Berghof Foundation

Berghof Glossary on Conflict Transformation

20 notions for theory and practice

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40 Years
Berghof Foundation

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Introduction

This glossary defines and discusses 20 core terms related to conflict transformation in the work of the Berghof Foundation. Why another glossary, and why especially a glossary on conflict transformation?

First of all, the "conflict transformation" concept is still a relatively new and distinct strand in the global discourse about conflict and peacebuilding. Conflict transformation views the existence of conflicts as a valuable, indeed indispensable, part of social change and development, but does not see violence as inevitable in the relations and interaction between conflicting parties. That's why it also does not see the "resolution" of conflicts as the most important or ultimate goal of engagement. Instead, it aims to establish constructive relations among the conflicting actors and help create the structures that are needed for lasting peace. It does so by influencing the root causes of conflicts in such a way that sustainable non-violent strategies can prevail.

Secondly, the concept of conflict transformation builds on a systemic and inclusive approach to conflicts which takes account of their interdependent dimensions and dynamic nature. This perspective impacts on the manner in which, in the language of peacebuilding, terms seemingly based on common sense are used to define and describe phenomena of social change and transformation. In the field of conflict transformation, precise terminology helps us to better understand the root causes and the nature of conflicts and peace. It can also help in shaping theoretical and conceptual approaches to peace, and in developing appropriate political and social strategies.

Thirdly, this glossary also presents the Berghof Foundation's vision and policy of conflict transformation to our friends, partners and clients. From our perspective, "transformation" must address the underlying causes of conflict and the prevailing con-

flict dynamics and encourage and empower the drivers of change towards just and peaceful societies. Our concept of conflict transformation is inspired by and draws on the combined knowledge, skills and methodologies from research, practice, education and grant-making, thus enabling us to address complex transformation challenges adequately and in a systemic way. The language of this glossary therefore reflects our own (ever-evolving) understanding and knowledge gained from all these different fields of engagement.

The Berghof Foundation sees its mission as being to contribute to the creation of spaces for conflict transformation. These spaces need to be safe, trustworthy, sustained over the long term and empowering to actors on different levels and tracks. They offer new opportunities for constructive, non-violent interaction among conflicting parties, and between these parties and their partners such as governments and NGOs.

Creating such opportunities is a crucial challenge in all our fields of activity – in research, in our practical cooperation with partners and in comparative learning and dissemination of successful models. Using a language which all partners can easily understand, no matter whether they are a party to a conflict, benign interveners, donors, partners, mediators, facilitators, educators or journalists, is a prerequisite for developing inclusive and reflective policies for conflict transformation. This is what also guides our glossary: to make a contribution to developing a sound platform for communication, strategy-building and policy implementation in our field. As with our *Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation,* the *Berghof Glossary on Conflict Transformation* offers the chance to begin an exchange between scholars and practitioners.

How to use this glossary

The glossary comprises 20 core terms, chosen by our staff based on our experience of working in the field for 40 years. The terms

are presented in alphabetical order and aim to increase our understanding of their meaning and identify the critical questions to pursue in further research, practice and education. We also offer suggestions for further reading and list a selection of online resources at the end of each entry, with a special focus on the resources accumulated at Berghof over the past decades. Small arrows → indicate cross-references within the glossary. The photographs that illustrate this booklet are kindly supplied by the Peace Counts project; credits can be found in the Annex. The Annex also includes a list of acronyms, the profile and milestones of the Berghof Foundation and a selection of Berghof's latest publications. As the glossary will be available online and in print, you can look forward to an easy one-stop-shop complete with hyperlinks on the Foundation's website www.berghof-foundation.org, coming soon.

Continuing the discussion …

A great deal of research, practical and educational activities in our field aim to document and disseminate best practices or design solutions. Using clearly defined terminology plays an important role in this context. Terms, however, are not cast in stone. They may reflect a widely shared understanding of reality but are also subject to critical re-assessment against the backdrop of different perspectives and changes in context.

That is why our glossary is not a dictionary but presents the (preliminary) results of informed discussions by our staff of core terms which we encounter and use in our daily work. We invite our readers to join in the debate and help us to further develop the language of conflict transformation (for feedback contact us at: info@berghof-foundation.org). We want this booklet to be part of that process.

Berlin, March 2012

1 Conflict

Conflict is inevitable, but combat is optional.
Max Lucade

A conflict is a clash between antithetical ideas or interests – within a person or involving two or more persons, groups or states pursuing mutually incompatible goals. Like all social phenomena, conflicts are usually complex and may emerge on different levels. Some are primarily intra-personal, while others are inter-personal, and there are conflicts across all layers of society. Conflicts may have a predominantly civil and internal dimension or may take on transnational or even global forms. Each and every conflict has its own history, features and dynamics. Since conflict is a social phenomenon, it is an inevitable part of human interaction. The role of conflict as a driver of social change can be considered to be constructive if the conflicting parties ac-

Morton Deutsch assumed that conflict is potentially of individual and social value; his basic question was how to prevent conflicts from being destructive. Johan Galtung characterised conflict as two or more individuals or groups pursuing mutually competing goals with opposing interests and needs, and emphasised the linkage between structural, behavioural and attitudinal aspects of conflict.
Friedrich Glasl defined social conflict as an interaction involving at least two parties (individuals, groups, states) with at least one party experiencing differences (distinctions, contradictions, incompatibilities, etc.) in perception, thinking, imagination, interpretation, feeling (sympathy – aversion, trust – mistrust) and desires (needs, objectives, purposes, goals) to the other party in such a way as to make them feel that the potential for the realisation of their ideas is affected.

knowledge the legitimacy of different interests and needs of all actors involved. Constructive approaches to conflict aim to create a social and political environment which allows the root causes of the conflict to be addressed and which enhances sustained and non-violent alternatives to the use of force. Destructive approaches are characterised by conflicting parties' efforts to resolve a conflict unilaterally and at the cost of others.

Conflicts may either be manifest through behaviour and action, or latent, remaining inactive for some time, while incompatibilities are not articulated or are part of structures (political system, institutions, etc.). In symmetric conflicts between similar actors, the conditions, resources and contexts of the conflicting parties are roughly equal. They can compromise on how to deal with a conflict according to agreed social, political or legal norms and thus transform their rules of collaborative engagement. Strength may influence the nature of a compromise, but in the end it is reliability and reciprocity which count. Asymmetric conflicts,

however, cannot be easily transformed without paying respect to the often unbalanced relationships that lie at their roots. For example, at the intra-state level, asymmetric conflicts are caused by unequal social status, unequal wealth and access to resources, and unequal power – leading to problems such as discrimination, unemployment, poverty, oppression, and crime.

Unilateral superiority may pose a serious obstacle to constructive interaction between conflicting parties. But it would be premature to conclude that this is a general rule, because history tells us that both bold and benign actors may tame irresponsible drivers of conflict. However, constructive collaboration needs a willingness on the part of all conflicting parties to engage constructively, irrespective of their weakness or strength. And a transformation of conflict cannot be expected if the root causes of conflict are not addressed.

Components of Conflict Analysis

Levels	Individual		Society
Causes	Conflicts of interest material resources, power, influence	Conflicts of needs non-material, basic needs: physical and non-physical elements such as security, love, self-esteem, participation, identity or freedom	
	latent		
Strength of opponents	symmetric		

Conflict analysis

The United States Institute of Peace defines conflict analysis as the systematic study of the profile, causes, actors and dynamics of conflict. It is the first step in conflict transformation and peacebuilding. It undertakes a careful inquiry into the potential course of a conflict so that a roadmap for transformation can be created. A diligent analysis needs to identify the root causes, which sometimes remain veiled in open-ended forms of conflict management (→ conflict transformation and → systemic conflict transformation). Conflict dynamics and relationship patterns are equally important components of conflict analysis.

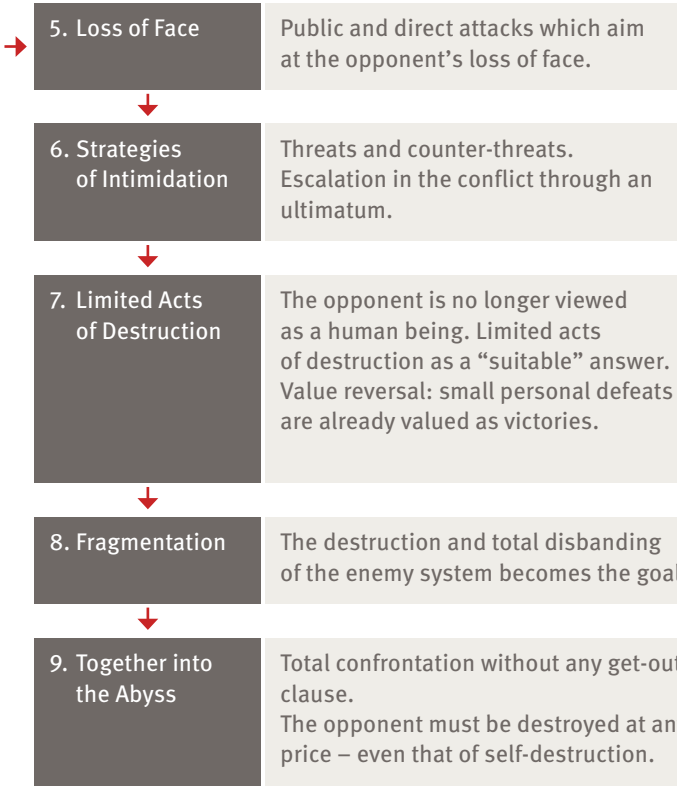
		International
	Value conflicts non-material, collective norms	Identity conflicts self-perception
		Ideology conflicts belief and philosophy
		Conflicts of estimation valuation of competence
	manifest	
	asymmetric	

The Nine Levels of Conflict Escalation by Friedrich Glasl

1. Concretisation	The points of view become more rigid and clash with each other. However, there is still a belief that conflict can be resolved through discussion. No intransigent parties or positions yet.
2. Debate	Polarisation in thinking, emotion and desire: Black-and-white thinking, perspectives from positions of perceived superiority/inferiority.
3. Deeds	"Talking is useless". Strategy of confronting each other with "faits accomplis". Loss of empathy and danger of misinterpretation.
4. Images, Coalitions	The different parties manoeuvre each other into negative roles and engage in open warfare. They recruit supporters.

Conflict escalation

A crucial dynamic of conflict is the risk of escalation. The deeper the tensions, the fiercer the combat, the more difficult it is to keep a conflict under control (→ violence & non-violence). As Friedrich Glasl has pointed out, escalation occurs in stages and effective intervention must be adapted to the relevant stage. His



model of nine stages of escalation is useful as a diagnostic tool for sensitising people to conflict dynamics. Sensitisation may enhance awareness of potential and necessary actions to resist the risk of escalation.

Conflicts are multifaceted and multi-layered. There are conflicts over interest, needs, values and identity. Often, the root causes of conflict are disguised by ostensible tensions, such as ethno-political strife. Ethnicity or culture does not necessarily cause a conflict, but both constitute highly influential areas of socialisation and identification amongst social peers. Deeply-rooted conflicts become part of collective memory and thus are usually more resistant to transformation.

The role of → gender in the construction and transformation of conflict also needs a more nuanced understanding. Often, women are seen only as the main victims of war and conflict. But this perspective is too simplistic: while women often play an important role in peacemaking and social transformation, they may also act as aggressors, soldiers, combatants or politicians responsible for making decisions about military interventions and war. Their potential as both constructive and destructive drivers of social change is under-researched and often neglected.

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Interview with Friedrich Glasl (Video), www.berghof-foundation.org › Glossary › 01 Conflict [in German]

Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, UK, www.gsdrc.org/go/conflict

2 Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution

The more we sweat in peace, the less we bleed in war.
Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit

Conflict may be a necessary – even formative – part of human existence, but violent conflict is not inevitable. So how and when is it possible to prevent a conflict from becoming violent? Or if it is too late for that, how can the devastating effects of violence be diminished?

Conflict prevention entails four pillars of short to medium-term activities: identifying situations that could result in violence, reducing manifest tensions, preventing existing tensions from escalating and removing sources of danger before violence occurs.

So the aim is not to deny the issues at stake, but to find non-violent ways of addressing them. For this reason, many practitioners prefer the terms "crisis prevention" or "violence prevention". It is thus important to understand the many kinds of → violence and why they arise. While prevention activities should ideally be undertaken pro-actively, most are usually applied in a post-war setting, in order to prevent a renewed outbreak of fighting. Typical tools and methods include early warning, confidence- and security-building measures, preventive diplomacy and preventive peacekeeping, and peace education.

Conflict management focuses on how to control, handle and mitigate an open conflict and how to limit the potential damage caused by its escalation. Like prevention, it can include military and non-military components. It is mainly understood as trying to contain a conflict or, at best, reach a compromise, without necessarily resolving it. This means looking for ways to deal with conflict constructively and aiming to engage opposing sides in a cooperative process that can establish a workable system for managing their differences.

Conflict resolution focuses on the deep-rooted causes of conflict, including structural, behavioural and above all, attitudinal aspects. As with management, there are many different understandings of resolution, which practitioners and scholars have long been at pains to distinguish. It is often used as an umbrella term for the whole field, especially in Anglo-American literature. Generally speaking, conflict resolution aims to help parties explore, analyse, question and reframe their positions and interests as a way of transcending conflict. For many, the learning process entailed in resolving a conflict is just as important as the end state it hopes to achieve: the future is not seen as conflict-free, but as one where bonds and models exist that conflict parties can use to find further resolutions instead of resorting to violence.

Whose job is it?

All three concepts as presented here were developed not by conflict parties themselves, but by outsiders. All three propose some form of intervention, aiming to help key stakeholders within a conflict play a more de-escalating role. Building on established traditions of bilateral and international diplomacy, a wide range of structures has meanwhile developed under the auspices of the UN system. In recent years, regional organisations such as ASEAN, the AU and EU, and even military alliances, have taken the initiative in addressing the nexus between peace, human security and development. Amongst these different actors there is an urgent need for improved coordination and policy coherence as reflected, for example, in the European Council's comprehensive Gothenburg Programme.

Most interventions have deliberately addressed and been instigated by political leaders and societal elites. But focusing only on statesmen, military actors and foreign interventions fails to do justice to many other parallel strands of action. Providing good offices, safe spaces, independent monitoring or constructively engaging the media are just some of the roles being taken on by civil society organisations. An outstanding example of the latter is the "Peace Counts on Tour" project in which media reporters go to conflict zones to portray the work of successful peacebuilders. The resulting pictures and stories are brought back to the conflict zones in order to be spread as positive examples or models of how to build peace locally. There is also increasing recognition of the constructive impact that grass-roots movements, and even "spoilers", can have on sustaining peace. On an individual level, peace education, promoting empowerment and conflict sensitivity can be seen as relevant forms of prevention. In essence, everybody has a role to play.

Can that ever be enough?

It will always be easier to point to real casualties and damage caused by conflict than to name successful cases where they have been averted. Arguably, some of the largely peaceful transitions seen in Eastern Europe following the collapse of the Soviet Union can be attributed to successful prevention activities undertaken by the OSCE or the European Union. On the grass-roots level, smaller NGOs such as Berghof also contributed to prevention, for example by organising dialogue workshops during the fragile transition of post-Ceaușescu Romania. The UN's *Agenda for Peace* (1992) was a milestone reflecting a shift in focus from reactive towards more proactive measures. Sadly, of course, the world still faces many acute conflicts whose "bleeding" demands immediate attention.

Conflict management, born of the need to take quick and decisive action, is often criticised for merely "applying a band-aid" to cover deep wounds. Conflict resolution also has its limitations: urgency and expediency may result in root causes being overlooked or important stakeholders being excluded from negotiations. Moreover, one or more parties may refuse to cooperate. Lack of leverage or political will to seek a solution are commonly reported obstacles. Even if conflict parties would prefer peace to war, they may refuse to engage in talks because of risks to their security or fears of ending up worse off than before the resolution. Since peace accords are almost always concluded amongst armed parties, there is also a danger that conflict resolution will ultimately privilege these over other groups in society.

A frequent criticism leveled at both management and resolution approaches is that their objectives are not broad enough. Faced with the complexity, asymmetry and repeated manifestations of protracted conflicts, a number of scholars and practitioners have come to advocate a more comprehensive set of goals. They feel that this process of change is better captured in the concept of → conflict transformation.

Today's field may still be dominated by certain actors and their approaches that are designed and implemented based on a liberal thinking which is common in the West. However, after results that leave much to be desired there is a growing willingness to listen and learn from other ideas being put into practice around the world. From the South African *xotla*, to Japan's Fukuda doctrine, to the Colombian "peace village" of San José de Apartadó, there many people quietly "sweating" away at peacebuilding work, on all levels of society.

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Gothenburg Programme, www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/122911.pdf

Peace Counts on Tour, www.youtube.com/watch?v=MnFpdU-5BPI [in German]

3 Conflict Transformation – Theory, Principles, Actors

Conflict transformation is ... about transforming the very systems, structures and relationships which give rise to violence and injustice.
Responding to Conflict

In the face of violence, there are three main impulses. The first is an immediate one – to stop it. The second is a medium-term one – to deal with the wounds resulting from it. The third, finally, is a long-term one – to change the underlying conditions that have led, and may lead again, to violence. Conflict transformation is the comprehensive approach that attempts to achieve the last of these three goals, without neglecting the others.

There continues to be considerable terminological variation, overlap and even contradiction in how different actors (or authors) define various approaches to working on conflict (→ conflict prevention, management, resolution). At Berghof, conflict transformation was chosen as a guiding concept because it is seen as the most deep-reaching and holistic conceptualisation of the constructive changes that are needed to build a just peace.

The concept of transformation

Conflict transformation is best described as a complex process of constructively changing relationships, attitudes, behaviours, interests and discourses in violence-prone conflict settings. Importantly, it also addresses underlying structures, cultures and institutions that encourage and condition violent political and social conflict. The term is used in the works of several "founding figures" in peace and conflict studies (Adam Curle, Johan Galtung, Louis Kriesberg, Kumar Rupesinghe, Raimo Väyrynen), but it has been elaborated most specifically in the works of John Paul Lederach and Diana Francis.

It is a multi-dimensional, non-linear and unpredictable process involving many different actors in moving from "latent and overt violence to structural and cultural peace", as Véronique Dudouet has put it. It is particularly pertinent in situations of protracted and asymmetric conflict involving social justice issues. Especially in such settings, it is an approach that calls for long-term engagement and political skill.

What does this mean in practical terms? Take, for example, Kenya and the violence it experienced in the wake of contested elections in 2007/2008. Dekha Ibrahim Abdi described this context as one where it was tempting to think that it was just a matter of getting certain political actors and the youth they mobilised under control. Yet she underlined: "You don't just look at this as a political crisis and then just do political analysis; whereas some drivers are in politics, you really need to look at environmen-

Transformers of Conflict

Type	Examples
1. Context transformations	≡ Change in the international or regional environment
2. Structure transformations	≡ Change from asymmetric to symmetric relations ≡ Change in power structures ≡ Changes of markets of violence
3. Actor transformations	≡ Changes of leadership ≡ Changes of goals ≡ Intra-party change ≡ Change in party's constituencies ≡ Changing actors
4. Issue transformations	≡ Transcendence of contested issues ≡ Constructive compromise ≡ Changing issues ≡ De-linking or re-linking issues
5. Personal/elite transformations	≡ Changes of perspective ≡ Changes of heart ≡ Changes of will ≡ Gestures of conciliation

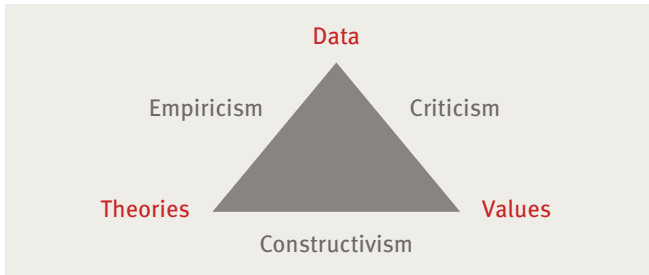
Source: H. Miall 2004. Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task, in: Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation, online version.

tal factors, social relations, economic sectors [...] – and people said yes, we need a solution to the electoral violence, but we really need other solutions, too". This required a whole-system approach which engaged with actors at the local community level

as well as with the international mediator Kofi Annan. It encompassed a short-term focus on ending the violence, as well as reflection on what would make young men less susceptible to taking up arms. And it dealt with social justice issues and identity, livelihoods and political power-sharing, the aim being to achieve institutional and structural transformation in the long run.

Theory, practice and principles

Conflict transformation does not flow from or aim for a grand, all-encompassing theory. Rather, it tests and generates theoretical propositions through field research and interaction with practitioners. Arguably, although based on empirical approaches and qualitative methods, it is, nevertheless, theory-guided and value-driven.



Source: J. Galtung 1996

The aim of constantly testing theory and practice against each other is a core principle of the work that has been done at Berghof in recent decades, captured in the *Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation,* work on systemic conflict transformation, and conflict research, peace support and peace education activities.

Conflict transformation rests on specific principles. They form a code of conduct for researchers and practitioners alike and are not always easy to achieve in the real world of peace project management. One set of principles describes how we should relate to those with whom we work towards conflict transformation: they include respect for local capacities and ownership, inclusiveness and multi-partiality of processes, and fair play. A second set describes the personal qualities that are needed in engagement for conflict transformation and peacebuilding: empathy, humility, self-reflection, and the tenacity and perseverance to achieve incremental change over the long run, often in the face of serious setbacks.

Agents of transformation

In any setting of protracted conflict there are agents of violent change or resistance but also agents of peaceful change. Any process of conflict transformation must find and connect the drivers of peaceful change, but also understand the drivers of violence and war: the "spoilers" of peace processes. In the words of Dekha Ibrahim Abdi once more: "You don't see them as a problem, but you see them as people needing to be understood [...] and then they become part of the strategy development." It has become clear that conflict transformation efforts need to encompass many levels, tracks and sectors: diasporas, governments and non-state actors; women and men; conflict parties and peace envoys. It is important to link the top, middle and grass-roots levels of a conflict setting, always mindful that peace is made from within the society in conflict rather than by external experts and interveners, even if the latter may bring much-needed and welcome ideas and support.

Open questions

Conflict transformation is not without its challenges and critics. It calls for such wide-ranging and deep-reaching change in the social fabric that it may actually intensify conflict in the short

run by proposing a disturbing process of change which touches (and threatens) beliefs, relationships, power, positions and status. Some claim that it can only be a guiding notion rather than a fully implemented programme. Others propose prioritisation, for example with an emphasis on relationship-building. In any case, conflict transformation cannot be planned and implemented by one actor alone – it takes many different contributions. How can they be elicited, coordinated and brought together? Exclusion of local actors in this context raises suspicions of "social engineering" and of veiled forms of western dominance. Systemic approaches have been explored as one potential way of managing this complexity (→ systemic conflict transformation).

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4 Dialogue

In true dialogue, both sides are willing to change.
Thich Nhat Hanh

Dialogue can be viewed as one means – if not the classical one – of dealing constructively with conflicts. As the saying goes, as long as you're talking, you can't be shooting. What better method is there of resolving a dispute – according to another common-sense observation – than through an honest exchange of views?

Initiating, organising and facilitating dialogues has become one of the key methods of peacebuilding. Scholars, educators and practitioners argue that dialogues are an important element in engaging with the opposite side in a non-confrontational manner, to "humanise" the interaction and to explore ways of preventing, managing or resolving the conflict. Central is the effort

The modern meaning of dialogue has its origins in antiquity and the Middle Ages. The term is now primarily defined as a spoken or written conversational exchange between two or more people. Originating in the Greek *diá* and *lógos,* it can be interpreted as the "flow of words" or "meaning" created by more than one person.

In contrast to the terms "discussion" and "debate", which focus primarily on the content of a conversation, the word "dialogue" places equal emphasis on the relationship between the persons involved. Another difference is that the former terms often include a competitive component to underline the superiority of one opinion, while the latter term implies mutual understanding or the desire to identify common ground. In the reality of conversations in and on conflicts, though, the dimensions of discussion, debate and dialogue will often be mixed and can only be separated analytically. Nevertheless, the essence of a successful dialogue is that it is a face-to-face interaction between members of conflicting parties, in which they respect each other as human beings and are prepared to listen to each other deeply enough to inspire some kind of change of attitudes or learning which can contribute to conflict transformation.

to create a different kind of communication and a deeper understanding of one's own needs and interests as well as those of the other side. At the same time, while dialogues are important to help transform relationships, promote empathy and inspire problem-solving, they are no substitute for efforts to address structural causes and engage with the power-political aspects of the conflict.

Elements of promising dialogue

During the last few decades, dialogue has become a favourite subject for creative thinkers from various disciplines. Important contributions have been made by the theologian Martin Buber, physicist David Bohm and his theory of dialogue as a process of collective learning, and William Isaacs, along with other systemic thinkers who have explored this method as a tool for organisational learning.

These and other contributions have given rise to a set of elements for dialogue that have a transformative potential for the persons involved:

- Demonstrating respect for and acknowledging the equality of all dialogue participants with their unique background and opinions.
- Developing active listening skills and empathy for the contributions from all dialogue partners.
- Suspending own assumptions, ideas, emotions and opinions for some time to allow new impulses to emerge.
- Speaking from the heart and expressing one's own truth in a genuine manner, emphasising the process which has influenced one's own position rather than the result.
- Slowing down the process of communication and interaction, opening up to new insights and exploring opportunities for joint learning.

This list is obviously a collection of ideal requirements which will rarely be achieved in situations of highly escalated conflicts. There, the affected persons look at each other with deep mistrust, if not hatred. They may even be reluctant to meet each other face-to-face, for example when the political escalation has created "moral", legal and/or physical barriers to encounters with the "enemy". The main challenges, though, are rooted much more deeply in the participants' concepts of identity and their perceptions, fears and feelings about each other. One basic requirement for any promising dialogue is to create "safe spaces" for these meetings, sometimes also called "containers". This can

be one of the tasks of third parties whose support and facilitation are often needed to prepare the ground for these face-to-face encounters and to enable meaningful conversations.

Together with mediation efforts, facilitated dialogues have become key tools of peacebuilding and conflict transformation work (→ facilitation, mediation, negotiation). While some of them are organised as one-off events, the majority of peace professionals are convinced that it is necessary to envision effective dialogues as long-term processes with a relatively continuous group of participants.

A broad spectrum of dialogue methods and tools has been developed to promote social change and to develop creative modes of participatory learning. They comprise approaches:

- to inspire participants to engage with each other in a variety of settings (e. g. using open-space techniques or the World Café approach);
- to encourage participants to speak about their conflict-related experiences, grievances, and expectations in a manner which makes more constructive interaction possible (such as Marshall Rosenberg's "Nonviolent Communication" or Dan Bar-On's "Reflect and Trust" initiative);
- to make use of creative methods to promote empathy and change of perspectives (e. g. theatre work, change laboratories or role reversals);
- to generate alternative futures (scenario building, future workshops and the like).

Beyond these specific approaches for a limited number of participants, some dialogue efforts aim for a much broader outreach. "National Dialogues" are often created to unite countries after a civil war or other violent traumatic experiences. The concept of creating a culture of "democratic dialogues" became popular, particularly in Latin America, in the context of politically deeply divided countries.

A key argument behind these two concepts is that the traditional democratic instruments of elections, of party-political rivalry, competing political elites and parliamentary debates might not be sufficient to ensure effective political decision-making for common good in divided and highly politicised societies. They should therefore be complemented with dialogue mechanisms and approaches. To support and qualify these types of comprehensive dialogue, "peace support structures" have been developed, for example the "Common Space for Consensus Building and Knowledge Generation" in Lebanon.

Critique of dialogue projects

The critique of dialogue projects in the peacebuilding and conflict transformation field has been very much focused on their strategic deficits and the difficulties in assessing their impact. Many dialogue initiatives seem to be based on the simple assumption that just bringing together representatives of conflicting parties will do some good and cannot do harm. This assumption can no longer be justified in light of various cases in which participants were attacked by hardliners from their reference group because of their encounters with the "enemy". At the same time, there is no doubt that many dialogue projects on the grass-roots and middle levels have contributed significantly to creating islands and cultures of peace – but this has often not been translated into a macro-political impact. Another criticism is that dialogues can be harmful in highly asymmetric conflicts if they conceal the inherent inequalities on the ground by creating the formal impression of a "symmetrical dialogue". While the more powerful representatives glorify their openness to dialogue on "difficult" issues, the less powerful representatives often perceive these encounters as a waste of time or, even worse, as a reinforcement of the unequal status quo.

As with all other tools of peacebuilding and conflict transformation, it is crucial to conceptualise all dialogue work within a strategic context and an explicit theory of change and to be pre-

pared for a long-term process which will need parallel efforts to address the structural drivers of conflict.

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5 Dignity & Trust

The road to peace is paved with dignity.
Donna Hicks

Dignity is a term indicating that all human beings have an inalienable right to respect and ethical treatment. Dignity became a key term in the age of Enlightenment and in the human rights movement of the 20th century. It culminated in Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, which states:

> *"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."*[1]

1 More gender-sensitive wording has yet to be adopted.

Trust is a term which signifies that people have in principle positive expectations of the intentions and behaviour of other persons. These positive expectations can be based on close face-to-face interactions and bonding, for example in a family or among friends, or on joint membership in groups and communities with well-established social and cultural norms. The type and level of trust raise highly complex issues, but it is generally assumed that there is a significant contrast in the trust that exists within and between different identity groups, be they ethno-national, religious or other culturally defined groups.

Both dignity and trust play a crucial role in the escalation, protracted nature and transformation of inter-personal and collective violent conflicts. This is best demonstrated with reference to humiliation and distrust, as opposed to dignity and trust.

The term "humiliation" indicates that instead of acknowledging the equal dignity of all human beings, a vertical dimension is introduced between persons with superior and inferior status (the most extreme example being the German words "Übermensch" and "Untermensch" used by the Nazis). Accordingly, Evelin Lindner defines the essence of humiliation as being "about putting down and holding down". Looking at history from this angle, humiliation was interpreted in most societies of the world as part of a "natural order" of superiors and inferiors, at least until the Enlightenment. Tragically, there are many countries in which this fundamentally unequal "natural order" is still in place today. There is also often a temptation to impose "top-down solutions" as a simplifying method to deal with the complexity of conflicts.

In conflicts, the close relationship between collective political violence and humiliation is evident when fighting not only aims to achieve the physical destruction or "neutralisation" of the enemy, but also targets their symbols of identity, respect and dignity, and their honour and collective achievements. Often, the first acts of violence are directed against these symbols, such as when the Nazis destroyed and burned down more than 1500 syn-

agogues during the "Night of Broken Glass" in November 1938, marking the start of the Holocaust. In many protracted conflicts, the violence against symbols of the opposing side, such as places of worship and cultural pride (libraries, museums), and against people is closely connected. This is even more dramatically expressed in the collective sexual violence which aims to degrade the physical and moral integrity of the enemy.

Tragically, collective humiliation in the context of war and violence has the systemic tendency to reproduce itself, particularly if the victorious side makes no efforts to acknowledge the painful narratives of the past, to address issues of → transitional justice and to engage in some kind of genuine process of reconciliation. For effective conflict transformation, it is therefore crucial to overcome the cycle of humiliation and counter-humiliation and to work towards a comprehensive understanding of human dignity.

The main challenge in transforming conflicts shaped and driven by humiliation by one side or sequences of mutual humiliation is to find ways to overcome the deep distrust that exists. Particularly in the case of protracted conflicts, the distrust is so deeply ingrained in the emotions and attitudes of the parties that even occasional gestures of conciliation are often perceived as a ploy to undermine one's own position. To initiate genuine processes of conflict transformation, it is therefore crucial to develop strategies of trust- and confidence-building.

During the East-West conflict until 1989, this was one of the key areas of peace research and practical peace initiatives. A remarkable contribution on trust-building in this context was developed by the psychologist Charles Osgood in 1962 with his strategy for "graduated reciprocal reductions in tension" (GRIT). His argument was that single de-escalatory measures in such conflicts will be of little value because they can easily be rejected as public relation stunts. Instead, one side should take the initiative and generate a series of small conciliatory gestures which are

publicly announced and implemented step-by-step, independently of the response of the other side. If the latter party reciprocates with similar measures, more significant steps should be taken. The core idea is to trigger a cycle of de-escalation with a long-term perspective by means of unilateral initiatives and to accompany this process with some kind of dialogue to promote mutual understanding and foster joint analyses.

Whether this approach can be applied to internal conflicts between internationally recognised states and non-state armed groups (or liberation and resistance movements) is an open question. The problem in these cases is that there is not only deep mistrust between the parties, but often fundamental disagreement on the legitimacy of the existing political order as well. The general understanding is that trust-building is a multi-dimensional process in which elements of rationally defined common interests, transparency and predictability play an important role, as do emotional and relationship factors. Trust cannot be imposed on conflicting parties, nor can it grow without cooperation.

In cases of humiliation and traumatic experiences of violence, trust-building means addressing issues of transitional justice and reconciliation. At a minimum, it requires some kind of acknowledgement of the painful past. And even in the best cases, trust to engage in conflict transformation needs opportunities, time and spaces for relationship-building.

Dignity and trust – as well as their opposites, humiliation and distrust – do not feature prominently in the reflections on peace projects. But they are very much present among and within the people involved in these conflicts. It is therefore all the more important that all persons wishing to support these activities are sensitive to this dimension and develop the respect and empathy that are essential for work in this field.

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6 Donors & Funding

There is much to be done.
Georg Zundel

Ending violence and building peace require not only patience and experience but also financial resources. Yet total funding for non-violent approaches to conflict transformation is miniscule compared to the world's military budgets. In 2010, SIPRI estimated world military expenditure at USD 1630 billion, of which the United States government accounts for by far the largest share, with a military budget of USD 689 billion. By contrast, the budget of the United Nations and all its agencies is about USD 30 billion per year, according to the Global Policy Forum – a mere 1.8% of global military expenditure. Similarly, funds allocated to development assistance by OECD countries in 2010 amounted to USD 129 billion, less than 8% of global military

spending. These figures remind us that when it comes to protecting their international interests, states are determined to maintain their ability to use military means if necessary. While the development of non-violent alternatives to a military security paradigm may not be at the top of governments' list of priorities, there can be no doubt that states have a role to play in building peace. They are stakeholders in the majority of conflicts, and they also control an overwhelming amount of the resources needed for their resolution.

However modest the amount of public funding for peacebuilding may appear, the contrast to private funding is even greater. Unfortunately, reliable statistics on this issue are notoriously hard to come by for most parts of the world. A report by the Peace and Security Funders Group (PSFG) provides an exception, looking at grant-making by foundations based in the United States for typical issue areas such as arms control or conflict resolution. According to the report, peace-related grant-making totalled USD 257 million in the years 2008 and 2009 combined, of which around USD 67 million (26.3 %) went to issues relating to the prevention and resolution of violent conflict. This amount is almost negligible when compared to overall philanthropic giving over the same time period. In response, it might be argued that starting out from a more comprehensive definition of peace, funding for related areas, such as human rights or possibly development assistance, would have to be included as well. What remains in any case is the impression that peace-related issues feature no higher on the agenda of philanthropists than they do on that of governments.

Conflict transformation – a philanthropic challenge

That peace-related issues play at best a minor role in the philanthropic world is no surprise, given the challenges which the peace and security environment presents to funders. Conflict transformation proves to be no exception, but stands out as being particularly hard to approach.

First of all, → conflict transformation, if it aspires to be inclusive, often involves working with actors who are publicly stigmatised, such as proscribed groups. This not only runs the risk of being viewed as highly controversial by the public; it can also be problematical from a legal perspective, especially in the post 9/11 world. Legal uncertainty is not an attractive environment for either non-governmental organisations or funders to work in, as they have to be prepared to deal with accusations and the possibility of negative public relations fallout, a risk that larger and corporate foundations in particular tend to shy away from. Secondly, the impact of conflict transformation is notoriously hard to measure, because conflict situations are highly complex and follow a non-linear and long-term timeframe. Very few funders are prepared to invest in areas with uncertain outcomes in the shorter term. In addition, the rising popularity of social entrepreneurship and with it the application of business methods in a philanthropic context create new challenges in this field, which have been difficult to master. Finally, conflict transformation requires experience, cultural sensitivity and a good network to access the relevant actors. More importantly, it also requires persistence, persuasion and the strength to cope with regular setbacks.

Despite this challenge, private funding for conflict transformation can offer enormous benefits. Being often driven by principles that focus on stakeholders and their relationships, private funders can more credibly interact with non-state actors and civil society in general. Public donors, by contrast, tend to follow a different set of priorities that is more often centred on state interests and standards. These may be hard to reconcile with conflict realities on the ground, putting non-state stakeholders in a conflict at a critical disadvantage. Were it not for privately funded initiatives, these actors would often be left to themselves or fall under the influence of the stronger conflict party. Finding it easier to reach out and build bridges to a broad range of actors, privately funded initiatives can help to create the inclusive peace processes required to tackle today's ethnopolitical conflicts, tap-

ping peacebuilding potentials which are otherwise hard to reach. While this means that private funding does indeed have an important role to play, ultimately the success of all private initiatives depends on their ability to leverage scarce resources by reaching out to the state. To do so, they have a spectrum of activities at hand, ranging from the provision of research, education and information to the direct engagement of people through non-governmental organisations and private diplomacy. When these levers are employed adequately and in a coordinated way, even small-scale initiatives have the potential to bring about change on a large scale. Such public-private partnerships can offer great opportunities in terms of leverage. However, they can also undermine the actual as well as the perceived integrity of conflict transformation initiatives among the conflict parties. Non-governmental organisations must therefore make sure that their principles are in alignment with those of their donors. Last but not least, it is exactly because sources of funding can matter a great deal on the ground, in terms of perceived influence, that philanthropic resources, when employed in a targeted way, can be critical to the success of such initiatives.

The Berghof Foundation is an independent, non-governmental and non-profit organisation dedicated to supporting efforts for achieving sustainable peace through research, practice and education. It was established by Professor Georg Zundel in 1971 in order to make a contribution towards a world in which people have the knowledge, skills, spaces and institutions to maintain peaceful relations and overcome violence. Professor Georg Zundel was driven not only by his personal experience of the horrors of World War II, but also by the legacy of his grandfather Robert Bosch, who as an entrepreneur and industrialist also knew the economic cost of violence.

A risk worth taking

That the world's military budget dwarfs the amount of funding provided for conflict transformation and peacebuilding should not discourage funders. In fact, it might be expected that the potential impact in an underfunded issue area should be higher as there are more opportunities left to be exploited. At the same time, making good use of such opportunities can be challenging, as it requires the willingness to face public controversy, as well as persistence and, not least, the ability to combine public and private resources in mutually reinforcing ways. For the recipients of funding, this means that they will have to manage the interests and perceptions that come with it, in order not to betray their principles and hence their advantage on the ground. While true success stories may be rare, the potential impact that such initiatives can achieve is enormous. Answering the challenge of violent conflict can not only relieve human suffering; it can also release immense resources that can be put to more beneficial use.

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7 Empowerment

We must become the change we want to see.
Mahatma Gandhi

How can people live in a self-determined way and acquire the capabilities to act and deal with conflict non-violently? This is the core issue of multiple approaches to empowerment. Two dimensions can be distinguished: empowerment as self-empowerment, and empowerment as professional external support or element of a third-party intervention. Both dimensions overlap and are mutually dependent. Considering the circumstances of many people and societies in conflict and war regions, empowerment for them is essential. Resisting poverty, oppression, marginalisation, violence and war in a non-violent way requires courage, determination and confidence. Weak conflict parties are often lacking awareness of their own situation and their rights, as well

as capabilities to act and organise themselves. They fail to articulate their interests or claim their rights to participate and negotiate on equal terms. How can the necessary processes in this context be supported? This is the question that empowerment and conflict transformation seek to address.

Contexts, approaches, expectations

The issue of empowerment arises in several contexts which are closely interlinked. Empowerment can be understood as a

- psychosocial approach in cross-cultural work on a communal level (community work);
- way of promoting gender mainstreaming and equality;
- dimension of social and civil rights movements;
- development tool, with a focus on poverty reduction and
- approach in the context of peacebuilding, peace education and conflict transformation.

Empowerment is understood and discussed as an objective, method, strategy and process. Its core is individualistic: it's about enabling individuals to perceive and articulate their own interests. Strong individuals are the key to social change. In psychosocial work, a paradigm shift can be identified: empowerment is no longer about peoples' alleged need for relief, but about trust in their existing skills and strengths and respect for personal autonomy and self-determination. Empowerment therefore aims at individual and then collective processes of self-reliance and building the capacity to be a responsible citizen.

The challenge is activating and strengthening existing or hidden personal resources, establishing social support networks and promoting political participation and claiming rights. Creating spaces for civic participation and self-organisation is linked to empowerment approaches in community work. The socio-political expectations associated with empowerment are that individuals and collectives (e. g. oppressed and marginalised groups)

learn not only to recognise their own rights, but also to interact with dominant and ruling conflict parties on the basis of equality.

In development cooperation, community-based self-help programmes are designed to enable disadvantaged people to take initiatives that lead them towards independent development. Empowerment is meant to contribute to poverty reduction and build people's capacities for political engagement. The main goal is to develop grass-roots groups and an awareness of justice through capacity-building.

Impulses from gender studies

Some concepts of empowerment originate in the women's movement and gender studies, which have provided strong impetus here. In the context of gender-oriented empowerment processes, Naila Kabeer, Professorial Fellow at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, defines empowerment as follows:

> *"Empowerment for me ... starts with individual consciousness. And it starts with individual consciousness because I come from a part of the world where what is possible for women is very, very limited. So, women's so-called preferences are very narrow and restricted. For me, empowerment is telling you the importance of the power within, of the importance of consciousness, of the ability to recognise your own self-worth, you know, to be able to demand recognition and respect from others. But of course, it must then move on to collective action, or structural change, or public policy, or, you know, the things that happen in the public domain, which make a difference to the larger structures that affect all women."*

For Kabeer, empowerment is about creating freedom of choice for those who currently lack opportunities to choose between different types of being and doing (disempowerment). As she

points out, before a strategy for empowerment can be developed, the structure and extent of disempowerment must be analysed (conflict analysis).

An understanding of power is critically important to empowerment concepts. Empowerment is not about deliberate and repressive power. Naila Kabeer describes power as a process of gaining control over resources and one's own life: "power within". This corresponds with the definition of power underlying the United Nations' concept of human → security: it uses "power to" instead of "power over".

Empowerment as a multi-level approach

Within post-war peacebuilding, one specific strand of work focuses on the empowerment of victims and survivors of violence and war, such as the Victim Empowerment Project set up by the Foundations for Peace Network. Without strengthening self-confidence and the rights of victims in post-war societies, the establishment of a culture of peace is inconceivable. The Foundations for Peace Network members have identified four distinct strategies which have been utilised to support the empowerment of victims/survivors of conflict, namely:

- Working with victims/survivors at the grass-roots level
- Connecting victims/survivors to wider society
- Connecting victims/survivors from diverse sides
- Linking victims/survivors to the policy environment

Measures for empowerment should not reinforce victimhood but be appropriate for guiding affected people out of this role. Critically dealing with the past is one aspect of this process (→ transitional justice). Others are peace education and socio-psychological approaches (trauma healing) or vocational training measures. These micro-level approaches, however, are insufficient for achieving empowerment on a societal level and must be complemented by processes on the meso and macro level. Improving structural and political conditions en-

hances access to political participation, resources and labour markets.

Empowerment in the context of conflict transformation is only promising if it is designed as a holistic approach and multi-level process. The same applies to empowerment in processes for the resolution of violent and asymmetric inter-group conflicts, both in relation to capacity-building in general and the difficult role of third parties in training low-power groups on their negotiation options for a more balanced peace-making process in particular. Empowerment should not only support the unheard, oppressed, weaker groups in articulating their interests in an appropriate and non-violent way and identifying their options for action. It should also include the other groups involved in preparing them for change and for the possibility of resistance and conflict intensification.

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8 Facilitation, Mediation, Negotiation

You can't always get what you want / but if you try, sometimes you might find / you get what you need.
The Rolling Stones

Negotiation can be broadly defined as a face-to-face discussion for the purpose of reaching an agreement on a situation that is perceived as a problem or conflict. Roger Fisher and William Ury call it "a fact of life. ... Negotiation is a basic means of getting what you want from others. It is back-and-forth communication designed to reach agreement when you and the other side have some interests that are shared and others that are opposed." Consequently the persons involved in the negotiation process must have a mandate and the power to enter into agreement.

Mediation also aims to reach agreement among the parties through negotiation processes. The difference lies essentially in the fact that mediation involves an additional party who is responsible for directing and supporting the flow of communication. Naturally, the mediator needs to be accepted by the parties, which usually implies some measure of neutrality or multi-partiality. However, particularly on the international level, mediators are often considered to be biased towards one party's position (e. g. the UN being bound by Security Council Resolutions). Nonetheless, they still gain acceptance from all parties on account of their process-neutral behaviour and political leverage. In the context of protracted conflicts, the role of mediator tends to be assigned to outsiders, although insiders can also perform this role if they manage to gain and maintain credibility.

Facilitation shares with mediation the presence of the "third party" who is responsible for the communication process. Facilitators, like mediators, help the group to communicate effectively and improve their mutual understanding. Their responsibilities – as with mediation concepts – relate to the process rather than the content. Nonetheless, facilitators can also act to some extent as creative content providers for enriching the discussion. Unlike negotiation and mediation, a facilitation process does not necessarily strive to reach an agreement. Although achieving an agreement or settlement is not excluded, facilitation primarily seeks to improve the relationship between the parties. Consequently, the participants in facilitated encounters do not have to be mandated to enter into a binding agreement.

Transformation as a developmental process

Transformation models build on the assumption that a conflict develops from its latent phase towards a manifest phase. This is because conflict parties evolve and mature over time: it is a developmental process for a "party to the conflict" to become, at a later stage, a "party to the negotiations". In other words, (meaningful) negotiation and mediation can only take place

and progress when the parties acknowledge that there is indeed a conflict and when they accept the other party's relevance in achieving some form of resolution.

Due to its open-ended character and flexible selection of participants, facilitation can be a good tool in creating space for encounter, exchange and (possible) → dialogue in situations where negotiation is impossible, either because one or several parties do not accept the need for it or where official negotiation formats may exist but the process is not dynamic and shows signs of stalemate.

Facilitation and its role in negotiation and mediation processes

Two general approaches can be distinguished, one being settlement-oriented and the other relationship-oriented. These two types of facilitation relate in very different ways to negotiation processes.

Facilitation processes such as the problem-solving workshops implemented by John Burton or Herb Kelman are designed to contribute to a negotiated settlement by developing a common understanding and reframing of the conflict. The participants in this type of facilitated process are influential individuals who have access to decision-makers and to persons who can influence the level of confidence in the negotiations.

Over time, the methods applied in conflict resolution workshops have been diversified. They are now implemented with a broad range of participants: decision-makers in their private capacity (informal Track 1 process), influential individuals and analysts from civil society (Track 2 processes) or mixtures of civil society and decision-makers (Track 1.5 processes).

Another approach to facilitation centres on improving relations between conflicting sides. It has this in common with many mediation models, which also aim to improve and transform inter-

personal relationships. However, as this approach does not seek to resolve the issues under negotiation and does not necessarily involve negotiators, it can seem, at first glance, somewhat vague.

In his writing on dialogue, Harold Saunders makes the point that "sustained dialogue" is "designed for groups, communities and organizations in deep-rooted human conflict or tension whatever the cause". According to Saunders, people participate not because of their status or influence on the decision-making level but because they are ready to engage in a "genuine dialogue", being convinced that "something needs to be done", even though they do not yet have a clear concept or agenda.

The "transformative mediation" approach developed by Robert A. Baruch Bush and Joseph P. Folger is based on very similar thinking, but highlights the role of the third party. Despite being called "mediation", this approach does not seek the resolution of immediate problems or issues under negotiation. The focus lies instead on the relationship level and people are free (or become free) to define their own issues and (hopefully) their own solutions.

Facilitating structural change

Facilitated processes have great potential to bring together and empower groups of individuals who share an understanding of the different standpoints among the group but who, at the same time, agree on the need to change the overall relationship and move towards joint action.

Thinking about changes in the overall relationships means focusing on those structural aspects of the conflict which politicians and decision-makers, intentionally or otherwise, choose not to address.

Facilitation does not just provide space for generating "islands of peace" and "coalitions across conflict lines" in which people

from opposing sides interact to identify common ground. Facilitation can also be directed towards social and political reform on one side only. But it is the facilitated process which empowers participants to advocate reforms that are also influenced by the views, hopes and problems of the "other side" (→ empowerment). Mutual understanding, respect and recognition create the framework for people to define their own issues.

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9 Gender

Women hold up half the sky.
Chinese Proverb

> *When I close my eyes and think about "war" I can see a soldier with a gun. What do you see?*
>
> *If you see a person, is it a man or a woman? Do you see a raped man lying dead on the ground with his crying children around him? Do you see a young girl with a grimy face pointing her AK-47 at you? What about the people at the conference shaking hands as they sign a peace agreement? Do you imagine them as women or men?*

Thinking in images is a useful exercise to understand how deeply gendered our associations with war and peace are and how

none of us can escape "doing gender" as part of our everyday thinking and actions. Because habitual thoughts are the ones we question least, gender studies are a helpful tool in making us aware of how individual identities are shaped. They also help to critically analyse the social construction of "masculinities" and "femininities" and the gendered organisation of public and private life in war- and peace-time, as Cordula Reimann has pointed out. Looking at the picture of a soldier with a gun, gender studies can help formulate questions about the making of "real men" out of young boys in the military, the image of men as "strong" and "fearless" "protectors and defenders" or the longevity of the organisation of the armed forces as a male-only space. Today, there is a shared understanding that transforming conflicts in a way that is meaningful for both women and men implies un-

The term gender, derived from the Latin word "genus", was already being used to refer to women and men as distinct categories of humankind in the 14th century. However, it was only in the second half of the 20th century that the concept became relevant in the social sciences. In 1951, Simone de Beauvoir's seminal book *The Second Sex* championed the idea that a person's sex is not determined by biology or nature, but by socio-cultural processes, arguing that one is not born, but made a woman. Subsequently, the distinction between people's biologically defined "sex" and socially constructed "gender" started to gain ground. While recent research calls the clear-cut difference between these two notions into question, arguing that even the "natural" sex is in the end subject to social construction, gender is still widely understood as the "socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women" (World Health Organization 2011) and in some cultures for additional gender categories (such as the *hijra* in India).

derstanding (research) and modifying (practice) the gendered dimensions of war and peace.

Peace and conflict research through a gender lens

Gender concepts are not static, but change and evolve over time. They are also interlinked with other social categories such as religion, age, race, class and ethnicity and subject to cultural variation. Peace and conflict research investigates these changes during peace- and war-time. On a macro level, it considers patriarchal structures as one root cause of conflict, delves into research on gender (in)equality and levels of domestic violence as an indicator of state violence and explores the links between private and public violence. Arguing that conflict resolution theory should be more concerned with the continuation of (private) violence in peace-time rather than focusing exclusively on war as the scenario for (public) violence, it also considers the so-called post-war gender backlash and the narrow focus of national security in post-war state-building. On a micro level, peace and conflict research through a gender lens looks at the different meaning and impact of war and peace on a person according to their gender. A great deal of research has focused on women's experiences in war. While this deserves further investigation, we also need to know more about the diverse implications of war for men, including (sexual) violence against them (see for instance the film "Gender Against Men"). In addition, gender-oriented → peace and conflict transformation research will have to move beyond binary gender categories (male vs. female) and pay more attention to multiple gender identities and the consequences of social exclusion of individuals whose sex and gender identities do not overlap with prescribed gender-based norms. However, such transgender approaches have to be developed in accordance with the socio-cultural environment and the political dynamics of the country concerned. And on a final note, the strong focus on women and men in war-torn regions should not obscure the fact that children are exposed to violence by adults of all sexes.

The practitioners' perspective

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security has boosted the production of policy guidelines, planning toolboxes and lessons learned reports, reiterating the moral imperative of taking women into account. Gender mainstreaming is upheld as an important instrument for planning and implementing peacebuilding interventions. However, there are still many conceptual and methodological challenges to address in order to make peacebuilding a truly gender-sensitive endeavour. These range from the conception of gender analysis as primarily concerned with "women's issues" and gender experts as necessarily being women to the perception of gender mainstreaming as an annoying "must" and additional workload instead of a helpful tool to improve planning and enhance the effectiveness and sustainability of interventions. Practitioners are also confronted with credibility problems as international agencies have been criticised for not practising what they preach. Cases of sexual exploitation linked to peacekeeping missions and unequal gender representation in international negotiating or mediation teams challenge "the West's" capacity to serve as a role model with regard to gender-just societies. Needless to say, western feminist and gender-based strategies may not be appropriate for other parts of this world. In the face of these challenges, it may be helpful to remind ourselves of the common ground gender studies and conflict transformation can build on.

Gender studies and conflict transformation: a lot in common?

The late discovery and difficult integration of gender analysis in conflict transformation research and practice are somehow surprising if one compares key elements of both disciplines. Both are driven by a normative commitment that is strongly rooted in their dual existence as academic disciplines and social movements: the women's movement and the peace movement. As such, both disciplines have complemented and challenged mainstream international relations not only by introducing new subject matter but also by introducing new epistemological as-

sumptions based on self-reflection and bottom-up approaches. Concerned with transforming structures of → violence and inequality as underlying causes of conflict, conflict transformation and gender studies both seek to investigate processes of in-/exclusion, analysing structural violence, and exposing complexity and plurality of roles rather than black-and-white concepts (women vs. men, war vs. peace, victims vs. perpetrators). Building on these commonalities could enrich both our theoretical understanding of gendered processes of conflict transformation and our practical engagement for a gender-just peace – so that one day we might close our eyes and think about war as something that women and men *together* are able to prevent.

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10 Peace, Peacebuilding, Peacemaking

The beauty of peace is in trying to find solutions together.
Dekha Ibrahim Abdi

Can peace be defined? In debates about peace definitions, the distinction between negative and positive peace put forward by Johan Galtung has gained broad acceptance. Negative peace describes peace as the absence of war or direct physical violence. A positive notion of peace also includes the increase in social justice and the creation of a culture of peace among people within and across societies. A frequent criticism of positive peace is that it lacks conceptual clarity. Nonetheless, most scholars agree that peace is a complex, long-term and multi-layered process. In such a process, it is possible to identify steps towards peace and meas-

ure the decrease of violence and increase of justice. That this is multi-layered means that peace is not only a matter for diplomats but is an ongoing task for stakeholders at all levels of society.

Working for peace requires at least three fundamental steps:
First, a vision of peace must be defined. Peace on an individual level obviously differs from international peace; researchers, politicians and artists all use the term "peace" in different ways, and interpretations vary according to culture. In some societies the word "peace" might even cause resentment due to experiences of oppression inflicted in the name of peace. Peace definitions are therefore context-specific. Developing common peace visions is an important aspect of peace work.

Second, it is crucial to specify the conditions for peace in or between societies, with a view to establishing these conditions. In his analysis of the historical emergence of peace within western societies, Dieter Senghaas identified six crucial conditions: power monopoly, rule of law, interdependence and affect control, democratic participation, social justice and a constructive culture of conflict ("civilisatory hexagon", → peace education

Peacemaking usually refers to diplomatic efforts to end violence between conflict parties and to achieve a peace agreement. International or national peace agreements may contain demobilisation commitments or regulations on the future status of conflict parties. As stated in the United Nations Charter, peacemaking strategies range from negotiation, mediation and conciliation, to arbitration and judicial settlement. Sometimes economic sanctions or even military interventions to end the use of force in a conflict are considered as part of peacemaking. Civil society organisations involved in peacemaking mostly rely on non-violent strategies such as negotiation and mediation.

– principles). It must be carefully assessed whether or to what extent these conditions could be useful for transformation processes in non-western societies. Peace also tends to be fragile. Even in western societies, there is no guarantee that there will never be any recourse to war. Peace therefore needs ongoing attention and support.

Third, comparing the current realities in a given society with the peace vision is essential to find out what is lacking. A wide range of strategies and methods are used to make, keep or build peace on different actor levels.

According to John Paul Lederach, these actors can be grouped into three tracks. The top leadership comprises military, political and religious leaders with high visibility (Track 1). Track 2 involves middle-range leaders such as academics, intellectuals or religious figures. Their close links to government officials allow them to influence political decisions. With their reputation, they are also respected on the grass-roots level. Track 3 includes local community or indigenous leaders, who are most familiar with the effects of violent conflicts on the population at large.

The term *peacekeeping* in the traditional sense describes the deployment of armed forces to intervene as a buffer zone between adversaries, to enforce a ceasefire agreement and monitor peace processes in post-war societies. Most common are the peacekeeping operations undertaken by the United Nations. The activities mandated under the peacekeeping label have constantly been enlarged and nowadays also contain various post-war peacebuilding measures. Some civil society organisations practise unarmed "civilian peacekeeping" as a counterpart to military peacekeeping by monitoring ceasefire agreements or providing protective accompaniment.

The population itself is sometimes considered as an actor on a fourth level. Peace efforts can be undertaken by actors on all levels and across several tracks.

Peacebuilding

In *An Agenda for Peace* by former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992), peacebuilding is described as a major instrument for securing peace in post-war situations. More generally, as a preventive measure, it can be applied in all stages of conflict and also in relatively peaceful societies. Peacebuilding covers all activities aimed at promoting peace and overcoming violence in a society. Although most activities on Track 2 and 3 are carried out by civil society actors, the establishment of links to Track 1 is considered essential for sustainable transformation of societies. While external agents can facilitate and support peacebuilding, ultimately it must be driven by internal actors, often called agents of peaceful change. It cannot be imposed from the outside. Some peacebuilding work done by international or western organisations is criticised for being too bureaucratic, short-termist, and financially dependent on governmental → donors and therefore accountable to them but not to the people on the ground. It thus seems to reinforce the status quo instead of calling for a deep transformation of structural injustices; this is highlighted, for example, by the discussions in *Berghof Handbook Dialogue Series No. 7*. Transformative peacebuilding thus needs to address social justice issues and should respect the principles of partnership, multi-partiality and inclusiveness. Peacebuilding is based on the conviction that violent conflicts do not automatically end with the signing of a peace accord or the deployment of peacekeeping forces. It is not a rapid response tool but a long-term process of ongoing work in the following three dimensions:

Altering structural contradictions is widely regarded as essential for lasting peace. Important elements are state-building and democratisation measures, the reform of structures that reproduce

Peacebuilding

Source: Berghof Foundation

the conflict (e. g. the education system), economic and sustainable development, social justice and human rights, empowerment of civil society and constructive journalism.

Improving relations between the conflict parties is an integral part of peacebuilding to reduce the effects of war-related hostilities and disrupted communication between the conflict parties. Programmes of reconciliation, trust-building and dealing with the past aim to transform damaged relationships (→ transitional justice). They deal with the non-material effects of violent conflict.

Changing individual attitudes and behaviour is the third dimension of peacebuilding. It means strengthening individual peace

capacities, breaking stereotypes, empowering formerly disadvantaged groups, and healing trauma and psychological wounds of war. One frequently used measure for strengthening individual peace capacities is training people in non-violent action and conflict resolution. Many peacebuilding measures seek to have a greater impact by combining strategies which encompass all three dimensions (e. g. bringing former conflict parties together to work on improving their economic situation and thus changing individual attitudes).

However, peacebuilding actors and organisations are still struggling to make their work more effective so that it truly "adds up" to peace on the societal level (the "Peace Writ Large" described by Mary Anderson and her colleagues). Given the wide variety of peacebuilding approaches, it is therefore important to identify, cluster and publish best-practice examples to create learning opportunities for all present and future peacebuilders.

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11 Peace and Conflict Transformation Research

Research that produces nothing but books will not suffice.
Kurt Lewin

As a social phenomenon, → conflicts are inevitable components of human development and social change. Violence in conflict, however, is not inevitable – and conflict transformation research seeks to explore conditions, strategies and policies for sustaining patterns of non-violent behaviour amongst conflicting parties, particularly in protracted social and ethnopolitical conflict. It aims to support conflict parties in building, restoring and maintaining constructive, just relations in order to abolish the use of force as a means of interaction in conflict. In this context, conflicts and their handling should not be looked upon as

simplistic linear phenomena that start, escalate and stop for all actors and all sectors in the same way. They need to be comprehended in their interdependent and systemic dimensions and in their dynamic nature.

Research and practice informing each other

Conflict transformation research does not encompass a grand theory, but generates theory elements from field research and from close interaction with practitioners and the conflicting parties themselves. Nevertheless, it is theory-guided. Of particular importance is theorising that addresses the differences between inter-personal and inter-group → conflict transformation, and between symmetrical and asymmetrical conflicts. Moreover, research on conflict transformation incorporates knowledge of various disciplines (beginning with political science, peace and conflict studies, sociology and social psychology, history, anthropology, ethnology, law, communication, educational science/peace education and more).

Conflict transformation research can be considered a specific strand of peace and conflict research which pays particular attention to bringing about supportive conditions for practical progress in peacebuilding. It starts from the premise that concepts and theory must evolve in a continuous, reflective and critical exchange with practice, which requires putting concepts to the test in concrete settings and debating their validity with practitioners from many backgrounds and in many localities. Strong links to the field of policy are also required. In brief: theoretical approaches should contribute to developing new political and social strategies, and conflict transformation practice should inspire considerations on theory.

Any active participation by conflicting parties, practitioners and policy-makers in research necessitates paying respect to the diversity of actors' stakes. By bringing the actors to the fore, deeper socio-cultural and behavioural aspects of action and decision-

making can be explored in the context of change. Following this methodology, the agenda of research is influenced and shaped increasingly by those who are immediately affected by its results. The growing interest of practitioners in becoming involved in inclusive patterns of research has begun to narrow the gap by reconciling the communities of research and practice, by motivating both towards collective learning and by encouraging researchers to collaborate with practitioners and practitioners to create reflective feedback loops into research. Collaborative research in teams of researchers and practitioners aimed at supporting conflict transformation increases the knowledge on how different actors, processes and structures contribute (or not) to peacebuilding processes. Berghof considers inclusive, bottom-up, participatory and reflective methods of research – of which action research elements are an important part – a great opportunity for generating the knowledge and support necessary for sustained conflict transformation.

Action research: participatory, inclusive and change-oriented

Action research can be useful in this context as one of several research methods. The first projects evolved in the 1970s, mainly in the university sector and in work with marginalised groups and urban districts, but also in community projects in Latin America, generally led by social psychologists. The purpose of action research is to undertake studies into the conditions and impacts of various forms of social action. It also aspires to influence social action; in other words, it is normative in focus. Its agenda concentrates on specific social grievances.

The main objective of the research is not to test theoretical hypotheses but to bring about practical change in the problematic situation which is the subject of study. This is viewed as a holistic social process: individual variables are not isolated and collected as "objective data"; instead, data collection itself is interpreted as part of the social process. Action research involves the use of qualitative approaches based on empirical social research,

including the evaluation of project reports, participatory monitoring, individual or group interviews with project participants and members of the target groups, and surveys, but also ethnographic methods and creative ways of investigation like theatre work. The methods aim to exert direct influence on events within society. The researcher temporarily abandons his or her distance to the research object and is intensively involved, during certain phases, in the process being studied. The subjects being observed and studied are not cast in a passive role but participate actively in the debate about objectives, and in data collection and evaluation. For the researchers, a precise definition of roles and ongoing self-reflection are essential.

Action Research Process

Source: University of New South Wales, Department of Education and Training

Action research therefore not only attempts to accumulate knowledge and enhance understanding of how social interactions function; it intervenes in a direct and practical way, and involves the actors being studied in the process on an ongoing basis. Academic findings are thus translated into practice, and research concepts and theoretical constructs are subjected to practical testing at the same time. The continuous feedback of results to project participants, through feedback workshops and discussion of interim and final reports, is essential. Designed for a longer timeframe, action research can provide valuable information about the opportunities for, and limits to, peacebuilding strategies.

Practical needs determine appropriate research methods

It is certainly true that not every peacebuilding measure can be accompanied by a comprehensive research project, as in most cases those who fund peace practice will finance short-term evaluations at best. Nor can action research be considered the one and only approach or method. As described above, substantial action research requires long-term field research, which usually does not correspond with the budgets and funding lines of academic donor agencies. Nevertheless, in order to improve knowledge on peace practice, the underlying ideas of action research can help in designing and implementing projects that aim to support the creation of inclusive structures and sustained practices of non-violent interaction. These include above all: respect towards those who are subjects of the study, clarification of the roles and aims of those who conduct the research, involvement of the stakeholders in the development of research questions and hypotheses, and transparency of results through the use of feedback loops.

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12 Peace Constituencies

Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.
Margaret Mead

"Peace constituency" has become a bit of a catchall term for networks and individuals engaged in peacebuilding activities. These activities are aimed at preventing the escalation of violence, ending violence in hot conflicts or engaging in reconciliation efforts in the aftermath of war. Ever since John Paul Lederach first introduced the term, it has undergone many variations and has many connotations. Nevertheless, the central proposition of "locally owned" peacebuilding activities, which gives prominence and importance to local actors involved in social change processes, has remained at the core of the various definitions. According to Thania Paffenholz, "the key difference between this approach

and the earlier civil conflict management [approaches] is the focus on domestic actors within the country in conflict who can be supported from the outside through a variety of measures".

Members of "peace constituencies"

Initially, → empowerment, cultural sensitivity and long-term commitment were named as three essential building blocks for establishing peace constituencies. Paffenholz puts greater emphasis on the actors who constitute the body of a peace constituency and argues that a peace constituency includes all "civil society, unarmed, organized actors who pursue peaceful conflict management". Using a normative framework, Norbert Ropers argues that peace constituencies are a "lively network of actors who are bound neither to the state nor to any political party, who are pledged to non-violence and committed to community-oriented purposes, and who thus build a counterweight to the ethnopolitically or religiously segmented society". What is apparent in these definitions is the exclusion of any state actors and political parties (or others), especially if they use violence to pursue their goals. It has emerged in recent years, though, that the strategic alliances must expand beyond civil society and include actors within the state structures and political parties. This requires a broader definition of what constitutes a peace constituency.

Criteria for selecting local peacebuilding actors

If the assumption is correct that local actors and their networks, alliances, etc., need to be strengthened in order to build peace in a more sustainable way, who should be given – in other words, who is "worthy" of – support?

The "worthiness" criteria can range from being "rooted in the given country", showing initiative, having an existing organisational infrastructure, reflecting social diversity (gender-balanced, multi-ethnic, etc.), to an explicit commitment to democratic principles and non-violent conflict transformation. Broad-

ly speaking, civil society actors are considered to be the main protagonists of peace constituencies. What complicates matters is that there is still no generally accepted single definition of the term "civil society". As Martina Fischer points out, some use this term as an analytical category, while others use it in a more normative sense. One understanding is that the term "civil society" refers to the political space between the individual and the government, expressed by membership of NGOs, social groups, and other organisations and networks. These can vary both in size and in the degree to which they are interrelated.

Those who subscribe to the analytical framework of civil society have often pointed out that civil society actors can also play a negative role by fuelling and driving the conflict. Citing the inadvertent role of civil society actors in Rwanda, scholars have cautioned against the "conflict-blind" approach of strengthening civil society actors as an "automatic" counter-measure to failed/failing states. This can have the counterproductive outcome of further weakening failed states and creating parallel structures that often lack democratic accountability mechanisms. Although civil society organisations are important because they serve as a corrective system by holding authorities accountable for their actions, they cannot, and should not, be a substitute for a functioning state. Moreover, strengthening civil society or building peace constituencies does not mean setting up new NGOs but, rather, recognising the prevailing local civil society structures (such as traditional social groups) and also helping to preserve traditional conflict resolution mechanisms.

"Spoilers" and "promoters" of peace

If there is a peace constituency, then surely there must also be a war constituency. The immediate beneficiaries (or profiteers) of war are those involved in war economies, such as the arms trade, exploitation of natural resources and drug trafficking. The war constituency has an interest in prolonging the war and will not easily relinquish its privileged position. It acts as a negative force

and actively spoils peace processes. This has led many scholars to argue for the exclusion of these actors by promoting only the self-defined peace constituencies. However, in many cases, there are no clear-cut distinctions between the "spoilers" and "promoters" of peace. Sometimes actors are both (simultaneously) "spoilers" and "promoters" of peace, and often within the "spoiling" party there may be actors who are willing to explore peaceful options. It is, therefore, short-sighted to have a static definition of peace/war constituencies that fails to take into account the dynamic nature of social change processes.

For example, both the diaspora communities and business have, at times, been promoters and spoilers of peace, as Luxshi Vimalarajah and R. Cheran demonstrate. Conflict-generated diasporas in particular, such as the Kurds, Tamils and Palestinians, by funding insurgent movements, have fuelled the conflict in their respective countries. At the same time, when the insurgent movement has been involved in peace efforts, they have assisted with knowledge transfer and expertise to bring about the greater goal of peace. Even in times of war, funding was also provided for rehabilitation measures to address the immediate needs of the population in areas under rebel control. It is debatable whether this should be perceived as fuelling war by sustaining the existence of the insurgent strongholds or whether this can be seen as a measure to reduce human suffering and thus, by extension, a measure for peace. Similarly, the local business community has generally been seen to profit from war, but may at the same time have been giving support to peace-promoting activities.

Suggestions for expanding the concept

In sum, building peace in countries that have suffered decades of war and destruction is no small feat. It requires concerted efforts by the external conflict transformation community, donors *and* the local population. The active engagement of the latter in peacebuilding measures is fundamental for achieving lasting solutions. The "peace constituency" concept is helpful in

underscoring the significance of local ownership in externally supported peacebuilding measures (→ systemic conflict transformation). In reality, however, the extent to which the local population co-owns and co-determines the intervention strategies, in terms of both content and implementation, is often highly questionable.

It is important to acknowledge the need for modest aspirations in our approach and to avoid acting, or appearing, as "peace imperialists". If "peace constituency" is to be a meaningful concept, local actors must also be involved in answering the following questions: What is a peace constituency? Which actors belong to this category? Why are certain actors excluded from the local peace constituency? And what is the shared vision of peace?

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13 Peace Education – Principles

That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.
UNESCO

Peace education aims to reduce violence, support the transformation of conflicts, and advance the peace capabilities of individuals, groups, societies and institutions. Peace education builds on people's capacities to learn. It develops skills, values and knowledge and thus helps to establish a global and sustainable culture of peace. Peace education addresses every phase of life and all stages in the socialisation process. It is context-specific, but is essential and feasible in every world region and all stages of conflict. Peace education takes places in many settings,

formal and informal: in every-day learning and education, in the preparation, implementation and evaluation of professional projects with selected target groups, and in the support provided for conflict-sensitive education systems.

There is no uniform concept of peace education and the international discourse on this topic is still in its infancy. For a shared understanding to be achieved, the various social, political, economic, historical and cultural contexts must be taken into account, along with the different traditions and levels of intensity in the systematic debate and practice of peace education nationally.

The importance of peace education for peaceful coexistence is emphasised in numerous declarations by governments, non-governmental organisations and associations at the national and international level. UNESCO states in its preamble: "That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". This statement – and its critical assessment – have shaped the conceptual development of peace education. Although the importance of individual peace capacity is unquestioned, the complexity of causes and types of violence means that peace education must also seek to exert political influence and support the transformation of social structures. With the "International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World" (2001–2010), the United Nations provided an additional international frame of reference for peace education. The "culture of peace" concept has become a globally recognised reference point for peace education.

Essentials

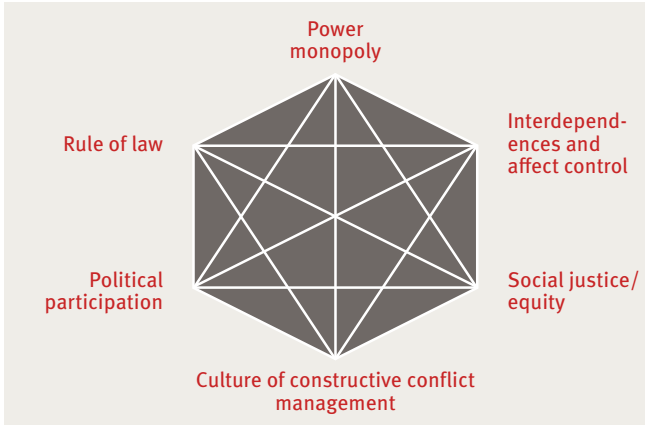
In accordance with the above definition of peace education, a number of essentials can be formulated:

1. Peace education pursues the following goals: (1) to end war, (2) to reduce violence in family, society and politics, (3) to promote a perception of conflict as an opportunity for positive change, and finally (4) to develop visions of peace and solidarity among the world's people, irrespective of ethnic origin, religion, gender, cultural or social background, and to make these visions a reality.

2. Peace education has to deal systematically with major challenges to peace, such as conflict, hostility and enemy images, violence and war. Relevant findings from peace and conflict studies are indispensable here. Conflicts need to be recognised and analysed in their full complexity in order to prevent their escalation and handle them constructively (→ conflict; conflict transformation). By considering the many functions of violence in detail, we can develop a better understanding of violence and identify risk factors and prevention measures. Peace is not perceived as a static condition but as a process of decreasing violence and increasing justice. Peace is also not seen as an exception to the rule, but as the preferred rule. It thus serves as both a normative aim and a pragmatic orientation for action. Models such as the "civilisatory hexagon" can provide a basis for reflection, offering guidance and facilitating the visualisation of linkages between normative aims. In this sense, peace education has significant overlaps with other approaches such as civics or human rights education.

3. Peace education initiates and supports social and political learning processes, in which positive social behaviour, empathy and capacities for non-violent communication can evolve (peace capacity); knowledge about peace and war, conflict and violence can be acquired (peace competence); and the willingness to show civil courage and engage for peace is fostered (peace action). Peace education offers practical advice for education in

Civilisatory Hexagon



Source: Dieter Senghaas 2007

family and preschool settings, in school and in the non-formal education sector. Conflicts within society must not be concealed but should be made visible within the framework of peace education. And lastly, peace education aims to combine social and political learning processes.

4. The UNESCO concept of "Education for All" (EFA) is an important basis for peace education. The key prerequisite for its success is the renunciation of all forms of corporal punishment, violence and psychological pressure as a means of delivering education. People learn from experience and benefit from inspiring learning environments with appropriate multimedia-based and dialogue-oriented methods. All the senses, emotions and also humour play an important role in designing learning arrangements. The encounter with "the other", be it members of conflicting parties in post-war societies, minorities and majorities or locals and migrants, is indispensable.

5. People all over the world need spaces to learn and experience peace – at the micro level of the family and in daily life as well as on the macro level of society and international politics. An approved peace education approach is the discussion of examples of successful peacebuilding and its protagonists. Authentic role models who promote the principles of non-violence are helpful. Outstanding educationalists and advocates of non-violence (Maria Montessori, Paolo Freire, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King) have long been sources of inspiration for the theory and practice of peace education. They have shaped the concept and image of peace education in their respective world regions in a distinctive way.

6. The way in which peace education is delivered has an important role to play in convincing people of its benefits, as do the substance and credibility of the peace message. Education methods must be adapted to a changing social and technological environment. Nowadays, the widespread use of new media (including the Internet) offers new opportunities for education processes. While the depiction of violence and pornography, the transmission of hostile world views and cyber warfare may pose threats to peaceful coexistence, new media also facilitate participation, knowledge-sharing and freedom of speech and information. Peace education should capitalise on this opportunity by using these new media intensively for its purposes, making online materials and media accessible and creating networks.

7. Peace education in the 21st century has to be a multi-track process that is grounded in holistic, interconnected and systemic thinking. Experience shows that if peace education is to be sustainable, it must involve actors on different levels. Peace education envisages learning spaces in which multipliers, teachers, journalists, NGO staff, members of conflicting parties, community leaders and politicians can support the development of peace structures and a genuine culture of peace. This includes creating conflict-sensitive education systems which prevent the misuse of education facilities for the purpose of manipulation, falsification

of history or hate and violence. Moreover, the development, implementation and dissemination of peace education curricula as a contribution to capacity-building are long overdue.

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14 Peace Education – Methods

Experience determines reality.
Ernst von Glaserfeld

Research has shown that the success of learning interventions is largely reliant upon the education method chosen. In other words, the teaching or facilitation process itself is critical in achieving positive learning outcomes. This applies to peace education and conflict transformation as well. Etymologically, "method" comes from the Greek word *methodos*, meaning "to follow a path". Thus, methods are learning paths or learning concepts leading toward a desired outcome, and need to be planned, prepared and implemented appropriately. It is particularly important in the context of peace education (and → conflict

transformation) that the chosen method(s) complement and enhance the desired outcome.

Why is it that specific methods are indispensable to the practice of peace education and conflict transformation? Methods play an intermediary role between the learning content and the individual learner. They activate and enable the learning capacity required for complex learning processes on issues such as conflict contexts and causes, parties' interests and needs, the consequences of particular behaviours, or political action. Studies have highlighted the lack of effectiveness of prescriptive approaches (e. g. learning by rote), as well as the effectiveness of methods that incorporate peer education, dialogue and group work, i.e. elicitive approaches.

Neurobiological research provides evidence to support our understanding of learning as an individual process spanning a variety of learning conditions and learning styles (visual, audio, communicative, kinaesthetic) – each of which is unique to the learner. Appropriate selection and application of methods are therefore essential. This became increasingly obvious through the use of the theatre as an arena for conflict literacy. Augusto Boal, in developing his "Theatre of the Oppressed" in the 1960s and 1970s, created a wide-reaching curriculum of perspectives, replaced monologue with dialogue and mobilised energy for change. Today, this method is known worldwide as the "Method of Social Change".

It is important to resist a "technical" conception and application of methods. A method must encompass a specific understanding of what it means to learn. This understanding should respect the learner as an autonomous being: supporting the learner is the essential purpose of the method. This means that the teacher's personality is of utmost importance, alongside a specialist knowledge of the topic and an understanding of group dynamics. This is also the case for facilitators in conflict transformation. It is the internalisation of knowledge and experience on the part

of the teacher or facilitator that creates a positive and successful learning experience. Students or participants must be able to trust the teacher or facilitator.

Principles

Peace education methods are not arbitrary, but are based upon the following seven principles:

- *Exemplary learning:* the complexity of reality is reduced by identifying and addressing the varied linkages within a difficult issue area, which are often not immediately obvious.
- *Contrasting and emphasising:* methods focus attention on specific or determining viewpoints and problematical aspects.
- *Change of perspective:* empathy is promoted by expanding the learners' own standpoint, which can be inflexible and deeply rooted, to allow a plurality of views.
- *Clarity and ability to perceive linkages:* using techniques such as visualisation, problematical issues are relocated from the realm of the abstract and related to learners' own, concrete experiences.
- *Action-orientated:* themes and issues are made accessible through activity and experience-based learning.
- *Peer-orientated:* shared learning is encouraged by group work and mutual support.
- *Empowerment:* building skills promotes self-confidence and autonomy.

Creating spaces for encounter

The methods used in education are often differentiated into "macro methods" and "micro methods". The former refer to the learning setting in its entirety (e. g. a simulation exercise), while the latter refer to individual activities (e. g. group discussions, character analysis).

The basic approach of peace education is to create a space for encounter, exchange and critical discussion. These spaces do not

create and maintain themselves; sensitivity must be applied to both their design and use. The following approaches to creating such a space are particularly noteworthy:

- *Communication and dialogue* facilitate clarity and debate and help to achieve greater harmony, understanding and compromise.
- *Encounters,* formal and informal as well as national and international, promote intercultural learning and the dismantling of prejudices and stereotypes.
- *Performance-orientated approaches* utilise opportunities for creative design and physicality, and appeal to all senses. They can include drama (e. g. Forum Theatre), art and music (e. g. hip-hop projects), physical theatre, sport and games (e. g. street football).
- *Best-practice examples and role models* can open up discussion and exploration of identity and boundaries (e. g. Peace Counts or Search for Local Heroes).
- *Media-orientated approaches* can range from the analysis or design of print and audio-visual media to the use of new media (the Internet) and social networking sites.
- *Meta-communication, feedback and evaluation* are essential components of reflection, de-briefing and further development.

Critical evaluation must be intrinsic to the above approaches; only then can they be developed further.

Continuous learning

Peace education methods can be integrated into a variety of everyday educational settings, as well as into existing peace practice (classroom teaching, one-off events, seminars). However, they are best suited to longer-term projects, where, after thorough analysis, they can be documented, translated into suitable learning formats and disseminated more widely. The application of peace education methods requires a specific understanding of what it means to learn, as well as relevant skills and qualifications, and should be integrated into the school curriculum where appropriate.

There is currently little empirical evidence regarding the meaningful progression of methods and method application. Very little research has investigated the outcomes of specific methods. The "do no harm" principle must always be applied. At the very least, peace education methods must avoid reproducing structures of violence within the learning process, whilst creating a culturally sensitive and inclusive atmosphere.

Most importantly, however, they must remain loyal to the insights of peace education. Their application constitutes "rule-governed interaction", itself a hallmark of professional practice, which must always contain an element of reflection and evaluation (→ reflective practice).

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15 Peace Support – Structures and Processes

The two most powerful warriors are patience and time.
Leo Tolstoy

One of the basic insights from post-Cold War international efforts to prevent, terminate and transform protracted conflicts is that they take time, not only years, but often decades, before they reach a phase of irreversibility. In many cases, they move through long and painful phases of "no war, no peace", with actors in the international community and peace activists on the ground struggling with the question of what can be done to initiate and support peaceful change.

Answers to this question are increasingly summarised under the term "peace support", which has changed its meaning in the last 20 years, but is now primarily understood to emphasise the need for comprehensive encouragement, reinforcement and strengthening of efforts by insiders and outsiders to encourage the combatants to settle and transform their conflict. While at the beginning it primarily meant short-term process-related support activities like election monitoring or international mediation, it now also includes the creation of long-term structures combined with processes of transformation such as National Dialogues.

Evolution of a concept

The term "peace support" first became popular in the diplomatic community in the 1990s as a short-hand version of "peace support operations" (PSOs) to describe the need for civilian support of UN and other international peacekeeping and peace enforcement activities. Peace support operations allowed non-military actors to take over substantive roles in the security sector, an area in which they had not played any prominent role during the Cold War. In addition, other civilian tasks such as human rights protection and the promotion of rule of law and multi-party democracy were integrated into peace support operations.

Another origin of the term can be traced back to the expansion of tools and methods within the traditional diplomatic realm of peacemaking and preventive diplomacy, especially within the UN framework. In 2006, the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) became the most high-level institution for the support of peacemaking efforts within the UN structure. It is an advisory body which reports to the General Assembly, ECOSOC and the Security Council and can make use of two other new institutions: the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) and the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF). While these institutions mainly focus on post-conflict (de facto: post-war) peacebuilding, the UN has also strengthened its mediation capacities. In 2007, the Mediation Support Unit (MSU) was established within the UN Department

of Political Affairs (DPA). Its resources include a Standby Team of Mediation Experts (SBT). The SBT complements other UN support mechanisms such as "special envoys", who establish direct and confidential contacts between the conflicting parties and the international community as well as among the conflicting parties, or "groups of friends".

In parallel to these multilateral and UN-centred efforts, more recent discourses – influenced by various national crisis management experiences and civil society concepts – focus on national "infrastructures for peace" or "peace support structures". They emphasise the need to establish more permanent networks and/or institutions within conflict-prone countries and divided societies to de-escalate crises, create spaces for → dialogue, negotiations and mediation, and empower the parties to pursue their interests effectively in a non-violent manner (→ empowerment), etc. These networks/institutions can be organised separately for the involved parties, e. g. when negotiating parties establish their own "peace secretariats", as occurred in Sri Lanka from 2002 to 2006, or as an inclusive structure and process mechanism such as the National Peace Council of Ghana, created in 2011.

In 2010, a meeting of African experts organised by UNDP in Naivasha, Kenya, adopted the definition that Infrastructures for Peace (I4P) are "… dynamic networks of interdependent structures, mechanisms, resources, values, and skills which, through dialogue and consultation, contribute to conflict prevention and peace-building in a society". Berghof Foundation, in its own work, defines peace support structures as "… institutionalized structures and organisations that have been established and are mandated by at least one of the conflict parties before, during or after official peace talks with the intention of supporting the parties, the process … or the implementation of results of the negotiation, dialogue or mediation process".

(Common) spaces for peace processes

The creation of a variety of peace support structures and processes is accompanied by an increased interest among peacebuilders and conflict transformation experts in how to achieve a "cumulative" impact with their work and how to create sustainable processes for "systemic change" from protracted conflict to protracted peace. Furthermore, there is an emerging understanding that peace processes need well-thought-out, long-term and jointly agreed "spaces" or "corridors" to address the multiplicity of issues connected with conflict transformation. The discussion on these issues has created a series of insights and lessons learned, which can significantly improve the theory and practice of conflict transformation.

There are numerous examples for peace support structures:

- Ministries of Peace (e. g. Costa Rica, Nepal, Ghana, Kenya, South Sudan)
- Commissions for the implementation of peace agreements and the consolidation of peace efforts etc. (e. g. Guatemala, Afghanistan, Sierra Leone)
- Comprehensive and inclusive peace secretariats (e. g. South Africa)
- Partisan peace secretariats and advisory bodies (e. g. Sri Lanka, Philippines)
- National dialogues and their support (e. g. Benin, Niger, Afghanistan, Lebanon)
- Local peace forums (e. g. South Africa, Nicaragua, Northern Ireland)
- Specialised commissions and task forces (e. g. ceasefire monitoring & implementation, decommissioning & re-integration of ex-combatants, truth & reconciliation commissions, commissions for political reform)

The first relates to the importance of locally and nationally negotiated and owned structures and processes. While international agencies and other external actors can play an important role in inspiring and promoting these activities, they have to be firmly rooted within the given societies. Similar to the essential role of insider peace mediators, the more permanent mechanisms for peacebuilding and conflict transformation also need insider champions and some resonance with the local and national culture.

A second insight refers to the inclusivity of support structures. While in many cases the divisions between the parties are so deep that they can only envision partisan support mechanisms, such as separate peace secretariats and advisory bodies, the medium- to long-term aim should be either to merge these agencies or to create mechanisms and containers to link them systematically. The transformative potential of these support mechanisms can be best utilised if they create sustained common spaces for joint problem-solving.

An emerging third cluster of insights and lessons is connected to the question how the various structures, processes and mechanisms can be made as mutually supportive and complementary as possible. For the first generation of conflict resolution activists, the answer was the additive multi-track approach, hoping that the different tracks would automatically "add up" at some stage. In the meantime, this optimism has been substituted with a more ambitious concept of the complexities of non-linear peace processes (→ systemic conflict transformation), with the peace support structures being adapted accordingly.

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16 Reflective Practice: Monitoring, Evaluation & Learning

Try again. Fail again. Fail better.
Samuel Beckett

Why reflect when there is so much to do? In a complex setting, such as a protracted conflict, practitioners trying to improve the situation must reduce complexity and identify key dynamics. This is challenging, and we often find in hindsight that we could have done better. Our own ability to adapt to the challenges we face must thus be considered. One way is to learn from what we did in the past and how well that worked, and by observing current activities and assessing their scope for improvement. For in-

dividuals and organisations working on conflict and peace, the failure to reflect and learn could lead to errors being repeated and opportunities ignored.

"M&E" – monitoring and evaluation – is an essential element of reflection and learning processes and is intrinsic to → conflict transformation.

Monitoring implies regular examination and reflection upon the "gap" between the expected outcome of an intervention and the reality, with activities and agendas being adapted on the basis of this "incremental learning". It therefore largely depends on explicit objectives and how they are to be accomplished. In conflict settings, projects and programmes must also include an environmental monitoring component, to detect any negative impacts of the project on the context, as well as any risks the conflict setting may pose for the project. A conflict-sensitive monitoring system, as well as a conflict transformation monitoring system, would therefore need indicators for the intended effects and impacts as well as for the risks.

Evaluation, complementary to the continuous monitoring of project implementation, takes place at various intervals, following the implementation of a project or project component. It may be internal (self-evaluation) or external, involving evaluation by others and combined with relevant feedback; often, a mixture of the two is used. Evaluation can be categorised by the desired aims, interaction between evaluator and team (internal, external, joint), or focus/timing. Formative evaluations look at progress to date and recommend improvements, while summative evaluations measure overall achievement, mostly after an intervention. Impact evaluations take place some time after the intervention and focus on the changes the project effected in the conflict context.

Explicit hypotheses as the basis for M & E

Reflection, and especially monitoring and evaluation, relies on clarity. M&E is aided when assumptions and hypotheses are identified in the planning phase of a project and clearly stated in documents, results chains and indicators. This quest for clarity is even more important in polarised settings, where communication must cross the divides of culture, language and distance. This leads to a constant questioning of self and partners: do we have a shared understanding of our goals and how we hope to reach them?

How helpful explicit hypotheses are for better conflict transformation can be illustrated through Berghof's engagement with the education system in Bolivia. For example, an activity (e. g. a problem-solving workshop) facilitates outputs (the ability to understand multiple perspectives), which in turn results in outcomes (a change in the way people relate to one another). In the long run, this develops more far-reaching impacts (such as a reduction in violence in a polarised community).

Everyone's perception of reality is limited. That being the case, it is essential to assess the accuracy of any linear hypothesis: "action A results in outcome B". Is it possible that other important factors have been missed or ignored? While working with Bolivia, it became clear that it was necessary to maintain contact with the Ministry of Education, even after the integration of the Peace Culture programme in the Constitution and sectoral law, in order to monitor how the Ministry intended to anchor Peace Culture into its own regulations.

Criteria for assessing activities in conflict transformation have been set out by OECD-DAC (Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) for peacebuilding activities. Some of them can only be undertaken some time after the project/programme is finished. It is essential to ask "are we doing it / did we do it right?" and to look at *efficiency* (balancing means and ends) and *effectiveness*

("did we reach the objectives"?) Reflection also needs to consider whether the changes effected are likely to be *sustainable*. An important indicator of success is the assessed *impact* of the project, i. e. whether the project contributes to goals beyond its sphere of influence. *Coherence* refers to whether the intervention contributes to or counteracts other interventions. It is particularly important that an organisation reflects on the *relevance* of any activity ("did we do the right thing?") Reflection on the relevance of an intervention in any given context goes beyond common reflective practice and is thus absent from many monitoring frameworks. There is a danger, particularly in the field of conflict transformation, that practitioners implement projects or programmes, which, despite being exciting, interesting and seemingly conducive to peace, lack the organisational structure or coherence with other projects required for genuine contextual change beyond a limited number of participants.

Beyond M & E: reflection and learning

Adaptation can be based on various levels of reflection. The easiest and most common change is changing actions: If A failed, adapt it or opt for B. On a second level, it helps to scrutinise the hypotheses: why did we think that doing A was the best option? Did we do A right? And, even more challenging, why did we fail to see B: why was it a blind spot and how can we avoid blind spots in the future? Reflecting on these questions and acting accordingly might imply changes to organisational set-up and routines.

The deepest level of reflection, known as "transformational learning", is aimed at changing underlying patterns and designing new learning processes. Here, the interest centres less on what the field still has to learn with regard to content – "what to do" – and more on how to learn to learn and adjust actions accordingly, which is especially important in the field of peacebuilding and conflict transformation. This "learning about learning" is crucial, since even the best efforts at transformative peace

work might be ineffective if we fail to learn the lessons available to us. Reflection should cover all elements, such as access, language skills, funding sources, personnel and effective organisational structures: a successful combination of all of these is necessary for effective and sustainable change.

Continuing to improve …

One main challenge in practice is that the logic of responding quickly in an ever-changing environment, such as intervening in a violent conflict, is not conducive to simultaneous reflection. It seems that there needs to be an impulse from the outside, from a person or group specifically tasked with prompting reflection, in order to create the required space in a hectic schedule, and to encourage a shift of emphasis from the practical to the reflective. An organisational culture conducive to reflection and learning, in the peacebuilding field and elsewhere, entails the allocation of specific time slots, mechanisms and responsibilities to reflective practice, whilst also recognising the value of ad hoc meetings, even those as informal as a cup of tea with colleagues or an after-work ride home with the project partner. Organisations can benefit greatly from events outside the usual routine, such as retreats or visits from headquarters or external evaluators. Within the field of conflict transformation, more methods of developing an internalised culture of reflection and learning (about failures *and* successes) must be identified. It goes without saying that the commitment of the leadership in any setting is vital to this development.

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17 Security

Human beings the world over need freedom and security that they may be able to realise their full potential.
Aung San Suu Kyi

Security, in the literal sense of the word, means a state free from care *(lat. se cura)*. Since the first nation-states emerged in the mid 16th century up until the end of World War II, security was commonly understood as the primary concern of states to maintain external sovereignty and to avert any threats from the outside, particularly military threats from other states. This understanding has changed considerably in recent decades.

The erosion of the traditional understanding of security

There are countless examples throughout history where seeking "security" has served to justify wars and raids, conquering colonies and oppressing peoples. Security policy was a zero-sum game played according to the law of the strongest, with security of the powerful being based on the insecurity of the less powerful. This narrow understanding of security – sovereignty and protection of states – was called into question when mankind entered the nuclear age. Since any use of nuclear weapons comprises the risk of uncontrollable devastation, it was the interdependence of security, between the "haves" and the "have-nots", which became a political issue. The growing awareness of nuclear interdependence has also helped to carve out a growing consciousness that security is no longer just a military issue or a privilege only of states but that structural interdependences may also exist because of other – non-military – risks or threats to physical existence and between other unequally powerful social actors in conflict, such as between dysfunctional governments and an organised opposition in fragile states. Hence structural interdependence may become a strong driver for interests in → conflict transformation.

A broader concept of security

In the 1970s and 1980s, an originally small-scale expert debate reached public attention when it considered non-military "global risks" such as climate change, resource scarcity, under-development and modern epidemics to be triggers for armed conflict, posing a threat to the security of states and peoples that is almost equal to war. The hitherto undisputed traditional security focus on military threats became blurred. As the Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Report) stated in 1987:

> *"Conflicts may arise not only because of political and military threats to national sovereignty; they may derive also from environmental degradation and the pre-emption of development options. ... Action to reduce environmental threats to security requires a redefinition of priorities, nationally and globally. Such a redefinition could evolve through the widespread acceptance of broader forms of security assessment and embrace military, political, environmental, and other sources of conflict."*

A security policy that cares about non-military risks and threats needs different tools and approaches than military defence. Moreover, risks which have a global scope by nature can hardly be mitigated, let alone resolved, by nation-state-based policies. International, and in most cases transnational, collaboration is required. In theory, the conclusion is as simple as it is compelling: sovereignty may become delegitimised if corporate interests and policies pursued by states endanger the corporate security of other states. Yet the political dominance of traditional security thinking has remained an obstacle to the constructive enlargement of security perspectives. Negotiations on global risks such as climate change, water scarcity and threats to biodiversity demonstrate both a growing sense of the need for global cooperation and the difficulty of nation-states in reaching compromise over competing interests. In their effort to maintain the upper hand, the more powerful states in particular tend to "securitise" their policies, i.e. to defend their own interests rather than to seek fair arrangements. Pursuing security policy at the cost of others, however, will sooner or later turn interdependence into more insecurity for all.

Security Concepts	
	Traditional Security
Purpose	Protection of states against military threats from other states
Level of Actors	States
Instruments and Approaches	Defence policy; alliances of states; codification and enforcement of international and humanitarian law

Source: Berghof Foundation

From enlarged security to human security

The worldwide cascade of radical political and societal changes after the end of the Cold War influenced the manner in which security concepts were viewed across the globe. The political and social changes, in combination with the impact of global risks, affected everyone's lives. Against this background, the 1994 annual report of the United Nations Development Programme coined the term "human security", defined as the freedom from fear and the freedom from want for each individual. The revolutionary aspect was not only that it advocated a people-centred concept of security; it linked the idea of human security to the responsibility of states to provide the necessary conditions. For the first time, the sovereignty of states to act domestically as they

Comprehensive Security	Human Security
Protection of states and their societies against military and non-military (non-traditional) threats and risks	Protection of all human beings from being threatened, regardless of the origin of threats (freedom from fear and freedom from want)
States	States, non-governmental organisations, social groups, individuals
Collaborative and integrative strategies for all policy areas, including military and civilian elements; securitisation of policies	Dominance of civilian strategies to provide living conditions in peace, dignity, prosperity for everyone

see fit was challenged in cases where governments flagrantly disregard universal human rights and freedoms. The concept of the "responsibility to protect" (R2P) was developed by the UN Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty in 2001 and pushed the issue further, by stating that governments should not be allowed to threaten their own citizens and if found to be doing so should be duly sanctioned with a mandate from the international community. Although the issue of the legitimacy and the accountability of states to act under the auspices of R2P remains a matter of concern, due to the possible inclination of powerhouses to intervene for selfish reasons under the flag of "responsibility", the new interpretation of human security and the protection of populations against arbitrary state behaviour is

nevertheless an important positive reference for conflict transformation. If states are held accountable for guaranteeing human security – and since sustainable development and just peace are intrinsic prerequisites for human security – the chances of making social and political relationship patterns more peaceful increase. The concept of human security addresses the underlying root causes of violent conflict, which are of primary concern for conflict transformation, and directs attention to the sustained prevention of violence. Conversely, conflict transformation is a promising approach to support the goal of human security because it aims to transform the security sector and change patterns of security behaviour, thus turning structural and interpersonal conflicts into constructive relationships.

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18 Systemic Conflict Transformation

Ground yourself in unpredictability.
Louise Diamond

A systemic approach to conflict transformation builds on best practice in the field of peacebuilding and conflict transformation and combines this with systemic methods from family therapy, organisational development and cybernetics. Given that a great variety of valuable concepts for peacebuilding and → conflict transformation already exists, the aim of a systemic understanding is not to reinvent the wheel and to present something completely new, but to offer ways forward in challenging areas.

Complexity reduction and creativity in imagining solutions

Undoubtedly, nowadays, multi-level and multi-actor approaches are needed to address the complex nature of protracted (ethno)-political conflicts. However, comprehensive and holistic approaches to conflict transformation very often develop into overwhelming and over-complex strategies, which tend to lose focus and sight of the essentials. While it is important to reflect on all the key issues and actors of the conflict system and their respective interrelations, the real challenge is to draw meaningful conclusions. As Peter Senge has pointed out, the art of systemic thinking lies in seeing through complexity to the underlying structures generating change. This "seeing through complexity" can be supported by tools, but requires also a certain degree of systemic intuition, where one needs to cope with contingency, uncertainty and non-linearity of peace processes. For this reason, from a systemic point of view, peace processes can be modelled only to a limited extent.

The theoretical background of each systemic concept has a strong influence on the extent to which we assume peace processes can be influenced from the outside. In some strands of systemic thinking, for example Jay W. Forrester's system dynamics, it is assumed that social processes themselves can be modelled and that certain dynamics in the conflict system can be predicted in advance. It is argued that, to a certain degree, a conflict can be observed in a "neutral" way and information can be gathered about it without influencing or interacting with it.

From a systemic-constructivist point of view a neutral observation or analysis of a system is not possible because the observers become part of the system they observe. Besides, the results of observation depend on the perspective one adopts. Against this background it is assumed that social processes can be influenced only indirectly, e. g. through the change of the context which might contribute to the irritation and mutation of the system itself. In this vein, the principle of resonance is crucial for developing a conflict transformation strategy. This means that strat-

egising is considered as an open, creative and dynamic process which is constituted by ongoing action and reflection. Instead of designing the whole strategy at the very beginning and then implementing it, it takes shape during the process itself. What characterises this kind of systemic approach – outlined for example in the recently published book *The Non-Linearity of Peace Processes* – is testing which issues resonate with the interests and needs of the various stakeholders and trying to find out where the energy flows within the system, rather than defining problems in advance.

Thinking in relationships and patterns of interaction

A basic assumption of all systemic approaches to conflict transformation is the non-linearity of interaction between single elements within the conflict system. The focus of a conflict analysis based on systemic thinking rests therefore on the patterns of interaction and the dynamics of relationships among the system's actors, rather than on their individual characteristics. It is not the quality of a single factor which reinforces a conflict or helps to achieve sustainable peace. What counts is the manner in which the different factors interact and what kind of context they occur in. Within complex conflict systems the differentiated parts exhibit properties which they owe specifically to being components of a larger whole. Hence, A and B – or cause and effect – are not connected in a linear mono-causal manner but in a reciprocal way.

This dynamic plays a crucial role in peace and conflict processes, where the identification of the root causes of conflict, and defining obstacles to change are often fraught with controversy. Each conflict party and each analyst follows their own assumptions about the root causes of a conflict and about who is responsible for an outbreak of violence. Hence, different narratives are a crucial component of every conflict situation – and its transformation. Often, the narratives harden against each other if left unexplored.

Systemic methods of conflict transformation

Tools from systemic therapy, such as *circular questioning,* are useful for conflict transformation too. The basic idea of this methodology is to help the interviewee to shift into the role of another person and to generate new information within a particular system. Whereas direct questions like "Where do you see the main challenges for your peacebuilding programme?" can be used to gather content-related information, circular questions are helpful in gaining new perspectives and insights into a well known situation. For example, the interviewee can be asked to shift into the role of a colleague, a member of a conflict party or donor through questions such as:

> *How would person A describe your plans and programme activities?*

A second tool worth mentioning is the *tetralemma,* a "tool" which originates in traditional Indian reasoning and Buddhist philosophy and is frequently used today in the fields of family therapy and organisational development to stimulate "thinking outside the box". It aims to break with a bipolar perception of the world, and the perceptions of problems as "di-lemmas". Whereas "western" or "European" logic follows a binary view in which "either-or" thinking dominates, it is a crucial proposition of the tetralemma that there exist at least four options on each perceived problem.

Tetralemma		
None of this – but also not this	Position A	Both A and B
	Neither A nor B	Position B

Tetralemma Illustration		
None of this – but also not this The terms stability and exit mean different things to different people, maybe we need to work on a common understanding of them?	Position A Exit	Both A and B Change of strategy: stay engaged but differently
	Neither A nor B If we focus more on resource issues, the question of exit will not have to be raised immediately	Position B Stay engaged forever

Source: Körppen et al. 2008

The fifth position "none of this but also not this" is not easy to understand. It tries to indicate that there are further options and issues that are relevant for the perceived problem but which can only be discovered through a process of action and reflection. In a programme evaluation in South Africa, the tetralemma was used to get different ideas about the future of the programme activities out into the open, including hidden and less conscious issues:

The tetralemma is a process tool, which means that we do not know all the positions from the very beginning: they are created and formed through the process of working with the tetralemma.

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19 Transitional Justice & Dealing with the Past

Violent conflicts destroy the confidence in a social contract ...
The process of reconciliation has to ... rebuild trust and confidence.
Dan Bar-On

Over the past two decades, scholars and practitioners have focused increasing attention on the question of how countries and societies can come to terms with a history of violence, war and oppression. The concept of transitional justice (TJ), originally introduced by the human rights movement, has come to play a prominent role in such debates. The concept initially referred to the judicial process of addressing human rights violations committed by repressive regimes in the course of democratic transition. Later on the term also came to be used for the pro-

cess of dealing with crimes and massive human rights abuses committed in violent conflicts. Along the way, it has gradually extended its meaning. Today, it covers the establishment of tribunals, truth commissions, lustration of state administrations and settlement on reparations as well as political and societal initiatives devoted to fact-finding, reconciliation and cultures of remembrance. However, the TJ literature has a strong focus on *accountability*. Law experts have extensively published on the development and capacities of international, hybrid or domestic courts. Most attention was given to the international tribunals for the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Lebanon and to the International Criminal Court. Furthermore, a relevant part of the literature has centred on the dichotomy of *peace vs. justice* and *truth vs. justice*.

Debates around dichotomies

In the *peace vs. justice debate,* at least in its early stage, amnesties, rather than prosecutions, were often seen as the best way to achieve peace because of the need to contain "spoilers" in many post-war regions. Since then, most advocates of transitional justice have come to reject the idea of impunity and emphasise that amnesties, if applied at all, should be introduced as partial and conditional. Advocates of the legalist approach have strongly emphasised criminal justice as a means to deter future human rights violations. Furthermore, they argued that by separating individual from collective guilt, tribunals help in breaking the cycle of violence. While legalists assume that the courts' activities are a general contribution to peacebuilding, sceptics doubt that criminal justice can achieve all of this. The effects of international criminal justice in particular remain contested. Some experts would go for domestic prosecutions based on the conviction that justice should follow rather than precede the consolidation of peace; others see legal accountability as a precondition for peaceful development.

The *truth vs. justice debate* has balanced the merits of trials against other accountability mechanisms. The 1990s in particular were marked by this dichotomy, due to the creation of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Truth commissions had initially been promoted as an alternative to prosecutions. It was assumed that public exposure of truth provides redress for victims, counteracts cultures of denial, contributes to individual and social healing and supports reconciliation of divided communities by engaging all of society in a → dialogue. Having seen the early truth commissions in Latin America as a major advance in terms of accountability, the human rights community has since come to view these instruments much more sceptically. One reason for this was the enormous chasm between the commissions' mandates to develop detailed recommendations on societal reforms and the non-implementation of these proposals by the governments that received them. Disillusionment about truth commissions has contributed to broadening the discourse and to overcoming the fixation on dichotomies.

Towards a holistic approach to dealing with the past

Today, many more people agree that societies recovering from war and oppression need both legal instruments and incentives for healing and relationship-building. It has been suggested that retributive justice should be complemented with restorative approaches. Alexander Boraine (former member of the South African TRC and founder of the International Center for Transitional Justice, ICTJ) strongly advocates a holistic interpretation of TJ that is based on five key pillars: accountability, truth recovery, reparations, institutional reform and reconciliation.

Accountability derives from the fact that no society can claim to be free or democratic without adherence to the rule of law; there are mass atrocities that have been so devastating that civilisation cannot tolerate their being ignored. Yet in cases of large-scale

human rights violations it is impossible to prosecute everyone, and additional activities are needed that focus on truth recovery.

Within *truth recovery,* four different notions are covered: *objective and forensic truth* (evidence and facts about human rights violations and missing persons), *narrative truth* (story-telling by victims and perpetrators and communicating personal experiences to a wider public), *social or dialogical truth* (established by interaction or debate) and *restorative truth* (documentation of facts and acknowledgement) to give dignity to the victims and survivors and to support healing.

Reparations also play an important role for the victims, but need to be connected to the above-mentioned processes of truth recovery.

Institutional reforms are a prerequisite for truth recovery and reconciliation; therefore truth commissions should not just be designed as individual hearings but aim to call to account and modify those institutions responsible for the breakdown of a state or human rights violations.

Reconciliation has to be based on acknowledgement of past injustice, the acceptance of responsibility and steps towards (re-) building trust. Although the concept is ambivalent (and regarded with some scepticism, due to its Christian connotation), as Boraine argues, there is a need to achieve at least a measure of reconciliation by creating a "common memory" that can be acknowledged by those who have implemented an unjust system, those who fought against it, and those who were bystanders.

Need for further development in theory and practice

Most scholars and practitioners would now agree that combining retributive and restorative elements of justice is a must for war to peace transitions. In addition, some suggest that a "gender lens" should be applied. Feminist research has revealed that a bet-

ter understanding of → gender, culture and power structures is needed to appropriately analyse the causes, dynamics and consequences of conflict and violence. The International Center for Transitional Justice calls for increased consultation of women in the design of TJ mechanisms and makes a strong case for structuring post-war societal programmes, especially programmes of compensation, in a gender-sensitive way.

Although it is widely assumed that TJ mechanisms contribute to peacebuilding, there is still little empirical basis for reaching strong conclusions about what impact they have on victims, perpetrators, and societies as a whole. Therefore Berghof Foundation has conducted a project on "Dealing with the Past and Peacebuilding in the Western Balkans" that has analysed the legitimacy of TJ mechanisms and looks at the interaction of different actors working for reconciliation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia.

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20 Violence & Non-Violence

Nonviolence doesn't always work – but violence never does.
Madge Micheels-Cyrus

Academic debates on the concept and definition of violence have played a major part in the emergence of the field of peace and conflict research and its historical development from a "minimalist" focus on preventing war to a broader "maximalist" agenda encompassing direct, structural and cultural forms of violence (as defined by Johan Galtung). Nowadays, there is a general consensus that violence includes much more than the use of physical force by persons to commit acts of destruction against others' bodies or property. Structural conditions such as unjust and oppressive political systems, social inequality or malnutrition, as well as their justification through culture or ideology, are seen as chief sources of violence and war. An example

of a comprehensive definition of violence is offered by the team of the NGO Responding to Conflict: "Violence consists of actions, words, attitudes, structures or systems that cause physical, psychological, social or environmental damage and/or prevent people from reaching their full human potential."

Peace and conflict research has tried to elucidate the origins of violence, especially the phenomenon of escalation from latent to violent conflicts through ethnopolitical mobilisation by grievance groups or "minorities at risk". Since 2006, Berghof has been conducting research on resistance and liberation movements in order to better understand the phenomenon of radicalisation and de-radicalisation, understood as the shifts from non-violent to violent conflict strategies and vice versa. Central to our understanding of the distinction between violence and conflict is our approach to → conflict transformation as the transition from actual or potentially violent conflicts into non-violent processes of social change.

Nonviolence as the antithesis of violence in all its forms

Nonviolence might be described both as a philosophy, upholding the view that the use of force is both morally and politically illegitimate or counterproductive, and as a practice to achieve social change and express resistance to oppression.

The basic principles of nonviolence rest on a commitment to oppose violence in all its forms, whether physical, cultural or structural. Hence, the term encompasses not only an abstention from the use of physical force to achieve an aim, but also a full engagement in resisting domination, inequality, racism and any other forms of injustice or "hidden" violence. The ultimate aim of its supporters is the dismantling of the power structures, military systems, and economic networks that make violence and war an option at all.

Gandhi, whose ideas and actions have most crucially influenced the development of nonviolence in the twentieth century, described his moral philosophy through the religious precept of *ahimsa*, a Sanskrit word meaning the complete renunciation of violence in thought and action. This definition does not imply, however, that all actions without violence are necessarily nonviolent. Nonviolence involves conscious and deliberate restraint from expected violence, in a context of contention between two or more adversaries. For purposes of clarity, scholars have established a distinction between the terms *non-violence* and *nonviolence* (without hyphen): while both refer to actions without violence, the latter also implies an explicit commitment to the strategy or philosophy of peaceful resistance.

When it comes to the motives for advocating nonviolence, two types of arguments can be distinguished. The label "principled nonviolence" refers to the approach elaborated for instance by Tolstoy, Gandhi, Martin Luther King or the Quakers, who oppose violent strategies for religious or ethical reasons, because violence causes unnecessary suffering, dehumanises and brutalises both the victim and the perpetrator, and only brings short-term solutions. However, the majority of contemporary nonviolent campaigns have tended to be driven by pragmatic motives, on the grounds that nonviolence works better than violence; the choice in favour of peaceful methods is made because of their efficiency to effect change and does not imply a belief in nonviolent ethics.

Nonviolence in action: a catalyst for conflict transformation

The terms "nonviolent resistance" or "nonviolent action" are usually employed as generic qualifications to designate the process or methods of action to achieve peace and justice through nonviolence, alongside other methods such as negotiation or → dialogue. Nonviolent strategies are seen as particularly appropriate when there is acute power disparity between two sides in a conflict, acting as a tool in the hands of minorities or

dominated groups ("the underdog") to mobilise and take action towards → empowerment and restructuring relations with their powerful opponent (power-holders or pro-status quo forces). The aim is both dialogue and resistance – dialogue with the people on the other side to persuade them, and resistance to the structures to compel change.

Historically, nonviolent practices have included various methods of direct action. In his seminal 1973 manual, Gene Sharp documented 198 different forms of nonviolent action, ranging from symbolic protest and persuasion to social, political and economic non-cooperation, civil disobedience, confrontation without violence, and the building of alternative institutions. In recent decades, nonviolent methods have achieved worldwide success through the productive demonstration of "people power" against dictatorships and human rights abuses in various countries such as the United States, the Philippines, Chile, Eastern Europe, South Africa, the former Soviet Union and most recently North Africa. Many other transnational campaigns for global justice, land rights, nuclear disarmament, women's rights, etc., waged through nonviolent means and with a vision consistent with creating a nonviolent world, are still struggling to make themselves heard.

Although nonviolent resistance magnifies existing social and political tensions by imposing greater costs on those who want to maintain their advantages under an existing system, it can be described as a precursor to conflict transformation. The recurrent label "power of the powerless" refers to the capacity of nonviolent techniques to enable marginalised communities to take greater control over their lives and achieve sufficient leverage for an effective negotiation process. Moreover, while violent revolutions tend to be followed by an increase in absolute power of the state, nonviolent movements are more likely to promote democratic and decentralised practices, contributing to a diffusion of power within society. The constructive programmes that are part of many such movements are facilitating more participatory

forms of democracy, such as the 1989 forums in Eastern Europe, Gandhi's self-sufficiency programme in India, or the "zones of peace" created by peace activists amidst violent wars in Colombia or the Philippines. Recent statistical studies by Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan confirm that nonviolent campaigns are more likely than violent rebellions to be positively related to greater freedom and democracy.

However, in practice, when conflicts oppose highly polarised identity groups over non-negotiable issues, positive peace does not emanate automatically from the achievement of relative power balance, and nonviolent struggles are not always effective at preventing inter-party misperceptions and hatred. In such situations, negotiation and process-oriented conflict resolution remain necessary to facilitate the articulation of legitimate needs and interests of all concerned into fair, practical, and mutually acceptable solutions. Therefore, nonviolence and conflict resolution mechanisms should be seen as complementary and mutually supportive strategies which can be employed together, consecutively or simultaneously, to realise the twin goals of justice and peace.

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Responding to Conflict, www.respond.org

ANNEX

I. Credits: Photos

Conflict – Israel: Peace Counts Report "Talking Beats Fighting! The conflict for the Holy Land between Israelis and Palestinians. Conversations between the two groups" / Photo: Frieder Blickle

Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution – Macedonia: Peace Counts Report "Elena mediates. The rift between Macedonians and the Albanian minority" / Photo: Uli Reinhardt / Zeitenspiegel Reportagen

Conflict Transformation – Mali: Peace Counts Report "Ambassadors in Indigo. Development aid is available when parties are willing to cooperate" / Photo: Uli Reinhardt / Zeitenspiegel Reportagen

Dialogue – Russia: Peace Counts Report "For women's sake. Create spaces for discussion, counseling and empowerment" / Photo: Jan Lieske

Dignity & Trust – Kenya: Peace Counts Report "Shoot to score, not to kill. Football tournaments and women's councils" / Photo: Frank Schultze / Zeitenspiegel Reportagen

Donors & Funding – Sri Lanka: Peace Counts Report "Reconstructing the North. Economic development in a crisis zone" / Photo: Paul Hahn

Empowerment – Afghanistan: Peace Counts Report "The future knows its ABCs. Mosque-based schools for girls and boys" / Photo: Uli Reinhardt / Zeitenspiegel Reportagen

Facilitation, Mediation, Negotiation – Egypt: Peace Counts Report "New Life for an Old Tradition. Traditional-Style Mediation" / Photo: Frieder Blickle / laif

Gender – Nigeria: Peace Counts Report "Peace is divine! Interfaith dialogue, mediation, and an early warning system" / Photo: Uli Reinhardt / Zeitenspiegel Reportagen

Peace, Peacebuilding, Peacemaking – Peace Boat: Peace Counts Report "Open Minds on the Open Sea. Peace education at sea" / Photo: Uli Reinhardt / Zeitenspiegel Reportagen

Peace and Conflict Transformation Research – Peace Boat: Peace Counts Report "Open Minds on the Open Sea. Peace education at sea" / Photo: Uli Reinhardt / Zeitenspiegel Reportagen

Peace Constituencies – Rwanda: Peace Counts Report "Reconciliation after the genocide. Personal contact between perpetrators and survivors" / Photo: Eric Vazzoler / Zeitenspiegel Reportgagen

Peace Education – **Principles** – Philippines: Peace Counts on Tour. Workshop with children. / Photo: Paul Hahn / laif

Peace Education – **Methods** – Colombia: Peace Counts Report "Mateo chooses life. Respect and jobs through hip-hop" / Photo: Antonia Zennaro / Zeitenspiegel Reportagen

Peace Support – **Structures and Processes** – Philippines: Peace Counts on Tour. Storytelling-Workshop with NGO staff. / Photo: Paul Hahn / laif

Reflective Practice: Monitoring, Evaluation & Learning – South Africa: Peace Counts Report "Gentle Words for Tough Guys. Training in non-violence for prisoners and guards" / Photo: Uli Reinhardt / Zeitenspiegel Reportagen

Security – Brazil: Peace Counts Report "Viva Rio! Gang war in poor parts of Rio de Janeiro. Conflict resolution, sports, education, and an internet newspaper" / Photo: Paul Hahn / laif

Systemic Conflict Transformation – South Africa: Peace Counts Report "Gentle Words for Tough Guys. Training in non-violence for prisoners and guards" / Photo: Uli Reinhardt / Zeitenspiegel Reportagen

Transitional Justice & Dealing with the Past – Nigeria: Peace Counts Report "Peace is divine! Interfaith dialogue, mediation, and an early warning system" / Photo: Uli Reinhardt / Zeitenspiegel Reportagen

Violence & Non-Violence – Thailand: Peace Counts Report "Gothom's March for Peace. Informal talks and public action" / Photo: Lucas Coch / Zeitenspiegel Reportagen

II. Abbreviations and Acronyms

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
DPA	Department of Political Affairs (UN)
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council (UN)
EU	European Union

GRIT	Graduated reciprocal reductions in tension
ICTJ	International Center for Transitional Justice
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
I4P	Infrastructures for Peace
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OECD-DAC	Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MSU	Mediation Support Unit (UN)
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NSAG	Non-state armed group
PSFG	Peace and Security Funders Group
PBC	Peacebuilding Commission (UN)
PBF	Peacebuilding Fund (UN)
PBSO	Peacebuilding Support Office (UN)
PSOs	Peace Support Operations
PSS	Peace Support Structures
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SBT	Standby Team of Mediation Experts (UN)
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission (South Africa)
TJ	Transitional Justice
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USD	US Dollars
USIP	United States Institute of Peace

III. The Berghof Foundation

The Berghof Foundation is an independent, non-governmental and non-profit organisation dedicated to supporting conflict stakeholders and actors in their efforts to achieve sustainable peace through peacebuilding and conflict transformation.

The Berghof Foundation's vision is a world in which people maintain peaceful relations and overcome the use of violence as a means of political and social force.

While we consider conflict to be an integral, often necessary and therefore unavoidable part of political and social life, we believe that the use of force in conflict is not inevitable.

Conflict transformation requires engagement of the conflicting parties and those who are most affected by the violence. But it also requires the knowledge, skills, resources and institutions that may help to eventually turn violent conflicts into constructive and sustained collaboration.

Our vision builds on the conviction that drivers of peaceful change will only prosper if appropriate spaces for conflict transformation exist in which they can do so.

Our mission

The Berghof Foundation contributes to a world without violence by supporting conflict stakeholders and actors in their efforts to achieve sustainable peace through peacebuilding and conflict transformation.

In so doing, we rely on the knowledge, skills and resources available in the areas of conflict research, peace support, peace education and grant-making, which we strive to develop further. We work jointly with partners and donors to facilitate the creation of inclusive support mechanisms, processes and structures that we

hope will enable stakeholders and actors in conflicts to engage with each other constructively and develop non-violent responses to their conflict-related challenges.

»Creating Space for Conflict Transformation«

Partners and networks

The Berghof staff maintain close contact with local partners, representatives of international NGOs, political parties, Members of Parliament and ministries, and also with international organisations such as the UN and the EU.

Our locations

The Berghof Foundation is based in the Berghof Center in Berlin, Germany. Beyond that the Foundation also maintains a branch office in Tübingen, located in the South of Germany.

Depending upon requirements, project offices may be considered in other countries, based on project needs and upon the request of our partners. At the moment the Foundation maintains project offices in Lebanon and Thailand.

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IV. 10 Milestones in the Berghof Foundation's History

Established during the height of the Cold War by Professor Dr Georg Zundel, the Berghof Foundation can look back at a history of success. Over the past forty years peacebuilding has become firmly rooted in research, practice and education in Germany (and internationally). By supporting hundreds of projects and helping to establish several institutions, the Foundation has become a defining part of that history.

1971
The Berghof Foundation for Conflict Studies is founded by Georg Zundel as a private limited company with charitable tax exempt status under German law. Initial support provided for critical analyses of the arms race during the Cold War.

1977
Beginning of support for the Association (later Institute) for Peace Education Tübingen.

1989
The Foundation establishes a research facility in Berlin, the Research Institute of the Berghof Foundation. Its emphasis is on altering the dynamics of the arms race. In 1993, it becomes the Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management (later Berghof Conflict Research), shifting its focus to the resolution of ethnopolitical conflict.

1998
Groundwork is laid for the *Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation*. Practical and theoretical research takes place in the Balkans and the Caucasus.

1999
The Association for Peace Education Tübingen is awarded the UNESCO Prize for Peace Education.

2001
The Resource Network for Conflict Studies and Transformation begins its sustained programme of local work with the conflict parties in Sri Lanka.

2004
The Berghof Foundation for Peace Support (later Berghof Peace Support) is established to provide globally-oriented support for peace processes.

2005
Project work is extended to resistance and liberation movements and former non-state armed groups. The network now spans 20 countries.

2007
Founder Georg Zundel dies. His family resolves to carry on the Foundation's work.

2012
Three areas that had been operating independently – conflict research, peace support and peace education – are integrated into a new entity: the Berghof Foundation.

V. Berghof's Latest Publications – A Selection

Berghof Handbook II

The new volume of the Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation, "Advancing Conflict Transformation. The Berghof Handbook II" (edited by B. Austin, M. Fischer and H.J. Giessmann; 2011, Barbara Budrich Publishers) collects new insights into non-violent ways of managing inter-group conflict and what is needed for consolidating positive peace. It brings together 20 new or revised articles not previously available in print and continues our tradition of gathering scholars and practitioners in one conversation. Topics include: global trends in organised violence, the role of gender relations and asymmetries in conflict, third-party intervention and insider approaches, human rights, transitional justice and reconciliation in post-war societies.
All chapters are available for download free of charge at www.berghof-handbook.net
ISBN: 978-3-86649-327-8

Security Transitions

"Post-War Security Transitions. Participatory Peacebuilding after Asymmetric Conflicts" (published in the Routledge Studies in Conflict Resolution, co-edited by V. Dudouet, K. Planta and H.J. Giessmann, Routledge 2012) explores the conditions under which non-state armed groups (NSAGs) participate in post-war security and political governance. It offers a comprehensive approach to post-war security transition processes based on five years of participatory research with local experts and representatives of former non-state armed groups. It analyses the successes and limits of peace negotiations, demobilisation, arms management, political or security sector integration, socio-economic reintegration and state reform from the direct point of view of conflict stakeholders who have been central participants in ongoing and past peacebuilding processes.
ISBN: 978-0-415-68080-6

The Nonlinearity of Peace Processes

"The Non-Linearity of Peace Processes – Theory and Practice of Systemic Conflict Transformation" (edited by D. Körppen, N. Ropers and H. J. Giessmann; 2011, Barbara Budrich Publishers) is the first comprehensive volume analysing the value added by integrating systemic thinking into peacebuilding theory and practice. The aim of this book is to link the most recent debates in the peacebuilding field, e. g. on liberal peace, on the non-linearity of conflict dynamics and on bridging the attribution gap, with various systemic discourses, discussing the extent to which systemic thinking and methods are helpful to further develop existing approaches to conflict transformation. Against the background of different case studies, practitioners and scholars frame their various understandings of systemic thinking and present a great variety of systemic concepts, such as systems theory, systemic action research and constellation work.
ISBN: 978-3-86649-406-0

In Practice: Peace Counts Learning Package

"The Peace Counts Learning Package" contains interactive and concise material (manual, posters, DVD) on the dynamics of conflict escalation and conflict transformation as well as best-practice examples of peacebuilding and peace education. It is of particular use in all educational settings and has been developed with partners in different regions of the world.
Date of publication: spring 2012
ISBN: 978-3-932444-69-2