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Author(s): Timothy Gachanga and Diana Walters

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# BRIEFING

## Journeys of Peace: Exhibitions, Objects, and Creative Dialogue

**Timothy Gachanga and Diana Walters**

**ABSTRACT:** *This briefing paper reviews a twelve-month traveling exhibition on African peace cultures in Kenya developed by the Kenyan organization Community Peace Museums Heritage Foundation and the Swedish NGO Cultural Heritage without Borders. The exhibition, Journeys of Peace, traveled to several rural venues and created spaces for dialogue and encounter between peoples and communities. This briefing paper outlines the background to and the creation of the exhibition and examines the main features that contributed to the success of the project. The paper describes the approaches used and assesses the impact of Journeys of Peace. An important question in the paper is how the approach of Journeys of Peace could be refined and developed. The lessons of Journeys of Peace could be useful for other organizations seeking to use a creative peace-building approach.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Kenya, peace museums, traveling exhibition, cultural heritage*

### I. INTRODUCTION

The traveling exhibition Journeys of Peace (JoP) was a collaborative project between the Kenyan Community Peace Museums and Heritage Foundation (CPMHF) and the Swedish NGO Cultural Heritage

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without Borders (CHwB). The JoP exhibition ran for a twelve-month period from 2013 to 2014 and reached over 4,000 people across Kenya. The exhibition aimed at empowering and transforming communities through the use of cultural heritage in the realization and respect of human rights, peaceful coexistence, and sustainable human development. The exhibition traveled to multiple sites across the country, visiting eight venues in total. In the Eastern province it visited Embu, Tharaka, and Machakos. There are three museums in this region containing hundreds of community artifacts. In Nairobi, the exhibition traveled to Huruma, an informal settlement, where in May 2002 twenty-eight young men were slashed to death in what appeared to be an ethnically-motivated conflict. The exhibition was also shown in Samburu in the North-Rift region, which has a history of interethnic conflicts between communities competing for pasture. Similarly, it was shown in the Pokot region, where there has been frequent conflict over cattle-rustling. In western Kenya, the exhibition was shown in Suba, an island in Lake Victoria. In central Kenya, the exhibition toured Kiambu and Nyeri. Central Kenya is one of the regions where religio-cultural conflicts are high due to urbanization and proliferation of new faiths that do not appreciate cultural heritage.

Drawing on the deep tradition of peacebuilding through cultural artifacts on the African continent and associated traditions, the JoP project created spaces where dialogue between people in conflict could safely take place. This approach showed the central importance of cultural connectivity in developing trust and finding common ground between peoples often suspicious and hostile to one another. Whilst this was an expected outcome of the project, what was not foreseen was the contribution that this cultural activity made to ongoing conflicts, some of which had existed for several decades. Through creating cultural connections, JoP contributed to significant changes in, for example, cattle trading and empowerment of women. Whilst these changes could not yet be described as sustainable, they have the potential to be so. The impact on the two partner organizations was also deeper than anticipated, showing how creative projects and common goals can bring fresh energy and enthusiasm to organizations.

Both authors of this paper were actively involved with JoP as project managers and participated in several events during the year. The project was evaluated constantly, using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, predominantly interviews and collating feedback from participants in workshops and meetings. Interviews were

conducted individually, through semi-structured conversations, as well as in groups. Participant observation also allowed both authors to analyze processes and assess impact. The project was externally evaluated by the Swedish Institute and funding for a follow-up project “Youth for Peace” was granted in mid-2014. This has meant that many young people involved in JoP are continuing to work for peace with cultural heritage in Kenya.

## II. THE CONTEXT: VIOLENCE AND UNREST

In December 2007 and into 2008, Kenya experienced unprecedented ethnic violence that erupted after the disputed general elections. The elections sparked chaos that escalated into a violent conflict, putting supporters of the former President Mwai Kibaki (a Kikuyu) against those of challenger Raila Odinga (a Luo), who was later named prime minister in a power-sharing agreement (Gachanga 2012a). Over 1,200 Kenyans were reported killed, thousands more injured, over 300,000 people displaced from their communities and around 42,000 houses and many businesses were looted or destroyed. A significant number of cases of sexual violence were also reported (UNHCR 2008). The violence not only shattered the foundations of Kenya as a nation, but also painted a picture of a country severely fractured by ethnic cleavages. Many scholars attribute this to the failure of the nation-building project (Branch et al. 2010). While Kenya had been perceived as a strong democratizing country, its institutions of governance remained weak, fragmented, corrupt and unable to deal with underlying causes of conflict and the emerging violence. Successive Kenyan regimes politicized and “ethnicized” state institutions and used the various offices as political tools for maintaining a system of ethnic patronage. Corruption at the highest level of governance created political, economic, and social barriers between citizens and their rulers (Otieno 2009). As a consequence, a profound level of distrust and fear was created between some of the forty-two ethnic groups that make up the Kenyan population, causing old barriers to resurface and deepen. Many citizens are deeply ignorant of one another’s histories and cultures, and have erected imaginary walls between ethnic communities, failing to appreciate the shared histories, narratives, memories, cultural practices and values that both unite them and contribute to the amazing diversity of Kenyan arts and culture (Hughes 2011).

In 2013, Kenya went through another election amidst fears that more violence would erupt. To avert the situation, numerous measures were put in place by the government and civil society organizations. Among these initiatives was the JoP traveling exhibition.

### III. THE EXHIBITION CONTENT

The exhibition consisted of five lightweight portable panels with images ranging from African elders performing peacebuilding rituals and ceremonies, to natural and artificial artifacts used in community dialogue and peacebuilding. The first panel consisted of images and symbols of indigenous peacebuilding institutions. The other three contained images and symbols used in peacebuilding. The fifth, which was added as the exhibition traveled, contained pictures of events at the various venues where it was shown. The panels were collaboratively designed by a group of CPMHF curators who routinely research, collect, document and display material culture and environmental symbols in their museums. Several artifacts were selected, from the many hundreds available, with a focus on those that were used in peace ceremonies and embedded with peace narratives. Their images were captured and printed on the exhibition panels. These images and symbols formed a backdrop for dialogue and active learning throughout the journey of the project. Some of the objects whose images were on the exhibition panels are described in table 1.

During the exhibition opportunities were created for stories and narratives to be shared. For example, elders explained how Pokot women would remove *leketiet* and ritually throw it in front of warring warriors. Violence would stop immediately, reflecting the taboo of fighting when women throw the belt on the ground because it symbolizes a mother's womb, considered as sacred in many African cultures (Mbiti 1969: 111). Another image that elicited a lot of interest because of its commonality and symbolic meaning was the traditional African pot. According to Sultan Somjee (2000), the presence of a pot is associated with sacredness, as life is considered sacred in some indigenous African belief systems. He gives an example of the Akamba community whereby a parent may show her feelings and express a sense of severity by touching the cooking pot when chastising her child (Somjee 2000: 97). In times of conflict, women and girls were spared because their wombs carried the potential of life. It was also women and virgin girls who were sent to initiate dialogue for peace. No one would attack

**TABLE 1**  
**Objects on the JoP Exhibition Panels**

Object	Community	Use in peacebuilding
<i>Leketyo</i> (soft belt made from cows' skin and cowrie shells)	Pokot	Worn by women after giving birth to assist strengthening and toning the stomach muscles.
<i>Sotet ak seretek</i> (milk gourd tied with grass)	Keiyo	Used as a sign of forgiveness.
<i>Katunge</i> (beaded ornament)	Kamba	Worn by women during peace ceremonies.
<i>Kaingi</i> (tobacco container)	Kamba	Used to initiate dialogue among elders, and when people were at war, elders would exchange tobacco containers as signs of reconciliation.
<i>Njungwa</i> (traditional stool)	Gikuyu	Used by elders during peace meetings and is a symbol of authority and leadership.
<i>Kithembe</i> (cylindrical wooden container)	Kamba	Used to carry ceremonial honey to be used during peace ceremonies.
<i>Nvura</i> (traditional gourd)	Embu	Used to ferment beer that elders sipped during reconciliation.
<i>Kigira</i> (flywhisk)	Tharaka	Used during blessing rituals.
<i>Shikhuli</i> (bell)	Luhya	Musical accompaniment used during peace making dances

a woman on a peace mission. In many African cultures, it is a taboo to break a pot just the same way that it is forbidden to hurt a woman on a peace mission (Gachanga 2008: 163).

The different communities often found some commonality and shared heritage in the artifacts and traditions. The symbols were recognizable, but the stories behind them were often buried or hidden. Through discussion and exploration, the connectedness was revealed as well as the richness and diversity of local use and tradition. Equally important was the fact that the objects became “de-museified” (Catalani 2007; da Silva 2010) and instead became active tools in the peacebuild-

ing process. Outside of their museum context, they were no longer ethnographic, exotic artifacts with layers of imposed meaning and significance. The epithet “traditional” in a classic museum context refers to past or even archaic use, or may be applied in the creation of specific narratives (a traditional pastime or festival, for example) designed to exclude others. In removing the objects and re-presenting them, their artistic beauty was enhanced by a sense of transformative power. For instance, in Samburu the *nkilip*, a special gourd used by warriors to drink milk, was used to serve the participants during the exhibition. This was significant bearing in mind the role warriors play in fueling conflicts in the North-Rift region. By using the gourd in this way, the meaning shifted from that of being a symbol of warriorhood to that of peace. Although some museums try to achieve this, it is often within the confines of their official structures, and therefore limited in value and authenticity.

The JoP exhibition was organic in nature. Whilst visiting different communities, it acquired new layers of voice, knowledge, and experience. Stories of both conflict and peace were incorporated through visual and digital material and the expansion of a peace archive. Overwhelmed by the transformative nature of the exhibition, community members donated a total of eighty-five objects to the peace museums as one way of owning the process. In Embu, for instance, the community donated a piece of art that represented a traditional stool. They also donated some gourds and calabashes. In Samburu, they donated *nkilip* and some calabashes. In Machakos, *maweto* mothers donated two pieces of *katunge* and other objects that were used in peacebuilding. Finally, in Suba, community elders donated fish to feed participants as one way of contributing to the journey. This was significant in that it emphasized communities’ reciprocity and sharing which is a powerful reinforcement of moving towards peaceful coexistence.

#### IV. CREATING SPACES

A key aim of JoP was to facilitate safe spaces for dialogue and creative exploration and to connect people through culture. Whilst traveling from one community to another, the project team, which comprised of managers and people from the groups represented, gathered all relevant actors to sit down together and discuss. These included the main

target groups of children and young people, women and elders. Dialogue sessions were organized within communities at specific sites or museums associated with historical events, and individuals and groups were invited to contribute to the exhibition and to share and comment on the content. The sessions fostered listening, empathy and understanding of multiple perspectives and experiences with a clear purpose of reclaiming the peaceful co-existence at the root of Kenyan society. It also helped deepen relationships between different communities. In addition, it created opportunities for freedom of expression and opinions on peace issues. This enabled difficult subjects such as female genital mutilation and HIV/AIDS to be discussed, promoting more awareness concerning human rights.

At each of the eight venues, pupils, elders, teachers and museum curators interacted with each other. For many students it was their first opportunity to see and hear about the artifacts or practices displayed and their use to promote peace. Elders explained how the customs were carried out and some demonstrated how the objects were used. There were artifacts available for people to touch and explore, resulting in a number of individuals taking pictures wearing them and allowing a tactile experience of material culture that is too often absent from traditional museum-based ethnographic exhibitions. This echoes the views of museologists who call for a more creative exhibition experience as a way of moving towards dialogue and multiple perspectives (Simon 2010). As people discussed what they saw and heard, they shared their experiences whilst interacting with the objects. The conversations provided opportunities to reinforce and develop an understanding about peace. This is a kind of learning that is rooted in socially-mediated processes. According to Sue Allen (2002), learning is a process rather than a product, a joint activity of a group rather than the activity of one person. Ideas are brought into the open for public sharing in such a way that group members build on each other's knowledge and understanding.

In Eastern Province, the exhibition travelled to Embu, Tharaka, and Machakos. There are three peace museums in this region containing hundreds of artifacts. As the museums are quite remote, they are not so often visited and the exhibition brought a fresh and flexible cultural experience. Pupils, elders, teachers, and museum curators interacted with each other and with the artifacts, including demonstrations by elders of how the objects were used. Schools and local administra-

tors participated in events, and the status of the museums was boosted. Afterwards local administrators promised to collaborate and support the museums in building peace and preserving heritage. The project succeeded in integrating the peace museums more strategically as a cultural resource within communities for education, entertainment, and a range of social and political activities. The peace museums have no state funding and, therefore, their work is limited to what can be obtained through voluntary resources and donations. JoP raised the potential and actual role of cultural institutions as agents of change and strengthened the position of Kenyan arts and culture to transform conflict situations. For instance, after the exhibition in Samburu, the two communities, the Samburu and Dorobo, started to trade livestock at market. Actual conflict ceased and on two occasions stolen livestock was returned to the rightful owners (Perrin 2014: 10).

At the Akamba Peace Museum the exhibition worked with *maweto* mothers. Maweto (singular, *iweto*) is a name given to a non-sexual family relationship between two women that exists so that they can raise children and thereby pass on family property. In the past, maweto mothers were highly respected in their communities and families. They had the freedom to choose men to father their children, and, sometimes, they chose to have a man anointed by the community for this purpose. The family formed by the union of these two women provided partnership and status and security for the children. They also had the right to inherit property. More recently, maweto mothers and their children have been rejected by society and denied the right to inherit property, experiencing marginalization and discrimination. This is mainly because the adoption of new faiths has changed the perception and attitudes towards indigenous religions and cultures and created an unsympathetic view of mawetos' cultural practices. The Akamba Peace Museum works with mawetos to bring exhibitions, songs, dances, and drama to the community and, thereby, learn more about past and present maweto traditions. JoP created an opportunity to promote a positive image in society and to challenge negative stereotypes. This enhanced the strong social justice mission of the museum and showed how cultural and artistic expressions could foster positive images and identity.

The exhibition also toured the Samburu community in the North-Rift region that has a history of inter-ethnic conflicts between pastoralist communities competing for grazing land. The arrival of the exhibi-

tion meant that three communities met for the first time since violence broke out in 2007. The exhibition was protected by armed guards and passed without incident. Warriors arrived carrying walking staves as symbols of peace, instead of the more usual guns. The Samburu Community Museum had been asked to broker a meeting to enable elders to swear an oath to reconcile ongoing differences. Moran warriors attended events, alongside women, men and children. The exhibition was hung on the bushes, and this enabled women and children to view it and discuss together in a more informal and less intimidating setting. Since the event, the county government has agreed to collaborate with the museum in peace education and other peace activities.

In Pokot, two warring communities, Pokot and Tugen, have had frequent conflicts due to cattle-rustling. JoP facilitated a peace and reconciliation meeting. The exhibition was held at a sacred site in Pokot land and was attended by men, women, chiefs, youth, administrators, and security officers. The meeting offered a potential road map on how to address the protracted conflict. As a starting point, elders from the two communities held an overnight peace vigil before the exhibition day to deliberate on peace issues. This created a safe place for them to take risk, open up and share their feelings and experiences. The following day, a peace ceremony and viewing of the exhibition was held. The elders from the two communities and the local administrators used narratives, proverbs, and traditional wisdom to reach out to the members of the warring groups. Slowly, the participants started to open up and contribute to the shared dialogue with growing enthusiasm. A sense of identity and worth was created that dispelled their fears as they realized how different communities and peoples have much in common. The power of the images and objects helped them to reconnect with their roots and overcome their sense of isolation, allowing a sense of pride and purpose to emerge.

In an interview conducted by the project team at the end of the exhibition in Pokot, local administrators said that before JoP there was distrust between the two communities but by the end of the visit relations had improved significantly and they could speak openly about how conflict affects everyone and the role all can play in peacebuilding. One local administrator summed it up by simply observing, "peace is achievable." Inspired by this transformation, local leaders subsequently requested the peace museums to organize another exhibition in Tugen land at a site where conflicts routinely occurred.

The JoP project was not without its challenges. Some areas visited were accessible only with heavy vehicles such as trucks, and in others it took three days of rough traveling for the exhibition to reach its host community. Another challenge was creating conditions for dialogue between conflicting communities. Separation had increased feelings of suspicion and mistrust. Dates could not be agreed and venues were also contested (Perrin 2014).

The closing workshop for JoP was held at University Mtaani in Huruma, an informal settlement in Nairobi also known as the University of the Slums. The location was significant in that the participants had an opportunity to visit a peace garden that was initiated in September 2002 after twenty-eight young men were slashed to death in what is known as the Kariobangi massacre (Gachanga 2012b: 26-36). Many of the community peace museums had played an important role in the establishment of the garden. Various symbols were presented there embodying African traditions of good governance, justice, reconciliation and peace. The participants, consisting predominantly of the museum curators and volunteers, were able to deepen active peacebuilding among themselves and explore their different experiences of the exhibition and associated events.

## V. CONCLUSION

JoP demonstrates the role of culture and art in peacebuilding, social transformation, expanding democracy, and improving human rights. This occurs at individual, group, and civil society levels. Individuals associated with CPMHF and CHwB have grown in confidence and knowledge around the value of diversity, the importance of dialogue, the role of learning, and the range of issues in contemporary Kenyan society. For example, one participant, a volunteer, commented that “artifacts can be used in ceremonial workshops within different communities.”<sup>1</sup> Another one, a curator, observed that she “had no idea how much there was to learn about the objects that others used and how deep the connections were.”<sup>2</sup> For others, the impact was felt more on the level of the power of peace museums. In an interview conducted at the end of the exhibition in Pokot, one respondent commented, “I have learned about how museums help to transform society.”<sup>3</sup> Another respondent in Embu commented that JoP had “changed me completely on approaching methods of peace functions and planning.”<sup>4</sup> Finally, a

participant during the exhibition in Machakos stated simply that JoP had “rekindled my faith in humanity.”<sup>5</sup>

JoP also introduced cultural heritage-based peacebuilding to local government and civil society groups. These are now being incorporated into mainstream activities, such as education, community-based inclusion, youth work, health campaigns (notably on HIV and alcoholism) and water development. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as World Vision are seeking partnerships with CPMHF, stating that without peace they cannot reach communities. At the national level, the diversity of Kenyan peacebuilding has been recognized as a key resource in promoting a more democratic society.

JoP has improved the lives of several groups of women in Kenya. Specifically, the maweto mothers are being recognized as playing a vital role in supporting single mothers, challenging predominant negative and discriminatory attitudes. Also, through JoP activities, women have been included in peace ceremonies and as part of groups of elders in the Rift Valley and elsewhere. These small steps are highly significant in a country where the role of women in peacebuilding is central yet undervalued. It also illustrates the contribution of cultural initiatives in the advancement of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts as expressed through UN resolution 1325 (United Nations 2000).

The impact of JoP has also been felt by the main partners. For CPMHF the network has been rejuvenated with dormant members becoming reactivated and new funding opportunities being found for extension of the work. Trust between the partners grew, showing how a common project can enhance conditions for understanding (Walters 2012). The fusion of a long tradition and knowledge of working with objects has been aided by a programme of capacity-building that has introduced the partners to emerging ideas and practices around museology and social justice, for example, working with hidden histories and multiple narratives, and learning theory. This knowledge has awakened a shared enthusiasm for new methods and approaches for peacebuilding through the arts.

For CHwB, the impact has been felt in actively learning about non-Western traditions of conflict resolution and dialogue. CHwB has a long experience of working in European post-conflict countries, notably the Balkans, where the focus has been rooted in strengthening of civil society and democracy through formal structures rather than informal ones. The Kenyan experience has been a genuine bottom-up

approach outside of official structures, whereby real empowerment has been more easily achieved, reflective of the growing need for integrated peacebuilding approaches (Zelizer and Oliphant 2013).

## NOTES

1. Interview with volunteer, Nyeri, Kenya, November 26, 2013.
2. Interview with curator, Samburu, Kenya, October 9, 2013.
3. Interview with participant, Pokot, Kenya, February 25, 2014.
4. Interview with participant, Embu, Kenya, September 8, 2013.
5. Interview with participant, Machakos, Kenya, June 28, 2013.

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