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Gearoid Millar and Jesse Lecy

ABSTRACT

The study of post-conflict justice and peace incorporates ideas from many disciplines and on a range of topics including justice, reconciliation, democratization, and peace. While diversity is valuable, it can also lead to confusion in theory and practice and so requires close evaluation of how diverse ideas interact, and to what end. This paper begins the systematic examination of such interactions by using new bibliometric software to track citations between two particularly influential literatures contributing to post-conflict theory: the legal and the psychosocial. The paper describes how these traditions interact and the impact on the post-conflict literature as a whole.

Introduction

The literature on post-conflict justice and peace is composed of a number of different scholarly traditions, including a great amount of literature from political science, psychology, law, sociology, anthropology, economics, and theology. These various literatures contribute ideas which, one might imagine, then compete and comingle to form the conceptual bones on which a diverse array of post-conflict policies and practices are established and legitimated. However, for scholars working along the borders between disciplines or between elements of the post-conflict field, it often seems as though disciplines or approaches are talking past each other and failing to communicate in a meaningful way. Streams of literature examining related issues are often disconnected from one another and fail to initiate substantive exchange even when confronting the same theoretical, methodological, or practical challenges.

This paper shows that exactly such a situation exists with regard to the *legal* and the *psychosocial* traditions within the literature on justice and peacebuilding. While both of these literatures speak of justice and peace, there is very little substantive exchange between them. Worse still, as both of these academic traditions also influence post-conflict policy and practice, they have promoted quite different and sometimes contradictory interventions on the ground (Millar 2013). On the one hand, *the legal justice literature* emphasizes the need for prosecution of perpetrators of mass atrocity and seeks the punishment of past violators primarily with an eye to deterring future crimes against humanity. This tradition, promoted by organizations such as Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and the International Center for Transitional Justice, has therefore tended

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to promote the application of legal and usually *retributive* responses to the challenges of post-conflict transition (Subotić 2012, 113, 120). These 'judicial' approaches (O'Reilly 2016) are embodied by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), the International Criminal Court (ICC), and various hybrid tribunals over the past decade (Fichtelberg 2015).

On the other hand, the *psychosocial literature* emphasizes the need for conflict transformation through the identification of the root causes of conflict and the restoration of damaged relationships between communities within states ripped apart by violence. This 'non-judicial' tradition (O'Reilly 2016) has forcefully promoted practices such as intergroup dialogues (Saunders 2001; Bar-On 2006) and workshops (Maoz 2000; Kelman 2005), and a general *reparative* approach to overcoming or rebuilding the divisive relationships created during conflict between the 'in-group' and the 'out-group.' These processes are considered tangential by legal justice scholars and excluded from judicial procedures. Both of these traditions, therefore, have contributed substantially to the broad literature on post-conflict justice and peace, but 'have seen minimal exchange' (Gready and Robbins 2014, 352). In short, there has been little communication across the disciplinary divide between the two fields (see also Lambourne 2014, 23; Andrieu 2010, 539; Laplante 2008, 346–347).

The workshop at the 2015 British International Studies Association (BISA) conference from which this special issue emerged highlights the recognition among various scholars that these streams of literature must be better integrated. But while a handful of scholars have promoted such convergence in the past (Daly 2002; Mani 2002; Lambourne 2009, 2014; Sriram 2007, 2013; Andrieu 2010; Robins 2011, 2012; Millar 2012, 2013, 2014) these efforts have largely had limited impact within the core of the two literatures and might best be considered either tangential to or on the fringe of both. However, even as scholars have lamented the division, there has not been any systematic examination of the relationship between the two.

The research presented in this article initiates that systematic analysis by examining both the structure and density of citations within and between the two literatures and then presenting a qualitative analysis of the key publications which serve as *active* and *one-way* bridges between the two. In the bibliometric analysis we are specifically interested in the extent of cross-citation between the two literatures, which we view as a proxy for knowledge dissemination and cross-fertilization, while in the qualitative analysis we are more interested in the content and function of the literature that does bridge between the two. Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, we find very little influential scholarship (as measured by citations) that bridges these two areas—only four publications out of a sample of 586 *actively* bridged between the two—and that which does is overwhelmingly critical, using one literature to highlight the flaws in the other as opposed to serving any integrative function.

A few small caveats: within this article we focus on analysing the relationship between these two literatures from within a post-conflict perspective. We recognize that this division could be analysed within broader 'peace studies' or 'international relations' perspectives. However, we have chosen this perspective due to our central concern with illustrating the divided nature of the post-conflict literature specifically. It is also important to note that this article should be considered as a pilot or proof-of-concept project. This study was conducted to illustrate the feasibility of bibliometric analysis for the

examination of the connections or divides between literatures. Therefore, while not a complete examination of these relationships, the study does illustrate how the method here used can be applied to analyse, from within any number of disciplinary contexts, the connections and disconnections which characterize the study of post-conflict intervention. It is our contention that providing a means to map the relationships between literatures will demonstrate how divisions can be explored systematically, giving new impetus to substantive inter-disciplinary research programmes.

In addition, it must be noted that the methodology used in this article identifies and highlights the existing relationships between publications based on citation and citation alone. For the most part, the substantive nature of that citation is not accounted for in this paper. As a result, the clusters of literature that emerge *in conversation with* the two seed publications discussed below are articles that cite either the seed or other articles that have cited the seed. The database that we have generated does not – at this point – identify if the second- or third-generation articles agree with or endorse the theories or practices discussed or promoted in the seed publications. Hence, the clusters of literature described below are not homogenous clusters of publications in agreement with the original publications. Indeed, the clusters may be far more internally contradictory. However, at the same time, these clusters do emerge *in conversation with* those original articles and the paradigms and concepts predominant within those traditions. As such, while the database cannot inform us of the substantive nature of the relationships between most of the publications, the citation structures identified between these conversations provides substantial new insight into the relationships that have defined the field.

Even given these caveats, however, this article achieves three important ends. First, it identifies the gaps between the two traditions of post-conflict literature identified. Second, it develops a new methodology for the study of the internal structure of the theoretical, methodological, and practical output of the field. Third, it provides a first step in the critical assessment of the manner in which the disciplines, literatures, publications, individuals, institutions, methodological modalities, genders, and theoretical schools involved are structured, interrelated, and give shape to the field as a whole. We recognize of course that the structure of the field as described by our data is shaped by the decisions of scholars themselves positioned within the post-conflict literature, who are contributing to legitimate debates within sub-sections of that broad literature. The structure we describe, including the division identified between the legal and psychosocial sub-fields, embodies these ongoing debates; the structure is shaped by the content of ongoing contributions. At the same time, however, we believe that analysing the structure of the field is key to understanding that content, how it has developed, and potentially even how it will develop in the future. As such, if there are real weaknesses in each sub-field as a result of this divide, or potential gains to be made by bridging this divide (as we argue in our conclusion), then understanding the structure of the literature will provide great insight into overcoming those limitations and realizing those benefits.

In what follows we first present the *structured literature review* methodology used in the study. We then briefly describe the broad patterns we observed within the literature and a more substantive review of the concepts central to the two literatures identified in the citation analysis. We proceed by unpacking the patterns observed within our sample with a discussion of the various active and one-way bridging publications, and in this way consider why they have emerged as they have within our sample. We also provide

a brief discussion of more recent attempts to bridge the divide, which extends to a consideration of the implications for the literature and for the policy and practice of post-conflict intervention. The article concludes with a call for additional systematic studies and a much more concerted effort to formulate coherent interdisciplinary theory that might contribute to more considered policy and practice for post-conflict justice and peace.

Methodology

As a result of the steady growth of academic fields and the globalization of research efforts it is simply no longer feasible to read even a small minority of publications within most disciplines. It is estimated that there are 50 million academic papers in circulation (Jinha 2010) and there are over 5,000 journals covering the biomedical sciences alone (US National Library of Medicine 2013). Sheer volume aside, academic literature is notoriously dense and technical, so specialization of terminology and research methods drive the subdivision of academic literatures and create barriers to cross-disciplinary work. This situation limits traditional literature review techniques that rely on a scholar to present an overview of research in a particular domain, and even more so for interdisciplinary fields of study. The scholar is potentially wedded to a specific vein of research or is unable to synthesize work using unfamiliar methods. Keyword searches also return only a small set of published articles within any given domain.

Our methodology, which we call a 'structured literature review', overcomes some of the limitations of traditional literature reviews by using a technique that does not limit the author to scholarship that is familiar or penetrable. Rather, it uses network analysis techniques to identify the core research in that domain and then examines citation patterns within that domain. The set of publications for examination in the literature review is built using a snowball sampling technique within the Google Scholar academic database beginning with an identified foundational publication. The technique requires that the scholar identify these *seed* publications, which are then used to construct the citation networks by moving forward in time. These articles should be seminal pieces that represent a reference point within a literature, and as such the citation network should capture the *conversation* that emerges in response to and in dialogue with that publication so that the snowball sample can demonstrate the evolution of the conversation over time. For this project, the authors identified one pivotal piece of work in both the legal and the psychosocial streams of the post-conflict literature and then a citation network was built around these pieces. The two foundational publications chosen were Diane Orentlicher's 'Settling Accounts: The Duty to Prosecute Human Rights Violations of a Prior Regime' (1991) and John Paul Lederach's *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (1997).

Both were chosen due to their early intervention in the streams of literature under examination (published as they both were in the early post-Cold War period), their enduring influence on their respective sub-fields (as measured by citations), and their centrality to key theoretical approaches that have had policy influence. In the case of Orentlicher this is evidenced by the marginalization of non-retributive approaches to justice and the primacy of legal justice in transitional justice advocacy as illustrated by Subotić (2012), and in the case of Lederach this is made clear in the overwhelming acceptance of the importance of the local turn he initiated in the mid-1990s among scholars, international

organizations, and peace practitioners at every level (Paffenholz 2014). We focus on the divide between these two particular *conversations* for three reasons. First, both of these literatures are relatively coherent scholarly projects comprising significant literatures in their own right. Second, these literatures share a substantive concern with post-conflict stability and security. Finally, both of these literatures have grown significantly in the past two decades in response to post-Cold War efforts to deal with issues of post-conflict transition and are important components of the general expansion of peace studies, conflict studies, or transitional justice. What we present here is, therefore, a citation analysis that highlights the sorting of the post-conflict justice and peace literatures which have emerged in conversation with these two influential publications into two clusters centred around two areas of research and theory: the legal and the psychosocial. Our findings give empirical validation to claims of separation within the post-conflict literature.

Snowball samples are challenging in the sense that they grow exponentially. If there are 100 articles that cite a single seed publication, and each of those are cited 100 times, you now have in excess of 10,000 articles in your sample after only two levels of data collection. As a result, the sampling technique that we employ was designed to limit the sample size while retaining the important properties of the citation network—primarily the key texts that are highly cited within each domain. It is a constrained snowball sampling approach that exploits information in academic databases to identify the articles that best represent consensus or attention within a field (see Lecy and Beatty 2012). After selecting the seed publications the authors decide how many levels of data to collect, with each level representing the distance from the original seed publication. Publications that cite the seeds are at level one, for example, while publications that cite those publications are at level two, etc. Because of the 'small world' properties of dense networks (Watts 2001), three levels are generally sufficient to capture the state of research in a well-defined domain. The sample for this study, therefore, was built to examine three levels of data collected at a sampling rate of 2 per cent at each level. The citation network consists of 586 articles and 796 citation links between them.

The method allows us to map the literature and empirically show the evolution of a broad field based upon traditions of scholarship within much broader disciplines. We acknowledge that there is no prescribed 'correct' level of interdisciplinarity and clustering within the literature is inevitable, but we argue that empirically verifying existing divides will offer scholars insight into a way forward if convergence of literatures is considered desirable. In what follows we will provide a substantive description of our two seed publications and the clusters that have emerged in conversation with them. We then move to an examination of the links that bridge clusters—those which either cite publications in both literatures (*active bridges*) or cite from one and are cited by the other (*one-way bridges*). We conclude with a discussion of the limitations of this approach and recommendations for future research.

Results

Figure 1 shows all 586 articles of the citation network. The nodes are sized according to the number of connections that they have on the graph. The two clusters are clearly visible. The seed publications are represented in black.
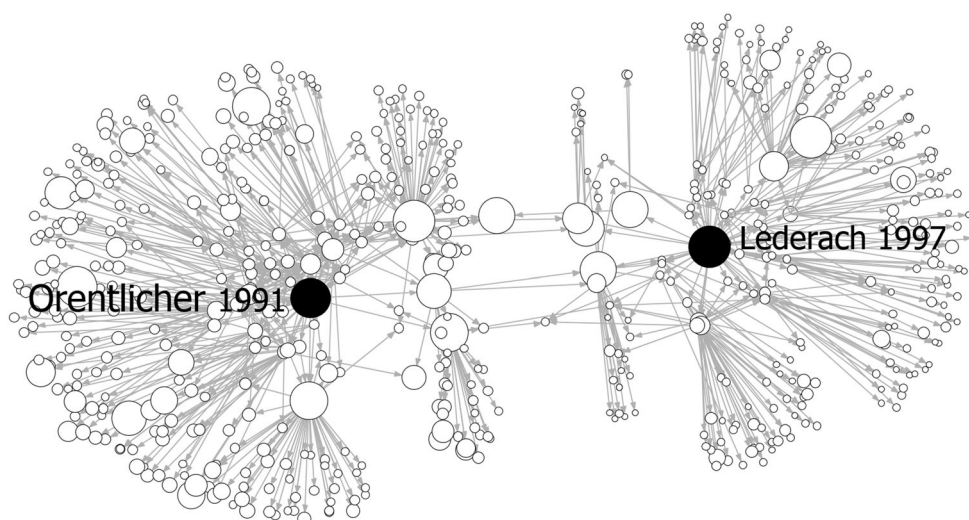
Figure 1. A visualization of the full sample.

The legal cluster

The legal post-conflict or transitional justice literature represented on the right side of Figure 1 and emerging in conversation with Diane Orentlicher's 'Settling Accounts' has primarily been produced in response to and in an effort to explain and describe post-Cold War state transitions and the means of providing justice in transition from authoritarian rule to democracy or from war to peace. Orentlicher's original article focused explicitly on the role of law and legal institutions in the prosecution of individuals charged with or thought to have committed crimes against humanity. In a section explicitly investigating the appropriateness of such punitive or 'retributive' judicial procedures, Orentlicher claimed that all 'civilized' societies must hold individuals responsible for such crimes and explicitly argued that alternative approaches to justice, such as the 'reparative' approaches embodied in 'truth-telling' procedures such as TRCs, simply cannot provide justice for crimes that 'any civilized society views as most pernicious' (1991, 2546). In addition, she proceeded to argue that only through such formal processes of retributive justice will 'the peace of the world' be maintained (1991, 2554).

In the article, therefore, Orentlicher makes very specific normative arguments demanding particular forms of justice for the creation or maintenance of 'civilized societies'. In this argument, punishing perpetrators of wartime crimes is not one option among many, but 'required' (1991, 2540). As she argued elsewhere, '[i]f the international community is to play an effective role in breaking cycles of impunity, it must do what it can to create a greater space for accountability' (Orentlicher 1994, 434). In other words, transitional justice should attempt to ensure accountability to avoid future human rights abuses; 'the duty to punish serious violations of physical integrity is squarely grounded on a deterrence rationale' (Orentlicher 1994, 439). Such arguments are rooted in the idea that individual punishment will deter crimes and so prevent future human rights abuses, war crimes, and conflict.

Emerging in conversation with this perspective is a very large literature which debates the value of such legal and largely retributive forms of justice that Orentlicher saw as required for any stable peace—'Settling Accounts' had been cited 829 times at the time the data was collected (22 March 2012) and 1,209 times at the time of writing (25 April 2016). It is in this tradition that Teitel, for example, defines transitional justice as 'the conception of justice associated with periods of political change, characterized by legal responses to confront the wrongdoings of repressive predecessor regimes' (2003, 69). The ICTY, ICTR, and ICC were also rooted within these paradigms of utilitarian punishment, aimed at incapacitation and deterrence, or at separating the perpetrators from the general population and stopping repetitions of atrocities in the future (Mani 2002, 32). This approach assumes that holding individuals accountable for their crimes and confronting impunity will deter others from committing the same crimes in the future (McGoldrick 1999). In such an approach, justice is considered served if the individuals determined to be most responsible for past atrocities are punished, thus avoiding the repetition of those atrocities. Among scholars writing within this legal tradition this collection of ideas, this construct, is a taken for granted social good— i.e. legal accountability = justice.

The psychosocial cluster

The psychosocial literature, on the left side of Figure 1, is that which has emerged in conversation with John Paul Lederach's *Building Peace*. Lederach wrote his article in the same period as Orentlicher wrote 'Settling Accounts', and they have each been central to very large, influential, and divergent literatures. However, for a number of reasons their two approaches can be seen as incongruous. Unlike Orentlicher, Lederach does not prioritize retributive justice as the primary necessary component in assuring long-term peace, instead prioritizing relationships. To Lederach, post-conflict or transitional policies must 'address and engage the relational aspects of reconciliation' (1997, 24) and recognize that relationship is the 'basis of both the conflict and its long-term solution' (1997, 26). The encounter between groups in conflict is central, and stable long-term peace demands 'moving the conflict dynamic toward the goal of more peaceful relations' through 'conflict transformation', which is characterized as the combined and coordinated application of various conflict resolution processes (Lederach 1997, 70).

While Lederach notes the importance of justice, this is a justice wholly different from that which Orentlicher considered a requirement. Lederach's justice it is more related to 'basic human needs, access to resources, and institutional patterns of decision making' (1997, 83). Justice is explicitly incorporated into his psychosocial conception of intergroup peacebuilding, which should be 'characterized by *just* and *interdependent* relationships' (1997, 80); but while considered a component of 'holistic' peacebuilding processes, it is in no way a privileged component as it is for Orentlicher. Much as Orentlicher privileged retributive justice and developed a normative framework for the provision of a particular kind of post-conflict or transitional justice, so Lederach privileged intergroup relationships and promoted normative values in his conception of the practice of peacebuilding. His 'Justice', unlike the retributive conception of Orentlicher, is explicitly described as being characterized by 'equality', 'right relationship', 'making things right', and 'restitution' (Lederach 1997, 30).

At the time of data collection (10 March 2012), 1,309 publications had cited Lederach's book, growing to 2,522 by the time of writing (25 April 2016). These publications variously critique or support Lederach's approach, while often maintaining his central focus on relationships, on holistic transformation of intergroup relations, and on either a restorative conception of 'social justice' or a role for retributive justice that is just one component of a much larger project of peacebuilding (for examples see Lambourne 2009, 2014). In this tradition, post-conflict peace is conceived in a number of ways. Although some focus on rebuilding and reforming institutions, publications in this literature largely focus on psychosocial processes of intergroup reconciliation and the creation of sustainable post-conflict relationships. Many, for example, focus on the therapeutic effects of interpersonal contact among formerly warring individuals, whereby such contact is thought to provide motivation for individual attitudinal adjustment and a less conflict-ridden relationship between individuals. Within such theories reconciliation is considered an *individual psychological process* with the potential to extend also to the group (Kelman 1999, 2004; Maoz 2002; Fisher 2001).

Nadler and Shnabel, for example, in discussing reconciliation, describe 'the process of removing conflict-related emotional barriers that block the way to ending intergroup conflict' (2008, 39). Bar-Tal and Benink, providing yet another perspective, regard reconciliation as any psychological process involving the realignment of cognitive and emotional understandings of a conflictual relationship between groups (2004, 34). In this view, reconciliation is conceived of as a *collective psychological process* that includes processes such as re-education, joint projects, tourism, and cultural exchanges that will result in collective psychological outcomes. Each of these conceptions shares a focus on relationship as the central aspect in need of restoration in post-conflict societies. Peacebuilding here is not primarily or only about accountability as justice, but about intergroup relationships.

In short, just as Orentlicher's conception of justice was founded in normative ideas of individuated accountability and civilization, so Lederach's approach to relational peacebuilding is loaded with normative claims regarding peace, mercy, forgiveness, and his own notion of justice. Similarly, just as the literature emerging in conversation with Orentlicher's 'Settling Accounts' has been rooted in the legalistic conception of justice as retribution and deterrence and therefore often locked within those paradigms even when critiquing the particulars of Orentlicher's approach, so also the literature emerging in conversation with Lederach's *Building Peace* has focused on the reconstruction of social relationships. Both of these traditions seek to explain the prerequisites for long-term post-conflict justice and peace in the complicated post-Cold War era, but do so from opposing perspectives.

Unfortunately, this is rarely addressed as very few scholars engage substantively with both literatures, as we will now discuss. The results of our study indicate four striking conclusions. First, and unsurprisingly, both of our seed publications have made very large contributions to their respective literatures. Second, and as can be seen clearly in Figure 1, the two literatures, although tackling closely related phenomena, rarely interact. There are very few publications (eight) which 'bridge' between the two literatures. In Figure 1, where 'Lederach 1997' represents *Building Peace* and 'Orentlicher 1991' represents 'Settling Accounts', the divide between the two clusters of literature is clear.

Third, and as will be discussed in detail below, those publications which do 'bridge' the literatures, while few in number, are of two kinds: *active bridges* (four), and *one-way bridges*

(four). Active bridges are those publications which cite at least one publication from both sides of the divide, while one-way bridges are those which cite one side and are in turn cited by the other. This distinction is important because it indicates the direction in which information travels across the divide and also, in this case, clearly highlights the very rare attempts made to actively bridge between the two clusters. And fourth, our qualitative assessment of the substance of the bridging publications in our sample, and of more recent publications in the field, also shows that such bridges are overwhelmingly critical and rarely attempt to identify or build on complementarity between the clusters or to initiate real integration of the two.

Characteristics of the bridging literature

As noted above, four publications in our sample served as *active bridges* between these two literatures. An additional four publications served as *one-way bridges*, citing from one cluster and being cited by the other and, therefore, acting as conduits for the one-way transmission of information (see Figure 2). In theory, one-way bridges have the potential to *communicate* between the two clusters, while active bridges have the potential to *integrate* the two and form new ideas across the divide, form some type of consensus between the two, or at least serve to highlight the distinctions between them. The citation network represents a small sample of the entire literature in this domain, but is representative of attention in the literature because the sampling technique includes the most highly cited articles in the field (Lecy and Beatty 2012).

While it should be noted that these eight articles are not the only publications that bridge these two literatures, they are the most highly cited publications which do, and so we treat them as examples of the kind of research that spans the two domains in the larger population of literature from which the sample was drawn. Highly cited publications tend to be older publications, so if there was a shift in the pattern and the literature published in the past couple of years is more likely to cite both seeds this would not be
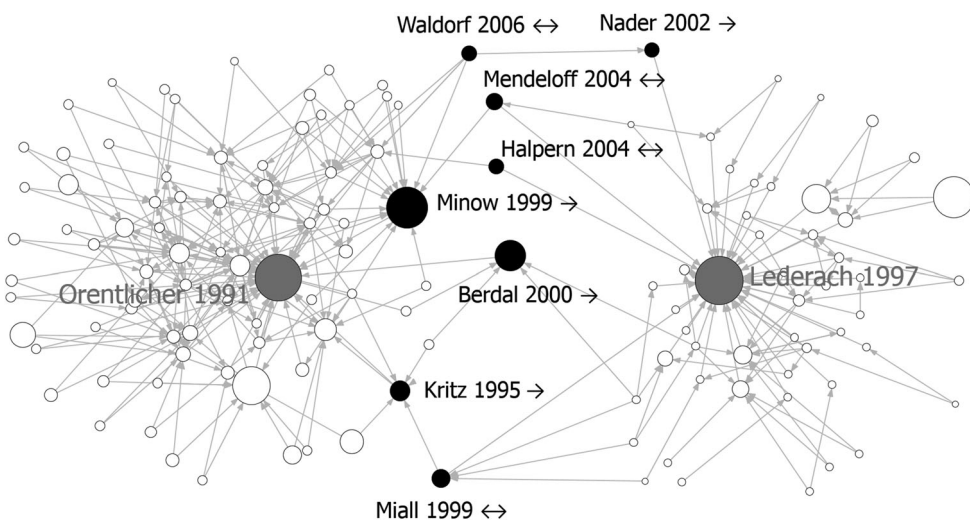

Figure 2. A visualization of the 'bridging' publications.

evidenced in this sample. Thus this snapshot represents the state of the field at a specific point in time (how the conversation had evolved up to that point), but does not capture trends in how the field is changing. We capture emergent themes to some extent in our qualitative examination of more recent 'bridging' publications presented later. Here first we take a closer look at the eight bridging publications in our sample and describe their role in the literature.

The eight bridging publications are shown in Figure 2. All pendants have been removed from the network to add visual clarity. The nodes are sized relative to the number of times that they have been cited. One-way bridging articles are indicated with a → symbol, active bridge are indicated with a ↔ symbol. The arrow points to the cited article from the citing article.

One-Way bridges

One-way bridges are those publications which cite from one cluster at least once, and are cited by the other cluster at least once. Such publications do not actively cite from both clusters, and therefore serve less as active collaborative or cross-disciplinary engagements between the two traditions than they do as unidirectional communication. For example, the second volume of Neil Kritz's *Transitional Justice* (1995), which presents his 'Country Studies' and largely describes, case by case, the ins and outs of transitional justice efforts prior to 1995, performs as a one-way bridge in our sample (Kritz 1995 in Figure 2). Kritz cites two articles from the Orentlicher cluster—'Settling Accounts' itself and Priscilla Hayner's *Fifteen Truth Commissions, 1974–1994* (1994)—but does not cite any publications from within the Lederach cluster. This is very simply explained in this case, as Kritz's book was published before Lederach's and so he could not cite it, or any of the later publications which do cite it. Kritz is, however, cited by one publication within the psychosocial intergroup peacebuilding cluster—Miall, Ramsbotham, and Woodhouse's first edition of *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (1999)—so in this case we have a one-way bridge. In our sample, this publication transmits information from the Orentlicher cluster to the Lederach cluster, but not the other way around.

Similarly, Martha Minow's *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness* (1999) (Minow 1999 in Figure 2) serves as a one-way bridge and in the same direction as that served by Kritz's publication. While Minow cites Orentlicher's 'Settling Accounts', and is cited by 48 publications herself (8.3 per cent of all publications in our sample), only two of those publications are outside the core of the Orentlicher cluster: Mendeloff's 'Truth-Seeking, Truth-Telling, and Postconflict Peacebuilding' (2004) and Waldorf's 'Mass Justice for Mass Atrocity' (2006), both of which, as we will see in a moment, themselves perform as active bridges between the two clusters and which are generally more related to the legal justice cluster than the psychosocial cluster.

The third one-way bridge transmits information in the opposite direction, from the Lederach cluster towards the Orentlicher cluster. This is Nader and Grande's 'Current Illusions and Delusions about Conflict Management' (2002), which cites Lederach's *Building Peace* and is in turn cited by Waldorf who, as already noted above, performs the active bridging function.

The final one-way bridge publication is Mats Berdal and David M. Malone's *Greed and Grievance* (2000). This publication cites Orentlicher's 'Settling Accounts', and is in turn

cited by authors from both clusters—three in the Lederach cluster and two in the Orentlicher cluster—thus giving the impression that it is serving as a useful link between the literatures. However, on closer inspection it becomes clear that this is not as it appears. This book is an exploration of the economic agendas of actors in contemporary civil wars and an edited volume. The single chapter that cites Orentlicher's 'Settling Accounts' is Tom Farer's 'Shaping Agendas in Civil War', which only vaguely cites Orentlicher's article in an endnote and provides no description of its contents. As such, *Greed and Grievance* fits our definition of a one-way bridge, but is in fact a member of a third cluster of literature—the emerging literature on war economies—that has itself been used by other authors in both clusters but which itself does not actively incorporate the information or theory from the legal justice cluster in our sample. In short, none of the authors in *Greed and Grievance* actively served as a bridge between the two clusters.

Active bridges

The second and perhaps more useful kind of bridging publication is that which actively uses information from the two literatures we are discussing. This can be seen in the active citation of at least one publication from both clusters. There were four such examples in our sample. The first, Mendeloff's 'Truth-Seeking, Truth-Telling, and Postconflict Peacebuilding' (2004), cites Minow in the Orentlicher cluster and Lederach himself in the Lederach cluster. Halpern and Weinstein similarly cite Lederach's *Building Peace* in their 'Rehumanizing the Other' (2004), and cite Fletcher and Weinstein's 'Violence and Social Repair' (2002) in the Orentlicher cluster. Both of these pieces—Mendeloff (2004) and Halpern and Weinstein (2004)—actively cite literature from both clusters and therefore, at least in some minimal way, begin to establish some dialogue across the divide. However, both articles, perhaps tellingly, are quite critical of the established legal justice paradigm as represented by the dominant literature of the Orentlicher cluster, call for a rethinking of the usual models, and point to a conflict between the two clusters we have identified in our analysis. This indicates that one of the key reasons scholars actively engage with both sides of this divide is to use one in an effort to critique the other – a finding which we will expand on below. In these cases the psychosocial approach of the Lederach cluster was used to critique the legal approach of the Orentlicher cluster.

The third active bridge is Waldorf's 'Mass Justice for Mass Atrocity' (2006), which cites many publications within the Orentlicher cluster, including Minow (1999), Drumbl (2000), and Fletcher and Weinstein (2002), as well as Nader and Grande (2002) in the Lederach cluster. As such, Waldorf is closely tied to the Orentlicher cluster and only tangentially connected to the Lederach cluster as Nader and Grande (2002) is itself a bridging publication, but serves nonetheless to provide a critical examination of the legalistic conceptions of transitional justice, much like the Mendeloff (2004) and Halpern and Weinstein (2004) pieces. Again, we see the active bridging of both clusters for the purpose of critique.

The final active bridge is less significant for a number of reasons. This is Miall, Ramsbotham, and Woodhouse's *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (1999), which, although it cites Kritz's *Transitional Justice* (1995) within the Orentlicher cluster and Lederach himself within the Lederach cluster, is nonetheless a survey of the entire field of conflict resolution and one of the primary university textbooks on the subject. As such, the book engages with a

broad swath of literature without contributing substantively to theory or to the pro-
gression of the field, instead serving to provide a comprehensive but somewhat shallow
overview of the field which is primarily used in undergraduate and basic graduate level
courses. As such, even though this publication does actively bridge the two clusters, it
does not do so in a way that engages with the significant theoretical or practical division
between the two or attempts to serve an integrative or constructive function.

Discussion: critical vs. constructive bridges and their practical implications

As the above explanation of the two literatures describes, both traditions seek to find a
path towards sustainable justice and peace, influence the field of practice and policy in
post-conflict or transitional societies, respond to the complexities of the post-Cold War
conflicts and intra-state warfare, and provide normative frameworks within which aca-
demics, practitioners, and policy-makers engage with issues of transition from conflict
to peace. Over the past two decades each of the seed publications has served as a
central touchstone in their respective literatures and has proven resilient over time.
However, both literatures have progressed significantly since the initial publications of
these two seed publications and both have received significant critiques, challenges,
extensions, and adaptations. However, even given these developments within their
respective literatures, it remains the case that those critiques and adjustments are made
by scholars practising and theorizing largely *within the same normative paradigms* as
the authors of their respective seed publications.

Transitional justice, human rights, and international legal scholars critique or support
Orentlicher in their efforts to expand or adjust legal theories, practices, and institutions
in response to post-conflict transitions, and, on the other side, psychologists, sociologists,
and theologians have been engaged in progressing and adapting theories of psychosocial
intergroup reconciliation and relational repair and have produced copious amounts of lit-
erature on how to bring sustainable ends to conflict through processes that seek to
change inter-group relationships. As with the literature following from Orentlicher's
work, that emerging in communication with Lederach has largely remained within this
paradigm—critiquing, adapting, or expanding his approach, but largely accepting inter-
group relationship as the central concern in establishing long-term sustainable peace.
This is true also of recent work, including many contributions to this special issue,
which are written primarily from within the legal justice literature and engage very little
with the psychosocial literature (see Lai 2016; O'Reilly 2016; Hronesova 2016). Similarly,
but from the other perspective, many scholars address issues central to the legal justice
literature—such as the rule of law (Park 2010), privatization (Knudsen 2013), memory
(Ibreck 2013), and accountability (Philipsen 2014)—but with little reference to that
literature.

As noted, just eight (1.38 per cent) of the 586 articles in our sample form some kind of
bridging function between these two literatures. Of those, four served as one-way bridges,
transmitting information across the divide but only in one direction, and four served as
active bridges, citing literature from both sides of the divide. However, it is quite significant
that not one sampled article cited both Orentlicher and Lederach, and most of the brid-
ging publications cited other bridging publications. It appears, in fact, as though there
is a stepping stone form of bridging, by which the divide between clusters is crossed in

stages. As can be seen in Figure 3, because no one author in our entire sample cites both of the seed publications, it takes two or three bridging publications to cross the divide, and each of those bridging publications is one step removed from the normative claims of either seed publication.

This is significant because it highlights the very difficult process of finding any kind of middle ground between the outlooks of the core legal justice discourse and the psycho-social discourse. Indeed, a key finding of this study is that those publications most likely to bridge the divide are likely to be quite critical. In our sample this is exemplified by the works of Mendeloff (2004), Halpern and Weinstein (2004), and Waldorf (2006), the three clearest examples of active bridging. But this is also an obvious pattern in more recent literature by Nagy (2013), Robins (2012), Taylor (2015), and Björkdahl and Selimovic (2015), each of which could be described as serving as a *critical bridge* in that while they do reference work from both sides of the divide quite actively, this is largely in an effort to use one literature to critique the other; in all of these pieces the psychosocial peacebuilding literature is used to critique the legal transitional justice literature—there seems to be a dearth of literature using the legal justice lens to critique the psychosocial lens, which may result from the institutional and financial dominance of the former as compared to the latter. But if there is to be any cross-literature consensus-building—on theory, policy, or practice—there must be more effort to form *constructive bridges* between the two and significant effort to do more than critique one or both of the established approaches.

As noted in the introduction, there has been some such work in the past which attempted to establish more constructive bridges between the two literatures (Daly 2002; Lambourne 2009; Sriram 2007), and these efforts have inspired contemporary attempts (Lambourne 2014; Sriram 2013; Gready and Robins 2014). But to a great extent this more constructive work, explicitly attempting to craft links and to identify complementarity between the two literatures, has been marginalized within both. This marginalization of integrative theory has had significant negative implications for policy and practice. As noted above, our two seed publications were chosen for very specific reasons: both are considered central to their respective scholarly traditions, both were written in direct response to the new importance of the post-agreement phase of internal conflicts in the immediate post-Cold War period, and both attempt to describe the processes necessary in post-conflict settings to ensure long-term stability. But perhaps the most important reason to look at these two seeds is that the literatures emerging in conversation with them have greatly influenced policy and practice in their respective fields. This fact points to the real-world implications of the divide observed in our sample.

That these publications and the scholarly traditions that emerged in conversation with them have had a great impact on actual practice in post-conflict societies, and particularly that funded and supported by the international community, means that the lack of constructive conversation between the two traditions has led to competing as opposed to
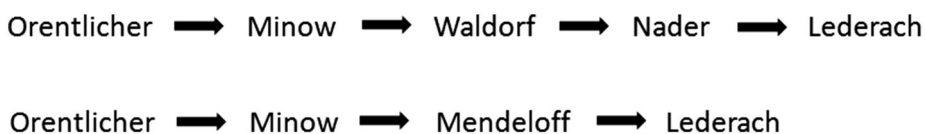
Figure 3. Stepping-stones.

complementary or holistic models of practice for post-war societies. On one hand, and consistent with the normative and theoretical approach dominant within the legally focused Orentlicher cluster, there have been ever more efforts to hold people accountable for their actions in wartime or during former authoritarian regimes. As described above, the ICTY, ICTR, ICC, and more recent 'hybrid courts' are perfect examples of this. Explicitly following on the assumed responsibility to punish, these enormous and expensive international legal mechanisms aim to support peace through the provision of retributive justice.

On the other hand, and consistent with the normative and theoretical approach of the Lederach cluster, there are also ever more international organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) focusing their work on the restoration of relationships in post-conflict societies. These include large, overarching organizations such as the new United Nations Peacebuilding Commission and the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office, but also hundreds of smaller NGOs such as the International Institute for Sustained Dialogue or the Center for Intercultural Dialogue. These organizations, and the large body of academics, activists, and practitioners who support and work within them, explicitly apply the normative and theoretical framework of this tradition in their approach to conflict and post-conflict peacebuilding (Tocci 2008; Fischer 2006; Paffenholz and Spurk 2006). Such practices demand the application of processes geared not to punish perpetrators, but to recreate or reconstitute relationships between individuals and groups. By doing so, it is thought they will help to create a sustainable peace.

In this way, the very clear normative division between these scholarly traditions is not only a concern for theoretical or academic purposes, but also for policy and practice. We apply solutions to real-world problems based on our conceptions of those problems and our normative or theoretical ideas about possible solutions. As these two traditions conceive of post-conflict needs in very different ways, the practices they demand in post-war or transitional societies are very different. The inconsistencies of these approaches go beyond those often addressed in the debate regarding the trade-offs between justice and peace (Popkin 2000; Zartman and Kremenyuk 2005; Bloomfield 2006; Sriram and Pillay 2009), which generally discuss the complicated relationship between holding armed actors accountable for wartime abuses and including them in negotiations in order to end the war. In practice, where one calls for the funding and administration of criminal tribunals and international courts, the other calls for facilitated dialogue groups and collaborative cross-community projects, which go far beyond participation in negotiations and agreements.

Conclusion

This study found that the vast majority (98.62 per cent) of our sample cited only publications within one of the two identified literatures (the legal or the psychosocial). What this indicates is a clear lack of cross-fertilization and communication between the literatures. Further, the limited number of publications that do serve as bridges between the two literatures are overwhelmingly engaged in using one tradition (usually the psychosocial) to critique the other (usually the legal), and very little literature has attempted to establish a cohesive or integrated narrative that can bridge the divide. We believe that there are four specific implications of this failure that weaken both of these approaches.

First, scholars in both traditions are missing clear opportunities to share lessons learned over the past two decades. Instead of talking past each other, the legal and psychosocial traditions should be sharing theories, key findings, and best practices—particularly those regarding the contemporary challenges that are clearly facing both fields, such as the demand for increased local ownership, for more substantive evaluation of project outcomes, and for greater understanding of the interaction of local and global actors. Second, the normative foundations of each tradition have led to failure within both to recognize the diverse conceptions of justice and peace in local communities. It should be recognized that local conceptions of peace and justice are complex and the interaction between international interventions and local needs will thus be unpredictable. The normative approach taken by both traditions closes each off from recognizing the complexity of these interactions and the potential relevance of ideas from the other tradition for interpreting and understanding the reality on the ground.

Third, the divide that exists between the two academic traditions also contributes to that between the academics and the practitioner communities who must work within these diverse and complex local settings. Normatively constrained perceptions of peace and justice will never actually reflect what is needed in local settings. Sharing theories, methods, and empirical findings across the divide identified in this paper would have a greater potential to develop a nuanced picture of what locals need and, as such, more appropriate recommendations for what practitioners should be doing on the ground. And finally, on a more fundamental level we believe that scholars writing within both traditions are failing to reflect sufficiently on their own disciplinary positionality which gives rise to their ontological, epistemological, and methodological biases and approaches, thus constraining their perceptions regarding and solutions to the manifold problems in post-conflict settings. Interdisciplinary communication can help to identify and counter such disciplinary limitations.

Unfortunately it appears to be the case that, although there is healthy rhetorical support for interdisciplinary research methodologies, theories, and approaches within transitional justice, peace studies, and international relations more broadly, there is actually very little work attempting to do this and that which does is largely marginalized within both literatures. The two traditions march along largely engaged with their own conceptions of the needs and demands of post-conflict societies and individuals, but rarely taking proper note of what the other is saying. We would contend that the complex needs of post-conflict societies demand that this divide be bridged more often and by much more significant scholarly work which attempts to synthesize applicable policy solutions for these complex transitional situations. The ongoing work of Lambourne (2014), Sriram et al. (2013), Gready and Robins (2014), Friedman and Jillions (2015), and Millar (2015a, 2015b), in which there is much more comprehensive and vigorous discussion of both traditions, must start to form a new tradition which incorporates and integrates the two literatures instead of stopping at critique.

We propose, therefore, that the *structured literature review* provided here—composed of both bibliometric and qualitative analysis—should serve as a model for future studies of such divides. Indeed, this approach must be supplemented with further information regarding the literature sampled for the analysis, such as the discipline, country of origin, age, gender, and home institution of the authors, as well as information regarding the funder, publisher, and methodological approach of the research. This approach can

help us to develop a more complete picture of the social structure of the field and, thus, provide scholars with the insight necessary to initiate more constructive bridges and more coherent and integrative theory, policy and practice.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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