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Development of pacifism in Quakers

Brutz, Judith L., Ph.D.

Iowa State University, 1988

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**300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106**

Development of pacifism in Quakers

by

Judith L. Brutz

**A Dissertation Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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**Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|--|------|
| CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| Prologue | 1 |
| Researcher and Research | 4 |
| Strains of Pacifist Thought | 5 |
| Overview | 11 |
| CHAPTER II. METHODS AND ANALYSIS | 12 |
| Qualitative Methodology | 12 |
| Question guide | 14 |
| Data collection | 15 |
| Analysis and Procedures | 16 |
| Protection of Privacy | 19 |
| Limitations | 20 |
| CHAPTER III. THE EMERGING DEFINITION OF PACIFISM | 21 |
| Changing Definitions | 21 |
| Narrow to expanded definition | 28 |
| Sequence of expansion | 31 |
| Paradigm Shifts | 37 |
| Reaction against violence to relationship building | 37 |
| Avoidance to facing conflict | 40 |
| CHAPTER IV. THE EMERGING DEFINITION OF VIOLENCE | 42 |
| Changing Definitions | 43 |
| Narrow to expanded definition | 43 |
| Sequence of expansion | 46 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Coming to Terms with Violence | 49 |
| Awareness before vocabulary | 49 |
| Denial of violence | 51 |
| Recognizing the violence in self | 54 |
| Place of the Family | 60 |
| Violence in the family of origin | 61 |
| Violence in the adult's family | 62 |
| Denial of violence | 63 |
| CHAPTER V. INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT AND THE FAMILY | 64 |
| Conflict Management Style | 65 |
| Avoidance factor | 66 |
| Anger factor | 70 |
| Honesty factor | 73 |
| Self-worth factor | 78 |
| Self-protection factor | 79 |
| Pain factor | 82 |
| Gender Differences | 83 |
| CHAPTER VI. STRUGGLES | 91 |
| Having Doubts | 92 |
| Hypothetical situations | 92 |
| Dangerous situations | 95 |
| Trying circumstances | 99 |
| Answering the war question | 102 |
| Being Tested | 106 |
| Asked to intervene | 106 |
| Leadership responsibilities | 111 |
| Challenged by others | 114 |
| Bearing Witness | 116 |
| Place of the Family | 120 |
| CHAPTER VII. INFLUENCES | 122 |
| Personal Moment | 122 |
| Deepening Pacifism | 138 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| CHAPTER VIII. THE SPIRITUAL LINK | 146 |
| Making the Connection | 146 |
| Spiritual Experience | 150 |
| Spiritual development leading to pacifism | 150 |
| Spiritual experience contributing to conflict management | 156 |
| Religious training detracting from pacifism | 161 |
| Religious training enhancing pacifism | 162 |
| CHAPTER IX. CONCLUSION | 165 |
| Developmental Theory of Pacifism | 165 |
| Discontinued development | 172 |
| Conflict theory and pacifist development | 175 |
| Family theory and pacifist development | 176 |
| Philosophy of Science | 177 |
| The shaping of developmental models | 177 |
| Constructed or descriptive theory? | 181 |
| Linear and non-linear change | 183 |
| Implications | 187 |
| REFERENCES | 190 |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | 197 |
| APPENDIX A. QUESTION GUIDE | 198 |
| APPENDIX B. WITNESS GUIDE AND INDEX | 203 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | | |
|------------------|---|------------|
| Figure 1. | Definitions of pacifism and violence: Sequence of expansion | 167 |
| Figure 2. | Paradigm shifts | 169 |
| Figure 3. | Supportive mechanisms which may support further pacifist development | 171 |
| Figure 4. | Developmental model of pacifism | 174 |

CHAPTER I.
INTRODUCTION¹

Prologue

The seeds for this research began with an earlier study in which I undertook the investigation of violence in Quaker families. Being a Quaker pacifist, I had been greatly troubled in reading the literature from the newly emerging research field in family violence. It was very hard for me to accept the notion that domestic violence cuts across all socio-economic, religious and ethnic groupings. My gut level reaction was that Quakers would be an exception and I decided that I wanted to study conflict resolution in Quaker families. I expected to find proportionately fewer Quaker families using physical violence in their homes than was found in families from the general population. This was a reasonable expectation because of the Quakers' pacifist position which had been maintained throughout the three hundred year history of their religion. Quakers were, after all, religious pacifists. But these were not the findings, and I had to conclude that Quakers, from that study anyway,

¹The Iowa State University Committee on the Use of Human Subjects in Research reviewed this project and concluded that the rights and welfare of the human subjects were adequately protected, that risks were outweighed by the potential benefits and expected value of the knowledge sought, that confidentiality of data was assured and that informed consent was obtained by appropriate procedures.

were no different than families in the general population (Brutz and Ingoldsby, 1984).

The next struggle with this problem of violence in pacifist homes came when I considered whether the degree of religious and pacifist commitment could account for the rates of marital violence in these Quaker families. While this could serve as a partial explanation, it was not the whole story, for the glaring finding in this study was that Quaker husbands with higher religious and pacifist commitment had on the average higher rates of marital violence than did husbands with low religious and pacifist commitment (Brutz and Allen, 1986).

As the news from these studies began to ripple through the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), unsolicited reports were sent to me from Quaker leadership and therapists which confirmed that violence was indeed occurring in Quaker homes. Survey research had not uncovered any reports of abusive violence, yet these unsolicited reports went further than the original study had done; evidence was being given which indicated that abusive violence was taking place. Also these reports were coming from a much wider spectrum in the Society of Friends than had initial research.

In addition to receiving unsolicited reports from leaders and therapists, individuals came forward to share

their personal accounts of violence in their own Quaker families. These anecdotal reports confirmed that milder forms of physical violence was occurring as well as more abusive forms occasionally resulting in injuries. Also these reports indicated that other types of violence such as sexual, emotional, and verbal were taking place. Again, reports came from a wide spectrum in the Society of Friends, from all branches of the Society, from women and men, from those raised in the religion as well as converts, and from the young as well as from the elderly.

As researchers we are pleased when other research methodologies add strength to findings from our initial investigations. In this case, however, these independent confirmations added to my personal struggle in trying to understand and accept the implications of the reports. The apparent contradiction of the presence of violence in pacifist homes led me to question what is the nature of pacifism. I began to wonder whether there is some kind of developmental process involved in pacifism for those who are pacifists. As I looked back over my own life I could see how my understanding and living of pacifism had changed over the years from the time I had initially claimed a pacifist position. At age 16 my grasp of pacifism certainly was not what it has been since, say for ages 25, 40, or 46. As I thought about conversations I have had over the years with

other pacifists, it seemed that I was not alone in this experience. Some kind of change or transformation apparently occurs as pacifism becomes increasingly part of an individual's life.

One of the professional hats I wear is as a marriage and family therapist. In this capacity I came into longer and more intimate contact with a few Quaker families who were either currently being abusive to each other or had experienced abuse in their families of origin. In these relationships I was able to explore the dynamics of abuse and transformation to healthier forms of family interactions. This clinical experience has greatly influenced my ability to accept the reality of violence and pacifism coexisting in Quaker families. As the awareness in the Religious Society of Friends has been aroused, changes are occurring. Friends are doing something about the problem (Brutz and Allen, 1988). These experiences have also contributed to my musings on what process(es) might be involved in the changing place of pacifism in individual lives.

Researcher and Research

It has been the long tradition in social science inquiry for the researcher to be personally removed from her or his research, not to use the first person pronoun, or to

allow personal values to influence in any way the work at hand. The reason usually given for this position is to safeguard objectivity in observations, analysis, and interpretation. The researcher, however, does have values and personal reactions which in fact influence the investigative process from the initial choice of what is researched to how data are interpreted. While professional distance can more easily be maintained in quantitative methodologies, claiming professional distance in qualitative strategies is probably an illusion. It seems, therefore, more objective to inform the reader of what one's values and reactions are as they pertain to the research process, and allow the reader to make judgments on the limitations of objectivity. Consequently, where appropriate I will use the first person pronoun and will share with the reader my personal views as they relate to this research.

Strains of Pacifist Thought

The literature on pacifism is not at all clear on the situation of the individual pacifist, and locating the literature is also not straightforward. There is a body of peace research literature which is international and diverse in terms of the disciplines involved. Kenneth Boulding comments:

Roughly...I would identify about 35 percent of peace researchers as political scientists, about 21 percent as sociologists, about 14 percent as lawyers or students of jurisprudence and international law, about 8 percent as general systems practitioners, with economists, historians, psychologists, and anthropologists averaging about 5 percent each. (Boulding, K., 1977, p. 602)

Boulding sees the general state of peace research as being so amorphous that researchers at one extreme merge with those in general international systems or conflict research, while those at another extreme merge with advocates for particular political ideologies (Boulding, K., 1977). It seems that between these extremes there are many foci, each reflecting the discipline of the investigator. One such focus has been on peace movements (Koszegi & Szent-Ivanyi, 1982a,b; Mushaben, 1984). Other foci include ethnographic studies (Fabbro, 1978; Kang, 1979) and philosophical inquiry (Bonisch, 1981; Galtung, 1981). None have looked at the individual situation of the pacifist.

Women's involvement in peace research is noted by Elise Boulding as beginning as early as the late nineteenth century and continuing in the twentieth (Boulding, E., 1976). Jane Addams linked social reform at the local level

with the role of women in society and with international peace.² Two economists, Emily Green Balch and Julia Grace Wells worked on plans for international peace and mediation. Geographer, Sonia Baber, researched public peace monuments around the world and political scientist, Mary Follett, did some thinking about voluntary associations and social progress. The Liga Kobiet, the Polish Women's League, actively supported peace research which emerged after World War II. Further involvement of women in peace work is discussed by Boulding (1976) and Bacon (1986).

Apart from peace research, one occasionally finds works which explain what pacifism and nonviolence are about (Dear, 1987; Gregg, 1966; Long, 1983; Miller, 1966; Sibley, 1963; Weisbord, 1968). Yet none of these deal with the individual person and the place of pacifism in her or his whole life context.

Another body of literature on pacifism can be found among theological writings. Some expound on Christian pacifism (Macgregor, 1954; McSorley, 1979; Snow, 1981). Others approach peace by looking at violence (Sider, 1979; Tournier, 1978). Still others take a more general view (Apsey et al., 1981; Fry, 1986).

²Elise Boulding also makes this connection (Boulding, E., 1978; 1987).

Some insights may be gained by reading the biographies of pacifists. In this century, probably, the most well known pacifist was Gandhi. His life is interesting for two reasons. First, Gandhi used nonviolent methods to bring about fundamental social and political change in India. (In so doing, an international conflagration was probably averted.) Secondly, there are glimpses of his personal family life which raise questions as to whether he was a pacifist in his own home (Erikson, 1969). In Gandhi, we see a pacifist whose understanding and application of pacifism increased throughout his life. Not only was he addressing social and political issues, but he also, over time, attempted to change his life style so as to be personally consistent with what he was professing and doing in public. In making personal changes his family was deeply affected. Values, beliefs, and customs were over-turned and family members felt violated because they had to do what Gandhi decided whether or not they agreed (Erikson, 1969). For instance his wife was required to break the customs of her caste and male and female young people were required to bathe in each other's presence which was also against custom.

Martin Luther King, Jr., although not raised a pacifist, came to that position in adulthood. Like Gandhi, King's pacifist understanding and application to his life

context increased with time (King, 1963). Unlike Gandhi, little of King's personal family life has been revealed, although we do know that the family was threatened and their home bombed, and that their father and husband was finally killed, as was the case with Gandhi.

Literature from two other sources which have relevance to the study of pacifism are moral and faith development. Kohlberg in his earlier work on moral judgement incorporated a sixth stage of development in which moral behavior is based upon universal ethical principles that apply to all humankind (Kohlberg, 1976). These principles include justice, reciprocity and equality, and respect for all people. These pacifist principles are seen as an end-state in the process of developing morally; this stage was removed from the model, however, when none of the subjects in a longitudinal study reached this level of development (Colby et al., cited in Kaluger and Kaluger, 1984).

Fowler in his study of faith development included a stage of development termed "universal faith." The criteria for being characterized as stage six are "inclusiveness of community," "radical commitment to justice and love," "selfless passion for a transformed world" (Fowler, 1981, p. 201). Among the people he cited as being in stage six in their faith development are Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Mother Teresa. As with Kohlberg these pacifist

characteristics are seen as an end-state in individual development. Neither Kohlberg or Fowler's theory look at pacifism developmentally.

In considering pacifism and the individual, it is also important to give attention to generational transmission of values. While there is no research on the transmission of pacifist ideas and values, researchers have found high agreement between parent and child on religious affiliation and general orientation (Troll and Bengston, 1979). Bengston and Kuypers (1971) posit the idea that the "developmental stake" of parents is to ensure generational continuity by socializing the young to their values while the developmental stake of the next generation is to develop their own attitudes and lives rather than automatically accepting the values and life styles of their elders. Applying these findings and concept of developmental stake to pacifism, one would expect that pacifist parents would more likely generate pacifist offspring than would non-pacifist parents and that the younger generation would work through their own values, some choosing to accept pacifism and others choosing to reject it. While parental influence is certainly important, it is not the whole story. What happens after a person accepts pacifism? Is there continued development and if so what does it look like? These questions are the focus of this research and will be given

structure through the methodological approach. We will return to the theoretical implications in the last chapter.

Overview

This monograph is divided into nine chapters. Chapter I gives an introduction and overview of the work. Chapter II considers methodological issues. Chapter III probes the individual's emerging understanding of pacifism from the time of initial consideration of pacifism. Chapter IV probes the individual's changing sensitivity to violence as understanding of pacifism changes. Chapter V explores changes in conflict management style within family interpersonal conflict as paralleling changes in pacifist understanding occur. Chapter VI looks at how doubts and the testing of a person's pacifism contribute to further growth as well as to pacifist witness. Chapter VII inquires into the kinds of influences which have contributed to the acceptance and deepening of pacifism by the individual. Chapter VIII explores the interconnectedness of pacifist and spiritual development as the interviewees see it. Chapter IX presents an over-all theory of the maturing process involved in the integration of pacifism into individual daily lives.

CHAPTER II.

METHODS AND ANALYSIS

The purpose of this research was to gain an understanding of the meaning and presence of pacifism in people's lives once they have accepted some aspect of pacifistic thought. The question which guided this research is: Is there some common pattern(s) to be found among pacifists regarding the integration of pacifism into their lives?

Qualitative Methodology

Since this investigation was not testing theory or describing preselected variables, a qualitative research design was selected as being most appropriate for aiding in the discovery and description of elements involved in the pacifist journey. Further, a qualitative approach is appropriate because it provides rich data from in-depth interviews from which theory could be built.

The methodology used in this research was influenced by the methodology employed by Alfred Lindesmith and Robert Jay Lifton. Alfred Lindesmith in studying the nature of opiate addiction, used an enumerative method in which a theory to explain addiction began to emerge with the first case and was expanded or refined with each subsequent one (Lindesmith, 1968). The notion of theory building using an

enumerative approach was useful to my research particularly as I began to see patterns while interviewing the first person.

The work of Robert Lifton has particularly appealed to me. Lifton in studying various research questions, collected in-depth life histories, of many people who shared in common a particular characteristic such as being survivors of the A-bombs in Japan or being Nazi doctors (Lifton, 1967, 1986). His approach is a modified psychoanalytical one which has three components: 1) open dialogue guided by a careful formulation and checklist of areas to be probed, 2) freedom in the structure for spontaneity, and 3) "The investigator's own psychological and moral confrontation with what is being investigated" (Lifton, 1976, p. 93). I have adopted Lifton's style of interviewing and involving the researcher as part of the data as well as Lifton's view on theory. In speaking of "formative theory," Lifton says

Whether one is speaking of the individual in relation to the collectivity or of conscious and unconscious aspects of experience, the emphasis in formative theory is always on continuum and transitional process, rather than on dichotomies and absolute breaks. (Lifton, 1976, p. 51)

Question guide

Oral histories of pacifists were collected through in-depth interviews and were audio taped with the permission of those being interviewed. A question guide was used to introduce topics for discussion (see Appendix A). An attempt was made to use questions which were general and open enough that individuals could speak in their own language and perspective, but not so general that the interviewee would feel lost. So for example, asking about "the connection between spiritual and pacifist development," a person with a Christian perspective could use Christian terminology or someone with a universalist orientation could use universalist vocabulary. Also by having a question guide, material from interviews were comparable because everyone spoke on the same topics.

The questionnaire format was a guide in the sense that it provided a list of topics in question form to be covered in the interview. While all interviews began with the same questions, it was possible for a respondent in answering those questions to offer material which also answered a later item. For instance, the question, "What happened next in your development as a pacifist," was likely to elicit material relevant to such questions as: "Tell me about times during your life when you doubted whether pacifism was an appropriate response." When this occurred,

the interviewer on coming to the related topic at a later point in the question guide, would ask if the person had anything else to say on this subject.

Using the question guide in this manner permitted individuals to "follow their own rhythms" and to introduce subjects which they deemed important to their comprehension of pacifism and how it related to their lives. Being able to do this was essential to uncovering any possible patterns or commonalities in the pacifist experience and in safeguarding against the researcher suggesting what to answer.

Data collection

The people chosen for interviewing are members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) who identified themselves as being pacifists. This religious population was chosen for two reasons: 1) it was a likely population in which to find pacifists because the Religious Society of Friends is one of the historic peace churches, and 2) it was easily accessible to the researcher. Being a member of the Society of Friends, greatly facilitated acceptance and cooperation in Quaker circles.

The actual selection of persons to be interviewed occurred in the field. The investigator spent three months in the summer of 1985 traveling among Friends (Quakers) to

annual meetings of several yearly meetings¹ (Illinois, Lake Erie, Ohio, Ohio Valley, New England), Friends General Conference, and Malone College. These were gatherings of Friends from all regions of the United States and Canada, as well as from all branches of the Religious Society of Friends.

While a "statistically representative sample" was not attempted, care was taken not to limit respondents to only one variety of Friends' theology and practice, one sex or one age grouping. Respondents were of various ages, branches of the religion, both sexes, as well as both convinced and birthright Friends.²

Analysis and Procedures

Twenty-five oral histories were collected. These histories were tape recorded with the written consent of those interviewed.³ While the interviews were about two hours long, some were as short as an hour and a half and a few were close to three hours in length.

¹A yearly meeting is a regional association of local congregations which are referred to as monthly meetings.

²Convinced Friends are members who are converts, while birthright Friends are members who have been born and raised in the religion.

³Where consent has been granted the researcher has retained audio tapes for archival use.

The age of the informants ranged from nineteen to ninety-four years. They all came from either the United States or Canada, although many had lived in other countries for extended periods or had been born and raised elsewhere. They all considered themselves to be pacifists and they all were members of the Religious Society of Friends.

Transcriptions were made of the oral histories and stored on computer discs.⁴ Transcriptions were checked for accuracy against the tapes by a different person than the transcriber. Hard copies of the transcriptions were made to aid in analysis. There were five phases involved in the analysis.

Analysis began with the interviewing itself as some patterns became apparent during the dialogues. Three patterns in particular were noticed: a) patterns in the changing definition of pacifism as the person matured, b) patterns in the changing definition of violence as the person matured, and c) changing perception of the connection between spiritual and pacifist development in one's own personal life as one matured.

The researcher, who did all the interviewing, made notes on these observations. At the end of the field experience, all tapes and notes were put aside for several

⁴Transcriptions and computer discs are in the possession of the researcher.

months in order to achieve some distance from content and impressions.

The next phase of analysis involved the transcription of tapes 1-10 by the researcher. As these transcriptions were being prepared, certain patterns, once again, became apparent. Notes were made on these insights, and questions or speculations recorded.

Phase three of analysis involved the researcher systematically going through the copies of transcriptions 1-10, assisted by the computer search key. For each chapter a document was created which was made up of excerpts relevant to the topic for that chapter.⁵ The analysis document was then studied for evidence of patterns and for common themes.

A theoretical model on the expansion of pacifism in individual lives was emerging. Notes were recorded and filed for later use. By the time the first ten transcriptions had been summarized, a theory could be articulated.

Phase four involved two steps. The first was to summarize tapes 11-25 which had been transcribed by another

⁵Excerpts selected for inclusion in the monogram were edited for ease in reading so that sentences are grammatical. Every effort was made to retain the respondent's style and an integrity of meaning.

person.⁶ Step two was to "test" the theory developed in the first set of transcriptions. Testing meant looking for data which deviated from the model, and then refining the model to accommodate the new data.

Phase five involved grouping the transcriptions by several criteria (age, gender, etc.) to see if there were systematic departures from the theoretical model of groupings. This was another way to "test" the theory: in this case to see if the theory worked across groupings, and to make refinements in the model, as needed.

Protection of Privacy

Several measures were taken to assure the privacy of the respondents. Audio tapes were retained with written consent for archival use by the researcher. In some cases there are constraints on further use beyond the present study. Identifying names of people and of most places are deleted from the transcripts and are likewise omitted from the monogram. Inclusion of excerpts are handled in two ways:

a) the respondent is referred to as a "witness" and assigned an identifying witness number which is retained throughout

⁶All transcriptions were checked for accuracy by two additional assistants and editing was done by the researcher.

the chapters, and b) at the end of each excerpt the particular transcript is cited in brackets.

Limitations

The strength of qualitative methodology is that data shapes the theory, but therein lies a weakness. How do you know that you have not missed collecting some data that provides critical insight into the theory being constructed? This research is open to such criticism, particularly in regard to persons chosen to be interviewed. In choosing informants from the Religious Society of Friends, the question can be asked, "Are the experiences of pacifism by members in other religions or by people who do not profess religious beliefs different than those who were interviewed?" It will, of course, remain for further research to answer this question.

CHAPTER III.

THE EMERGING DEFINITION OF PACIFISM

For all the people interviewed, their definitions of pacifism evolved from a narrow understanding from when they first considered the subject to a broader and deeper understanding of pacifism later in their lives. This pattern seemed to hold regardless of the era in which people were born or their ages when they first considered pacifism. This chapter first considers the the process of changing definitions of pacifism and secondly explores the paradigm shifts which occur during this process.

The excerpts from transcripts referenced here are identified by the term, 'witness' along with a number in order to protect the identities of those who participated. The term 'witness' is used as in one who witnesses for peace; this is a more descriptive term than 'subject' or 'informant.' Names of people and places mentioned by witnesses have been omitted in most instances, again in order to protect identities.

Changing Definitions

The initial conscious consideration of pacifism by an individual seems to be in reference to fighting, usually in terms of military combat. Three examples are provided to

give a flavor of the evolving understanding. More specific characteristics and issues are discussed in the next two sections of this chapter under separate headings.

Witness 1 is a 57-year-old man who had been raised in a Quaker home which also had pacifist values. He first thought about pacifism when he was in the eighth grade. While in college during World War II, he refused to register for the draft and was consequently imprisoned:

... I'm sure I would have thought about it [pacifism] in terms of nations not fighting each other. Beyond that I suspect that it was a bit vague. [Definition in 8th grade] By the end of high school I knew . . . that a pacifist was one who, if he believed in it, had to be nonviolent and had to take the risks of nonviolence physically. Again I think I thought of it physically. I heard a lot of Quaker theorists talk about the ways that nations could be nonviolent also, but I guess the bottom line was still somehow being prepared to take the physical risks on to oneself. So that had changed. So I guess I thought in terms of strategy. [Definition in high school.] [Transcript 1]

During college and after imprisonment his definition concerned strategies of nonresistance and moved to spiritual considerations:

My definition of pacifism at that point had to do with a way of--I may have not used the word, 'creative nonresistance,' but that is what I think I would have meant--was a creative nonresistance which knew that there was still great [risks] personally and to one's families. Of course I answered those questions over and over again: What would you do if someone was just about to shoot your mother? No one ever has a real answer. I think I liked very much what Gerald Heard said, which was, "In the moment of action, no man is free." And so I would have said, at least after, I was reading Gerald Heard after I had gotten out [of prison for refusing to register for conscription] . . . that I could not predict, infallibly predict how I would respond in a situation, but that I was doing everything I could to make my life such a character that I would be free to respond in a truly pacifist way, knowing that takes long work. That leads into what my work was, which was what I had just started on at the end of prison and was finding

very difficult, mainly some--I wouldn't have called it 'meditation' then--attempt to transform my life through the exposure to the Spirit constantly. [Definition in college.] [Transcript 1]

His current definition continues in the spiritual vein: Pacifism is the result of a state. I will have to try it [defining] a couple of ways. I was about to say, pacifism is a result of, what came to mind was, 'a state of grace.' I don't quite like that. Pacifism is a by-product of the life that is in tune with God. It is not philosophy, in and of itself. It is a by-product of an inner condition. It can be thought about. It can be worked at. There are strategies one can develop. But these are all fallible, in some sense incomplete unless it comes from the inward out as a by-product of an inward experience [of God's presence]. [Current definition.] [Transcript 1]

Witness 2 is a woman, 71 years old, who was neither raised in a Quaker nor in a pacifist family. During high school she was introduced to Gandhi's life and she became a knowledgeable spokesperson, who, during her high school and college years, was invited frequently to give talks on

Gandhi and his philosophy of nonviolence and how he translated that philosophy into action:

I don't quite know how to put it. As a woman, I certainly wouldn't have been drafted into the war, but for me . . . it was more than simply pacifism, it was what Gandhi called, "ahimsa," harmlessness. I desired to live, as much as I could, without hurting anyone or anything. And I think at the time, I probably thought of this as physically, but certainly before very long, I thought of it as psychologically, also. [Definition during high school.] [Transcript 12]

Her summary of how her definition has changed from high school to her present belief shows quite a change in the definition of pacifism:

It's been a steadily deepening spiritual awareness, an increasing sensitivity to the incredible amount of suffering there is, and a wish to live as harmlessly as possible, but not just in the negative sense. [It's a wish] to be supportive of life, to be one who fosters growth, makes connections, opens eyes to the possibilities of what the world would be like, so that one catches a vision of it, and--I think in some ways perhaps it's because I, I have moved

from wanting to be against things, against the draft, against war, against racial injustice, against nuclear weapons, whatever--to wanting to communicate a vision of, of what it is we're working for. [A vision of] The world as it might be, possibilities of, of a world where children were safe, where women were safe, where [there is] concern for human life, animal life, plant life, I guess I see myself not only as a person who had then been called to be active in a certain way, working in organizations--now at the end of my life, of course it's no better off, [laugh] it's worse off than when I began, but this does not excuse me from wanting to try--[but also to be active as] a witness for another way. [Summary of change in her definition from age 14 to current age of 71.] [Transcript 12]

Witness 3 is a 57-year-old man who began to think about pacifism in his mid thirties during the Vietnam era. He was neither from a Quaker nor a pacifist home. He began to associate with Friends in the late 1960s.

I'm still not too interested in definitions. But where the real pacifism came in, [my wife] always has been way, way ahead on those kinds of things. She has comprehensions far beyond me, what she

studied, you know, she does a lot of reading. But when the Vietnam thing started, it was so obviously wrong, and I was pretty much of a positive person on Vietnam, but [my wife] was very up front, very early on, and we kept getting more aware. We tried to take active part in things in the churches, where we saw the rejection we got here [regarding Vietnam].

But where my absolute, open commitment [to pacifism came]--to Hell with it, I'm not apologizing--was when my nephew was killed in Vietnam. His hands and feet off [were blown off]. Before that, I kept worrying about keeping my job and people where, you know, I said it [Vietnam] was wrong. And with Vietnam, knowing the history of it . . . what we were told and what we were supposedly doing and seeing the total, total absence of any morality for what we were doing . . . caused me to question the morality of what we have always done with war and how much truth there ever was to what we were told the reason for fighting Pacifism [now] means aggressively learning how to first live in a peaceful life. I don't mean a calm life, I mean pursuing peace aggressively, I mean willing to confront problems

with people, willing to discuss, willing to look for solutions, willing to concede. With children in school, talking with them, and just asking them if they need to be spanked, asking them why they need to be spanked. But I think pacifism is leading a peace-centered life . . . I see peace as a process. And I find myself far, far short. I have a lot to learn, and a lot of bad habits to get rid of I think pacifism relates directly to exploitation. [The] exploitation [of minority groups] is the problem . . . exploiting children, exploiting spouses, exploiting the government, exploiting banana pickers, and pacifism, to me, really is the reverse of exploitation. You know, I don't care what it is, resources, water, environment, you know, the things we do to people. [Transcript 24]

These excerpts demonstrate that the understanding of pacifism does change over an individual's life. This phenomenon was observed in all of the twenty-five transcripts.

Narrow to expanded definition

In the first examples given in this chapter, we have seen that the definition of pacifism changes for each individual. The direction of change usually goes from a

narrow definition to an expanded one. Initially the definition is pretty much a one-issue matter and is formulated in the context of either nations fighting or individuals fighting. As the definition broadens, it seems that pacifism becomes more integrated into the person's life.

Witness 1 His definition of pacifism initially concerned "nations not fighting each other." A little later, still thinking in physical terms, he thought about the "strategies" involved in being prepared to take the risks of being nonviolent. These first two formulations are still external to his own daily life. However, each subsequent formulation becomes both broader and more integrated into his own personal life. During his college years he speaks of "creative nonresistance," which he used in his own life by refusing to register for the draft and by some acts of resistance he employed while in prison:

I had a great many opportunities to think about pacifism and for a time joined with a small group of men called, who were called, "absolutists," who wouldn't even cooperate with the prison system. At the time that seemed very right to me. I felt very righteous about that. The way that you would signal that you were not cooperating with the prison system was to not to show up for work that

day. I wasn't opposed to work, but that was the way you did it. We were put in the hole for one short morning, taken before the court, and then sent to segregation with these men, who were called, "noncooperators."

I stayed with the people in segregation for, I don't know how many months it was, until they went on a hunger strike, most of them, and . . . something happened and their morale went down. But I had come to feel that I was tired of living in tension with the guards, playing games that some of the fellows were doing. I came . . . to the conclusion that I really wanted to go back into into the general population of the prison in spite of what I felt about not cooperating, I felt that at some point I had to be human to human beings. At least that was the logic I had.

[Transcript 1]

As this individual goes on to explain his current understanding of pacifism, he describes pacifism as an inner state, "an alignment with God," "the work of my life." This expression reflects a deep integration into his personhood:

At this point, I can no longer talk about it as 'pacifism' being more refined. The 'work of my life' is to, if I am really myself in the deepest

sense, is this alignment with God. I don't mean this . . . as a pie in the sky business or an introspective meditative business, because I am assuming if one is truly aligned inwardly, then one has outward function and activity depending on one's temperament and capacity. It is conceivable that one is very, very active having this alignment, while another person may well be a contemplative monk. And it doesn't matter. And I also believe at this point that, I guess it is relevant to your question, that the net result of the pacifism of the contemplative monk may be as important, or more important, than the pacifism of the activist, because he is doing something to the thought world of the whole human race, changing the thought world, the thought patterns, changing, if you will, the instinctive responses of what human nature is all about. [Transcript 1]

The characteristic of a narrow to expanded definition which becomes more integrated into the person's life is observable in all of the transcripts.

Sequence of expansion

The broadening in the definition of pacifism follows a characteristic pattern of including different arenas of

human interaction. The inclusions always occur in the following sequence:

- 1st, international, physical fighting;
- 2nd, economic, social, structural, environmental;
- 3rd, interpersonal, family;¹
- 4th, spiritual.²

In other words, the initial narrow definitions of pacifism will focus on international relations and the avoidance of war, and possibly the avoidance of physical fighting. As the definition expands, the next concerns are social justice issues which are frequently seen as the root causes for war. The next inclusions are around issues of interpersonal relations between men and women, among co-workers, among friends, and finally among family members. The last area of expansion in the definition of pacifism is spiritual.

Witness 8 At age 11 one 55-year-old woman, who had been raised in a Quaker and a pacifist home, defined pacifism internationally.

I suppose it's primarily, not participating in the army, not participating in, refusing to become a

¹For further discussion see CHAPTER V on interpersonal conflict and the family.

²For further discussion see CHAPTER VIII on spiritual and pacifist development.

member of the army, to become active in the military service. [Transcript 5]

During her high school experience at the time of World War II, her definition of pacifism was more political and social.

I suppose during the time I was in boarding school [a Quaker boarding school], this was during the war, World War II, when there was a great deal of awareness at school of war and Friends' stand in relation to it, in terms of traveling speakers, Friends and others, who came through and would speak to the whole school community. I can remember, you know, off hand, Kirby Page, Norman Whitney, Barard Rustin, who came through and spoke at the school. We had frugal meals, saved the money for sending . . . relief [to war victims in Europe], occasional writing letters to Congress . . . There was a strong consciousness in the school about the whole situation, really an assumption that we as Friends were not only not participating in war ourselves, but were doing in some small way, taking both political action, in terms of letter writing, or in terms of being aware of political issues related to candidates, in terms of political action to affect the

country's action, and in terms, you know, of doing what was possible to relieve the suffering of victims of war in Europe. And I think there was personal communication, in terms of writing letters to a pen pal [in Poland]. [Transcript 5]

Asked when she had made the connection between pacifism at the international level and pacifism in the family situation, she responded:

It took a long time, to make it. Well, I suppose, in a way it was always there because the basic belief, attitude, of nonviolence, of nonconfrontiveness, was basically the same in both situations. But the struggle of figuring out what to do when the going got tough, came at a really late date, really, in terms of my own family life, in primary relationship to our own children.

Between [my husband] and me, it was a long and quiet process. He says that we had silent fights. You could hardly dignify them by 'fights.' We simply didn't, if there was something we didn't agree on, or didn't quite understand where each other was coming from on it, we tended each to be a combination of noncommunicative and differential about those feelings. It was kind of a muddle through for a

long time before we learned to be up-front enough in communication to work things through a little more quickly without this sort of suffering in silence technique. [Transcript 5]

When asked how she would summarize the changes in her definition from her young life until now, she said:

[It was a] gradually increasing realization that-- for a pacifist testimony that has to do basically with the political stance of one's nation and international relations--that kind of testimony would be effectively rooted in and growing out of one's own life and one's own being. It needs to have a correlation in the way that one is, the way that one lives, and the way one's being is in relationship to the people and situations that one lives with everyday. [Transcript 5]

Finally, when she was asked what the connection was between her growth as a pacifist and her spiritual growth, she answered, "It's all the same thing." [Transcript 5]

Witness 5 after discussing the importance of bringing people into community, went on to explain about his relations with his wife and children:

So what was started during that very stormy kind of relationship, I think has been carried along in 10 years and 2 weeks of marriage. And I think,

the whole business of what this broader, more integrated definition of pacifism has really [meant is that]--I think the relationship that I experienced in my marriage and family has been very important in bringing that to the point it is now. [Transcript 7]

He then went on to speak about the spiritual dimension to pacifism and in this discussion the other elements in his understanding are coming together into a unified whole:

Well, I certainly think there is a connection there. I think back, you know, back to my old agnostic days. I defined, I justified my pacifism pretty much along the lines, 'It doesn't make sense to go and kill people.' It was in the very humanistic terms, very pragmatic in fact, intellectual and as my understanding of religion, of my own personal religion, growth, has moved along, so has my definition and understanding of pacifism. And they've gotten, one hesitates, they've become melded together. [Transcript 7]

The sequence in definition inclusion can be seen in each of the transcripts to the limits that each person has expanded in his or her understanding.

Paradigm Shifts

There are two important paradigm shifts which occur during the individual's expanding understanding of pacifism. One is a shift from reacting against violence to building of relationships. The other is a shift from avoiding to facing of conflict.

Reaction against violence to relationship building

Initially the definition of pacifism held by these witnesses is one that is counter to violence, such as being in opposition to war or fighting. As understanding develops there comes a time when there is a paradigm shift from being in opposition to violence to living in a positive relationship-building manner, whether the relationship is at the international, community or personal level.

Witness 4 is a 65-year-old woman, a convinced Friend, not raised in a pacifist home. She described her definition in high school:

Well as a nonviolent response, an opposition to war, and refusal to take part in war. And I think it is different for women than it is for men. I also had strong feelings about feminist issues. I was born the day after we got the right to vote. So now you know how old I am. [Transcript 3]

While her initial formulation was in response to violence, her current definition includes positive action at

the interpersonal and international levels:

I think it is an attitude of nonviolent response to conflict, which includes psychological and physical conflict. It involves, although this isn't a necessary part of the definition, efforts at positive action to create understanding in the world, in the nation, and in all kinds of interpersonal and international situations. [Transcript 3]

Witness 5, a 40-year-old man, a birthright Friend who was raised in a pacifist home, also considered pacifism during high school:

Well I think my ideas of what pacifism was when I was in high school were pretty vague, probably all tied up with 'you don't hurt anybody.' Or at least you don't physically hurt anybody . . . it was all pretty abstract, because I had never really been confronted with circumstances where there was a dilemma, or confronted with potentially violent circumstances. [Transcript 7]

His current comprehension of pacifism, however, stresses community:

I pick a phrase that came to me out of John Yungblut's presentation at the very beginning of the conference . . . the phrase was, "That God really is," -- that's the phrase that keeps coming-- "impels us

into community." You know, it's NOT just a matter of that's what God would like us to do, but golly, that is what God is ordering us to do. And I guess I feel, well it's more than ordering, I mean, it's helping us along, it's leading us in that direction. It's not that we are, you know, just being kicked into it, being allured, enticed, drawn, into that.

What keeps us from it is resistance. And so the whole issue of pacifism seems to me to be one of trying to bring about that sense of community among people. And if you can accomplish that, the need for violent solutions to problems melts away. And so pacifism is not a matter of going out and marching against the MX, nerve gas, and so forth. It is a process of bringing people into community, so that they need not fear, so that the need for bombs, and lasers, and all that stuff melts away. It all becomes superfluous. [Transcript 7]

The characteristic of a paradigm shift from being in opposition to violence to living in a positive relationship-building manner is part of the integrative process involved in pacifism. The shift from being against violence to working on relationships is not observable in early definitions of pacifism, only in the later ones.

Avoidance to facing conflict³

Initially in the individual's understanding of pacifism, the pacifist deals with conflict by trying to avoid it. As the understanding of pacifism deepens and becomes more integrated into the person's life, there is a paradigm shift from attempting to avoid conflict and situations of violence to becoming engaged in building relationships personally and communally.

Witness 6, who is a 37-year-old male, a birthright Friend raised in a pacifist home, summarized the changes in his definition of pacifism from high school to his current thinking:

Well, I'd summarize it as changing from, the early definition of pacifism being absence of conflict, absence of physical violence . . . absence of war and absence of physical violence, to now, where I see pacifism as . . . commitment to continuing the relationship and the commitment to not just continuing it, but making the relationship a mutually thriving, supportive relationship. And I mean this everywhere, from two individuals--I would at this point, even extend it to between two

³See CHAPTER V on interpersonal conflict and the family for a more in-depth discussion of the paradigm shifts involved in conflict management style as an individual's understanding of pacifism increases.

parents of an unborn and the unborn . . . to relationships between any number of countries or institutions or groups of people on the planet. And that's a tall order. And that's much more difficult than avoiding it. [Transcript 15]

The characteristic of a paradigm shift from avoidance of conflict to being creatively engaged in conflict in order to bring about solutions, healing, and growth is part of the integrating process of pacifism. The evidence for coming to terms with this shift was observed in many of those who had already experienced a fair amount of change in their understanding of pacifism. The shift was not present in early definitions of pacifism.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EMERGING DEFINITION OF VIOLENCE

The concept of violence is an important key in understanding the maturing process of a pacifist because violence is the standard by which the individual measures her or his understanding and response as a pacifist, at least initially. Later as understanding of pacifism deepens, broadens, and becomes more integrated into a person's life, there is a paradigm shift from reacting against violence to initiating and reinforcing relationship building. How, then, does a pacifist comprehend violence?

For all the people interviewed in this study, their definition of violence evolved from a narrow understanding to a more comprehensive one, from thinking of violence in only physical terms to thinking of it in psychological, institutional or interpersonal terms. This pattern also had other characteristics and themes in common. First this chapter considers the definition of violence as experienced by the witnesses, secondly, discusses a common pattern involved in gaining a keener awareness of violence by coming to terms with it in oneself, and lastly looks at the place of family in the definition of violence.

Changing Definitions

As with the definition of pacifism, the definition of violence also changes for the pacifist and progresses from a narrow to an expanded understanding of violence occurring in many forms besides the physical.

Narrow to expanded definition

The initial conscious consideration of violence by the pacifist is a narrow definition focusing on some aspect of physical violence. This is generally seen as physical fighting or hurting someone, usually not in one's own family, but rather in contexts not so personal. For those who consider pacifism at an early age, this view of violence may also include war situations. Three examples are given here to illustrate the expanding understanding of violence.

Witness 1 initially defined violence as "hitting somebody . . . I don't know that I would have applied the term to international conflict [in the 8th grade]." At the end of his prison experience in his 20s, he had this to say:

Yes, I'm sure that I saw violence more nearly toward what Jesus meant by violence, violence begins in the mind. Violence begins in the way we think, the way we, and I suppose I must have believed, in the way we oppress people, or the

ways we allow others to oppress them for us or for our lifestyle. I can't really say at this distance, how much I was really in that awareness, but it must have been there. Surely it must have been there. Not deeply seated, but I'm sure I was aware of it because there were Quakers who were aware, who were talking about it, and it took a long time for me to mature in this area. Essentially these things came by quiet thinking, not by reading. I was a reader all my life, but I didn't somehow devour pacifist literature the way I have known some convinced pacifists to do in high school, who must have been a lot smarter than I was. [Transcript 1]

Witness 4 remembered defining violence when she was in high school in this way:

Well, again it is hard to remember back that far. I probably didn't limit it to physical violence but [included] psychological violence, and any kind of putting down against others. But I think that as we talked about it in group camps and things, it was war situations, that kind of conflict. So I don't think we limited it to it. More recently in the circles I have been in we

have been talking about other kinds of violence.

[Transcript 3]

Witness 8 summarized her change in defining violence in this way:

It's gotten a lot broader, and has come to include more subtle types of interpersonal violence that people can perpetrate on each other. Such as imposing one's own way of doing things on other people, when one has no business doing so.

[Transcript 5]

Witness 9 This 70-year-old, convinced Friend, who was not raised in a pacifist home, began considering pacifism in junior high school. As he looks back over his life, he says this about his definition of violence:

Well, in junior high, I understood violence simply to be a, well, if it would kill or maim or hurt another person. I may have considered anger, well, rage, as a kind of violence. But now my definition of violence would be anything that not only dehumanizes another person, but even that which is insensitive to the needs of another person, which puts down another person, which keeps another person from developing to his full potential, his or her full potential. [Transcript

18]

These excerpts help to illustrate that the understanding of violence does change over an individual's life time. The direction of change is from a narrow to an expanded definition. Initially the definition is focused on physical violence and then expands to include other elements. This phenomenon was observed in all twenty-five transcripts.

Sequence of expansion

In all the transcripts there was an indication of a sequence of expansion in defining violence. The broadening of the definition of violence and its indication of keener sensitivity to what might constitute violence was seen in all of the transcripts. The expansion seems to occur in an order:

- 1st, physical violence - any act which physically hurts, injures or kills people. This may be among two or more individuals or in a situation of war. When it is thought about in terms of individuals, it is in the context of other people such as neighbors or schoolboys rather than oneself. This definition may also include acts against animals.
- 2nd, psychological violence - any mental, emotional, or verbal state or behavior which discounts, dehumanizes or threatens to force in any way other

people to think, act, feel or live in a specified way which is not of their free choosing.

3rd, institutional violence - any policy, attitude, action or lack of action by an organization, government or society which results in the discounting of human worth or human life.

4th, interpersonal violence - any physical or psychological violence which occurs in the personal relationship of those who are connected to one another in some way, such as between colleagues, friends, intimate friends or family members.

5th, spiritual violence - any attitude, belief or action of a spiritual or religious nature which results in the discounting of human worth or life.

Another way of viewing this sequence is to consider that the focus of the expansion, in relation to the one who is defining, initially is unrelated to the individual. As the person becomes more keenly aware of violence in its more subtle forms, the definition comes to encompass the individual and her or his close network and family. While all of the transcripts gave evidence of the sequence described here, not everyone included all the categories possible in their understanding of violence. Many only included the first two categories, physical and

psychological, in their definitions but in other discussions not pertaining directly to definitions they would speak about situations which were relevant to the other types. In other words, the awareness would be there, but the individual would not yet have integrated that into her or his cognitive structure of the concept of violence.

As expansion would occur, it was not always clear whether perceptions of institutional or interpersonal violence would emerge first. Quite often it seemed to be simultaneous. Possibly institutional and interpersonal violence could be seen as applications of psychological violence and, therefore, emerged after the psychological category as well as appearing simultaneously. Another possibility is that whichever of the two first appears depends on the context in which the person experiences violence. The decision on the ordering of these two realms of violence is based on the observation that the common ordering proceeded from being unrelated to the person to being related personally to that individual. Following this logic, the awareness of institutional violence would appear before interpersonal violence.

Spiritual violence rarely appeared as part of the definition of violence. In some cases it was alluded to, but in no case was it clearly spelled out as being spiritual violence. The absence of this identification is not

surprising since when asked how their spiritual and pacifist development were connected, most of these religious pacifists could not answer.¹ Additionally, by the time pacifists have reached this refinement in thinking, they have already made the paradigm switch from reacting against violence to building relationships.² Consequently they are not framing either their cognition or their actions in terms of violence.

Coming to Terms with Violence

A very important part of a pacifist's development is in coming to terms with the potential reality of violence in oneself. Awareness of violence may come before there is a vocabulary to give it a name. This is particularly true in childhood. When there is denial of violence, relabeling it as discipline or justifying it in some way legitimizes and allows the violence to continue. When there is recognition of violence then corrective actions can be taken.

Awareness before vocabulary

Another common trait mentioned by those interviewed was that the awareness of violence could occur before there was

¹See CHAPTER VIII for further discussion.

²See CHAPTER III for a discussion on this paradigm switch.

a vocabulary for the phenomena. This might be the case when violence was experienced or witnessed in childhood, although it could happen in adulthood with situations of non-physical violence such as institutional violence.

Witness 10 This 28-year-old birthright Friend in reflecting on how she would have defined violence when she was in the eighth grade, said:

I guess I'm not sure that I would have used the term, "violent," to have described things that were not physical. But my feelings against doing things that would help other people stem from the same basic belief, although I wasn't able to use the term, "violent," to describe it, no.'

[Transcript 4]

Witness 11 One 64-year-old birthright man speaks about his awareness of institutional violence when he was in his 20s:

Well, I surely understood new dimensions of it [violence as being] personal, and institutional. I think I had a better understanding of what we now call "structural violence" or "silent violence." You see I had grown up in the South. I had seen my father spend \$1500 trying to . . . get the people who lynched a Negro in Columbia,

Tennessee, brought to justice, without avail. So the silent violence of racism, I knew. I guess that we were just beginning to learn about the Holocaust by the end of the war. [Transcript 8]

Being aware of violence before having a precise vocabulary was evidenced in many transcripts. In each case where it was mentioned, later definitions for violence then incorporated the earlier awarenesses.

Denial of violence

Another closely related characteristic was not identifying something as violent until the individual recognized and accepted it as violence in his or her own life. Not identifying something as violent until the person recognizes and accepts it as being violent has to do with denial. This phenomenon occurred when the situation was close to home, if not at home. To admit violence, is to admit that someone close, or even oneself, is violent. Prior to naming it, situations will be labeled as discipline or be explained by something outside the control of the one being violent.

Witness 12 This 73-year-old convinced Friend was thinking through a memory of his father whacking him in the face as a child:

I should think at what age this happened, but I made my father very angry and he whacked me across my face. And this caused a good deal of pain in my family. I was one of four children. They were woefully upset by that because I was hurt pretty bad, not injured. So, I guess I was personally aware of that violence I think I thought of it as discipline primarily. And I don't think I ruminated about, "Well this is violence against the human being." I think I felt it, myself. I don't think I looked at it as a social problem, and you know that I was part of it. I'm sure that I didn't. I think I also knew that, I think I felt that this was something that happened next door and across the street. [Transcript 9]

Witness 13 A 45-year-old birthright Friend speaks about her pain in her marriage. She identifies herself as being violent, but stops short of identifying her husband as being violent:

I think a major step was in becoming married and [my husband] being raised in a family that was very different from my family, meaning not being Quaker and not being pacifist. [My husband] was a member of the Air National Guard and so he would leave on weekends and his, his duty with the Air

National Guard was with the, oh, decoding, intelligence stuff, whatever, so he would be placed in a small cubical and an armed guard would be outside Becoming married and experiencing the conflicts of differences of background, there were some very difficult years in which I would have feelings of anger and frustration and having small children and working and going to school and [my husband] would react very differently to things than I would and so we could have some fights, and still do have fights in which I am ashamed of my violent reaction, knowing that I never experienced them as a child I really went through several years of, you know, feeling very suicidal, when the children were very young and, and I would have to meet their needs and I would have to meet [my husband's] needs and I would have to take care of the house, money. I went through a period, I would say probably 15, maybe even 20 years of not really resolving what I wanted to do and what I was capable of doing, and, in the way of reacting, lovingly Development of pacifism, I guess, at that point of time, I was probably considering myself responsible for taming [my husband's]

eruptions of anger or what have you and when that wasn't immediately effective, in other words, if he would be angry with the children or something, and my quiet, soothing effort only brought on more anger, you know, this became very frustrating But, for me as an individual, I guess it's been a very long process of being a person who basically believes in positive ways of resolving things, to realizing my limitations on acting that way and being able to set that example with my children on a consistent basis. There are some days I can be that way, and some days I just can't. [Transcript 17]

Both the denial of and the living with un-named violence is painful. Coming out of denial one is able to recognize and admit to one's own violence as well as the violence of those who are in one's system.

Recognizing the violence in self

Many pacifists move from the state of denying their own violence and potential of doing violence to being able to recognize this condition about themselves, not as a victim taking on responsibility for another's abuse toward them, but as one who can sort out who is responsible for what and who can, then, make active choices about what to do. For

pacifists who have reached this understanding, pacifism is not a matter of being passive and accepting whatever occurs to them. However, what action is chosen is nonviolent and here, sometimes, there is admittedly failure.

Witness 5 described a potentially violent situation during the period of time that he was in medical school in which he acted nonviolently and then later became aware of his own potential violence:

On a personal level the scenario was that a friend of mine and I had gone to a park in Cleveland, which was sort of on the edge of the university and the ghetto, and you know [next to] the Cleveland Art Museum. We had gone there on a Sunday afternoon. It was a beautiful Sunday afternoon. She and I were walking around the lake. We sat down. We were just enjoying ourselves. And she had laid her purse on the grass behind her. And while we were sittin' there, this black man came up, and I don't know whether he was doing this as a distraction, or whether he really was trying to sell us these goods that he pulled out from some place. They were a hodgepodge of things, which really gave the impression that these were stolen items that he

was trying to make some money by selling.

Basically we said we didn't want to buy anything.

He went away. No sooner had he gone away, and another man came up and said, "Hey, the fellow stole your friend's purse." We looked around and didn't see the guy anymore. And the question was, "What should we do about that?" Well, we got up and sort of walked off on the side walk, away from the park. And we didn't see him around. I saw a man down the street that I remember having noticed talking to the fellow who had approached us. Another black man, he was standing next to a car. The door of the car was open. There was no one else along the street. I guess even without thinking about it, I mean, I just did it. I walked up to the car. Here was this one black guy standing outside the car, and there in the back seat was a woman and the guy who had approached us, sitting in the back seat of the car with my friend's purse.

And so I just walked up to the back door and said something to the effect, "Could we have the purse back?" And they sort of said, "What?" I repeated it, "Could we please have the purse back?" And they gave us the purse back. My

friend looked through it, and everything was there. We started to walk away. And this other guy who was in the car, jumped out of the car, and ran around the car, and said, "Did you see me take that purse?" And I had to say, no, I hadn't seen him take the purse.

Everything had been fine until he confronted me. And I was thinking in my head that he was doing this so that he couldn't be prosecuted for this. But I had to say, "No." Then we walked away. That was the end of the scene.

I think it has taken me many years to get over that. I remember that everything was hunky dory, I was fine until he confronted me. And then since that time, that was one of the circumstances, that I had the potential within me for violence. I mean, I had dreams about what I was going to do to that guy for years afterwards. And it was a very educational experience. You know, I just thank God, that I didn't attempt to do anything [violent]. You know, I probably would have been in the statistics if I had.

But as it was, it was the one experience in my life that I was really able to say that I had met face to face, eyeball to eyeball, the violent

person, was able to respond rightly, I mean. You know, the fact that it has bugged me until just a few years ago, means that you know, that it was not easy to do. But I really feel stronger and more confident having luckily been able to pull it off. I feel lucky that I was able to pull it off. But still it gives me a great deal more confidence that faced with another situation like that or worse than that, I could do it again Well, that was a real growth producer to realize that I really did have that [violence] within me. And there was no denying it. It wasn't anything that I could intellectualize away. It was clear. I wanted to ring that guy's neck I think if you are not aware of that potential [of violence] within you, it is very dangerous. I would think that would be very, very dangerous because it will come out. It will come out, it really will. I cannot believe that it would not. And unless you are aware it's there, and recognize that it is there, accept that it is there, you can't hope to deal with it. And you've got to be able to deal with it, if you are going to be a pacifist You can make the choice [whether to act violently] most often. And it's not a brittle kind of

situation. You know, [when] violence comes out, even then, you can recognize that it's there. It is part of the human condition I think. You can accept it and you won't be defeated by it even if it does come out. I mean I still get violent. I know, I've learned some techniques for making the violence a good deal less destructive [I can] go and pound on pillows or pound my fist against walls. Get some skinned knuckles from that sort of thing, or just releasing anger in some physical kinds of ways, or talking it out. Recognize it within you, and then you can talk it out, so that it doesn't get bottled up and become explosive. I wish I was better at it. And when it does come out, you know, recognizing, well, that's the way it is, then proceeding from there trying to mend fences rather than saying, "Oh my God, I'm an incorrigibly evil guy and giving up on the whole project." You pick yourself up and you start again. [Transcript 7]

In many of the transcripts, the witnesses discussed their awareness of their own violence. Those who were able to speak about such an awareness had evolved in their understanding of violence beyond the point of defining violence in only physical terms.

Place of the Family

Family figures into the definition of violence only after the individual has begun to consider violence of an interpersonal nature in relation to oneself. While there can be awareness of the occurrence of family violence, in society and even within the Society of Friends, that awareness is not reflected in the interpretation of violence until there is some personal recognition of violence in one's own family system. Before that recognition and resulting naming take place, an individual may well discuss situations of a violent nature within his or her family but will label them as discipline or will excuse them as being caused by some factor which the person cannot control or will justify the abuse as being deserved in some way.

The kinds of family violence experienced by those interviewed varied a great deal. Regardless of whether those situations were labeled as violent by the witnesses, I only list them here and will omit witness number and transcript number in order to protect identities. It should be mentioned that the reports of violence were unsolicited by me and therefore, there could very well have been other situations in the families than was reported.

Violence in the family of origin

Physical forms of violence were discussed. There was an instance of a pacifist father throwing his young son against walls. In another pacifist family two brothers fought regularly and on one occasion one of the brothers went after the other with a kitchen knife.

Psychological violence also took place. This was discussed in terms of yelling, emotional abuse, and name-calling by parents toward their children and toward each other. Psychological violence also took the form of silent treatment accompanied by withdrawal of affirmation and care. This was done by parent to child and while it was not reported as having occurred between parents, it probably did.

Sexual abuse was also experienced. While not reported during the interviews, one of the witnesses discussed this with me two years after being interviewed. I would not be surprised if this form of abuse occurred in the families of others whom I interviewed.

Spiritual violence was discussed, although not labeled as such. One woman who wished to be a minister when she grew up, experienced rejection from her mother in relation to any activities along these lines including doing public speaking.

Violence in the adult's family

Physical forms of violence took place. In the marital system this was in the form of husbands' beating wives! In one case there was an allusion to a wife's life being in jeopardy. In the parenting system, parents beating their children, and one father pinning his teenage daughter to the floor and going into other rages in which his specific actions toward his children were not identified.

Psychological forms of violence also were mentioned. In the marital system this could be the "silent fights," verbal or emotional abuse, or rage poured out in some fashion. In the parenting system the same kinds of behaviors occurred.

Sexual abuse was not mentioned in this context. Again I would not be surprised if it occurred, given the various unsolicited reports I have received from members of the Society of Friends during the last several years.

As with the family of origin discussions, spiritual violence was not identified by the witnesses. Since I did not ask about this in the interviews, we do not know if it occurred.

Denial of violence

There was a great deal of denial about the presence of violence in many of the witnesses' own families. This observation was further supported by additional data from either having known some of the families over a period of years or from information which came from interviewing more than one family member in some instances. The denial of violence in a family system is a major block to continued development as a pacifist.

CHAPTER V.
INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT AND THE FAMILY

The connection between pacifism at the international level and the family level is not made by pacifists until their understanding of pacifism has broadened to include social justice issues and interpersonal relations. Before that connection is made, an individual's earlier embracing of pacifism does not automatically give the individual particular knowledge or skills which would necessarily prevent family violence from occurring or guarantee nurturing family relations. Later when the connection between pacifism and family relations is made, there is not an automatic emergence of special knowledge or skills either. To capture any changes that might have occurred in handling interpersonal conflict and related concerns that pacifists might have had, questions were asked which tracked conflict management methods and concerns from the pacifists' early understanding of pacifism and violence to their current methods and understanding. This chapter discusses factors involved in conflict management styles and other concerns such as gender differences.

Conflict Management Style

Parallelling changes in definitions of pacifism and violence there are also changes that occur in conflict management styles. Pacifists who have a more limited definition of both pacifism and violence seem to have a conflict management style in their families, different from pacifists who have broader and deeper understandings of pacifism and violence. Being able to change from one style of conflict management in the family, which here is considered to be a move from a closed to more open style,¹ is closely related to having a broader and deeper understanding of pacifism and violence. This is logically consistent because the narrower definitions of pacifism are stated in some form of "the absence of conflicts" and the narrower definitions of violence are stated in some form of "physical fighting." The first considers the absence of conflict to be possible and the second only recognizes physical conflict as existing, thereby denying all other forms of conflict. The net result is that more narrow definitions of pacifism and violence are consistent with closed styles of conflict management, while broader definitions of pacifism and violence are consistent with open styles of conflict management.

¹The terms 'open' and 'closed' come from family systems theory and denote permeable and nonpermeable systems.

The paradigm shift from a closed to more open style of handling conflict can be tracked along six differential factors or dimensions. These factors have to do with recognition and response to conflict, response to anger, self-honesty, self-worth, self-protection, and response to emotional pain. These factors are described in the following sections.

Avoidance factor

Pacifists who have closed styles of conflict management view conflict as something that can and should be prevented and are, therefore, likely to engage in avoidance type behaviors whenever conflict seems likely. Pacifists who have open styles of conflict management view conflict as a natural part of all human relations and are, therefore, likely to face conflict with strategies which encourage mutual understanding and relationship-building solutions. They readily admit that they are not always successful in finding solutions and sometimes will resort to avoidance behaviors.

Witness 1 identifies avoidance as being his earlier strategy for dealing with conflict and facing conflict as his later approach. The use of avoidance techniques coincide with his narrower pacifist understanding, while the

use of conflict facing techniques parallel his broader pacifist understanding.

Probably by avoidance when nothing else would work, although I'm not clear on that. Certainly the family [pause]. It's hard for me to think of really getting into squabbles with other people . . . in our early marriage [my wife] and I, if we had a strong disagreement would simply be silent, not literally all the time. But you could feel us being silent for two days until the thing had blown over, except when it was necessary to talk. Later we have learned, more and more, how to directly face the disagreement, and talk it through. I suspect for both of us it is hard. Perhaps more for me than her in some respects in certain areas of married life. At times I think it is partly a male characteristic not to want to have to face everything in a relationship. But I have learned that the only way out of a situation is to go through it in lots of different situations, and I think that contributes to one's pacifism in the end: To be willing to confront even if it is awkward. A willingness to be involved in confrontation is the quickest way to a peaceful solution. [Transcript 1]

Witness 14 has also moved from avoidance to becoming more assertive in facing conflicts.

I usually sort of ran away from it, one way or another. Couldn't do anything about fighting between my parents, obviously. Cried a lot if they started arguing in the middle of the night or something and I woke up . . . I suppose I would just, you know, say what she asked me, expected me to say or something like that to make her stop being so angry. In school, I simply was a sweet kid. Everybody thought I was so nice a person. I was really basically very bland. At the same time, in all of that, something was coming through, from religion, in the sense that one was supposed to be loving and patient and I guess I sort of handled potential conflicts with other students by simply smiling and backing down from my own position, or assuming that I was wrong, or something of that sort and trying to make allowances in some sense, but not really being satisfied with that by any means. Not being able to disagree with people, because at home, to disagree with someone was to start a fight, no matter how quietly you did it . . . [Now] I try to be as direct as possible. I think that with my

family it's still very, very difficult. But I will at least state where I am in relation to something. There have been a couple of incidents just in the last six months . . . in which I've gone home to see my parents, especially my mother, who is a quadriplegic, and is dying of Lou Gehrig disease, and doesn't express her anger at that or anything else, except in taking verbal swipes at people. I try not to start trouble, but when I find that there is something simply intolerable in the situation, generally something my father has something to do with, I'll speak my piece, as simply as possible, and if someone objects strongly or loudly, that's their problem.

[Transcript 20]

Witness 7 use to consider pacifists as being conflict avoiders. While he is willing to face conflict more directly now, he still will use avoidance. His understanding of pacifism has expanded to include interpersonal relations.

. . . this expresses my view that for so many years I had considered peacemakers as conflict avoiders, and it occurred to me . . . that peacemakers are not conflict avoiders, but they are the ones who can wade into the middle of the

conflict to bring about peace, being vulnerable, and perhaps being attacked from both sides, counting their own safety of less, of less merit than, than finding a peaceful solution to the conflict. So part of my definition of a pacifist now, as a peaceful person, is that [he or she] is not a conflict avoider, but rather seeking better ways of solving conflict . . . I still avoid conflict whenever I can. [Transcript 21]

Anger factor

Attitudes toward anger and whether it is acceptable and how to deal with it varies among pacifists according to whether they have a closed or open style of conflict management and whether they consider that interpersonal relations is part of their definitions of pacifism and violence. When the pacifist's ideal approach to conflict is avoidance, the person will consider anger not to be acceptable, is likely to deem anger as being the cause of problems and that it should be avoided at all costs. Pacifists who have an open style of conflict management and include interpersonal relations in their definitions of pacifism and violence, consider anger to be acceptable, to be symptomatic of problems rather than the cause, and to be possibly useful in conflict management.

Witness 4's attitude toward anger has changed from internalizing it to expressing it when she feels that it is appropriate to do so.

I think at that point, our value system from what we called a "Christian standpoint," that one took what others dished out, and turned the other cheek, that kind of thing. And this, I'm sorry to say, applied particularly to women. One was not at all aggressive, as we would say today, "assertive." It was wrong to be angry and so you just internalized all that. Now I think we are seeing that anger can be good if it is used creatively. One should not hold back, and be unwilling to confront Well I became willing to confront, and willing to be angry. I rarely get angry, because I am not that kind of a person, but I can now and I couldn't before. It was not the "Christian" thing to do. I think creating situations where we don't need to get angry is better than anger. But there are situations where anger is the appropriate response. To have it, but to keep it as nonviolent as possible, both psychologically and physically. [Transcript 3]

Witness 11 has had a problem with anger, believing it

to be wrong and therefore suppressing it. The suppression of anger and the attempted avoidance of conflict have been problems in his marriage. One solution has been to have a "clearness committee," made up of two meeting members and his wife. This committee decides which speaking and leadership engagements he will accept. This mechanism has helped him to face some conflicts as well as to express some anger.

One of my childhood memories was my father and my mother having a knock down, drag out verbal fight and I was standin' there watchin' this, saying to myself, "I'm never going to do that. That's never going to happen with me." That's an important memory because that already suggests that in family conflict, I think it's wrong to fight, and so I'm the one who clams up, and suppresses the anger, and you can tell that I have a lot of anger to suppress because of my emotional makeup. So, I haven't handled that very well, especially toward my wife We decided after much friction that I ought to have a clearness committee. This sounded like a fine idea, and of course, she was on it, and [also] two members of Ministry and Counsel. I'm very glad that it was from the Meeting. We began meeting [a few years ago] with

the clearness committee about what [engagements] I should accept and what I shouldn't. There was a lot of anger that came out about some things that I wanted to go to, and she thought I shouldn't. The other two Friends were in a difficult spot, but we worked out a schedule. Since then I've been accepting about one third as many engagements as before. [Transcript 8]

Witness 17 initially had great difficulties with anger, now her attitude toward it has changed. Her definition of pacifism includes interpersonal relations.

I'm much less anxious and on confronting anger, I don't have that anxiety, certain anxiety and fear that I used to have, but I, there are still elements of it. There may always be, after all, I am what I am, to some extent. [Transcript 14]

Honesty factor

Pacifists who have a closed style of conflict management are not as likely to be honest in stating their own feelings, thinking or even in admitting to aspects of their identity or to what their conscience is prompting as are pacifists who have an open style of conflict management. Someone who avoids conflict is likely to consider making honest statements about feelings or views as confrontative.

Pacifists who include interpersonal relations as part of their definitions of pacifism and violence, on the other hand, regard stating personal feelings and listening to each other as important in finding solutions to conflicts.

Witness 5 has gone through various phases of how to handle interpersonal conflict. Early on he was passive and nonassertive, next he would reject others who had different views, and later he worked hard at finding growthful solutions to interpersonal conflict which included mutual stating of their feelings and listening to each other. His work on honesty in interpersonal relations coincides with his including interpersonal relations in his definition of pacifism.

I think of, I was so allured by the, what is it, Fritz Perls' approach to interpersonal relationships, "You do your thing. I'll do my thing. And if we get together, it will be beautiful." That's always what appears on the posters. But what they leave out is, "And if we can't get it together, it's too bad," which is the last sentence. They always leave it off of the posters with the beautiful pictures on it. I remember myself in medical school, going through a period when I found that approach . . . as the ideal. It was sort of, well I don't look back on

that as a terrible time. . . I think it was an important stage in my development to go through because before that time, I didn't think very much of myself at all . . . before that time, my solution was, "Well, here is my approach, and if you don't like it, O.K. I will go along with your approach. I'll just give in." . . . but golly I learned so much from that [relationship with woman he later married]. You know, it's more than being with someone, living with them in what I now would term, "community." . . . you do caring kinds of things and learn that stuff in experimental sorts of way. I think that in terms of how you solve interpersonal relationships, I learned a great deal about being able to listen, and listen beyond the words, listen for feelings, at least to start to learn how to do that.

[Transcript 7]

Witness 10 struggled a great deal with the question of honesty, hurting others and being true to herself.

I guess the doubts have always been at times when my own personal life has been affected. I still don't think that in relationship to what is happening to someone else that violence is an appropriate response and I don't really think it

is an appropriate response when something is happening is to me. But I really feel a lack of some other way to do things. My life is very important to me.

I guess there is a lot more subtle ways, I hesitate to use the word pacifism to apply to it, but it has to do with hurting other people. And those are questions about when it is right to be honest, one's right to say how one feels, it is a struggle with violence.

The end of my marriage was a very painful time for a lot of people. I guess I . . . [was] realizing it was more important to be honest about who I was and that would necessarily involve hurt. That is still something I struggle with the Truth Testimony on. My parents for the first nine months that [spouse] and I separated, insisted that I not tell my grandparents, which didn't sit easy with me because I had never consciously lied about anything. It had certainly not been asked by my parents to lie about anything. That was one of the things that was stressed to us, that honesty is very very important. When I was growing up that was the only thing in the family we got spanked about. That was the worst thing

you could do, even if you had done something wrong, lying about it made it much much worse. My grandparents still don't know that I am lesbian. I am still struggling with that, knowing that it will cause them pain. But on the other hand, I'm really struggling with them not knowing who I am.

[Transcript 4]

Witness 9 now emphasizes win-win relationships where people come to empathize and understand one another. Implicit in such interactions is honesty.

I suppose it [current definition of pacifism] includes the old definitions, but it is certainly expanded, and in fact, has its greatest emphasis on learning the skills of what I might call "loving relationships." Because there's an awful lot of love out there and people wanting to live in love and not really knowing how . . . my definition now would really emphasize, above everything else, really coming to understand and empathize with other people and then learning how to do that in a way that would build the most creative life for all of us, that would develop a way of life in which we would continually try to build win-win relationships, rather than the old patterns of domination and, and one side winning

and another losing. To learn the joys of really sharing our differences in ways in which we can all grow. This is quite beyond what I had known, except in a nebulous way, back in those earlier years. [Transcript 18]

Self-worth factor

Pacifists who have a closed style of conflict management are likely to disregard the self, to deny personal needs and worth. This is particularly a problem for women, who are usually socialized to be self-effacing and for Christians who are taught to give up the self.

Examples of this dimension can be seen in excerpts cited earlier in this chapter. In the section on anger, Witness 4 speaks about learning as a Christian woman to take what others say or do to her. Later she valued herself sufficiently to express anger and to remove herself from an abusive situation. In the section on honesty, Witness 5 admits that he had not thought well of himself prior to using the Fritz Perls' approach to relationships. In the section on "dangerous situations" in Chapter V. Witness 10 cites her dilemma in not wanting to be violent in self-defense but recognized that her life was very important to her.

Witness 8 contrasted her present style with her earlier

style in which she would "pick up the pieces" or go along with the other person. Now in being honest about the reality of who she is and who the other person is, she has value for herself as well as for the other person. Here, she has been talking about her relationship with her daughters.

It's finding a way to recognize in the situation, whatever it is, both the reality of whom I am and how I feel about it, and also the reality of who the other person is and how she feels about it. Then having recognized both things, to make enough space to find a solution The first thing, it appears to me, is to recognize the being and the feelings of all the people involved and having recognized that, to see what the solution should be. [Transcript 5]

Self-protection factor

Pacifists who have a closed style of conflict management are likely to be passive in confrontative situations and to deny their own needs. Pacifists who have an open style of conflict management are likely to be assertive and to be able to set limits on what they will

allow others to do to them. This is an issue which can be particularly touchy for women, who, in general, are socialized to be nonassertive.

Witness 10 now considers self-protection in psychological terms and is able to set limits in her relationships by telling people when they have crossed over these limits. Earlier in her life she was not able to do this, she instead would go out of her way to avoid conflict.

Sometimes things that I walk away from, I come back to and deal with the person later. A lot of times something is not a good situation, I feel that there is no point in bringing it up or arguing before a whole group of people. One example that has come up a couple of times recently, is that some people have made some real crude jokes about the death penalty. In one case, actually in both cases, I physically got up and walked away. We were in a group of people. I knew that the person wasn't trying to intentionally hurt me. It's just that relatives of people on death row are not visible, and if they had known that I had a brother on death row, they would not have intentionally set out to hurt me. The first time that happened, I took the person aside the next day and talked to him,

approaching him from the standpoint that in perceiving him in other situations, I know that he is a very caring person and I know that he wouldn't intentionally hurt someone. But his actions the day before had hurt me. [Transcript 4]

Witness 4 spoke about anger in an earlier section. Here she contemplates self-protection in the physical sense in two situations, children among peers and wives in abusive situations.

In being tested in play situations, I can remember back in New York in '56-'57, [my daughter] was just barely two when we went there, was enrolled in the famous Riverside Church Nursery School there. We had been teaching her not to fight and not to fight back. Some child in that nursery school was fighting her, and picking on her. The nursery school teacher said, "You have got to let her defend herself." I think it is important for kids to try to be nonviolent but when there is provocation, one has to defend oneself. I think we see that in a lot of play situations in nursery schools. Some of these nursery school teachers are deeply informed in terms of helping children to be nonviolent . . . Then we were in [name of

geographical region] for four years, then we were in [name of state], saw physical violence there and at that point my feelings that one must defend oneself changed. Our family was fractured. To preserve the self physically, I was separated from my husband. I came to stay with my sister in [name of city], I worked in a child care center in [name of city]. I saw how easy it would be for child abuse to happen. [Transcript 3]

Pain factor

Pacifists who have a closed style of conflict management try to avoid psychological pain both for themselves and for others. This is derived from a notion that pacifists do not hurt others. While this concept is not totally abandoned, it is tempered by pacifists who have an open style of conflict management. They accept that pain is part of living and that it is not possible to have a pain-free life. However, facing pain or going through it, is not to be done destructively either to oneself or to others. This realization frees the pacifist to be assertive in interpersonal relations.

Examples of the pain factor are evident in excerpts in previous sections. In the section on honesty, Witness 10 considers the issue of hurting people in relation to

honesty. She asks when is it right to be honest, to say how one feels? Is it violent to be honest if someone is hurt? Yet, she has come to value herself and this resulted in a conflict about whether to reveal her identity as a lesbian to her grandparents. She knows that there will be pain in their knowing the truth, but not to be honest about herself is to pretend she is not herself. In her conversation with people who joke about inmates on death row, she also faces pain.

Gender Differences

An integral part of family interpersonal conflict and conflict management styles are concerns about the place of women and the nurturing, caring role of men in their relations with women. Many of the pacifists interviewed brought up these issues as they discussed their families, some from deep pain and others from the freeing feeling of having learned to nurture during their adult years.

Witness 1 discussed his understanding of the "male-female situation" within the context of his marriage:

In this case in a male-female situation, my male point of view, whether my male point of view is right or wrong, is paying serious attention to what the other person in terms that are appreciated by them, in terms that the other

person perceives as paying serious attention. I have had to learn what it is that constitutes serious attention in the other person's terms. In a marriage relationship that is something that one can learn over the years. In other situations, it is a little tricky, particularly with cultural differences, but I think it is the quality of awareness. Even if there are cultural differences, that quality of awareness is hard to disguise, if it is a true awareness and that's what it amounts to, is to give awareness to what the other says.

Often in my case, well in the married situation, at times it would be threatening to me, to look at what the other person thinks is important. I would perceive it as a threat, whereas actually the other person was only saying, "I hurt," not that, "You were doing something terrible." Therefore the quickest way out of a situation, is to go through it and it is, therefore, less threatening than one had thought. Yes, that does add relevance to pacifism because one has less to defend, or one is less likely to be defensive. [Transcript 1]

Witness 2 described her conflict with her mother over pursuing a nontraditional career for a female:

The conflict with my mother was over my call to the ministry. She felt that women's place was in the home. I said [earlier in the interview] that my father drove me out on my speeches on Gandhi-- my mother would never go to hear me. It was years and years before my mother ever heard me speak in public; I don't think she did more than once or twice. She was very threatened by it . . . this was where the conflict came. I felt so strongly that I was called by God and that my life had been set aside for God, and this was the dominant thing. [Transcript 12]

Witness 4, in an earlier excerpt in the section on anger, spoke about Christian teachings and its application to women. She felt she was expected to internalize anger and take whatever happened to her. Later her views changed and she expressed her anger and also would not let her husband abuse her any longer (see section on self-protection).

Witness 5 had, for a time, followed the Fritz Perls approach of "You do your thing and I'll do mine," he credits his relationship with his wife for his becoming a caring and

sharing person:

But then when I got out of medical school, I started my internship, and in the course of the first year, I got involved with a woman who [became my wife] . . . we hit it off, really great, right off the bat . . . then, what do you know, we began having difficulties As I think back on it, I really think it was because I was afraid that I would be left out, alone. This was a very hard time for me, internship, and the first year of residency, very stressful, very tough, very alone. I really needed some sort of human contact and I think I was very fearful of losing that That was the hardest relationship I think I've ever been involved with she really taught me things like, if you want to be, you know, in a sharing and acceptable relationship with me, these are the kinds of things you've got to do. You know, I would do them--sometimes I would. But I didn't feel comfortable doing them often. I was afraid to do them . . . things like helping with the dishes. You know, golly, I had never had to do that and golly, it was painful . . . I learned so much from that, You know, it's more . . . being with

someone, living with them in what I now would term, "community." I didn't have that terminology then. In community with them involved caring.

[Transcript 7]

Witness 17 had a long struggle in moving out of dependency in her traditional family situation:

I tended to be more like my mother, passive, denying. I would try to sooth and nurture. I used to go out of my way to do that [My mother-in-law] was always there, kind of over my shoulder, which was a bad thing, because I didn't need that kind of thing, with the upbringing I already had

. . . I should have been able to confront this kind of reaction from someone, whether she's old, young, or whether she's my mother-in-law or any other individual. I should be able to question this person, and be able to be very direct and not put her down, but be able to confront her . . . In my young twenties I wasn't able to do this . . . I didn't realize, at that point, that I had a right to be an adult. Instead, I was put in a kind of a dependency position by being married and having a child, so I felt dependent But our relationship [my husband and me] drifted apart

because I was not growing in those fifties years [1950s]. Yea, I was doing all these motherly things, but I wasn't getting anything for myself I had gone to college, gotten married, and ended up practically in a play pen as a mother with a couple of kids and four walls and I was being protected, I guess. My mother thought, "Well, my daughter is happily married," and all this sort of thing. "She must be very safe," but I wasn't. I couldn't have been more unsafe, because I was slowly going crazy. I was really finding out what I had done to myself, and I tended probably to project more on [my husband], which made the situation very bad I'd had four kids by this time, in rapid succession But as for myself having any more education, or being able to get out in the world and talk to some of these people on a level, someone besides small children, I couldn't do that. I realize now I'm stuck with a real ego problem. I needed massive doses of confidence at that time and I needed some feedback from some intelligent people who understood the way I felt and there weren't too many people like that around So there was a period when I was . . . very vulnerable, I

decided I wasn't going to have any more children but it didn't work out. I ended up getting pregnant one more time, with the fear of having a fifth child at the age of 28 or 29 I went to the doctor and told him my fears. I said, "We just cannot handle any more children." This was getting toward 1960 and he said, "Well, you're gonna have to, you have very few choices open to you." He said, "I can put you in the hospital and open you up and make a decision at that time, or you can go to some other state and get a tubal ligation" I ended up through all of this mess with a hysterectomy, believe it or not, because neither the medical profession nor anyone in my family nor any friends, or myself was able to confront this situation, effectively.

[Transcript 14]

The unifying theme in the struggles of both women and men seems to be to find a balance where there is mutual nurturing in relationships based upon open styles of conflict management. In such a balance, each person would be able to face conflict, to accept and express anger appropriately, to be honest about themselves by sharing their feelings and views as well as listening to the feelings and views of others, to values themselves and

others, to set limits in their relations beyond which they will not let others trespass, and finally, would be able to recognize and accept pain as a possible growth factor in human relations.

CHAPTER VI.

STRUGGLES

As the maturing process of pacifism unfolds, pacifists have many struggles and doubts about how to respond in life-affirming ways to violent or potentially violent situations. Becoming more sensitive to various kinds of violence and understanding in a fuller way that pacifism applies to an increasing number of life situations does not automatically equip a person to know how to live in the world of everyday people. There is violence, there is terrorism, there are wars. There are so many kinds of situations of violence, in whatever form, including what happens in one's home, that it is difficult to know how to live as a pacifist. Struggling with these issues, doubting self, and being in situations which test one's responses as a pacifist go with having a broader and deeper understanding of pacifism. The answers held in early pacifism give way to a deeper questing or seeking for, "What is appropriate where I am today in this moment?"

As these twenty-five pacifists answered questions concerning times when they had doubted pacifism or times when their pacifism had been put to the test, their responses revealed some interesting insights into their

thinking. This chapter examines the experiences of doubting and being tested in one's pacifism and bearing witness as a pacifist.

Having Doubts

Each person in this study was asked to tell about times when they doubted whether pacifism was appropriate. This question elicited information about the struggle they experienced in trying to find effective, yet pacifistic, responses or answers in hypothetical situations, dangerous situations, trying circumstances or in answering the war question.

Hypothetical situations

What to do in hypothetical situations is a common concern of pacifists. The questions usually go, "What would you do if someone was trying to kill a loved one?" Witness 1 answered that he could not infallibly predict how he would respond, but that he could make his life such a character that he would be free to respond in a truly pacifist way.¹

In hypothetical situations the quandary is that there are no ready made answers and until one is faced with an actual situation, one really does not know how he or she will behave. While one may readily accept turning to the

¹See CHAPTER III, p. 22f.

police for protection and security, other questions become involved as discussed by another witness.

Witness 14 reveals the dilemma that she feels she is in:

If someone broke into my home, I presume, like anyone else, I would call the police. But if the police used the gun on somebody and killed an intruder, for example, I would feel bad about having called them in the first place. I'm not clear on those sorts of situations when Friends statements on nonviolence and so forth, point out there is a legitimate place for a police force. That is true, but the way the police are trained now, . . . knowing that the person who has snatched your purse or knocked you over or something on the street, might end up dead, especially if that person is black. I don't have answers to any of those questions. [Transcript 20]

Another type of hypothetical thinking deserves attention. One man speaks about picturing in his mind violent solutions to such situations as hijacking and the standoff between Philadelphia police and the group called, "Move." He wonders if other pacifists engage in this type of "daydreaming." None of the other pacifists volunteered this kind of information, and since they were not asked

about violent daydreaming, we do not know the answer to his query.

Witness 1 on the subject of violent daydreaming:

I have always had a tense imaginative life. I have not reached the point where I don't think violently, but I think about violent solutions to, say, hijacking airplanes and things like that. I just like to think. I know that is not the answer, but I like to think about it. So, I don't understand that . . . Well, it's like daydreaming . . . it's not so much that I'm doubting pacifism, but that I am intrigued with ways in which you could stop the hijacking by doing those things inside the airplane that would be violent to them When the Move situation happened in Philadelphia, I found myself thinking of ways the police surely could have done what they needed to do without having done what they did. It was interesting to find out later that they had tried those very things that I had thought about.

Sometimes I think my mind just grabs what is in the "thought world." But, I would sometime like to know whether other pacifists, whether I am unique in this or, whether other pacifists occasionally have militaristic fantasies.

Sometimes it troubles my conscience, but at other times I feel, well it's not really the real me, or something like that . . . sometimes [I feel I have a better understanding of] the limitations of the situation. At other times, I'm just irritated that I have a lot in my mind to go off in that zone. It doesn't seem to me fruitful. At such times, I really wonder if perhaps I'm not being sensitive to what I call the "thought world" that is suddenly obsessing thousands of people? That may be an excuse, I don't know. [Transcript 1]

Dangerous situations

Situations which were identified as being dangerous were circumstances involving rape, marital abuse, intervening in an assault, and being threatened as foster parents by the biological parents. Doubts are expressed about what would be effective responses, whether one really has freedom to choose how to respond and whether there could really be any "for sure" answers. Two examples are given here. The first concerns doubts raised in response to self-defense during a rape. The second example raises doubts about defense when threats are received.

Witness 10, a birthright Friend, finds that she has a lot of questions now:

I think I probably kept on feeling pretty much the same way through junior high and high school, and in the early part of college. Feeling fairly smug about it, that there is, "a right answer, and a wrong answer, and that war is wrong and it is not the way to solve anything."

What happened to change my thinking probably quite a bit, was that when I was a sophomore, I was raped and I started thinking about pacifism deeply, more than on an external kind of basis that somebody else was doing. But that, in that situation, I had a choice about whether or not to act violently towards another person. Previously, I had just assumed that in any case where there was a question of violence or not, the automatic answer would be, "No." And then, in that particular situation, it's something I am still struggling with.

For a long time even after I was raped, I assumed that the correct answer would still be, "No, I'm not going to react violently." And so I started searching out nonviolent ways to protect myself. And discovered that there really wasn't any research done, there wasn't anything available on nonviolent ways to protect yourself. There

were some gimmicky kinds of things, that might work in some cases, but no, nothing I could pick up and read, no class I could go to which would really train me to react nonviolently and still protect myself. And certainly nothing is as organized as the violent self-defense classes I guess the changes that occurred most, and that I am still struggling with, are whether or not a pacifist response is always appropriate. And I have gotten to the point where I realize that the choice that I made to act nonviolently, was not a real choice because even if I wanted to act violently, I didn't have any training or background to do so. And that even if I had wanted to, I couldn't be effective at it. So I have taken, what I consider to be, a violent self defense course. So that if I am ever in that situation again, I have a real choice to make. I don't know what my choice will be . . . I just keep coming up with more and more questions, and fewer answers, questioning things that I took for granted before, mostly things on a personal level . . . I guess the changes are that I no longer look at pacifism, nonviolent action, as a clear cut, you can always act this way, and it is

always right or always wrong. It is a lot more complex than that. [Transcript 4]

Witness 15 has been involved in foster care:

We've had a situation or two with some of our foster care experiences where a parent of a child that we have in foster care may be prone to violence and [would be] threatening against us. What to do then, or what to do if you're in a situation where you're likely to be robbed? When it comes right down and gets out of the abstract and gets real personal, it becomes tougher to deal with and you have this fear. I'm not sure, you know, I haven't explored the violent side of it, but working through the nonviolent side of it, you don't get away from the fear necessarily. But you live with that and you know various ways of coping with it through faith and other things. I think if I would have armed myself or, decided to use violent means of dealing with the situation should it arise, I don't think I would have alleviated the fear that much, but I don't know. Those have been situations where dealing with something in a nonviolent way, you know, [I was] not knowing if it was really appropriate. [Transcript 13]

Trying circumstances

In addition to being actually faced with dangerous situations, pacifists wrestle with themselves about what to do in trying circumstances. Not surprisingly, most of the situations cited had to do with family, others related to frustration with government.

Witness 8, when asked about times she doubted whether pacifism was appropriate, remembers having difficulties with child management:

I don't know of any unless it had to do with some child management. It wasn't a conscious affair really and I wouldn't have called it doubting whether pacifism was an appropriate response. It was simply a matter of just not being clear about the proper management of parent-child conflicts.

[Transcript 5]

Witness 16 had difficulties with his father who was prone to rages within the family:

I think perhaps in growing up with my father, there are times when he, it seemed, that he deliberately made me angry. I guess I didn't consciously doubt [pacifism]. I was infuriated at times. I guess I can recall some times when I wanted to push him, I guess sometimes, wanting to punch him. When I was littler, I envisioned

robbers coming to our house. I would save everyone by running at the robber and using my head to push him in the stomach and knock him over I wasn't really doubting pacifism, I think I didn't really think about pacifism. I guess I haven't really settled the robber question, what I would do if someone would come in the house, until recently. Probably during high school, perhaps half way through, I may have accepted a violent response as opposed to a more calm and reconciling response to conflict.

[Transcript 2]

Family members puzzling over how to respond as pacifists to others in their family is one type of trying circumstance. Another is how to respond in one's frustration with government.

Witness 14 expressed well her frustration. When asked about doubting when pacifism is an appropriate response, she answered:

Watching Ronald Reagan ruin the world I guess I said to somebody one day, maybe Von Hefler was right. The man, apparently, at least as I understand it, and that's not very well, he had to kind of go behind his own principles to agree to do something pragmatic, like killing Hitler, or

taking part in any part of that plot. It must of cost him dearly--that's my interpretation. Not that I would ever encourage anyone, but it would seem that Reagan is kind of at the head of the same sort of primitive power that George Bush would not be able to keep together because it is Reagan's smile that seems to mesmerize. If Reagan were not in office, the country might, might turn a little saner, just because the Congress would feel a little easier about rejecting the damage he's doing. I don't see Reagan as being evil in the way Hitler was evil, or, or did evil, or whatever. That's not to say I'm approving or want to assassinate Reagan, but I mean there are, that's a funny one, isn't it?

[When asked about the nature of her doubts]:
Oh, I 'spose . . . it is the same form [of doubts] that I guess a lot of people eventually came to during the war [Vietnam]. Are we really being effective enough in fighting the huge evil, are we really making ourselves heard by doing the pacifist things that we do? [Transcript 20]

Answering the war question

When faced with the ultimate question of evil in situations such as the holocaust, some pacifists wrestle with what is right and what is wrong. Some are pressured by family members or others to make an exception to their pacifist position and to take a militaristic response in order to stop the perceived evil. This pressure may come from those who, in other times, consider themselves to be pacifists.

Witness 2 admitted to struggling with the war question during World War II:

I think the one time when there were doubts was in the case of the Second World War. At the settlement house, when the children and I moved back there, we shared rooms--we had two rooms at the back and there were two more rooms and the bath down the hall, which were occupied by a young couple who were refugees from Germany. They had a little boy who was just [my daughter's] age, and for a long time [the couple] held me at arm's length because they had come out of the horror of Nazi Germany. It was impossible for them to see how anyone could be a conscientious objector to that. But during the course of the year that we lived there, I became very, very close to them,

and they were able, finally, to share with me the horror of what they had come out of; the loss of family that they had sustained, the things that they had seen, and so on, at a very deep level. . . [They came] to understand why [my husband] felt that he could not participate in the war and why, why I was . . . certainly participating in that decision. Part of me has looked out on the world through Jewish eyes ever since.

[I think of] my own father's agony in seeing the country of his ancestry going through this [the Holocaust], and feeling that he had to be part of it. My brother, who had started out as a pacifist, coming to the same conclusion: this was a war that had to be fought because the evil was so great. At that point, I privately had some doubts. Then, and I will never forget it, came the news of Hiroshima. All of a sudden, I realized, the evil is not over there in Hitler, purely, the evil is here in America. The world forever changed at that point, as far as I was concerned. A colossal realization that I could not separate myself from the evil in the world, that my country had done the unspeakable thing . . . from then on, there were no doubts. There

was, I think, this momentary period when, with my brother, with my father, I went through something of their struggling with this thing and coming out on the other side [from where they did]. [My husband's] mother came and labored with me to labor with [my husband to change his pacifist position] but after Hiroshima, no [I had no more doubts]. [Transcript 12]

Witness 11 gave his own answer to the war question in the face of his pacifist father raising the argument of Treblinka as a reason to fight in this war:

My father never had to go to a camp to be a CO [conscientious objector]. He was some kind of pacifist in his feelings in World War I, and he did get the opportunity to go off to Japan where he was a missionary. He was married in 1917, and he and my mother went out to Japan together. He did get a chance to be a Service Committee representative [American Friends Service Committee] in Serbia in 1918 and '19 for about 9 months. But that's the only time he did any service as a conscientious objector.

So he would have doubts. One time he put me through hell, almost, about Treblinka. This was one of the worst Nazi extermination camps next to

Auschwitz in Poland. He said, "How do you explain about dealing with that kind of evil?" For my father to grill me like that, boy I let him have it. Because there was no way, even in the face of that kind of evil, that you can betray the principles of Jesus of nonviolent resistance and overcoming enemies with love. "And I can't make sense of it either," I would say. "I don't know whether nonviolence would have worked with those Nazis or not, but that's not the point. The point is whether I obey the commandment of our Lord to love our enemies." [Transcript 8]

Doubting is a common experience for pacifists, whether in considering how to respond in hypothetical situations, questioning the effectiveness and appropriateness of one's response in actual circumstances, being frustrated in trying conditions, or knowing how to answer the question of overcoming evil through war. Doubting reflects the personal questioning and seeking for answers and solutions which pacifists go through. Doubting is more likely to occur as the person integrates a broader, deeper understanding of pacifism and a keener sensitivity toward violence. The solutions which fit a narrow definition of both pacifism and violence are no longer adequate to the more mature understanding of pacifism. Yet, the more mature

understanding does not automatically provide answers or solutions to thorny questions. Consequently, doubting is a means through which to seek and find responses which are a better fit to where the person has come in her or his understanding.

Being Tested

In addition to doubting, pacifists are tested through challenges to them made by other people or through circumstances that they are in which require making a choice in how to respond. The witnesses identify times of testing as when they are asked to intervene in a conflict, they have leadership responsibilities, or when they are challenged by others. At times of testing, pacifists do not necessarily know exactly how to respond and, so, doubting may be present also.

Asked to intervene

A person's pacifism is put to the test when asked to intervene in conflict situations which have an element of physical violence or potential violence involved. Two such situations were identified by the witnesses. In one, there was an altercation between a man and a women in a parking lot, and the Friend was asked by others to intervene. In the other, there was a serious racial situation which was

escalating to physical violence, and another Friend was expected to do something.

Witness 1 was asked to interfere in a parking lot scene:

Well I remember one that comes most dramatically to mind. It wasn't really all that difficult or dangerous, but once after Yearly Meeting at [name of place], we went back on campus for some reason and in the parking lot--there were still a few cars around--there was a man and a woman arguing back and forth. At one point he was actually kicking her. [Name of person] was saying, "Oh, somebody has to do something!" And everyone looked at me. So I walked over and simply tried to be direct and find out what was going on and found they were arguing over a child. They were separated and he had agreed to bring the child back and they were to meet here and make the exchange. He was apparently changing his mind. At some point it seemed right to say, almost like an old fashioned Quaker preacher, "Oh, I feel for the child," and he instantly gave the child up to her and they started kissing and hugging each other. She put the child in the car and they started making arrangements about practical

matters, I don't remember now that had to be settled one way or the other. The little girl kept yelling, "Mommy, let's get out of here. Mommy, let's get out of here." I sure identified with the kid. But finally he left. I hadn't known really what was going on. But it really wasn't a very dangerous situation. She was related to two boys who had been in school [a Quaker boarding school], not that year, but the year previously. So she knew the place, the place existed, thought it would be a safe place for them to meet. . . . So that is one example [of being tested]. [Transcript 1]

Witness 11 was asked to do something about an escalating racial situation:

Well, that is somewhat a story of failure. There are people who are gifted to respond in an emergency situation and only occasionally am I so led. If an emergency occurs, I just stand there and say, "What do we do now?" While somebody else intervenes and starts CPR or whatever is required. I don't know why I am such a stupid responder. It takes me time to react. If there is a great insult or great fracas or something terrible happening, I'm kind of stunned to start with,

frequently. I don't sort it all out. People will say, "Well, why didn't you see how bad it was from the instant it happened?" I take time to figure it out. So I either don't react or I try not to interfere with somebody who is reacting positively. Now happily, that is not always the case. I do see what is needed and do it before I stop to think . . . there have been some occasions where, you know you can usually tell somewhere down and deep, "This is it." "There's no way out." "It's up to you as to what happens." One such example is in '72 we had a travelling class between four different colleges in this region and there was a racial incident right in our own food service line. Two students were down here attending the class, and they went through this lunch line. The black man in front of me asked to have one of the main entrees, and then one of the other main entrees at the same time. You're not allowed to have more than one main entree. You can come back and get it later as a second, but not on the first shot. He didn't understand that and under his breath, he called the young white guy behind the counter, "an MF." He was really just saying it to his black buddies,

"Wonder why this MF, won't give me what I ask for?" Well, the white guy overheard it and was insulted to be called, "an MF," went back and reported it to the food service man.

Well, I'd been behind the two guys and heard the swear word, but that's coin of the realm for blacks, that word. They can hardly speak, males that is, without every once and while using it for satisfaction. So I went back to the main dining room to eat with the visitors or whomever wanted to eat back there. These two blacks in the mean time had stopped to say hi to the [name of Quaker college] blacks who eat at their own separate tables by preference in one corner at the dining room. Suddenly I was told, "There is a racial crisis in the main dining room. You've got to come out." I was the host teacher and I said, "Boy there's no way out now." I went out and found that there was the manager [who] came out and threatened to kill this visiting black because he called one of his personnel "an MF." That's something you don't say to a black if you are white. That's an absolute No-No. So the CBS (the concerned black students) on our campus, at the table that it happened, were up in arms.

What do you know, that afternoon we were going to have a workshop on nonviolence, downstairs, in the same building, which I was in charge of. So I said to the head of CBS--and he was really out for some kind of vengeance--"We've got a nonviolence workshop scheduled on an invented topic. This time it's going to be real. You come, and we will work it all out by role playing." We switched races and we replayed the whole incident in the workshop. Then we got up our courage and invited the food service manager. Now that's one example of where I was led and succeeded in a crisis situation . . . Frequently, I don't come off very well. [Transcript 8]

Leadership responsibilities

At times pacifists are tested in their employment or in their leadership role which may come either in others' expectations or as a result of their own conscience. Various situations were cited by the witnesses, some relating to classroom management, one to job products, and another as a nonviolent leader. The two cited here relate to job products and responsibilities as a nonviolent leader.

Witness 12, as part of his alternate service during World War II, was on staff of the Starvation Project. On

his day off he worked in a veterinary medical laboratory in order to supplement his family's income:

Some [drugs] were used by veterinarians, some were used by farmers themselves. So, there was some cross the counter things [selling of products] I had some critical feelings about some of the products that were being manufactured that I thought were not too useful. I talked to some of the staff [about my feelings]. We got along all right, but I still remained critical about some of the products. I remember then writing down a lot of objections that I had to that kind of business . . . trying to state my ethical views about the products and what is said about them That's stretching it pretty far to call it pacifism, but it's an ethical dilemma that we ought to be just in our business relations Now whether that was part of my pacifism or not, it seems to me that it's part of me anyway. It comes from the same place that my pacifism came from. [Transcript 9]

Witness 9 This experienced leader in nonviolence spoke about various situations he has been in as a leader and where he is now at age 70 in his understanding:

[I was put to the test] in some of the

demonstrations in which factions became very violent. Particularly, I remember . . . one of the radical groups took over the stage and carried out the program which had originally been planned by a coalition of other groups . . . we realized that this could happen and [had] tried to use a strategy for this, which didn't work. But through these experiences we learned of different ways to approach this and changed our tactics a great deal.

A lot of the early nonviolence training, and some of that which goes on now, still is geared to ways of avoiding violence, rather than ways of really reaching another person or the other people or really caring how they feel and believe.

I guess the newest in my growth in nonviolence is what I'm trying to deal with now, and that is in working with people who are concerned about violence on the streets, particularly muggings, rape, and this kind of thing. The effort there is always to protect one's self, or, in terms of block associations and so on that try to protect the community. I am coming more and more to a realization--and I'm beginning to write on this--that in the end, the

greatest protection is to forget oneself and care for the other person, even the mugger, or the rapist, or whatever. I have seen and heard of some examples of this which indicate that there is a lot to be learned in this area and very, very little is being said about it. Practically all the advice and training is on protecting oneself. In the end, vulnerability really may be the answer. Being vulnerable by forgetting oneself and caring for the other. I think there is a great deal to be developed, thought about and learned in this field. [Transcript 18]

Challenged by others

Another type of testing is being challenged by others as one presents the pacifist position. Witnesses sometimes refer to public situations where they might be speaking or participating in demonstrations. Pacifists are also challenged during imprisonment. Two examples are given here, one of being challenged in public and the other in prison.

Witness 4 spoke about challenges to her pacifism in public situations:

I think it [my pacifism] has been challenged as I have been talking about pacifism to church groups,

which is a cerebral kind of thing . . . and I guess I have been in crowd situations and things where there has been a potential for violence. Often it would be very challenging to stay nonviolent in the situation. But I have never really been in a dangerous situation where that would have been tested. [Transcript 3]

Witness 9, who earlier spoke about dealing with violent factions, discusses the challenges to being nonviolent during World War II when he was imprisoned for refusing to register for the draft.

Well, maybe one of the severest tests was when I was in prison. I'm afraid it's a test that many, many people who were there as conscientious objectors failed . . . As an inmate in a prison, the prisons are so set up that you are on one side or the other. You're either on the side of the inmates or you're on the side of the administration and the officers . . . anyone who relates to the institution, the officers, the administrators, the wardens . . . in human ways is suspect of being a stool pigeon . . . So that coming into that atmosphere, being a part of the inmate body, where it was expected you would not trust anyone in the administration--was so much

expected--that it was quite difficult to really remember and be true to one's own feeling of "that of God in every person."² It was doubly true for conscientious objectors who were also suspect by the inmates in any case, because, of course, inmates feel that violence is the way to solve problems, which is why most of them are there.

[Transcript 18]

Bearing Witness

There is a Quaker expression, "bearing witness," which means to bear witness to one's beliefs by performing a planned act or service which gives evidence or substance to those beliefs and to accept the consequences of those. Typically, deciding to bear witness comes after a period of time characterized by prayerfully seeking for answers to some concern of conscience. Sometimes the decision to bear witness comes fairly easily as a natural flow from considering and working on particular issues of concern. At other times the decision comes out of a process of doubting and struggling with some issue.

While I did not ask questions specifically on bearing witness during the interviews, many of the witnesses spoke

²There is a Quaker saying, "There is that of God in everyone."

about such acts or services as contributing to their growth as pacifists. What I find as singularly intriguing is that when asked the questions regarding "doubting" or being "put to the test," no one included situations which could be characterized as "bearing witness" in those responses. When someone has been wrestling with a troubled conscience, the doubting may be worked through and new understanding and resolve may result in making a decision to bear witness. Two examples of this nature are given here.

Witness 8 came to a decision to become a war tax resister. Earlier in her life while she was single she resisted paying war tax by purposely earning below taxable amounts:

One thing that comes to mind that is easiest to track, is my feelings about war tax resistance. I don't remember exactly when early in our married life the issue came up. I probably talked about it some time, and [my husband] was not prepared to be a war tax resister, he didn't feel called to it My feeling was first and most important thing was to our family unity and standing together. I didn't feel that it was something I could do alone and preserve our family. I, more

or less, you know, forgot about it, but never quite.

Occasionally, maybe two or three times in intervening years, I would bring the subject up, or wonder whether there was some way that we could find to resist the paying of war taxes When we returned to . . . the staff in '81, we had the example of [Name], who was a long time war tax resister, and who had found ways of making this stand himself while his wife didn't. I began to feel that [my husband] and I were at a point of maturity in our relationship, and in our own life together that I could take the stand--and he would be willing to support me, not with any great deal of enthusiasm--without its doing any harm, any violence, to our relationship. At the same time, I began to see, you know, a practical way in which I think it could be done So after struggling with this internally, over a period of some months, I simply felt that I couldn't have peace within myself until I did take a stand. [Also] I was aware that one just doesn't grow spiritually, one can't move on unless one does what one knows one ought to do and this was a fairly significant thing in that category.

[Transcript 5]

Witness 12 went through doubting about what to do in response to conscription and questioned whether he was just trying to get out of something:

I was wondering if I was trying to get out of something, you know. So I went to see [a pastor]. I told him that I just wanted to be sure, if there was some way to be sure [sobbing]. I don't know why, I guess I'm crying now [sobbing]. I don't know. Probably crying for both [a Japanese friend who was interred in a camp] and me I told him that I wanted to be sure, was there some way of being sure that I wasn't just trying to get out of things. So, he said, "Well, what are you going to do if they won't take you as a conscientious objector?" I said, "Well, I'll go to prison." He said, "Don't worry about it. You know what that means?" I said, "Well I know some of the fellows in prison." He said, "Well, don't worry about it then. Don't worry about it, about whether you are trying to get out of something."

[Transcript 9]

The choice to bear witness may come out of deep struggle, involving doubting and searching for the answers which feel right internally. In coming to a decision to

make a witness for peace, the pacifist is likely to consider the effects such an action might have for their families and for themselves. They might question their own motives, and seek counsel with others who are able to be honest with them about the doubts they are wrestling with.

Place of the Family

In response to the questions on doubting and being tested, many witnesses included in their responses material which involved their families. In the section on doubting, a foster father wondered about relating to potentially violent parents. A mother remembered her child rearing days and raised doubts about proper parent-child management. A son pondered how to react to his father who at times had seemed to anger him deliberately. A woman confesses sadly that she had momentarily doubted her pacifist position in relation to the holocaust as a result of pressures from her father, brother, and mother-in-law. A man speaks with emotion about "giving it" to his father when asked to explain how he could deal with the evil of the holocaust by being a conscientious objector.

In the section on being tested, family came up once when a pacifist was asked to intervene in a domestic dispute. Among the total responses to the question on being put to the test, issues relating to family came up

constantly. These issues concerned the need for understanding and controlling of anger, being honest about one's identity even in the face of disapproval from the family, being true to one's position of conscience regardless of family pressures to change, feeling a responsibility to influence the conscience of other family members, continuing to care for an elder even though the elder is rejecting of the caretaker, figuring out what to do about self protection for children in relation to their peers or for spouses in abusive relations, and finally, the need for parenting knowledge and skills. These situations were considered by the witnesses as being related to their lives as pacifists and they felt tested and they doubted about how to respond.

CHAPTER VII.

INFLUENCES

Pacifism is a journey which begins when the individual accepts pacifist ideals and values and continues as the person develops a deeper and broader understanding which may gradually become integrated into all facets of the person's life. Pacifism does not occur in a vacuum, there are various influences which promote and nurture its acceptance and further unfolding. This chapter considers the influences which contribute to the acceptance and further development of pacifism.

Personal Moment

The influences contributing to the acceptance of pacifism are both internal and external to the individual. Internally, the person must be ready and open to the message of pacifism. Externally, influences such as family upbringing contribute to that readiness. Other external influences might be the exposure to pacifism through contacts with pacifists or with materials about pacifists. Religious training may also be influential, even in religious groups which do not present pacifism to its members. Finally, experiences such as war can result in the person realizing the futility of combat.

Whether an individual is raised as a pacifist or not, accepting pacifism involves a process of commitment. The process of making a personal commitment to pacifism is being termed "personal moment," because it involves an experience of great individual significance. The personal moment begins with a precipitating event which in some way involves pacifist concepts. Such an event might be the requirement to register for military conscription, an uneasiness about paying taxes to the military, a school assignment to prepare material on the life of a pacifist, an opportunity to hear a pacifist speak, or a request to sign a peace pledge. In the precipitating event the individual recognizes a principle such as killing is wrong or that nonviolence is to be used to address wrongs rather than violence. If the principle makes sense to the person, there is an inner feeling of rightness. The individual then goes through the process of figuring out what the personal meaning and implications are and deciding whether to make a commitment to pacifism. The time involved in this personal processing may be relatively short or may take years.

Some of the pacifists interviewed were raised in pacifist families, while others came to pacifism without home teaching. There are important differences between these two groups. For those raised in a pacifist household there is a ready language to express feelings and thoughts

concerning pacifist issues. There also are expectations about not fighting in wars and not killing which individuals have repeatedly heard expressed. The beginning of the personal moment for persons raised in pacifist households may not be clearly related to a precipitating event since their exposure to pacifist ideas and perhaps actions began before the personal moment did. For those not raised in pacifist homes there usually is no language to express feelings and thoughts concerning pacifist ideas. Such persons are likely to have been raised with patriotic expectations of fighting for their country. Consequently their personal moments generally can be identified with some specific precipitating event. Beyond these beginning differences, there seem to be few differences between the two groups in the way that pacifist understanding continues to develop.¹

To illustrate personal moments culminating in acceptance of pacifism, four witnesses speak from their experience. The first two witnesses were raised in pacifist families and the second two were not. Some of the excerpts included here are rather long in order to capture the experience of the personal moment which by its very nature can take awhile.

¹See Chapters III and IV.

Witness 8, raised in a pacifist home, made pacifism her own witness at the age of 25 when she purposely lived at an income where she would not pay taxes which would have supported the military. The beginning of her personal moment is not specific, although her activity in pacifist discussions and participation in sending money for war reparation gathered from eating frugally while a student in a Quaker boarding school suggests that she was working through these issues as early as high school. She speaks as follows.

The point at which, you know, any specific action of my own that would clearly indicate internalization of the stand for myself came when I was teaching at [a Quaker boarding school] as a secretary and part time teacher for a couple of years. That was the first time I had earned enough money to be subject to income tax. I only accepted enough to keep myself just below that level for those two years.

The only models, I can remember having at that point for that stand, was my father who never paid income tax. I think [he] never earned enough to need to [pay]. It was partly on purpose, and partly accidental. It was partly just the way things were. But it was also a matter of

intention. And [name of fellow teacher at the school was the other model].

It was the only way that I knew of to avoid paying income tax; at this point, there was already a large percentage going for support of the military establishment. Role models for that [not paying], anyway, were quite few.

I wouldn't say I was more convinced. I made it, you know, I was doing things that made it my own Testimony. I made it my own Testimony rather than simply accepting what I grew up with, which was what started me out as well. [Transcript 5]

Witness 11, raised in a pacifist home, accepted pacifism as his own when he was in college and struggling with the nature of his pacifist position in response to conscription during World War II. While his personal moment includes this period of two or three years, it may have begun sooner.

Well I went to college, to Haverford. A great thing there was the relationship that I developed with Thomas Kelley, but that was the spiritual side. On the pacifism side, Douglas Steere had what he called, "a peace cell." Once a week he would challenge us to get up at 6:30 in the morning, and meet with him in his peace cell. We

thought that was gross: 6:30 AM to a college student was one hour past midnight. I went to that some, but not faithfully

The British were in the War already, and had a system by which conscientious objectors were granted exemption from military service if they could convince a court of their sincerity. Douglas, and Arnold Post, who taught me Latin, and was a Greek scholar, ex-pacifist, Quaker ex-pacifist, put on a mock tribunal. This was when I was a junior. This was in 1940. The Germans had already invaded France, captured France. There was a bunch of us, I suppose 12 or 14, I can't remember. We had to come before this tribunal to see whether we would be judged worthy of exemption from military service or not.

Boy, Arnold Post just destroyed me from his point of view. I thought he was extremely unfair. Namely, did I believe in any form of an international police force? Well, I was a history and government major, and a member of the foreign policy association, and use to go to their meetings at the Stratford in Philadelphia every once in awhile. "Of course, I believe in an

international police force." He said, "Well, I'm sorry your not a pacifist. Next?"

There was no way that he would let me believe in the legitimacy of an international police force. He thought I had to eschew violence in any form, on any level, forever. Otherwise I was no pacifist. Boy, that stunned me because the difference between the illegal use of force by a national army versus that of a legally constituted international police force, seemed crucial. We discussed it at great length in government class, and also in this peace group that met with Douglas. That was a terrible shock to me.

So that really set me back on my heels because here I was a junior, and the next year I had to decide what I was going to do with the draft, whether I was going to claim to be a conscientious objector or not, and fill out a form, and claim to be one.

So I talked to Douglas, I talked to a lot of people about Arnold Post's casting me into outer darkness like that. They sympathized with me, in that it was quite possible to treat police action as a separate thing, even though it did use violence. At least it was the legally

constituted, responsible, accountable use in contrast of personal outbursts of rage which, you know, there is no control on. There is no control on a national army except national interests.

When I was in the autumn of my senior year Pearl Harbor [occurred]. Well, I had to shape up or ship out, you know. After that challenge, I couldn't hop first on one foot and then on the other, maybe I will take this view, and maybe I'll take that view; I am some kind of pacifist, but I'm not sure what.

I had a very idealized view. These British C.O.'s who got to do work of national importance of a civilian nature without government supervision, used the court to decide that they were sincere religious objectors. We had studied, I went to Buckley Meeting regularly as a freshman and sophomore, and we studied Richard Gregg, The Power of Nonviolence, in Sunday school for two years. That was very important to me, especially his examples of how nonviolence works. So, I wanted to be a pacifist, obviously very sincerely, and just felt shattered that I failed.

That was very important when Pearl Harbor came along. Happily I was with my father when the

news broke on Pearl Harbor on a Sunday afternoon . . . He and I [had] visited West Chester Friends Meeting [that morning]. He had some speaking engagement there. I went with him. It was very comforting to be with him at the time we learned that we were in the war. I remember walking into the college dining hall at noon when Roosevelt was speaking on the radio on the loud speaker, "This day shall live in infamy," saying to myself, "I don't care who started this war, what it is for, it is all wrong. And I'm not going to have anything to do with it"

As a senior, I had to fill out this form, Form 115, claiming to be a conscientious objector. The 4th question was, "To what extent do you believe in the use of force?" I spent a week trying to fill that thing out. I used the Bible. I used Jesus. I used Fox's famous statement about "it being impossible that Christ teach us at one time to love our enemies, turn around and kill them." "Friends do utterly deny all outward wars for any cause what so ever," I quoted that one too.

And then, of course, I considered a nonregistrant position. But it was absolutely

brand new, and far out. Some of us went with Douglas Steere down to the trial in Philadelphia of the first nonregistrant I got to see the actual fact of a c.o. trying to defend himself against being sent to prison for refusal to register. That was very impressive.

But the draft, well it was new, and the Quakers, the Brethren, and the Mennonites were very impressed that the government had legitimized conscientious objection. My father was the head of the Quaker scheme that was cooperating with the draft, work of national importance under civilian direction, that's what Civilian Public Service was. The Quakers were suppose to be running it, and the Mennonites, and the Brethren. We certainly financed it through the whole war.

So, in June of '42, I got this card in the mail saying, "You're 1A for the Army." Ah! What happened to my Form 115?. In a hurry I went down to see my draft board I went in there with my heart in my mouth, and met with these guys. Told them who I was, that I was a Quaker, and that I believed that war was wrong. Told them who my father was. In due course, I got a classification of 4E, which was conscientious objector, and

served 3 1/2 years in this labor camp, first in southern Indiana, and then in North Dakota.

Finally I got to Gatlinberg, Tennessee.

[Transcript 8]

Witness 18, not raised in a pacifist family, this 70 year old woman had her personal moment beginning in college and continuing for three or four years afterward. She described the precipitating event when she was a sophomore in a college where she received her nurse's training. After graduation she went to another school where she received training in religious education and social work. It was there that staff from the American Friends Service Committee came recruiting volunteers for a peace education summer project.

Probably the first time I made a visible choice was when I was a sophomore in college. Someone came around with a petition that was not so much a petition, but a declaration, a declaration that I would be unwilling to participate in any war. And I didn't give it a great deal of thought but I didn't see any reason for not signing it because I thought war was not a good idea and I didn't want to go along with it, and hoped I would never have to.

[Did you think about these issues before?]

Not specifically in terms of the moral issues surrounding war itself. I think I was always one who felt threatened by conflict. I remember being upset when I heard adults quarrel. But I never made any association between that attitude and war. I was aware of the honor given to returning soldiers. I was aware of the fact that my father didn't go because he had a very minor physical disability. I was aware of the fact that my neighbors every so often got into uniform and paraded on Memorial Day. But I never made the association really between that and the significance of war as an instrument of national policy in my country. It was just a part of my childhood memories without being associated with the global scene in any way.

I probably wouldn't have been using the term [pacifism]. I had not been active in any social movement, I was not participating in extracurricular activities. When I was in college I was majoring in nursing. That was a very, very heavy schedule we were carrying and very, very little by way of extracurricular campus activities. Even though, as I look back, I

realize that part of circulating this little statement asking our students to sign was part of it, but I was not active in any groups like that at all. So I would say, it was just not part of my experience, and I probably wouldn't even have known, I might have known what the term meant, but I'm not sure

What happened next in my development as a pacifist? Spring of 1938, the field secretary from American Friends Service Committee Peace Education, came to our campus recruiting volunteers for summer projects in peace education. I volunteered for work with the Service Committee for that program. I don't know particularly know why, except that by then I had put it together as a way of the teachings of Jesus as a way for loving your enemies. "And this is the first and great commandment to love your neighbor as yourself."

I guess in Shauffler, there was much more of an international emphasis than I had gotten in my other college training in nursing, because it was a school that had proportionately a fairly large group of students who came from other countries. That was part of its emphasis; it was early on a

missionary training school. By the time I went there, it was a college. But the emphasis of outreach of a Christian emphasis to other countries was implicit in much of its curriculum. The global application of the precept of loving your neighbor and loving your enemy was in the political realm, would have to be pacifism

I didn't have particular plans for the summer, I had some vague ideas Then, I guess in retrospect I was trying to justify and see what had led me to that. Very likely the association between that and the teachings we were getting, particularly in this course on the life and teachings of Jesus, and the connection I then made between the significance for the work for world peace. And so that summer when I was serving as a volunteer with the Service Committee in the program called, The Student Peace Service, was really a water-shed time for me because it was after that that I came back to [name of city] and looked up Friends and started attending Meeting, and then continued to work. By then, there was no question in my mind, I was myself a pacifist.

[Transcript 6]

Witness 19, not raised a pacifist, this 80 year old man was born and grew up in Germany, where he lived through World War I. This experience of bearing witness greatly influenced his deepening pacifism. This war was the precipitating event in his life. He received food from the American Friends Service Committee during that time. Not initially connecting the humanitarian aid to pacifism, he later made the link and accepted pacifism.

I don't think I seriously thought about pacifism until the mid-thirties, mid-1930s. I was about 30 years old then. I liked the principles of American Friends Service Committee, but it was the ideal of feeding the hungry. I could not connect actual pacifism with this feeding, probably because I was, well, I was about 14 at that time, when I got the Quaker soup from AFSC in Germany. I thought it was a very humanitarian process, but I could not think in terms of pacifism at that time.

Well, I cannot pinpoint it, but it was a process that evolved over the years, simply because I saw another war coming up and, I think, learned through the first World War, the futility of wars. Feeling the coming of another world war

is when I began to think about the elimination of war, and of pacifism, and of avoiding war.

[Defining pacifism] In a simple way at that time, by a process of international negotiations, if that's what you are thinking of, by treaties. Pacifism was not motivated by religious sentiment, more from a humanitarian viewpoint . . . I was not a member of the Religious Society of Friends at that time. The only contact I had with the Friends at that time was indirectly by the Wider Quaker Fellowship . . . It was . . . when I married [name] that the two of us kind of stimulated each other in the direction of pacifism. I don't think she was a pacifist when I married her, but I think she leaned toward pacifism; I don't think I was a convinced pacifist then. It was after we had married that we kind of grew together [in pacifism]. I suppose if I had stayed in Germany, like all my other friends, classmates . . . I probably would have gone into war with them. I tell the Friends they are not any more or any less religious than I am. If, under the circumstances, they were not forced to go to war and bear arms, but they felt it was their obligation, not only towards their country,

but also to their family. But I meant, in war . . . men get a primitive, you might call it that, primitive idea that they have to protect their families, their country, and it's still with us. It is innate, an innate feeling that is difficult to overcome. It is really difficult to believe in pacifism. It is, you see, the struggle among people, as individuals, to survive and then as nations to survive. Frankly, I'm only honest when I tell you I don't think force will ever be eliminated, but to eliminate war is a worthy effort to spend your life at, no matter how futile you think that effort is. [Transcript 16]

Deepening Pacifism

There are many influences which contribute to the deepening of pacifism. One source may be the family which several witnesses have already discussed in earlier chapters. For some the historical era is of importance. For others there have been models or even mentors, while for some educational opportunities are nurturing. Another important source is the experience of bearing witness. And finally failure can contribute to further growth. In the following excerpts various witnesses discuss the influences which contributed to their deepening pacifism.

Witness 20 vividly described his experience of doing relief work in France during World War I. When asked what further development he wants to see in himself as a pacifist before he dies, he speaks about helping people to learn to live together.

Three of us [pacifist relief workers] put up little demountable houses. We could lay the foundation, and build the houses. Three of us could do one in three days, a little two-room barrackmal. One evening . . . three of us got home late because we had moved mama, grandmama, Evette and Collette, two- and four-year-old children, little girls, into their new home. We stopped and had [coffee] with them after we got their furniture and got them in. So we got home after dark that evening and ate. When we got home, there was a French lieutenant [there]. This French lieutenant visited us many times. Any evening we might expect him to come in and visit, why I don't know. And when we got home, he was there. He said, "Now we have learned, we know, that the Germans are going to start an offensive tomorrow morning at five o'clock, but we'll put them out of commission, because we're going to start at four o'clock and we have all of their gun

emplacements and we will bomb those gun
emplacements and put them out of commission."
Well, we went to bed as we usually did, fairly
early. At three o'clock we heard shells going
over our heads, over the houses where we were
living They were going the wrong
direction. They were going from the German line
back of the English line. So we promptly ate and
went, started early that morning. We three went
back and helped mama, Evette, Collette and
grandmama move out to retreat before eight o'clock
the next morning. Then we moved out that
afternoon, with the Germans just over the hill.

[Later when asked about his pacifism being
tested when doing relief work?] Oh, no. You see
. . . it seemed to me common sense, just the
correct thing to do, to give people houses and
tools and equipment We bought a carload of
chickens and I brought the chickens back to Verdun
. . . . then [we] went out and sold these chickens
to the villagers. For instance we sold no one
more than three or four hens, and I brought back
about 800 hens and something near thirty roosters,
and then we gave the mayor the roosters. He saw
that the hens were serviced and I saw some little

chickens hatched from those eggs before I left. Well, everything was gone. They had no chickens, they had no rabbits, they had no goats, they had no livestock, they had no garden seed, they had no tools to work their gardens. So we made it possible to get all those things

The metal of farm implements was of great use, so the Germans had collected acres of farm implements and were preparing to send them to Germany to be made into military equipment. Then we took over those and they'd been torn down and thrown into piles and so forth. We reassembled those farm implements and made them of use to the farmers again. We did many different things in Europe and that was one of the more useful, I think

Well, I think that the most important thing for me to do, the rest of my life, it may be one year, it may be five or six, or whatever, is to help the people of the world, in my own family, in the restricted small community and internationally, to learn how we can live together on Earth, so far as we know, there is only one Earth, and if we don't live together, I think, the chances are we will die together. And I believe

that the experiment of human beings is important enough that it ought to continue. Therefore, I think the most important thing I can do the rest of my life is to try to help people to live together on our Earth. [Transcript 22]

Witness 5 found that role models, reading on nonviolence and relationships were particularly important.

I would say from '55 to mid '60s there were two influences on me. One was the Quaker boarding school, [name]. And I think in that context, I would say, its influence extends a good deal beyond the year of my graduation . . . But, there again, that was an intellectual sort of understanding of what pacifism was about. It also provided me an opportunity to meet some role models. There were teachers there who had been conscientious objectors, and were pacifists. One man in particular was a highly revered teacher. Everyone loved him, and that sort of thing. I think I can remember . . . that he was able to interfere in conflict situations in a gentle kind of way Thinking back on it, there was a real community there. Students were involved in the decision-making regarding disciplining

students. And one got the feeling that one was being listened to, at least to a degree.

The other big influence . . . was my brother-in-law. My sister married a man who was a conscientious objector in the Korean War, and had done alternative service work with the American Friends Service Committee in North Africa, and in Europe. I think in terms of role models for my life, he was one of the strongest influences that I had during my adolescent years, other than my teachers at school. And he was a guy that I really liked a lot.

Then comes '68 to '75. I would say that the biggest influence was certainly the Friends Meeting in [place], where I really felt I became part of a community. Then following that, I think Gene Sharp's book, Politics of Nonviolent action [was an important influence].

Now from '75 to '85. As we have been talking about it, I think that probably my evolving definition of pacifism has to do . . . [with] my close relationships, particularly with women. [They] have been a very strong influence. So I will say, "Relationships with women, particularly my marriage." [Transcript 7]

Witness 10 searched for ways to defend herself nonviolently and has become involved in working with rape victims and other women's issues as expression of her pacifism.

[I have had] involvement with the Rape Crisis Center, [other] organizations since then, [and] changed my focus from ending war somewhere overseas to working on issues which were a lot more personal. I did a lot of reading and lots of searching for nonviolent self defense I felt for . . . quite awhile like I was the odd ball again. I didn't think violence was the appropriate response, that there was some way of defending oneself without seriously endangering or killing the other person. It was a matter of how awful whatever this person is doing, they are still not a rotten person. [I was] just struggling with this for awhile, even after I started working for the Rape Crisis Center.

[Transcript 4]

As with the acceptance of pacifism, the influences contributing to its deepening are both internal and external. Internally the existing understandings, pattern of emotional response, belief system and history of an individual influence how one interacts with current

experience. Externally there are many kinds of influences which may nurture continued development as a pacifist, such as the family, role models, education, bearing witness, as well as the experience of violence itself.

CHAPTER VIII.
THE SPIRITUAL LINK

Logically you would expect that religious pacifists would have a clear understanding and articulation of the connection between their spiritual and pacifist development. One would assume that this connection is so clear that asking a question about it would simply be a matter of curiosity in how people would articulate their understanding and experience. Near the end of the interview witnesses were asked, "How is your spiritual development connected to your development as a pacifist?" Much to my surprise a connection could not be assumed. Religious pacifists do not necessarily relate their pacifist development to their spiritual development. In this chapter we will consider the pattern, if any, that was evident among pacifists in making a connection between their spiritual development and pacifist development, and explore how their spiritual or religious experience influenced their pacifism.

Making the Connection

The answers to the question on the connection between spiritual and pacifist development varied from "there is no connection," "there is a connection but I'm not sure what it is," to the response that their "spiritual and pacifist

development are one and the same." These responses seemed to be related to whether the person was defining pacifism narrowly, somewhat expanded, or very broadly. How religious pacifists view their spiritual and pacifist development seems to depend on where they developmentally are in defining pacifism¹ and where they are on the avoidance factor in their conflict management style.²

Witness 19 defined pacifism in its narrowest sense and in his conflict management style prefers to avoid conflict rather than face it. His answer to the question was simply, "No, no, no." [Transcript 16]

Witness 16 incorporated a economic social dimension into his understanding of pacifism. His definition of pacifism includes both an international definition as well as a structural understanding and he has a closed style of conflict management. He has not really thought about his spirituality and when asked the question about the connection between his spiritual and pacifist development, he makes the connection, but it is more a matter of being open to the possibility. He is not quite sure whether the two are connected.

My spiritual development is something I haven't probed into and so I have a hard time answering

¹See Chapter III.

²See Chapter V.

that . . . As I try to figure out what my spiritual self is, I think of times when I listen to music that moves me deeply, and I cry to music that, when someone is expressing themselves and overflowing, giving a message of love and concern, I feel as though that has to do with my spirit, my spiritual self, I don't know. [Transcript 2]

Witness 10's definition of pacifism includes the international, economic and interpersonal dimensions. In her conflict management style, she has made the change from avoiding conflict to facing it. She feels that her spiritual and pacifist development are connected, although she cannot clearly articulate what the connection might be.

I can't remember a time when I didn't feel that there was something larger than myself, that was pushing me to do certain things. I have always used the term, "God," for that, something located in myself. I'm having a hard time figuring out whether I'm a Christian or not. It's a lot more complicated than just using the term, "God." And I guess, I really don't know if it is a stubbornness that I have, or whether I'm really getting some help from a source outside myself. But from a very young age, I have set for myself the goals that were somewhat larger than I ought

to be trying to do. I felt they were goals that I should set, but somehow I didn't get through them. I've always thought they were suppose to be bigger than what I was suppose to be doing. And as long as I can remember I have always very carefully considered decisions I have made, whether they would effect other people, or even decisions about what I am going to do with my life. And I didn't use religious terms attached to that, but it has always been connected somehow. Although I'm not being forced into decisions, I am certainly being led in certain directions. [Transcript 4]

Witness 5's definition of pacifism has expanded to the broadest inclusion of the spiritual realm. In his conflict management style he has changed from avoiding conflict to facing it. He sees his spiritual and pacifist development as synonymous.

Well, isn't that what we have been talking about for the last hour and a half. Yes. What's the connection? Well, I certainly think there is a connection there. I think back, you know, back to my old agnostic days. You know, I defined, I justified my pacifism pretty much along the lines, "It doesn't make sense to go and kill people." It was in the very humanistic terms, very pragmatic,

in fact, intellectual. And as my understanding of religion, of my own personal religious growth, has moved along, so has my definition and understanding of pacifism. And they've gotten, one hesitates, they've become melded together.

[Transcript 7]

Spiritual Experience

Spiritual and religious experience varies greatly from one person to the next. In this section we will consider different kinds of experience and the ways in which the pacifist is influenced by those experiences. Although many theological perspectives are evidenced here, the focus is on spiritual and religious experience in relation to pacifism, rather than on ideology.

Spiritual development leading to pacifism

There are several instances of people in this study who had not been raised in pacifist homes, yet came to pacifism through their own spiritual growth.

Witness 21 comes from a military family where religion was also very important. His personal moment began as a junior in high school when he read about William Penn. In his spiritual life he was drawn to the love and teachings of Christ and so the example of Penn greatly impressed him.

Later when he had joined the military he found that he had a growing uneasiness about killing, preparing others to kill or healing soldiers so that they could return to killing. His personal moment lasted until he was 30 years old, around the time he did the interview. By the time he could say he was a pacifist, his understanding of pacifism had expanded to include the fullest meanings. At first he had realized these understandings in spiritual terms and then saw them as being pacifistic and that for him the two are now one and the same thing. This long excerpt illustrates the thinking and deep spiritual feelings involved in one person's process of accepting pacifism.

I knew that William Penn's conviction had something to do with his faith and I also found that was very consistent with what was to me the Spirit of Christ. Even in my limited experience of sixteen/seventeen years, when I felt like the Spirit of Christ was what unity was all about, that somehow violence, warring, didn't fit in with the same kind of spirit that I thought Christ was about. And somehow with what Penn was talking about and doing, that was consistent, it made sense I noticed something really interesting. On days that they talked about the kill-power of weapons and the effective range of

weapons, I noticed, I didn't know how to explain it at the time, I noticed on those days I was kind of down and kinda depressed, I really didn't want to learn that. Especially because I was doing pre-med in college. I thought, "I don't want to take anybody's life. I want to, I want to save life if I can." And so I found that real inconsistent with who I was and I was depressed. On other days when we were learning things, doing physical training and other things, I did well . . . but I was so ingrained with this patriotism and nationalism, that even though, this is often the case with me, even though something may come at me at a deeper level, yet I find that, so many times, and I think this is probably the case at that time, that my cognitive processes had not caught up with what I was doing in [the spiritual] sphere. And my cognitive process still had made all kinds of good sense, that it is logical that if someone was threatening our families, our nation's freedoms, that it was still cognitively, it was still logically the thing to do to defend that, as much as you might dislike having to take someone else's life, or harming anyone else . . . Well, the next thing was on graduation from

college. I had to go on active duty in the Army. I was among a group that met together one evening a week for Bible study, it was called "Officers Christian Fellowship," which is a national organization of military officers . . . there was a group of us met together one evening a week and had these Bible studies. Well, this is a question that recurringly comes up to this group, and it came up in our local meeting. Some of us who were younger, just having no time really invested, I mean, we were just coming on active duty, we would ask some of the older officers, "What about this? What about being Christian and being in the military? About 'Thou shalt not kill,' and about what we're training here, to take lives and to make war?" And of course, we asked these questions to a very biased group. We were asking these to men who were majors and lieutenant colonels and colonels who had fifteen, twenty, sometimes more years of their life invested in the military. And so they had already worked through it and had a lot of rationalizations to support where they were coming from and to support and to justify them making a military career. And, so, we were asking a very biased group where we didn't

have access then to anyone that would present the other side and tell us why, being Christians, we should consider something other than the military. I don't question those men's Christianity at all. Some of them were deeply committed. I question, at this point, their standing on this, but I don't question their heart. I think their faith is as good as mine . . . I was feeling some uneasiness about being in the military and I was trying to, there again, it's what I said before, it's something within that I couldn't explain, couldn't articulate, couldn't understand, even, was feeling uncomfortable and not feeling right about this, but it made sense to be there. It made sense to maintain peace by being strong, have a strong national defense, then, and some of the scripture verses they would bring out of the Bible would even string together in a logical sequence to give justification to their position. But for some reason, even with all that, I just felt an uneasiness. But then, probably more than now, my cerebrum was still way out ahead. I mean, when we approach the specific Western civilization, we approach life in a very cerebral way, we want to understand and want to know. And I think even

more so then than for now, it's kind of the way I tried to lead my life, by [cerebral] understanding that my actions lined up and were consistent with what I could understand, including theologically . . . I think of [my understanding of pacifism] kind of like a seed. I feel like there is a lot of time of germination. I feel like there was a lot of time when the seed was just, was under the soil before it ever broke through the earth. I don't even know that it's blossomed yet. I would think that maybe it's come to the surface, maybe it's out of the ground now, because I'm more willing to admit that I am cognitively aware of this process now than I ever was before. I can, I can see it. But yet it seems like even now there is a lot of theory and it's like how do I put this into practice? How is it going to change my life, how is it going to help change anyone else's life? How is it gonna make the little world I live in any better for me and for those who share it with me, that come in contact with my world? And I think there is a real question there. The old scripture that talks about faith without works. So, I think, I think I've still got some growing to do. I'm excited about that. I'm a little

frightened sometimes by that, too. It could mean some risk, I suppose, and responsibility. But I remember where, years ago, I prayed, and I said, "Lord, if it takes the difficult times and the hard places to cause me to grow, then make those places come." There's a sense, of course, of not wanting the hard places, but if that's what it takes to walk in the light, to follow Christ, then amen. That's inevitable, because that's the way I'm going And I think, and I don't know exactly altogether how, but this is one and the same or this is intimately tied, at least, with this whole thing we've been talking about, the way of peace. It's life. [Transcript 25]

Spiritual experience contributing to conflict management

At times people have spiritual experiences which influence how they live from then on. A few of the individuals in this study spoke about such experiences either in acknowledging that they had happened or in one particular case describing the experiences.

Witness 1 described his experiences in using meditative states.

Well I think once I took those decisions in my early college years of not registering, I was

forced to pay more attention to my spiritual life. I really believed when I went into prison that I would come out having achieved real heights of spiritual growth which didn't actually occur. But what I am saying, it forced me to put much more attention in that area. In the years immediately following prison, when I was in college, these were the years when I had significant breakthroughs in my spiritual growth, at least one level of spiritual growth, which has to do, here I'm almost out of terms, a phenomenology of meditation, and its effect on behavior. That's a little too narrow, but it is an important aspect of it I had two experiences which are touchstones in my whole life regarding pacifism and interpersonal relationships. And in a sense they enabled me to become more aggressive as a person and to develop confidence in what these meant to me.

The first one was in a morning meditation before dawn, at a time when I had learned to really relax the body, felt like the feet were miles away. I was just sitting there, not knowing what was happening, just sitting there in peace. I saw a little mouse running around in a

circle in the dim light. Out of this high place in meditation, I looked down with, what's the word, compassion? And I remember thinking to myself, "Little mouse I love thee. I wish thee would come and run on my lap." And the mouse did. And I was in that state where I wasn't even surprised. He ran up my leg, played around in my lap, snuggled into a hole in my sweater sleeve, elbow sleeve, went this way, couldn't go any further, came back. Started up here, so then I started getting nervous about it, so I shook him out, so he ran down. Then I remembered thinking, "Little mouse I'm sorry. I wish thee would come back." And again it was no surprise, he came back. This time he nibbled my finger and I shook him off for good.

I have told the story many times about what happens to people in worship . . . The miracle was not that the mouse ran up on me, that happens in literature a lot, but the thing that struck me was that I had no fear or anxiety about the mouse even though he was an adult creature. That told me something right away about how being in a state of what I would now call worship, rather than meditation, the two are related, being in this

state really does something to one's perceptions, one's anxieties, one's fears. It allays one's fears. And that is great. Not only one's anxieties and fears, but also one's ability to make good judgments, and ability to respond in a creative way. Although I wasn't thinking about all that at the time, but I remember it many, many times since when dealing with difficult people I would consciously go into that state.

The other story is a little different but I am sure it grew out of that same experience with meditation. It happened one morning in early Spring when I was walking to my apartment off campus at that time, and was simply taken up into a kind of ecstasy as I looked up through the bare trees at the sky in this early Spring. I don't know that anything like this has happened before or since, but once was enough. I was just so absorbed with that ecstasy of beauty that I walked along in kind of a trance which has to be the same as worship as far as I'm concerned. When I approached my house I saw this dog out of the corner of my eye, which always barked at me most ferociously when I came in or out of my apartment. I was looking out of the corner of my eye and he

was looking at me off the porch. I knew instinctively, in a fraction of a second, that he was looking at me differently, and I knew why because I was in an altered state of consciousness and I was different. So I said to myself, "Aha, I will stay in a walking meditation." But I didn't fool him, he came out and barked. But after that every time I went the house or out of the house I would very consciously go into a walking meditation. By the end of the week the dog no longer barked at me, and in fact became very attached to me and would follow me over the campus, and would bark at anyone who came near me. That story told me what I guess I would like to believe and a lot of literature I have read since, tales from other religions around the world, that this has been witnessed many times elsewhere, that when one is in this altered state of consciousness then other creatures are less likely to be aggressive. And so I have remembered that again and again when I have dealt with difficult people. There are times when I have worked with students when it has been clear to me that I was getting different kinds of results as long as I stayed in that state. It was not always perfect results,

but at least, so that in a sense, that has become second nature, not always, when dealing with difficult people. [Transcript 1]

Religious training detracting from pacifism

Several individuals described ways in which their religious training worked against their development. Usually women would broach this subject.

Witness 4 had a long struggle feeling herself to be called to be a minister and to nontraditional roles as a woman.

Well I grew up in a morally fundamentalist church situation. It was difficult to break out of that and see possibilities of other points of view. I think as I have been freed from the constraints of that fundamentalism, I have been able to see others and their viewpoints much more clearly. And I think this helps in being a pacifist and in acknowledging differences, and in accepting differences, in working with others who have differing view points from ours. But I think in my early years I had a fervent faith that was rigid, and quite contrary to the seeking aspect of Friends. I think I appreciate now the emphasis on

seeking and dialogue that Friends have because I do see those earlier experiences in the church. I think it is so important for understanding to try to work things through with dialogue. Quakers are strong in that, and teaching that. [Transcript 3]

Religious training enhancing pacifism

Religious training and experience could also enhance pacifism, and several spoke from this perspective.

Witness 11 admitted to having difficulties with his anger all through his life. His religious training and experience have provided him a model of conduct which he is striving to put into practice.

Well, as I got here, and I am obeying Jesus, it [pacifism] has come more and more important to me in this regard. When you are talking about the differential between activist pacifist males and the violence they show versus those men who are deeply religiously committed, I think that's for me because there's hundreds of times when I did violence toward my son when he was disobeying me. I was a bad father, you know, I would just flare up with rage when he did something forbidden. And if I hit him or did something, then I was just overcome with shame, and begged for forgiveness

and that's very bad parenting I'm told. There were just hundreds of times when I have been preserved from the fruits of my rage by remembering that I am a follower of Jesus. I am committed to Him. Sometimes, you know, the reason I was uncomfortable walking picket lines is because I tend to flare up when someone challenges me on a picket line. So, that's been a thing that I've learned is the commitment to the Prince of Peace has saved me from a lot of either violence of thought, and intent, in speech, but especially, from actual physical retaliation. I think that's why [name] made the remark he did about me as his teacher. He just feels this churning in me about injustice, rage at things that go wrong, deeply morally wrong, and he thinks it's rather miraculous that I am still a pacifist in some sense. Well, if I weren't committed to the way of the Lord and His peaceable kingdom, I don't know how I would keep the lid on.

[Transcript 8]

Religious training may detract or enhance pacifism. Some pacifists experience religious teachings as constraints or inhibitors to expressing what God calls them to be. This

is particularly true for women when they are expected to adhere only to roles of passive servanthood. Other pacifists find religious teachings as liberating forces or, in some cases, as means for controlling pent up anger. Whatever their situation, however, as their understanding of pacifism deepens, and they are able to face conflict rather than avoid it, religious pacifists find that their pacifist and spiritual development are one.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCLUSION

Developmental Theory of Pacifism

Regardless of whether a person has been raised in a pacifist family there is a common pattern of change experienced by individuals in their pacifist journey beginning with embracing pacifism and continuing to the fullest understanding of and living pacifist ideals and values. That there is a growth process beyond the acceptance of pacifism is in sharp contrast to the prevailing views on pacifism which see it as a possible end state in moral development (Kohlberg, 1976), or motivated by political expediencies (Bonisch, 1981; Sylvester, 1980), or purely as a theological (Schaeffer et al., 1983; Sider, 1979) or ethical position (Galtung, 1981).

The experiences of twenty-five pacifists indicate that the beginning of a consideration of pacifist ideals and values may begin as early as junior high school or may occur anytime in adulthood. The personal moment which brackets the time period in which an individual initially questions pacifist ideas and personally accepts pacifism may be relatively short or may take many years.

The on-going development of pacifism can be seen in the changing definitions of both pacifism and violence (Figure

1). Initially definitions will be narrowly focused and then will expand to a much fuller understanding. For pacifism the sequence of expansion follows a pattern of including additional areas of human interaction. For violence the sequence of expansion follows a pattern of growing sensitivity.¹ The detached definitions become more personal as they incorporate additional components.

¹Note that the psychological category discussed in Chapter IV has been combined with the institutional category in this model in order to illustrate more clearly the parallelism in the definition changes between pacifism and violence.

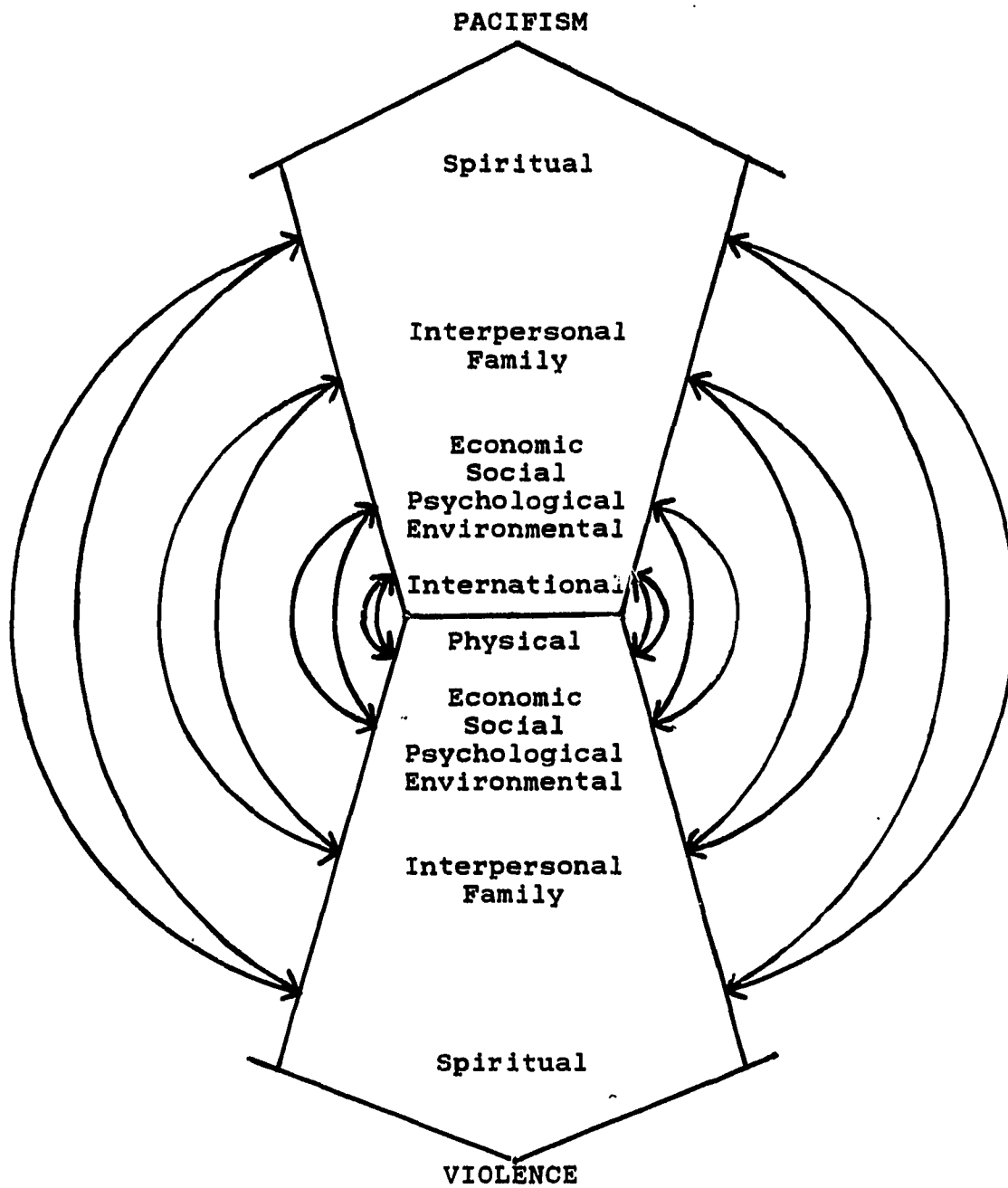


Figure 1. Definitions of pacifism and violence: Sequence of expansion

Although at first thought, consideration of international relations may seem more all-encompassing than the more interpersonal areas illustrated in the model, the process that occurs is more a deepening and broadening of the definition of what it means to be a pacifist. The commitment permeates all aspects of life, and is not just something happening between countries. As the definition and understanding of pacifism develop to include more components than the lack of war, there is a concurrent change in the definition of what constitutes violence. If economic or social aggression violate principles of pacifism, then psychological or institutional implementation of such aggression is considered to be violence. As pacifism becomes a spiritual belief system, acts contrary to that belief system is viewed as violence. Figure 1 illustrates this concurrent change pattern between pacifist development and the definition of violence.

Parallelling changes in definitions are major paradigm shifts (Figure 2). One shift is from being against war, violence, or injustice to working on relationship building whether at the global, community, or personal levels. The other shifts are along six dimensions in the individual's conflict management style.

I. Peace Orientation

Orientation shifts from being reactive to destructive attitudes and actions to being proactive to life-affirming attitudes and actions.



II. Conflict Management Style

Conflict management shifts from a closed to open style along six factors.

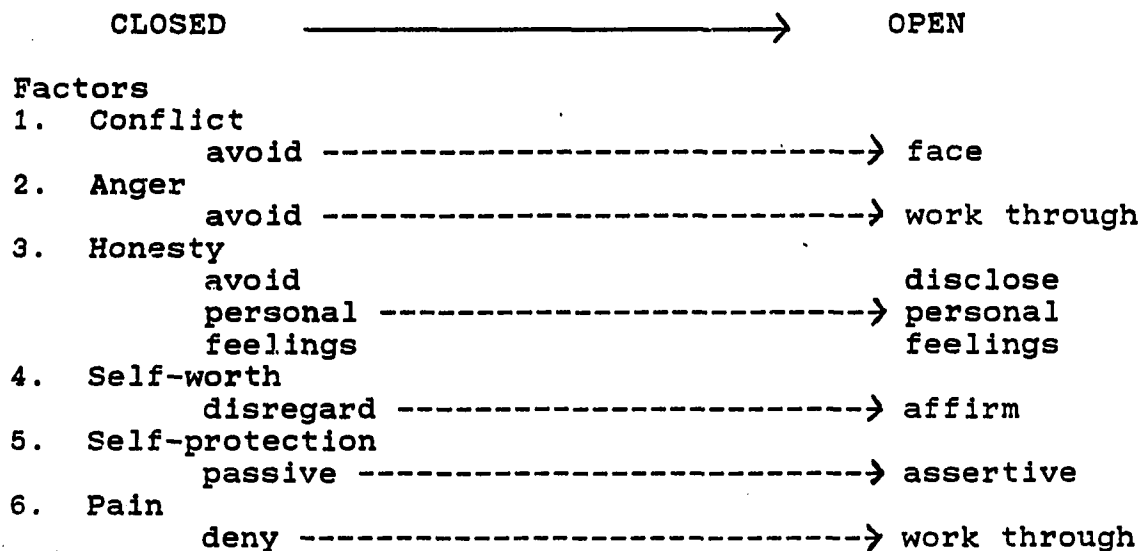


Figure 2. Paradigm shifts

As pacifism deepens, the individual is likely to be less sure of how to respond in confrontative situations because the growing sensitivity to what is violent and the increasing areas of human interaction which are viewed as relevant to pacifism result in a lack of familiar tactics or strategies. Former responses are no longer adequate to the new levels of consciousness. The doubting of how to respond becomes an important mechanism to invite searching for more appropriate responses which may result in making the paradigm shifts involved in pacifism.

According to how pacifists view being tested, testing of a person's pacifism usually comes at unexpected times and situations. These occurrences invariably involve questions of how to respond nonviolently to violent or possibly violent situations.

In contrast to the view on being tested, is the consideration of bearing witness. Pacifists do not deem bearing witness as being tested probably because such acts are carefully chosen after a great deal of soul searching. The pacifist, in such cases, is aware of possible adverse effects, and is prepared to accept the consequences (Figure 3).

Personal Moment

The period of time which begins with the consideration of pacifist ideas and results in a personal commitment to pacifism. This process may be relatively short or may take many years.

Doubts

Search for life-affirming responses to violent or potentially violent situations.

Testing

Opportunities to respond with life-affirming ways in violent or potentially violent situations.

Witness

Conscious planned choice to bear witness to pacifist views with a commitment to respond in life-affirming ways to violence and to accept the consequences without personally resorting to the use of violence.

Figure 3. Supportive mechanisms which may support further pacifist development

The influences which contribute to the acceptance and deepening of pacifism are many. These range from family and religious teaching to exposure to pacifist thinking from schooling, role models, or pacifist material such as peace pledges.

Religious pacifists regard differently the connection between their pacifist and spiritual development depending on where they are developmentally in their pacifism.

Pacifists with a narrow understanding view their pacifist

development as being unrelated to their spiritual development, those with a somewhat broader understanding perceive their pacifist and spiritual development to be related but have difficulty articulating the connection, and those who have the fullest understanding judge their pacifist and spiritual development to be the same.

Discontinued development

Not all pacifists develop to the fullest potential. Some "get stuck," and some reject pacifism. The difference being that those who are stuck continue to accept pacifism but do not continue their pacifist development, while the others both reject pacifism and no longer continue their pacifist development. What can be said about these cases? A few of the people interviewed had not proceeded any further in their pacifist development from where they had been for many years, if not decades in some cases. This was evidenced by their definitions no longer expanding and by proceeding no further in their conflict management style than where they had been. In these cases there was material shared which indicated long-standing personal, marital or family problems, which were not evidenced in pacifists who continued to develop. This is not to say that the latter did not have problems. The difference seemed to be in whether the individual was able to resolve those problems

through use of resources, such as therapy, and in taking other appropriate actions, such as leaving abusive situations.

While no ex-pacifists were interviewed, several individuals who were interviewed did make references to pacifist family members who had abandoned their position during World War II, and there was also mention of an ex-pacifist professor who served on a mock tribunal to test and judge the authenticity of students' pacifist positions. It is not known where these individuals were developmentally. The situation of ex-pacifists poses an interesting research question, where are these individuals developmentally when they reject pacifism?

Figure 4 summarizes the developmental theory of pacifism. Paradigm shifts and expansion of the definition of pacifism and violence influence one another. They in turn are affected by mechanisms and contextual influences.

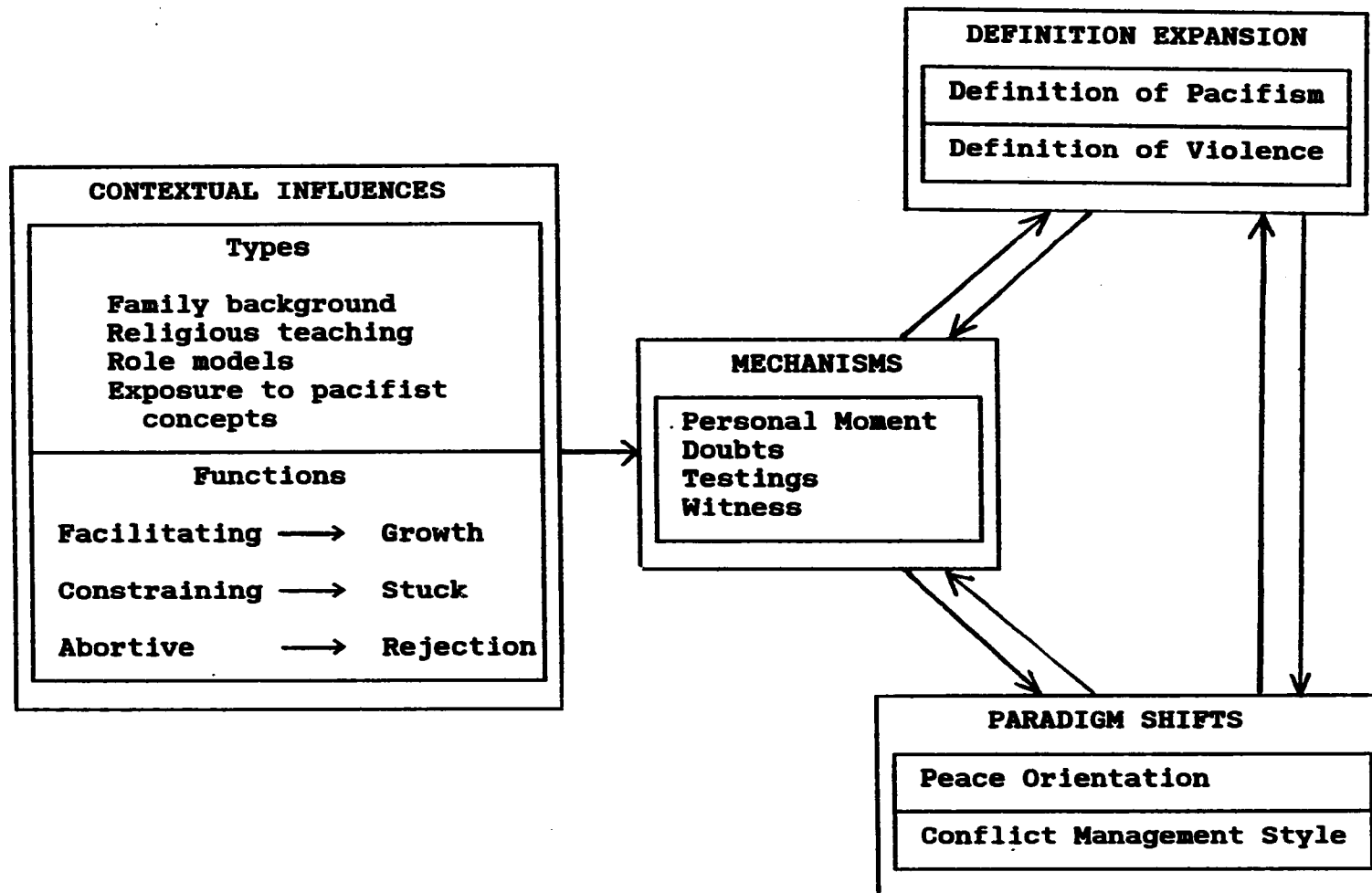


Figure 4. Developmental model of pacifism

Conflict theory and pacifist development

Jetse Sprey (1979) takes a conflict perspective toward marriage and family. He sees conflict of interests being inherent in both, and that love is necessary but not sufficient in coping with conflict. He suggests that studying marriage and family is to view

the constitutive process of these normative arrangements as a sequence of negotiating, problem-solving, and conflict-management events.

(Sprey, 1979. p. 156)

Despite the promise of the conflict perspective, it has not become a major framework (Thomas & Wilcox, 1987). The study of conflict in families has used the framework of family power rather than the conflict perspective, but it too has not become a major framework (Szinovacz, 1987).

The developmental theory of pacifism is compatible with the basic view of conflict theory that conflict is part of all human relationships. Beyond this, however, it is difficult to see how the two theories could be connected or further, how the pacifist theory as far as conflict management style is concerned could build on the family power research on conflict.

Family theory and pacifist development

Pacifist developmental theory fits into the conceptual framework of the family ecosystem model (Bubolz et al., 1979; Darling, 1987; Morrison, 1974). In this model there are three main components, the organism or envired unit, its environment, and the network of interactions between them. The organism or envired unit can be either the family unit or an individual within the unit. The environment can be the family, and/or any aspect or combination of structures within the larger society, world, or cosmos. The environment outside of the family consists of the natural environment which provides the fundamental resources for survival; the human-behavioral environment which includes emotions, thoughts, and behavioral and social patterns; and finally, the human-constructed environment which consists of structures that mediate between the natural and human environments.

The central focus of the pacifist development theory is the individual in the contexts of family as well as the larger environments and that person's conceptualizations, behavioral, psychological and social patterns, as these relate to pacifism. As the individual interacts with self, family, and the various outside environments, changes occur in definitions of pacifism and violence, psychological and behavioral paradigms, and views on spiritual linkage.

Family as a context is important to pacifist development because it is a primary socializing agent. Families of origin which hold pacifist values are the main transmitters of those values to their children. However, this does not guarantee that offspring from those families will claim a pacifist position for themselves once they have left home. Family is also the primary context in which conflict management styles are formed and changed. As children, individuals may learn one style of conflict management, and then as adults in their marital and/or parental interactions there are opportunities for further development. Family is also the place where a foundation is laid for spiritual development.

Philosophy of Science

The shaping of developmental models

Developmental psychology being a perspective within the field of psychology has basically focused on the intrapsyche phenomena of human beings. The classical developmental models have six characteristics. These are that developmental change is: 1) sequential, 2) unidirectional, 3) an end state, 4) irreversible, 5) qualitative-structural transformation, and 6) universal (Baltes, 1983). According to these six criteria, development involves movement from a simple state or phase to a more complex one and is described

in terms of stages. Examples of classical type models can be seen in Erikson's model of psychosocial development, Piaget's model of cognitive development, and Kohlberg's model of moral development (Erikson, 1963; Kohlberg, 1976; Piaget, 1970).

The classical models have typically dealt with child development where maturation is an integral component of any developmental process. In adulthood, maturation is of much less relevance and consequently as theorists took on a life-span perspective, they found that the traditional criteria for shaping models were too restrictive (Baltes, 1983). In addition, theorists who take the life-span perspective also have had to deal with the issue of environmental influences (Bronfenbrenner, 1983a).

The simultaneous relaxation of the criteria which define the construction of theoretical models along with the inclusion of environmental considerations in models have brought about quite an upheaval in the field. Where there was once consensus on definitions, methodologies, and agendas for the direction of the field, there is now disagreement, and dissension (Bronfenbrenner, 1983b; Dixon and Nesselroade, 1983; Kagan, 1983; Kaplan, 1983; White, 1983).

One theorist, Patricia Miller (1983), takes the following position on the concept of development:

What is critical about a developmental theory is that it focuses on change over time

[developmental theories have three tasks]:

- 1) to describe changes within one or several areas of behavior, 2) to describe changes in the relationships among several areas of behavior, and 3) to explain the course of development that has been described. (Miller, 1983, p. 5)

The theory on pacifist development fulfills the three tasks which Miller specifies. Changes are described within pacifism which take place over time. Changes are described among related areas of pacifism, in that changes in the definitions of pacifism and violence, the dimensions of conflict management style, and the view on the connection to spiritual development, occur in concert with one another. Finally, the course of development is grounded in the life experiences of twenty-five pacifists.

How does pacifism as a developmental theory relate to others developmental theories which deal with moral and spiritual development? There is a connection to several of these theories. Self actualization theory sees development progressing to a final stage of self actualization (Maslow, 1968). People in that stage esteem values which are pacifistic in nature (e.g., kindness, honesty, nonexploitation, love, goodness). Maslow's descriptions of

people in this stage as being nonexploitive and mutually caring to self and others in interpersonal relations in the family, as well as to associations (Goble, 1970), is similar to the behaviors of pacifists who have experienced paradigm shifts in their conflict management styles. Also people in this stage have developed a personality unity which is comparable to the pacifist's personality integration evidenced when the pacifist understanding has integrated all areas of definition and the paradigm switches have been made.

Moral development theory (Kohlberg, 1976) with its basis in cognitive development (Piaget, 1970), views development ending in a final stage which includes pacifistic values (e.g., "justice, reciprocity with equality, and respect for all people). The cognitive development involved requires that the individual have reached the stage in development where abstract reasoning can take place. The developmental theory of pacifism finds that as pacifist understanding expands, increasingly abstract thinking occurs as the definitions move from the specific situation of international conflict and physical aggression to the abstract context of the spiritual.

There is one other theory which is relevant to our discussion. As with the other developmental theories discussed, the faith development theory (Fowler, 1984) views

development evolving to an end stage where pacifistic values are experienced (e.g., inclusive community, universal love, commitment to social justice).

Constructed or descriptive theory?

Physicists during this century have been finding that they cannot give exact descriptions of the real world (Bronowski, 1973; Wilber, 1982). With physicists leading the way, philosophers of science during the last three decades have been discarding the positivist conviction that theory can and should describe actual reality (Thomas & Wilcox, 1987). Looking to the future, Thomas and Wilcox comment:

Whatever direction philosophy of science takes, it will obviously come up with a different view of the nature of scientific theory. The new theory will undoubtedly see as much more central the role of the scientist in constructing theory and its accompanying worldview. The constructed theory will be seen as much more responsible for any conclusions reached than the traditional objectivist view, which attributes any conclusions to the nature of the real world. (Thomas & Wilcox, 1987, p. 95)

It would seem that these comments would be particularly relevant for the social scientist, whose culture, gender,

professional field and orientation, as well as personal orientation do strongly influence the formulation of theory. Taking the twenty-five oral histories of the Quaker pacifists as a case in point, a sociologist studying these same data might come up with a theory of pacifist development based upon a typology of pacifists. In this formulation there might be three groups of pacifists, "the birthrights," "the war-triggered," and "the spiritually-triggered." Assignment to these groups would depend on what path led them to pacifism. The Birthrights would be individuals who were raised in pacifist families, the War-triggered would be individuals who had lived in war situations or possibly came to see war as a threat to world survival, and the Spiritually-triggered would be those people who came to pacifism primarily through their spiritual development. Further formulation of such a theory would continue to be influenced by the "who" of the social scientist.

Which theory is more true to reality is not the question to be asking, rather, what are the heuristics of each or, further, how is each theory to be used? For instance, the developmental theory of pacifism may provide the base for discovering more about paradigm shifts involved in pacifism and the conditions which are supportive or restricting of those shifts. This theory might be useful in

therapy and educational settings where there is an objective of encouraging healthier conflict management styles and better understanding of what nonviolent relations means. On the other hand, the pacifist type theory could contribute to learning more about the conditions which foster individuals to consider and accept pacifism. Such a theory might be useful in preparing materials for implementing in peace education. In general, the purpose of all social science theories is to understand better the human condition.

Linear and non-linear change

Accompanying the view that reality can be described accurately is the effort to explain causal relations between or among elements of reality. If what we observe is factual, then when changes occur in phenomena there must be a cause(s) and, according to the positivist view, as scientists our job is to find and explain causality, as well as predict occurrences of phenomena. Linear models and statistics are used to do this. Yet such models are not necessarily appropriate to the data because not all change is linear or causal. For instance some family historians have abandoned linear models which suggested that industrialization is the cause of the modern nuclear family because they have found "a checkered pattern" which "belies any continuous linear pattern encompassing the entire

society" (Hareven, 1987, p. 55).

Classical developmental models are linear, since the stages follow one another in orderly sequence and no behavior occurs prior to its stage appropriate time. The theory of pacifist development, on the other hand, is non-linear because themes or elements which are later incorporated into the definition of pacifism appear in the person's life earlier than the inclusion. For instance people could be involved in community service or working on social justice issues or on improvement of their interpersonal relations before they consider these concerns as part of their definition of pacifism. A very good example of this is the area of interpersonal relations in the family. Each individual interacts with others and with family members from birth, but does not incorporate these relations into a definition of pacifism until much later in life as part of the expansion in the definition of pacifism.² It is as though there are separate streams which at some point or another flow into the understanding of pacifism forming a gestalt.

Replacing linear models, neuroscientists (Pribram, 1982), physicists (Bohm, 1971, 1973; Weber, 1982), and therapists (Calof, 1987; Duhl, 1982) are using a new approach to understanding phenomena - the holographic

²See Witness 8, pp. 32-35, for instance.

paradigm. This has its origins in holography, a form of photography which produces three-dimensional images (Wilber, 1982). Patterns of light waves from an object are recorded on a plate. When a laser is beamed on the plate, the object is regenerated in three-dimensional form. The full image can be reconstructed from any portion of the wave pattern.

Pribram (1971) used this paradigm to explain various brain processes. This paradigm was particularly useful in explaining the dispersion of memory throughout the brain and its regenerability in total from any part of the brain. Pribram began to reconsider the analytical model and chose instead to regard theory and all human perception as constructions of reality. He proposed that the brain is a hologram which interprets, in turn, holographic reality. This proposal was a synthesis of his theory on the brain and Bohm's holographic theory of the organization of the universe (Pribram, 1976). As Marilyn Ferguson puts it:

In a nutshell, the holographic supertheory says that our brains mathematically construct "hard" reality by interpreting frequencies from a dimension transcending time and space. The brain is a hologram, interpreting a holographic universe. (Ferguson, 1982, p. 22).

Calof (1987) has applied holographic theory to the family. He considers the intergenerational family to be a

hologram in which each member is also a hologram. Emotional experiences or expectations from one family member, called "family objects," can be split off from that person and internalized (be regenerated) in another member. The family objects, which he regards as "disowned parts of self," are to be "sent back home."

In applying the holographic paradigm to the developmental theory of pacifism, pacifism could be viewed as a holographic process. Information from the individual's experience as well as family objects are encoded in the person's brain. The various environments of the person (family, ethnic group, neighborhood, society, etc.) act as filters which are employed in his or her construction of reality. These filters are limitations in perceiving the interconnectedness and harmony of all reality in the implicate order (the universal order) (Weber, 1982). The expanding definitions of pacifism and violence, as well as the paradigm shifts, are a process of unfolding the holistic harmony which exists in the universal paradigm. While there are pioneering efforts to apply holographic theory in the field of family therapy, this theory has not made its way into the field of family studies. This dissertation gives an opportunity to consider the appropriateness of applying the holographic paradigm to family theory.

Implications

The seeds for this investigation came out of research on Quaker family violence prompted by the question "Is there developmental process(es) involved in pacifism." The experience of the pacifists interviewed do indicate that their understanding and integration of pacifism in their lives and personhoods necessitate continuing development. The implications for this in research, human development theory, education, and therapy are far reaching.

In research, it is expected that pacifists who have a deeper understanding and integration of pacifism would be less likely to be violent in their families than would pacifists who have less understanding and integration. Generally, in the field of family violence research, it may be fruitful to consider the six factors of conflict management style in evaluating situations of violence and treatment effectiveness. In the field of peace research, the developmental theory of pacifism offers a theoretical framework for research which connects the individual to larger social units. Regarding methodology, pacifists should not be grouped into one category because there is wide variation according to the extent of development. It is expected that these variations would affect the test variable(s).

In the area of human development theory, the theory of pacifist development may have generalizability beyond pacifists. This would be particularly true in the area of conflict management styles. As people mature, it is expected that they would move from a closed to open style. Although not having the vocabulary or labels of pacifism, it may also be the case that nonpacifists' understanding of pacifism and violence follow the sequence of expansion that pacifists do. This would be reasonable since basic concepts of pacifism (e.g. brotherly love, cooperation, nurture, fairness) are inherently part of all societies. Without these concepts being manifested there would be societal break-down. These possibilities raise some interesting questions to be researched.

Theoretically, the developmental theory of pacifism connects with theories in the fields of psychology and family. Using a developmental model, this theory links individual development to the ecosystem of the family and engages both intrapersonal as well as interpersonal phenomena. These inclusions and links expand existing theories, for developmental psychology by including the interpersonal of the family and the larger ecosystem and for family systems theories by including the intrapersonal and developmental component.

In the area of education, the theory of pacifist development could be useful. In religious education, materials could be developed which would bring better understanding of the course of pacifist and spiritual development. In clinical education, the six factors in conflict management style may be insightful. In peace education, having a better understanding of the developmental aspects of pacifism would serve as a framework for developing educational programs.

In therapy, the clinician's having a better understanding of conflict management style could be helpful. One application could be in assessing where people are in their conflict management. Another application could be in evaluating the effectiveness of therapeutic programs when conflict style is a concern. Further, the theory would be helpful for better understanding of pacifists and their families when they are clients.

The willingness of the twenty-five pacifists to open their lives for sharing with me on such an intimate level is deeply appreciated. They have helped to pioneer in finding ways for bringing greater understanding about peace and violence and how people become relationship builders in their homes, community, and internationally.

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APPENDIX A.
QUESTION GUIDE

QUESTION GUIDE

- 1) Tell me about when you first started thinking about pacifism?
 - a) age.
 - b) circumstances.
 - c) meaning of pacifism at that time.
 - i) definition.
 - ii) context.
 - d) concept of violence at that time.
 - e) notion of how interpersonal conflict should be handled at that time.
- 2) When was the next important time that you thought about pacifism?

(a-e of question 1) How changed?
- 3) What happened next in your development as a pacifist?

(a-e of question 1) How changed?

NOTE: This question can be repeated as many times as person mentions events, or periods of time.
- 4) Time Line. Birth year _____ Age now

NOTE: If there is anything appearing on time line not already talked about, follow guide to complete information a-e of question 1.
- 5) How would you summarize the changes in your definition of pacifism from _____ until now?

- 6) How would you summarize the changes in your definition of violence from _____ until now?
- 7) How would you summarize the changes in your handling of conflict from _____ until now?
- 8) Tell me about times during your life when you doubted whether pacifism was an appropriate response?
 - a) age.
 - b) circumstances.
 - c) nature of doubts.
 - d) how resolved.
 - e) contribution to your development as a pacifist.
- 9) Tell me about times in your life when your ability to respond to a situation as a pacifist was put to the test?
 - a) age.
 - b) circumstances.
 - c) in what way tested.
 - d) outcome of situation.
 - e) contribution to your development as a pacifist.
- 10) In what ways has your handling of conflict within the family changed from _____ until now?
- 11) How is your spiritual development connected to your development as a pacifist?

12) How has your growth as a pacifist affected any life-decisions?

- a) type of decision.
- b) age at time of decision.
- c) circumstances of decision.
- d) definition of pacifism then.

13) Future Time Line. Age now _____ Future

What would you like to appear on your time line in the future in terms of your own development as a pacifist?

14) Some people see pacifism as relating to a variety of situations. On this card there are a number of situations listed. In your own thinking what would you add or delete from this list?

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| minority groups | career choices |
| 3rd world countries | women |
| abortion | interpersonal relations |
| relations with spouse | euthanasia |
| relations with children | international relations |

15) Demographics.

- a) gender.
- b) age.
- c) education.
- d) pacifist upbringing or not.
- e) birthright or convinced Friend.

- f) branch of Friends.
- g) parents' marriages and number of children.
- h) family configuration.

APPENDIX B.
WITNESS GUIDE AND INDEX

WITNESS GUIDE AND INDEX

- Witness 1 male, 57 years old, birthright Friend.
pages: 22, 29, 43, 66, 83, 92, 94, 107, 156.
[Transcript 1].
- Witness 2 female, 71 years old, convinced Friend.
pages: 24, 85, 102.
[Transcript 12].
- Witness 3 male, 55 years old, convinced Friend.
pages: 26.
[Transcript 24].
- Witness 4 female, 65 years old, convinced Friend.
pages: 37, 44, 71, 78, 81, 85, 114, 161.
[Transcript 3].
- Witness 5 male, 40 years old, birthright Friend.
pages: 35, 38, 55, 74, 78, 85, 142, 149.
[Transcript 7].
- Witness 6 male, 37 years old, birthright Friend.
pages: 40.
[Transcript 15].
- Witness 7 male, 59 years old, convinced Friend.
pages: 69.
[Transcript 21].
- Witness 8 female, 55 years old, birthright Friend.
pages: 32, 45, 78, 99, 117, 125.
[Transcript 5].
- Witness 9 male, 70 years old, convinced Friend.
pages: 45, 77, 112, 115.
[Transcript 18].
- Witness 10 female, 28 years old, birthright Friend.
pages: 50, 75, 78, 80, 82, 95, 144, 148.
[Transcript 4].
- Witness 11 male, 64 years old, birthright Friend.
pages: 50, 71, 104, 108, 126, 162.
[Transcript 8].
- Witness 12 male, 73 years old, convinced Friend.
pages: 51, 111, 119.
[Transcript 9].

- Witness 13 female, 45 years old, birthright Friend.
pages: 52.
[Transcript 17].
- Witness 14 female, 35 years old, convinced Friend.
pages: 68, 93, 100.
[Transcript 20].
- Witness 15 male, 35 years old, convinced Friend.
pages: 98.
[Transcript 13].
- Witness 16 male, 19 years old, birthright Friend.
pages: 99, 147.
[Transcript 2].
- Witness 17 female, 51 years old, convinced Friend.
pages: 73, 87.
[Transcript 14].
- Witness 18 female, 70 years old, convinced Friend.
pages: 132.
[Transcript 6].
- Witness 19 male, 80 years old, convinced Friend.
pages: 136, 147.
[Transcript 16].
- Witness 20 male, 94 years old, birthright Friend.
pages: 139.
[Transcript 22].
- Witness 21 male, 30 years old, convinced Friend.
pages: 150.
[Transcript 25].