

TOOLKIT

FOR TRANSFORMATIVE MEDIATION

IN PEACEBUILDING



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Introducing the Toolkit

This toolkit responds to increased interest in the “contribution that mediation can make at all levels of a conflicted society.”¹ It does so by introducing innovative strategies for transformative mediation and inclusive dialogue in peacebuilding contexts. The toolkit expands the range of actors, knowledges and practices that can be mobilised to achieve greater inclusion in mediation and peacebuilding, and emphasises the importance of transformative approaches built around openness and diversity. While peace mediation is traditionally understood as a set of practices and interventions leading to a peace agreement, this toolkit employs a more expansive understanding of mediation as intrinsically connected to wider processes of conflict transformation. Consistent with a conflict transformation approach that views building peace as an ongoing process, the toolkit outlines recommendations on how transformative mediation practices can be sustained long after the signing of a peace agreement. Findings and recommendations are drawn from research carried out in Northern Ireland with a diversity of mediators, peacebuilders, and activists.

Who is this toolkit for?

This toolkit is for those interested in transformative mediation and inclusive dialogue in peacebuilding contexts. It will be useful for peacebuilding organisations and practitioners concerned with supporting community participation through a variety of methods. It is also relevant for academics, students and community organisations interested in embedding inclusion and intersectionality in practice and scholarship on conflict transformation, mediation and peacebuilding.

What is this toolkit for?

While existing research on grassroots inclusion in mediation tends to focus on peace negotiations and efforts leading to a peace agreement, less guidance exists on how to ensure inclusive dialogue in post-agreement peacebuilding. Similarly, while an awareness of the term intersectionality exists amongst mediation practitioners and organisations, limited guidance is

found on how to translate this into practice. The toolkit offers suggestions on how an intersectional approach can support transformative mediation practices. It also offers findings and recommendations for the enhancement of knowledge, practice, self-reflexivity and conflict analysis skills.

How to use this toolkit?

This toolkit is intended to be a practical reference document through which to stimulate innovative ideas for the implementation of transformative mediation and inclusive dialogue in peacebuilding. The recommendations are not exhaustive but can be utilised by both practitioners and policymakers to progress transformative approaches and stimulate further innovation in this field.

Framing the Toolkit

Defining Transformative Mediation

Transformative mediation is best known as a mediation practice defined by Robert Bush and Joseph Folger in their 1994 book *The Promise of Mediation*.² It is an approach that prioritises process over outcome and places an emphasis on empowerment and recognition of parties. While this approach has gained traction in community mediation, the lack of clarity on what it seeks to transform, and the lack of emphasis on outcome, limits its capacity to deal with complex situations emerging from armed conflict. This toolkit proposes a new definition of transformative mediation that incorporates facilitative processes but is built around a conflict transformation approach. In other words, it moves beyond a focus purely on the cessation of violence. Instead, it incorporates a vision of peace that is forward thinking whilst also reflecting on past experiences of both physical and structural violence. The ideas and practices inherent in this framing are frequently adopted by community mediators and peacebuilders but not often framed specifically as part of transformative mediation. As such this toolkit draws on the knowledge of diverse mediators, peacebuilders and community activists from across the island of Ireland. The research was carried out to assemble practical recommendations for those working at the nexus of conflict transformation, peacebuilding and mediation.

Transformative mediation and agonistic peace

A transformative approach places the greatest focus on transforming relationships, power structures, and conflict-time identities. It also advocates for the broadening of spaces for creative and inclusive dialogue. In doing so, the goal is not of consensus between parties in dialogue, but rather of acceptance. This can be defined in terms of achieving 'agonistic peace;' a form of peace that embraces peaceful contestation by advocating for acceptance of opposing ideas and positionalities between individuals and groups.³ In doing so, this position rejects the liberal peace priority of consensus, which is both unrealistic and can result in marginalisation of non-dominant voices and positions.

Research Methodology: Northern Ireland

As part of the research, three focus groups were conducted in Northern Ireland. These were aimed at collating perspectives of peacebuilders who use mediative practice in their work. Focus groups included mediators with extensive local and international experience, local peacebuilders who use mediative practice in their work, and activists working on issues of equality, diversity and inclusion, broadly understood. Two focus groups were carried out in Belfast and one in Derry/Londonderry. These perspectives allowed us to zoom in on a specific post-agreement context with a long tradition of de-escalation and community mediation, situating our analysis in the long-term complexities of conflict transformation.

Northern Ireland offers a particularly relevant case study to explore the nexus of peacebuilding, mediation, and conflict transformation. The peace process and peace talks leading to the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement (GFA) are generally considered successful and often hailed as a positive example of inclusion. Most notable is the role of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC), which brought a wider set of perspectives to the talks, such as those from women's civil society groups. The NIWC was instrumental in the establishment of the equality provisions inserted in the Agreement. It also championed the Civic Forum as a parallel mechanism designed to support civil society participation in implementation of the agreement. Yet 25 years after the GFA, evidence indicates a gap in the full realisation of the equality, participation and inclusion enshrined in the Agreement. This is exemplified in the failure to establish the Civic Forum. Furthermore, as a long-standing crisis and stalemate have beset the power-sharing institutions since the outset, the role of community activism, mediation and grassroots peacebuilding has remained crucial in sustaining civil engagement in the face of an institutional vacuum, and managing increased disillusionment and protracted crises. Northern Ireland is an insightful learning space where sustained peacebuilding and mediation have continued in a context where promises of conflict transformation and inclusion have only been partially realised. While the experiences shared by participants are context-specific, this document highlights learning and insights that can be useful in other peacebuilding contexts.

Theme 01

Inclusion and Intersectionality

Theme 1: Inclusion and intersectionality⁴

A key objective in this toolkit is to examine methods of mediation that are both transformative and inclusive. These two themes should be considered as working in tandem. Importantly, the focus on inclusion aims to shift the boundaries of representative inclusion towards an intersectional approach that encompasses a diversity of bodies, ideas and methods. In focus groups, a key question asked was, “how can spaces for meaningful participation in mediation processes be generated?” While the findings do not provide definitive answers, they do advance insights into various mechanisms, tools and approaches based on the experiences and knowledges of the research participants.

Inclusive Design

The focus on inclusion in mediation is important but tends to assume and reproduce homogenous ideas about groups (i.e. women, youth, and other minority groups). Instead, intersectionality reminds us that a person’s position in society is not only determined by their gender, class, ethnicity or age, but by a combination of all these. A more holistic design is needed for including different experiences and needs, and assessing power imbalances and silences that might be reproduced in mediation processes. Inclusion then must move beyond being a tick box exercise that adds specific identity groups ‘to a table’ towards thinking more creatively about how ‘the table’ can be designed to reflect diverse knowledge and experiences. An intersectional approach is better equipped to deepen meaningful participation where it uses storytelling methods and other cultural activities to better reach and engage diverse individuals and groups.

Co-design is one way in which participants can secure a sense of ownership over a process. This can be particularly useful in community peace mediation, where priorities go beyond issues directly associated with identity politics. Mediation processes have long since been accused of imposing a specific agenda, particularly where they are designed by external experts with little knowledge of context.⁵ Using a co-design methodology that values everyday experiences and the capacities that already exist in communities, can contribute to ensuring context and culturally appropriate programming. This is in addition to facilitating a sense of agency

for parties included. However, caution should be paid as to whether one party or group has more say in the design itself. Thus, a preparedness to 'mediate' the co-design should be well planned so all relevant voices are heard and understood.

Shift beyond single identity framings

A key theme drawn from focus group discussions was that for peace mediation to be transformative there is a need to shift beyond focusing purely on identity politics. Contention and antagonistic dynamics are never solely derived from identity issues but also intersect with other structural factors. For example, lack access to resources, lack of access to rights, or ongoing experiences of violence. Thus, focusing on purely identity issues overlooks the wider roots of continued conflict. In Northern Ireland for example, participants noted how the funding for peacebuilding continues to be dominated by 'cross community' programmes that emphasise the 'orange' and 'green,' rather than considering broader diversity of identities and issues. As one participant of African origin noted, community funding allocation is based on 40% protestants, 40% Catholic and 20% other. She explained that as a black African who is Catholic, she constantly questions which group is she supposed to belong to.⁶

Participants also noted the importance of connecting peacebuilding initiatives with broader social and rights-based issues. As such, much importance was placed on spaces in which mediation and peacebuilding practitioners can connect with experts and activists working on specific issues such as: housing rights, integration initiatives, reproductive rights and LGBTQI+ issues. At a policy level, participants recommended better integration of transformative mediation principles across policy and funding priorities.



Recommendations

- Normalise the practice of co-designing processes, where appropriate. This can better facilitate space for diverse experiential knowledges. A shift away from purely 'top-down' or technical processes towards better co-design also ensures valuing of diverse knowledges.
- Shift away from a siloed approach by:
 - + Moving beyond sole inclusion of major identity group representatives. Also consider inclusion of community activists or rights-based organisations.
 - + Connecting across community networks and creating new synergies and webs of connections.
 - + Creating and amplifying intergenerational connections through mentorship and engagement with youth groups and community groups.
 - + Engaging across policy priorities to identify groups or individuals that share mutual goals.
 - + Integrating a transformative approach across policy that speaks to mediation and peacebuilding practices.
 - + "Support the changemakers!"⁷ This includes longer-term investment in existing models and projects that work for communities, rather than constantly asking for change and innovation. Support a practitioner's forum that brings together those working on similar goals of peace, inclusion and social justice, and supports knowledge sharing, new connections, and stronger relationships.

Breaking down stereotypes

Women are at the forefront of community dialogue initiatives and grassroots peacebuilding activities in Northern Ireland and internationally. However, a key theme emerging from focus groups was that this vital work is often taken for granted or disassociated with the 'real' world of mediation. As also highlighted in other research,⁸ this reveals the persistence of gendered assumptions that devalue activities seen as 'feminine,' while also reproducing stereotypical understandings of strong community leadership as a masculinist activity.

Similarly problematic are narratives and practices that only reproduce negative assumptions associated with certain communities as unskilled or 'troublemakers.' For example, as noted by a community mediator working with loyalist communities,

"Every time there's something going on in my community, loyalist is used like a dirty word. So when we talk about inclusion, I work in a whole community that feels that they get excluded because they get labelled with a word that has such negative connotations. Do you know, if somebody is selling drugs, they're a 'loyalist drug dealer,' rather than 'it's a drug dealer', maybe from a loyalist community. But it's this thing of how that word is tied on to things and people within my community, and it's easy to say their voices aren't taken seriously."⁹

A participant representing an ethnic minority led organisation that promotes inclusion, diversity and integration, also noted instances in which their group is not taken seriously by other organisations. She explained,

"Talking about inclusion, there was a group that came to us last week and they wanted to do this and that for us. "We got a pot of money [they said]." So we actually had to address them and say "We are competent. You can't say that we can't do things. Ok, you have money and we don't but if we do a partnership, we can do things because we have people that can deliver."¹⁰

Breaking down these stereotypes can lead to more meaningful participation and challenge "the ingrained, internalised messages that certain people and communities do not matter."¹¹ In turn, participants pointed out that, challenging such stereotypes can support transformative processes by building the belief that "everybody in this place matters."

Recommendations

- Challenge stereotypes that prioritise a masculinist approach to mediation versus feminisation of 'community dialogue.'
- Ensure that intersectionality is mainstreamed through programmes and policy relevant to mediation and peacebuilding.
- Ensure an awareness of how 'needs' of specific communities can be assumed or essentialised. Find the spaces through which diverse groups feel comfortable to discuss their needs.
- Recognise that identities and priorities of specific communities can change over time.



Theme 02

Broadening Spaces and Approaches for Dialogue

Theme 2: Broadening Spaces and Approaches for Dialogue

A key theme in transformative approaches is the centrality of envisioning the future beyond purely a cessation of violence, whilst reflecting on the past in a creative manner. As advocated by renowned peacebuilding practitioner, John Paul Lederach, a transformative approach requires a “shift from tunnel to peripheral thinking.”¹² But this approach also engages with ideas that are grounded in feminist and critical thinking; ideas that recognise how sustainable peace requires recognition of, and drive towards, the transformation of exclusionary structures and identity barriers. Therefore, instead of focusing on problem-solving based on sameness, this approach “appreciates openness, difference, and ambiguity.”¹³ A term also associated with Lederach’s conflict transformation approach is that of “moral imagination.” This emphasises the need to envision “a full range of creative possibilities in a particular situation in order to solve an ethical challenge.”¹⁴ Many participants felt strongly that, moral imagination was once prominent in peacebuilding in Northern Ireland but had lost salience over time, particularly in response to the increased prioritisation of top-down economics. Participants felt an emphasis on the moral imagination should be reinstated in order to better encourage creative processes.¹⁵ As noted by one focus group participant, this approach is better placed to instil a “sense of hope and positivity,” vital in a drive towards conflict transformation.¹⁶

Dynamism and diversification

“Conflicts are dynamic, they are full of energy, they are about humans who have emotions and narratives and histories, not basic needs and positions and interests, and all of that stuff. So to change the direction of all this requires persistent checking if the right energy is being injected into the process. It requires us to keep checking if we have put the right ideas to the right people and to ensure that all parties across that system are talking to each other.”¹⁷

While conflicts are dynamic, so too is the arena of peacebuilding beyond the signing of a peace agreement. Priorities may shift, demographics may change, and needs may reorientate. Yet historical antagonisms, trauma or identity politics may remain, albeit in different forms. Thus, transformative processes require facilitators that are constantly cognisant of changes in dynamics and aware of new and arising issues. Simultaneously a reflective practitioner is constantly aware of possibilities for the development of new and positive relationships.¹⁸

Culture and identity are also dynamic, not fixed or stuck in a single moment in time. Thus, transformative mediation requires spaces to recognise, explore, and reflect upon meanings associated with identities and how they change. Importantly, as discussed in focus groups, it is crucial that such spaces are facilitated in a manner that retains a sense of agency and belonging amongst participants. Thus, a transformative mediation approach as developed through this research, requires spaces through which to learn and reflect on understandings of identity through, for example:

- Engaging with shared histories
- Community education initiatives

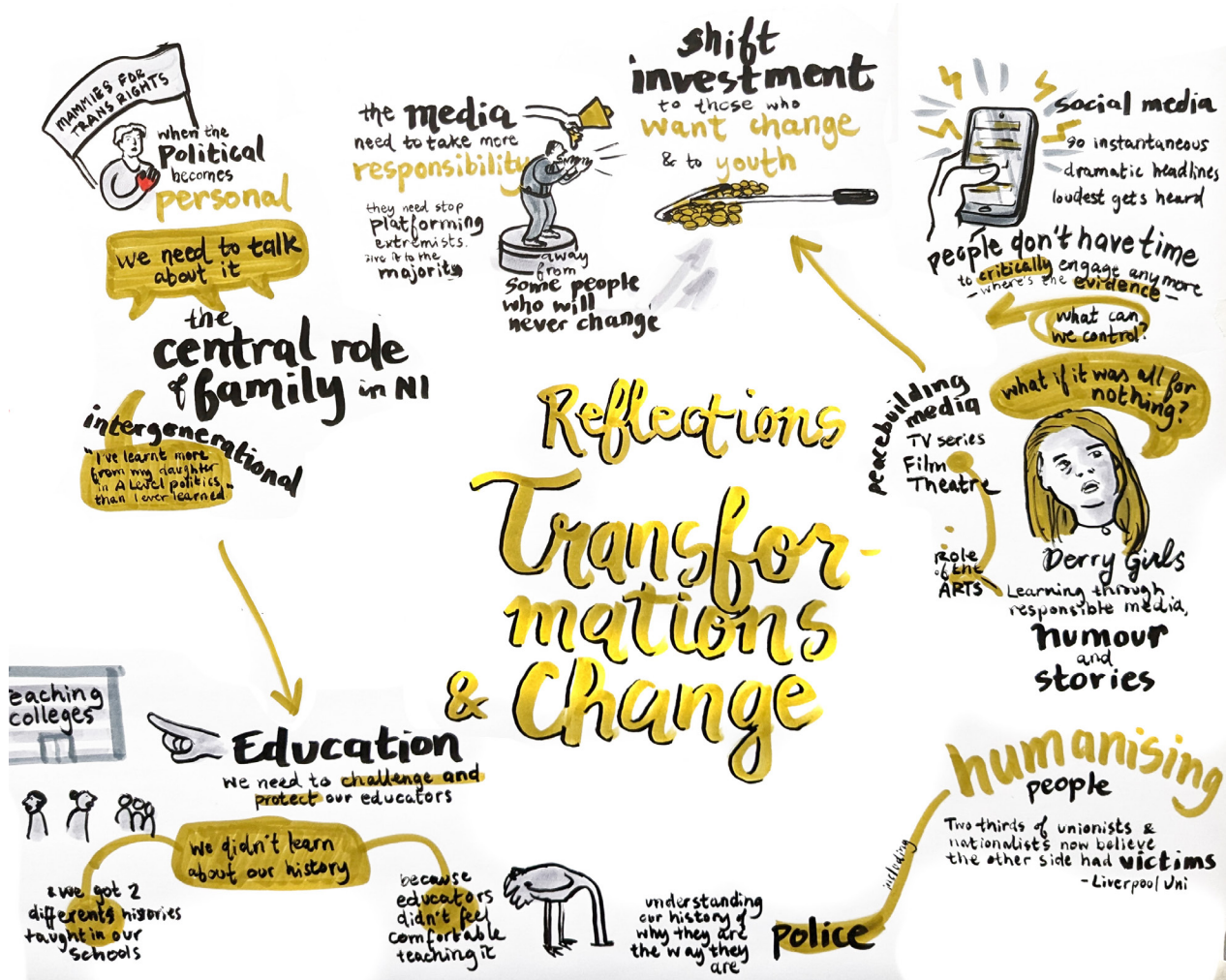
To exemplify a transformative approach, one focus group member with extensive experience in mediation and peacebuilding locally and internationally, detailed her work using a transformative mediation approach in a divided area outside Belfast. She

noted how the focus was on “bridging community divisions” but also addressed rising racism against the incoming Polish community. She explained that the initiative centred around “strategizing and planning” for the longer term, as well as engaging in community development and resilience training. In doing so she was also engaged in bringing to the fore community education and guidance on how to start a group or “do community development.” This was particularly beneficial because there wasn’t a rich heritage of community development in the area previously. In response to the initiative a credit union was established, in addition to development of various youth training programmes. But as she emphasised,

“The whole way through it was about relationship building. We were building relationships with them, but they were building it with us and with one another.”¹⁹

Recommendations

- Shift away from the notion that conflict transformation has an end point. Instead accept that transformative mediation is part of a transformative process.
- Broaden 'the table' for dialogue. For example, by engaging beyond community work where communities are seen in binary terms. Initiatives benefit from also including representatives of newer communities.
- Diversify spaces by:
 - + Considering access to spaces.
 - + Addressing travel costs.
 - + Exploring non-traditional spaces, such as arts venues or spaces within natural environments.



Theme 03

Creativity and Grounded Approaches

Theme 3: Creativity and Grounded Approaches

The role of the arts and creativity featured very heavily within focus group discussions. Arts methodologies were frequently discussed as vital tools for creating spaces for dialogue. Particularly by organisations such as Community Dialogue in Northern Ireland, who use very diverse methods of “conversation, dialogue and storytelling using drama, music, song writing, and visual arts.”²⁰ Key arts related themes drawn from focus groups are as follows.

Narrative Approaches

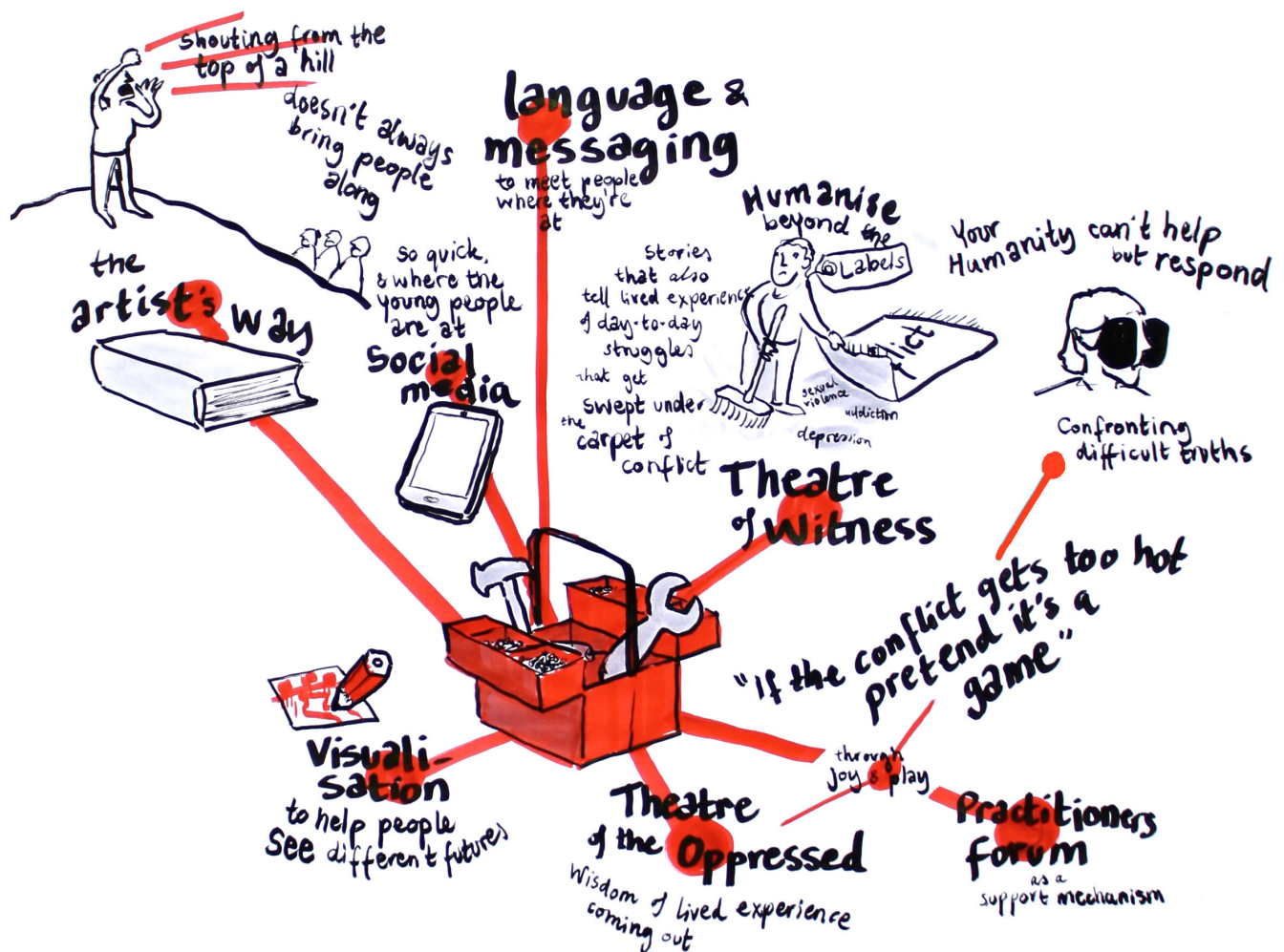
Narrative approaches in peace mediation have tended to focus on gaining consensus. However, a drive towards consensus can force an oversimplification of experiences, ideas, or personal and group histories. Problematically this can have the effect of suppressing complex narratives. A theme emerging from the focus groups was that narrative methods that allow for complexity can encourage stories of everyday experiences and day-to-day struggles that are often swept under the “conflict carpet.”²¹ The flourishing of complex narratives are crucial in creating spaces that recognise diverse individual experiences. They also allow reflective space through which complex experiences can be both acknowledged or even reconsidered.

Participants identified that creative practices of storytelling play a vital role in humanising people beyond labels, bringing out the wisdom of everyday life.²² Where people do not feel heard and personal narratives are suppressed, this contributes to consolidating existing ways of perceiving, while limiting openness to recognise the other party’s narratives. Allowing spaces for people to be heard, and to confront difficult truths, may open opportunities to “re-author the relationship story” in a manner that can “address a problem issue.”²³ In other words allowing for complexity, shifts the boundaries that are constructed through the binaries of ‘us and them.’ It also accepts that there may be some common ground to be built upon in a manner that does not force the individual to fall into line. Participants also noted how the use of humour, joy and play in artistic and cultural production can be helpful when confronting difficult truths.²⁴

“Conflict transformation appears as ‘the poetic process of strengthening the narratives people tell, so that, paradoxically, they can be free to be human beings, being human.’”²⁵

Recommendations

- Engage with broader histories as sources of wisdom. This can include histories of self/identity, everyday struggles, but also of creativity, joy, humour, and community spirit.
- Ensure an awareness of whose complex narratives are the loudest and why. Consider creative methods through which fears of a loss of identity can be dispelled.
- "Shouting from the top of the hill does not bring people along!"²⁶ Consider the importance of language and messaging in a way that can meet people where they are.



Visuals as Communication Tools

Visuals within dialogue processes are powerful tools for communication. The concept of 'active looking' follows the commonly used term in mediation of 'active listening.' Bellmer and Möller (2022) define 'active looking' as a form of "visual-discursive mediation practice that includes images as a mode of expression."²⁷ This can be realised in a number of ways, including through the use of pre-designed images, or photographs. Such visual tools can contribute to the facilitation of meaning-making processes and can promote additional details within individual narratives.

Images can add context or initiate communication without words. Where spoken words remain difficult, images become useful tools in communication. Visuals also serve as vital sources of information sharing in ways that are more accessible. Where information can be garnered in an image with limited wording it can be widely shared, transcending language or educational barriers. As noted by one participant,

"A lot of our work in peacebuilding and good relations is visual. It's not necessarily reading documents. The people who we need to reach just wouldn't get it in a document."²⁸

Images associated with conflict tend to be oversaturated by depictions of violence, this often overshadows peace images, which remain vital in conflict transformation processes. For example, participants pointed out that visuals can help people see different futures.²⁹ However, images evoke different responses in different people, recognition of which is precisely what active looking seeks to facilitate. Some examples of working with visuals and creative arts are detailed on the subsequent pages.

Using a graphic visualizer

Graphic recording entails an artist being present at the mediation to make a live visual summary of the conversation using hand-drawn graphics, complimented with hand lettered words. The method builds on the premise that visual storytelling aids comprehension and retention of ideas. It also breaks down communication barriers and activates sensory responses and opportunities for reflection based on emotion, intuition and curiosity. As graphic recorder, Stéphanie Heckman identifies, people actually speak in visual language a lot more than they realise. People speak using memories, analogies, symbols and metaphors, some using real life examples but others not.

A visual summary can also help reveal processes in the dialogue that might not be immediately apparent such as power differentials. For example, a visualiser can do things like emphasise power disparities between individuals by representing their words in bigger format within the image. Or they can rebalance power in the room by drawing attention to the views of those displaying less power in the room.

“ Visual practice can go a long way in making visible the power differentials that are in communication or in social processes.

–
Stéphanie Heckman,
Graphic Visualiser

A key component of graphic recording is ‘mirroring,’ which is a way of reflecting the conversation back to participants through a visual summary. This can offer opportunities for further reflection or clarification as the artist checks that participants feel their input is represented appropriately. Using a skilled graphic visualiser then adds to a sense of transparency and accountability about the process, thus ensuring participants feel heard and understood. Finally, graphic recording can help articulate multiple truths or share difficult experiences, vital to a more transformative approach that challenges the consensus model.

“ There’s so much there for a visual practitioner to actually put on paper and then reflect back to people to say “is this what you mean” and then that can unlock a whole other level of conversation or inquiry into the topic.³⁰

–
Stéphanie Heckman,
Graphic Visualiser

Creation of graphics by participants

Another use of visuals or arts methodologies is to encourage participants to create their own visuals. This is a method used in many other forms of psychosocial interaction, where the creation of images by participants allows them to tell their story through their own creative agency. This may only be a small part of their narrative, for example by highlighting a key moment or key issues of importance. As other research has shown,³¹ the act of creating can be humanising and encourage relationship building through engaging in 'making' as a way of initiating conversation.³² The different truths, histories or future goals may remain antagonistic, but participant created art works may highlight synergies of conflict experience, where the goal of 'making' remains common, shifting the dynamics from antagonism to agonism.

There are various art forms and materials that can be utilised in such a process. An example using textiles is where participants are encouraged to create a fabric 'patch' whilst participating in a dialogue process. These patches can then be attached to a larger backdrop at the end of the workshop, where participants can reflect on what they have made and the meanings behind their artworks. The final product then becomes a complex web of ideas and narratives that can serve as further points of discussion and connection.

Textiles are easy to use as materials are light and do not involve much cost. However, the important point is that the creative process, art form, or selected materials are appropriate to the specific workshop or community. A transformative mediation approach advocates for engaging with such practices, both as relationship building tools and mechanisms for challenging gender stereotypes.

One participant provided an example of a programme focused on exploring shared cultures and examining histories of identity. The process involved a group of local men producing a film about the history of the locality before the establishment of Catholic and Protestant identities on the island of Ireland. The process was explained as being particularly important as many of these men had not previously]considered the histories associated with their sense of identity.³³ Such a process, using a creative medium such as film, facilitates spaces for exploring identity narratives but at the same time is built around ensuring a sense of agency and ownership over the project outcome.

Recommendations

- Increase financial support for peacebuilding initiatives that include an artistic dimension (inclusive of, but not limited to, using theatre, music, visual arts, poetry, storytelling). Arts in diverse forms should not be seen just as a subsidiary method for building peace and confronting violence, but central in processes of conflict transformation. However, such initiatives require nurturing and support through increased funding, including through better integrated funding models that explicitly connect peacebuilding and the arts.
- Ensure that programmes using the arts are culturally and context appropriate, and that creative agency is maintained by participants. This also requires practical thinking around the product or outcome. While large and ambitious projects can be exciting, if the process and outcome is not able to be realised to an acceptable standard, this risks invoking a sense of disempowerment or disillusionment amongst participants. Ways to overcome this can be by consulting with arts professionals and innovators, and listening to a diversity of voices in programme design. This could also involve promoting innovation through the use of new methodologies and technologies where appropriate.

Trauma informed approaches

There is increasing recognition of the importance of trauma-informed approaches in mediation.³⁴ In Northern Ireland, research indicates extremely high rates of direct trauma and intergenerational trauma.³⁵ Participants to the focus groups highlighted how there are insufficient resources to address such widespread rates of trauma and mental health difficulties. As noted, this continues to contribute to the high rates of psychotropic medication dependency, suicide and gender-based violence.³⁶

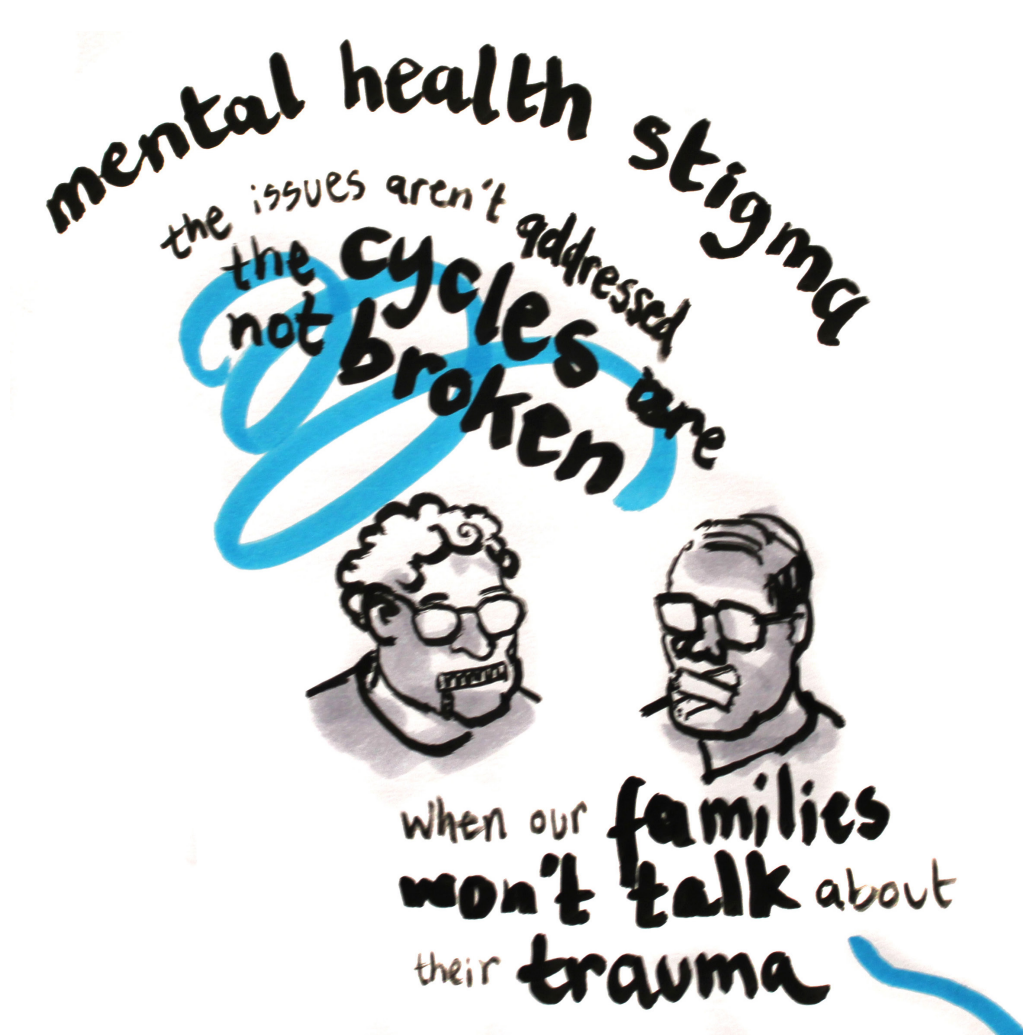
Similarly, participants noted that trauma is not something that only stems from the past but is often ongoing, particularly where daily insecurities remain prevalent. The 'do no harm' principle is therefore crucial. Participation in peacebuilding activities can also render individuals exposed to insecurities, not only from outside of their communities but often from within. Moreover, as one participant noted, there continues to be a fear amongst some that the post-agreement environment is working to erase their identity. Thus, explicitly promoting a more 'agonistic' form of peace as part of a transformative process, rather than focusing on consensus, can contribute to alleviating such fears.

While transformative mediation cannot address individual trauma directly, the focus on building relationships or shifting human relations in a way that better facilitates coexistence in non-violent ways, becomes tangentially beneficial in terms of social and psychological well-being and a sense of belonging. This is in line with emerging research on "healing-centred peacebuilding,"³⁷ whereby transformative mediation connects with a wider array of practices that centre collective and individual wellbeing, address inequalities, and value community practices. As highlighted by a focus group participant,

"When the intention becomes more about re-establishing connections using trauma informed practices [...] we focus more on connectivity. This means that negotiations may also end up taking a different amount of time rather than when we try to just attack the problem without any trauma informed intentions."³⁸

Recommendations

- Increase funding for trauma informed training courses.
- Examine possibilities for engaging with more healing centred peacebuilding programmes. Ensure better recognition of the difference between 'trauma informed' and 'healing centred' approaches.
- Support the wellbeing of mediators and peacebuilders. Recognise that facilitators also suffer trauma both from within their past but also through the work they are involved in. Peacebuilders tend to work extremely long hours under a variety of pressures for little remuneration. It is therefore vital that initiatives for well-being and respite are available and funded.³⁹



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For more information on Talk4Peace project please visit: www.Talk4Peace.com

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