilding and the embrace of universal shared values, and build leadership among people to work in their communities. This section will cover the history of GYV and the evolution of the program, and will conclude with an explanation and discussion of the structure and components of the current program with which the researcher is most familiar.

### **GYV History and Background**

GYV was founded in 1979 to provide a cross-cultural training experience for youth. At that time, the focus was on building skills needed to think and be sensitive to communication styles. The experience was six weeks long and was structured like a traditional summer camp, but with a focus on broadening participants' worldviews. The program grew to include a leadership emphasis in the curriculum and to focus on the

Arab/Israeli conflict, a region that many of the leaders of GYV are interested in. GYV and the parent organization are both housed in an intentional community composed primarily of Sufi Muslims and many of the full-time staff are members of the community, with presumably helps foster the interest in inter-faith relations that pervades the program. Other years focused on regions including the Balkans, Northern Ireland, and Cyprus. During the Arab/Israeli years participants also spent time touring Jewish summer camps in the United States and speaking with youth about the Palestinian issue and the ethical dilemmas that the Israeli youth would face as adults related to military service. In these years, the program also developed a leadership initiative for use in New York City schools to teach eighth and eleventh grade students and their teachers to empower youth to assess needs in the schools and begin addressing them.

The program's website sums the program up thus:

Since 1979, the GYV has trained over 3,000 teens from 102 different countries.

Young people gather each summer at our campus in Virginia for an experience in global citizenship filled with cultural exchange, new friendships, fun, and laughter. Our program provides a combination of experiences. Leadership training is a holistic process that encompasses mindsets and attitudes with teamwork and communication skills. Global is emphasized and we encourage participants to look at all sides of an issue, become aware of needs around the globe, and use creative thinking to find solutions. (Global Youth Village, 2010)

Currently, the program is funded in large part by grants from the US State Department, which works with embassies and NGOs to recruit international participants. The bulk of

the international participants in recent years have been from Iraq and Indonesia, though roughly half of the participants come from the US – as is required by the State Department to give international students interaction with their American peers. Participants stay on the GYV campus for one to three weeks and some participate in additional add-on programs including home stays with American families, trips to New York and Washington DC, and a trip to Indonesia.

### **The GYV Curriculum and Experience**

While at GYV, participants spend the majority of their morning in a peacebuilding and dialogue workshop led by an experienced adult facilitator. The curriculum was written collaboratively by GYV staff and has been edited and expanded over the years, and each facilitator is encouraged to further edit it to meet their individual style and the needs of their group. The curriculum is based on problem solving workshops and training groups, but adjusted for youth, who have different needs and interests and who are not proposing formal solutions to the conflicts they are involved in. The program also draws heavily on contact hypothesis theory, and because of this, nearly all activities take place in mixed groups, and participants are strongly encouraged to socialize across groups. Because other international youth are included, the program is not composed just of those from conflicting groups, which is also quite different from a problem solving workshop and many other ICR projects with youth. A sample copy of the curriculum is provided in the appendix.

The goals of the Peacebuilding and Dialogue Workshop, as presented by J, one recent GYV facilitator, are:

- 1) Understand how communication plays into peace building.
- 2) Listen for understanding, even with those who disagree with them.
- 3) Open opportunities for cross-cultural discoveries through dialogue.
- 4) Understand how personal identity affects values/ world-views.
- 5) Introduce conflict resolution techniques and problem-solving.
- 6) Develop leadership skills to “lead for peace”.

The curriculum is structured to “build” throughout the session, so that early on in the session topics of conversation are kept fairly innocuous, but at a midway point controversial issues are introduced.<sup>7</sup> Participants are taught skills such as active listening (described as 4-Part Listening in the curriculum), how to disagree constructively, and other communication skills. They are also taught conflict resolution skills and engage in role-plays and simulations to learn and practice those skills. Participants are encouraged to explore their own identities and how those identities interact with and come into conflict with those around them. In one activity, participants draw a map of their own identities and then work with a partner to discuss how some parts of their identity can lead to conflict, either internally or externally. In another activity, called “Hot Seat”, participants take turns asking each other potentially controversial questions. The idea is that the listener must listen without judgment and not respond. They are not required to agree, but they are required to be able to listen, even if they are offended by the answer

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<sup>7</sup> Because participants are teenagers, controversial issues tend to come up much more frequently and are discussed and dealt with as staff feel are appropriate.

they receive. In keeping with Hill (1982), training at GYV seeks to give participants a general understanding of conflict and resolution, so that participants come to understand that there are similar dynamics at play in most conflicts, regardless of scale.

Participants also take a second workshop, for which several choices are typically offered. Recent choices have included Crossing Cultures through the Arts, which has been taught with both a visual arts focus and a performing arts and music focus; Green Your World, which teaches outdoor skills and environmentalism; and specialized workshops for participants doing follow-on projects or attending exchange programs. While these workshops may not have an explicit conflict resolution or communication focus, facilitators typically structure the activities so that they reinforce what is being discussed in the peacebuilding workshop. Art and music activities, in particular, tend to highlight issues like identity, community, and culture. For example, Crossing Cultures through the Arts has been facilitated in recent years by a PhD student and researcher who uses theater techniques developed by Augusto Boal to guide participants in exploring conflict in their own lives.

Afternoon activities are less structured and include swimming time and endless soccer games, but in nearly everything there is a problem-solving or intercultural focus. Participants and staff organize discussion sessions and activities where people can teach each other games, dances, or music from their home community. The evenings typically center around a cultural activity, such as a display of music and dance from a specific country or performances of folk tales from around the world. Each session also includes one or two discussion nights as well, sometimes facilitated by participants, rather than

staff. All these activities are designed to encourage participants to engage with each other in problem solving, cultural sharing, and community building.

Leadership is a key focus of the GYV program. In some years this is informal and comes in the form of staff encouraging students to seek out and embrace leadership opportunities, but in most years there has been a specific, structured leadership component worked into the program, such as Action Teams, which meet daily to plan an activity for the whole camp, or the Leadership Council, which has been used to resolve disputes among participants. Even when these components are not included, there are daily opportunities for participants to take leadership roles, from being in charge of waking the cabin up to facilitating the sharing circle that follows dinner each night.

## **GYV Program Design and Theoretical Background**

Nearly all aspects of the GYV experience are designed to keep participants in close contact with members of other groups and to keep them practicing the skills they learn in their workshops. The exceptions are special meeting or planning times for participants from a specific country who are planning follow-up activities when they get home, and occasional native-language check-ins for international students, designed to give them time to express any issues or concerns that they may have trouble communicating in English or do not wish to bring up to staff not from their country.<sup>8</sup> One of the core ideas in the GYV program is that cultural competence is a process, with

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<sup>8</sup> The larger international groups travel with a chaperone from their home country, who typically stays at GYV to observe and assist with the program and translation, if needed.

six stages: denial, defense, minimization, acceptance, adaptation, and integration (adapted from Bennett, 1993). In an interview with M, the director of GYV, she related that the goal is to get participants to the point of recognizing that we are all the same at some levels, but that there are profound differences that should be explored and celebrated as well. She related that in early years there was more interest in, and funding for, longer programs (typically six weeks), and in these programs it was possible to bring participants through many, if not all, of these stages. In these longer programs conflict is not brought up until the midway point of the program – initial influence is on building friendships and finding commonalities, then the idea of conflict is brought up, ideally leading participants to feel that their friendships are threatened, spurring them to work through conflict and create shared goals and visions. In short, contact hypothesis theory is at work early in the program, but the program is designed to build beyond this. However, recent programs have been shorter, and because of this many participants stop at the minimization stage, which will be apparent later in the question of what comes out of cultural sharing at GYV.

Workshop groups will often plan an activity for the camp, in order to share what they have been learning. In one recent summer this took the form of participants in the arts workshop creating several theater pieces about on-going tensions at the camp, and performing them at unexpected times and locations, as if they were spontaneous interactions. Occasionally, these opportunities to engage with peacebuilding truly are spontaneous. Several summers ago, a group of participants were working on an art project featuring stick-figure drawings to represent all of the nationalities present at

GYV, when an argument arose over whether Kurdistan should be represented separately from Iraq. After a heated discussion, which was observed by, but not facilitated by staff, the participants decided to represent Kurdistan as a flower, rather than a person, to indicate that it is still growing. When competitive activities are organized, often they are done so that groups have to work together to win, or the staff will award numerous, humorous prizes instead of one actual trophy.

In a conversation, the researcher asked the director, M, to give some highlights of what she hopes that participants learn over the course of a summer, and she outlined several key goals:

- For participants to have a vision of themselves and how they will make a difference on the local level somehow.
- Building an understanding that social responsibility is important and having a vision for it.
- To take that vision and come up with an action plan.
- To collaborate with others.
- To be a global citizen and think beyond one's own country.
- To reach out and think about the resources participants have to offer to others.
- To understand that participants have inherited a legacy and are going to leave a legacy, and need to think about what they're inherited and what they will leave. (paraphrased)



She also shared that a major goal of the program is challenging participants' assumptions in a way that can at times be uncomfortable, by challenging them to examine what they are looking at, how they are looking at it, and whether there is another way to look at it.

The concept of universal values also underlies much of the GYV program. During the orientation for each session, as well as during the staff training and orientation, GYV's founder and the director lead a discussion on universal values, which are presented as those values which people from all cultures and religious traditions can agree to. As will be discussed below, some staff (including the researcher) find the language of "universal values" somewhat problematic because it seems to minimize or outright deny the existence of fundamental differences between people and cultures. However, in the conversation with M, she made clear that this minimization is just one step, and is in fact the last step before participants begin moving to a more competent understanding of cultural relations. This warrants deeper exploration, however the researcher's initial assumption regarding the root of this gap in understanding is that it is related to long-term staff not being able to fully articulate all the facets of the program to those who are less familiar with it.

Almost all the features of GYV meet Fisher's (1993) conditions for positive change during ICR experiences. His first condition is "a high degree of 'acquaintance potential'", (Fisher 1993, pp. 451-2) which at GYV takes the form of the near constant interaction, structured and not, of participants from different backgrounds. Staff seek to help participants view themselves as being of equal status by banning expensive electronics, discouraging jewelry and fancy clothes, and helping participants see

similarities, rather than differences, thereby meeting Fisher's second condition, of ensuring equal status. The entire program is undergirded with discussion of universal human values, which foster a culture of "friendliness, respect, openness, and trust", which are Fisher's third condition (1993, p. 451-2). As discussed in the previous paragraph, tasks are collaborative and if rewards are given, they are given to the whole group, which Fisher says will "support positive attitude change and problem-solving behavior" (p. 451-2). Finally, Fisher says that because each individual experiences the process differently, "Participants need to be generally competent and secure and should not be so extreme in their attitudes that change is unlikely" (p. 451-2). GYV participants go through a careful application and selection process to ensure that they are mature enough and committed enough to the program. Now that the program and its goals have been explained, the results of the research on GYV will be presented.

## RESULTS

### Introduction to the Results

In the sections below, the specific results of the study will be presented and explored, but first it is helpful to look at the results in a more holistic way. As noted above, the research was restructured and reconceptualized to better fit what emerged from the study. Because of this, while the original design was not seeking to elucidate all the themes explored here, the results have been grouped around several themes: personal connections and cultural experiences, safe space, self-knowledge and reflection, the uniqueness of the experience and the inability to explain it, practicing for later, follow-up, and cumulative effects. Some of these themes were anticipated by the research design, while others were novel and surprising. Though the sample was small, it was remarkably consistent. Twenty-four participants are current volunteers, eight are working for NGOs, eight are active members of a political party, and eight identify as active participants in social and cultural activities.<sup>9</sup> This indicates quite clearly that high rates of transfer – in the sense of specific actions take by participants – are occurring. However, as noted previously, the data also indicate that former GYV participants also felt that the internal, emotional changes they underwent as a result of their experience at GYV were important

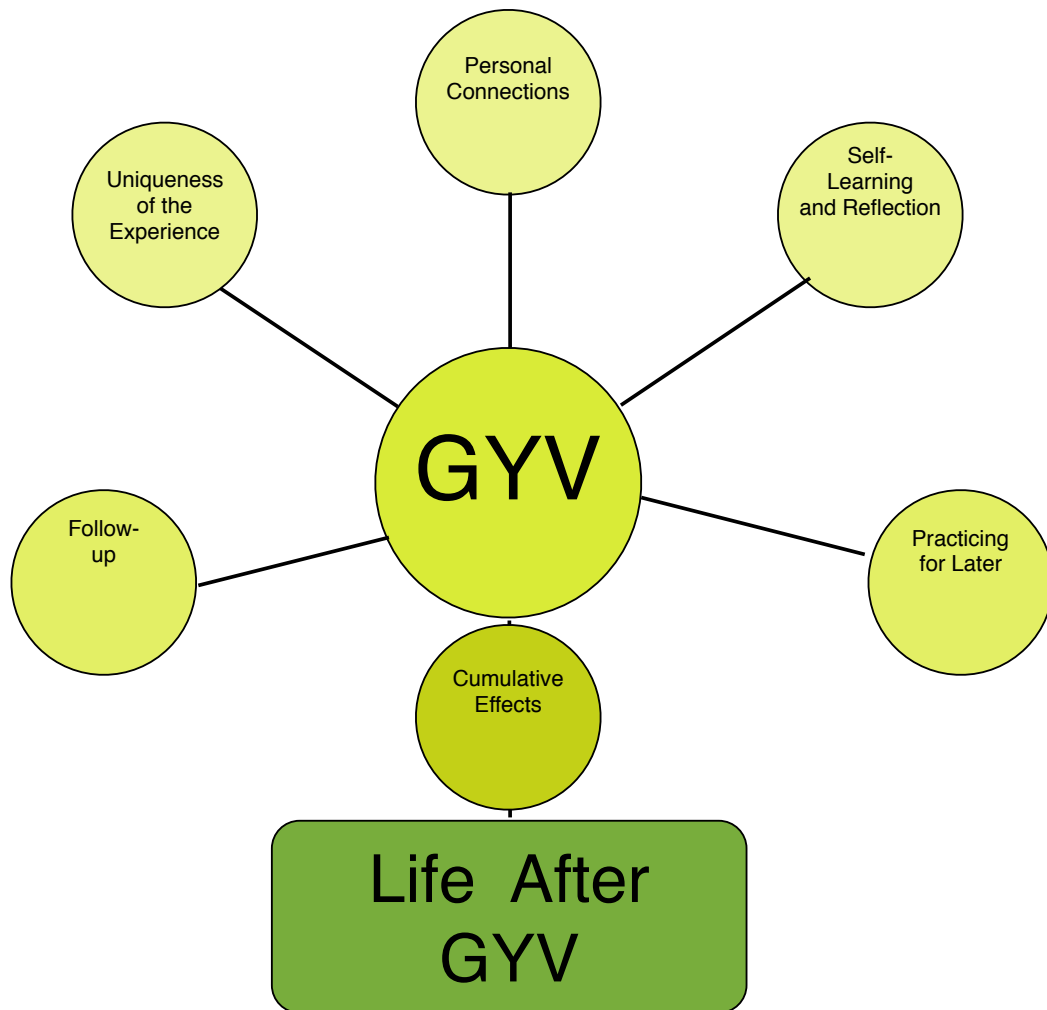
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<sup>9</sup> These numbers are likely higher in reality, because respondents would mark that they did not volunteer or engage in social or cultural activities, but then would note in a response to another question that they tutor younger children or are active at their church. Some of this confusion may be due to language barriers or a different understanding of what it means to volunteer or do work related to peacebuilding.

and likely formed the basis for the transfer which occurred. This understanding of transfer necessitated the introduction of a new conceptual model: ICR as a lens through which experiences can be viewed, allowing participants to create a different outlook on life.

Just as multiple lenses can be used to further sharpen an image, multiple experiences at GYV can help participants further clarify their experiences. This shift to a lens, rather than a chain, is in keeping with critical pedagogy, which argues against the “banking model” of education, wherein students are expected to accumulate knowledge as it is given to them by teachers (Freire, 1970, p. 77). In critical pedagogy, as well as in many version of ICR, students and teachers (or participants and facilitators) work together to create shared knowledge which draws from and builds on each individual’s experiences.

As mentioned in the introduction, the key question of the research was whether transfer occurred and if so, how. Transfer, as defined by Kelman (2008) is the process by which participants in ICR develop ideas and skills in the process and implement them later in their life. As emerged from the research, Kelman’s version of transfer is somewhat limited to external actions, while participants indicate that internal changes are also key to how they integrated the program into their lives after GYV. Notions of transfer as it relates to GYV will be explored later in this section, after the individual themes have been explored. Throughout this section it should be kept in mind that it is quite difficult to parse out what aspects of ICR can be traced to which specific outcomes.



**Figure 1:** The GYV Experience as a Lens. Repeated experiences at GYV allow for a further sharpening of focus.

Because of this and because of the nature of the research undertaken, the researcher has, for the most part, accepted the data at face value, as respondents report and attribute it.

### **About the Data**

As noted in the research design, the research consisted of a questionnaire, interviews, and personal observations. The questionnaire was divided into two sections: narrative responses and a Likert scale. The results of the Likert scale will be presented first and then the narrative responses, along with findings from interviews and the researcher's own observations. A discussion of the results will follow.

The initial response to the questionnaire, distributed electronically, was somewhat surprising, and at first glance, somewhat disappointing. GYV boasts an active alumni group that it connects to through an email newsletter and a Facebook page with over 600 members. However, after it was shared on Facebook and included in the email newsletter three times, the questionnaire only received thirty responses. It soon became clear that out of those thirty, all but three respondents knew the researcher personally. Immediately, this suggested that a personal connection was key to the GYV experience, or at least to getting people to respond to requests from former staff related to the program. In fact, connection – connecting to the program, staying in contact with alumni and staff – was one of the most consistent themes in the responses. Interestingly, there seems to be little in the literature of the effectiveness or success of peacebuilding programs that examines the role of personal connections [Lazarus's (2011) recent work being an exception], indicating that this needs to be explored further in future research.

As the survey was posted on Facebook and sent via mass emails, it is difficult to estimate a response rate. However, responses to online instruments are generally a good deal lower than to those sent through traditional mail. Nulty (2008) found that online surveys generated an average response rate of 33%, as opposed to the 56% response rate to surveys delivered through traditional mail (p. 302) however, even this number is not reflective of the current research, as the survey was not sent directly to specific potential research subjects.

### **A Note about the Respondents**

As several research respondents are quoted at various times in the following sections, it is helpful here to give a table of some of the more frequently and extensively quoted respondents and some information on them. This is not an exhaustive list of research participants, but a snapshot of those quoted the most in the following research.

**Table 1:** About the Respondents

<b>Identifier</b>	<b>Year Attended GYV</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Home Country</b>	<b>About</b>
M	N/A	F	USA	Director of GYV. Has worked at the program since 1978
C	1989	F	US Virgin Islands	GYV was first experience with diversity
J	2010, 2011, 2012	F	USA	Staff member
D	2003, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2009	F	Croatia	Staff member
J2	2003, 2004	F	USA	Conflict Analysis and Resolution student in Malta
S	2009	F	USA	American Muslim
D2	1982-1985, 1989-91	M	USA	Lived in Asia for 12 years
E	2011, 2012	M	USA	Staff member, graduate student
G	1982-1989	M	USA	Active in alumni group
S2	2010	M	USA	Autistic, first experience away from home for an extended period of time
A	2004-2007	F	USA	Returned as a staff member 2010-2012
H	2003-2004	F	USA	Returned as a staff member, currently living in Indonesia



<b>Identifier</b>	<b>Year Attended GYV</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Home Country</b>	<b>About</b>
S3	2010	F	USA	Native American, lives on a Northern Cheyenne reservation
S4	2006-2007	M	USA	Traces current volunteer work to experience at GYV
G	1992-1996	F	USA	Works with victims of armed conflict
M2	1988	F	USA	Feels she does not live up to the standard of an active GYV alum
J3	2008	F	USA	Social work major and active volunteer
P	1997	M	Northern Ireland	Active in youth work
D3	2011	F	Iraq	Kurdish, family was persecuted and lived for several years in Jordan
R	2009	F	Indonesia	Works in education and volunteers
R2	2010	M	Iraq	Religious minority

### **Intergroup Attitudes Likert Scale**

The Likert scale in the current search was designed to reflect and draw upon the work done by Ohanyan and Lewis (2005) and Wayne (2008), who used similar scales in their research. In the original conception of this research it was assumed that the Likert scale would provide the main bulk of the data and the narrative responses would be used to supplement and further explain the data presented in the scale. However, this assumption was flipped on its head when the data collection began. Responses to the Likert scale on attitudes and beliefs were remarkable consistent, both within the responses of each individual and as compared to other respondents. The sample was small and non-representative, so there is little quantitative value in the sample, but its sheer consistency makes it interesting.

**Table 2:** Intergroup Attitudes Likert Scale Results

Question	Average Response
How Willing would you be to...	1-Not At All Willing – 5-Very Willing
Invite them as guests into my home	4.3
Work in the same work or school group with them	4.7
Visit their home as a guest	4.8
Belong to the same club as they do	4.6
Discuss how to resolve problems between groups	4.5
Date a member of this group (if I were single)	4.0
Have my child marry a member of this group (if I had a child of marriageable age)	4.0
Eat a meal with them in a restaurant	4.9
Intervene if a member of this group were unfairly criticized in a work or school setting	4.3
Reproach a member of my group for making an offensive "joke" about the other group	4.2
Work together to improve relations in this country	4.3
Join and play an active role in an organization devoted to improving intergroup relations	4.3

In the Likert scale, respondents were asked to respond to a series of questions each of which began with “How willing would you be to...?”. The questions were designed to elicit how willing participants were to engage with members of another religious, racial, ethnic, or cultural group. As can be seen above, the responses were overwhelmingly positive. The two lowest ranked responses (if four out of five on a scale of how willing they would be can be considered low) are the two questions that involve the most intimate and long-term contact – dating and allowing a child to marry a member of an outside group. Tellingly, G noted in response to another question:

“Also, to comment on the Intergroup Attitudes Scale, I just want to add that I gave 3s to the idea of dating and having my child marry someone from a different group not because of any hesitance about or prejudice of other groups but because it is very important to me that I raise my children Jewish.”<sup>10</sup>

There are several possibilities to explain these results. One is, simply, that GYV does a phenomenal job encouraging participants to be willing to interact with members of other groups. This is possible, but it is also possible that the young people who attend GYV do so because they are already interested in engaging with members of other groups and would have responded similarly to these questions had they not attended GYV. What is most likely is that both these possibilities are true. In the open-ended responses, many participants noted that GYV helped shape their attitudes and ideals, which is undoubtedly reflected in the responses to the Likert scale.

Because of the nature of the study, it was not possible to include any kind of pre-test or control group, and thus it is not possible to determine whether GYV participants held these attitudes before attending GYV or how the attitudes of GYV participants compare to those of individuals who do not take part in the program. However, it is clear that after attending, research respondents do have very favorable attitudes toward “the other”. And, while there are limitations, particularly to the Likert scale, the narrative responses provide a fuller picture and allow respondents to explain how the GYV

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<sup>10</sup> As noted above, all responses are presented as the respondent typed them in the questionnaire, with any spelling or grammar mistakes intact. Where necessary, the researcher has added clarifying information, which is set off by brackets to indicate that it is not part of the original response. In the case of interviews and personal communication, responses are either presented verbatim, in quotations, or paraphrased from the researcher’s memory and notes. Respondents are identified by the first letter of their first name, with the addition of a numeral in the case of multiple respondents with the same initial

experience affected them. It is these narrative responses that will be considered below, in sections labeled according to the themes introduced in the Introduction to Results.

### **Personal Connections and Cultural Experiences**

Personal contact and almost constantly being in mixed groups are key components of the GYV experience, and respondents highlighted this in their responses to many of the questions on the questionnaire. Much of this came in the form of learning personally about other cultures. The US participants in particular highlighted that GYV was the first time many of them had extensive experience with people from another culture, especially in terms of religion. To the question “What, if anything, do you tell people about your experience at GYV?” C, an older respondent answered:

“All of my stories at this point about Legacy are about the people I met from all over the world and their wonderful personalities and the stories of our times at the camp. It has been over 20 years since I have been there and I still remember names and faces and think of them fondly.”

Many respondents specifically mentioned making friends with people from different religions and ethnic groups, and that those friendships were lasting. While many of the respondents were more recent alumni, eight participated in the program more than ten years ago, and their responses also indicated that they still had personal connections with other alumni or still felt the connections were important to them, as exemplified by the respondent above. While it is not transfer in the sense of concrete actions toward conflict

resolution, this maintaining of relationships over time shows that participants do transfer their GYV experience into their subsequent lives.

The responses that mentioned cultural experiences and learning about different cultures can be broken into two distinct thematic categories: the belief that we are all alike, despite our differences; and the belief that all people are different and valuable for that reason. This is reflective of the complexity of what GYV seeks to do in a relatively short time. As mentioned earlier, the GYV programming seeks to move participants along a continuum from minimizing differences between groups and cultures to an understanding of the complex differences between people and valuing of those differences. What became clear through the research results is that not all participants are able to reach the far end of the spectrum during the program and remain at the minimization of differences stage. The theme that “we are all alike” was the most common, and arguably the most reflective of the GYV goals and activities in short session of the program. Each session begins with an exercise that explores “universal values”, those values that all people hold, despite different religions, cultures, and upbringings. From the staff point of view, this activity and the team-building exercises that accompany it are designed to build a foundation of relationships and commonalities between the youth that will be built on throughout the program. The staff training experience typically includes a similar discussion. Universal values are referred to throughout the program, especially when the participants are having disagreements with each other that the staffs feel are not constructive. Participants are encouraged to find common ground and explore the values that they share, rather than focusing on their

differences. Many participants, in their responses, mentioned this idea of universal values and shared humanity, though not necessarily in those terms. To the question, “Do you feel that you benefitted from your experience at GYV?”, H said, “Yes, most deffiently! It greatly impacted my view on the world. It taught me that people are people no matter who they are or where they come from.” This response was fairly typical for that question.

Some other responses, though, embrace the understanding that people are all different and that those differences are important and valuable. These reflect further progress along the stages of cultural competency and indicate that the director’s understanding that not some but not all participants are coming to this understanding is correct. The participants who responded in this way to the questionnaire were also all older respondents, most of whom had attended GYV more than once. This indicates that repeated experiences at GYV (or programs like it) can help to further build the cultural competence that the program is trying to foster. Lazarus (2011) found similar results in his research on SOP participants – those who are invited to return for a second summer are more likely to stay engaged with the program and its goals (p. 177–8). This is in keeping with Allport’s (1954) and Abu-Nimer’s (1999) work on contact hypothesis theory, which states that repeated encounters with other groups, provided that they are positive experiences, can reduce prejudice and conflict between opposing groups. It also showed that follow-up and repeated experiences are necessary to create lasting change and transfer, something that will be discussed later in this section.

Many of these respondents who adopted the narrative that all people are different and difference is important wrote about learning about their own culture while learning about others. D wrote:

“I think I learned a lot about people in general, and I realized how I used to perceive my own culture and habits as a global standard of behaviour. GYV helped me broaden my horizons and gain valuable intercultural experience in one place, that otherwise I would have to gain abroad”

These sort of responses are consistent with another central theme that will be discussed below: the idea that GYV serves as a safe space where young people can learn about themselves and their own cultures, as well as that of others.

These questions of how much can be achieved at GYV, in respect to cultural competency, are reflected by challenges experienced by staff, in particular as pertains to the idea of universal values and similarities between cultures. Many of the long-time staff members place a lot of emphasis on having participants explore ways in which they are similar. For example, during one evening activity that occurs each year, participants gather in small discussion groups to explore what their lives are like back at home. The topics vary and have included relations between boys and girls, home life, school life, university and work life, gender differences, and similar topics. The suggested questions given to staff members facilitating these discussions tend to lean toward discovering core similarities with surface differences, but in the discussions this researcher has facilitated, it occasionally arises that there are core, profound differences between cultures or countries. These discussions are not discouraged, but the topics are not exactly



constructed to facilitate their discovery. Some staff relate that the emphasis on similarities can be frustrating and challenging for staff and participants who would like to take conversations further.

Additionally, it appears that staff members approach GYV with different understandings of cultural competency, despite the lengthy staff training. While the director made it clear in an interview for this research that the goal of GYV is to move participants through all six stages of cultural competency, she also made clear that this is not something that is possible in a short program. Some staff do not necessarily share the same understanding of the aims of cultural competency at GYV. E, a staff member, while at GYV and in an interview, repeatedly expressed his frustration with what he perceived as attempts to minimize differences between participants at GYV. Perhaps as a reflection of that challenge, helping participants to understand and welcome differences is not a key feature of the staff training experience and staff. In particular, less experienced staff tend to seek to minimize the differences between groups and encourage the participants to do the same.<sup>11</sup> However, while this is of great concern to several of the staff members cited in this research, it did not seem to be of concern to the participants.

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<sup>11</sup> A related challenge at GYV is that some staff members have been involved in the program for twenty years or more and many of the materials and activities used with participants were developed years ago, sometimes by staff no longer associated with the program. There is a danger that these activities may be simply passed down from year to year, without a consideration of or explanation to the staff about how they work and the goals they are supposed to achieve. Additionally, staff who have been around a long time may not clearly communicate to newer staff why certain approaches are used, because the veteran staff just know those approaches work. In the hands of someone who does not understand a particular activity and its goals, the outcomes could be very different.

## **Safe Space**

The relationship formation that occurs at GYV relates directly to the next theme, that of GYV as a safe space which fosters exploration and growth. Much of GYV's value seems to come from its ability to create safe space, especially for participants who may not feel this in their daily lives. This does not appear to be a separate and distinct theme in the research responses so much as a condition fostered by GYV that made the other themes indicated by the research possible. S wrote that "The [sic] GYV community was so welcoming and accepting and it really allowed me to form honest and truthful relationships no matter how brief." Here it is necessary to introduce some of the researcher's observations of GYV participants that come from years of working with youth, rather than from academic and research experience. To be quite frank, many of the young people who are attracted to GYV are somewhat socially marginalized. It is not clear why this occurs, but the researcher has two intuitions, which are not mutually exclusive. First is that as GYV is focused on peacebuilding and intercultural communication, it attracts young people who are well read, interested in international politics and relations, and willing to spend a significant portion of their summer in classes and workshops, traits that are not always socially desirable in high school. Second is that because GYV includes many international participants who are conservative Muslims, the program is strict about fraternization between the genders and there is a high degree of staff supervision at all times. This makes the program appealing to even American participants from more conservative or sheltered backgrounds, which again, is not

socially desirable in high school.<sup>12</sup> GYV creates an insulated environment where these youth do not feel marginalized. D2, who attended GYV in the 1980s and 90s, wrote:

“I was kind of a lonely geeky kid most of the time. Every summer at Legacy I felt part of the crowd with many deep and loving friendships that have lasted from 1982 through to today. I see and communicate fairly frequently with my 1980's partners in crime. Back as a teen these friendships gave me something unique, confidence, and these friends are still always there in my mind when I face the trials and tribulations of life. This extra sense of self worth and positive view on the world has made me a better person.”

In a personal conversation with the researcher, staff member E remarked on how one of our participants, who we both jokingly described as “dorky” had become very popular with the Iraqi participants, especially the girls.<sup>13</sup> While the conversation was joking, the staff member (who is also a university student conducting research on GYV) and the researcher both were also very curious about what was going on for this young man. E asked, “Do you think because they’re from Iraq, they don’t know he’s a dork?” The young man was obviously enjoying a lot of attention and positive feedback that was missing in his life at home, and for him, this seemed to be an important part of the experience. While the young man did not respond to the questionnaire, he stayed in

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<sup>12</sup> As the researcher, a former teacher with special education experience, spent her adolescent summers alternating between marine science camp and speech and debate camp, these should be seen as insider observations, rather than negative value judgments.

<sup>13</sup> Again, this is less a value judgment than the observation of someone who was once an awkward teen and who has spent many years working with people of that age. The young man in question had thick glasses, a passion for manga and Greek mythology, and a lack of social grace. More importantly, in conversations with the researcher, he repeatedly related that he seldom felt at home or accepted in his own school.

contact with several staff members and fellow participants for at least a year after the program ended.

Staff saw a similar response from S2, an autistic teen from Chicago who adjusted well to the program and integrated with the other participants, despite concerns that staff were unequipped to work with a special needs participant. Part of why the experience was so positive for him was that he did not have to limit behaviors that he ordinarily did, such as speaking continually and moving around the room. Another respondent, S, explained it thus, “I think I did benefit. I benefited because it was something that was mine. By that I mean I was not in the shadow of any of my family. I was not someones brother or son. I was seen as an individual.” Other researchers have identified removing participants from their daily context as being helpful in ICR. Lazarus (2011) relates that:

Proponents of international programs often frame this removal from context as an advantage, arguing that international settings inspire openness and new thinking for participants, while equalizing the status of the parties in conflict by placing them under the authority of relatively impartial third-party authorities. (p. 27)

However, this idea also has critics, such as researchers and participants cited by Kalman (2008) who would argue that bringing ICR participants to a foreign country is unnecessarily expensive and vulnerable to exploitation by participants who are seeking a free trip abroad or to bolster a resume with international experience.

In the literature review, several works raised the possibility that youth peacebuilding efforts may be highly effective because of the desire for independence and autonomy that is so strong in the adolescent years. Education research shows that teens

and young adults are exploring and engaging with new ideas at a rapid rate – consider the learning, exploration, and experimentation that happen in the high school and college years. As seen above, several GYV participants point to the autonomy and freedom to be themselves that comes with the GYV experience as being formative. One avenue for further research on this subject would be to compare residential programs like GYV with programs that take place in participants' schools or similar venues, such as the one Wayne (2008) studied, to explore whether the residential setting and being away from families and an established social group has any effect on how participants engage with the program.

The background of social marginalization of participants also compels further examination. As it was not a feature of the research design, the researcher cannot speak authoritatively about the effects of peacebuilding efforts on marginalized youth. However, as a result of extensive experience with youth as an educator, activist, and trainer, she can offer some credible observations. The same young people who are socially marginalized in their high school years often do not remain so in college and beyond. Creativity, independence, and intellectual engagement may not foster popularity in the teen years, but in later years these traits are valuable for creating active, civically engaged, academically successful college students and adults. The researcher has been fortunate enough to have kept in contact with some of her former students for more than ten years, and those who struggled the most socially in middle and high school have tended not to have the same challenges as adults. The value of GYV for participants like this is that it can create a situation of freedom and exploration that participants otherwise

may not be able to experience until college or adulthood, if at all. This is especially true for some of the international participants from Asia and the Middle East, as the schools they attend at home are often more rigid and authoritarian than American and European schools. As noted previously, the theme of safe space is less an outcome for participants than a condition that can facilitate other changes and potentially transfer. While transfer was not indicated by the responses having to do with safe space, it was indicated by other responses, including those relating to self-knowledge and reflection, which will be explored below.

### **Self-Knowledge and Reflection**

What the researcher is choosing to call “self-knowledge and reflection” was an unanticipated but quite prevalent theme in the responses to the questionnaire.

Participants reported that through the GYV program they learned about themselves and their culture. Some even indicated that this was the most important or most salient part of the program for them. A, the former participant and staff member who is quoted extensively elsewhere, related this in her responses to several questions and in personal communications. For her, the primary value of the GYV experience was learning about herself. Another respondent, H, who is currently a PhD student in anthropology, pointed to GYV as where she first discovered that she wanted to be an anthropologist also happens to be another respondent that attended GYV as a teen and returned as a staff member. She wrote:

“I believe that GYV has the unique ability to teach acceptance, tolerance, and open mindedness that many other programs do not, or at least not to the same degree. The largest benefit, I think, was meeting people from all over the world, because that not only educated all of us about each other's cultures, but also about our own culture and ways of life. I also feel that meeting people from these other places created a bond that is stronger than anything else and enables every participant and staff member to see everyone there as a person, regardless of ethnicity, religion, social class, or any other societal division people may use. As a result, GYV gives participants (and staff) the ability to see beyond divisions in their own lives, away from GYV, and to build peace within their own communities, wherever they may be.”

This encapsulates many of the responses of GYV participants when asked what they gained from the program. S3, a female participant who lives on a Native American reservation in Montana wrote that she learned a lot about herself, and followed up with “Coming from a Reservation we are so isolated and naive' [naïve] about other cultures and closed off from learning about one another. Going and experiencing the way of life at GYV made me an overall better person.” D, also quoted above, wrote about how GYV helped her learn “a great deal about myself and how well I work in a team setting”. To return to the literature, some scholars feel that “unlearning” old patterns and creating new ones is one of the first steps in peacebuilding and ICR (Austin, 2001; Boehringer et al. 1974). While in and of itself this theme may not be a concrete indicator of peacebuilding activity, it is clear that learning about oneself in relation to others is an important step

along the way to creating transfer and change. Additionally, in the case of participants such as H and A, who do indicate that GYV informed their life choices later, transfer clearly is occurring. In the next section, the uniqueness of the GYV experience and what effect this has on both participants and transfer will be examined.

### **The Uniqueness of the Experience and the Inability to Explain It**

One of the intriguing facts about life at GYV, which was bolstered by the questionnaire results, is how difficult it is to explain the experience to people who have not gone through it. On the last day of the program a staff member leads a short discussion on this fact, emphasizing that participants may not feel ready to talk about the experience for a while, or that they may have a hard time adjusting and that the experience may be hard to explain to friends and family. This is reflected in staff experience as well – in personal conversations many staff member relate that when they first return home, they cannot even explain GYV to their friends and partners.<sup>14</sup> A, who after several summers as a participant became a staff member, when asked “What, if anything, do you tell people about your experience at GYV?” wrote:

“Not a lot actually. They used to warn you at the end of each session that you will have gone through this intense, life changing experience and it will be hard to share that with people who haven't experienced it. There is some truth to that but also I just don't tell about things in general. I think my experience was reflected in

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<sup>14</sup> At the end of one particularly emotionally challenging summer, two other staff members slept on the researcher's floor for three days before returning home so that they could continue to process and share with others who understood the experience they had just been through.



how I changed more than what I said about it. Usually I'll just say I attended/work at international summer program in the middle of nowhere Virginia.”

J wrote, “As anyone who has attended GYV can understand, it is a hard experience to explain,” and D2 said, “I do not talk about it very much. It is quite challenging to explain it to most of the people I meet in my life right now.”

Though this experience was familiar to the researcher, it took a lot of thought before it became apparent that this was, itself, an important data point. Fisher (1993) writes about the importance of conducting problem solving workshops on a “cultural island”, separated, if not geographically, at least in some symbolic way from the conflict setting. The idea is that being away from the situation of intractable conflict can foster new thinking and provide a new point from which to view the conflict. As discussed above, there has not been a robust comparison of residential as opposed to day programs, but it is an important avenue for further research. The fact that so many participants have a difficult time talking about GYV to non-participants suggests that GYV does successfully create a cultural island, separate from daily life, where participants can do and try things that they could not do at home – the responses cited in the self-knowledge and reflection section bear this out. However, this raises two very different possibilities for what happens after the program. One is the positive side: that through the GYV experience, participants are able to grow and develop in ways that they might not in their home environment, and after the program they are able to integrate these changes into their life at home. Again, many questionnaire responses bear this out. An interesting way this manifested in responses was related to food. The diet at GYV is vegetarian and

emphasizes healthy foods, which is unfamiliar to many participants. However, several respondents mentioned that as a result of their GYV experience they decided to make permanent changes to their diets. In a clear example of transfer, R, already an ardent environmentalist when she attended GYV, noted that at GYV she came to better understand the links between diet and the environment, which caused her to change her diet at home.

The second possibility, however, is somewhat more negative: that because the GYV experience is so different from daily life, participants may feel their GYV experience is not applicable at home, and come to view it as an experience that is special and important, but not relevant or repeatable once they return to normal life, which would mean that transfer is not occurring. To expand this into a darker thread of exploration, this could create bitterness or anger later, if participants spend a summer in a somewhat utopian setting, learning about peace, then return to a region where it seems that peace is not possible. If this is happening at GYV or other ICR experiences, it would mean that not only does transfer not take place, but that these programs have the potential to create conditions under which transfer is actually discouraged. While no participants reported this during the research, concern about this is something that comes up frequently in private conversations with staff members. Additionally, each year the researcher noted that there were participants who became angry and withdrawn as the departure time approached, possibly for these reasons. Regarding the lack of negative or contradictory responses to the questionnaire (which will also be explored in the Discussion section), it is important to note that participants who reflect negatively on their experience at GYV

are unlikely to be actively involved as alumni, and thus would be unlikely to have seen the invitation to participate in the research, let alone responded to the questionnaire.

This also raises questions of re-entry problems. As early as Allport (1954), re-entry has been identified as a challenge for ICR and related processes. Re-entry problems arise when the ICR experience is so different from the participants' daily situation that they have trouble adjusting when they return home. These problems are exacerbated by a lack of follow-up and support during re-entry (follow-up and a lack of it will be discussed later). Anderson and Olson (2003) discussed re-entry problems in their work as well, and suggested that agencies and practitioners focus more on re-entry than most are currently able to do:

Practitioners acknowledge the re-entry problem. Peace agencies cannot be responsible for what participants do outside the dialogue, but they can focus discussion on this and help participants assess what is realistic. In addition, participants can clarify what they would like the facilitators to do for follow-up. A topic for discussion at any dialogue meeting should be "What comes next?" Time should be allotted for participants to discuss not only what should be done but also obstacles they will encounter and how to address them. (p. 14)

This is consistent with the quote from Safi, who said that when Palestinian youth return from international peacebuilding experiences they are initially hopeful, but then realize that "it is useless" (as cited in Kalman, 2008).

## **“Practicing” for Later**

It is implicit in many educational experiences that learners are “practicing” for later on. This is a large part of the reasoning behind activities like role-plays, simulations, and modeling. On the one hand, learners and educators are creating learning experiences that could not be approached in the real world/real time, but in addition, there is an implicit reasoning that learners will practice a situation in a controlled setting, and then be more comfortable with a similar situation in real life and time. This kind of modeling is seen everywhere from practicing manners at lunch in pre-school to medical students practicing on elaborate mannequins and surgical models. Regarding experiential learning in peacebuilding efforts in Sub-Saharan Africa, Wolpe (2008) says:

Consequently, training for collaborative capacity depends far less on traditional didactic training techniques of readings and lectures than on experiential learning methods: simulations, interactive exercises, mock negotiations, role-playing—all designed to enable the participants to acquire insight, through their own experience of reacting to a series of hypothetical situations, into the attitudes and perceptions that condition their behaviour and that of the ‘others’. (p. 141)

At GYV, simulations and role-plays comprise a large portion of the curriculum, giving participants the ability to practice conflict situations in a controlled and safe setting. This is not to say that these simulations do not sometimes become heated, but then that real conflict is used as a teaching moment. This practicing leads to transfer, which is manifested both externally, as conflict resolving behaviors implemented later, and internally, as a basis for later ideas and ideals.

Unsurprisingly, the peacebuilding and dialogue workshop was mentioned frequently in responses, especially to the questions “Were you ever able to put what you learned at GYV into practice? S2 wrote:

“Yes, through the dialogue workshop we learned how to diffuse chaotic situations and use conversations to settle disagreements. I have always wanted to talk things out rather than going through without a plan and GYV has helped me with that idea.”

Again, this response was typical of the answers to that question, and several respondents noted that they were able to use what they learned later in international settings during work and study abroad. A few noted that they had not been able to use what they learned at GYV yet, but all offered some rationale as to why – they were too young, it was too soon after they completed the program, etc. This indicates, again, that transfer is occurring and that its effects may be quite long lasting, even when participants do not see an immediate opportunity to implement what they learned. Studies of experiential learning say that it is highly effective at increasing student learning in the classroom (Gosen & Washbush, 2004, p. 278).

Harder to tease out from the data is whether participants were practicing their internal changes for later as well. To refer again to the section on self-knowledge and reflection, several respondents mentioned learning about themselves in a specific way: learning to be goofy or learning they could just be themselves, for example. During one conversation in staff training, a long-time staff member spoke to newer staff members about the idea that summer camp is a time to try out new things – from new foods to a

new identity. GYV creates a culture where experimentation and trying something new and potentially silly are expected and encouraged, which can allow participants to try on a whole new identity. Silly games are used during orientation to get participants in a frame of mind to laugh and try things out, and an evening activity early in the program is usually structured to get participants into costumes and trying out new roles in front of others. Activities like this are in keeping with the scholarship of a wide variety of practitioners and scholars, from Lederach to Boal. This experimentation can be fairly minor, or quite major. For example, the diet at GYV is vegetarian, and some participants decide to remain vegetarian or eat less meat when they go home. In a more drastic example, while at GYV one Muslim young woman decided to not wear the hijab that she generally wore and even adopted tank tops and shorts that she borrowed from her cabin-mates. It is not clear how much of this experimentation is integrated into participants' lives after GYV, but there is almost certainly some that is. In the next section, the roll of follow-up will be considered. As will be seen, it is clear from both existing and the current research that follow-up can greatly increase transfer and lasting change.

## **Follow-up**

Measuring the effects of follow-up after the program at GYV was not initially one of the explicit goals of this project. However, between when the research was launched and completed, Lazarus (2011) completed his doctoral dissertation on Seeds of Peace, a

peacebuilding program with a similar model to that of GYV.<sup>15</sup> One of the most consistent findings in that research was that follow-up by staff after the program was an indicator that individuals would stay involved with and connected to the program long after completing it. Lazarus (2011) writes:

For the SOP program, the findings emphasize the importance of pluralistic, responsive, sustained follow-up. Graduates demonstrated sustained “commitments to fighting for peace” when the organization supporting multiple and evolving avenues of long-term activity – designed not according to organizational priorities but in response to the aspirations, initiatives, and asymmetrical realities of graduates. (p. 192)

Lazarus (2011) also finds that it is not enough for follow-up to simply re-cap what has been done before, but it needs to be “pluralistic and responsive” (p. 92). SOP is in a rather unique and enviable position of having a field office with staff in the region in which it works, so Lazarus’s findings are not wholly generalizable to other programs, including GYV. Nevertheless, the role of follow-up, when it happened, and a desire for follow-up, when it was not available, were consistent findings in this research as well, despite not having been a feature of the original research design. Several respondents attended GYV for multiple summers and wrote about how this affected their experience. They pointed to personal growth as well as a growth in how they understood and reacted to the program after attending a second or even third session. Some respondents also returned as staff and wrote about continuing to build on the experience. A related her

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<sup>15</sup> In fact, several early SOP staff members were initially trained at GYV.

experience thus: “The first year I had a lot of support from one of my workshop instructors but then in the years after that it was just the whole program, especially the action teams and the leadership council.” In response to a later question; “Has your perception of your experience at GYV changed at all since you attended?”, she wrote:

“In little ways yes, but in large part I was very aware of how much I had changed just after that first year, and after each consecutive year I was became more aware of the ways in which I had changed. After becoming a staff member, I was able to better see how all of the techniques and people, some obvious and some subtle, came together to create the entire experience.”

This response and others like it indicate that the “links in a chain” approach, as described by Kelman (2008), is in play at GYV. For many respondents, GYV was an initial or early introduction to what would become a lifetime of engagement with peacebuilding, human rights, conflict, or a similar field. This relates closely to the role of a cumulative effect created by multiple experiences at GYV or a similar program, a finding of this research which will be discussed below.

In some years the GYV program also included follow-up, either for the whole group or for certain sub-sets of participants. Participants who took part in this follow-up called it out as key for their experience. In the 1990s, the program involved a trip to New York at the end of the program.<sup>16</sup> G said of this visit, in particular a visit to the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR):

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<sup>16</sup> This is something that is dependent on funding; currently the program includes a DC trip for some participants selected for an additional leadership program and some international participants spend a few days in New York or Washington DC before or after the program, as discussed below.



“I think that trip helped me piece everything together and decide that I wanted to do something around refugee issues and human rights. When I went home, I started volunteering with refugees and later worked for two years at a refugee resettlement agency. I still volunteer with refugees to this day.”

For some of the international participants, additional US experiences and follow-up are part of the GYV experience. The groups that have come from Iraq in recent years have spent several days in New York and Washington DC meeting with officials, visiting organizations and governmental offices, and also doing the typical tourist activities. Unsurprisingly, the New York trip was mentioned in several responses. These students and the groups from Indonesia also have a home-stay portion of the program, and the Indonesian group has follow-up support from the staff related to a leadership project they design at GYV then implement at home. None of the Indonesian respondents mentioned the role of follow-up in their responses, but many are active in the Facebook alumni group and have even formed a group solely for Indonesian participants. Many of them are in regular contact with the staff mentors who worked with them on their individual projects as well as with their home-stay families.

For participants who were unable to participate in follow-up activities, several noted that it would have enriched or helped them assimilate their experiences. M2 wrote explicitly about a desire for “post-Legacy counseling” to help with “learning how to deal with the intense emotion of disconnecting from such a deeply connected place”. This desire for follow-up is also frequently expressed in staff meetings and in personal communications with staff. Nearly everyone involved with the program understands that

some sort of follow-up activity, especially ongoing contact with and mentoring from staff, can greatly enhance the experience and learning of participants and create transfer, but it is difficult to secure funding for these activities, and difficult for staff to stay engaged after the summer program ends, as many staff are students who are only involved with GYV during the summer. However, as is clear from this and other research that as follow up increases the success and effect of youth peacebuilding programs, organizations that provide funding for this work should be funding follow-up as well, as part of the best practices for these programs.

One of the more compelling developments over the course of this research was realization that participants themselves felt the need for some kind of follow-up and that they were willing to provide it for themselves if the staff was unable to. As mentioned before, there is a main GYV/Legacy Facebook page, but there are also at least three separate Facebook groups for alumni from specific years or regions. While this research was being conducted, Iraqi alumni formed a Facebook group for participants who had been selected for the next year of the program, to help them prepare. They posted about their experiences at GYV and what participants should expect and invited staff members to share as well. Currently they are using the group to network and to alert each other about other opportunities for similar programs and scholarships for international education. Clearly this group remains engaged with each other and with the program in general, even if many of them did not respond to the questionnaire. The importance of follow-up will be further expanded upon in the next section, on cumulative effects of ICR.

## **Cumulative Effects**

The availability of follow-up activities flows naturally into the idea that, to a large degree, the “success” of GYV and programs like it is dependent on an accumulation of effects and changes over time, some of which occur during the course of the program being studied and some of which come before or after. This is related to, but slightly distinct from Kelman’s (2008) links in a chain approach – while Kelman was exploring how an accumulation of changes in individuals creates traction on a conflict, the current section of this paper explores how an accumulation of changes and experiences in an individual creates long-term, lasting change and transfer in that person, in keeping with the lens model introduced previously.

As discussed above, for many GYV participants, the experience was just one in a series of related events and experiences, sometimes culminating in a lifetime of engagement in peacebuilding or intercultural relations. H related that GYV began an interest in world affairs and cultures, which eventually led to doctoral studies in anthropology. J2, who is currently a graduate student in conflict analysis and resolution, said that GYV “put me on the path to where I am today (a student at ICAR in Malta).” J3, when asked “Were you ever able to put what you learned at GYV into practice?” quite explicitly explained the cumulative effects of her work and study thus:

“Yes, all the time. I’m a social work major and do a lot of volunteer work but because of my experience at GYV I am very open with the people that I work with. I do not judge them and try to see things from their perspective.

I have put what I learned at GYV to practice in multiple settings. Interning at a juvenile hall in Tanzania, becoming a volunteer mediator for a youth ADR program in DC, and working with under served youth in DC as an AmeriCorps VISTA have put my skills of dialogue and peace building to use. These experiences have also helped expand on what I had learned, which I continue to develop as a student of conflict resolution today.”

It is quite clear that this young woman understands the cumulative effect of GYV and her other life experiences. As mentioned in the introduction to the results, Kelman’s (2008) idea of links of a chain is applicable to the current research, but the idea of GYV in particular and ICR in general as a lens creates a different understanding of how participants integrate their experiences and transfer them to their subsequent lives. As opposed to the link on the chain metaphor, this approach does not assume that life progresses in an order fashion, with one experience linking to what came directly before it, and instead offers GYV and other ICR methods as a tool something that can be reflected on and applied at any point, as participants grow and experience new things. While the findings in this and the previous sections clearly indicate that high levels of transfer are occurring for GYV participants, there are some questions and challenges raised by the research, which will be discussed in the next section.

## **DISCUSSION**

While the researcher worked to create a responsive and flexible research design, this research design does raise several concerns and potential challenges, several of which were discussed in the Research Methods section. One of the primary concerns is with the honesty and candor of the responses received. As mentioned before, the researcher has been an employee of GYV and has worked with several respondents as both a teacher and an administrator of the program. She also interacted with one research respondent as a supervisor and mentor. Because of this, there is a danger that respondents provided responses that they thought the researcher wanted to hear, rather than what they really believe, and that responses are artificially skewed to be more favorable. Robson (2002) describes this as “the ‘good bunny’ syndrome, when the respondent tries to give the answers or impression which they judge that the researcher wants” ( p. 172). To deal with this, questions were crafted so as to put an emphasis on respondents’ personal experiences rather than the feature of the program. However, responses to one question in particular were troubling. The question asked “Are there things about GYV that you remember not liking or not learning much from?”. Many responses to this question were quite flippant and mentioned the bugs and the heat. Southwestern Virginia is both buggy and hot in the summer, so there is a kernel of truth here. However, given the intense emotional nature of GYV and the personal and

disciplinary problems that emerge every summer, it seems unlikely that even participants who enjoyed the program would have not found something they did not enjoy about it.

There is also the inevitable challenge that GYV participants are inherently self-selecting and that the research respondents are even more so. GYV participants are self-selecting in that, barring unilateral decisions from parents, they have willingly decided to spend a portion of their summer vacation at a peacebuilding camp instead of one of the roughly 12,000 other summer camps in the country. This indicates a prior commitment to the goals of GYV as well as an interest in learning about other cultures. While participants may have been ignorant about other cultures and may harbor unexplored or unnoticed prejudices, it is unlikely that they were highly biased against those from other cultures before attending the program, making it hard to gauge just how much of an effect GYV on its own had. However, again, this is why Kelman's (2008) idea of links in a chain and the researcher's lens model are helpful: GYV is one portion of a journey into peacebuilding.

Additionally, those who responded to the survey are also self-selecting, in that to even become aware of the survey, they had to be active members of the GYV alumni community. Former GYV participants who did not find the program enjoyable or helpful could simply elect to not join any of the Facebook groups or to get the alumni emails. The questionnaire was also quite long, and to spend the time completing it participants must have either felt a commitment to the research, a personal commitment to the researcher, or a commitment to GYV. This commitment can also be explained in terms of social capital. The researcher – as a graduate student, instructor, GYV staff member,

American, adult, etc. – has value as a member of a network or series of networks. This is different from the respondent bias discussed above in that, rather than giving false information in order to please the researcher, respondents might be more willing to engage fully in the research because of a sense that the researcher has social capital, or that an association with GYV is a form of social capital. None of this is inherently negative, but it should be taken into account.

As discussed above in the review of the literature, there is evidence that simply having contact with and making personal connections to other groups can substantively alter individuals perceptions of the “other”. However, there are limitations to this. As Allport (1954) notes, this contact must be positive for it to create positive perceptions. Power asymmetries must also be addressed for contact to aid peacebuilding. As was noted above, GYV staff make some efforts to address inequality, including banning expensive electronics and other status symbols. However, as outsiders to the regions and cultures participants come from, staff may either not understand or misunderstand power dynamics. For example, while Sunni-Shia tensions are high in many regions of Iraq, staff are often ignorant of which participants are Sunni and which are Shia, and thus are unable to be mindful of status or power dynamics that may be at work.

The final potential flaw or challenge to the validity of the research happens to set up conditions which also limit the impact of the flaws and challenges presented previously. There is no control group or pre-test in the research design, which means there is nothing to measure the responses against. Rather than be seen as any kind of comparative case, the current research should be seen as what it is: a single-case study of

a program which by many measures – internal evaluation results, continued funding from a variety of forces, active alumni, positive responses to this study – is effective. The research attempts to tease out what works and what does not in one iteration of a niche type of program – ICR for youth in a residential setting. While the research may not be wholly generalizable, it does offer rich data on what it sets out to explore.

When initially conceiving of the research, the researcher hoped to explore whether GYV had more measurable, external effects, which are traditionally the subject of evaluation, for participants from conflict regions than those from stable regions. However it became clear during the research that the design was not going to capture that information clearly, mostly because as the design evolved, it focused more on the experiences of individuals, not on individuals as members of a specific identity group. Yet, it was also clear that the program affected individuals differently depending on what their life was like back home. G, quoted above, talked about how it was to not be a younger sibling at GYV, but to just be a person. P, a respondent from Northern Ireland, wrote, “i was born and raised in belfast northern ireland, ive lived through a lot of conflict, hate and pain. at gyv i learnt a lot about resolution, there are a lot of ways to resolve disputes rather than violence.” The responses provided were highly personal, another fact which buttressed the idea that part of what is going on at GYV is largely internal and not simply encompassed by the external actions that other researchers have focused on. Also, each GYV participant is coming to the program from a different “place”. While this is not to say that external actions and manifestations of transfer are unimportant or that other researchers have ignored the internal change that is occurring



for participants, it does indicate that more research needs to be done on the internal changes that precede and facilitate transfer in ICR. As mentioned previously, other disciplines have attempted to more fully theorize this, and while it is not possible or necessary for all ICR practitioners to become well versed in psychology or social work, there may be vital information from other disciplines which ICR practitioners could draw on to enrich their understanding of their practice. The penultimate section of this paper will take up the question of what is success, and how do practitioners, researchers, and evaluators know whether GYV, or any ICR program, is successful.

### **What is Success at GYV?**

As discussed in the literature review, the question of what success is in terms of ICR has hardly been decided.<sup>17</sup> If one is to measure success as the cessation of conflict, then ICR has contributed to a mixed bag – Northern Ireland and the Balkans are relatively stable, but Cyprus is far from unified, and as this draft is being written, Israel/Palestine seems likely to burst into flames again. However, Hill (1982) discussed the idea that because conflict is subjective, then resolution has to create a mutual “reperception” of the conflict (p. 114). At GYV, the curriculum does not focus on creating a resolution to a specific conflict, so the focus should not be on resolution but on the experiences of individuals. If, as is argued above, the changes created in individuals who attend GYV are largely internal changes in attitudes and beliefs, then the success or failure of the program needs to be measured in these terms, as well as in terms of any

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<sup>17</sup> Refer, in particular, to Lazarus (2011).

tangible action participants might take later in life. Here, the picture of how successful GYV is becomes clearer. Many of the research participants have taken tangible action based on their GYV experience and many also discuss the internal changes that took place for them. Transfer is clearly occurring, even if the how and why of it may still be unclear.

One could also measure the success of GYV by whether it fulfills the characteristics that various theorists feel are necessary to foster positive changes in participants. Fisher (1993), quoted in the literature review, lays out five conditions for successful ICR: a setting which allows participants to become acquainted and familiar with each other, to break down barriers; equal status of participants; social norms that support “friendliness, respect, openness, and trust”, work on cooperative tasks; and finally that “the characteristics of individuals will affect the process and outcomes of intergroup contact” and thus participants need to be “generally competent and secure” (pp. 451-2). It is clear that GYV satisfies many, if not all, of these conditions, in a manner that is mostly consistent with the themes outlined in the results section. The results related to the first theme – that of personal connections and cultural experiences – satisfies the condition that participants become acquainted. The safe space created at GYV allows for breaking down of barriers, equal status, and social norms, and works toward ensuring that participants are “competent and secure” enough to help them be successful in the program. The peacebuilding and dialogue workshop and the intensive that staff are trained to offer also supports success as outlined by Fisher.

One avenue for exploring success that seems highly fruitful is that proposed by D'Estree et al. (2001), who propose separating outcomes into four different types: changes in thinking, changes in relations, foundation for transfer, and foundation for outcomes of implementation. In separating outcomes into these categories it is possible to separate the changes that happen internally in a person from the actions that she make take later. In the responses from participants examined above, some can point out actual actions they took as a result of GYV, but many more are able to also point out that while they have not yet taken concrete action, they intend to in the future and can explain changes that happened within themselves as a result of GYV.

More importantly, respondents have consistently reported that GYV fostered changes in how they perceive themselves and the world around them. Again, this is why the researcher offers the metaphor of GYV as a lens. While it is hard to measure tangible outcomes of the GYV experience, participants have reported that GYV has given them a way of perceiving themselves and the world and of interacting with others. Thus, subsequent actions or changes in behavior, when and if they occur, can be assumed to have passed through this lens. If the effects of the GYV experience are as long lasting as reported by older research participants, they could indicate decades of work, civic engagement and other behaviors shaped in some way by GYV. While this is good news for GYV, it also shows the need for a better understanding of how transfer works, especially over long periods of time. As has been mentioned repeatedly, many examinations of transfer focus on the actions that ICR participants take. However, if participants are not necessarily taking action but nevertheless report positive effects

related to the program they take part in, is transfer occurring? If it takes years to even decades for individuals to act on their ICR experience, how can ICR best be evaluated? As the very least it is clear that research and evaluation timelines need to be extended, though this raises many practical issues, funding surely being key among them. It is also clear that more attention needs to be paid to internal and emotional change which may be seen as additional measures, or way points, which indicate that transfer is occurring or will occur. In the next section, the conclusion, this and other implications of the research will be considered.

## **CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS**

Understanding the GYV experience as a lens offers additional ways to examine the success of the program, or any ICR initiative because it shows that transfer occurs as an iterative or cumulative process, and not necessarily in the strictly linear model that Kelman's (2008) work seems to propose. Rather than only or primarily looking at tangible outcomes – such as work in the field – or resorting to measures that have little inherent meaning – such as number of people trained, without an explanation of the goals and outcomes of the training, as has too often been the case in ICR research and evaluation – it is clear that attention needs to be paid to internal changes and personal growth as reported by participants in order to show that transfer, or at least changes that seem to lead to transfer, are occurring for ICR participants, even if they do not seem to be manifesting transfer in more direct ways. While harder to measure, internal and individual changes give richer indicators of the “success” of the program.

The study also has important implications for funders and program designers of youth ICR. Repeated experience and follow up are key to ensuring that GYV has a lasting effect on participants. Again, this is supported by other research, especially that of Lazarus (2011). Even before the research was completed, staff identified follow-up as important for increasing learning, and now it is clear that it increases transfer as well. This understanding must be communicated to the organizations that fund GYV and

programs like it (primarily the US State Department and its contractors) so that funding can be adjusted to provide for follow-up experiences.

Personal connections are key in creating transfer, and ICR theorists and practitioners should investigate how best to ensure that connections are made in a positive manner and that follow-up occurs to ensure that participants can maintain some of those connections. More than concrete answers, this study is able to offer better questions. It is clear from the review of the literature and the research that there are gaps in the understanding of youth peacebuilding and ICR – in theory, in evaluation practices, and in understanding of outcomes. It is not necessary in this conclusion to re-examine all of them, but a few stand out as important conclusions to draw from the research.

The majority of the questions that need to be asked about youth ICR and peacebuilding can be categorized under one heading: that of “What are participants saying?” This forces changes in theorization, evaluation, and shaping of outcomes. As is mentioned by many of the works cited in this research and as is implicit in many of the research responses, individuals understand themselves and their own context best. Whether this comes in the form of adults living in conflict zones rejecting American facilitators that they view as arrogant and ignorant or youth reporting that they learn more from other youth, it is clear that ICR participants have definitive ideas regarding what creates knowledge and growth. ICR practitioners should be prepared to embrace a more critical view of knowledge creation, rather than a “banking” theory [as outlined by Freire (1970)], and should work with participants to understand goals of peacebuilding and clarify what participants are learning and whether it meets their needs. Further research

into ICR would do well to utilize emancipatory research, in which researcher and research participants work together to create a research design and explore results. For more on these approaches, see Robson (2002); Lather (1992); Mertens, Farley, Madison, and Singleton (1994); and Halse and Honey (2007). While none of this will necessarily ensure the success of ICR, much less the actual resolution of intractable global conflicts, it can lead to a better understanding of the personal dynamics at work in youth ICR.

## APPENDIX 1 – QUESTIONNAIRE

### Global Youth Village Alumni Questionnaire

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study. Below you will be asked some questions about your experience at the Global Youth Village. All responses will be kept confidential, and if you choose you may complete this questionnaire anonymously. However, you will be asked for your name and contact information so that the researcher can contact you with follow up questions. The George Mason University Human Subjects Review Board has waived the requirement for signing the consent form. However, if you would like to sign a consent form prior to beginning the research, please contact Sarah Rose-Jensen at 571-271-8399 or [srosejen@gmu.edu](mailto:srosejen@gmu.edu) or Mara Schoeny at 703-993-9191 or [mschoeny@gmu.edu](mailto:mschoeny@gmu.edu).

\* Required

### Background Information

In this section we will ask you some background information for classification purposes. Providing your name and email is optional. If you do choose to provide your name and email it will be used only to contact you for follow-up questions and will not be shared with anyone. Your responses will still be counted even if you choose not to provide your name and/or email.

Are you over the age of 18? \*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No



What year did you attend GYV?

What is your home country? If you are currently living outside of your home country, where are you living now? If you were living outside of your home country when you attended GYV, where were you living then?

May we have your name and email, to contact you with follow up questions? This is optional, your responses will still be accepted even if you prefer not to provide your name and/or email

### **Your GYV Experience**

These questions will ask about your experience at the Global Youth Village as a participant and how your perception of your experience at GYV may have changed since you attended.

Do you feel that you benefited from your experience at GYV? If so, in what way? If not, is there a reason why?

Were you ever able to put what you learned at GYV into practice? If so, please explain. If not, why not?

Has your perception of your experience at GYV changed at all since you attended? In what ways?

What, if anything, do you tell people about your experience at GYV?

Have you attended any other peace building or conflict resolution programs or workshops? If so, when, and can you describe them?

Are you still in contact with anyone from GYV? If so, may we contact you in order to get in touch with those people?

Thinking about everything you did and experienced at GYV, including planned activities and workshops, games, cabin life, and just meeting friends, which do you think had the biggest impact on you? Why? What activities do you remember most clearly?

Are there things about GYV that you remember not liking or not learning much from? What were they and why? Has your opinion on these activities or events changed at all as you have gotten older?

## Work and Family Life

These questions will ask about your work and family life. If you are still a student, please think about your school when answering the work questions.

Has there been a war or organized violence in your country or region in your lifetime? Organized violence can include on-going terrorist activity, ongoing or frequent bombings, or frequent violence against a particular group of people, such as an ethnic or religious minority.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Unsure

If you answered yes to the question above, are you involved in peace and/or reconstruction efforts? What do you do? Do you work with an organization? If so, what is the name of the organization?

Have you ever run for a local or national political office? If so, what office? Were you successful?

Are you currently working in the government? Have you in the past? In what capacity?

Are you currently working at an non-governmental organization (NGO or INGO) or civil society organization (CSO)? Have you in the past? In what capacity? What is the mission of this organization?

Do you consider yourself a member of a political party? What party?

Are you a member of any social or cultural organizations? Which ones?

If you do perform volunteer work, what do you do?

How often do you perform volunteer work?

- ☐ Once a week or more
- ☐ Once or twice a month
- ☐ Several times a year
- ☐ Do not perform volunteer work

Do you have a choice in what type of school you attend or send your children to?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ This question does not apply to me

If so, do you or your children attend a racially, ethnically, religiously, or culturally mixed school?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If you chose yes, can you describe the racial, ethnic, religious and cultural make up of the school

Can you describe the racial, ethnic, religious, or cultural make up of your neighborhood?

Thinking about the questions you just answered, do you feel that your experience at GYV affected your responses at all? For example, did it affect your choice of career or volunteer work, or your decision to send your children to a certain school?

## Intergroup Attitudes Scale

How willing would you be to engage in the following activities with members of another religious, racial, cultural, or ethnic group? In the scale below, 5 is very willing to take the action in question, and 1 is not at all willing to take the action. For all these questions, please consider how you would respond based on a member of another group living in your own country.

How willing would you be to... Invite them as guests into my home.

1    2    3    4    5

Not at all Willing ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Very Willing

How willing would you be to... Work in the same work or school group with them.

1    2    3    4    5

Not at all Willing ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Very Willing

How willing would you be to... Visit their home as a guest.

1    2    3    4    5

Not at all Willing ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Very Willing

How willing would you be to... Belong to the same club as they do.

1    2    3    4    5

Not at all Willing ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Very Willing

How willing would you be to... Discuss how to resolve problems between groups.

1    2    3    4    5

Not at all Willing ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Very Willing

How willing would you be to... Date a member of this group (if I were single).

1    2    3    4    5

Not at all Willing ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Very Willing

How willing would you be to... Have my child marry a member of this group (if I had a child of marriageable age).

1   2   3   4   5

Not at all Willing ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Very Willing

How willing would you be to... Eat a meal with them in a restaurant.

1   2   3   4   5

Not at all Willing ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Very Willing

How willing would you be to... Intervene if a member of this group were unfairly criticized in a work or school setting.

1   2   3   4   5

Not at all Willing ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Very Willing

How willing would you be to... Reproach a member of my group for making an offensive "joke" about the other group.

1   2   3   4   5

Not at all Willing ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Very Willing

How willing would you be to... Work together to improve relations in this country.

1   2   3   4   5

Not at all Willing ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Very Willing

How willing would you be to... Join and play an active role in an organization devoted to improving intergroup relations.

1   2   3   4   5

Not at all Willing ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Very Willing

I believe that I have a good understanding of how members of another religious, cultural, or ethnic group view the world.

1      2      3      4      5

Strongly Disagree   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   Strongly Agree

The conflicts between diverse groups in our society will eventually fade away and cease to exist.

1      2      3      4      5

Strongly Disagree   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   Strongly Agree

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## **APPENDIX 2 – SAMPLE GYV DIALOGUE AND PEACEBUILDING CURRICULUM**

Global Youth Village  
Dialogue and Peace Building Workshop  
Jennifer Lewis

Workshop Goals:

- 1) Understand how communication plays into peace building
- 2) Listen for understanding, even with those who disagree with them
- 3) Open opportunities for cross-cultural discoveries through dialogue
- 4) Understand how personal identity affects values/ world-views
- 5) Introduce conflict resolution techniques and problem-solving
- 6) Develop leadership skills to “lead for peace”

Day 1: Introduction and “Getting to Know You”

Day 2: Listening Skills

Day 3: Identity

Day 4: Controversial Issues

Day 5: Conflict Resolution Styles (Orange Auction simulation)

Day 6: Conflict Analysis

Day 7: Leading for Peace and Wrap UP

Day 1: Introduction

Goals: Introduce workshop, build comfort among participants, deeper level of “getting to know you”

I. Welcome

- II. Circle Practice– 5 min
  - a. Key points:
    - i. Speak from the heart
    - ii. Listen from the heart
    - iii. Be of lean expression
    - iv. Be prepared to be surprised
    - v. Confidentiality and safety
    - vi. Talking piece – listen as if this person is giving you the most powerful insight
  
- III. “Names” 15 min
  - a. giving our voice to the circle
  - b. begin telling our story
  - c. Your name, who gave it to you, what it means
  
- IV. Mingle Mingle – 15 min
  - a. Questions:
    - i. What is your favorite book or movie? Why?
    - ii. What do you like about yourself?
    - iii. What is a moment that you are proud of?
    - iv. What makes you laugh?
    - v. What are you passionate about?
    - vi. What does peace mean to you?
    - vii. Who in your life do you consider a “good listener”? What makes them a good listener?
    - viii. What do you want be doing and where do you want to be in 10 years?
    - ix. What are three words you would use to describe yourself? What are three words your closest friend or family member would use to describe you?
    - x. What do you like about your town/ city or country? What do you not like?
    - xi. What are some things you need to feel peace in your life?
  
- V. What Would You Say?
  - a. Pair with the person you would least likely choose to talk to
  - b. Spend the next 15 minutes telling this person everything you would like them to know about you.
  - c. Remember that this person could become your greatest teacher, your best friend, the person who will give you the greatest insight into the world. Listen to them as if they were this person



- d. Come back to large circle
- e. One partner sits behind the other
- f. Group can ask any question to the person, while their partner speaks for them – answering as if they were their partner, with as much truth as they are able
- g. Be BOLD in answering the questions – remember this is a safe place, where you can truly speak from your heart – if you offend someone we can talk about it and fix it, if someone offends you, remember that they are speaking from their heart, you can then teach them
- h. Talking Points:
  - i. Sometimes you think you know someone, but you don't
  - ii. Trust your intuition, sometimes you can know more than you think about someone.

## VI. Closing

### Day2: Listening Skills

Goals: Practice listening; identify distractions that hinder our listening; introduce and practice listening for facts, feelings, needs and values

- I. Welcome – check in
- II. Icebreaker: The Wright Family - Discussion on distractions and things that get in the way of us really hearing each other
- III. Listening exercise – spend 10 minutes practicing tuning out distractions, both internal and external by sitting outside and listening
- IV. 4-Park Listening
- V. Closing

\*\*\* Wright Family

### Day 3: Identity

Goals: to examine our own identity and identity of others; to recognize the many aspects of our identity; to explore how identity can lead to conflict

#### I. Welcome

#### II. Icebreaker- partner icebreaker questions, with cards

#### III. Identity Map

- i. Write down five words that you would use to describe yourself
- ii. Share with a partner
- iii. Explain that some parts of our identity we are born into, like our gender, our physical features and our ethnicity.
- iv. Write down some parts of your identity that you were born into
- v. Explain that some parts of our identity are given to use by our family ex. Religion, attribute, skills etc.
- vi. Write down parts of your identity that were given to you by your family
- vii. Some parts of our identity we choose to take one – like hobbies, skills, friend groups etc.
- viii. Add some parts of your identity that you have chosen
- ix. Share these additions with your partner
- x. Our identity is not static, it is always changing. And it changes based on things that happen in our life. If a parent dies, our identity they way we see the word changes. If we fall in love, it changes, if we fall out of love, it changes.
- xi. Write down any parts of your identity that have changed, or been added over the past few years, things that were not part of your identity when you were younger
- xii. Share these additions with your partner
- xiii. Some parts of our identity are on the outside, like my height, my hair color, my skin color. Some are on the inside, like my personality and my skills. Some parts of my identity I may keep hidden from others all together, I may keep them a secret because they cause me pain
- xiv. Sometime, one part of our identity because more noticeable, or more important than others. Sometimes we are told that one part of our identity is most important. Our parents may tell us that being a student is most important, our friends may say being part of a particular group of friends is most important. Political or spiritual leaders may tell us that being part of a specific political or religious group is most important

- xv. Sometimes, the part of our identity that becomes so strong, is the part that has caused us the most pain – me being short for example
- xvi. How can having one part of our identity being so strong cause conflict?
- xvii. How can recognizing the multiple parts of our identity help to manage conflict?

#### IV. Speak Out

- a. Looking at your conflict map, tell me some parts of your identity that you may be stereotyped or made fun of because? Or parts of your identity that you feel others just don't understand.
- b. Write on white board
- c. Ask for volunteers who would like to be interviewed

#### V. Closing

\*\*\*Speak Out

#### Day 4: Dialogue Vs. Debate

Goals: to introduce concepts of dialogue and debate, to understand uses of dialogue and debate, introduce ways of “Disagreeing with Grace”, applying skills in discussion of controversial issues

#### I. Welcome

#### II. Icebreaker

#### III. Dialogue V. Debate

- a. Activity
- b. Debrief
  - i. When is it appropriate to use dialogue? Debate?
  - ii. When we are practicing our thinking and arguing skills, or trying to win votes then we use debate
  - iii. When we need to solve problems, work with other people, try to build peace with those who have different views, we use dialogue

- IV. Disagreeing with Grace
  - a. Remember: Using “but” negates. Using “and” hears.
  - b. “You’re right and this is how I feel/think...”
  - c. “That’s okay and...”
  - d. “That’s true for you and what’s true for me is something else...”
  - e. “That’s a really good point and I feel/think differently...”
  - f. “I was curious what you thought when you said...”
  - g. “I was wondering what you thought/felt when you said...”
  - h. “Can you tell me more about what you meant when you said...”
  
- V. Controversial Issues/ Agree Disagree
  - a. Talking points:
    - i. Goal is to understand other’s point of view, not just to express your own point of view
    - ii. Disagreement does not equal conflict – we can have peaceful disagreement as long as we maintain respect for each other and good communication
    - iii. Dialogue vs. Monologue
  - b. Topics (picked from box):
    - 1. There are things that are safe for men to do that are unsafe for women to do
    - 2. It is the role of a local government to look out for the well-being of the people
    - 3. The use of drugs and alcohol by young people is a serious crime, and those who use drugs and alcohol need to be seriously punished
    - 4. It is best to marry within one’s own religious and ethnic group
    - 5. Sex before marriage is okay as long as two people are in a committed, loving and respectful relationship
    - 6. All people should have the right to own a gun
    - 7. It is okay for either a husband or a wife to get a divorce if they feel they are in an unsuccessful and unfulfilling marriage.
  
- VI. Closing

## Day 5: Orange Auction

## Day 6: (short) Conflict Analysis

- I. Welcome
- II. The Opportunity of Conflict
  - a. “What comes to your mind when you hear the word “conflict”?”
  - b. Conflict can lead to opportunity, growth and new learning
  - c. First you need the mindset to learn from conflict
  - d. Calm, clarity, listening, open mind, de-escalation
- III. Breathing/ De-Escalation
- IV. Conflict Analysis Questionnaire
- V. Nature Reactions
- VI. Closing: Share nature piece and new insight it brought you

## Day 7: Leadership

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## **CURRICULUM VITAE**

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