

Building Peace Together

a practical resource



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About QCEA

The Quaker Council for European Affairs was founded in 1979 to bring a vision of peace, justice and equality to Europe and its institutions. QCEA advocates for nonviolent approaches to conflict resolution, the intrinsic equality of all people everywhere, and a sustainable way of life for everyone so that the one Earth we share can support us all.

QCEA is a member of the advocacy networks EPLO (European Peacebuilding Liaison Office) and HRDN (Human Rights and Democracy Network) as well as a number of Quaker networks.

Acknowledgements Olivia Caeymaex Peace Programme Lead

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Executive summary

The prevalence of violent conflict all over the world in our daily digest of news and media creates a sense that violence – or the threat of violence – is ever-present, when in fact, it is peace that is the norm. Senior officials often ask civil society actors, including QCEA staff, what civilian alternatives there are to military intervention when addressing violent conflict. This report responds to that question. It makes the case for peacebuilding and provides a myriad of non-military tools that can be used by actors across the board. It complements research showing that over the past 35 years, 77% of violent conflicts ended through a peace agreement while only 16.4% ended through a military victory. Recognising the value and effectiveness of civilian peacebuilding, this resource extends beyond traditional methods such as negotiations and mediation to showcase forms of engagement across many sectors and levels of society.

As useful as certain peacebuilding tools may be, it is equally important to consider how, when, and with whom to use them in order to avoid inadvertently worsening the situation or undermining existing pockets of peace. There is no tool or initiative without limits and caveats, and the best intentions can easily be misdirected through a lack of awareness, a lack of contextual understanding, or a lack of reflection on how a response will interact with violent conflict dynamics. Therefore, self-reflection before engaging in a violence-affected context is necessary. Indeed, an adequate understanding of the context, including the root causes of violence and how this manifests itself, is crucial in any engagement. Ensuring due diligence and conflict sensitivity in one's work is recognised as central to peacebuilding, as are the principles of:

- inclusiveness,
- appropriateness or ownership,
- awareness of socio-political and economic factors,
- addressing power relations,
- pursuing accountable governance,
- building on drivers of peace, or "peace dividends," and
- engaging populations.

The variety of peacebuilding tools identified in this report does not provide a comprehensive picture of all peacebuilding initiatives worldwide, but gives some idea of their diversity and range. The starting point is what we call **diplomacy**, often referred to as 'soft power'. This section defines different forms of diplomacy such as dialogue, negotiation, preventive diplomacy and quiet diplomacy. For all processes, a mixture of different initiatives may be key to achieving an effective outcome. These tools are not mutually exclusive and can be used simultaneously or successively. This section goes beyond relations at the international or elite level, and includes initiatives at various levels of society in order to be effective and inclusive, focusing on the interests of conflict parties rather than their positions. The second section, **democracy and politics**, includes: 1. Support for election monitoring and electoral frameworks, 2. Political debate and active citizenship initiatives, 3. Political party support, and 4. Human rights monitoring. Democracy here encompasses the concepts underpinning democracy, i.e. placing the emphasis on forms of governance that promote pluralism; peaceful management of the needs, political beliefs and interests of different population groups; along with other key aspects, such as public participation, inclusiveness, peaceful political debate, rule of law, justice and other civil and political rights. When democracy effectively promotes these key aspects, it is most conducive to accountable governance, inclusiveness, and other principles of peacebuilding. Therefore, democracy is relevant to building responsive and conflict-sensitive institutions.

The correlation between **justice** and peace has long been acknowledged, but knowing how to build on this in practice remains a challenge. The tools featured in the justice section include: 1. Anti-corruption initiatives, 2. Constitutional reform, 3. Initiatives on access to justice, 4. Memorial projects, and 5. Truth Commissions. Rule of law is what provides regularity and consistency in how law is applied to all. Justice, on the other hand, has a much broader meaning, and is what the rule of law should strive to deliver. Legislation, procedures, systems, technical assistance and training do not automatically deliver justice unless they are designed to curtail corruption, selectivity or discrimination in the way that different population groups access and experience the rule of law.

Security is as much a goal as it is a condition for peacebuilding. Yet the notion that the first priority is to secure the state, and only then to consider the immediate security concerns of the population (and its different sections) is today recognised as no longer being the sole focus of security. The question of whose security is being promoted or protected influences both the design and the definition of success for any type of security engagement, whether through Security Sector Reform (SSR) or other initiatives.

This issue is particularly relevant when working with official state security actors, who may be perceived by population groups as having a problematic or ineffective role in the conflict. Furthermore, a focus on community security adopts a perspective that transcends state borders, as conflicts and their root causes are becoming increasingly regional and not confined within a single state's borders.

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Building peace by transforming the problematic dynamics that are sustaining violence and conflict is more complex, but is ultimately a more sustainable approach than viewing peace as simply the absence or successful suppression of violence. Therefore, the security section suggests new tools to address security such as: 1. Community-based security, 2. Unarmed civilian security initiatives, 3. De-mining projects, 4. Regional cooperation and border management, 5. Control of small arms and light weapons, and 6. Support for former combatants.

Communication and media tools address the flow of information. In violent conflict contexts, restricted access to information, promotion of partial information and the suppression of information or certain perspectives can all contribute to sustaining violent conflict dynamics. At the same time, channels of information offer huge potential to practice conflict sensitivity, or even to create reporting and broadcasting that promotes peace. The media should explain situations in ways that reflect the complexity of violent conflict and its root causes, such as grievances or climate disruption, and to highlight opportunities for nonviolent solutions. This section features two peacebuilding tools: 1. Projects on conflict-sensitive media and media literacy, and 2. Media regulation and ownership initiatives.

Culture and the arts can reflect histories and beliefs across generations, and be sources for self-expression. Therefore, the tools in this section relate to both a sense of collective history and belonging, which create opportunities for dialogue to identify common values or customs, as well as ways to develop spaces for individual expression. Arts and culture offer ways to discuss and listen to one another's world views and ideas, and can be fundamental for building mutual understanding between populations. If manipulated to create a one-sided story of identity or to foster ideas of the supremacy of one group, arts and culture can also be used to drive violent conflict dynamics. Some culture and arts tools explored here include: 1. Cultural heritage and exchange projects, 2. Arts and storytelling programmes, and 3. Sports projects.

A range of programmes and initiatives can be undertaken to promote peace values through **education**, including the tools listed in this portfolio, such as: 1. Designing and revising curricula, 2. Civic and peace education, and 3. Inter-faith projects. Emphasising peace values in subjects such as history or geography; removing obstacles and addressing biases; reviews and dialogues around curricula; teacher training programmes, and extracurricular activities which can better equip students and teachers to deal with challenges and transform conflict. As education links to personal aspirations, critical thinking, world-views as well as livelihoods, it can play a significant role in either fostering peace or driving and sustaining negative conflict dynamics.

Links between economics, business, trade, politics, conflict and peace are numerous, from the relative levels of wealth or poverty among population groups, high unemployment, the strength of trade interdependence, to fostering better conditions for small and medium business. There is a danger in oversimplifying the link between poverty and conflict or between economic growth and peace. These factors can both drive and sustain violent conflict, create incentives for peace and contribute to its sustainability, depending on the context. As conflict dynamics are often closely tied to political economy – as well as the interests, degrees of influence and the interdependence those networks create - political economy evaluations, together with conflict and peace analyses, are fundamental to the design of peacebuilding projects. The tools featured in this report include: 1. Entrepreneurship and small and medium-sized businesses, 2. Promoting business and economic partnerships, 3. Sanctions, embargoes and aid conditionality, 4. Economic diplomacy, and 5. Projects on macro- and microeconomic management.

Infrastructure and planning are not only related to conflict as a consequence of infrastructure damage during conflict, but can also be a driver of violent conflict in the context of rapid urbanisation and/or marginalisation of rural populations, or the displacement of population groups by major infrastructure projects such as the building of dams. A lack of demographically-aligned urban planning or the isolation of certain population groups can trigger violent conflict over resources or access to services. Absent or decaying infrastructure in rural or urban spaces can undermine development efforts, leading to divergent standards of living for different cross-sections of the population. In post-conflict contexts, rebuilding initiatives need to take into consideration urban planning divides that were at the root of the violent conflict. Furthermore, poorly designed or built infrastructure can magnify environmental impacts. The three peacebuilding tools include: 1. (Re)building infrastructure for essential services, 2. Public spaces and urban planning initiatives, and 3. Major infrastructure projects.

The environment and how it is used are at the heart of a society's ability to develop, grow, and interact with other communities. It therefore has a direct impact on its stability and ability to maintain peaceful relations. Currently, climate disruption is a cause of insecurity across the globe, as drought and environmental degradation instigate conflicts over resources and serve as the source of migration for economic opportunities elsewhere. Land distribution and natural resource allocation are the cause of numerous violent conflicts around the world. Governments and private sector companies have a strong interest in ensuring land and natural resources are profitable; this has led to discrimination against the marginalised communities who occupy such land, which easily turn into violent conflicts. Armed groups also exploit land and natural resources to fuel their conflicts, giving rise to concepts such as 'blood diamonds'. In the section on **agriculture and environment**, two tools are put forward: 1. Management of natural and extractive resources and 2. Land management projects.

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Violent conflicts have a direct impact on physical and mental health, from the severe material damage caused by weapons or explosives, to the psychological damage from experiences of violent conflict. In addition, the issues that link health and conflict largely concern the consequences of a lack of **healthcare** infrastructure and access to health services, due to damage, displacement, and limited resources. Other factors to consider include unequal access to healthcare as a result of cost, language or location. On a positive note, the trusted role of medical staff and the neutrality often demonstrated by health services during violent conflict can serve as inspirations when linking peacebuilding work and healthcare. The healthcare portfolio describes two tools: 1. Medical diplomacy and 2. Mental health services.

Development programming is interlinked with all eleven sectors of this report, which is why it is located in an annex, rather than in a sectoral portfolio. Development in conflict-affected contexts requires a high level of thoughtfulness and reflection about programming and funding, particularly on the impact such work may have. Development programming therefore merits a series of reflexive questions, necessary resources and/or operational considerations, as well as best practices.

Foreword

I have worked with development, with programming and with project design for over forty years. It used to be common to consider projects and funding as the neutral core of development, with peace, governance and civil society as fancy afterthoughts. How wrong I was, how wrong we all were.

This reference work is a handy reminder of why we were wrong, and how to be more intelligent in the future.

Peacebuilding is not a fancy afterthought – it can be the very foundation of successful societal transformation. Programmes and projects in any field can help, or they can hinder peacebuilding. This handy guide gives pointers to how to help and encourages actors to question themselves and their programme partners to avoid the pitfalls which can otherwise snare any development intervention.

Peacebuilding is relevant in all circumstances – to avoid violent conflict where it has not yet occurred, to sow the seeds of peaceful development even while conflict continues, and its critical role in the immediate aftermath of conflict. This guide is relevant wherever one is in the possible cycles of violence.

This handbook addresses a wide range of people, from planners in their (ivory or otherwise) towers in donor headquarters, through to field staff, and addresses anyone involved in any of the fields covered by the survey, from macro-economic and sectoral support, through infrastructure, to health and education, election management and the plethora of ways to manage and transform societies.

I am confident that this guide to better programming and projects will help practitioners to build more resilient and less violence-prone economies and societies. Transforming conflict by transforming the ways in which projects are packaged is entirely realistic, and this guide can help with accessible suggestions and relevant questions.

Use your imagination, use this manual, and you too can be part of making the world a better place!

Jeremy Lester

Chair of Saferworld, Member of the QCEA Executive Committee, Former European Union Head of Delegation, and a Quaker for many years.

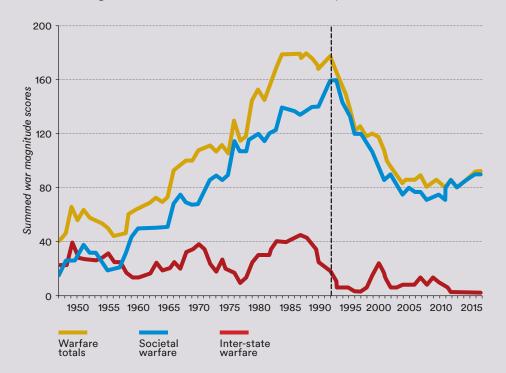
Introduction

Violent conflicts dominate our daily digest of news and media, creating a sense that violence – or the threat of violence – is ever-present, when in fact, it is peace that is the norm. If you consider the number of problematic relationships around us every day and in every context that are being managed or resolved without recourse to violence, it is clear that groups of ordinary people have the capacity to manage and transform violent conflict. Indeed, research shows that over the past 35 years, 77% of conflicts ended through a peace agreement while only 16.4% ended through military victory.¹

In other words, nonviolent approaches are the best paths towards peace – yet civilian peacebuilding is still rarely discussed, promoted or applied in foreign or domestic policy. Armed interventions remain the most high-profile responses to conflict, to the extent that they are often viewed as the default response. Moreover, the military-industrial complex, or the relationship between national military forces and the arms industry, often encourages higher defence spending in the name of state-level security interests.² Investment in peace is dwarfed by investment in weapons.³

This 20th century response to conflict is increasingly counter-intuitive: most actors working in the field of peace and security recognise that the challenges they face have changed dramatically.⁴ Large-scale, inter-state war is in decline, yet the explosion of organised crime and non-state armed groups have led to a surge in violence, with civilians increasingly becoming the casualties of 'undeclared wars'.⁵ The graph opposite clearly illustrates the changing face of warfare, from an inter-state to a societal dynamic.⁶

Furthermore, the causes of conflict have changed (see Fig. 2, page 10). For instance, climate disruption creates new layers of insecurity for communities across the globe.⁷ Climate change is interwoven with the root causes of violence, with scarcity of resources and mismanagement by authorities precipitating conflicts over natural resources such as land and water. As environments degrade, climate disruption also catalyses migration, as people search for economic opportunities elsewhere. There have also been trends towards remote warfare, with advancements in technologies such as armed drones raising new moral, legal and technical questions about violent conflict.⁸ Cyber threats have also generated security concerns and are one of many 'hybrid threats' that require new forms of engagement.⁹ Other current sources of concern increasingly labelled as security issues - but fundamentally related to humanitarianism, development, and peace include terrorism and migration. With all of the above in mind, it is clear that peacebuilding can no longer be solely a top-down endeavour. If the dynamic of conflict has changed, then so must the tools for building peace, together with their use.



In the civil society sector, we are often asked what alternatives there are to military intervention when addressing violent conflict. This report responds to this question. It not only makes the case for civilian peacebuilding as a cohesive and credible policy, but also one which responds to the security challenges of the 21st century. It is a resource which showcases potential forms of engagement across sectors and strata of society, going beyond traditional high-level peacebuilding methods such as mediation, and provides the reader with 40 civilian 'tools' that can be used to that end. The variety of examples shows that all actors – governments, regional organisations, civil society, communities, the private sector and individuals – have a role to play in building peace and preventing violent conflict.

In short, we want to demonstrate that **peacebuilding is everybody's business.** Peace cannot be imposed from outside, just as the complexity of modern conflict dynamics cannot only be addressed from above. Including everyone in peacebuilding processes turns stakeholders into actors, builds social cohesion and fosters reconciliation, which in turn reinforces sustainable peace.

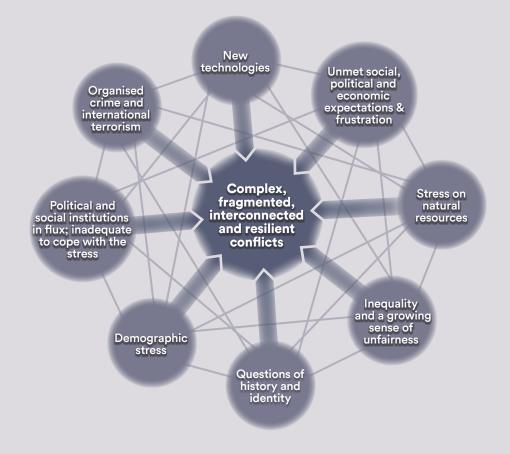
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Figure 1: Global trends in armed conflict, 1946–2015⁶

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The United Nations report on the Peacebuilding Architecture Review states that "if the central goal of sustaining peace is to be achieved, it needs to be understood as a key **shared responsibility** [through] work in prevention, peacemaking, [...] and peacekeeping, as well as through post-conflict recovery and reconstruction."¹⁰ This shared responsibility is critical, which is why the tools in this report are designed to include as much of society as possible. The aim is to build *positive peace* – a sustainable state in which all sectors of a population are able to flourish.¹¹ This is a far better long-term objective than a mere absence of violence, or *negative peace*.

Figure 2: Some of the interwoven, broad causes of modern conflicts¹²



Peacebuilding is not a linear process. Complex conflicts require nuanced engagements. No initiative is without limits and caveats, and the best intentions can easily cause harm if practitioners lack awareness, preparation or contextual sensitivity. For example, democratic elections may be seen as a post-conflict 'cure-all' to build legitimate institutions, but in the immediate aftermath of conflict they may re-open grievances and undermine the functioning of institutions.

At the same time, *who* is undertaking an initiative becomes more important than ever, as the transparency afforded by the internet brings ever greater scrutiny of interests and intentions. And it is critical that any short-term response is aligned with longer-term work, with research showing that a shift from fragility to even moderate stability can take generations.¹³

Self-reflection is vital before engaging in a violence-affected context. As well as presenting tools that can contribute to peace, this report offers a framework of principles and 'due diligence' for identifying what form of engagement to use and at what moment. This depends on the context and how you are positioned to act.

The tools we have assembled here are designed to be flexible and adaptable, recognising that violent conflicts have complex impacts on social, economic, and political developments. While not exhaustive, they form the basis for a shared, human-centred vision of peace and security which we believe will allow any actor – whoever they are – to participate in transformative change.

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How to use this resource

Honest self-reflection and an understanding of context are key to success in any peacebuilding endeavour. The *Due diligence* section in the following pages will help you to critically assess your suitability and/or credibility for a particular initiative, as well as to determine the preparation required for an effective intervention. You should begin here.

This section is followed by *Peacebuilding principles*, which are meant to be mainstreamed through each form of engagement. These principles are fundamental to peacebuilding work and need to be considered across all sectors. They require a high level of contextual awareness and reflection for successful implementation.

The report then provides 40 peacebuilding 'tools' or forms of engagement, sorted into eleven sectors. Each tool has a 'theory of change,' helping to identify long-term goals and the necessary ingredients for a transformation towards peacebuilding and prevention of violent conflict. Limits and caveats are also provided, enabling the reader to 'do no harm' by highlighting areas where there may be unintended consequences if the steps of engagement are not carefully thought through.

While by no means exhaustive, the tools give an overview of different ways to engage and collaborate across sectors. Readers can identify other sectors with which there may be an opportunity for 'crossover' by noting the symbols at the top of each portfolio, and are invited to think creatively of ways to foster such interactions – such as through partnerships, forums or joint actions.

KEY TO SYMBOLS



Due diligence and conflict sensitivity

There are many considerations for those who want to engage in preventing violence or supporting peace. A fundamental question, perhaps before all others, is whether to engage in the first place, necessitating reflection on the reasons and implications of being involved. This section suggests key areas of reflection in order to ensure due diligence and conflict sensitivity.

Due diligence refers to the steps taken prior to, and during, any form of engagement in order to ensure no harm is done, and requires awareness of, and sensitivity to, the contextual history of the situation. It is essential for conflict sensitivity,¹⁴ which is understood as the ability of an organisation to:

- understand the context in which it is operating, in particular to understand inter-group tensions and the 'divisive' issues with potential for conflict, and the 'connecting' issues with the potential to mitigate conflict and strengthen social cohesion;
- understand the interaction between its intervention and that context; and
- act upon that understanding, in order to avoid unintentionally feeding into further division, and to maximise the potential contribution to strengthen social cohesion and peace.

Due diligence recognises that 'neutrality' or 'objectivity' is almost impossible, particularly in conflict settings. Any intervention will have an impact on the context, especially in conflict situations where power is contested. As the impact will be experienced by people across levels of society, conflict sensitivity must underlie peacebuilding work. Every choice of who, where or what to support influences the dynamics and the power of conflict stakeholders. Not differentiating or simply providing the same support equally is not 'neutral'; in contrast it can perpetuate the existing problematic power relations that are part of the conflict dynamic. Thought through, conflictsensitive interventions can be conducive to peace by building trust with and between populations. continued \rightarrow

Since conflict sensitivity is recognised as underpinning effective peacebuilding work, there are a number of organisations with expertise, tools, and resources in this area. For example, the European Union (EU) incorporates Saferworld's approach to conflict analysis in its peacebuilding efforts.¹⁵

Using any of these approaches or resources to ensure conflict sensitivity requires reflecting on how you are positioned to support peace. But an understanding of the conflict context is an important additional layer of analysis. These considerations also lead to a reflection on which dimension of a conflict, or which stakeholder, you are best positioned to engage with; it is these considerations that ultimately result in the choice of tool or initiative. The following section looks at each of these considerations in turn, and offers some concrete questions to consider before identifying the tools.



Ensuring conflict sensitivity: examples of approaches

- conflict and peace analysis¹⁶
- gender analysis¹⁷
- mainstreaming women's participation¹⁸
- needs assessments¹⁹
- identifying local capacities
- 'Do No Harm'²⁰
- early warning systems²¹
- perception surveys²²
- stakeholder mapping (relationships with communities, government, donors, etc.)²³
- Strengths Weaknesses Opportunities Threats (SWOT) assessments²⁴
- monitoring and evaluation²⁵
- partner and staff profiles²⁶

Who am I?

Those who are living through a violent conflict, and those affected by it, are likely to be the most motivated to end the (risk of) violence. The population is also likely to have built up an understanding of the context in order to manage or actively try to transform the conflict that is affecting their lives. Strengthening or multiplying positive bottom-up initiatives, including the empowering of grassroots peacebuilding actors and analysts, is a useful starting point. However, as conflicts are also political in nature, those with other forms of leverage can also support peace by using their influence to offer incentives, or to transform problematic power relations. There are a multitude of roles to play in peacebuilding, depending on who is involved.

Good intentions are not sufficient. The question is not only about the capacity to act, but also the perception and position of who is acting, which will have an impact on the conflict.

In order to be effective and to avoid doing harm, peacebuilders should be encouraged to reflect on:

- The kind of organisation that you represent: i.e. governmental, nongovernmental, private enterprise? Local, national, regional, international? How is the organisation perceived by the different stakeholders in this conflict context?
- The levels of trust that the organisation or you as an individual has at different levels and in different sections of the state, population groups, government, political figures, economic actors;
- The characteristics and niche value that the organisation brings to peacebuilding in this specific conflict context;
- How sources of funding may affect perception of the organisation;
- The role and positioning of local actors and partners in conflict dynamics.

Examine your assumptions by asking yourself questions, such as: are you assuming this is an ethnic or religious conflict? Are you assuming violence is perpetrated primarily by young men? Whom do you assume are the local leaders, and why? How does your culture, race, upbringing, religion, or other factors shape how you view the conflict?

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What is the context?

What are the root causes of violence and how does violence manifest itself? By whom? Against whom? What are the numerous conflict dynamics that exist at the different levels and in different sectors? Which of these specifically are you aiming to transform? Whom will it affect? On whom does it depend? How will the initiative change the behaviour, trend or outcome? How will the initiative strengthen the capacity of a society to manage conflict without recourse to violence? What will a successful result/transformation look like? And, who will decide whether it has been successful or not?

These are just some of the key questions that need to be answered in order to ensure that any efforts to engage in a context that is experiencing conflict are well thought-out and are carefully designed to avoid doing harm in a high-risk environment where lives and livelihoods are at stake. A deep and broad analysis of the specific conflict is, therefore, essential and should involve local stakeholders. At the same time, a disproportionate focus on the negative dynamics overlooks opportunities to support positive efforts, trends, developments or pockets of peace. But analysing peace and conflict dynamics is more than just a knowledge of the history, the political structure or the economic performance of a particular territory. It also requires an understanding of the mix of circumstances, relationships, trends, motivations, values, means and opportunities that might push one or more parts of the population to use violence to achieve their goals and communicate their message.

In order to be effective and to avoid doing harm, peacebuilders should be encouraged to reflect on:

- The political, economic, social, environmental and security aspects of the context, and be able to link each conclusion to specific risks for violence or opportunities for peace.
- The full spectrum of conflict stakeholders at various levels, including non-state actors and different population groups, such as gender, socioeconomic status, geographical communities, linguistic, political, religious groups (all the time bearing in mind that people's affiliations are not singular or static).

For the most comprehensive understanding of the context, it is advisable to cooperate with other organisations or actors working on similar interventions or in the same context and compare approaches such as context analysis.

How do I choose the right form of engagement?

Having pinpointed the relevant dynamics or stakeholders to work on and with, and incorporating your reflections on which aspects or entry points you are best-positioned to engage in, there remains the question of picking the right form or sector of engagement. The complexity of conflict means that dynamics are context-driven and subject to evolution. Experience and expertise are vital, but cannot by themselves guarantee the success of a project; assumptions about what will work have to be driven by the reality of the conflict rather than preconceptions. Equally, choosing a tool or approach according to good intentions, familiarity or the pressure for a visible, public response is a high-risk strategy, and risks devastating consequences in conflict settings.

Therefore, in order to be effective and to avoid doing harm, peacebuilders should be encouraged to reflect on:

- What you are most capable of doing or offering, and which forms of engagement seem the most appropriate in that particular context at that particular time.
- The potential positive and negative interactions between the initiative and the conflict dynamics (unforeseen results, how different stakeholders might react).
- Whether your proposed form of engagement given the analyses and your position – is appropriate for conflict or peace objectives in this particular context.
- Whether the analyses have taken perceptions into consideration as well as 'objective' data, i.e. through perception surveys of populations in the conflict context.
- The risks or benefits of not engaging at all, i.e. does this leave a vacuum for destructive conflict actors to fill? Or does this avoid creating additional negative dynamics?

Peacebuilding principles

Inclusiveness is an overarching principle in building peace. Exclusion or marginalisation of different stakeholders or sections of the population can lead to disenfranchisement and tensions which drive conflicts. Across different sections of the population, as well as within certain communities, issues of discrimination can increase inequalities and fuel grievances. Therefore, taking an inclusive approach when designing, implementing and evaluating initiatives can transform ordinary engagements into significant contributions to building peace. Inclusive and participatory decision-making processes, local civil society forums, stakeholder dialogue sessions, public consultation and transparent information campaigns can all build trust and bring people together around common goals. Crucially, they can also normalise collaboration and maintain lines of communication between stakeholders.

Throughout this resource, there are references to population groups and sections of the population. No individual will fall neatly into one population group, and therefore ensuring real inclusiveness requires reflection on the many ways in which the conflict (or the peace) will influence, and be influenced by groups in a society. A focus on one demographic attribute, such as gender, linguistic group or ethnicity, risks oversimplifying people's multifaceted identities. This may lead to overlooking key dynamics of peace or drivers of violence arising from other salient factors, such as age group or socio-economic status. Inclusion in conflict-affected contexts is also challenging in cases where actors are confronted by the need to include stakeholders that do not fit their idea of an ideal partner. For example, some non-profit organisations may resist working with actors in the private sector, wary that they have commercial interests. Conversations about how different needs are to be met may additionally require negotiation or mediation processes.



Linked to inclusiveness is the principle of **ownership or appropriateness**, which refers to a deep form of engagement and involves meaningful exchanges between locals and external peacebuilders.²⁷ It is recognised today as a fundamental necessity for building peace in the long-term. Local or national ownership is understood as recognising existing sources of resilience and building upon them, as peacebuilding is inherently home-grown and built on the aspirations of local peoples. Ownership ensures the legitimacy of the forms of engagement as well as their durability. Including broad sections of the population and mobilising local capacities are necessary for effective and sustainable engagements which better correspond to local needs and the changing local context, and will ensure their longevity. Ownership includes creating and nurturing a space for civil society, such as community-based organisations. Efforts should be conflict-sensitive and inclusive, taking care to not reinforce obsolete or exclusive governance or power dynamics.

Acting must include awareness of socio-political and economic

factors, such as gender, race, religion, colour, national or ethnic origin, language, marital status, sexual orientation, age, socio-economic status, disability, or political conviction, that manifest in a multitude of ways in conflict-affected contexts. Gender goes beyond the consideration of biology. Society's understanding of gender also affects which behaviours. attitudes or approaches are rewarded or rejected. This is particularly relevant for lesbian, gay, transgender, gueer, intersex (LGBTQI) groups. Societal considerations also hold true for race, as they often coincide with economic, social, or political hierarchies. Given that conflict is linked to power in so many ways - who has power, and over whom, who has lost or gained leverage - hierarchies of gender and race are likely to manifest in many dimensions of a conflict. This could range from the way that gender influences access to political power or confers authority to stereotypically 'masculine' behaviour, or it could be the way that race influences access to more prestigious job markets or is perpetually negatively represented in the public sphere. Therefore, those seeking to transform inequalities, distortions or discriminatory practices in conflict settings need to consider the wider influence of gender, race and other factors, in order to avoid reproducing problematic power structures.

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Addressing power relations is an essential part of building peace. The drivers of conflict are many and complex, drawing together a complicated array of political, economic, environmental, social, cultural, historic and other factors, that are constantly shifting and reacting to events and actions. The relative power and experiences of various groups in society (and how those groups perceive these differences) are significant drivers of conflict. While economic, technical or development-focused initiatives can make valuable contributions to redressing formal imbalances, they cannot overlook the entrenched power relations that ultimately determine whether structural changes will have an effect on the actions and outcomes for peace and conflict stakeholders. Similarly, empowerment initiatives can only be effective if they address both sides of the issue, i.e. distorted systems or structures that perpetuate power imbalances and marginalisation, as well as the capacity and willingness to engage by those who are disenfranchised.

Pursuing accountable governance is more than 'good governance'. Accountable governance encompasses the idea of responsiveness to the population. Good governance is often focused on the supply side of governance, for instance by ensuring efficiency, consistent rules and regulations, adherence to those rules and regulations, and transparency. Accountable governance additionally implies a demand side, where all sections of the population have the means and the opportunity to challenge or provide feedback on rules and regulations; to monitor and to propose reforms. If lines of communication and trust exist between all stakeholders, it is easier to consult, inform and design processes in a more collaborative and adaptive way, which may also reduce the likelihood of unforeseen tensions, resentments or negative consequences feeding violence. Accountability requires action from both sides, and as peacebuilding seeks to redress the imbalance in distorted power structures and societal relationships, this principle is an important ingredient in peacebuilding initiatives. **Building on drivers of peace, or peace dividends**, is often overlooked in the design, implementation and evaluation of activities taking place in conflict-affected contexts. Most analyses and activities look for and target the dynamics, stakeholders, and root causes that are problematic. In contrast, less time and fewer resources are dedicated to identifying the pockets of peace that exist in certain parts of a country or region, the positive actors, the opportunities to act, the population's own existing mechanisms for managing conflict without violence or for surviving through the conflict. It is equally possible to start from a Drivers of Peace perspective; to support, strengthen, and multiply these positive assets, while still acting to disrupt or transform the destructive forces that hinder them.

Engaging populations is a vital part of sustainable peace, as its longevity will not depend solely on a small number of elite actors. As conflicts become increasingly decentralised, multi-level and inter-linked, focusing peacebuilding efforts solely on high-level politics or international processes looks more and more outdated. Those affected by violence are usually the most motivated to prevent its recurrence or escalation. Moreover, they have usually developed their own ways of managing and resolving conflict as a survival mechanism. Therefore, engaging a maximum number of population groups in the design of actions that contribute to peace is an important step to avoid the duplication or disruption of existing positive mechanisms. It will also help to avoid an inadvertent exacerbation of conflict dynamics due to a lack of contextual knowledge or foresight.

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Diplomacy

Dialogue, mediation, negotiation, preventive and quiet diplomacy

24

Glossary

Diplomacy is the way in which the international system seeks to make relations and interactions between states predictable, regular, constructive and nonviolent. In a conflict or crisis context, diplomacy can focus on specific methods to achieve objectives or settle disputes. This resource goes beyond relations at the international or elite level and includes diplomatic initiatives at various levels of society in order to be effective and inclusive, focusing on the interests of conflict parties rather than their positions. For the purposes of this resource, we use terminology corresponding to the descriptions below. For all processes, multiple and simultaneous initiatives are key to achieving an effective outcome. These tools are not mutually exclusive and can be used simultaneously or successively.

Dialogue refers to a process that is not orientated towards attaining a fixed agreement or momentary result. Instead, dialogue represents the process of establishing ongoing and open lines of communication between conflict parties. The purpose is to build relationships, enable exposure to 'the other' and sustain regular conversations or 'check-ins' that can mitigate the risk of miscommunication or escalation. Dialogue is relevant where relationships between conflict parties will be ongoing and will therefore need to be maintained and managed over the long term.

Mediation involves third-party intervention in a dispute or conflict, and facilitation of the process of trust-building, relationship-building and interaction. Mediation is a structured process, using codified techniques of communication and participation. Facilitation focuses on the needs and interests of the conflict parties. Unlike dialogue, mediation is also orientated towards an outcome or milestone. Mediation can be applied in support of intermediate goals or more comprehensive agreements. Thus, it is a highly flexible form of engagement that is usually designed by specialist mediators for each specific context. It can involve activities such as agenda setting, shuttle diplomacy, high-level mediation, and insider mediation.

Negotiation, in contrast to dialogue and mediation, is more orientated towards reaching and fixing a final agreement. Negotiation is not necessarily focused on the management of relationships, and may be more useful in reaching decisions on particular points of conflict. Negotiators are more likely to apply incentives or disincentives for conflicting parties as a means of achieving a final agreement. A distinctive difference from mediation is that it does not necessarily involve a third party.

Preventive diplomacy is a less specific type of engagement, as its form is dependent on the positioning, interests and leverage of the national or international actors carrying out the diplomacy. Unlike dialogue, mediation and negotiation, preventive diplomacy does not refer to specific goals or methods, but rather concerns any diplomatic effort or interaction undertaken with the intention of preventing a conflict from escalating.

Quiet diplomacy¹ can involve third party engagement but can also be direct bilateral diplomacy. In contrast to public diplomacy, it involves high levels of discretion and confidentiality. The role of the facilitator is to build trust with all parties involved and create a space where the parties feel at ease in speaking and acting, knowing that they will not be under public scrutiny. Examples of quiet diplomacy include confidential bilateral meetings, roundtable discussions, and facilitating access to sources of advice or finance.



Dialogue initiatives

As noted in the glossary, dialogue refers to a process between two or more conflicting parties or individuals. There can be different levels of dialogue, e.g. high level (summits between leadership of conflict groups), track two (led by civil society, and often discreet), political (to resolve political crisis), and multi-level (taking place at various levels of society). Dialogue can also take place in different sectors, and initiatives usually take place in parallel, involving the cross-sections of society that have a stake in the conflict, based on a robust stakeholder mapping. This is in order to avoid overlooking actors and thereby risking the sustainability of peace. National dialogue processes involve a collective, large-scale engagement with a network of different parallel activities.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If a dialogue process can serve as a regular mechanism for exchange around conflict issues and dynamics, it can contribute to more sustainable outcomes because it builds ongoing relationships using nonviolent means and, over time, creates and nurtures common ground.
- If dialogues can create channels of communication between groups that are polarised or isolated from one-another (including relationships between authorities and communities), or between groups that have different power structures, the process can expose participants to the histories, rationales, needs and perspectives of others. This can add nuance to stereotypes and increase empathy.

EXAMPLES

The Tunisian National Dialogue Quartet is composed of four civil society organisations which won the 2015 Nobel Peace Prize² for its efforts to prevent civil war in 2013. When the Jasmine Revolution sparked the Arab Spring, the Quartet worked to generate dialogue between citizens, politicians, and government authorities. These efforts helped lay the foundation for a more pluralistic concept of democracy among the population and established the idea of state policy being more responsive to the population. The Quartet represented different sectors of Tunisian society and was a key factor in bringing various groups into the dialogue process. In addition, the Quartet was well-positioned as a trusted partner to play other roles such as mediating in peace talks and facilitating negotiations between parties. The Quartet is an example of non-coercive, nonviolent political process that was able to bridge political and religious divides.

Another example of dialogue, this time in a more localised context, is the work of the international organisation Concordis in Mauritania.³ In a country that is mostly composed of desert, the lack of arable land and the migratory patterns of nomadic pastoral communities has caused tensions with settler communities. Concordis has been working on establishing dialogue processes in the Walo floodplains and the Senegal River Valley, where the arable land is located, in order to improve social and economic relationships between the communities. Community mediators have been trained to facilitate the dialogues themselves, promoting more social and incidental interactions through the sharing of stores, wells, land and resources, which in turn eased tensions.

- Dialogue processes should not be seen as the definitive form of engagement within a hostile context, or as the response to every dynamic in a conflict. It is most effective when particular dynamics of a conflict would benefit from better communication and stronger relationships between specific conflict stakeholders.
- Dialogue facilitates relations and therefore cannot work in the absence of transformations in the behaviours or situations that are driving the conflict. It can only create the conditions for the prevention of violent conflict or peace consolidation.
- The expectations for, and effectiveness of, dialogue are limited if initiatives are taking place in an *ad hoc* manner, only at one level, or with a few micro-projects.
- Connecting dialogue initiatives to other violence prevention or peacebuilding efforts is key to the effective use of dialogue as a tool, especially as initiatives can be hijacked and co-opted to stall progress in other peacebuilding engagements.
- A dialogue process can be facilitated by external parties, but the content and therefore the outcome belongs to the conflicting parties, and therefore cannot be predicted. In some cases, the conflict parties may not be ready for a solution different from the *status quo*, or perhaps they may favour a solution that is not peaceful.

☑ Ø ✗ 씁 ♥ □ Mediation processes

There are many activities and stages in a mediation process, including, but not limited to:

Shuttle diplomacy: Conducted by a mediator who travels between two or more parties. The mediator meets separately with each side, moving back and forth, until the parties are ready to meet. The need can arise before or even during a mediation process. It can also be a long-term engagement.

Multi-track mediation:⁴ As mediation exclusively at government level is neither inclusive nor effective, multiple 'tracks' are needed to resolve conflict. 'Track One' engages official representatives of government. 'Track Two' usually involves civil society, though it can also engage governments through unofficial interaction.⁵ 'Track Three' involves influential actors or elites, e.g. business leaders, political parties and religious figures. 'Track Six', as proposed by Interpeace, fosters inclusive processes and connects communities, civil society organisations, and government.⁶

Insider mediation:⁷ This is facilitated by those who are members of a group which has a stake in the conflict. In this case, mediation takes place among rather than between groups, as a preparatory step. In addition, insider mediators can be those with the in-depth knowledge, network and access to engage the conflict parties.

Good offices: This usually involves a leader or senior official using his or her reputation and leverage to facilitate dialogue between conflict parties.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- By finding solutions that reflect the core interests and motivations of the parties, a mediated process is more likely to result in the sustainable settlement of a dispute or conflict, because the conflict parties are more likely to find the outcome acceptable and will be more likely to implement it.
- If conflict parties feel that they have decision-making power over settling the terms or goals of the mediation, mediation is more likely to increase the conflict parties' ownership and acceptance over the settlement terms compared to imposed solutions. It therefore increases the chances of them actually keeping to what was agreed.
- By promoting a constructive and interest-based approach to resolving conflicts or disputes, mediation promotes a culture of constructive communication that ultimately reduces the parties' willingness to resort to violence and unilateral action.

EXAMPLES

During the Nigerian civil war in 1967, the eastern Biafra region sought independence due to a legacy of colonialism and historical division. Formal peace talks at Kampala and Addis Ababa failed, and may even have provoked further conflict as the two sides' differences became entrenched. Using shuttle diplomacy, three Quakers created a communication channel between the two sides, helping to alleviate tensions and move the peace process forward.⁸ While the Quakers were unable to set up bilateral meetings, they contributed to normalising relations.

Mediation can also be led by a prominent official. For example, following contested election results and violence in Kenya in 2007, mediation was led by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. He focused on the interests rather than the positions of the political parties contesting the election results. The severity of the crisis necessitated a comprehensive solution, and the mediation agenda included stopping the violence and addressing the needs of those who were displaced. The mediation efforts laid the ground for a political settlement.⁹

- Mediation is both process- and outcome-based, and is likely to be a slow process. All stakeholders have to be prepared to accept the time investment required for a mediation process.
- Reaching agreements or milestones is important, but implementation may rely on a much broader network of stakeholders, which demonstrates the need for multi-track processes and the need for these to be connected.
- Processes need to be sufficiently resourced, with people working on parallel tracks. Resources should also be allocated to the management of communication between the 'tracks'.
- There is always a risk that mediation (or negotiation) processes will create incentives for other groups to mobilise, or for actors to sow division in order to garner attention or improve their bargaining position.
- A deep and broad conflict analysis is a vital part of the preparatory work to understand risks and stakeholder groups. It can also be useful in identifying allies, influential peace actors and opportunities.
- The outcome of a mediation cannot be predicted, if it is to be sustainable, and should therefore be differentiated from a negotiation process.

曾 ● Ⅲ Quiet diplomacy

Quiet diplomacy refers to the process of facilitating inter-party exchange through a neutral and/or impartial third party in a non-public forum, outside the media spotlight as well as political and diplomatic circles. Quiet diplomacy is unlike private negotiations that take place behind closed doors, as it is focused less on a negotiated outcome and more on the process of relationship-building and creating a safe space for honest discussion. Quiet diplomacy can be initiated in order to bring together governments, civil society, or other actors who do not want to meet publicly, and to create a space where the participants feel comfortable speaking openly, beyond official institutional lines, without fear of public scrutiny or condemnation.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If a third party facilitator is able to develop a trusted reputation among conflict parties and create a safe space for dialogue, quiet diplomacy can be a means to bring together actors around meaningful discussions which might not take place under public scrutiny.
- If quiet diplomacy creates a safe space where actors can listen to each other, it can facilitate a sense of mutual understanding which may become the basis for a more formal dialogue.

EXAMPLES

Quakers have been at the forefront of using quiet diplomacy to bring together various actors who may not wish to meet publicly. These meetings take place with groups or individuals who may otherwise not interact. The trusted role of the facilitator means that they are not perceived as biased or having a hidden agenda. Organisations such as Quaker Peace and Social Witness¹⁰ (QPSW) in London, the Quaker United Nations Office¹¹ (QUNO) in Geneva and New York, and QCEA in Brussels have used guiet diplomacy to encourage discussions around critical topics, and these organisations have developed expertise in certain areas. Due to the discreet nature of these events, they are not highly publicised, but they have produced progress in the relationships between specific actors by creating the space and confidence to divert from official lines and discuss underlying issues or possible solutions. For example, QUNO has hosted Quaker-style lunches between actors to discuss draft resolutions. The informal, comfortable space of Quaker House provided a setting for conversations that would have been unlikely to occur in a setting where there was more pressure to reach a deal.

Quiet diplomacy can also take place at higher levels. For example, the Organisation of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM) can 'quietly' promote a lawbased approach to protecting national minorities through confidential and discreet engagement with OSCE member states.¹² In several cases, the HCNM helped to resolve tensions early on, thereby preventing the escalation of conflicts that could have undermined peace. The HCNM can thus use the reputation of the office as leverage to convene quiet meetings, nurturing trust and communication in order to resolve conflict issues.

- The very discreet nature of quiet diplomacy makes it difficult to communicate and assess its overall value or effectiveness.
- The importance of the perception of the facilitator as trustworthy is not to be understated. Being completely neutral may not be possible, and that may even be an advantage in scenarios when 'insider' mediation can build trust. However, the facilitator must develop relationships with all parties based on trust so that they are not perceived to be biased. Ultimately, quiet diplomacy is about impartiality and even-handedness, or simply providing an open space, rather than strict neutrality.

Ø X 🕆 V II Negotiation processes

Negotiation, like dialogue and mediation, is designed to be used where conflict exists between two or more parties. And, like the other two tools, it also involves discussion. However, negotiation is usually more focused on the outcome of reaching an agreement or solution to the conflict or dispute. Therefore, it is often a more elite process involving those who are in a position to take decisions, rather than a wider group of stakeholders. Most negotiation processes take the form of formal peace talks or conferences, with the goal of achieving a peace agreement that 'ends' the conflict.

However, as noted in the profile on mediation, agreements rely on a much broader network of stakeholders and other conflict actors who will each influence the implementation of any agreement. Therefore, negotiation processes need to be complemented with mediation and/or dialogue efforts in order to be effective and sustainable. An ideal outcome from a peace negotiation would therefore:

- reflect the legitimate interests of all conflict stakeholders;
- limit any damage to the relationships between stakeholders;
- include clear and actionable provisions;
- be owned by (at least) the negotiating parties, and not imposed;
- be acceptable to wider constituencies/stakeholders; and
- include guidance for intermediate milestones and responsibilities.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If peace negotiations can bring about clear and effective terms of agreement between high-level decision-makers or leaders of conflict parties, they can provide the basis for a nonviolent, political resolution for a conflict because they will be seen as a more effective way of meeting goals.
- If the negotiated agreement includes consultations with wider conflict stakeholders, the likelihood of a successful implementation and the sustainability of a negotiated agreement increases because the terms will be generally viewed as legitimate by a broader cross-section of the population.
- By resolving disputes through negotiations, especially interestbased negotiations, parties are more likely to come to constructive settlements for their dispute(s) rather than taking unilateral action or resorting to violence.

EXAMPLES

The conflict between the Islamist Free Aceh Movement (*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka*, or GAM) and the Indonesian state for Aceh's independence from Jakarta lasted nearly 30 years. An earthquake and tsunami in Aceh province in December 2004, the subsequent humanitarian disaster and enormous death toll created renewed international visibility for the conflict and a new impetus for a peace process. Former Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari engaged in mediation to bring the parties together. The personal involvement of the Vice President (with the support of the President) and participation of the military in the subsequent negotiations signalled an investment of political capital. Government concessions, such as amnesties and economic programmes, as well as agreements on political participation, cultural symbols and reconciliation, added to the weight of the negotiations. At the same time, the international response to the 2004 humanitarian disaster also increased the pressure on GAM to enter the talks.¹³

The European Union began as a peace project, forged through common institutions and social norms following the devastation of World War Two. The EU continues to grow its zone of peace and promote regional stability in its Southeastern neighbourhood through enlargement negotiations. The accession process can act as a 'carrot' to incentivise reform and therefore is regarded to have the potential to transform the region and build peace through positive economic, political and social change. After a year of negotiations and consultations, the Reform Agenda was adopted by all three levels of Bosnia-Herzegovina's government in 2015, focusing on key reforms in governance and rule of law.¹⁴ These are key issues in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where reforms are impeded by legacies of violent conflict in the 1990s. EU accession negotiations can be part of a path to peace in the Western Balkans when they are multi-track, taking into account societal perspectives as well as economic trends.

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LIMITS AND CAVEATS

- The example of Aceh highlights just some of the contextual factors that contributed to the signing of an agreement. If all these contextual factors had not been in place, there is no guarantee that negotiations would have resulted in an agreement. Indeed, peace efforts in Aceh had not worked previously. This demonstrates the importance of identifying and seizing opportunities for peacebuilding, as well as the limitations of any single intervention in the absence of a distinct set of conditions for peace.
- There are limitations to high-level negotiations, such as the marginalisation of the voices of those who are not included. The outcomes of high-level negotiations, such as peace agreements, can therefore fall short for certain populations.
- Support for, and perceptions of, negotiation processes can (for better or worse) be influenced by media discourse, communications campaigns and outreach initiatives. Negotiations have to invest sufficiently in resources for strategic communications and multi-stakeholder consultation alongside high-level negotiation processes. Under-resourced or limited public consultation and outreach can ultimately derail the effective implementation of high-level agreements.
- Negotiations that lead to peace agreements do not necessarily represent the full extent of a peacebuilding endeavour. The need for implementation, monitoring and continued momentum after the spotlight has shifted away from high-level negotiations will likely require sustained support and resources, including political capital and diplomatic engagement.

☑ ☑ ※ ⊕ ♥ □ Preventive diplomacy

Preventive diplomacy can refer to those diplomatic efforts whose aim is to reduce the risk of politically motivated violence, or its escalation. It is usually carried out by high-level politicians, diplomats or elite actors, which includes those outside politics, such as private sector actors. There is no single method for preventive diplomacy: it is determined by the resources, influence, leverage and interests that exist in each context. It is also possible to consider preventive diplomacy in its broadest sense, encompassing inter-governmental bodies or mechanisms for exchange and debate.

THEORY OF CHANGE

• If actors have the requisite influence and leverage in the specific conflict-affected context, this can be applied to encourage key conflict actors to pursue nonviolent, non-coercive and non-military means of managing or resolving their conflicts, because they will see these as effective alternatives.

EXAMPLES

A flare-up of fighting along the Cambodia-Thailand border in 2011 resulted in more active preventive diplomacy in Southeast Asia. In a change of role for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Indonesia sought to apply the provision for 'good offices' from the 2011 ASEAN Charter as the basis for its role in preventive diplomacy for the Cambodia-Thailand border dispute, conducting shuttle diplomacy between the conflict parties. The issue reached the UN Security Council with ASEAN acting as a facilitator – though it was nonetheless driven almost exclusively by Indonesia, which capitalised on its chairmanship of ASEAN at that moment to play a key role in getting the parties to agree to observers at the border.¹⁵

Following the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, Croatia and Slovenia contested their resultant international border, particularly around the Gulf of Piran. The situation escalated in 2008-2009 when Slovenia, an EU Member State since 2004, attempted to block Croatia's accession to the EU. At this point, the EU engaged in arbitration, culminating in an agreement in 2009. Bilateral talks continue as this resource goes to print, although for the time being, the EU's intervention appears to have prevented an escalation.¹⁶

LIMITS AND CAVEATS

• The context-specific credibility and influence of the diplomatic actor or entity is vital, and so a due diligence or reflection process (as described at the start of this resource) is all the more crucial in the case of preventive diplomacy.

Further reading on diplomacy

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Democracy and politics



The use of the term 'democracy' refers to the features which underpin democratic societies, i.e. placing the emphasis on forms of governance that promote pluralism; and peaceful management of the needs, political beliefs and interests of different population groups. Other key aspects encompass public participation, inclusiveness, peaceful political debate, the rule of law, justice and other civil and political rights. When democracy effectively promotes these key aspects, it is most conducive to accountable governance, inclusiveness, and other principles of peacebuilding. Therefore, democracy is relevant to building responsive and conflict sensitive institutions. Moreover, while the exact correlation between peacebuilding and democracy is still being discussed, researchers agree that democratic states experience significantly lower levels of violent conflict.

Political debate and active citizenship initiatives

Political debate is a valuable way of bringing parties together to discuss legislative or political developments. Ultimately, it should serve as a means of fostering peaceful interaction and of promoting exchanges of views on policy. In order for constructive political debate to take place, however, a population must be well-informed of the relevant political principles, institutions, procedures, policies and legislation. This requires an investment in awareness-raising activities, civic education, and transparency initiatives surrounding political institutions.

More broadly, citizen engagement in politics can improve political accountability and reduce the threat of authoritarianism. This 'active citizenship' can take the form of public participation through free media, participation in civil society, as well as more formal feedback and consultation mechanisms with state authorities.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If those with differing political perspectives or views are able to use nonviolent platforms, such as media, public meetings, or civil society organisations to interact and engage in political debates, it can reduce public dissatisfaction and marginalisation, thereby reducing the risk of recourse to violence.
- If all sections of the population are able to voice their views and be active in shaping policy proposals through political representatives, parties, media and other civil society organisations, government can be better equipped to make effective and less contentious policy by taking a cross-section of public views into account.
- If there are sufficient opportunities for debate between state authorities and the populations they serve, the public is less likely to view government and politics as elite, remote, corrupt or inaccessible, and therefore less likely to reject their authority.
- If the public has a deep understanding of the principles, structures, procedures and rules surrounding politics and policymaking, their expectations about responsiveness and opportunities for reform are more likely to be realistic and political decisions more widely understood.

EXAMPLES

South Africa's constitution includes local government legislation, which is designed to help communities become involved in planning and budgeting processes. For example, courts may dismiss any legislation that is passed without sufficient public participation. In the post-apartheid context of South Africa, public participation has been a key element in ensuring that a wider range of voices and perspectives are taken into account when developing local legislation. The objective is to help legitimise peacebuilding efforts from the level of local governance up.¹

In Chile, the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet left a legacy of discrimination and infringement of rights. The Chilean Initiative for the Reform of the Binominal Electoral System, which had been implemented by Pinochet, initiated dialogue between the current government, political parties, and civil society to build consensus around electoral reform. The dialogue process included sharing best practices and consulting with local levels in an effort to adapt the electoral system to be more inclusive and strengthen citizen participation. Fair legislation was thought to help the country overcome past divisions that perpetuate inequality and the divide between the rich and poor in Chile.²

- As a peacebuilding tool, initiatives around political debate may pose additional risks if there is a history of violence or the potential for political tensions to escalate as a result of interactions. Any debates that contribute to peace would have to be designed with conflict dynamics in mind.
- Expectations around state-society debate can end up driving frustrations if there is a lack of understanding of government and policy processes among members of the public. Therefore, to avoid inflaming frustrations, political debate or consultations should be accompanied by awareness-raising on governance structures, procedures, mandates, etc.
- There can be a fine line between consultation mechanisms and patronage networks that may reinforce divisions or competition over resources among different population groups. Therefore, consultation initiatives should be as pluralistic and diverse as possible to reduce the dominance of single group interests. Fairness is central to a sustainable outcome.
- The democratic process needs to be carefully nurtured until it becomes systemic and iterative to ensure that there can be nonviolent reactions to elections and debates.



Political party support can entail providing technical advice to political parties e.g. helping to build their capacities, developing procedures for managing finances, staff, and internal democracy. In addition to technical support, it can include inter- or intra- party dialogue platforms to manage disputes. Beyond supporting the internal capabilities of political parties and mechanisms for working with other parties, support can work towards inclusive agendas for addressing citizen grievances by connecting parties to civil society platforms.

While political parties can be a source of legitimacy and citizen representation, they can also manipulate public opinion to incite violence or exploit grievances. Giving support to a broad range of individuals to develop leadership skills can promote internal party democracy and more inclusive agendas. This is an important contribution to pluralistic representation. Parties that are accountable to their members and whose leaders have the requisite political skills can participate constructively and effectively in political debates and policy-making.

Projects should also take into consideration non-party politicians, such as independents, or scenarios where parties have been banned.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If political parties maintain a strong and representative sense of internal democracy, they can provide members with a peaceful channel through which their needs and interests can be aggregated, communicated and represented in the political sphere.
- If political parties are more accountable and responsive to members and constituents, they reinforce trust in formal political processes, thereby reducing incentives to pursue non-peaceful political action.
- If political parties can develop clear, thought-through policies then this can allow for effective debates between policy options in political forums. This improves public engagement and understanding, and enables sound policy decisions to be made.

EXAMPLES

In Chad, the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) helped political parties to build capacity in order to implement the 2007 power-sharing agreement between coalition and opposition parties. The process of building consensus through dialogue was important in the context of Chad, where conflict dynamics were exacerbated by attempted coups. This example demonstrates that support for political parties does not stop at elections, but extends to building internal and inter-party dialogue.³

Following a civil war, Guatemala experienced high levels of inequality and daily violence. Political parties were often based around the personalities of leadership rather than responsiveness to the needs in society. This was exacerbated by corruption. The Netherlands Institute for Multi-party Democracy (NIMD) has been facilitating multi-party dialogue in Guatemala since 2003, working with all political parties to develop a national recovery development plan, following 36 years of conflict. In later sessions, the dialogue was able to focus on key themes such as the inclusion of marginalised groups.⁴

- Analysis of the role and interests of political parties is essential prior to any support, in order to understand and ensure that such an initiative will not reinforce societal dynamics which fuel conflict.
- The goal of support for parties or multi-party systems is ultimately to support inclusive participation, aggregate interests and provide peaceful means to challenge political opponents over policy and leadership of government. Consequently, the efficacy of parties should be evaluated against their ability to support the achievement of the wider goals of democracy, inclusiveness, etc.
- Support for individual parties as opposed to whole systems can create imbalances or perceptions of external interference, thereby worsening conflict dynamics. Therefore, support for multi-party systems reduces the likelihood that support can be co-opted by one set of interests.
- While political parties play an important role in formal political culture, their functioning should not replace or be disconnected from wider civil society. Civil society organisations may be more accessible for some parts of the population or may represent the needs and interest of specific population groups or issues in society.
- Support for political parties runs the risk of exacerbating divisions that benefit the existence or legitimacy of certain actors or groups.

Human rights monitoring refers to the independent gathering of information which documents the human rights situation in a country or region over a set period of time. Abuse without remedy can exacerbate certain conflict dynamics, such as increasing sympathy for violent responses or being used to justify other violence. It can also increase the risk that targeted groups will experience violence or resort to the use of force themselves.

Therefore, this information can become the basis for advocating against human rights abuses, countering the 'winner' narrative, and ensuring transparency and accountability. Collecting and reporting missions can contribute to justice by providing evidence and acknowledging past abuses, but can also cause frustration when report recommendations are not acted upon. Monitoring activities can also have immediate benefits for human security by challenging impunity for abuse by state or non-state actors, or monitoring the enforcement of rights as part of peace agreements and ceasefires.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If human rights abuses are documented and communicated to the public, it becomes more difficult for governments to avoid scrutiny and puts them under pressure to conform to human rights standards.
- If human rights monitoring is widespread, it can reduce the opportunity for abuse with impunity or protracted situations of abuse for certain population groups or human rights defenders. If collected and archived appropriately, evidence of abuses may be vital to subsequent prosecutions.
- Well-organised monitoring can also provide a strong basis of evidence on which to advocate for reforms. Such reforms may support more institutionalised human rights protections, for example.

EXAMPLES

Following abuses during the Sri Lankan civil war, such as illegal detention and extra-judicial killings, the UN High Commission for Human Rights investigated violations of human rights covered by the Reconciliation Commission.⁵ The aim was to avoid impunity. The monitoring contributed to stabilising the human rights situation and enhancing people's personal security.

During the Cambodian Civil War, human rights abuses in Cambodia were widespread. Human rights monitors with the Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defence of Human Rights⁶ (LICADHO) carried out advocacy, as well as offering humanitarian assistance and negotiations. Given the weak rule of law and corruption of the judiciary, many cases of infringement have remained unpunished. LICADHO not only documented human rights abuses but provided support to victims to obtain a just outcome for their cases, such as assisting the victim in a legal case or bringing the human rights agenda to the attention of the media to put pressure on the relevant actors.

- Human rights monitoring is likely to face strong challenges from those accused of abuses, which creates additional physical risks for those who carry this out. Therefore, support for such initiatives should be accompanied by a willingness and capacity to protect those undertaking such activities.
- Monitoring activities may complicate other initiatives designed to create dialogue between conflict parties (which may include armed actors).
- Monitoring may be perceived as politically motivated or partial in its focus. Therefore, consultation with a broad range of conflict stakeholders may be necessary to respond to concerns among the affected populations.
- Protection of certain rights or certain population groups may be unpopular among other parts of the population, and may therefore create political challenges for governments or other leadership figures. This in turn may have an impact on other aspects of the conflict.
- Human rights monitors establish relationships with all conflict parties and may therefore be perceived as protecting the rights of abusers.

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Support for election monitoring and electoral frameworks

Election monitoring entails the presence of external, independent observers before, during and after an election in order to promote the fairness and safety of the electoral process. External observers can come from third countries, regional/international organisations and non-governmental organisations. Monitoring involves information gathering and reporting to provide maximum transparency, thereby increasing accountability. As well as monitoring the election as an event, initiatives to develop or reform electoral frameworks can also be valuable in addressing structural inequities or a lack of clarity around electoral legislation, which increases the risk of a result being challenged or rejected. Electoral dispute resolution, establishing legal frameworks, technical assistance, assistance to national electoral commissions, or accountability tools are just some of the ways in which the electoral framework can be supported.

These types of activity can be most valuable where political tensions have the potential to lead to tensions or violence. Elections can serve as a nonviolent means for managing conflicting political views, and monitoring can therefore play a valuable role in increasing public confidence – be it in the electoral process itself, or in the peaceful transition of power. Indeed, universal suffrage and the ability to participate in free and fair elections, especially for those who perceive themselves as marginalised, is at the core of inclusive and credible governance.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If the rules and the conduct of elections are transparent and clearly communicated to the widest possible public, it can reduce (but does not eliminate) the likelihood of inflammatory misinformation campaigns or incitement to violence around results.
- If the frameworks governing the design and conduct of elections are designed to ensure maximum pluralism of candidates and the electorate, various sections of the population can have the opportunity to be legitimately represented in the formal governance structures.
- If independent election monitoring is effective in increasing public confidence in the electoral outcome, it can reinforce the legitimacy of governing institutions and representatives. The process can also help to consolidate public confidence in the perception of democratic processes as an effective mechanism for managing political difference.

EXAMPLES

Since its contested secession from the Somali Republic and its military regime in 1991, Somaliland has conducted three elections that have generally been viewed as genuine and credible by the international community, although not without major challenges. However, when elections in 2008 were postponed to 2010, this delay undermined public confidence in governance. The Somaliland Non-State Actors Forum (SONSAF) created a civil society body to oversee government preparations for the ballot, and subsequently observed and reviewed the 2012 elections. The report published by SONSAF after the elections helped to boost public confidence in the result and supported a peaceful power transition process.⁷

The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) supports election observation missions on behalf of the European Commission. Prior to parliamentary elections in Chad in February 2011, GIZ sent experts to observe the electoral and political proceedings during the months prior.⁸ Due to the country's poor corruption ranking, care was taken to observe the election campaigns and the media. The elections were deemed to be credible and nonviolent. Following the elections, the observers' report was discussed widely in Chad; its outcomes helped boost public confidence in the result, and served to assure citizens that fraud was appropriately addressed.

continued \rightarrow

LIMITS AND CAVEATS

- The presence of monitors does not guarantee that violence will not occur as different conflict actors have their own motivations and boundaries in terms of the use of violence. The design of monitoring can take into account the highest risks of violence.
- Monitoring generally involves closely following the process, not the wider context, which is likely to be a limiting factor in its usefulness.
- Monitoring is also not a tool that can fully address root causes of conflict, as it is focused around an event, and other types of democracy support are necessary to address the wider political structures, context and culture between election cycles.
- Electoral codes can equally be misused to discriminate against certain groups e.g. the Jim Crow laws in the USA used electoral legislation to disenfranchise African Americans after the civil war, and has modern day ramifications in legal codes and voting districts.
- If there is a lack of pluralism or if certain conflict dynamics are left unaddressed, elections can consolidate or deepen sectarianism, ethnic divisions, or nationalism.
- Elections should not take place in the immediate aftermath of conflict, as the risks are high that violent tensions may be re-ignited. First steps should be taken to ensure an inclusive political process and institutional framework.
- It is important for monitoring to be rigorous, neutral, and take place over the long-term. Political parties and government should not be the only entities subject to scrutiny but also the media, election laws, registration, etc. Recommendations can help pave the way for future peaceful elections.
- By virtue of their presence, independent organisations acting to monitor or observe elections risk legitimising election results, whether or not they were obtained in a legal manner. Therefore, monitors and observers should carefully monitor the neutrality and transparency of election proceedings and assess the impact of their presence.

Further reading on democracy and politics

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The rule of law provides regularity and consistency in how the law is applied to all. Justice, on the other hand, has a much broader meaning and is what the rule of law should strive to deliver. Legislation, procedures, systems, technical assistance and training do not automatically deliver justice unless they are designed with the end user in mind, so as to curtail corruption, selectivity, or discrimination in the way that different population groups or types of actors access and experience the rule of law. There are various mechanisms to ensure respect for the rule of law and justice, such as local or national courts. Through organisations such as the International Criminal Court, the rule of international law can be upheld to ensure justice. Justice

合口 Anti-corruption initiatives

Corruption refers to the adaptation or perversion of political, economic, or legal processes for political or private motives. It can occur at high levels of government, distorting policies or the correct functioning of the state, or it can occur on an everyday basis, restricting public access to services.¹ It can also supply and support criminal structures. Corruption can range from protection rackets by armed groups or security services, nepotism and informal patronage, to bribery, collusion or undue influence by certain actors. Anti-corruption initiatives to stop such practices include tools such as watchdogs, budgetary transparency, codes of conduct, legislation, information technology systems, and training on integrity and anti-corruption compliance.

States experiencing conflict are often more susceptible to corruption due to weakened governance structures. There is a risk that corruption can drive conflict by exacerbating divides or inequalities in society – conferring privileges on those with power, money or other influence and sustaining a state of marginalisation for others. It can also undermine the legitimacy of the state or the private sector if corrupt practices erode public trust and the willingness to accept the state's authority. Over time, deeply-rooted pathways of corruption distort the incentives for states to be responsive and accountable to their populations. Therefore, combating corruption is seen as a way to promote equality, responsiveness and accountability, which in turn contribute to sustainable peace.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If anti-corruption initiatives target the root causes of corruption, they
 can address the incentives in the wider political-economy that drive
 and sustain it.
- If there is transparency around budgets, rules of procedure, decision-making criteria and codes of conduct, it will ensure greater accountability of public officials and state structures and enhance trust between populations and government.
- If the population believes that the authorities are not behaving in a corrupt manner in their delivery of services, they are more likely to view those authorities as legitimate and to accept the authority of the government.

EXAMPLES

In Kosovo, public perception surveys showed that citizens were concerned about transparency and clientelism in political parties. This was potentially blocking the peace process between Serb and Albanian populations. The Westminster Foundation for Democracy² (WFD) combined multi-party work and support for individual political parties to address issues of corruption, in addition to engaging with society. Citizen grievances due to lack of access to services can drive conflict, and in the case of Kosovo the ethnic groups often blamed each other for a lack of access to political representation as well as public services.

In Guatemala, corruption scandals in 2015 led to public demonstrations, resulting in the resignation of the President and Vice President. The Consortium for Electoral and Political Processes (CEPPS) initiated a project focused on increasing inclusion and decreasing violence, with technical support from the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), to monitor campaign finances. By emphasising inclusiveness in decision making processes, the project's aim to transform the political landscape to reflect citizen interests, in a country which has experienced civil war, genocide, and the continued marginalisation of certain communities.³

- As corruption has economic and political dimensions, project initiators should be aware of the motivating factors on both levels.
- Initiatives that formalise business regulations in order to address corruption also have to take into account the potential conflict risks of eliminating informal livelihoods or subsistence activities. These actions may trigger displacement, or in some cases even prompt the joining of criminal or armed groups for financial security.
- As patronage networks can be deeply embedded in cultures and familial structures, efforts to dismantle them may be perceived as discrimination or persecution of certain population groups or parts of society. In particular, initiatives may impact those most reliant on informal patronage as the only means to access goods, services or influence.
- The design and targeting of anti-corruption initiatives can also be co-opted for the persecution of political opponents, or even non-governmental organisations (NGOs).
- In certain cases, 'token' individuals or groups are prosecuted on corruption charges as a gesture, but such actions do not necessarily reflect deeper change.

Constitutional reform

A constitution frames the overall design, roles, mandates, and fundamental responsibilities of the state in law, and is often used to enshrine political, religious and other cultural values. Constitutions can be manipulated to justify an unfair *status quo* or to provide a legal justification for a particular agenda. As a result, amendments to constitutions are high-stakes issues which can be used by parties to entrench their political perspectives or self-interests. As constitutional reforms are, by their very nature, intended to have far-reaching effects on the governance and functioning of a country, any aspect of reform represents an obvious risk in conflict-affected contexts, where slight changes can have a (positive or negative) impact on conflict dynamics. Provisional constitutions or constitutional reforms are common features of the political landscape in the wake of peace agreements. In some cases, a constitution may be foregone and completely rewritten as a symbolic break with conflict and a new 'post-conflict' era. Constitutional reform can be a pathway to peace when it addresses underlying grievances through inclusive processes.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If a constitutional reform process is based on an analysis of the conflict context, it is more likely to incorporate provisions which are favourable to peace, and less likely to be focused on bargaining over negative conflict dynamics.
- If reform proposals are accompanied by public consultations, perception surveys and impact analyses, there is a greater opportunity for opposing perspectives to be debated peacefully and constructively.
- If the process of reform or re-drafting of a constitution is accompanied by an inclusive national dialogue process that engages all sections of the population, the outcome is more likely to be viewed as legitimate and less likely to be challenged by those excluded from the process.
- If the public are well informed about a reform process particularly its timeline and expected impact – then expectations are managed and the risk of disappointment or frustration is minimised.

EXAMPLES

The International Development Law Organisation (IDLO) supported Somalia's Provisional Constitution in 2012 by providing an analysis of the draft constitution, as well as proposing changes to it. In 2012, after decades of war, a government formed in Somalia. The constitution-making process helped to stabilise the peace process.⁴

Following the violent political crisis in Kyrgyzstan in 2010, the OSCE and Venice Commission hosted a round table discussion on constitutional reforms, involving international practitioners and representatives of the Kyrgyz interim government. The discussion was followed up with a public consultation process as well as a referendum on the new constitution held a month later. These forms of engagement were designed to respond to the violence and develop a coherent, constitutional response by building public confidence in the rule of law.⁵

- Constitutions can consolidate divisions within population groups.
- As a process that is likely to generate significant changes, it is necessary to map the resources needed to ensure sufficient accompanying initiatives, such as a national dialogue, civic education, public information campaigns, dialogues between political opponents, professional training for media outlets, etc.
- Constitutions provide an overall framework and are therefore intended to have some longevity. Therefore, reform processes that result in overly detailed provisions or which incorporate areas of governance that need to be regularly updated as societies change, could provide opportunities for parties wishing to exploit social divisions to create regular crises and instability.
- Constitutional changes should go hand in hand with public forums and public education initiatives. In doing so, the public can not only contribute a diverse range of opinions to the process, but also gain a meaningful understanding of all the changes proposed.



Access to justice for all citizens is the part of the rule of law that ensures services are fair, accessible and transparent. Entitlement to identification documents that enable citizens to access such services is also essential. A lack of equal access, real or perceived, can cause long-term grievances which will kindle conflict among population groups. Ensuring this accessibility requires different types of activities that will target populations, as well as reforming judicial institutions, the security sector, and passing relevant legislation. To ensure citizens are aware of their rights, specific projects can be launched to use the media or other outlets to educate populations on accessing services; using service providers and legal aid to reach marginalised communities; or working with citizens to register them for services. Efforts should be sensitive to traditional justice, which may be the basis for resolving disputes in communities lacking access to state level justice services, but which may not be appropriate for all cases.

Another type of activity involves training for the judiciary to build their capacity to ensure equal access. It can focus on improving knowledge of fair trial standards, the prevention of torture, arbitrary detention, and human rights. Courses can also increase awareness of implicit and explicit biases and how to overcome these in judicial proceedings. Community paralegals or 'barefoot' lawyers can also help to explain legal jargon in areas where illiteracy or multilingualism is prevalent, and they can also facilitate the growth of justice where there is a weak judicial system.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If the quality and affordability of services are improved, trust and confidence can be built in state institutions and contribute to positive state-society relations.
- If public awareness is raised in the reform process, its timelines and the likely impact of reforms, it can ensure that expectations of what the reforms will deliver are well managed and therefore will be less likely to lead to disappointment or frustration among the population.
- If the judiciary are trained to recognise biases and help citizens access justice, it can improve just resolutions of disputes and can decrease the porspect of violence as the means to obtain justice or retribution.
- If citizens are more aware of their right to justice, increasing equality between different groups will take place, and marginalised groups can better challenge discrimination and hold decision-makers accountable.

EXAMPLES

A major obstacle to accessing justice for the majority of Syrian refugees in Lebanon is the lack of legal documentation or official residence permits. International Alert started a project to improve understanding of the judicial needs of Syrian refugees, by consulting them directly and then informing relevant organisations who could tailor their more to the priorities of the refugee population. Strengthening access to justice with peaceful outcomes requires addressing the needs and grievances of both the refugee and host populations to ensure fairness.⁶

Following violent conflict in Sri Lanka, the country's justice system is working to rebuild trust with populations. Root causes of injustice in the country are poverty, accountability, and human rights of population groups those displaced by the conflict. A United Nations Development Program (UNDP) project focused on strengthening the criminal justice system to increase access to justice.⁷ In the first phase of the project, 85 officers received training on topics including the Concept of a Fair Trial, Examination of Witnesses, and Effective Prosecution of Cases of Murder. Further phases included mobile clinics that provided wider access to legal services such as applications for identity documents.

- To be effective, initiatives in this area have to avoid assumptions about obstacles and commit to preparatory research and consultations around the degree of access among different sections of the population and population groups.
- Access to justice can also be limited by corruption. For example, certain groups may be able to pay bribes so their access may be prioritised.
- Initiatives should recognise that there are 'hybrid' and informal systems attempting to provide access to justice such as traditional, Indigenous, community-based or customary justice systems.

Memorialisation ensures that history and personal narratives are remembered and accessible to the public through recording stories, archiving oral histories, fostering space for dialogue, and creating memorials. As with any deeply traumatising experience, the aftermath of a violent conflict that has affected whole communities makes it unlikely that populations will be able to move on without intervention. Memorialisation projects aim to address the need for collective healing and to provide a formal acknowledgement and record of the human consequences of a conflict. The memorialisation process requires acknowledging different perspectives in order for reconciliation to take place and for a common understanding of the past to be developed. Managing the trauma resulting from violence is essential for sustainable peace, as it helps to neutralise undercurrents of resentment and tension. Memorials can also serve to counter re-writing of historical narratives and to prevent history from being manipulated in divisive politics.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If memorialisation recognises that what was done to a particular individual or group was wrong, both at the time and in the present, the acknowledgement that the victim's rights were violated can restore dignity.
- If the personal stories of conflict are conveyed, aggrieved population groups or individuals feel listened to and included in public discourse and historical narratives.
- If connections and empathy are built through personal narratives, individuals or groups may be more willing to listen to each other's perspectives and may be more open to reconciliation.

EXAMPLES

HerStories,⁸ a project focused on more inclusive narratives in Sri Lanka, was concerned that the nation-building process was largely based on a state-centric narrative. This was resulting in the exclusion or marginalisation of certain voices and identities, leaving open the possibility that unaddressed tensions would re-emerge and thus increase the risk of violence. Through *HerStories*, victims of atrocities recounted memories of expulsions and violence. The project has been a platform to share stories and have a space to be heard, especially for women who feel their accounts of history have been marginalised.

The Tyne Cot Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery and Memorial to the Missing in Belgium was constructed to bury and remember those who died during the First World War on the Western Front. The cemetery includes four German graves alongside the Commonwealth graves, symbolic of ideas of common humanity and reconciliation following the war. It still serves today as a symbol of the past, helping survivors to address their war traumas and envisage a peaceful future.⁹

- These personal stories can be used as political tools to mobilise conflict or keep alive narratives that fuel conflict. For example, near the Srebrenica-Potocari memorial in Bosnia-Herzegovina, there are 'competing' memorials to multiple groups, which is not conducive to building shared peace and security for all. Therefore, it is essential to be considerate of marginalised vs. dominant narratives, and how they may play a role in peacebuilding and reconciliation. A narrative of victimisation may be an obstacle.
- Though memorialisation can be valuable for those closest to the victims of violence, the more distant the connection of those who are responsible for the memorial, the more likely a project will be exploited by politicians or other leaders.
- The right moment for a memorial project to take place should be driven by the context. For example, a memorial installed soon after the cessation of violent conflict may reopen wounds or may re-traumatise survivors. However, delaying the process may minimise the impact of first-hand accounts.
- Symbolic gestures linked to memorials can be counter-productive when they are implemented from the top down and do not reflect perspectives across society. Taking down statues as a way to show the end of an era can help to address traumas, as in Iraq in 2003. However, this act does not address the long-term grievances of all parts of society.

+ A □ Truth Commissions

A Truth Commission (TC) or Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) is temporary in design and is designed to discover and reveal past wrongdoings by a government or non-state actors. An important distinction between a TC and a normal court of law is that the TC engages victims and those affected by past crimes through a truth-telling process, involving documenting abuses and collecting testimonials. It exemplifies restorative justice or a process of understanding abuses that benefits victims who are healing from trauma. TCs prioritise truth and knowing what happened, rather than punishment for those responsible. In some cases, individuals may still be subject to criminal proceedings if they do not fully cooperate.

The final report of the TC can make recommendations for future laws or actions to be taken by the state. When an official acknowledgement of past crimes is given, for example by a public official, this helps restore dignity to victims and enables a country to accept its past. TCs can also include reparations, e.g. monetary or other support for victims in compensation for abuses. Some argue that the most a TC can achieve is establishing a certain degree of truth so that the media or the government cannot publicly spread rumours, as there is a public record and transparency about past abuses.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If Truth Commissions support collective memory of the consequences of violence for society, it can challenge the 'victor' narrative and create the foundation for a common understanding of the past.
- If victims hear the testimonials of aggressors, and have the truth of war crimes recorded, it may increase understanding of how violations came about, creating a basis upon which future violations can be prevented.

EXAMPLES

In Chile, the dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet from 1973-1989 led to many politically motivated forced disappearances and murders. During the transition to democracy, the National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation (TRC) was initiated by the then-President Patricio Aylwin in 1990 to investigate state abuses that led to death or disappearance.¹⁰ The TRC helped to initiate state reforms, such as accounting for the disappeared and murdered, providing reparations to victims and their families, and legal changes to protect the rights of vulnerable population groups. The government also initiated a healthcare programme for victims. However, most recommendations were not implemented due to a lack of political will, with institutions such as the military and judiciary remaining loyal to Pinochet for years after the transition to democracy. Perhaps the most important and lasting contribution of the TRC was recording the abuses of the regime so that the atrocities could not be denied, which helped the victims achieve recognition of abuse.

Widely discussed in the media and literature and often seen as facilitating the transition to democracy, the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission provided a certain amount of truth about the past that helped some South African citizens reconcile with the past. Led by Desmond Tutu, the process was focused first and foremost on reconciliation and included oral testimony from victims and amnesty for aggressors who participated in the truth-telling process. The results of the commission are not without many limitations, as the legacy of apartheid is not fully dismantled and divisions remain. Practical obstacles also arose, such as translating various languages or recording emotions from oral testimonies.¹¹

continued \rightarrow

LIMITS AND CAVEATS

- A number of conditions are necessary to conduct successful TCs. For example, political independence of the Commission, adequate time, financial and human resources must be ensured, and it must be held soon enough to avoid delaying prosecutions or allowing perpetrators fleeing to avoid prosecution.
- The process of giving personal accounts itself may re-traumatise victims, and therefore special provisions need to be in place to fully support victims emotionally and ensure their wellbeing. Furthermore, storytelling can be an emotional process, and it may be challenging to translate these into language and proposals for changes.
- Identifying victims needs to be an inclusive process, in case it risks 'revictimising' certain groups such as women.
- Given the political sensitivity and re-awakening of trauma that TCs entail, appropriate timing and broad support for such an initiative is an important prerequisite, as it can also inflame disputes around different perspectives of the truth.
- Recognising the limitations of what TCs can do is imperative as they alone are not sufficient to build sustainable peace, and will always need to work in concert with other justice initiatives, such as judicial reform and reparations.
- TCs do not usually result in binding recommendations, and so even with positive outcomes there may not be the political will or capacity to engage with their findings. This can damage the credibility of the process and even undermine perceptions of justice in the minds of affected communities.

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The presumption that states, and often governments, are the most important targets of protection is frequently challenged by proponents of human security¹ and community security.² The notion that the first priority is to secure the state, and only then to consider the immediate security concerns of the populations (and sections within the population) is now no longer recognised as being the main focus of security. In any case, such considerations influence the design and the definition of success for any type of security engagement, whether through community-based security Sector Reform (SSR). SSR refers to reforms of the security sector (including police, border guards, intelligence agencies, and armed forces) based on the principle of accountable governance.

The question of whose security is being promoted is particularly relevant when working with official state security actors, who may be perceived by population groups as having a problematic or ineffective role in the conflict dynamics. Furthermore, a focus on community security adopts a perspective that transcends state borders, as conflicts are increasingly regional and not confined to one state, since the root causes of conflict may traverse borders. Building peace by transforming the problematic dynamics that sustain violence and conflict is more complex, but is ultimately more sustainable than viewing peace as simply the absence or successful suppression of violence.

Security

₹ Community-based security

In contrast with abstract ideas of national security, it is individuals and communities that are most directly affected by violence or insecurity, and larger dynamics originate or are mirrored at the most local levels, necessitating community-based initiatives on safety and security. To address the root causes of insecurity, initiatives should bring together a range of actors. As police services are tasked with upholding the rule of law and ensuring the well-being of population groups by protecting individual and public safety and security, some community security initiatives are linked to policing.

As an example of local security, community-based policing (CBP) is focused on providing responsive police services in partnership with communities through greater collaboration. This is sometimes referred to as democraticstyle policing, due to its focus on inclusive participation. Through communitybased policing, the public and the police become familiar with one another, and neither side sees the other as the enemy. Different approaches can include: neighbourhood watch committees, crowd management techniques that do not resort to the use of force, dialogue between police and citizens, hotlines, suggestion boxes, or even inclusive sports clubs with both police and members of the community. Police play any number of roles in conflict dynamics, as in some cases police can be used by regimes to persecute communities or individuals. Police can be engaged in violent or criminal activities, or the militarisation of police can shift their function away from protection of communities towards the (violent) implementation of government agendas. In contrast, police can play an important role in shielding or protecting communities against crime and violence.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If security providers such as the police seek to build working relationships with the public, then their work can be integrated into the community. This enables security providers to identify needs and shortcomings, as well as to collaborate on addressing community security concerns.
- If security providers build meaningful links with the community through face-to-face interactions, they can build trust, accountability, public confidence in security institutions and a sense of shared responsibility for safety and security.

EXAMPLES

In Kenya, the excessive use of force and human rights abuses by police inspired the Saferworld project on community-based security where dialogue brought together police, civil society, and communities to find solutions to their safety concerns.³ The project included community consultations that developed standardised training materials and introduced community-based policing. These efforts helped to transform both the organisational culture of the police as well as their behaviour and attitudes. To build trust, the project conducted training jointly with police and civil society. As a result, crime was reduced, allowing communities to focus on social and economic development.

Somali neighbourhood watch groups were historically vigilante factions, but the case of their transformation into a locally driven source of communitybased security in the Wabeeri district demonstrates how they can bring communities together and address policing gaps at the federal level.⁴ The groups began reporting and gathering information at the neighbourhood level with community representatives giving the reports to a team to analyse and handover to intelligence agencies. While some Somalis from older generations associate the groups with a repressive form of policing or directing people to the state, this form is a volunteer-based mechanism and does not have links to the military.

- If the focus is only on the activities of the police, without addressing their institutional culture or attitudes, CBP could be misconstrued by some as a means to extract local intelligence. Therefore, communication and transparency about how exchanges and information feed into policing is essential to avoid suspicions.
- Ensuring a balance of input from different parts of the community, e.g. generations, gender identity, linguistic group etc. is important to avoid distorted priorities, overlooking certain parts of the community, or disproportionate focus on security concerns related to one group. Police should reflect community demographics, e.g. gender and ethnic balance.
- Ensuring that 'technical' changes in protocol are accompanied by relevant training to maintain appropriate standards.
- Ensuring that no abuse of power takes place is critical to building and maintaining trust between police and civilians.

Unarmed civilian security initiatives

Unarmed civilian security initiatives are forms of protection or peacekeeping carried out by those outside the military or police and, critically, without the use of weapons. For organisations engaged in this type of activity, such as Nonviolent Peaceforce, the Pax Protection of Civilians programme, and Peace Brigades International, peacekeeping is about preventing, reducing, and stopping violence. It is a common assumption that only armed military or police can do the work of peacekeeping. However, over time, unarmed civilian protection can also contribute to changing the behaviour of aggressors. In addition, unarmed civilian security providers are well-positioned to collect information, keep populations informed and contain rumours. In addition to protection roles, groups of unarmed civilians can also be organised and trained to respond to humanitarian or other disasters.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If unarmed civilian security providers are active in communities and territories affected by violence, their presence can have a mitigating impact on the actions and behaviours of (state and non-state) armed actors.
- If unarmed civilian security providers (which are often closely linked with the communities they serve) make use of their moral or economic influence to affect the behaviour of those actors, they can also contribute to transforming broader violent conflict dynamics.
- If unarmed civilian security providers can engage in dialogue directly with armed actors, they can build relationships of mutual trust and understanding to affect behavioural changes, in contrast to more punitive approaches.

EXAMPLES

Local organisations invited Nonviolent Peaceforce⁵ (NP) to Mindanao, the Philippines where there is a history of fighting between the Moro insurgency and government forces. Civil society was pivotal in establishing the Bantay ceasefire in 2002, and trained civilians to monitor it. Feeling that an international presence would help to enforce the ceasefire, NP sent internationals to work together with local peacekeepers. The presence of NP contributed to the safety of locals by raising the international profile of the case. Notably, as many of the international participants came from Western countries, they are less likely to be targeted due to the fear of the consequences from the government.

The Network in Solidarity with People of Guatemala⁶ (NISGUA) was formed in 1981 in response to the then ongoing war in Guatemala and created a link between the peoples of the United States and of Guatemala. The Guatemala Accompaniment Project (GAP) trains volunteers from the United States to accompany human rights defenders and activists, both individuals and organisations, who request a dissuasive presence. Given the history of civil war and violent conflict in Guatemala, and the activists' involvement in legal cases against government war crimes, the security landscape for activists is risky. Accompaniment means an added layer of protection for activists. For example, NISGUA has provided accompaniment during high-profile cases against military officials. In addition to accompanying human rights defenders to legal hearings, 'accompaniers' monitor and report to the international community, pressuring governments to enforce human rights. This nurtures peace dynamics by protecting the most vulnerable, such as women and marginalised Indigenous communities, who were targeted during civil war.

- The role of uniformed personnel will always be distinct from unarmed civilian security providers due to a population's perceptions of those in uniform. Therefore, the value of supporting unarmed civilian security initiatives lies in avoiding compromising the relationships, trust, and distance from the violent conflict dynamics necessary for such providers to operate.
- It is vital that any initiatives are adequately equipped with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes required to perform their duties. For example, gender dynamics have to be well-integrated into unarmed civilian security initiatives, through female-only patrols in the context of sexual violence and the incorporation of civilians trained to address the specific security concerns of LGBTQI individuals, or sensitivity to age-specific security concerns.
- Initiatives should be careful not to undermine the credibility and return of formal security providers, but act to fill a gap when they are is unavailable or unable to protect individuals and communities.

Ø X ₪ De-mining projects

Despite the 1997 Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction (the Ottawa Convention), landmines are still in use or remain from previous violent conflicts. They can be placed around power and water sources, along borders, and in other key territorial boundaries. They are designed to maim and kill. Removal of landmines usually can only occur after violence has stopped, and can encourage those that have been internally displaced, or have fled the violence as refugees, to return and rebuild. De-mining itself does not create peace, but it makes a valuable contribution – without it, there cannot be a return to normal life.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If landmines are removed, it can improve the safety and security of communities, which gives people the confidence to return to their daily lives through freedom of movement.
- If communities are able to return to de-mined areas, it can support the use and development of land and resources that were previously off-limits due to the risk posed by mines.

EXAMPLES

In Colombia, decades of violent conflict between the government and armed groups resulted in the displacement of millions of people as well as the proliferation of landmines. Mines were laid by the different armed conflict actors around camps in order to protect coca plantations. The 2016 peace deal includes de-mining, which is necessary for post-conflict rural development, as well as providing an occupation for demobilised former combatants. The Danish De-mining Group (DDG) is conducting surveys and mine clearance activities, building on its existing relationships and experience in Colombia since 2011. In addition, DDG have highlighted the importance of an holistic approach that includes supporting the reintegration of ex-combatants and addressing the mistrust felt by the civilian population towards government authorities and state security actors.⁷

In Cambodia, landmines were used in the 1980s during the thirty-year civil war resulting in residual land mines that posed an ongoing risk. The northwestern provinces, e.g. Battambang and Banteay Meanchey, were the most densely mined areas. Cambodia incorporated de-mining programmes into national development strategy. This was a key part of implementing the peace accord and the UN helped with de-mining training. The Cambodian Mine Action Centre⁸ (CMAC), which became one of the more effective government institutions, has been responsible for tackling the mine problem over the long term, though donor attention and funding for de-mining initiatives have diminished over time.

- Removing physical legacies of war or boundaries between communities does not automatically address underlying violent conflict relationships or dynamics. Therefore, de-mining is only effective as a tool in conjunction with other violent conflict transformation or peacebuilding efforts.
- If mines are not removed properly or comprehensively, it perpetuates the sense of insecurity and does not give communities confidence to return to make use of de-mined areas.

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Regional cooperation and border management

Violent conflicts transcend internal and external frontiers, and many violent conflicts have roots which cross borders. Border management is complicated by the regionalisation of violent conflict, which necessitates regional cooperation between their authorities and populations to address violent conflict dynamics. Frontiers may be legally defined; they may be contested or may simply not reflect historical community or demographic use. Early engagements around borders tended to view activities from the perspective of how to control border crossing while contemporary efforts recognise a broader set of activities and considerations regarding their management.

Border control traditionally engages with customs, border police, and immigration services. In contrast, border management is a more expansive and people-centred approach that includes consent, trust building and co-operation with border communities. Management encompasses sectors and dynamics, such as cross-border trade and development, and activities can include infrastructure development, e.g. building roads and bridges; skills trainings in first aid, disaster management or search and rescue; crossborder trade programmes; inter-cultural exchanges and dialogue between neighbouring countries. This broader type of activity offers many more opportunities to incorporate peacebuilding objectives and greater structural impact.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If regional cooperation creates or maintains trade relations (especially trade routes), it can help to restore or provide incomes and livelihoods that support local economies.
- If regional cooperation develops positive relations between border management authorities and those crossing the border, this can build trust, creating a foundation for peaceful relationships and regional cooperation.
- If borders are managed in a way that promotes inter-cultural exposure and interaction, it can mitigate violent conflict-related xenophobia or racism based on stereotyping or rumours about certain population groups.
- If borders are managed in a way that preserves existing cultural and family ties, it can reduce perceptions of marginalisation for particular identity groups and maintains traditional social and familial safety nets in the face of vulnerability.

EXAMPLES

Fighting in the borderlands of Afghanistan and Tajikistan has given rise to concern about the spillover effects of the violence. A partnership between Afghanistan, the EU, and UNDP is working to improve border crossing points between Afghanistan and Tajikistan. The EU Border Management Northern Afghanistan (EU-BOMNAF) builds physical and social infrastructure on the border, including field trips where police meet and learn from each other and share best practices. The type of support includes everything from snow driving training to first aid, specific workshops to support women working within armed forces, airport security and border management bodies. The broad range of competences targeted by the project reinforces the idea of border management as a service to populations rather than a solely militarised state security endeavour.⁹

Recognising that poor border management has implications for peace in the Sahel communities, the United Nations Development Programme(UNDP) has a project that takes an integrated approach on border management.¹⁰ Poor administration has been attributed to the rise in violent non-state actors that put the safety and security of communities at risk. A key focus of the UNDP project has been to improve relations between border agencies and local populations in order to build trust, as well as to increase trust and cooperation within and between the agencies themselves. Furthermore, the project recognises the regional dimension of border management and therefore works with multiple countries and communities.

- Competition or blaming between states or meddling in the affairs of another state may be limiting factors in regional cooperation.
- Regional cooperation should not divert state responsibility to protect population groups within its borders.
- Border management cannot be designed as solely technical support, because it touches on the social, economic, political and cultural dimensions of the communities living along border areas, and will have an impact on perceptions across other parts of the countries.
- Cross-border activities can be legitimate, illicit, or criminal in nature and so border management has to look at the specific dynamics of the communities, local economies, relationships and traded goods in order to be able to respond to the contextual needs.
- Border management plays a vital role in controlling illicit or criminal activities, but it has to be structured in a way that reduces opportunities for negative activities, whilst not damaging or undermining links that are holding together peacefulbonds or livelihoods.

Control of small arms and light weapons

Small arms and light weapons include military style weapons and commercial firearms, such as handguns and long guns, but which also cover light weaponry, including mounted grenade launchers, portable anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns. The control of such weapons requires activities which not only include monitoring, import, export and transit controls, and end-use certification, but also the surveillance of customs and border procedures, and of arms stockpiles. Control can also include measures that involve communities, such as dialogue to build momentum towards large-scale regulation and multilateral agreements.

As weapons create negative power structures which contribute to cultures of violence, they result not only in physical violence but also structural violence. The connection between the production and use of arms and weapons is clear, whilst the links to a sustainable peace are tenuous, as a peace that can only be guaranteed by weapons is inherently fragile. Therefore, control of such items is not only necessary to reduce the risk of violent conflict escalation, but also a desirable end point for peacebuilding strategies.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If small arms and light weapons are effectively controlled, it can decrease the likelihood of their use, which means fewer violent altercations.
- If the movement of small arms and light weapons are effectively monitored, spillovers from one violent conflict context to another can be prevented. If small arms and light weapons are effectively limited, institutions can demonstrate their effectiveness in addressing community security concerns which will, in turn, be conducive to building better state-society relations.

EXAMPLES

In Kosovo, the violent conflict in the late 1990s with Serbia resulted in the presence of a large number of weapons that threatened the security landscape. Saferworld conducted a consultation process in Ferizaj/ Uroševacs, one of the largest cities in Kosovo with a substantial Albanian population and a smaller population of Serbs.¹¹ The student council campaigned to raise awareness about the risks of illegal weapons, including debates in schools and a media campaign. Due to the strong local ownership of the campaign, the project was able to increase trust between community members. Although it was unable to decrease the number of weapons that continue to pose problems for peacebuilding efforts in Kosovo, dialogue helped build consensus and the foundation for large-scale regulation. This case demonstrates the difficulty of controlling small arms and light weapons, as discussed in reports published by the Small Arms Survey.¹²

The presence of small arms undermined human security in Honduras, a country experiencing high rates of violence and homicide. The UN aimed to reduce small arms through concurrent programmes that worked both with former gang members as well as with government to help manage and control stockpiles of weapons.¹³ Former gang members took part in training to learn new skills that they could use when they returned to their communities. In order to reduce the number of weapons available on a societal level, the UN also worked with the government to minimise the ease of resorting to gun violence.

- Arms and weapons control initiatives are important in deterring proliferation, but they reflect contexts where the use of weapons is already viewed as a necessity. Therefore, to contribute to building peace, this type of initiative would need to be twinned with projects that address the underlying security issues that are driving proliferation.
- Meaningful efforts to reduce the proliferation of arms (in particular among the population) need to address policing priorities and should target the most immediate security concerns of communities. This would require some form of consultation with these sections of the population.
- Lobbies or other institutions with monetary interest in perpetuating the *status quo* may be reluctant to support the control of small arms or light weapons, such as the National Rifle Association (NRA) in the United States or the European defence lobby.

Support for former combatants to re-integrate into society requires a number of schemes that consider social status, economic well-being and healthcare needs in the context of wider reconciliation and societal healing efforts.¹⁴ The challenges of the reintegration process mean that former combatants in vulnerable contexts risk re-joining armed groups.¹⁵ This necessitates an awareness of the context as well as a need to understand the psychology behind the 'thrill' of violence, as well as the perceived incentives for going to war.¹⁶ What is known today as Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR) includes:

- demobilising or breaking up armed groups;
- disarming, collecting and controlling weapons;
- support when transitioning to civilian life.¹⁷

More recently, DDR programmes have incorporated repatriation and resettlement as additional aspects, especially when pertaining to foreign armed groups.

Research shows that the most effective support programmes take into account gender, economic, political and social aspects. Social participation in the community – with families and neighbours, as well as community organisations – facilitates acceptance, reintegration, and reconciliation.¹⁸ Reintegration in turn helps former combatants gain a sense of purpose, decreasing the risk of alienation and of re-joining armed groups.

Programmes can focus on improving the employability of former combatants, through education and training in skills that are in demand in the local economy, as well as creating an enabling environment through private sector development and cooperation with businesses.¹⁹ Employment schemes should take into account the aspirations and individual agency of former combatants, and consider how their skills could be transferred, for example to policing or election monitoring work. Additionally, psycho-social support which nurtures a sense of belonging is a key aspect of holistic programming, particularly when it includes a nuanced gender perspective.²⁰

All possible aspects of support should be offered to former combatants as tools to help them become self-sufficient, realise their aspirations, and become active citizens.²¹

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If programmes support the social integration of former combatants through, for example, dialogue sessions and social participation in communities, they can improve social relations and reconciliation processes by decreasing tensions or mistrust whilst building acceptance and mutual understanding. Social participation can decrease the temptation to join violent groups as former combatants renew or build social connections.
- If programmes support former combatants economically through microfinance programmes or private sector cooperation, they can be better equipped with the skills needed to be employed in local economies. This can help former combatants gain a sense of purpose, thereby decreasing the risk of relapsing into crime or violent behaviour for economic ends.
- If programmes recognise the political aspects of support for former combatants, they will feel represented and are more likely to accept new political institutions and structures.

EXAMPLES

Following decades of armed conflict where guerilla groups recruited thousands of child soldiers, Colombia faces the challenge of supporting their reintegration into civilian life. The Developing Minds Foundation works with former child soldiers in Colombia to support their reintegration process into their families and society.²² Support programmes focus on multiple aspects of psychological and social needs, from counselling to education, as well as skills training to help prepare the children for civilian life. The Foundation runs a number of programmes in different communities, tailoring support to specific community needs. For example, in Altos de Cazucá in Southern Bogotá and Altos de Florida in Soacha, youth were seen as particularly vulnerable to displacement and poverty due to conflict. The community identified market needs such as electronics and auto repair, and the Foundation provided technical training and mentoring based on these needs.

Two decades post-genocide, Rwanda has made progress in terms of reconciliation, economic development, and providing healthcare, but still faces divisive issues. International Alert works on the reconciliation process by supporting former combatants through dialogue clubs, trauma counselling, and micro-finance projects.²³ This project addresses multiple dimensions of support, including the need for psychological help and healing, and dialogue sessions with survivors to develop understanding. Counselling is recognised as a prerequisite to dialogue. Dialogue clubs based on exchaging views have become respected by communities and the government, and were facilitated by both genocide survivors and perpetrators in order to rebuild community cohesion.

LIMITS AND CAVEATS

- Support for former combatants should be differentiated from support programmes for others affected by violent conflict, e.g. refugees, since groups may have specific needs for assistance. However, help should not only benefit former combatants, as this may provoke resentment in the communities where they are being re-integrated.
- Projects should further recognise that former combatants are not a homogeneous group, and subgroups may have specific needs, such as child soldiers requiring access to education. Women may face social integration difficulties in terms of identity as they may be perceived as having strayed from traditional gender roles.
- Ongoing violence or armed action may undermine efforts. Support for former combatants can be successful in the context of a legitimate, inclusive peace agreement, and with the political will for transformative change. Projects will likely need the support of local and regional politics in order to implement policies and work with communities where former combatants integrate.
- Projects should take into account urban and rural differences. For example, former combatants in rural areas may face challenges in accessing land, while in urban areas acquiring education may be the difficulty.
- Projects should take into account combatants who acted alone and not only armed groups.
- Projects must align with human rights standards and ensure projects do not become involuntary detention or punative facilities for retribution.
- Projects may need to consider how to differentiate between political and 'ordinary' criminals.
- Support will need to take place within the wider context of reconciliation and transitional justice, potentially raising challenges in dealing with victims and reparations.
- Creating and/or providing employment for former combatants is especially challenging in contexts experiencing violence or in its immediate aftermath.

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The media are tools for facilitating the flow of information. In violent conflict contexts, restricted access to information, promotion of partial information and the suppression of information or certain perspectives can all contribute to sustaining violent conflict dynamics. At the same time, as a channel of information, there is huge potential to practise conflict sensitivity or even reporting and broadcasting content that promotes peace and nonviolent solutions. The media can thus effectively balance freedom of expression and prohibit incitement to hatred and/or violence.¹

Communication and media

Projects on conflict-sensitive media and media literacy

All media, regardless of the topic, should be conflict sensitive. In other words, the media should produce content that reflects a complex understanding of violent conflict dynamics and takes into account the media's own influence on actors within those dynamics. These can be as simple as not using terms like 'good' and 'evil'; avoiding the incorrect use of reductive terms such as 'terrorist' or 'extremist'; and fact-checking to discredit rumours and speculation. But the media can go further and actively contribute to peace, for example by providing more coverage of opportunities for resolution and peacebuilding initiatives, as well as highlighting common ground among the conflict stakeholders.

Initiatives such as training in professional skills for journalists, promoting inclusive media staffing, or diversifying sources and dissemination streams can be powerful ways to transform help the media become more conflict-sensitive. Other activities, such as citizen journalism, can also contribute to peace by creating platforms for marginalised voices or perspectives that are excluded from mainstream media companies, either due to media ownership, or editorial and recruitment policies.

While conflict-sensitive media offer a variety of means to reduce violent conflict or promote peace, any type of media can be used to promote divisive views and stereotypes, or to sensationalise and polarise stakeholders in a violent conflict. As always, the intent of those producing media content will ultimately determine the effectiveness of these types of initiatives. Therefore, it is equally important to promote media literacy or the ability of media consumers to critically evaluate and analyse the information presented to them.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If the wide range of causes and drivers of a violent conflict are reported, it can help identify nonviolent and non-coercive ways in which those drivers could be addressed. Moreover, it can highlight opportunities for civilian actors in society to contribute to reducing violence.
- If media reporting can cover the intricacies of conflict dynamics to demonstrate the (indirect) consequences of violence for a broad range of stakeholders in society, as well as reflect the complexity of conflict actors, then it becomes more difficult for audiences to hold onto their entrenched 'positions' on the conflict.
- If conflict actors and population groups can be exposed to the histories and viewpoints of other stakeholders, it can create more nuanced understandings of opposing views and, at best, stimulate openness to dialogue.

EXAMPLES

A project in Rwanda by Oxfam and *Radio La Benevolencija* created a soap opera listened to by a majority of radio audiences.² The soap opera is about a conflict between two fictional villages that reflect the issues of the 1994 genocide and its aftermath. The soap opera focuses on healing and educating listeners on how to recognise trauma, which is often an underreported dimension of conflict in the media. By handling the topic in an accessible way through storytelling and with characters that the audience will come to understand and empathise with, a valuable way of humanising former conflicting parties has been created. As this initiative reaches a broad audience, it is able to communicate the importance of dealing with trauma and healing as a society, marking an important step towards reconciliation and building peaceful relations.

Another example is that of workshops funded by the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) Achievement Fund that engages young people who were affected by the violent conflict in Macedonia in 2001 between Macedonians and Albanians.³ The workshops' aim is to transform negative stereotypes that arose from the clashes between the ethnic groups. This type of initiative puts young people in the position of observing and analysing how stereotypes are built up and persist in media reporting. The project provided a space for them to discuss an alternative way of reporting by looking at how both traditional and new media could promote mutual understanding. As a followup, the participants posted multilingual updates on social media about ways to overcome barriers. To extend and sustain the impact of the workshop, the young people organised actions to monitor hate speech in the media. continued \rightarrow

LIMITS AND CAVEATS

- If conflict sensitive or peace-promoting media is effective, it can undermine the influence of those with an interest in sustaining violence. Therefore, analysing this potential and planning for the safety of those involved in reporting is essential.
- The positive impact of a media initiative is also linked to the audience or readership. Without a prior analysis or understanding of the demographics and habits of media consumers, it is not possible to achieve a significant impact.
- As with all sectors of intervention, partnering with those who work in the media industry, and not just on peacebuilding, is key. Expertise, access to resources and networks are essential if media initiatives are to contribute to peace.
- Micro-level projects and initiatives can face resistance or a lack of support from the government. It is here that donor communities can help a project to become successful, through financial and/or political support for its goals.
- Journalists have a responsibility to not abet violence, so their training should reflect those best practices which are conducive to building peace.

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Media regulation and ownership initiatives

Media regulation can govern competition, content, advertising, standards and bias. Professional journalists, and citizen reporters to some extent, are influenced by the industry context in which they work. Regulation can therefore have a significant effect on reporting. Codifying and protecting the independence of journalists and media companies can have a positive impact. Conversely, protecting monopolies, limiting free speech and curtailing journalistic independence will have a negative effect.

In addition to the drafting of media laws, enforcing regulation is equally important in violent conflict contexts because selective enforcement of regulation can be used as a tool to threaten or intimidate certain journalists or news outlets. Media ownership can also have an impact on violent conflict dynamics, allowing for bias or censorship in the reporting of events or actors in the conflict context.

In short, transparency in matters of media regulation, ownership and monitoring is of importance to conflict-sensitive or peace-promoting initiatives.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If media companies are regulated to serve the public interest, as opposed to the interests of owners or other elites in a conflict context, reporting is less likely to be biased, partial or inflammatory.
- If media monopolies are curtailed, then voices from marginalised or minority groups may have greater opportunities for representation.
- If media practices are formally monitored by a diverse range of stakeholders, regulators can be encouraged to act more quickly against bias, inflammatory reporting or persecution of journalists.

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EXAMPLES

In Kenya, social media campaigning disseminates information and spreads messages against violence.⁴ Civil society organisations are also involved in reporting. This marks a shift towards peaceful handling of elections, which had sparked violence and divisions in 2007. It also marks an example of the government, civil society, and citizens working together for a peaceful resolution.

The UN Organisation Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) and the *Fondation Hirondelle* created Radio Okapi in 2002 in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). It has contributed to nurturing freedom of expression and access to information as well as peace in the DRC. Notably, during the 1994-2003 war it was broadcast across rebel held territories as well as government held territories, allowing for new links between population groups. The radio is conflict sensitive and uses the five major languages in DRC. Following the war, Radio Okapi continues to function as a source of information and model for best media practices in the country.⁵

LIMITS AND CAVEATS

- Media ownership is often synonymous with social and political elites. Therefore, political support from those with influence is necessary to reform efforts in this area.
- Regulation and ownership of media will not, alone, mitigate or neutralise violence. Therefore, projects in this area that seek to have a peacebuilding effect will have to be precise about how an initiative interlinks with specific conflict dynamics in a given context. It must also consider how and why the activities, and those carrying them out, will be effective in transforming the practice or behaviour of particular conflict stakeholders. This implies being more context-specific, and going beyond identifying generic stakeholder categories, such as youth or women.

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The arts and culture can reflect histories and beliefs across generations, and are tools of self-expression. Therefore, the initiatives in this section relate to both a sense of collective history and belonging, which create opportunities for dialogue to identify common values or customs, as well as ways to develop individual spaces for expression. The arts and culture are a means for the exchange of one another's world views and ideas, and can be fundamental to building mutual understanding between populations. However, if manipulated to create a one-sided story of identity or to foster ideas of the supremacy of one group, arts and culture can also be used to drive violent conflict dynamics.

Arts and culture

□ □ × Cultural heritage and exchange projects

Cultural heritage has been recognised as an important way of expressing a community's values, customs, and objects across generations. There are several types of cultural heritage, such as in the built environment (buildings, archaeology), natural environment (nature, agriculture), and artefacts (books, documents, objects, photographs), and even shared traditions of food or dress. Cultural heritage can be misused to divide people in order to erode peaceful coexistence. For example, it can be used to promote a divisive brand of nationalism by emphasising the national story of one group over another, or to subjugate minorities. Moreover, destruction of cultural heritage can be a particularly inflammatory act in violent conflict.

An emphasis on shared or parallel cultural heritage can strengthen a sense of collective history and belonging. Exchanges around culture, such as town twinning or school exchange programmes, can also be valuable for peacebuilding, bringing people together through social interaction and creating opportunities for dialogue and interaction.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If projects can build on cultural heritage to stimulate creative enterprises or cultural renewal, they can contribute to economic development as well as peacebuilding outcomes.
- If cultural heritage projects can build in opportunities for dialogue between conflict stakeholders and polarised population groups, they can promote greater recognition and understanding of different histories, perspectives and belief systems.

EXAMPLES

In Kenya, the Journeys of Peace project created a travelling exhibition in order to generate dialogue between different generations, genders, and communities and foster understanding of cultural heritage.¹ In particular, the project focused on the Pokot and Samburu, ethnic groups who share similar values and traditions but have been separated by conflict. The exhibition created a safe space to identify common values and eased tensions between the two communities.

A 'Seeds of Peace' cultural exchange brought six Indian students to Lahore, Pakistan where they were hosted by Pakistani student counterparts.² While Lahore is a centre of education and culture in Pakistan, a history of bombings perpetuates a sense of insecurity. The cultural exchange emphasised that the conflict was primarily at the level of governments, and not between the people themselves. The interaction between the exchange students worked to break down negative stereotypes and assumptions, promoting critical thinking about conflict situations. The exchange planted the seeds of reconciliation through identifying common ground.

- Arts, culture and heritage projects are often temporary in nature, and therefore limited in their ability to contribute to long-term change, in the absence of sustained support and attention.
- Cultural heritage can be an important peacebuilding tool to promote reconciliation after the end of violence. Ignoring the cultural aspects of rapprochement as part of peace leaves a vacuum for alternative or more divisive narratives of culture to (re)emerge.

Ŷ 平 □ + □ Arts and storytelling projects

Arts programmes include many forms of self-expression, such as theatre, painting, photography, and non-written forms of expression. Storytelling, in particular, is a unique way to convey narratives through spoken, written, or multimedia forms. The arts can provide an alternative means of documenting issues and relating community concerns to government authorities. The visibility gained through exhibitions or performances can make the concerns harder to ignore at higher levels. In addition, arts initiatives can play a role in peace, as a form of therapy to process the trauma of violence, especially where communities have lived in protracted situations of conflict and have been repeatedly exposed to violence.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If storytelling can be incorporated into reconciliation, justice and rights projects, it can be a more meaningful or powerful way to share experiences of violent conflict and process negative perspectives, in particular between former enemies.
- If projects around the arts and storytelling can work with diverse conflict stakeholders around a shared interest or skill, they can offer a less contentious space to facilitate interaction and dialogue, which can be a starting point for empathy and humanising the 'other side'.
- If arts projects can target excluded or marginalised population groups who may otherwise lack a platform, they can facilitate the expression of overlooked narratives or experiences of the violent conflict.

EXAMPLES

In Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, young people took part in the Youth Theatre Programme, funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), using participatory theatre methodology to bridge ethnic and religious divides.³ Relations between the countries have been tense, with clashes along the border. The theatre programme includes skills training and mentoring, where youths learn to identify and resolve conflict. They create their own plays about conflict issues, and during the play engaged the audience to foster intergenerational dialogue. The programme has not only helped Kyrgyz and Tajik youths foster empathy for others, but also increased their confidence in speaking to higher levels of government about conflict issues.

Saferworld in Bangladesh identified distrust between police and communities as an obstacle to peacebuilding.⁴ A project using photography as a basis for interaction between police and communities was set up, where people could take and then showcase photographs representing issues or areas they felt were insecure. This helped the police interact with communities, and identify areas to which they could direct resources where people felt unsafe.

- Performances and exhibitions are often temporary, thus limiting the level of impact they can have. Therefore, such initiatives will always need to work in concert with other related peacebuilding efforts, such as education projects, tourism or small-business initiatives.
- Mobile projects that visit multiple communities can reach audiences across geographic regions and borders, but audiences may still be limited to certain parts of society, such as those who are regular theatre-goers or art enthusiasts instead of the wider community.
- Arts and heritage projects need to be inclusive and as diverse as possible to ensure that a variety of perspectives and stories are being told and recorded as part of the overarching national story.
- Storytelling can be a highly sensitive and traumatising process for victims. Therefore, a professional will need to be present in order to receive and channel difficult testimonies.

♥ ☑ □ X Sports projects

Sports are not only about physical activity, but also provide a recreational space for collaboration and problem-solving. Sports programmes have the ability to build trust between groups that have experienced marginalisation or violence, for example between police and young people, or between former combatants. When organised well, sport is a nonviolent outlet for energy that may otherwise be channelled into violence. Moreover, the discipline of training programmes and routine can provide structure and social distraction from the temptation of criminality.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If sports projects are well-managed, they can bring together conflict stakeholders or population groups with negative views of one another. Recreational competition represents a common ground which can serve to release tensions, foster tolerance and humanise former enemies.
- If sports can promote discipline, teamwork and social skills, it can play a broader role in strengthening collaboration and community ties.
- If sports training can be used to channel energy and support individual discipline and aspiration, it can reduce anti-social behaviours and vulnerabilities.

EXAMPLES

Honduras ranks as one of the most violent countries in the world. Lacking employment opportunities and experiencing marginalisation, sociallyexcluded groups of young people are often involved in violent confrontations, with sporting rivalries as one of the exacerbating factors. The international organisation Interpeace started a project called Sports Clubs for Peace, which helps to build positive relationships between young people.⁵ As the media often report on sports and depict the youth groups negatively, the project worked to foster an image of young people as peacebuilders. The personal stories of these young people serve to humanise them in the eyes of the public, creating a constructive platform for change.

In Afghanistan, the Ministry of Interior Affairs (MOIA) organises communitypolice sports matches in order to build interaction and collaboration between communities and the police. The matches help to build a positive image of the latter in a country where there is a high level of mistrust towards them, and citizens are often unwilling to cooperate to report insurgency and crime.⁶ This has had a negative impact not only on police-community relations but also contributes to an increase in violence, as alienation from the police and government may be an incentive to join insurgency movements. MOIA organises after-school sports programmes whose aim is to increase trust and build the confidence of citizens in the police force and government. Police training in codes of conduct and ethics helps them understand how to work positively with the community and increase their legitimacy.

- As an inherently competitive endeavour, sports initiatives can inflame violence or aggression between population groups or stakeholders, and so the competitive aspect has to be managed as part of the project design in situations where conflict still exists.
- Sports create a winner-loser dynamic between teams. Therefore, outcomes should be managed in a way that emphasises teamwork and problem-solving.

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A range of programmes and initiatives can be undertaken to promote peace values through education, including the tools listed in this portfolio. Emphasising peace values in subjects such as history or geography; removing obstacles and addressing bias; establishing reviews and dialogues around curricula, teacher training programmes, and extracurricular activities can all better equip students and teachers to deal with challenges and transform conflict. As education links to personal aspirations, critical thinking, world-views as well as livelihoods, it can play a significant role of fostering peace or driving and sustaining negative conflict dynamics.

Education

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Designing and revising curricula

Curricula can be manipulated to entrench ideas of superiority and inferiority or to consolidate dinstinct identities. Adapting curricula to be conflictsensitive requires an holistic and participatory approach that involves students, educators, publishers and other key stakeholder groups. The structure of an education publishing industry, the role of authorities in setting the curriculum, and the production of textbooks are important aspects, as they not only provide lesson content but also convey values and express official national narratives and identities.

Potential conflict-sensitive revisions include increasing the representation of minority groups or languages, or including the differing experiences of diverse societal groups. Such initiatives may aid efforts to reconcile conflicting memories and narratives.

Adapting the curriculum should not be about censorship or the enforcement of values, but instead should emphasise the creation of carefully-managed spaces which facilitate discussions and empower varying perspectives. It should also promote critical thinking and participatory learning – key elements of human development which promote reflection and empathy.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If curricula and courses actively pursue a conflict-sensitive approach (especially when dealing with sensitive subjects, such as the past or ideas of national culture), students can be better equipped to reflect on violent legacies and appreciate different perspectives on events.
- If education systems integrate courses on peace or violence prevention skills (such as negotiation or mediation) into their curricula, students can acquire a skill set that has a wider societal benefit when dealing with future conflicts or tensions.
- If students can be taught how to challenge dogma and the 'winner' narrative of history through debate and critical thinking as a fundamental component of the curriculum, there may be greater awareness about the use of stereotypes or other misconceptions which fuel tensions and violent conflicts.
- If curricula can offer a more representative and inclusive picture of countries and their histories, including experiences of marginalised or minority population groups, these may foster a more inclusive view of national cultures.

EXAMPLES

Rwanda has faced many challenges in addressing history in a post-genocide context. Before the genocide, Rwandans had unequal access to education based on ethnicity and class, and the history courses focused on ethnic conflicts. The government stopped the teaching of history in 1995, only to resume in 2010 without textbooks. The Aegis Trust has been working on peace education in Rwanda since 2008, with a 2016 programme focused on revising the national curriculum by adopting peace values and skills, such as critical thinking and empathy.¹ This is fundamental to transforming the attitudes and behaviour of students and building social cohesion.

In addition to dialogue sessions between history educators in the Mediterranean region, the European Association of History Teachers (EUROCLIO) has a project called *Learning about (y)our past: History lessons for inter-cultural citizenship in the European Mediterranean region*² that uses history education as a foundation for developing inter-cultural citizenship. Students learn about, and discuss, identity and diversity. The curriculum will cover a wide range of points in history which are controversial or emotive, such as the Lebanese civil war and the migrations between Turkey and Greece in 1923.

- Curriculum change may be politically sensitive, and therefore participatory approaches may be needed to overcome barriers. Broad consultation and participatory decision-making involving teachers, school leaders, parents, publishers and policymakers can help to overcome resistance to changes to the curriculum, teaching methods, and other aspects of reform, and can help challenge social hierarchies in the treatment of past and present.
- Sufficient time and resources have to be allocated for a participatory approach, and a realistic timeline drawn up. Rushing the process, or excluding or disregarding stakeholder input, will invalidate the trust-building in the consultation, which is necessary to reach agreement on reform design and implementation.
- Language of instruction can be a highly divisive issue in some conflictaffected contexts. A lack of services for minority or Indigenous languages can form part of larger identity-related conflicts, e.g. Albanian populations in Macedonia, or Kurdish communities in Turkey. On the other hand, exclusive teaching in minority languages can have the effect of isolating certain population groups, or excluding / limiting certain linguistic groups from further education, certain career paths or industries.
- Adapting curricula requires a shift in learning practices and in mentality, potentially requiring additional resources, which may be a limiting factor for initiatives.



Faith refers to beliefs in a religious doctrine or spiritual conviction. Religion refers to a personal or institutionalised set of religious beliefs, often at the cultural or organisational level, such as Buddhism, Christianity, or Islam. Interfaith projects bridge communities of different faiths and religions, and aim to build cooperation and trust through positive interaction. Faith and religion are interconnected with ideas of identity, politics, and social life. Therefore, faith can be central to feelings of belonging to a certain community, culture, or history. Religious networks can be global but at the same time deeply rooted in local realities. Different religious and faith communities often live alongside each other peacefully, but contexts that lack meaningful interaction can be manipulated by leaders to incite misunderstanding and even violence.

Freedom of religion and belief, as well as non-belief, is a cornerstone of human rights, and protected under international law.³ Interfaith projects can foster both learning about and learning from other faiths or religions. Projects can include inter-religious celebrations of holidays, training in mediation and communication skills, dialogue sessions, interfaith prayers, or meetings between faith and political leaders or individuals. As religious networks often provide basic social services in the absence of adequate state structures, projects can also mobilise faith communities in the provision of education, health, humanitarian relief, etc.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If interfaith projects foster trust between groups, it can build understanding of cultural issues and more cohesive communities.
- If interfaith projects can create channels of communication and meaningful interaction between different faith groups, then these can expose participants to the beliefs and cultures of others, which can dispel stereotypes and foster tolerance of differing views and identities.

EXAMPLES

In Brussels, the Quaker Council for European Affairs (QCEA) organised a series of informal discussions with faith-based organisations working on peacebuilding and human rights. The objective was to bridge different faith-based organisations with European Union policy makers around a specific issue. Article 17 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (TFEU) refers to dialogue with religious organisations, specifically churches. However, implementation of this article has not always enabled all faith-based organisations to be represented. QCEA's initiative aimed at opening up a space for dialogue. For example, QCEA organised an interfaith lunch on the topic of the European Union Global Strategy which was attended by both policy makers and diverse faith groups. These discussions have been the basis for faith-based organisations partnering and working together to address peacebuilding and human rights issues.

The 2011 presidential elections in Nigeria resulted in a crisis. The two candidates represented different regional, ethnic, and religious identities, and when the candidate from the largely Christian population in the South won, the vote was rejected by the largely Muslim population in the North, resulting in violence and displacements. The Interfaith Mediation Center (IMC) works on building coexistence between faith communities, as well as government capacity to defend freedom of religion in Nigeria through the project *Training of Leaders on Religious and National Coexistence*⁴ (TOLERANCE). Workshops focus on building trust and mediation training as well as advocating for peace to traditional and government leaders. During the fourth annual gathering of the Forum for Cities in Transition, seven cities that experienced high levels of violence between Muslims and Christians participated, and launched a peace hub in Kaduna.

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LIMITS AND CAVEATS

- Projects should not simply work with religious leaders but more widely with religious communities, further recognising that religious groups are not homogeneous and beliefs and interpretations can vary on a personal level. Therefore, interfaith work should complement projects on the intrafaith level.
- Projects should keep in mind that religion is only one identity marker, as identity is intersectional, and individuals and leaders will also have other identity markers, such as political ideology, gender, etc.
- Projects may face difficulties communicating with donors that have secular backgrounds, and should consider the challenges of measuring religious or spiritual objectives or transformations.
- Projects should consider how faith or religious groups assist governments in areas such as service delivery, e.g. healthcare, basic food provision, education, and consider how religious groups are positioned in society.
- Projects should consider who is participating and who may be excluded and be reflective of differing beliefs.

Peace and civic education

Peace education is holistic and multidisciplinary, involving students as well as educators to instill the values, skills, and knowledge required to transform conflict. Not limited to formal learning inside the classroom, peace education includes a range of activities that engage the participation and critical thinking of students. For example, activities can develop skills in peer mediation, collaboration, and negotiation. Peace education can be understood in practice as establishing the classroom environment as a zone of peace, where views are respected, and where positive discipline and nonviolence is practised. Furthermore, peace education is most effective when it is not taught as a singular subject, but integrated into the education system. It can address issues of power disparity and identity, transforming points of difference into opportunities for positive change.

Civic education prepares students to think critically about participation in their community, region, government, and state. It fosters reflection on values of democracy, on governance, mandates, responsibilities and rights of population groups and of citizenship. These can include initiatives to raise awareness of human rights, of peace and reconciliation, on policy-making and participation. It can also foster awareness of different national experiences through cultural exchanges and the teaching of foreign languages. Strong state-society relations and a social contract between the state and the population are important factors for preventing violent conflicts or working towards sustainable peace. Identifying ways to participate in, and contribute to, wider society can also provide a valuable sense of investment and belonging that is often eroded in situations that have been affected by protracted conflict or weak states. They can encourage a new generation of politicians or individuals engaged in the activities of the government.

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THEORY OF CHANGE

- If education emphasises the value of peace, students can be better equipped to listen to each other, promote mutual understanding, and to resolve conflicts through communication and dialogue.
- If students develop a critical, holistic understanding of subjects such as history and geography through peace and civic education, they can develop a more critical interpretation of facts and gain understanding about differences, as well as the skills to recognise bias and hidden agendas in curricula.
- If students understand how to access and participate in governance and policy-making, it can encourage a culture of shared responsibility for policy solutions.
- If civic education increases reflection on different models of governance, citizenship, civic rights and duties etc., it can increase awareness of nonviolent, political means to influence and shape decisions around government and policy.
- If young people, in particular, gain exposure to knowledge and skills around civic life, it can stimulate more forward-looking intergenerational perspectives on policy solutions.

EXAMPLES

In Cameroon, civic education was first implemented as a course to address the country's societal cleavages.⁵ When educators realised that this was not enough to foster social cohesion, they implemented a more holistic civic and peace studies programme that included informal peace education in meetings as well as community service work. The programme emphasised the value of learning and living in other parts of the country in order for young people to gain a deeper understanding of other cultures and ways of life in Cameroon.⁶

Quakers in Britain have been at the forefront of promoting peace education as an educational tool as well as a way to approach issues. In response to the militarisation of education, Quaker Peace and Social Witness (QPSW) developed peace education tools and training, and work with schools in Britain to provide QPSW peace education materials.⁷ The materials promote critical thinking, engaging students in analysing and discussing topics such as the use of drones and learning about peace movements.

- In certain contexts, peace education may be considered politically biased. Indeed, a peace education programme must ensure it strengthens peacebuilding and does not exacerbate contextual tensions.
- There may be resistance to peace education in violence-affected contexts where the concept of peace is seen as politically dangerous for one group, or where political conditions do not favour peace education. Efforts should be made to communicate the long-term benefits of peace education.
- Peace education is most effective when it is part of learning inside and outside the classroom, rather than limited to a single course, to emphasise peace values and techniques in everyday life.
- Peace education is most effective when it works with all groups in conflict affected situations, so that all actors are more able to engage with each other peacefully.
- If focused solely on citizens and citizenship, civic education initiatives can feed exclusion of migrant or refugee populations. While it can be a way to bring people together, it can easily be co-opted or slide into extreme nationalism.
- Whilst exchanges and exposure to other political cultures and modes of government can stimulate positive civic engagement, it also has the potential to raise expectations and therefore frustrations in the context of an unresponsive government, which could potentially exacerbate violent conflict.
- Ideas about civic rights and duties should not be automatically translated into structures and mechanisms found in donor country contexts.
 Operationalising principles such as pluralism and inclusion should be devised through consultation among population groups and communities.
- Civic education may be additionally challenging in divided societies where there is no single notion of citizenship (e.g. Bosnia-Herzegovina).

Further reading on education

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Business, trade and economics

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Links between economics, business, trade, politics, conflict and peace range from aspects such as the relative levels of wealth or poverty among population groups, unemployment rates, the strength of trade interdependence, to conditions for small and medium businesses. It is dangerous to oversimplify the link between poverty and conflict or between economic growth and peace. These factors can drive or sustain violent conflict, or create incentives for peace and contribute to the sustainability of peace, depending on the context.

As conflict dynamics are often closely tied to the political economy and the interests, degrees of influence and the interdependence those networks create, political economy analyses, together with conflict and peace analyses are fundamental to designing projects conducive to peace. Investments and company policies have a particular impact on peace dynamics, through their hiring practices, security management, pressure on natural resources, corruption, livelihoods, environmental impact, bribery, human rights, etc.

Entrepreneurship and small & medium-sized businesses

Promoting entrepreneurship, or supporting existing small and medium-sized businesses (SMEs), can take place through support for projects in a variety of fields. Examples include micro-financing and apprenticeships, as well as training in business skills such as accounting, information technology, logistics, marketing, etc. These initiatives can also be linked to the reintegration of ex-combatants to offer viable employment pathways and a legitimate role within the community.

Initiatives that support SMEs employment and entrepreneurship can also subvert financial motivations to join or return to armed groups, or participate in illegal economies, or criminal violence. Opportunities for sustainable and viable livelihoods can also help to stabilise local economies and keep communities together. Initiatives that support entrepreneurship and SMEs do not, alone, build peace or transform the broader context of conflict. However, they are a valuable targeted contribution where the dynamics of the conflict (local or national) are linked to inequalities in access to livelihoods or the ability to participate in the economy.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If small and medium businesses can be established, they can provide crucial peace dividends to the affected populations in the immediate aftermath of violent conflict, thereby reducing incentives to return to violence for the majority of population.
- If entrepreneurship increases, it can address a lack of existing employment opportunities, especially where there is competition between different populations over limited employment opportunities.
- If skills levels can be tailored towards meeting specific economic needs in the context, it can increase access to existing employment opportunities. This can contribute to peace by creating and ensuring livelihoods, which play a role in greater socio-economic security, personal aspiration, and status within communities.
- In the case of former combatants, if entrepreneurial and livelihood opportunities can be established as a first intervention, it may create a stronger motivation to disarm or demobilise as it offers an alternative source of income and social standing.

EXAMPLES

In El Salvador, an Interpeace project designed to foster local entrepreneurship as a violence prevention method was launched.¹ Due to high levels of migration and an expansive illegal economy, there are few employment options for young people. The need to secure financial means encourages many youths to join gangs, which force businesses to make protection payments. Interpeace provides entrepreneurship training and seed capital so that these young people can create their own business associations.

A non-profit social investment fund, Root Capital, has a project in Gulu, Uganda called the Agricultural Development Company² (GADC). It provides economic opportunities for civil war refugees who were displaced by violence between the government and Lord's Resistance Army. For those who found refuge in Gulu, there was potential for conflict with the host community over limited employment opportunities which for the local economy could not sustain. This project addresses potential inequality and disparities between displaced people and existing populations. Furthermore, those who have been displaced can reclaim their livelihoods and dignity.

- To nurture a business environment, there will need to be additional conditions related to regulation, access to finance, rule of law, etc. for businesses to flourish.
- It is important not to focus solely on economic markers as indicators of peace. The sustainability, status, and reliability of work may be equally important in the dynamics of a conflict. Alleviating poverty should not be viewed as synonymous with building peace, but complementary.
- There is a danger that economic development programmes can be delivered alongside other economic reforms that may harm informal subsistence businesses or livelihoods. Therefore, an assessment of local economies should include the informal economy and should take account of the role of informal livelihoods that may be essential to certain population groups during a transition.
- Expectations also have to be managed. Over-selling economic development programmes and projects that support entrepreneurship and/or SMEs can inadvertently create additional tensions, if expectations exceed the provision of assistance.
- Another caveat is to avoid the assumption that everyone wants or is suited to entrepreneurship, and therefore ensuring that a mix of livelihood opportunities are available that take into account existing assets, skills, (informal and formal) businesses, and which seek to expand employment as well as entrepreneurship opportunities.

Promoting business and economic partnerships

This entails the promotion or support for joint projects between two or more groups, and can be applied in contexts where groups are – or have been – in conflict with one another. For example, inter-ethnic business partnerships, farming cooperatives, cross-border trade, or markets in border areas. This type of activity links to violent conflict and peace by creating opportunities for individuals from different sides of a conflict to interact or be exposed to one another outside of a violent or political context, where there are mutual incentives to engage. The aim is to strengthen or multiply nonviolent interactions between communities or states that have been divided by violence. Economic interdependence has long been viewed as a valuable factor in building peace. However, the nature of the economic or business relationships and how their dividends are distributed among states or population groups can equally drive as well as prevent violence.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If joint projects are managed transparently and include participatory mechanisms for design, the project is likely to be more effective at targeting the contextual factors and be perceived more positively by participants.
- If the project includes mechanisms to scale up or expand partnerships or economic relations, it can additionally create economic benefits for both sides and more livelihood opportunities for communities.
- If joint projects in the business sector encourage cooperation between two or more sides of a conflict, the parties involved can break down enemy stereotypes, and foster trust through cooperation. This can also multiply the number of individuals who have positive encounters with opposing sides and can therefore serve as advocates within their own communities.

EXAMPLES

Conflict arose between nomadic pastoralists from Sudan and the South Sudanese host community on the border, resulting in cattle raiding and increased distrust between the two parties. Concordis, a non-profit organisation, hosted a migration conference where the idea for a joint market emerged. The market reinforces the co-existence through common interests of both communities, as they recognised the need to access trade and for the migration of livestock. The market opened communication, helping to rebuild trust. Peace committees were established to reinforce the resolution of disputes peacefully, contributing to sustainability of markets but also security.³

Regional economic interdependence can prevent conflict by creating incentives for economic cooperation. Equally, economic linkages can also act as a deterrent to conflict due to the high risks posed to joint economic activity. A regional economic organisation that aims to prevent conflict is the European Union (EU), with its origins in post-World War Two reconciliation processes between Germany and France, focusing on economic arrangements. The European Coal and Steel Community, the predecessor to the EU, was formed in 1950 with six founding countries, forging a partnership between countries based on economic cooperation and regional integration. In 1957 a common market under the European Economic Community was formed. These were the first steps towards regional cooperation on economic and political levels, to foster a sense of 'never again' following the atrocities of the war.⁴

- Projects that support such partnerships or relationships cannot be based on an assumption that proximity to opposing actors will automatically lead to improved relationships. The contribution to peace is dependent on the place, moment in time, the conflict actors and type of support, and if initiatives are pursued in inappropriate contexts, they can equally create additional conflict dynamics, for example, by generating unequal benefits from trade.
- Initiatives that seek to build peace in this field of engagement require expertise in trade and economics not just in conflict resolution.
- Projects cannot assume that the motivations for business and trade partnerships are focused on wider socio-economic development, as profit-driven incentives can and do diverge with broader societal goals. Initiatives in this field have to weigh the risks of economic-related conflict drivers against the potential peacebuilding advantages to avoid doing harm.
- Trade relations can exist in the formal, informal and criminal domains. Initiatives have to assess potential risks, such as being co-opted by criminal trade activities, and ensure that support for business or trade does not endanger participants from retaliation from criminal groups.

♥ ♥ ⊕ Economic diplomacy

Economic diplomacy seeks to obtain particular policy objectives by exerting pressure through economic tools such as exports, imports, investment, aid conditionality, and free trade agreements as well as sanctions and embargoes (see following section). The globalisation of trade and the growth of multinational companies have spurred the relevance of economic diplomacy as a method to influence politics. As geopolitical issues are intertwined with economics, the private sector plays an important role in both conflict and peace dynamics. Companies with large shares of national income, such as oil, may have the leverage to influence politics at the expense of community needs. However, businesses can also bring actors into dialogue over common interests through unofficial diplomacy.

Economic diplomacy can be conducted in terms of post-conflict reconstruction, such as providing development aid as a token of goodwill, but also as as a form of conditionality in order to push an actor towards a policy outcome. With limited peacebuilding outcomes, economic diplomacy is at times coercive, such as blocking certain goods from entering domestic ports in order to push a country towards negotiations. Economic diplomacy has more chance of leading to long-term peace when it addresses the interests of the community at stake and not solely those of the implementing actor.⁵

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If economic diplomacy aligns with the principle of accountable governance and operates with transparency and credibility, and without corruption, it can build public confidence with fair economic policies.
- If economic diplomacy takes into consideration the needs and interests of various stakeholders, it can foster an international or regional cooperation conducive to peace.

EXAMPLES

In 1999, entrepreneurs in Colombia founded *Fundacion Ideas para la Paz* (FIP), a think-tank dedicated to the peace process in the country, and is an example of using economic interests to bring actors into dialogue about building peace.⁶ In addition to researching the conflict itself, FIP builds relationships between the business sector, government, and populations to find common ground. FIP research acts as the basis for the think-tank's educational work, raising public awareness about conflict dynamics and future post-conflict work. FIP also works with the private sector to engage businesses in understanding and building peace. In September 2016, FIP co-organised a forum on the future of Colombia and the role of businesses, engaging a range of actors including the Swedish Embassy in Colombia and USAID through dialogue. The forum helped businesses achieve a deeper understanding of sustainable development and peacebuilding.

Japan began engaging in economic diplomacy following World War Two in order to rebuild its national image through soft power and simultaneously bolster its national economy through international linkages. In the 1970s and 80s these included a number of initiatives, such as developing multilateral relations through membership in the regional economic forum Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). Since the 1990s, a cornerstone of Japanese economic diplomacy has been through development assistance. The Development Cooperation Charter highlights human security and health as key areas.⁷ For example, Japan was a major contributor to a UN Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) project in Indonesia designed to build peace through village-based economic development.⁸ By linking development aid to its economic diplomacy objectives, Japan has contributed to maintaining peaceful international relations.

- Economics should be an integral aspect of conflict analysis, keeping in mind that economists or economic diplomats may not necessarily be trained in peacebuilding theories of change.
- As economic diplomacy sets out to achieve policy objectives, political tools will likely also need to be employed in a conflict sensitive manner.
- There may be limitations to conducting economic diplomacy in areas undergoing violent conflict, as businesses or other actors may be at risk of being targeted.

A form of economic diplomacy, sanctions, embargoes, and aid conditionality are political or trade tools which can put pressure on another nation to implement a decision or to maintain/restore peace. While these forms of engagement are often seen as a non-military alternative tool, in many cases their effectiveness is limited, or may even have negative consequences for communities. An embargo signifies a complete ban on commercial activity (import and/or export of goods, software, technology). Sanctions are more limited and relate to specific activities, goods or actors, e.g. an arms embargo (ban on weapons, protective attire, military vehicles, etc.).

Sanctions can be used to target those responsible for atrocities, for example through restrictions on loans and credit for certain people/companies; freezing the assets of certain people/companies or travel and visa restrictions (visa bans); consumer boycotts (i.e. consumers refraining from purchasing certain goods to indicate disapproval of company policies). Sanctions and embargoes are often used as an intervention to prevent escalation of a violent conflict, assuming that they can create incentives to change the behaviour of those conflict actors perceived as influential and problematic.

Aid conditionality refers to conditions tied to grants, often used to shape policy and the way the aid is spent. These initiatives may not only be focused on conflict actors, but also industries such as weapon suppliers.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If coercive external influences can generate enough pressure, conflict actors will seek peaceful settlement or cease engaging in violence.
- If coercive sanctions and embargoes are consistently applied in cases of violence, e.g. exclusion from trade forums, it can strengthen international action against violent conflict.

EXAMPLES

In some cases, sanctions appear to push countries towards negotiations, as was the case in 2015 when sanctions against Iran were lifted and the country agreed to comply to a deal that would prevent nuclear weapons development. One unintended consequence of the decades long sanctions, had been felt by communities who had faced shortages of medicine.⁹

Examples of effective sanctions, embargoes, and aid conditionality in contributing to long-term peace are limited. Economic sanctions imposed by key trading partners against South Africa in 1986 appeared to push the country towards political transformation and the end of Apartheid.¹⁰ However, the sanctions were limited in scope as certain governments, namely the United States and United Kingdom, were sceptical that sanctions promoted political change but rather saw them benefitting certain domestic industries. Other factors contributing to the end of Apartheid are numerous, such as political unrest, economic recession, and the anti-Apartheid movement. Therefore, it is difficult to attribute political changes in South Africa mainly to sanctions.

- Given the complex inter-linkages of politics, the economy and power relations that exist within conflict contexts, a thorough understanding of the stakeholders (including non-state actors), networks, histories and incentives is fundamental to predicting the actual effects of sanctions or embargoes.
- Those targetted by sanctions or governments affected by embargoes will always seek to circumvent or manipulate their effects. Scenario-building, based on thorough political-economic and conflict analyses, can help to ensure that these tools do not inadvertently cause harm or trigger a metamorphosis of the conflict dynamics.
- Sanctions or embargoes alone are unlikely to create peaceful societies and relations. Therefore, they can only be used in a targetted way to offer incentives for conflict actors to pursue peaceful solutions or transformations in the conflict context. For example, they can serve as a facilitator for dialogue, mediation or negotiation.
- Sanctions and embargoes can have the adverse effect of bolstering the narrative of authoritarian regimes that present outside political influences as threatening or callous. Therefore, applying sanctions or embargoes can fuel a perception of bias or hypocrisy that further isolates the population from the international community.
- Unilateral sanctions or embargoes are unlikely to be effective in a global economy unless a political-economic analysis can demonstrate that those applying these measures can have a significant economic impact on the target economies or persons.

☑ Ø X ⊕ II Macro- and micro-economic management projects

Projects on economic management may support the resources and finances of an individual, community, business, or government. Macro-economic management refers to procedures regulating policy or sectoral level economics, including debt and taxation.¹¹ Micro-economic management refers to the individual or business level, including using money or interest rates to support small scale projects such as microfinancing. As with other areas of management, economic management is interlinked with accountable governance, and should include mechanisms for transparency, such as public disclosure and access to information. Accountable, transparent economic management can be conducive to peacebuilding by laying the framework for inclusive economic growth and transparent financial regulations. As economics is intertwined with social and political dimensions, local ownership and conflict sensitivity are paramount.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If economic management is transparent and inclusive, it can help to establish a new vision for what is possible for a post-war society by generating equal opportunities for diverse population groups.
- If economic management covers a wide cross-section of the population, vulnerable groups such as former combatants can be better integrated into society through equal opportunities.

EXAMPLES

The importance of addressing economic issues in peace agreements is exemplified in the case of Liberia. Following fourteen years of civil war, the 2003 peace agreement largely addressed political issues of transition but excluded many of the root causes of the conflict over resources and finances. Consequently, certain groups, such as former combatants, were able to exercise influence and engage in corrupt or criminal activities, until the transitional government adopted the Governance and Economic Management Assistance Programme¹² (GEMAP). This programme helped to address key issues of macroeconomic management, to ensure that the people would benefit more fairly from revenues and resources. The programme focused on developing government and institutional economic capacity and tools, such as budget management and procurement practices. GEMAP contributed to an ongoing cultural shift around corruption.

The Grameen Bank was established by the 2006 Nobel Prize Winner Muhammad Yunus. During the 1970s famine in Bangladesh, Muhammad Yunnus gave small loans to families so that they would not become trapped byin the high interest rates of other banking schemes. Originally a community project, it eventually became a formal bank in 1983, receiving funding over time from various sources, including both donors and the Bangladeshi government. The microfinance bank provided credit based on reasonable loan cycles to rural parts of Bangladesh to nurture businesses using local skills. The project had a particular impact on women (who received 95% of the loans) as they previously had had no access to income and power.¹³ The project contributed to building peace by addressing inequality in the economic system, as the poor had been excluded from obtaining loans and credit.

- There is a strong need for clear project design, in order to communicate effectively with stakeholders and populations about how economic management works and what this means for public funds.
- Projects should endeavour to ensure reform happens evenly across a country, so that a government can monitor and reinforce management consistently.
- Monitoring and evaluation schemes on public spending can nurture transparency and accountability.

Further reading on business, trade and economics

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Infrastructure is not only related to conflict as a consequence of damage inflicted during fighting. It can also be a driver of violent conflict in the context of rapid urbanisation and/or marginalisation of rural populations, or the displacement of populations by major infrastructure projects such as building dams. A lack of demographically-aligned urban planning or the isolation of particular population groups or areas can trigger violent conflict over resources or access to services. Absent or decaying infrastructure in rural or urban spaces can undermine development efforts, leading to protracted and divergent standards of living for different cross-sections of the population. In post-conflict contexts, rebuilding initiatives need to take into consideration urban planning divides that were root causes of the violent conflict. Furthermore, poorly designed or built infrastructure can magnify negative climate impacts which, in turn, risks fuelling violence because of resource scarcity.

Infrastructure and planning

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(Re)building infrastructure for essential services

The rapid restoration of physical infrastructure for services that are essential for quality of life and economic activity (e.g. functioning health facilities and utilities, safe drinking water, a secure living environment, flood protection, transport) helps to create or reinforce the sense that a society is returning to normalcy and moving away from the experience of violent conflict. This 'dividend' can support peace consolidation by garnering popular support and creating a forward-looking momentum. The condition of infrastructure is often a barometer of whether a society will slip further into violence or make a peaceful transition out of the conflict cycle. Efforts to demonstrate visible progress through infrastructure reconstruction can play a symbolic as well as practical role in peacebuilding.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If a government is able to ensure that the infrastructure for essential services is restored or put in place, those that benefit from it are likely to view the government as more responsive, which can enhance government credibility among the population.
- If initiatives are undertaken with consultation and input from affected populations, the design and implementation of essential services and the infrastructure that supports them, are more likely to meet the needs of the communities.
- If infrastructure for essential services is restored and provisions for the services made available, it can encourage the re-establishment of communities and the return of displaced populations and those who fled the violent conflict as refugees.

EXAMPLES

Armed insurgencies, military operations, an earthquake in 2005 and floods in 2010-11 severely affected infrastructure, tourism, the local economy, as well as the most basic services in Malakand, Pakistan.¹ At the same time, issues around displacement, return and military takeover of local governance and unresolved justice created conflicts among local communities. The lack of services and infrastructure eroded the credibility of the government. In response, some of the roads that had been destroyed by the militants and flooding were restored with provincial government funding. International donor support provided resources for national and local NGOs to provide small scale rehabilitation projects. And, to address reconciliation in Malakand, representatives from different villages were trained in mediation and dialogue to support community-driven peace initiatives. For example, funding for water pipelines was made available to promote collaboration between communities based on a common need.

Ongoing insurgency in Iraq has destroyed infrastructure, particularly homes and villages, and returning populations often find their houses in ruins. Village reconstruction projects run by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Iraq provide housing for IDPs as well as returning refugees. The projects take into account equitable access to land and water. Adequate housing is critical for encouraging the return of peoples and establishing a sense of normalcy. The UNDP is supporting these neighbourhood-based reconstruction initiatives, thereby contributing to rebuilding social cohesion.²

- Where efforts to (re)build such infrastructure are not comprehensive or are perceived as benefiting only certain demographics or population groups, the results can undermine not just the credibility – but in cases of long-term neglect – even erode the authority of the government and its representatives in the eyes of marginalised or excluded groups.
- Donors and implementing organisations can also suffer from credibility issues or inadvertently exacerbate tension if they act without sufficient preparatory consultation and analysis. An organisation that funded a water supply scheme in Pakistan had not included two neighbouring communities, which subsequently stopped the flow of water to the project village. This led to the scheme being abandoned and heightened tensions between all three villages. This experience highlights the importance of considering how the boundaries and target beneficiaries of the initiatives affect conflict dynamics.

Public space and urban planning initiatives

Public spaces are shared social spaces which can include markets, cafés, parks, bus stops, train stations, publicly accessible roads as well as housing. As such, urban planning represents the design of such spaces in built-up areas. As rates of global urbanisation rise, shared spaces and the coexistence of mixed demographic groups will require more thoughtful management in order to avoid violent conflicts. The provision of affordable housing and neighbourhoods that promote community-building can have a direct influence on levels of cohesion or violent conflict. Rebuilding housing, creating shared spaces and building pathways, roads and transport routes that foster connectedness can create more positive and forward-looking perspectives, and help to lessen the psychological state of conflict. In contrast, a lack of public spaces or poorly designed neighbourhoods can isolate people from each other, segregate population groups or entrench inequalities. Some criminologists argue that crime rates can increase due to poor urban design and planning.³

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If urban spaces are planned in a way that takes into account current and potential future demographic change and growth, the authorities are more likely to be able to foresee, adapt and respond quickly to changing community needs.
- If planning is conducted through broad consultation and participatory decision-making, resulting neighbourhoods and districts are more likely to reflect and align with the daily lives, lifestyles and needs of a diversity of communities, and are more likely to increase a sense of collective responsibility for shared spaces.
- If public spaces are planned and designed to minimise the isolation or segregation of different population groups and transform run-down areas, it can also contribute to stronger community ties, allow fewer opportunities for anti-social behaviour and ensure better outcomes for local safety and security.

EXAMPLES

In Nairobi, the Kounkuey Design Initiative⁴ (KDI), an architecture and urban planning organisation, works to create public spaces in the Kibera slum, which has seen violent clashes and rioting. KDI uses local consultations to engage the communities living in Kibera in planning the construction of public spaces as well as maintaining the sites. Inequality and a lack of shared space in slums, together with rapid urbanisation and flooding have perpetuated a sense of insecurity, as well as displacement and violent conflict. Another initiative in Kibera is the Collaborative Slum Upgrading Initiative,⁵ a joint effort by the Kenyan government and UN Habitat to improve the lives of residents. Through inclusiveness and local ownerships, these initiatives can nurture the building blocks for resolving disputes peaceably.

Following violent conflict in Kosovo and the country's ensuing partially recognised independence from Serbia, the city of Mitrovica developed separate parallel systems for the Albanian and Serb populations. The bridge between the two groups has come to symbolise the divisions in the city. However, a shopping centre has inadvertently created incentives for residents to cross to the 'other side' of the city for commercial reasons, creating a mixing of the populations. This demonstrates how commercial enterprises can create incentives for using common spaces, bringing together opposing sides.⁶

- Rapid population growth or demographic change can increase violent conflict risks if areas are unable to adjust to meet the changing needs of residents The ability to adapt spaces is important and good urban planning should not be based on a static assessment of population needs.
- Redevelopment of neighbourhoods or uprooting of informal settlements can trigger tensions or resentment if carried out without consultation, or the consent of residents – for example, slum clearance. Conflict dynamics, perceptions and needs cannot be addressed through povertyreduction tactics alone. A lack of consultation can also waste resources if redeveloped spaces are not used by communities.
- Safe housing initiatives will additionally require efforts to ensure the safety and security of individuals, as was the case in Colombia where the League of Displaced Women⁷ (LDW) organised and built a neighbourhood to encourage the return of female internally displaced persons, which persevered in the face of threats and violence.

Major infrastructure projects

Major infrastructure projects can include construction such as roads, dams, bridges and power stations. These types of initiatives are often implemented in the interest of the national economy or energy security. As major infrastructure projects are likely to affect both business and political interests, through licensing, tenders, or contracts, they can influence the politicaleconomy of conflicts, introducing negative as well as positive dynamics into existing feuds. The impact of big construction projects can also be local, deepening connections or divisions between conflict stakeholders. For example, improved roads and transport connections can facilitate economic relationships or greater interaction between polarised communities, but can equally facilitate the movement of armed groups or competition over new development opportunities. The location of big construction projects can also trigger violence, if they cause displacement, affect land rights or undermine the livelihoods of local populations.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If infrastructure projects are designed to generate dividends for a range of stakeholders and affected populations, they can maximise positive developmental impact and minimise conflict between populations.
- If infrastructure projects are planned in consultation with affected populations and/or other stakeholders, such as local businesses or workers, the changes are less likely to trigger tensions or violence due to negative effects on employment, livelihoods, land and housing.

EXAMPLES

Since its independence in 1962, Burundi has experienced conflict which has increased ethnic and religious divides. A project run by the UNDP focuses on parts of cities that have experienced past tensions, and recruits youths from different backgrounds to build roads in exchange for cash.⁸ To ensure that the social ties that these youths form during the project do not dissipate after the end of the 78-day initiative, the project also includes business training and encourages them to work together to create small businesses that can serve the community.

Conflict over access to water has contributed to conflict dynamics in Central Asia, where Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have a surplus of water and other states compete for access. Increasing population sizes, coupled with a lack of accountable governance have been obstacles to generating a fair water sharing system. Furthermore, overuse has led to the degradation of water sources, further exacerbating the root causes of conflict. The World Bank worked to strengthen cooperation at national and regional levels, through the Aral Sea Basin Management programme.⁹ This included measures to improve the management of water and the dam, as well as transboundary water monitoring mechanisms to establish accountability and transparency. These initiatives, along with cooperation at the regional level, helped foster trust between the countries and contributed to alleviating previous tensions.

- The potential for corruption is high when investment, licensing and contracts are introduced in conflict affected contexts. For example, the creation of the Indus Basin irrigation system in Pakistan generated a substantial amount of electricity but also resulted in corruption and displaced thousands of people.
- If a project inadvertently recruits workers from only one part of the population, it can create a perception of bias which unnecessarily exacerbates existing tensions.
- Major infrastructure projects implemented in a top-down way are likely to reinforce the kind of unresponsive governance mechanisms which contribute to conflict. However, they also can provide an opportunity to convene those affected from across society to consultations about infrastructure plans.

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The environment and how it is used are at the heart of a society's ability to develop, grow, and interact with other groups. It therefore has a direct impact on a community's stability and ability to maintain peaceful relations. Currently, climate disruption is a cause of insecurity across the globe, as drought and environmental degradation instigate conflicts over resources and have become the source of migration groups leaving in search of economic opportunities elsewhere. Land distribution and natural resource allocation are the causes of numerous violent conflicts around the world. Governments and private sector companies have high stakes in ensuring these assets are profitable, leading to discrimination against marginalised communities which easily turn into violent conflicts.

Armed groups also exploit land and natural resources to fuel their conflict, which has given birth to concepts such as 'blood diamonds'. However, new concepts such as 'social licences' and public private partnerships (PPP) – which establish relations between affected communities and the private sector companies exploiting the natural resources – have also emerged. Environmental impact studies (EIS) are crucial before any major exploitation of resources is implemented.

Agriculture and environment

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Management of natural and extractive resources

The management of natural and extractive resources such as water, land, vegetation, oil, gas or mineral resources involves multiple stakeholders, including different state authorities, private sector actors, affected communities and other stakeholders, such as unions, research communities, and civil society organisations. The management of natural resources encompasses a number of different elements, including:

- institutional/legal framework for ownership of natural resources,
- managing the resource directly,
- managing the effects of resource scarcity, destruction or depletion,
- managing the effects of resource damage, and disaster risk reduction.

Given the multitude of stakeholders that depend on, and are affected by, natural and extractive resources, their mismanagement will contribute to negative conflict dynamics in many ways. Phrases like 'blood diamonds', 'conflict minerals' and the 'resource curse' are well-established in the language of violent conflict. In the case of water, insecurity from drought, excessive groundwater extraction, and changing seasonal precipitation patterns can exacerbate conflict dynamics, drive escalation of conflict and displace communities. Moreover, scarcity or other effects are also more likely to affect already marginalised populations, i.e. those without resources to assure access to basic needs and services, such as Indigenous groups, or isolated rural populations. Mismanagement can also have broader societal implications if it leads to an unequal distribution of economic benefits from natural and extractive resources.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If the management of natural resources includes a strong and credible framework for dispute resolution, the escalation of disagreements among stakeholders can be avoided.
- If those involved in the different aspects of resource management have a strong understanding of the political economy, stakeholders and needs associated with the resource, it is possible to plan and design activities in a conflict-sensitive manner. This can help to avoid or mitigate risks to stakeholders that might negatively affect lives, livelihoods or trigger tensions.
- If decisions about natural resource management are reached in a participatory manner, with consultation and input from stakeholders (particularly affected communities), the dialogue and trust established through such decision-making can serve as a social contract and an ongoing means of dealing with violent conflicts.

EXAMPLES

In Tanzania, there is a history of pastoralist-settler conflicts between farmers and herders over access to water and wells for livestock. Pastoralists, often considered more affluent than farmers, have been accused of influencing political decisions through bribery as local leaders allow them to graze cattle on farmland, resulting in damage to crops. A coalition, set up by the Tanzania Natural Resources Foundation¹ (TNRF), led dialogue sessions to increase understanding between pastoralists and farmers. Six months later, the number of violent clashes dropped and the project created a forum for peaceful solutions to conflicts over the local management of water.

Tensions and a series of disputes over land rights arose between the state, industry and Indigenous communities in Canada. The Canadian government exploited the natural resources of the land, while at the same time attempting to reconcile a difficult relationship with its First Nations communities. The government yielded responsibility to industry to resolve the many governance challenges posed by Canada's extractive 'hot zone'. This turned social and environmental planning and programming into corporate stakeholder management. The government missed an opportunity to build better relations with Indigenous people through the establishment of a 'social licence' process, which requires any business to ensure its activities respect the rights of all in any community.²

LIMITS AND CAVEATS

- Technical or practical interventions are not sufficient nor inherently conflict-sensitive; projects must also the role of conflict dynamics.
- As natural resources extend beyond human-created borders, violent conflicts related to natural resources are often not confined to national frontiers.
- Efforts need to be comprehensive, addressing issues such as economics and livelihoods, to ensure they are conducive to peacebuilding.

☑ ¾ ∯ ∯ ♣ Land management projects

Land is an important economic asset and source of livelihoods; it is also closely linked to community identity, history and culture. Land is used for a variety of purposes, from agriculture and reforestation to residence and eco-tourism projects. In addition, land management is linked to property rights, together with urban and rural development. Land conflicts commonly become violent when linked to wider processes of political exclusion, social discrimination, or economic marginalisation. Proactive action that preserves land at risk of degradation and which manages the effects of climate change can avoid disasters and competition over land. Aspects of management mirror those noted for natural and extractive resources (see previous page), such as:

- Managing the land itself includes a number of aspects, including public records, legislation, mapping ancestral land, property restitution – for example, restoring land to displaced persons so as to encourage returnees and community cohesion – documenting displacement, and identifying abandoned land and property.
- Managing the effects of land scarcity or damage.

As in the case of natural and extractive resources, issues around land and access often affects poorer communities or sections of society, or those that are marginalised, such as former combatants.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- As land is often associated with forms of income, if land distribution and ownership is reliable and fairly distributed, it can form the basis for more equitable future development.
- Effective, inclusive, and sustainable land management can be facilitated through the use of community mechanisms for resolving disputes over land peaceably.
- If land mapping and land registries are transparent, violent conflicts, uncertainty and disputes over land ownership can be reduced, as long as the process of identifying and mapping land is carried out fairly.

EXAMPLES

Despite laws protecting their rights, national policies have excluded the Indigenous peoples of the Philippines, exacerbating community-level conflicts. These groups lack the investment and skills needed to develop local economic opportunities, while insurgency, corruption and shadow economies undermine government support and deter regional investment. Communities had already been displaced by previous violence and now International Alert is working with communities in the southern Philippines to map ancestral lands in order to identify which areas can be opened to investments and which should be preserved or rehabilitated.³

In Timor-Leste, the civil unrest in 2006 displaced approximately 100,000 persons and left thousands of houses destroyed. This exacerbated tensions over land which had existed since the period of colonial occupation. The government, supported by the UNDP and UN-HABITAT, identified abandoned land and property, assessed the extent of damage to their homes and sent teams of enumerators to internally displaced persons camps. In 2007, the government used this data to implement a cash-based return and resettlement programme to address the loss of homes, displacement and trauma.⁴

LIMITS AND CAVEATS

- Project design should consider how to accommodate external changes such as population growth, democratic change or land degradation. These changes increase the risk of violence as the dynamic between populations and the land is altered.
- Certain groups, such as women, are often denied legal inheritance which takes the form of land or property. Reform projects should assess and address how different groups access these resources.

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Healthcare

Violent conflicts have a direct impact on physical and mental health, from severe physical damage caused by weapons or explosives, to the psychological trauma from experiences of violent conflict. In addition, the healthcare infrastructure is destroyed due to damage, displacement, and a lack of resources, with services being severely reduced as a consequence. Links between conflict and health also relate to unequal access, due to barriers such as cost, language or location. On the positive side, the trusted role of medical staff and the neutrality often demonstrated by health services during violent conflict offers opportunities to look more at tools for peacebuilding which are linked to healthcare.

R Medical diplomacy

Medical diplomacy refers to the role of medical staff or institutions in promoting peace. As the primary responsibility of medical professionals is to the communities and patients whom they serve, practitioners are often granted access to areas experiencing violent conflict on medical or humanitarian grounds. Due to the nature of their work, medical staff need to maintain neutrality and impartiality in violent conflict contexts to ensure their safe access in remote and dangerous zones. Therefore, they are more likely to be able to gain the trust of all sides in a conflict. This opens up possibilities for acting as intermediaries between conflict parties, i.e. medical diplomacy.

By giving equal treatment to all population groups and working together with a variety of actors (such as government, other organisations, communities, etc.), medical staff have a unique opportunity to plant the seeds of peace. Moreover, medical staff and professionals working for humanitarian organisations may have more in-depth awareness of conflict dynamics at local levels, as well as stronger relationships with communities. In certain cases, medical staff or organisations may have the ability to engage in policy dialogue.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If community-level medical diplomacy uncovers gaps in access to care, hitherto ignored marginalised population groups or health issues specific to one part of the community, state health services can be better equipped to respond to needs in a conflict-sensitive manner.
- If medical diplomacy can stimulate interaction between different conflict stakeholders around health issues, it can create the foundation for relationships on other issues of mutual concern and nurture the potential for collaboration.

EXAMPLES

The health system in Somalia became fragmented after 25 years of civil war, contributing to inequalities. The pharmaceutical industry was unregulated, rendering health care unaffordable for many Somalians. Furthermore, large areas controlled by the militant group Al-Shabab blocked access to external healthcare. Without a formal coordinating body, non-governmental healthcare providers in Somalia had difficulty accessing and influencing higher levels of policy. Saferworld worked to build a platform where healthcare workers could meet regularly and make key recommendations on health issues on behalf of communities. This project highlights the need to bring together healthcare professionals to support war-torn populations, especially on the issue of mental health' (see following page).

The Ebola crisis in the Mano River border regions exacerbated internal conflicts. Furthermore, the feeble government response highlighted weak trust between populations and governments. In 18 border districts in the Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone, Conciliation Resources helped to form local dialogue sessions between healthcare workers, government and communities, to work through the tensions by providing a space where grievances and solutions could be discussed.² By combining the two processes, the project helped to contribute to better management of the Ebola crisis and reduce tensions between communities.

LIMITS AND CAVEATS

- The trusted role of medical professionals can easily be tainted if there is the additional pressure to act as mediators. This may have consequences for permission to work (and therefore affect access to the communities they serve) and may also pose physical risks if mediation efforts are viewed negatively by some conflict actors.
- It is important to recognise that, as healthcare provision is often compromised, damaged or under-resourced as a result of conflict, the vital services and resources provided by medical professionals and humanitarian organisations should remain dedicated to their primary responsibility and not be redirected towards political goals.

Rental health services

Violence can result in post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and other related mental health issues, which, in the case of violent conflict, affect very large numbers of people. Long-term exposure to violence can perpetuate violence and intergenerational trauma that hinder the possibility of lasting peace. Psychological effects can result from many different experiences of violent conflict, whether as a victim of violence or sexual assault, or as a perpetrator; as child soldiers, orphaned children, or simply as a frequent witness to violent acts over a period of time. Services to support or promote mental well-being for people who have been affected by conflict are not usually well-resourced. Such services would include various types of therapy, rehabilitation to manage the effects of severe physical injury, and other counselling support. Psychological healing is an important part of peacebuilding efforts as it can enable population groups to break the cycle of violence.

THEORY OF CHANGE

- If mental health services can support post-trauma healing, they can remove some of the obstacles to reconciliation and co-existence necessary for sustainable peace.
- If the coverage of mental health services were expanded to cover as many people as possible, it could reduce the latent psychological effects of trauma that can manifest in many problematic ways, whether personal or societal, and prevent the perpetuation of violence.

EXAMPLES

In Rwanda, International Alert and local partners provided trauma healing to participants through therapy groups and individual counselling. The project helped communities deal with trauma, understand emotions and reactions, and mentally prepare to take part in dialogue.³

Psychologists for Social Responsibility's (PsySR) Gaza Community Mental Health Project began in 2009 to address the profound psychological impact of aerial and land assaults on individuals, families, and communities in Gaza. Many suffered multiple grievances such as family separation and other stresses such as poverty, past violence, and feelings of helplessness and fear. These factors exacerbate the damaging psychological effects of violence which PsySR tried to remedy.⁴

LIMITS AND CAVEATS

- Cultural norms and stigmas around mental health can pose a barrier to accessing mental health services. Mapping existing mechanisms within communities for managing trauma and looking for ways to build on and incorporate such practices can be a bridge between traditional and Western approaches to healing.
- Stereotypes surrounding mental health issues and the propensity for violence may create additional stigmas or fears of participation, particularly in contexts where violent extremism is prevalent and authorities are active in profiling.

Further reading on healthcare

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Annexes

Methodology

This report was based on literature and online research, using over 300 sources. A consultation process took place during 2017 with feedback from over thirty individuals and organisations representing different sectors, including faith, gender, youth and development.

Annex I Development programming and funding in conflict-affected contexts: conditions for success

Development programming is located in an annex as it is interlinked with all eleven sections of this report, rather than one in particular. Development work in conflict-affected contexts requires a high level of insight and reflection about programming and funding with respect to how fits in and its impact on the individual context. Therefore, this annex is organised in a way conducive to self-reflection and critical analysis.

The Collaborative Learning Project¹ (CDA) is a leading source of knowledge on the measurement of conflict sensitivity and peacebuilding effectiveness. It provides convincing rationale for distinguishing development and peacebuilding. While activities in the two areas can – and often do – overlap, peacebuilding has the explicit goal of targeting the drivers of violent conflict and peace dynamics. Peacebuilding should be an intentional part of programme design, and explicitly stated in the objectives and theory of change.² If you are working in a conflict-affected context, it should be clear whether your engagement directed at addressing conflict and supporting peace, or whether it simply takes account of the conflict dynamics, ensuring the project 'does no harm' – the minimalist approach to conflict sensitivity (see *Due diligence and conflict sensitivity*, page 13). After all, avoiding doing harm should be the minimum standard practice in all programming.



As highlighted in the introduction of this resource, in order for an engagement to truly contribute to peace, it has to be targeted at transforming or disrupting a negative dynamic that are driving violent conflict, or supporting positive dynamics that can promote peace in a specific context. Success cannot be achieved by assuming that factors which might generally support peace or transform violent conflict will work in all circumstances. Therefore, this annex presents a few ways to think about how development programmes or funding can contribute to peacebuilding. While the points for reflection are geared towards programming, from a funding perspective one can evaluate where resources can be directed to ensure added value. This section begins with some basic **questions** to ask yourself. The **necessary resources** raise points for reflection regarding positionality and partnerships. The **common misconceptions** delve into assumptions that may be misleading or undermine peacebuilding work. Finally, **best practices** outline conditions for success.

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^{2.} ibid.

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Questions to ask yourself

- Have you identified a dynamic, root cause or stakeholder that you are aiming to transform with your programme or activity from a conflict or peace analysis perspective?
- How will the activity or engagement change the dynamic, address the root cause or challenge / support this particular stakeholder in the context?
- Why will it be successful? i.e. are you well-positioned and accepted enough to implement or support this? (see *Who Am I*?, page 15) and is this the right moment?
- Does your planning include moments of reflection where activities can be adapted to respond to changing conflict dynamics?
- Does your planning include potential 'trigger' events that can be foreseen, based on the conflict analysis? e.g. occasions such as elections, commemorations, etc.
- Which groups will benefit from your engagement or activity and where do they fit in the conflict or peace analysis?
- Which groups may face difficulties in accessing the benefits of the project? Which may be excluded or may perceive themselves as such, based on what you know from the conflict or peace analysis? And how can you remedy this and avoid causing tension between groups?
- How will you know if you are transforming or supporting what you intended? i.e. how will your monitoring plan get input from / share information with those affected directly by the problematic or positive dynamic?

Necessary resources / Operational considerations

- Do you have staff (or access to training) with specific expertise or experience of peacebuilding and broad-based knowledge of the context?
- How will your choice of partner or beneficiary be viewed by different stakeholders in the conflict context?
- Do you have sufficient levels of trust and opportunities to engage across all the relevant stakeholder groups that will be necessary to achieve your intended peacebuilding impact?

Common misconceptions

- Labelling an engagement or activity as a peacebuilding intervention, without having taken the previous questions into account can set it up for failure. For example, if a conflict is in some way linked to natural resources, it does not follow that any intervention on natural resources will build peace.
- Alleviating poverty will not automatically deliver peace, the distribution
 of resources and access to services is often more significant in conflict
 contexts, which is part of the reasons why violent conflict emerges in
 middle-income countries.
- Eliminating disagreement, i.e. nonviolent conflicts, is neither realistic nor even desirable. Engagements or activities should be designed and judged by whether they promote nonviolent management or sustainable resolution of conflict among different cross-sections of society or between governments.
- Technical solutions will not override political realities, motivations or interests. Unless an activity or engagement is addressing (or complementing a programme to address) the conditions that create and sustain negative incentives, problematic conflict actors will usually find alternate ways to circumnavigate such initiatives.
- Avoiding harm also means avoiding damaging informal networks, initiatives or economies that may be playing an important role in mitigating violent conflict. For example, livelihoods that are based in the informal (but not criminal) economy.
- Overlooking local dynamics and stakeholders can easily exacerbate tensions, whether due to tangible changes that the programming makes or because of how it is perceived by the variety of conflict stakeholders in the context.
- Analyses or early warnings do not automatically build peace or address violent conflict; they can only provide a robust basis for making decisions. The onus for action based on such analysis rests with those who are responsible for programming strategy, design, implementation or evaluation.

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Best practice for programming and funding: aspects to consider

STRATEGY

- Theory of change / goals linked to peace and root causes of conflict
- Create mapping structure for the overall theory of change methodology, to encourage building links between tools and sectors
- Consider causes vs. costs of conflict: peacebuilding is political
- Identify how and when to link across sectors and actors
- Ensure local ownership of the programme and the development of an exit strategy, to guarantee long-term sustainability

DESIGN

- Identify objectives: quantitative outcomes and qualitative changes
- Ensure objectives highlight development vs. peacebuilding, identify possible tensions, and link to strategy
- Ensure conflict analysis is ongoing
- Ensure the design is conflict sensitive
- Ensure the design is not just technical, but takes into consideration the political context, and its analysis
- Ensure design is linked to evaluation
- Engage in regular local consultations about how the above components will be incorporated in the design, allowing for flexibility to adapt the project over time
- Continue to look back at the theory of change as a guide
- Ensure programming is flexible and adaptable
- Ensure the design is inclusive and participatory
- Examine staffing and beneficiary profiles for potential bias or imbalance

IMPLEMENTATION

- Ensure implementation is inclusive and participatory
- Consider the implementing partners and how they are perceived by various actors, and how these associations / perceptions may change over time
- Remember that medium- to long-term commitment has more sustainable results
- Aim to tackle root causes and adapt to shifting contexts
- Engage civil society organisations and others across groups
- Ensure local ownership of the programme and the development of an exit strategy, to guarantee long-term sustainability

EVALUATION

- Ensure there is a strong evidence base for transformative change
- Ensure there are thoughtful, adaptable indicators
- Rather than being too conceptual / abstract, look for ways to make impact
- Include mechanisms for feedback
- Include reflection time
- Ensure evaluation tools are responsive
- Ensure ongoing monitoring

FUNDING

- Consider that many interventions take sustained engagement, longer than typical project cycles
- Consider how budgetary commitments can lock in policy change
- Consider the impact of injecting new or additional resources into conflictaffected areas, such as how this will affect different stakeholders
- Consider adopting mechanisms for sharing information and coordinating aid with other actors
- Consider whether the aid is prescriptive or empowering
- Consider the economic, political and social institutions which may hamper efforts

Resources on development programming

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Annex II Peacebuilding resources

Though by no means an exhaustive list of peacebuilding tools and resources, this annex is designed to provide the reader with a useful starting point for digging deeper into peacebuilding interventions and guidelines.

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Endorsements for Building Peace Together

As peacebuilding perspectives are increasingly in demand across a wide range of neighboring fields, from development and humanitarian action to hard security and counter-terrorism, there is a real need to increase the familiarity of decision makers with the core issues of peacebuilding. This is a useful and timely report.

Andrew Tomlinson Director, Quaker UN Office (QUNO), New York

Peacebuilding is an art, not a science. It's also an incredibly broad tent, covering a wide range of approaches, including diplomacy, dialogue, media initiatives, certain types of economic development, and many, many more. As such, it's something in which people and organisations from a wide range of sectors can and should be engaged. But it is often hard for them to know how to proceed. Therefore I welcome the publication of *Building Peace Together*, which provides a valuable and highly accessible introduction and initial guidance to those who would like to get involved, as well as directing them to further sources of knowledge.

Phil Vernon Director of Programmes, International Alert (2004-17)

What is particularly welcome is the way this report shows the very wide range of approaches and actions that are possible. That, alone, is likely to prove a real source of inspiration.

Professor Paul Rogers University of Bradford

This is a strong piece of work that brings a range of options for non-military approaches to peacebuilding. The report carries important messages that are often overlooked – including that peacebuilding is not intrinsically conflict-sensitive, but should include reflecting on who you are and how your positioning affects your capacities to intervene.

Peter Cross Programme Manager, Peace Nexus

Building Peace Together combines clear presentation with an impressive overview of tools and methods that are well-grounded in peacebuilding practice. I found it a helpful guide and am looking forward to using this resource with partners and colleagues in conflict contexts around the world.

Paul Musiol EU Capitals Advocacy Officer, PAX Christi International

This report offers development practitioners a refreshing overview of how peacebuilding efforts can intersect with other development sectors, such as education. There are lessons in this report for all practitioners whose sectorspecific development work can be informed by the tools of peacebuilding, namely conflict and peace analysis, sensitivity to conflict dynamics and greater awareness to the context-specific needs of communities they serve.

Jacqueline Hale Head of Advocacy, Save the Children Intl. EU Office

This report is well written, thorough and is definitely a very useful tool for approaching peacebuilding. It acknowledges a satisfactory breadth of root causes of violence, such as climate change, and provides sound analysis of how mitigation measures can be integrated into peacebuilding responses.

Janani Vivekananda Senior Advisor, Adelphi