

AN ATTEMPT TO CREATE AN ETHIC OF TRANSFER AFTER CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN FRACTURED COMMUNITIES: A MODIFIED FORMAL GROUNDED THEORY SHAPED BY META-ETHNOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT *A modified formal grounded theory on the ethic of transfer after conflict resolution has been established. There are two parts to this account. First a phenomenologically driven set of basic assumptions is deployed to shape the praxis. Then a meta-ethnographic synthesis is used to combine different approaches to conflict resolution in order to create another discrete interventional practice in ways that make us uneasy about each of the prior practices.*

The result is an interventional approach that allows practitioners of conflict resolution in fractured communities to begin their interventions with an understanding of the cultural habitus in the first instance, followed up with processes of transformation through psychopolitical dialogues and ending with grassroots projects that return the conflict-resolution project into the hands of the stakeholders whose cultural habitus was determined at the onset. Finally, psychopolitical dialogue with the select group of stakeholders ends with the choice of a number of grassroots projects that in turn generalize the results from small groups into the larger population.

Such an ethic of transfer then starts with gatekeepers to sanction the psychopolitical dialogues and returns to the same gatekeepers who guide the selection of grassroots projects. The result is a recursive loop that treats the ethic of transfer of a conflict resolution project as part of an organic whole rather than an addendum. Copyright © 2007 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Key words: project transfer, conflict resolution, formal grounded theory, meta-ethnography

INTRODUCTION: SEPARATING THE PRIMARY PSYCHOLOGICAL QUESTION FROM A RELATED BUT SECONDARY SOCIAL STRUCTURAL ONE

In a concept paper 'On the sense of ownership of a conflict resolution project after third-party intervention: an instrumental use of non-governmental organizations to prepare them for transfer of project ownership' (Apprey, 2004), we concluded with a hint that a project transfer may be premature given the untested, quixotic, self-exaltation of the members of the non-governmental organization (NGO). They were untested given the amount of traumatic external and internal shocks with which they were trying to come to terms. Nevertheless, as provisional as the concept paper was, the structure of experience of the participants suggested that we must continue to pursue this question of ownership rigorously. The structure of experience opened a door to two potentially related processes that we posed as questions:

- What is the nature of the process of *owning* when the sedimentations of history constitute a threat?
- What happens in the process of routinizing the institution of the democratic process?

The former remains our primary research question. The latter is a derivative one that will not dictate the methodology of the research. However, if it is emergent in the data, it will be described in relation to the primary question. The research issue of *owning* the project to effect a process of transfer is technically dubbed a 'basic social psychological process' (BSPP) in grounded theory research (Bigus, 1972; Glaser, 1978). The *routinizing* comes under the rubric

'basic social structural process' (BSSP). In this paper, then, the psychological experience of owning is privileged over the social structural process. However, I do not wish to discard the latter entirely because, should it prove to be emergent, I would like to describe it in relation to the primary psychological process of *owning* a project before transfer can take place.

The justification for this study remains the same as it was in the concept paper: *there is no adequate account of the sense of ownership by the participants in a conflict resolution project before a process of project transfer can begin*. Specifically, there is no formal grounded study on the ethics of project transfer. Such an outcome, if achieved, would serve the conflict resolution community by providing new information that they could use to create optimal *exit strategies* that would make transitions *relatively* conflict-free for the feuding parties. In this respect, there will always be conflict but the conflict need not be malignant.

Why is a *formal* grounded study needed? Why not conduct a substantive study and stop there? Glaser (1994) suggests that *we may use formal grounded theory to exceed the limits of a circumscribed unit of substantive research*. A formal grounded study could potentially generalize the sense of ownership before project transfer in a conflict resolution study to some understanding of gaps between negotiation and post-negotiation in diplomatic peacemaking processes, military interventions leading to regime change, and the transition to civilian rule, or dispute settlement by the World Trade Organization and its sequelae. These situations are not interchangeable but they are horizontal. This is not to say that there are no credible exit or transition strategies in these and other areas. However, new information from a formal grounded theory could add to what is there in these other areas. A second and

focused literature search in those areas, at the end of the study, would provide the dialogue needed to add to the literature in those areas or modify them, if necessary.

Formal theory: methodological considerations

Glaser and Strauss (1967) have suggested that formal grounded theory is hard to find and that, in principle, it can be formulated directly from the data without intervention of substantive theory. However, the core categories can emerge from the researcher's life experience, readings, research, or scholarship. The procedures are nevertheless the same for both formal and substantive grounded theory. Despite the difficulties inherent in the conduct of formal grounded theory research caused by the fact that researchers tend to know only one substantive area well, formal theory has many assets:

- It can elaborate in a substantive area 'some portion of one or more formal theories, often derived from prominent theorists' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, 94).
- It can be used to 'study with comparative research materials an important body of theoretical writing' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, 94) such as the degree of alienation in some particular context.
- It can be used 'to apply several formal theories to a substantive area that the sociologist already knows well . . . to give his material greater meaning . . . as a post hoc enterprise in research after the data are collected' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, 94, emphasis added).
- The most widespread use of formal theory is in 'initiating specific researches, [beginning with] a loose conceptual framework of formal ideas, hunches, notions, concepts and hypotheses about the substan-

tive area under consideration' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, 94–5).

Another way to generate a formal grounded theory is to 'start with a BSP [basic social process] (or other core variable) and compare its phenomenon in different substantive classes' (Glaser, 1978, 146; emphasis added). Let us remind ourselves that the basic social psychological process (BSPP) that will ultimately take us into the grounded theory of an ethic of project transfer remains the following: *what is the nature of the process of owning to facilitate project transfer?* This BSPP is still our research question.

To stay focused on this BSPP, we must heed Glaser's admonition that 'one can find specks of a BSP everywhere but unless it was firmly grounded in at least one substantive theory, only the mature theoretically sensitive sociologist will begin to know empirically if it is indeed relevant anywhere, even though it sounds relevant' (Glaser, 1978, 147; emphasis added). *We must therefore look for the BSPP 'in both its more general and more specific, but also different, conceptual forms'* (Glaser, 1978, 147). In our study, then, *more specific conceptual forms would include such concepts as 'gate keeping' or 'reentry'; more general would include 'an ethic of responsibility for one another to carry on' or 'changing frame reconfiguration'*.

For the sake of transparency, efficiency, relevance, and fit, we will undertake our comparative study in two parts: Part 1 will compare the facilitation by a third party of **two two-party** projects with a methodology that Noblit and Hare (1988) have named 'reciprocal translation' as a means of achieving synthesis in a meta-synthesis. In Part 2, the findings of Part 1 will be compared to another project, this time with **multi-party** participants instead of two feuding parties. Strategically, we have an opportunity to

create a new praxis from two praxes that are horizontal, that is, proximal but not interchangeable. Then we have a second opportunity to use a formal grounded theory research methodology that Noblit and Hare (1988) named *lines of argument synthesis* to construct a meta-ethnography. In Part 3, an ethic of transfer will be proposed if the findings from Parts 1 and 2 so lend themselves. Let us now expatiate and elaborate on the two-step qualitative research methodology of Noblit and Hare (1988).

Methodology

Basic assumptions

Meta-ethnography is a methodology of comparative textual analysis of published field studies in which ethnographies are combined to enable one study to be presented in terms of another. In setting one study against another, the basis of one investigator's refutation of another study can become transparent and in a way that can reflexively enrich one another. Setting one study against another, is a means to exceed both. The target aim of meta-ethnography, then, is the recovery of social and theoretical contexts within substantive and comparative qualitative research findings that can emerge to yield a new fund of knowledge. In their own words: all synthesis, whether quantitative or qualitative, is an interpretive endeavor. When we synthesize, we are giving meaning to the set of studies under consideration. We interpret them in a manner similar to the ethnographer interpreting a culture (Noblit and Hare, 1988, 7). If such an *interpretive* effort is successful, a *translation* occurs in which the idiomatic and metaphorical meanings of one culture or text are revealed in terms of the idiomatic or metaphorical meanings of another. Within this methodology of meta-ethnography, there are three praxes.

Reciprocal synthesis (similarity)

In this praxis, similar studies are compared, which can be added together in a way that sets the following chain of synthesizing process in motion: *we locate studies of some interest to the synthesizer*. This is akin to what George Steiner (1975) called a *hermeneia of trust*. As we continue with the synthesizing work, we engage in a limited assessment of the adequacy of the metaphors. The *making of incursive inroads* in Steiner is called a *hermeneia of aggression*. We continue with the *elaboration of metaphors* in order to discover metaphors on each side of a reciprocal synthesis. New ones are created that are *cogent*, have more *adequate economy* in their crispness, have more *range*, and have more *credibility* in the combined synthesis than in the separate works. Each study is now depleted, as it were, so that *the new metaphors can have a combined and new home in a third epistemic place*. Steiner calls this at-homeness a *hermeneia of incorporation*. By the end of the synthesis, a *hermeneia of restitution* will have occurred where each metaphor has lost sight of its origins. I have invoked Steiner to convey a process that underlies the process of translation so that the synthetic effort comes across as an informed process with clear delineations from one dynamic to another and to show that translation is a disciplined and composite task and not simply an operation of adding one study to another.

Refutational analysis (difference)

In synthesizing refutations, we analyze the basic assumptions of each study so that the differences within each study can become transparent. The refutation of a work by another could, however, be driven by dogma. The work that is the subject of refutation can also be driven by dogma. If so, we have to dispassionately unpack the dogma of the

work under study and of the meta-ethnographer so that the contributions in the differentiated texts can both be freed to become potentially reciprocal. Following Douglas (1976), Noblit and Hare declare as follows:

Taken together, the accounts and refutations undermine each other's claim that one perspective is sufficient to explain an ethnographic account. If the descriptions are reasonable, but the interpretations are ideological, then we must focus on multiple interpretations (Douglas 1976) as a solution. (Noblit and Hare, 1988, 62)

Lines of argument synthesis (inference)

The lines of argument synthesis is essentially about inference that sorts out the many layers and structures of meaning to accomplish 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973) to produce layers of structures of signification. For Geertz (1973, 26–7), 'such inference begins with a set of presumptive signifiers and attempts to place them within an intelligible frame.' Theory, then, is used to tease out and disclose the latent content of phenomena to be understood, to go from the implicit to the explicit. Following Geertz's formulation lines of argument, synthesis would draw structures of signification from each study as well as the composite set of studies. 'Like clinical inference', suggest Noblit and Hare (1988, 63), 'the goal of lines of argument synthesis is to discover a "whole" among a set of parts.' Like ethnographic accounts, clinical inference is *emic* in the way it pays allegiance to the studies undergoing synthesis. Clinical inference, like ethnographic accounts, is *historical* in the way it uses the structure of time to give order to history, and to use history to provide context. In addition to being *emic* and *historical*, clinical inference is *comparative* so that it constructs an analogy of the relationships that exist among studies under synthesis. Finally, clinical inference is *holistic*,

constructing, as it does, interpretations of all the studies, their construed interrelationships and their contexts.

Lines of argument synthesis (grounded theory)

Following Glaser and Strauss (1967), Noblit and Hare (1988) propose a general theory of comparative analysis where there is fit, relevance, work and saturation. Theories that fit and work are the result of their method of 'constant comparison' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). By 'fit', they mean that categories must not be forcibly inscribed into the data under study. By work, they mean that categories must be meaningful, and they must have sufficient relevance to be able to explain the behavior that is being studied. The resulting integrative scheme must encompass *all the data* and also be *open-ended* enough to allow consideration of new data and new levels of conceptualization. At the end of a lines-of-argument synthesis, then, we should have repeated comparisons between studies; comparisons that discover similarities and differences as well as an integrative scheme that is constructed. Such a construction should ideally fit, work, be parsimonious, have scope, and theoretical saturation.

A note on translation as praxis

Steiner's (1975) notion of translation of composite processes of hermeneia of trust, aggression, incorporation, and restitution can now be gathered and made to find a purpose beyond transformation of works. Turner's (1980) meaning of translation creates a powerful complement to Steiner's. His notion of translation as sociological explanation suggests that we *solve an interpretive puzzle* raised by the textual accounts of social practices and determine how like our own or how unlike our own those other communities we are studying are. Thus we translate observed practices of the other by

treating each account as an analogy of the other.

In short, Steiner's hermeneia appear to be an internal operation working *within the translator* whereas Turner's is the *external edge, the surface and instrumental expression* of the process of translation: *the interpretation of a puzzle*. Put the two notions of translation together and you have internal and external counterparts to the motivation to enter an Other's culture to try to solve a puzzle. In operational terms, an approximate and composite praxis for entering an Other's world, real or textual would be as follows:

1. The researcher moves between forms of depictions, *selecting* affectively and cognitively charged *nodal points* of the text or episodes of the drama.
2. He or she *searches for broader unities* of what *selections* have been made.
3. He or she *searches for informing contrasts* to what selections have been made if the contrasts and/or similarities are there to be grasped.
4. Having selected the text's nodal points or the affectively or cognitively charged episodes of the external drama, he or she *compares forms from different texts* in order to *define their character in reciprocal relief*. This form of *intertextuality* or *combination between texts* (inside and outside) begins the process of generalization.
5. *Selection and combination assist him or her to capture the structure of experience of the insiders; a structure of experience* that speaks to how the natives and/or researchers constitute their world; how they push the limits, how they contain emotions, how they contain their own interpretations of their inside lives.

These five *operational procedures* constitute my appropriation and translational syn-

thesis of contributions from Steiner (1975), Iser (1989) on selection and combination, Turner (1980), Geertz (1973) on thick description, Giorgi (1985) on structures of experience, and Noblit and Hare (1988).

In short, in conducting our interpretive meta-ethnography, we shall

1. Select nodal points from similar or different texts.
2. Search for broad unities.
3. Search for informing contrasts.
4. Compare forms from different texts.
5. Determine the structures of experience of natives and/or researchers to create a new and independent aggregate.

What have we done by creating a new praxis for synthetic meta-ethnography? This meta-analytic procedure allows Noblit and Hare's distinction between reciprocal and refutational analyses to fade away. After all, the outcome of both reciprocal and refutational analysis is a transcendence beyond each one, creating a third fund of knowledge. We arrive at this third place whether we seek differences or similarities to gain new insights that can stand on their own and create an uneasiness with each of the studies to be compared and not to be comfortable with the status quo. Let us illustrate how such a synthesis works.

META-SYNTHESIS

A synthesis of two peacemaking approaches to mediate the tensions of two feuding parties

We shall do a comparison of two published studies on peacemaking:

- one used by the Irish Institute for Psycho-Social Studies (IIPSS);
- the other, the Center for Study of Mind and Human Interaction (CSMHI) of

the University of Virginia, School of Medicine.

IIPSS

The Irish Institute for Psycho-Social Studies brought together three disciplines: psychoanalysts from

- the Irish Psycho-analytical Association;
- group analysts trained in the Foulkes tradition in London, and
- researchers from the Department of Sociology at University College, Dublin.

Together, they developed a transdisciplinary methodology that draws from sociology, psychoanalysis, and group analysis, claiming equal participation and legitimacy from all three traditions. Together, they drew out experiences informed by Irish folklore, and longstanding overt and covert hostilities between Protestant and Catholic communities. Together, they undertook a three-year long interventional study of a paramilitary-dominated community in Belfast during which the IIPSS study team studied the structure of society that, in the face of societal trauma, went through a process of structural regression: one they would later come to call 'decivilization'.

In order to work together, psychoanalysts had to abandon the rigor of studying individual trauma in favor of studying how a whole society undergoes a process of decivilization. The sociologists had to give up their laboratory-like rigor in defining sectors of society, developing questionnaires and conducting unit analyses of small-group communities, etc., in favor of a sociology of effects. Group analysts had to give up their transformation of individual behavior in the matrix in favor of studying the matrix itself as exemplified in ethnic tensions.

Elliot et al. (2004) articulated their emergent hybrid methodology as one that involved four principles:

- gatekeeper interviews;
- resonant focus groups;
- the group story; and
- analysis of associated dramas in the study team.

Gatekeeper interviews of individual community leaders were conducted by a transdisciplinary and transcultural IIPSS team that produced referrals that led to the assembly of community groups in a series of meetings. Gatekeeper interviews gave the research group its first sampling of local issues to enable it to create an inventory of hot topics for the subsequent community meetings. These interviews also exposed the IIPSS team members to the tensions and disparate views that existed among them.

Resonant focus groups (RFGs) were a series of community meetings convened by the IIPSS team after consultation with the gatekeepers. The RFGs were led by the group analyst who created a background of safety within each group and subsequently raised the level of trust that would enable members to speak candidly about their life experiences, past and present.

A technique used by the group analyst was to start every resonant focus group with a group story. He would simply begin as follows: 'Once upon a time . . .' and the group members would feed off each other to create a group story. With such a concocted story, the group would become aware of latent community issues with which they had been grappling and for which they needed help to transform.

Analysis of associated dramas in the study team that we may call a parallel process reflected the degree to which the IIPSS members were themselves in the stories they were trying to foster and analyze. The direct contact with highly charged emotive material often caused the IIPSS team members to produce their own version of tensions and

splits that they had experienced in the participants of the resonant focus groups.

The deployment of the evolving IIPSS methodology has allowed them to articulate underlying structures of community that they have come to call the *habitus* of the community, following the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. In this respect, they know where the power in the community is, can grant the community ownership of their *habitus* – and when it is time for the third-party facilitators to leave, a gap will not be created. Elliot and his colleagues went on to suggest that their primary concern is with ‘*the unconscious structures and dynamics of the community or an ethnic group as a functioning entity*, and only secondarily interested in the effects and structures resulting from this process in the individual – structures that . . . would include the traditional superego, and/or the Lacanian symbolic order’ (Elliot et al., 2004, 3; emphasis added). We will not go into the results of their work in determining these unconscious structures and dynamics of the community. These results are in Elliot et al. (2004) and in a forthcoming paper entitled ‘Charting the cultural *habitus* of the Irish Republic’s Protestant community.’

For now what is essential for our comparison is that *where they end their project is where the CSMHI approach begins*.

CSMHI

Center for Study of Mind and Human Interaction conflict-resolution work is performed by psychoanalysts, historians, diplomats, and other mental health professionals. A number of accounts of the work of CSMHI are in the literature. For the purpose of comparison, I shall refer to representative papers (see Apprey, 1996, 2001). In Apprey (1996), a sequence of actions as part of the overall goal of conflict resolution was described. The third-party facilitators, along with a

select group of high-level government officials, scholars and community leaders, collectively visit hot spots such as military bases, cemeteries, and other hotbeds of ethnic hatred in the country where ethnonational conflict resolution would take place. Both sides of the conflict are included in these diagnostic explorations to try to determine what forms ethnic hatred has taken and been stored.

Secondly, psychopolitical dialogues between the feuding parties occur. Between opening and closing plenaries, small groups with both sides represented are led by a mental health clinician and a diplomat. The two large plenary groups are used for agenda setting, organizational tasks and broad formulations of the progress of the meetings. The bulk of the transformation of hatred is done in small groups. In Apprey (2001), the process of psychological transformation is described. It begins typically with demonization by one party or the other in ways that are both defensive and adaptive. It is defensive in its effort to conceal anxiety but adaptive in the way it provides self-definition of each group and the identification of historical grievances attached to that self-other *polarization*. In a second phase of the work, each side discovers that it is not, after all, a homogeneous group; rather, there are multiple factions within each side. There is paradox, irony, and multiple grievances borne by these multiple factions. *The heterogeneity of factions* within each self-same group, then, follows the initial phase of polarization. Then follows *the crossing of mental borders* where each side makes tentative and nervous moves toward the other until jokes and playfulness begin to occupy that space between the feuding factions. Lastly, *an ethic of responsibility for each side* ends the sequence with the recognition that there may always be conflict between them but it need not become malignant and,

besides, they can trade together or engage in some mutual activities for their common good. A number of psychopolitical sessions – spread out over a period of months – consolidate these changes.

After the psychopolitical dialogues, grassroots projects take place where third-party facilitators work alongside the participants from both sides of the fence to transform the ethnic tensions and to generalize the gains at various sites in the country. Finally, CSMHI facilitators depart, leaving the sites to continue with the work of transformation at the local level.

A reciprocal analysis of the processes of engagement adopted by IIPSS and CSMHI

Let us now revisit the praxis that emerged from the appropriation of Steiner, Turner, Noblit and Hare, Iser and Geertz:

1. The selection of *nodal points* from similar texts.
2. The search for *broader unities*.
3. The search for *informing contrasts*.
4. *The comparison of forms from different cultures*; and
5. The determination of *structures of experience* of natives and/or researchers to create a new and independent aggregate fund of knowledge.

A comparison of the IIPSS and CSMHI methodologies would suggest the following:

1. The two approaches have some of the same nodal points, namely resonant focus groups (IIPSS) and small group meetings during the psychopolitical dialogues (CSMHI); parallel processes of tensions and splits in IIPSS and CSMHI staff were common after emotive contacts with feuding parties.

2. In terms of the search for broader unities, both teams were engaging ethnic or religious or similar tensions with tremendous investment of human and/or monetary resources.
3. However the search for informing contrasts reveals that IIPSS was engaged in determining the *habitus*, the structure of mind of one community *in se*, Protestant or Catholic, in the first instance and secondarily the resolution of ethnic tensions. In contrast, CSMHI was heavily invested in the transformation of ethnic and other tensions between feuding parties but in a way that *simultaneously* provided knowledge of the structures of communities that store and engage in practices of ethnic hatred.
4. The Irish situation was and still is very inflammatory. Therefore, it was incumbent on IIPSS to find a way to get to the warlords and other bellicose stakeholders. The concept of gatekeepers is quite novel both in name and in function. The *gatekeepers* possess a great deal of power and access to them or denial of access to them could potentially determine the start of a project or its demise. They stand at the threshold, as it were, of the community. In function, they claim or are invested with the power to protect the community from state violence or other forms of perceived transgression from another group. The inflammatory and urgent passions of the Irish situation could suggest that it is an exception. Even if it were, let us imagine that human beings reveal their best secrets through the exceptions and therefore the idea of engaging the gatekeepers may indeed be one every conflict resolution group would be wise to follow. *In non-inflammatory situations, we must still pay homage to the informal places and people of power.* The indigenous people know where the

landmines are; where the mass graves of history are located; where old hostilities are lodged; those hostilities that continue to inflame passion but do so in derivative ways (see Apprey, 2004). In short, they know where their shrines, as it were, are embedded in the community.

5. The structures of experience that IIPSS determined as 'habitus elements' include such admonitions as 'keeping your head down: a tendency for the older generation to gag and/or edit the younger generation. The idea was to avoid provocative statements which could bring down the wrath of the majority upon oneself, one's family, or one's community' (Elliot et al., 2004). On the part of CSMHI, Volkan (1991) has identified the phenomena of 'chosen trauma' and 'chosen glories' that feuding ethnic groups utilize to store and mentalize their humiliations or successes and subsequently use to define themselves.

It would seem from the above that IIPSS must find ways to go beyond determining the structure of the community and begin the process of engaging in the process of transformation of ethnic and/or religious tensions when decommissioning of weapons becomes a possibility. In contrast, CSMHI can refine the praxes behind its successes. For example, it could consider formalizing the gatekeeper concept in order to engage the informal leaders of the communities before starting its work with high-level government officials, or at least in parallel with it. What is reciprocal between IIPSS and CSMHI methodologies is that they can literally add up to the *reciprocal* sum of 1 (one); one method that can take the two approaches as *continuous* so that surprises are minimized along the way. A potential new sequence of intervention steps, treating the IIPSS and CSMHI methodologies as contin-

uous, would be the following integrative approach:

1. Extensive interviews with gatekeepers, be they high-level government officials or informed but informal leaders in the community, so that the nature of the ethnic hatred can be determined. In other words, the diagnostic work with feuding hosts must be more circumscribed and capable of distinguishing between one kind of virulent ethnic hatred from another. This level of assessment has a clinical *public health dimension*.
2. A second level of understanding can be attained through visits to 'hot spots' with indigenous people, as CSMHI currently does. This can still be done with scholars, diplomats and high-level government officials. The goal here is to determine the adaptive and cultural unconscious – *habitus* – of the communities within which each feuding party is located.
3. The psychopolitical dialogues can begin in earnest.
4. Facilitator-assisted local projects can begin to spread out in the country. This time we would know more about both the informal and formal leaders and stakeholders of the community and would have had ample time to know what long-standing grievances they harbor. In addition, we would not have to end a project that took five years to complete before finding out that once upon a time Jews were buried *en masse* in one of our project sites (Apprey, 2004). In this period, the formation of a non-governmental organization by the hitherto feuding parties in order to claim ownership of the project would take place with a clearer understanding that members cannot run for office because, by definition, an NGO operates outside of central government.

5. Local parties continue without facilitator input except at the behest of the parties themselves. Facilitators can, however, maintain a tie as consultants by arrangement but would not have any claim to ownership of the project at the operational level.

A comparison of an IIPSS story and a CSMHI text is available in the appendix for those who are interested in the coding of passages from verbatim accounts. In this synthesis of IIPSS and CSMHI approaches, the synthesis, however, is at the level of conceptualization so that we can arrive at a unified interventional methodology.

USING LINE OF INFERENCE TO CREATE COMPARISON BETWEEN TWO-PARTY AND MULTI-PARTY INTERVENTIONS

The third program for our comparison is a multi-party intervention by Art DeWulf et al. (2004) on 'How issues get framed and reframed when different communities meet'; a soil conservation initiative set in the Ecuadorian Andes. Here, they want to use an issue-framing lens in order to analyze their collaborative soil conservation initiative. The issue-framing lens leads them to three different levels:

- On the project or *macro* level: what kinds of issue frames do the actors use to make sense of the situation?
- On the project *phase* or *meso* level: what happens when these different issue frames meet each other in a collaborative phase?
- On the here-and-now interaction or *micro* level: how do the actors deal with differences in issue-framing when they engage in different conversations? (DeWulf et al., 2004, 179)

DeWulf et al. (2004, 179) consider the first way to view frames as a mode of 'trying to identify the typical issue frames that actors use to make sense of a situation.' In addition, we can think of frames as genres of representation of speech and action as well as cognitive genres signifying how humans situate themselves in the fractured community. These are issue frames that are deeply rooted in the daily practices of sense-making in the practice communities of the actors. For the actors, soil conservation means different things. Besides, frames can and do change. Nevertheless, *different actors as stakeholders hold discrete frames that can be circumscribed at the onset of a multi-party and multi-level collaborative initiative.*

In the initiative under analysis, DeWulf et al. (2004, 182) saw their first three phases of intervention 'show a pattern of an *expanding frame configuration* through successful involvement of more and more different actors' (emphasis added). In the process of continuous frame reconfiguration, there may emerge a process of *interconnecting a diversity of frames*, depending on how consistent the group is. When the group is consistent, there would be more homogeneity; when new actors enter the process, there would be more heterogeneity.

Interactive frame issues can lead to strategic framing to serve new and contemporary interactional concerns. Finally, when DeWulf et al. (2004) comment on changing frames and bring in the time dimension and how it led to considering the changing patterns of actor involvement, actor frame configurations and their mutual influences, we have an opportunity to consider the changing frame configurations as a line of inference argument; a potential methodology for metasynthesis. There is a trajectory here even if DeWulf et al. (2004) do not consider

the frame reconfigurations as phase specific. However, even a casual look can show that there is an implicit sequence from:

- *discrete frames* that can be circumscribed at the onset of the initiative;
- *expanding frame* configuration;
- *interconnecting* a diversity of frames;
- a move *from interactive frame to strategic framing*.

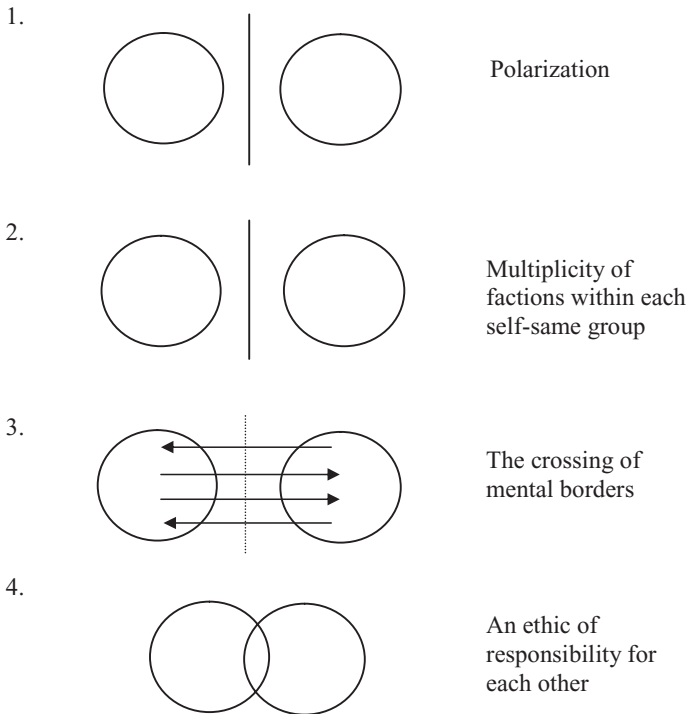
uration even if the term ‘frame’ has not been hitherto deployed:

- polarization/denomination of the other; this is a form of *discrete framing*;
- the recognition of multiplicity of factions within each group; this is an *expanding frame*;
- the crossing of mental borders; this is an *interconnecting of diverse frames*;
- the ethic of responsibility for each other; this is a *shift from interactive to strategic framing*.

Let us recall that in the CSMHI schema (Apprey, 2001) of conflict resolution, we have a process-driven shift in frame config-

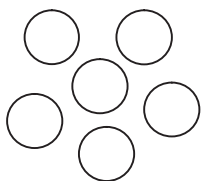
A Venn diagram for the two could be like this:

Two-party conflict resolution



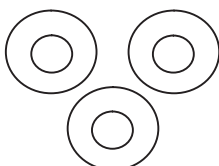
Multiparty intervention

1.



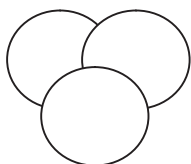
Discrete frames

2.



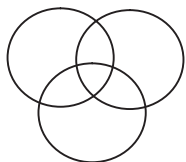
Subsets of frames

3.



Bilateral forms of accommodation

4.



Multilateral accommodation of frames

Framing as a line of inference, then, enables us to juxtapose a two-party intervention strategy with a multi-party initiative.

We can now *exceed* the two frames of reference to consider the following: whether we are involved in a two-party intervention program or a multi-party initiative, there is a developmental line from circumscribed frames of reference to an optimal accommodation of frames. In the two party schema, we end with a **global scope** where diverse stakeholder participants (i.e. local scope) are submerged within a larger frame. When there is global scope, larger policy issues like immigration laws can be tackled. In the multi-party initiative, the reverse is true: **local scope** (multiple and diverse stakeholders) is increased, and global scope decreased. Under local scope, participants can tackle

such issues as public transportation to remote areas of the country, health care for poorer and rural areas, and so forth.

TOWARD AN ETHIC OF TRANSFER: IIPSS AND CSMHI IN A COMPLEMENTARY RELATIONSHIP

When third-party facilitators of conflict resolution/conflict management go into a fractured community to resolve ethnic, religious or other strife, an ethic of transfer must be considered *ab initio*. From the very start of a prospective project, the following considerations must occur:

Interventional procedural strategy or practice theory

- *Gatekeepers* must be considered as stakeholders who hold formal or informal posi-

tions. These may be high-level politicians or even warlords.

- Gatekeeping can help develop a sense of ownership in the fractured community when it involves all key parties, registering, as it were, their historical and contemporary grievances. **Gatekeepers are stakeholders** who must not be overlooked. If some gatekeepers are a fringe group today, they could be leaders of tomorrow's mainstream.
- **Gatekeepers have access.** Thanks to them, inclusive resonant groups for each separate party can begin an initial exploration of their grievances, contemporary realities and the realities they create with and for the Other.
- **Joint assessment** work must follow so that third-party facilitators can assist the fractured community to come to a working understanding of the virus-like pathogen threatening the integrity of their community.
- The **cultural habitus** must be phenomenologically determined.
- **Psychopolitical dialogs** can begin with a wider array of indigenous and other influential community members.
- **A second level of interaction** with gatekeepers must occur before grassroots projects begin. They will have more up-to-date knowledge of what has been transpiring in their community and what reverberations with history there may be.
- Consolidation of grassroots projects and/or an instrumental NGO that is more inclusive can now anchor the sense of ownership which in turn will allow project transfer to be seamless. In short, **project ownership considered ab initio remains a current throughout the entire enterprise.**

This constitutes an emergent practice theory of an ethic of project transfer, which

is inseparable from the heart of the project itself. **Transfer is no longer an addendum to a project but continuous. In this respect, project development and project transfer are not dichotomous but a seamlessly integrated enterprise.**

Conceptual underpinnings: an emergent theory

As noted above, the synthesis between IIPSS and CSMHI approaches and texts are more procedural than conceptual. However, some conceptual syntheses are possible and subserve the procedural sequence above. Let us revisit Apprey (1996, 2001), where the following basic assumptions were noted. I will summarize:

Box A-1: Epistemological standpoint

Any conception of the 'Other' as fixed or absolute dangerously lends itself to a readiness to dehumanize the Other.

The facile notion that 'we are one blood' is not helpful, because it threatens a group's much-needed sense of self-stability and differentiation.

An even greater threat to participant groups in conflict is any notion of the self as changing or relative because a precipitous readiness to change poses a threat to a group's identity.

Box A-2: Techné: Conceptual praxis

'Self' as agency is therefore an approximation, the 'Other' as absolute a misnomer. Yet when Self and Other engage in a process of resolution of a conflict, a new opportunity opens up, fostering a measured exchange of representations of Self and Other. When the process is well mod-

ulated by the facilitators, four way-stations typically emerge: (i) polarization, where each side needs to define itself while demonizing the Other; (ii) differentiation within each side, while recognizing the multiplicity of positions in each separate group; (iii) the crossing of mental borders where each side engages the Other in a metaphor-driven and meaningful dialogue, replacing old concrete passions with a new order of designations to which all parties can relate (typically a new order of designation propelled by an ethic of responsibility for each side); and (iv) ethical statements become grounded when participant groups join forces to create concrete and mutually beneficial projects.

Let us now add the result of the coding from the qualitative meta-synthesis as noted in the appendix starting with the stable structures of experience/cultural habitus of the IIPSS subjects:

Box B: IIPSS Cultural habitus

We have a history of which we can be simultaneously proud and self-derisive. Although we have been naughty transgressors, by right, we must hold our heads high; but the residues of history require us to behave in ways that can provide us with a relative sense of safety. To be safe, we have to follow a set of imperatives: blend in when the situation is potentially inflammatory; stay within rule-bound borders so that you can be both distinct and co-existent with the Other when it is required to do so; standing out like a sore thumb is by definition a transgression brought on one's group

by one's own hand; and lastly, boundaries must be used in ways that protect one's group from the Other who may kill them. In all we do, we must have both difference and integrity.

Let us now add the text from the CSMHI story as follows:

Box C: CSMHI Structure of experience

Colonial oppression is costly to all parties. For the offspring of colonists **there is time lost to imprisonment for speaking one's mind and thinking autonomously.** The colonized, however, sees **no difference between the colonizer and her offspring;** they are all oppressors who hurt their subjects bodily, invaded their borders, exiled their loved ones, separated families and so on.

Colonists shame their subjects and humiliate them if they do not blend in easily.

*There are, however, **limits** to attempts to **blend in** in order to stay out of trouble. A **chameleon** has her limits as does the oppressor, thanks to death and other inescapable realities.*

There is history behind theories about the Other that one puts forward in a dialogue. The sedimentations of history do get reactivated and become subject to unpacking over time.

Let us now exceed boxes A, B, and C. The French word 'transport' in seventeenth-century French meant 'passion', 'rage', 'fire', and 'love'. In the context of conflict resolution, we can say intense emotional resonance prevails in ethnonational conflict resolution.

There is a second meaning of the word ‘transport’ – in English, we may think of it as geographical shifts. Thirdly, the word metaphor comes from Greek where it means ‘transposition’ or ‘reconfiguration’. By extension, there is a third meaning of ‘metaphor’, which speaks to ‘epiphora’ which suggests a kind of translation that requires a reframing of an idea. All these meanings of ‘transport’ or ‘metaphor’ are strongly implicated in the work of conflict resolution. There is therefore (a) passion, and (b) a trajectory from one phase to another and a reframing of positions whether we are dealing with two parties or more.

We can now arrive at a composite of ideas culled from the boxes above.

Toward an ethic of project transfer: a conceptualization

Third-party conflict-resolution interveners must identify gatekeepers to give them access into fractured communities. When they go into fractured communities, they must recognize imperatives embedded in the function of these communities.

These imperatives may include a check-board imperative that allows a simultaneous form of blending in and separating out oneself from the Other. In other words, black and white can be in the same horizon but still have their discrete differences.

There is history behind theories about the Other that one puts forward in a dialogue.

The sedimentations of history do get reactivated and become subject to unpacking over time.

Transport of emotions constitutes an overriding metaphor that subserves all conflict resolution in the following sense:

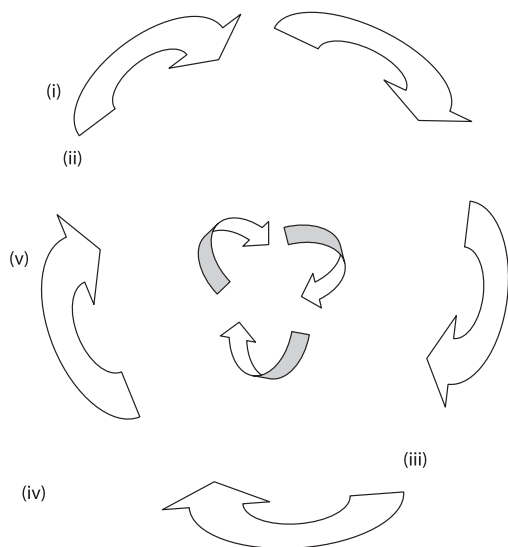
passions require transformation; facilitators must preside over the trajectory from polarization to an ethic of responsibility; and a reframing of positions is required from discrete frames to strategic framing to effect change.

Gatekeepers are indispensable stakeholders rather than an *ad hoc* feature in fractured communities.

An ethic of project transfer is not an add-on but part of an integrated whole.

DISCUSSION: TOWARD SUSTAINABILITY

We have established that we can have a potential third intervention praxis emerging from the IIPSS and CSMHI methodologies. We have established further that the sequence of intervention steps would be: (a) extensive interviews with gatekeepers and high-level officials in an assessment subphase with a public health dimension as well as (b) a second assessment subphase with a view to determining the cultural habitus of the fractured communities. *We get these two sub-phases by reciprocal analysis; from determining the frames that constitute the cultural habitus and the virus that promotes the dysfunction in the fractured communities.* We also get these two subphases from the discreteness of the circumscribed frames that multiple parties bring to a negotiation table. We have established further that after these two subphases, we will be in an excellent position to (c) begin the conflict-reduction dialogues with scholars, high-level officials and community leaders *including gatekeepers.* (d) Projects at the grassroots level may begin with the assistance of third-party facilitators *in consultation with gatekeepers* and lastly (e) projects may continue or emerge without third-party facilitators.



Steps (d) and (e) must be conducted in such a way that *there is a recursive loop back to the gatekeepers and officials* so that we may now have a circular sequence of intervention steps. This recursive loop back to the beginning will promote the sustainability, project ownership by a community and a seamless transfer. *This seamless transfer is the hallmark of the ethics of transfer* proposed in this qualitative meta-synthesis of two programs *with the refinement of framing concepts*.

The determination of the cultural habitus and the framing/reframing dimensions begin and end the circle.

This dimension calls for another reciprocal synthesis in order to fine-tune the processes but it is outside the scope of this paper and provides the seed for a follow-up paper; one that synthesizes an IIPSS-like project with a multiparty framing problem management project. The term 'IIPSS-like' refers to the determination of cultural habitus, and so forth, but with two parties in negotiation, which is not the case with the IIPSS project that works with only Protestants at this time.

For now, we have a proto-schema upon which we may construct new and emergent theories of intervention strategies, and hopefully, one that could incorporate an integrated facilitation team comprised of psychoanalysts, group analysts and sociologists (IIPSS), diplomats, historians, mediators (CSMHI) and management negotiation teams with skills in observing and facilitating framing and reframing strategies.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

This study has focused on the process of owning a project rather than providing observations on routinizing the democratic process. However, within this new schema, upon which we may construct new and emergent theories of intervention strategies, the trajectory of steps can be further sharpened with framing and reframing techniques to document the movement of the acquisition of democratic practices. This technical addendum of steps to be deployed in running or presiding over conflict-resolution or management groups will be incorporated into a further meta-synthesis with yet another conflict resolution or management program in order to achieve even greater integration. As a result, we could have a praxis that NGOs that do conflict resolution from multiple standpoints can use. In addition, such praxis could be accessible to donor NGOs who might want to follow the work of their grantees. Most importantly, we now have a praxis that different disciplines can use to conduct what practitioners variously call conflict resolution, conflict reduction, conflict management, peacemaking, nation-building with the common thread of engaging gatekeepers in divided communities from the beginning to the end. One praxis cannot provide a panacea for all. The strands and

movement of the proceedings, however, have proven to be consistent. What changes is the respective content of the dialogues. In other words, there is structural continuity without dictating what the parties in conflict must talk about. They set the agenda but the emotional and other non-cognitive elements undergo transformation along the lines delineated above. *Would that military interventionists and the national security community could collaborate with conflict reduction managers to negotiate how third parties enter a community, facilitate transitions and preside over well-considered exit strategies!*

APPENDIX: JUXTAPOSING AN IIPSS STORY TO A CSMHI TEXT FOR CODING PURPOSES AND TO SHOW THAT AN IIPSS STORY NEEDS A PLACE FOR FURTHER ELABORATION WHEREAS A CSMHI STORY HAS A FURTHER SEQUENCE AND A PLACE FOR TRANSFORMATION OF GRIEVANCES

It was indicated earlier that where the IIPSS praxis ends is approximately where the CSMHI approach begins. Below is a flavor of the fracturing of field notes from one text drawn from a psychopolitical dialogue at the diagnostic stage and the coding that allowed major thematic structures to emerge. Here, these brief vignettes are supplied only to demonstrate that themes from early diagnostic dialogues from the IIPSS program primarily led to the determination of the cultural habitus of the feuding parties whereas the issues that emerged from CSMHI dialogues had subsequent project phases to work through the emergent themes; themes that continued to surface and to work through all the way to the end where new and discrete projects were conducted with citizens

at the grassroots level. A reciprocal relationship between the IIPSS and the CSMHI praxes, then, shows itself.

An IIPSS Story

Once upon a time . . . (sic)
 I was **that boy** . . . /
 who lived in a small country village./
 He had a *black mother and a white father.*/
He was a very (naughty) boy . . . /
 Perhaps because he **had 10 older sisters**,
 [who picked on him constantly]./
 We were **two of those sisters.**/
 I was the worst, said Caoimhe./
 No wonder he was a (bold boy): [he was told
 To wear his sister's clothes.] /
 That's why **we called him a boy/girl.**/
 There were *five white sisters and five black sisters.*/
 [They lived beside a river.]
 They were called *the chess board family.*/
Andrew Kasparov was the father's name./
 [Did he play chess?]/
 No, but his computer did;/
 That's why *his children were black and white!*
 [End of story.]/
 The story was written by a
 (*Protestant racist.*)/
 [It's a masterpiece.]

(Elliot et al., 2004, 13)

Coding

I¹
That boy;
had 10 older sisters;
we were two of those girls;
we called him boy/girl.

I²
*black mother and white father;
 five white sisters and five black sisters;
 the chess board family;
 Kasparov was his name;
 that's why his children were black and
 white.*

I³
*he was a very naughty boy;
 we call him a Protestant racist.*

I⁴
 sisters picked on him constantly;
 they lived beside a river;
 did he play chess?
 End of story.
 It's a masterpiece.

Discourse behind I¹

Boy mingles with his sisters with no hint of danger to become **amorphous** and **not easy to discover as himself**. There is an **illusion of sameness**.

Discourse behind I²

Black mother and white father **reproduce** an **equal ratio** of white sisters and black sisters in a chessboard family where **each color has its place**; where **rules govern the movement** of each color **without mixing**. Different colors can both be distinctly positioned and bordered within one terrain/family; a chess family born of a Kasparov, a quintessential **pedigree** of both black and white children.

Discourse behind I³

The boy was so naughty that his **transgressions** stuck out like a sore thumb as did the **transgressions of his Protestant ancestors** who stepped on the Other; a legacy of both **pride and self-derision**.

Discourse behind I⁴

There is provocation of one by the Other, causing one to seek refuge in, or respite from the boundary of a river; a border that serves as **containment of provocations; provocations fabled and lived through; hidden and revealed** as only a masterpiece of a story can tell.

Indicator to indicator

$$(I^1 + I^2 + I^3 + I^4)$$

This operation can be performed in the form of a story behind the story told in the resonant focus group as follows:

Once upon a time men and women lived together, *blended in an amorphous way*. They *started off with an equal ratio* of one group to another. However, *transgressions* by one against the Other took place. They were *saved by the border of a river*.

The indicators of (i) amorphousness, (ii) starting off with an equal ratio, (iii) transgressions, and (iv) border(s) take us back to the prior latency, that original and primary story of Protestant transgressions whose consequences are still being felt; consequences that cause them to be both proud and self-derisive.

CONCEPTS

$$(C^1 + C^2 + C^3 + C^4)$$

The concepts speak to a relatively stable set of imperatives:

C¹: blend in

C²: stay within circumscribed borders so that you can know when to be separate and when you can live in the same wider and bordered horizon.

C³: standing out can be a transgression that wreaks havoc.

C⁴: A border must serve as containment.

Glaser (1978) schematizes Indicator to Indicator and Indicator to Concept approximately as follows:

Concept

Indicator to indicator, concept to concept creates a stable structure of experience, which shows how Protestants have transformed the events of history into an imperative sense of history as follows.

This structure of experience is horizontal with Elliot's account of the cultural habitus of the participants. Noblit and Hare (1988) would require a comparison of the analyses of two texts or ethnographies with resulting metaphors that exceeds each one. In this meta-synthesis, I have already established that what is reciprocal is more a procedural issue than a conceptual one: where IIPSS ends, CSMHI begins. A conceptual comparison, therefore would be needlessly redundant and competitive. I have therefore shown the analysis of the IIPSS story to illustrate that such a consequential story could benefit from an CSMHI type of engagement where both sides dialogue with each other over a protracted period of time. As it is, the story helps to establish a cultural habitus, which is useful and potentially and secondarily transforms historical grievances but is one-sided and of very short duration. The Catholics are not involved in the IIPSS project.

I shall analyze a CSMHI story at a relatively comparative phase as the IIPS story, except that multiple parties are involved. It is early in the Baltic Project and CSMHI is talking with high-level officials at the Duma in the Russian Federation, Latvians in Riga, Lithuanians in Vilnius, Estonians in Tallinn, and so on. In the story I am about to analyze, there is a small group with an Estonian, a Latvian, a Lithuanian, and a Russian from the Russian Federation. The five-year two-party project has not at this time been

selected but diagnostic consultations are occurring throughout the Baltic states.

This text is from a small group discussion in Estonia:

A CSMHI text

Facilitator A: Tell us what has been happening since the restoration of independence in the relative safety of this room.

Estonian (E): We are in **danger of being occupied** and **of being bodily harmed** by a foreign nation, Russia.

Russian (R): Our umbrella is constituted by a mixture, some of which is unsavory, especially if you consider the likes of Vladimir Zhirinovsky. So we too are in danger of being crushed from within. [So] we were deceived when you Estonians broke off to set up your own independent state.

E: Russians/Soviets **shamed** Estonians. You humiliated us when you Russians denied us our ethnic identity with Sovietization. *You even mocked us when you brought a Russian-trained Estonian deputy who could not speak the Estonian language.* You committed what for us is **ethnic mocking**. You Russians want us Estonians to trust you. When a man loves a woman, he must tell her often enough so that in time she will come to believe it.

R: You use Russians and Soviets interchangeably. We are not the same. *We are Russian democrats.* We are **not Soviet**. I was in prison for

- four and a half years for distributing anti-Soviet propaganda. But you were a high Communist Party official.
- E: We were all Communists.
- Facilitator A: Tell us how you came to conclude that Russians and Soviets are the same.
- E: They have the same ideology of power and supremacy over Estonia and other former Warsaw pact countries . . .
- Facilitator A: (Sensing defensiveness on all sides, asks if they could tell their personal stories about how Sovietization affected them at the personal level.)
- Latvian (La): I spoke Latvian until I was 12 years old. Then I entered a secondary school where only Russian was spoken. They made fun of the way I spoke. I didn't fit in. I felt mocked by Jewish children as well, and didn't fit in with them either. In my own city, 75% of the inhabitants are not Latvian and I don't fit in there also.
- Lithuanian (Li): When I was living in Moscow and attending the Diplomatic Academy, I had to fit in also. We learned that in speaking, writing or presenting oneself, one had to invoke the name of Stalin at the front end and at the back end. Between the front and the back where the security of Stalin's name had been invoked, one could present any idea. Then the confusion came. In one year, three or four Party Secretaries died. I wrote Andropov's name and he died, and on and on till three or four of them died. I couldn't catch up with the disappearing heads of state and so I had to keep changing the references.
- R: We were all in the same boat.
- E: You just had to sit in jail for four years. (Profuse laughter from the group.)
- If we look at the real existence of a smile from one person to another, there is the problem of choice on the political level. Estonian identity in an ethnocultural sense only exists if we emphasize our shared civic responsibilities and identity in a state where we have rarely had experience of our own statehood. There is always a threat of invasion from outside. The result is a knot.
- La: We prefer a German baron to a Russian imperial power. Let us divorce first and then we shall see.
- E: Let us divorce, wait for two centuries and see.
- La: We must keep the dialogues at all levels going. If we do not, the people at the grass-roots level will revolt. We must find a way to include everybody.
- Facilitator A (to the Estonian): What is your personal or family story?
- E: In 1939 when I was six years old, I saw all the males from 16 to 30 years old rounded up in the field by some brigade and sent to Siberia. But my grandfather refused to leave the house so they

sawed the timber off the roof in order to get him out and they did.

Facilitator B (A Cultural Diplomat): Were the soldiers Red Brigade, Estonian collaborators or what?

E: I wasn't sure whether the brigade that sawed off the timber was Russian or Estonian.

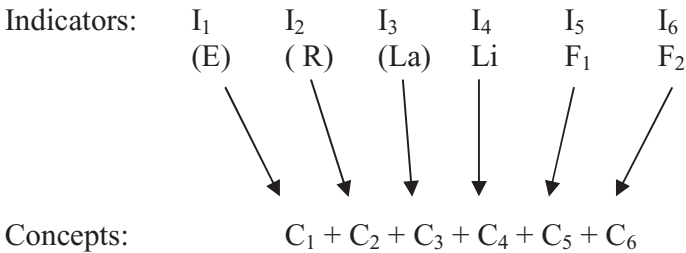
Facilitator A (addressing E): When you are six years old, what do you care what kind

Facilitator B): of soldiers are taking your grandfather away? (Catching himself, noticing how poignant that question was.) Ah! That lack of difference in soldiers is not very different from E's refusal to differentiate Russians from Soviets.

E: You've got a point there.

I: We'll continue. Estonians are a people who have been occupied for thousands of years by colonial powers including Russia.

[SETTER – DIALOGUE ENDS]



- I₁ → C₁:
- I₂ → C₂:
- I₃ → C₃:
- I₄ → C₄:
- I₅ → C₅:
- I₆ → C₆:

Estonians are those that have been **shamed**, mocked by their latest colonizer. As to Russian or Soviet colonizers, *it is not necessary to distinguish one colonial power from another that emerged from it.*

Colonizers hurt people at a very personal level, bodily, ethnically, nationally. *They have no sense of shame and will overpower you at any cost and so one must beware.*

I₂ → C₂

The new Russian Democrats are not Soviet. They too suffered at the hands of Soviets. One must **distinguish** Soviets from Russians.

I₃ → C₃

As a Latvian, one is subject to being **shamed** when Russians do not consider you as fit to

mix with them. A Latvian who speaks imperfect Russian must be mocked and shunned by her colonists, child or adult. **Russian oppression** is apt to activate rage at the grassroots level.

$$I_4 \rightarrow C_4$$

There are limits to acting like a chameleon in order to blend in and stay out of trouble from one's oppressors.

$$I_5 \rightarrow C_5$$

One must try to **distinguish** one kind of invader from another.

$$I_6 \rightarrow C_6$$

When one is a child of six, one may not be able to distinguish one militia from another. *There is a limit to one's capacity to see difference in invaders when harm comes to a close relative.*

Collating the structures of experience, C1 + C2 + C3 + C4 + C5 + C6

After this dialogue between Russians from the Federation, Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians, CSMHI chose to work with Russian 'compatriots', as they described themselves (i.e. from the Federation and Russians from Estonia) and indigenous Estonians.

Whereas IIPSS practitioners stopped at the diagnostic level, CSMHI practitioners continued to facilitate the dialogue between the two parties for five years. In short, the feuding parties had a place to go to continue to transform their grievances in Estonia.

Again, where one (IIPSS) stops, another (CSMHI) begins. Procedurally, the IIPSS program and the CSMHI program are continuous and reciprocal.

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