PEACE, RECONCILIATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE LEADERSHIP IN THE 21ST CENTURY

In all my years as a public servant, I have always looked for guideposts to help me better understand a fractured world. This outstanding interdisciplinary volume provides an excellent roadmap to piece together the mosaic of peace, reconciliation, and social justice not just from a leader's perspective, but from the voices and actions of followers. This book forms an essential praxis through the lens of gender, diversity, spirituality, inclusiveness to better deal with global restoration of a more beloved community.

Ambassador Eric M. Bost (Ret), Former US Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa, Deputy Director of the Borlaug Institute for International Agriculture and Development at Texas A&M University

In this ambitious interdisciplinary volume, the authors seek to understand the concept of peace and reconciliation through leadership and followership theories and practice from the current generation's perspective in the midst of today's turbulent and unsettling times. The immediate need for this global analysis of peace and reconciliation from a trans-disciplinary lens is crucial. The authors of this volume provide a solution through the concept of decolonization by first giving a voice to those most impacted by conflict and then by listening to those voices in order to bring about social justice.

Raida Gatten, Associate VP of Academic Affairs, Woodbury University

At a time when the global order founded by liberal democracies is in retreat, beset by authoritarian rivals on one side and failing states on the other, academia might be ready for the tonic of a "peace and conflict studies" approach to the study of leadership — leading to an understanding of the moral, spiritual, and political roles of leaders in healing a divided society. This book lays the groundwork.

Michael Woo, Dean, College of Environmental Design, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

Social oppression, civil war, and state genocide are often a direct product of leadership failures, but recovery from them can be facilitated by other leaders and even followers who appreciate and exercise the powers of truth telling, community reconciliation, and national rebuilding. H. Eric Schockman, Vanessa Alexandra Hernández Soto, and Aldo Boitano de Moras have gathered a host of penetrating and informative accounts of just that in *Peace, Reconciliation, and Social Justice in the 21st Century*, which serves as both an inspiration and a roadmap for those whose wish to apply their own leadership to recovering and coming back from human calamities.

> Michael Useem, Professor of Management, Wharton School,
> University of Pennsylvania, and the author of
> *Leadership Dispatches: Chile's Extraordinary*
> *Comeback from Disaster.*

An excellent view of the study of leadership and a just world order, the book provides a trans-disciplinary approach to issues of equity, inclusion, and trust. The building of sustainable peace is basic to the text as each chapter examines the themes of reconciliation, community building, international law, and social justice. This book is important and I give it my highest recommendation.

> Dr June Schmieder-Ramirez, Chair, PhD in
> "Global Leadership and Change Chair of
> Leadership Studies," Pepperdine University

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PEACE, RECONCILIATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE LEADERSHIP IN THE 21ST CENTURY: THE ROLE OF LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS

Edited by

H. ERIC SCHOCKMAN
Woodbury University, USA

VANESSA ALEXANDRA HERNÁNDEZ SOTO
United Nations Human Rights, Geneva, Switzerland

and

ALDO BOITANO DE MORAS
International Leadership Association, Chile

ISOQAR certified Management System, awarded to Emerald for adherence to Environmental standard ISO 14001:2004.

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INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

We dedicate this volume to the peacebuilders, social justice activists and survivors of mass atrocities around the world. Your courage and inspiration give us hope for the future.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This endeavor has been a labor-of-love from the start and we were blessed by the amazing synergies of efforts of many individuals who provided unconditional support.

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The editors wish to thank our readers who are leading every day by example in fighting discrimination, inequality, and hatred in their respective multiple arenas. We want you to know you are not alone. We also wish to recognize and relish the diligent efforts from those authors who have contributed chapters to this volume. We have collectively learned much from each author and it was a sheer joy to work together to produce this endeavor. We thank the authors for their openness, pushing the inter-disciplinary boundaries to purse intellectual rigor and truth-telling. Taken together, we hope that in our small way that we have moved the 'arch of moral justice' bending it toward some categorical imperative when justice, brotherhood, and sisterhood will deliver us to the promised land of peace.

Additionally, Vanessa would like to thank her grandparents whose sacrifices, courage, and unconditional love inspired her to become an advocate

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ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Miznah Omair Alomair, PhD, obtained her doctorate degree in Education, with an emphasis on Leadership Studies, from Chapman University in California. She focuses her research on the areas of leadership and leadership development of women and youth in the Gulf Cooperation Council states, with particular focus on the context of Saudi Arabia.

Ambassador Rick Barton is the author of *Peace Works: America's Unifying Role in A Turbulent World*; now Senior Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson School @ Princeton; former Assistant Secretary of State and founder within the US State Department of the Bureau for Conflict and Stabilization Operations; US Ambassador to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations; Co-director for the Center for Strategic and International Studies; Board Member: Alliance for Peacebuilding and the Institute for Sustainable Communities.

Aldo Boitano de Moras has 25 years of experience in top management, technological, educational, marketing, and sales positions with a strong leadership and team work emphasis. He received a Bachelor's and Master's in Engineering in December 1992 (Universidad de Chile) and an MBA in December 2006 (University of North Carolina-Charlotte Belk School of Business). He recently finished his first year of a doctoral program in Organizational Leadership at Pepperdine University. Aldo has broad international experience and is a world-class mountaineer and an active philanthropist. As a seasoned lecturer to companies and world forums, he has taught in the United states at Wharton and UNCC and in Chile in International Business, Leadership, and Building High Performance teams. Aldo serves on the board of Pleiades and the International Leadership Association and acts as an honorary "Ambassador" of "Hay Mujeres" a women leader in Latin-American association.

Sylvester B. Maphosa, a Fulbright S-I-R Fellow alumni, is a Chief Research Specialist and Head, Governance, Peace and Security, Africa Institute of South Africa, in the Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, South Africa. He is also an Adjunct Professor, University of Venda.

Douglas de Castro is the Visiting Scholar in the Foundation for Law and International Affairs (USA). Post-doc in International Economic Law – FGV São Paulo Law School; PhD in Political Science; and Master of Law, University of São Paulo; LL.M. in International Law, BYU-J. Reuben Clark Law School; Professor of International Law and Relations.

Sarah Chace is an Assistant Professor of Leadership Studies at Christopher Newport University. She has studied, taught, and conducted research on leadership for nearly 20 years, working extensively with the Adaptive Leadership framework, as well as various constructs of group relations incorporated within this framework. Professor Chace recently published a book with Routledge: *Advancing the Development of Urban School Superintendents Through Adaptive Leadership*.

Ira Chaleff is the Visiting Leadership Scholar at the Møller Institute, Churchill College, University of Cambridge in England. He is the founder of the International Leadership Association Followership Learning Community, author of the book *The Courageous Follower*, and co-facilitator of the Northern Shenandoah Valley chapter of "Coming To The Table."

Douglas Cremer, PhD, Professor of History and Interdisciplinary Studies at Woodbury University in Burbank, California, studies religious social and political engagement, religious and political violence, and philosophical and theological reflections on these issues. He also serves as an ordained permanent deacon in the Archdiocese of Los Angeles.

Benjamin Dürr is an International Lawyer and Policy Expert. He has experience as a policymaker in government and worked at the Dr. Denis Mukwege Foundation of the Congolese Nobel Peace laureate on advocacy and communications strategies against conflict-related sexual violence. As an award-winning journalist, he reported from ten African countries and wrote extensively about conflicts, peace, and humanitarian affairs. He studied political science and diplomacy at the London School of Economics (LSE) and holds an LL.M. in international law from the United Nations Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) in Turin, Italy.

Vanessa Alexandra Hernández Soto is an International Criminal Lawyer with a special interest and expertise in international criminal law, human rights law, and international humanitarian law, with years of experience in the judicial and criminal field domestically and internationally. She holds an advanced LL.M in Public International Law, specialization in International Criminal Law from Leiden University, The Netherlands, a Law degree from the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, and is a member of the International Criminal Court Bar Association. She was worked on a wide range of human rights and international criminal law issues at the International Criminal Court Chambers and the Office of Public Counsel for Victims, United Nations Mechanism for International Criminal Tribunals, United Nations OHCHR, and Oxford Reports, Oxford University Press. Vanessa is currently working at Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland, and as a Senior Editorial Reviewer at the *Groningen Journal of International Law* at the University of Groningen, The Netherlands.

Edin Ibrahimefendic is an Attorney at the Institution of Human Rights Ombudsman of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo. A popular speaker at conferences, he focuses on the promotion and protection of human rights, rule of law, and good governance. His publications include "The Cellist of Sarajevo," a chapter in *Grassroots Leadership and the Arts for Social Change* (2017). He graduated from the Law Faculty of Sarajevo.

Chantal Marie Ingabire works as a Senior Researcher at Community-Based Sociotherapy program in Rwanda. She holds a master's degree in Medical Anthropology from the University of Amsterdam and a PhD from Maastricht University, the Netherlands. She has coordinated various programs and research projects with a particular focus on health, social, and behavioral aspects. She is interested in exploring the interlinkage between mental health, psychosocial support, and peacebuilding processes in postgenocide Rwanda with a particular emphasis on youth. She is involved in a research exploring the mechanisms of intergenerational transmission of memories and its impact on second generation. She has authored various scientific publications.

Alphonse Keasley, Jr serves as the Associate Vice Chancellor in the Office of Diversity, Equity and Community Engagement (ODECE) at the University of Colorado Boulder. He is also a Visiting Scholar at the Africa Institute of

South Africa, a division of the Human Sciences Research Center, in Pretoria, South Africa.

Mike Klein, Ed.D, is an Associate Professor in the Department of Justice and Peace Studies at the University of St Thomas. He teaches undergraduate courses on leadership for social justice, qualitative research, and art for social change; and graduate courses on social justice pedagogy, critical education in social movements, and the pedagogy of Paulo Freire. His research, publishing, and consulting focus on democratizing leadership, intersections of art and social justice, and peacebuilding. He develops the agency of students and communities to transform social structures and advance social justice.

Malini Laxminarayan, PhD, currently works as a Program Officer at The Mukwege Foundation, where she coordinates SEMA: The Global Network for Victims and Survivors to End Wartime Sexual Violence. She also teaches Human Rights at the University of Amsterdam. Her research areas include victimology, transitional justice, survivor empowerment and access to justice, primarily from a socio-legal perspective.

Lisa Liberatore Maracine holds a Master's in Public Diplomacy from the University of Southern California and is a current PhD candidate in Global Leadership & Change at Pepperdine University. Her work centers on the intersection between business, government, and education to create sustainable social enterprise for women's empowerment.

Sandra Marić, CWWPP's Deputy CEO, has worked extensively with children and young people. She has been with the Coalition for Work with Psycho-Trauma & Peace (CWWPP) since 2006.

Josephine R. Marieta is a Lecturer at the Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Indonesia, and Universitas Pertahanan, Indonesia. Currently, he is completing a doctoral program at the Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Indonesia. She also became a consultant at companies in the field of Community Development and Conflict Reconciliation.

Fátima Esther Martínez Mejía holds a Master's degree in Latin American Studies and Law degree from the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico. Her line of research focuses on human rights and transitional justice. In 2016, she developed as a Visiting Researcher at the Institute of Advanced Studies of the University of Santiago de Chile.

Whitney McIntyre Miller, PhD, is an Associate Professor of Leadership Studies at Chapman University who centers her scholarship on peace leadership and community development and leadership. She has experience in community and international development, refugee resettlement, nonviolence, and elections monitoring. She has served as the co-convener of the International Leadership Association's Peace Leadership Affinity Group and as a Community Development Society board member.

Katleho Mohono is a leadership development facilitator, coach, and community builder with over seven years of experience in youth leadership development, corporate education, coaching and training. A founding member of the African Leadership University, Katleho helped shape the culture and leadership development ethos of the institution.

Ziyana Mohamed Nazeemudeen is a Lecturer at the Faculty of Law, University of Colombo and PhD candidate at the School of Law, University of Aberdeen. Her major research interests are in the field of private international law and human rights concerns in cross border disputes.

Nelson Andrés Ortiz Villalobos holds a law degree from the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile and currently develops as a coordinator of legislative advisors in "Centro Democracia y Comunidad."

Bruce C. Pascoe, principal of Bizthinking, is a leadership and personal development consultant in Brisbane, Australia. He has worked in business, taught at Queensland University of Technology's School of Management, and spent 12 years in the United Arab Emirates, developing and teaching courses in Management and Leadership for Arab students.

Gavin Michael Peter joined the African Leadership Group as an inaugural faculty member in 2008 and has enjoyed working with all areas of the group as a community and culture builder. He is passionate about Africa, and building communities, using communication to encourage and strengthen connections.

Lyndon Rego consults, teaches, writes, and speaks at the intersection of leadership, innovation, and change. He has worked in Asia, the Americas, and Africa on individual, organization, and community transformation efforts. At the African Leadership University, he was the founding director of the Center for Entrepreneurial Leadership.

Corina D. Riantoputra gained her doctoral degree from University of New South Wales, Australia. Currently, she serves as an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Indonesia. She utilizes her research in the area of leadership, diversity, and proactivity to bring betterment for individuals, organizations, and societies.

Annemiek Richters is Emeritus Professor in culture, health and illness (Leiden University Medical Center) and a staff member of the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research (University of Amsterdam), the Netherlands. From 2005 onward, she has been affiliated with community-based sociotherapy Rwanda, contributing in particular to its research.

H. Eric Schockman a Professor of Politics and International Relations and Coordinator of Humanities and the Center for Leadership at Woodbury University. He also teaches in the MPA program at CSU Northridge, and the PhD program in Global Leadership and Change at Pepperdine University. A public policy expert Schockman previously served as Associate Dean and Associate Adjunct Professor at the Sol Price School of Public Policy at the University of Southern California. He is the President and the founder of the Global Hunger Foundation, dedicated to helping women in the developing world brake the chains of poverty by funding projects designed to provide sustainable development and organic farming. He served as the CEO and the President of a prestigious international anti-hunger organization for over a decade pumping some $60 million in grants into the field.

Lorraine Stefani is a Professor Emerita, University of Auckland, New Zealand, and an independent higher education consultant and leadership coach. Her 2017 edited book *Inclusive Leadership in Higher Education: International Perspectives and Approaches* includes chapters from colleagues in Saudi Arabia, Hong Kong, Canada, South Africa, the USA and the UK, reflecting the global reach of her work. Her research focus is new models for building leadership capacity and capability in complex organizations.

Patrick Sweet is the Co-director of the Geneva Leadership Alliance. He was raised in the industrial Midwest of the USA and immigrated to Sweden where he lives with his spouse and two children. His education, research, and practice experience spreads across North America and Europe, and most economic sectors (public, private, civil, military, government, and transnational).

Bagus Takwin is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Psychology Universitas Indonesia. He gained his doctoral degree from Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Indonesia. He utilizes his research in the area of self and identity, philosophy of psychology, well-being, and positive institutions.

Charles David Tauber, MD, CEO, Coalition for Work with Psychotrauma and Peace (CWWPP), has worked with traumatized people since 1988. He has worked with peace processes and non-governmental organizations since 1966.

Randal Joy Thompson is a scholar-practitioner who served as a Foreign Service Officer in international development. She recently edited the award-winning book *Leadership and Power in International Development: Navigating the Intersections of Gender, Culture, Context, and Sustainability*. She has published several chapters in other ILA volumes as well as articles in academic journals.

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FOREWORD

Setting out to make the world more peaceful is ambitious. The work is hard. When neighbors start to kill neighbors, the fabric of a society is shredded. War mongers, spoilers, historic, and perverted arguments hover everywhere — resisting change, insisting on familiar and destructive paths. Oftentimes, the institutions that might help are misaligned. Success is rare.

When I started working on Bosnia, Rwanda, Haiti, and Angola in the 1990s, a wise boss cautioned that we should approach these places as "venture capitalists." Lacking experience in both peacebuilding and high-level investment, I took that to mean several things: high risk; open to new ideas; early and catalytic funding; unconventional partnerships; and accepting of the occasional positive results with a big payoff. That mindset allowed us to accept long odds and minimize the feeling of failure.

A favorite phrase became a staple: "If it works, it is a precedent; if not, it was an experiment." In over 40 war-torn places in the next 25 years, working for the United States, the United Nations, and as a scholar/practitioner, I felt that we had the license to find the local people, listen to their stories and voices, encourage them to pursue their own creative paths, and promote hope and trust. With that attitude, we pursued fresh approaches and built original offices, bureaus, and strategic relationships. We began to address the "gap" between humanitarian response and development assistance, always keeping "people first."

Taking on the big ideas of global peace expansion in a book is also ambitious. As a practitioner and a student, I am delighted that the editors have seized upon: leadership and followership; reconciliation; international law and social justice; and peacebuilding. As a reader, I welcome the mix of high principles and practical examples. As a recent author, I appreciate the rigor and persistence required.

From the outset, this volume establishes several fundamental truths. There is a broad recognition that complex crises and effective peacebuilding

require inclusive and interdisciplinary approaches; that a first rule of leadership is to have followers – for more than just a minute; and that colonization and paternalism scar societies for decades.

Modern antidotes are offered. Building trust, advocating, and speaking out, and embracing others are the grounding. "Democratic and inclusive" leadership is defined as "based on a leader's behavior and performance" and not limited by tradition or history. "Followership is a new means to decolonizing leadership." Women, youth, and the gender oppressed are seen as promising innovators and change agents.

Throughout the book there is a disruptive tone but with a vision, a plan, and a follow-thru – not for the sake of an ideology but with a broader ambition: to make us more effective in the growth of peace. Anchoring those practical thoughts is the wisdom of prior leaders and followers.

"Transformational leadership occurs when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality", is the foundational thought of James MacGregor Burns.

Ira Chalaff's concept of *courageous followership* is cited: "assuming responsibility while also serving others, challenging leadership while also participating in transformation, and taking moral action while also speaking directly to the hierarchy."

Leadership is described "as a fluid process of 'stepping up and stepping back' [...] which implicitly calls for a holding environment, speaks to the question of how to encourage people to access their innate power, as distinct from 'empowering' them" from without.

Addressing genocide, mass suffering, and structural bigotry, we are told to "look the beast in the eye." Without that necessary step:

> it is reasonable to speculate that racism will continue to erupt in
> episodes of both micro and macro-aggression. The boundaries of an
> intentional holding environment such as a sanctioned arena for
> truth-telling may be the only way out of this dilemma.

From the Geneva Leadership Alliance (GLA), we learn that there is a traditional over emphasis on "individual leader-centered competencies, values, behaviors to the neglect of common, collective practices required to address tensions between groups, tribes, regimes." In the search for "common self-evident humanity [...] there is a growing recognition of diversity (often

compensating for traditional, core- or unicultural dominance)." The authors refer to

> the paradox of commonality that emerges from diversity […]. When family, security, stability, community bonding, justice, equity, religious freedom, etc., become aspirational due to existential threat, we also know these common human values provide the core of community re-building, reconciliation, and rejuvenation […].

From their years of leadership training, GLA recognizes:

> People and communities under stress lose sight of these; yet, bringing them back into focus, provides social cohesion to reconstruct shared humanity. Desire for self- and interpersonal respect is universal. Everyone, in every collective, generation, tribe or culture values respect — we just define and express it in different ways. Trust is essential. By and large, trust is valued at every level. Polarization is powerful. The destructive power of polarization is easily negatively leveraged under stress, while leveraging polarity as a positive collaborative tactic is virtually absent.

"Leadership's ontology is mainly person-centered. Leading as a set of learned 'practices' is rarely separated from the concept of leader," the GLA concludes.

> Leaders are often seen as special and a scarce resource. Collective capability to lead is intuitively understood, but rarely developed. Integrity is desired to be a pre-requisite for power. Corruption becomes prevalent the more that power is separated from integrity, and the loss of integrity in leaders and institutions undermines the realization of most all of the points above.

This book invites "us to pay greater attention to the roles of those who with little or no formal authority initiate, give momentum and deeply influence critical changes in their communities."

When success appears in peacebuilding, it is most often due to "bottom up, community led" efforts. This book suggests that we all have a broader responsibility to play a role. It also makes clear that "history matters." Humility is indispensable.

These pages brim with a greater wisdom applied to real life cases, from Rwanda, South Africa, and Bosnia to Sri Lanka, Uganda, and beyond. The authors of each chapter are expansive in their thinking and methods, using film and art, or whatever is available to empower women and others as they address their grim post-war realities, the threat of climate change, or the dagger of oppression.

A survey conducted in 2008 by the Pew Research Center, "A Paradox in Public Attitudes Men or Women: Who's the Better Leader?" is cited as we seek to improve our performance in global climate negotiations. Of eight important leadership traits in the public arena:

> women ranked higher than men in honesty, intelligence, compassion, creativity, and outgoingness. Thus, the concepts that are lacking in the international climate regime are exactly the ones present in the leadership traits of the women in both government and civil society dimensions.

The book offers numerous revelations and insights as it seeks to transform perspectives, definitions, rulemaking, and long-held attitudes with inclusive, expansive, and democratic thoughts. My own experience confirms this necessity.

Ambassador Rick Barton was the first Assistant Secretary of State for Conflict and Stabilization Operations, a former U.S. Ambassador, a past UN Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees, a Senior Advisor and Co-Director at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the founding Director of USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives. He is a Lecturer at the Woodrow Wilson School and Co-Director of Princeton University's Scholars in the Nation's Service Initiative. His book, *Peace Works – America's Unifying Role in a Turbulent World* (Rowman & Littlefield 2018) is in its third printing.

By Ambassador Rick Barton (ret.)

INTRODUCTION: ON PEACE, RECONCILIATION, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

H. Eric Schockman, Vanessa Alexandra
Hernández Soto and Aldo Boitano de Moras

This interdisciplinary volume examines the conditions and the ethical, foundational basis for leaders and followers in negotiating for peace in pre- and post-conflict situations around the world, as well as how and why reconciliation and forgiveness can ensue. Our aim is to draw together the best contemporary theories and practices within the study of leadership and followership to apply for a more peaceful and just world order. As opposed to the traditional literature in the field that operates from disciplinary silos, this volume provides a cutting-edge, trans-disciplinary approach to fill the intellectual vacuums and practices for peacemakers and peace-seekers in every sector of our global society.

We start off this volume with a series of critical weighty questions: Is a discussion and analysis of peace oxymoronic in today's turbulent times? Has the next generation given up on peace and conflict studies and succumbed to the prevailing realpolitik of a disintegrating post-WWII liberal global order? Has the human capacity for compassion and justice been numbed in the wake of daily accounts of the slow-moving global humanitarian crisis impacting at-risk populations and our searing collective remembrance of past failures such as in Rwanda, Somalia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Yemen, Palestine, and Syria? Has global development and sustainability over the past several decades produced an unprecedented gap between the global "haves" and "have nots" which predestines a Hobbesian state of nature at constant war and divisive struggles? How can we better understand

followership in the manifestation of leadership when it comes to peace, reconciliation, and social/restorative justice? Is there some prevailing overarching paradigm that can weave through the chapters in this book that advances contemporary knowledge as well as underpins leadership, followership, and peace studies? We have at least one answer to the last question: decoloniality.

The importance of "decolonization" of our thinking around peace, conflict resolution, reconciliation, and social justice, especially as it pertains to leadership (and followership) theory and practice, is the praxis of this volume. The logic of decolonization is simple, yet complex: It involves the intense lived experiences of those on both ends of the modernity/coloniality complex. It challenges the dominant global capital world order − from the voyages of the fifteenth-century European explorers to the ossification of post-Cold War "neoliberal globalization" − that has left its scarred legacy in post-colonial classification of class, gender, sexuality, masculinity, femininity, gay/straight/transsexual identities, and power relations between the Global North (GN) and Global South (GS). Behind this veil of the struggles between development vs underdevelopment, exploited vs exploiter, decolonization puts a laser-focus on the intersectionality of war, genocides, and a system that creates "epistemicide" (the annihilation of indigenous knowledge for a GN-centric new reality). Decolonization offers a counter-narrative to the GN-centric hegemonic social, political, and economic structures and might just be the juggernaut preventing a lasting peace. It also allows us to overcome stigmatization, polarization, and resentment and moves us closer to promote relationships of trust, inclusion, and equity. If the narratives of those most impacted by conflict are not brought into the post-healing process can we ever move past pseudo-peace? As chapters in this book demonstrate, bringing forward the strength and resilience of survivors, peacemakers, and human rights defenders can bring agency for healing and empowerment.

An older *coloniality of economics and gender* still permeates eternal divisions in the bastions of the GN and is especially prevalent in many former imperial colonies or capitalist economic pockets of exploitation in the GS. Challenging the heterosexuality of oppressive patriarchal machinations that deny people to determine whom they love has produced new grass-roots mass movements for social justice that support peace. The seeds of conflict reside in realteration of power and the distortion of the human spirit. The role of women who make up more than half of the world's population and

indigenous minorities from the GS must be elevated in peace and security matters. They are most often the victims of war and conflict but left out of peace negotiations. They often are at the forefront of leading peaceful reforms and should be at the origins of post-conflictual community recovery. Women's agency, voice and capacities, as well as a real gender perspective, are critical to local dialogues, better inclusive policies and more equitable peace deals. As evidenced in this book, decolonilization cannot be defined as simple tokening of inclusion. Conflict "management" and the demonization of the "other" can only go so far in distracting us from the real essence of ending epistemic violence and persecution. Decolonizing peacebuilding is a new discourse that speaks throughout the chapters of this volume.

For countries and communities that have seen the depths of vicious violence, rebuilding relationships of trust and restoring its social fabric is key. Furthermore, transforming ethical, political, and institutional dynamics will take the work of generations and a great array of actors across the spectrums of societies. To build sustainable peace, it is essential that *all levels of society* come together in addressing the roots causes of conflict. Peace in the aftermath of violent conflict cannot be sustained without addressing the grievances of victims and historical social justice. In dealing with the past, justice plays a key role in building and sustaining peace. And in synergy with accountability mechanisms, the manifestation of transitional justice anchors such entities as "truth and reconciliation commissions" that can foster greater acknowledgment and condemnation of atrocious crimes, as well as overcoming narratives of denial which can infect the views of future generations. Broader dimensions of recovery, as well as the moral reconstruction of societies that had abetted atrocities, require that society as a whole, and in particular elites and those in leadership and influential positions, confront their own political and moral responsibility. Truth-seeking processes can help us to look deeper into the root causes of conflict and social unrest, often predicated on past systemic corruption and a culture of impunity, to take significant steps to address systemic issues of marginalization and inequality. Massive violations of human rights occur with the complicity of many actors, including the complicity of followers. Most conflicts are not only about victims and perpetrators but also about those who benefit from a prevailing unjust political and economic order. The chapters herein remind us that to cultivate and entrench a culture of respect for human rights, of

respect and tolerance for another, we need democratic and inclusive leadership for a long-term commitment in building peace that *involves everyone.*

The prevailing realist school of international relations based on the hierarchical structure of hegemonic power of the GN has for decades rigidified the global agenda of what constitutes peace and who should benefit or who should not. Perhaps, the reason we saw no "peace dividends" from the collapse of the former Soviet empire was that we equated peace with some financial tool as if the global citizens of the world were invested collectively in a peace stock market. This metaphoric terminology really is the convolution of decolonizing sustainable peace. This fits well into the Kantian notion of "perpetual peace" which serves as the "greatest good" of the universal moral law and is built on the establishment of justice. As Kant believed as more "citizens of the world" begin influencing their own nations toward a republican form of governments, this would give birth to a greater world federation which would expand a system that discourages war and strive for universalist values of perpetual peace. Kant's vision of a world of independent states moving toward peace, foresaw in truth the decolonization efforts of the United Nations. In 1945 when the UN was founded, 750 million people, nearly a third of the world's population, lived under colonial powers. The wave of decolonization has meant that today fewer than two million people still live under direct colonial rule. In 1990, the UN General Assembly proclaimed the *International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism* and since the creation of the UN over 80 former colonies have gained independence. Sounds all well and good, except decoloniality does not necessarily equate to decolonial construction. Decoloniality brings further disruption to the social, cultural, and political hegemonic capitalist hierarchies. Unless we find the legitimacy for example of what Rego, Mohono, and Peter's chapter on *Ubuntu* addresses, or why we need an *African Young Graduate Scholars Development Program* outlined in the chapter by Maposa and Keasley, we lose a critical "third-space" for Afro-centric episteme. Decoloniality is not just a phenomenon of the GS but permeates structures of the developed GN. Unless we address the social amnesia of 250 years of legalized enslavement of blacks in America, as the chapter by Ira Chaleff details, we will never find true reconciliation. Or as Lorraine Stefani's chapter posits that unless we deconstruct the toxicity of racism and xenophobia behind Brexit, the narrative of the "leadership industry" reveals

an emperor-with-no-clothes. Within this context and by calling out gross injustices, we see the potential of perpetual peace flourishing.

Kant would be comfortable with the concept of the "decolonizing of thought" which in essence brings erased ontologies into their own categorical imperative (a moral end in itself) and the debunking of the modernity/coloniality complex. This is not some cosmic consciousness but a very intentional pursuit to right past wrongs and peel away the scars of exploitation, plunder, hegemonic patrimony, and enslavement.

Further, this leads us full circle to the issues of leadership and followership which this volume is predicated upon. We find that "decolonizing of leadership theory" is an essential element that needs further examination. In retrospect, leadership scholarship has come a long way from the old paradigm of the leadership traits, skills, and attitudes of the "great men" theory (read: white, male heterosexual). Despite in large measures to post-feminist, post-queer, post-Marxist theorizing we are still in a void of understanding contemporary leadership and how it impacts peace, reconciliation, and social justice. Is there then any formative body of work to reexamine decolonizing leadership theory and practice? Actually, there is. From a long line of distinguished thinkers dating back over 50 years from George Homas, to Mary Parker Follet, to James Gardner and James MacGregor Burns, we can connect the dots to the trailblazing work of Edwin P. Hollander (aka the "father" of inclusive leadership). Recasting the field of leadership studies from a less "leader-centric" top-down formula, Hollander begins to construct the principles of leadership inclusiveness as a symbiotic relationship between leaders and *followers*. Followers are critical for the success of the leader, and in the long run they too can become leaders. Hollander speaks of a two-way, interdependent relationship and developed a term to describe this as "idiosyncrasy credits." Think of these credits as a metaphoric "follower's investment account" where deposits of additional credits are made based on a leader's behavior and performance. Legitimacy of leadership ergo is dependent on the reserves accumulated. But just as followers give leaders the latitude to venture from the followers-base, abuse, and the arrogance of power works as a double-edge sword (think: Arab Spring Awakening). Thus, what we see in Hollander's advancement of building inclusive and diverse organizations is a direct segue to how we view *followership* as a new means to decolonizing leadership.

Another remarkable approach evidenced throughout the chapters of this book is the testimonies of leaders and followers who invite us not to remain passive nor silent in situations of injustice when human dignity and lives are in jeopardy. At times when leadership with vision, integrity, and commitment to the rights of all humankind stumbles, we should ask ourselves how our individual actions can either alleviate or worsen toxic political climates and human rights abuses. This maybe a groundbreaking volume in analyzing leadership through the lens (and permission) of followers, especially as applied to peace and restorative justice. Decoloniality is a positive disruptor with new voices of indigenous followers giving us hope for a perpetual peace.

PART I

RECONCILIATION

H. Eric Schockman, Vanessa Alexandra Hernández Soto and Aldo Boitano de Moras

Reconciliation is often regarded as an elusive and at times controversial concept. Nevertheless, reconciliation does occur in fractured societies arising from conflict, repression, and widespread human rights violations. Reconciliation starts with the acknowledgment of our shared and common humanity and dignity. Forgiving means that we are acknowledging that the other side is also human and that their children and ours deserve to live safely and peacefully. It involves building or rebuilding relationships toward a peaceful coexistence and an ongoing healing process as we will explore in the ensuing chapters, for example in the context of post-legalized slavery, post-apartheid, the trauma of the Balkans War, and the first signs of change in the Catholic Church tackling widespread and systematic clerical abuses. Reconciliation may take the form of a set of complex processes that could take generations, and which depends not only on the state, social organizations, but also on the agency and inclusive leadership and courageous followership of individuals.

Reconciliation may involve the processes based on acknowledgment of past wrongs, political and social customs reforms through economic and educational transformations, dealing with the structural causes of marginalization and discrimination. More so, it will take the preservation of memory spaces, and the eradication of negative stereotypes and attitudes such as the dehumanization of groups of individuals. Reconciliation is a massive

undertaking and a long journey, which if successful may result in living a more secure environment, dealing peacefully with differences and reaching compromises based on the common consensus of a community.

To achieve sustainable peace, it is essential to reflect on the conditions of reconciliation. Can conflict be transformed without reconciliation? How should we work with the most traumatized vulnerable groups to ensure a bottom-up, community-led rather than a top-down healing process in creating viable communities?

Reconciliation can take place through the work of many different actors at several levels, and approaches will largely depend on the particular context. At the nation-state level, it may require putting policies in place to address structural issues that led to prior violations and injustice such as weak and corrupt institutions, a long history of impunity, as well as memory initiatives through memorials, monuments, ceremonies, education, the media, and social discourse and agreements aimed at non-repetition of past human right transgressions, among others. Reparations schemes for victims of past atrocities should aim to recognize and address the harms suffered by victims of human rights violations, restoring victims to their position as rightful bearers and members of a community. Another layer in which reconciliation can take place it is at the sociopolitical level, between groups – social, political, ethnic, religious, or others – manifested in social organizations, trade unions, churches, professional associations, and voluntary associations. Whenever possible reconciliation approaches should incorporate trust-building at the grassroots level. At the inter-personal level, reconciliation often focuses on the relationship between victims and perpetrators. When perpetrators face their victims, acknowledge the harm done and ask for forgiveness; when victims face their torturers and forgive, and each of them as individuals reconcile themselves with their past experiences, this may contribute to rebuild their lives and relationships with one another and find ways to live peacefully side by side.

Psychological wounds and trauma arising from conflict and violence can have long-lasting negative effects on victims, when a person is paralyzed by the fear caused by what they experienced, the shame and guilt of not being able to do anything in the face of the loss of relatives and the social stigmatization. Add hatred and rage resulting from the injustices perpetrated on them and sometimes with the impunity of the perpetrators going unaccounted for their crimes. The question is: What we can do?