

Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace

Experience and Ideas of Swedish Civil Society Organisations

ANNA ÅKERLUND



A study of Swedish CSOs' programmes in areas of crisis and conflict all over the world, was made between 1999 and 2001. The project leader, Anna Åkerlund, now gives prominence to ideas, facts and experience gained in the study. An analytical model is used to categorise projects and to determine the needs for new projects. Anna Åkerlund also discusses international trends and risk factors. She indicates ways in which civil society and actors in the field of development cooperation can work actively and more deliberately for peace. She emphasises that civil society has considerable potential to prevent conflicts from breaking out into violence.

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Sida Studies NO. 13

Editor: Anne Sisask

Series Editor: Anne Sisask

Translated by: Michael Gough

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The original, Swedish version of this report, published by Peace Team Forum and Forum Syd in 2001 entitled "Att omvandla konflikter och bygga fred; en ny generation av utvecklingsprojekt?" can be ordered from www.forumsyd.se

Graphic Design: Johan Nilsson/Kombinera

Layout: Edita Communication AB

Photo of Anna Åkerlund: Carl-Johan Friman

Printed by Edita Sverige AB, 2005.

ISSN 1404-9562

ISBN 91-586-8316-X

Art. nr. SIDA4706en

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ANNA ÅKERLUND

Sida**studies**

Sida's Foreword

The important role played by civil society organisations in conflict management and peace-building has been observed in an ever-increasing number of contexts. It is quite apparent that civil society both exerts an influence on, and is influenced by conflicts. As far as Sida is concerned, it is part of its assignment to support efforts that strengthen the capacity of civil society to act as a force for peace. Violent conflicts and wars are major obstacles to development and it is therefore of utmost importance that actors working in the field of development cooperation take the conflict situation into consideration and work in a way that strengthens capacities for peace. These actors are to be found in all societies and need to be strengthened in order to enhance human security.

This study describes and analyses the work done by Swedish civil society organisations active in the field of development cooperation with activities that are directly related to violent and armed conflicts. The study is a revision of a survey initiated by *the Peace Team Forum* network in cooperation with *Forum Syd – the Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation* and Sida.

Anna Åkerlund, who made the survey (presently Secretary General of *the Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation*) now provides rich empirical material for international readers. Moreover, she also provides an analytical tool for analyses of both direct conflicts and structural risk factors. This tool, which is called an “analytical framework” in the study, also permits discussion of the possibilities available to civil society for conflict management, and for exerting an influence on the structural causes of conflicts.

The author is of the opinion that there is a potential in civil society, which, if perceived, can be supported and strengthened. There is also a special discussion of the possibilities available to civil society organisations to work more specifically and more deliberately with conflict prevention activities. It is, after all, activities of this type that prevent the outbreak of direct and violent armed conflicts. The importance of contributions of this type cannot be underestimated, since efforts to achieve equitable and sustainable global development then have considerably better chances of succeeding. War and conflicts have few winners – but many losers.

We believe that the study will be useful for a wide range of organisations and partners in international development cooperation. Even if the

study focuses on the work done by Swedish civil society organisations, the discussion and examples are of the type that will appeal to an international public. The aim is good: to work together for peace and human security.

April 2005



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Preface

Sida Studies no 13 is a translation and revision of the final report of a Swedish study of the projects of Swedish CSOs in areas of crisis and conflict. The original version entitled “Att omvandla konflikter och bygga fred; en ny generation av utvecklingsprojekt?” was published in 2001 by *Forum Syd – the Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation and Peace Team Forum*. This report can be ordered from www.forumsyd.se. It was written by Anna Åkerlund, who made the study.

In agreement with *Forum Syd – the NGO Centre for Development Cooperation and Peace Team Forum*, the text has now been translated by Sida. It has also been revised from an editorial perspective and the structure of the report has been changed in relation to the original edition, for example some sections are now included as appendices. The Introduction (chapter 1) and the Executive Summary have been written specially for Sida Studies by Anna Åkerlund.

The recommendations and future strategies resulting from the study have not been updated, and with few exceptions, no update has been made of the details of projects and organisations. Therefore, this report does not provide an updated or complete picture of the Swedish CSOs that are active in this field, but rather has the aim of giving special prominence to experience gained during the course of the study that can be useful in international cooperation.

Executive Summary

Ever since the end of the Cold War, there has been a movement towards focusing attention on the role of civil society in armed conflicts. Firstly, ever since then there has been a new sense of awareness and a general understanding that most of the armed conflicts in the world are intrastate. Secondly, the narrow security agenda of the Cold War was replaced by an extended concept of security that took into account threats against the life and health of people, for example in the form of environmental degradation, famine disasters, extensive violations of human rights, and terrorism. Thirdly, in connection with the armed conflicts of the 1990s, new conclusions were reached on the role of ethnicity and religion (identity factors) in conflicts. Fourthly, new findings were produced in peace research on the relationship between democracy and peace. Fifthly, actions taken in this process began to focus more on greater involvement by civil society, for example truth and reconciliation processes that had the broad support of the people. Moreover, civil components have been stronger in the new generation of multi-functional operations under the auspices of the United Nations. These multi-functional operations were larger and more complex, and therefore had more points of contact with local civil societies. Also, with an extended mandate, there was a need of more civil employees.¹

In this situation an ever-increasing number of civil society organisations (CSOs) discovered that they could play a role in contributing to peaceful development. Among Swedish CSOs active in areas of crisis and conflict, a need arose to describe and give careful consideration to this development in order to improve their capacity to act for peace. Several organisations that were working together in a network, the *Peace Team Forum*, joined forces and formulated terms of reference for a study that was made over a period of two years – September 1999 – September 2000 – with finance provided by Sida. Fifty-eight Swedish CSOs participated. These organisations included churches, development cooperation organisations, peace associations, humanitarian organisations, human rights organisations, youth organisations, solidarity organisations, adult education or-

¹ Here the extended mandate refers, for example, to police, legal, administrative and humanitarian tasks. The extension in respect of the humanitarian mandate has been strongly criticised by humanitarian organisations such as the *Red Cross* with the argument that it undermines the credibility of classic humanitarian action, which is non-military and impartial (see the section “Debate on humanitarian action” on ICRC’s website: www.icrc.org).

organisations and women's organisations. A child rights organisation and an environmental organisation also participated. Some of the organisations were affiliated to political parties, while others had no political affiliations. The membership of some of the organisations amounts to thousands of people, while in others it is in the hundreds. Some have large secretariats with fifty employees or more; others rely exclusively on voluntary work. Most organisations apply for and receive grants from the government's development cooperation budget for their activities in areas of crisis and conflict.

Within the framework of the study an inventory was made of the projects of Swedish CSOs in areas of crisis and conflict that had the aim of creating (upholding) peace. A survey was made of 69 projects that took place during the period 1999-2000. All in all they demonstrate a surprising degree of breadth and variation. They include, for example, dialogue projects, education projects, democratisation projects, human rights projects, trauma processing projects, peace observation projects, as well as projects related to disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration. Some have the aim of achieving change at grass roots level, while others focus on leaders of organisations, associations or important social sectors. There are also a few examples of projects that focus on the decision-making level, in the form of support for capacity development in intergovernmental organisations, or on exerting an influence on the parties involved in crises and conflicts at a relatively high level.

With the project inventory as the point of departure, the study attempted to identify the potential of Swedish CSOs to support the prospects of peace in areas of crisis and conflict and to draw up proposals and recommendations for the future. The report produced by the study (translated and edited here) is descriptive, analytical and aims to generate ideas. On the other hand it does not evaluate. A number of projects are described very briefly. They are systematised and classified on the basis of the purpose of the project. Whether these projects later achieved their intended effect or not is a subject for another study. Thus, issues relating to the selection of methods and to effectiveness are left open.

Conflict transformation and peace building in development cooperation is a field that is in the process of emerging into a separate field in its own right. Its borderlines with other well-established fields are still not clear-cut. An analytical framework was produced in the study to give contours and substance to the issues in question. The analytical framework consists of a combination of the conflict triangle produced by a peace researcher, Johan Galtung, and a somewhat extended version on the defi-

nition of peace building produced by a former Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros Ghali. With the aid of this framework it was possible to classify the projects into different types of contributions. The projects that were classified as conflict transformation contributions had the aim of exerting an influence on the very dynamics of the conflict by working with the attitudes of the parties involved; of exerting an influence on their behaviour in the conflict, or of exerting an effect on the very issue in dispute, the contradiction. The three types of peace building projects had the aim of developing structures to support and secure peace through the development of norms and knowledge; of developing and supporting institutions for peaceful conflict management, or of eliminating structural risk factors.

Apart from the fact that the analytical framework assists in systematising and analysing current projects, it is also possible, with its assistance, to discover “gaps”, possible types of projects and unutilised potential. The study identified eighty different types of contributions for conflict transformation and peace building. Most are illustrated with concrete project examples, while 15 contributions are to be regarded as proposals that could broaden the total repertoire of contributions. These relate principally to certain types of non-violence contributions; trauma processing and reconciliation processes at community level; unification of one party in support of a peace process; counteracting impunity when it refers to perpetrators of violence “on one’s own side”; strengthening of local organisations to undertake a monitoring function in respect of security; and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of soldiers. The concrete examples that have been given prominence can also be developed and refined in various ways. Putting them into a holistic perspective such as that provided by the analytical framework can be a first step towards the formulation of clearer strategies.

The analytical framework insists that the relationship between the goal of the project and the conflict in question – latent or manifest – is defined. It offers a way of giving consideration to the entry points available to external actors for exerting an influence on a conflict, whether this takes place through a direct influence on the dynamics of the conflict (conflict transformation), or through a structurally-focused influence on the context of the conflict (peace-building).

Most projects were implemented in areas in which there was an ongoing armed conflict. Despite this, there is a great deal that indicates that the real strength of CSOs lies in long-term prevention of armed conflict. Most projects are peace-building (see definition above). There is a long-term perspective in the aim of peace-building – developing structures and

the capacity to deal with conflicts in a peaceful manner. Most of the work in this category can very well be done before a conflict has broken out into violence, with the aim of preventing an outbreak into violence from taking place. Capacity and expertise for identifying early warning signals should therefore be developed by all the actors that contribute to building peace. The most suitable form for this is a broad programme for co-operation in which several perspectives are given prominence, for example human rights, the environment, poverty reduction, democracy, disarmament, and issues relating to the arms trade. A gender perspective should be integrated in all activities.

The work now being done for the sake of democracy, justice, the environment or human rights can thus have an unutilised potential in that it can also be done for peace. The very diversity of Swedish CSOs can be utilised in the work for peace in several, mutually reinforcing, ways: different initiatives that interact with and reinforce each other. Organisations that work in crisis areas can also learn to identify and support, deliberately and strategically, the potential for preventing conflicts with the aid of their unique points of entry into local civil society. A great deal of the concept of peace building, and which has a preventive, long term effect, consists of activities that CSOs work with all the time. Creating norms and institutions for peaceful conflict management, maintaining respect for human rights, and combating social injustices are the goals of many organisations. One prerequisite for success is that a peace and conflict perspective is integrated into all work of this type and that conflict impact assessments are made. As organisations introduce systems and routines for analyses of this type, they will also discover more possibilities for supporting peaceful development and be able to contribute to averting violence and armed conflicts at an early stage. However, merely integrating a conflict perspective into the organisation is not sufficient. There is also a need of special expertise, cutting-edge skills and the capacity for analysis – in combination with action. Therefore, many of the recommendations in the study are based on further improvements in skills, and on making good use of experience gained.

Conclusions should be sought and drawn on the role of local civil society in violent conflicts and its potential to resist and actively oppose economic structures and interests that gain from war and stand in the way of peace. Use should be made of the experience of local organisations in areas of crisis and conflict. This offers an interesting research agenda. For example, it would be helpful if there was better documentation of what happens to the preventive capacity of civil society during the period prior to an outbreak of war. (Under what circumstances is it inadequate?) The

capacity to identify and support local structures for peace, uniting factors over dividing lines, and local conflict management mechanisms should be strengthened and further developed. It is necessary that the findings of researchers on the role of local society in different stages of violent conflicts reach the practitioners and the activists. There is also a need for more meeting places for academics and practitioners, locally and internationally.

Development cooperation in itself cannot lead to peace in the world. External civil society organisations cannot create peace for people in other countries. The projects described here can therefore never liberate the political actors and the parties involved from their responsibilities. On the other hand, CSOs can improve the prospects for peace by supporting local organisations that work for peace – morally, financially or by providing support for human resource development. They can also create scope for these forces to act by reducing violence with the aid of an international preventive presence. They can make resources available for a local peace process, for example by hosting peace talks, establishing think-tanks that provide solutions to a conflict, or by contributing to the implementation of a peace agreement. They can identify and support local structures for peace, for example traditional conflict management mechanisms, courts of justice, and trusted mediators, and they can support that which unites the parties involved over the dividing lines of conflicts. They can learn to identify the causes of armed conflicts as well as structural risk factors, and to do something about them. As a rule, programmes of cooperation with local actors for conflict transformation and peace building should be regarded as long-term commitments. The study emphasises the importance of local ownership.

With this edition of the report of the study, a wider, English-speaking, circle of readers is invited to enter into a dialogue with Swedish CSOs on a new and emerging field: the field where development cooperation and peace work overlap each other.

Introduction

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Study of the development projects of “Swedish”² organisations in areas of crisis and conflict

This report presents the results of a study of the contributions of Swedish CSOs to conflict transformation and peace-building. The study was performed by a network, *Peace Team Forum*. The ultimate responsibility for the study rested with *Forum Syd*, the Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation and financial support for the study was received from Sida.

The study refers in its entirety to Swedish organisations. Firstly, it contains a survey of the development projects of Swedish CSOs in areas of crisis and conflict which had the aim of preventing violence, dealing with conflicts and building peace and which were implemented during the period 1999 to 2000. Secondly, the report contains a discussion of the potential of Swedish CSOs in this field. Finally, the study provides concrete proposals and recommendations.

One common reaction from people active in Swedish CSOs who came into contact with the study was a feeling of sincere and pleasant surprise that Swedish CSOs actually do so much in the field of conflict transformation and peace-building. No one had previously made a comprehensive assessment of the field as such, with the result, for example, that little awareness existed of the work that was actually being done. The study was intended to offer an opportunity for Swedish CSOs to understand their role in the field of conflict transformation and peace-building.

² The international contact network of Swedish CSOs is considerable. The organisations included in the inventory all work with international issues. Together they have contacts in all continents and regions of the world. In reality the breakdown into national and international is obsolete and cumbersome. The organisations are active in an international arena even when they are active in Sweden. See further chapter 3.

The principal method used in the study was a consultative dialogue with CSOs. In addition to questionnaires and interviews, open seminars were arranged in which people active in Swedish CSOs could exchange experience and learn from each other. One of the real challenges faced by the study was to stake out the boundaries of peace work in areas of crisis and conflict, and to offer a language understood by all for the dialogue between CSOs. Creating a common frame of reference is to create opportunities for cooperation.

One contributory reason for the selection of the method was the adult education ambitions of the study. Not only the final results of the study but also the process used in the study were intended to contribute to raising levels of awareness among people active in CSOs on the contributions, as well as the potential contributions, of civil society to peace. This ambition explains the didactic tone that occasionally finds expression in the final report (for example in chapter 4 which explains theoretical points of departure of the analysis).

A few words should be said on some of the coordination and network mechanisms that are available to Swedish popular movements working with development cooperation.

Forum Syd – Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation, is a coordinatory organisation for the development cooperation activities of Swedish popular movements. It has almost 200 member organisations. Its main working areas are development cooperation and human resource development, networks and exchanges of experience, information activities and activities intended to shape opinion, and ideas and development work. On behalf of Sida, *Forum Syd* administers applications from certain CSOs for grants for development cooperation and information projects.

Its member organisations have development cooperation programmes through *Forum Syd*, mainly in the form of personnel assistance in Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Cambodia and Central America. *Forum Syd* participates in the network *Peace Team Forum*.

Peace Team Forum (Forum för Fredstjänst)³ is a network for the coordination of Swedish organisations and for the exchange of information and

3 One important impulse for the establishment of *Peace Team Forum* was a cooperation project organised by Swedish CSOs for peace surveillance in South Africa at the time of the first free elections, which were held in 1994. Since then *Peace Team Forum* has focused, among other things, on education and training. A large number of courses have been arranged: basic courses in conflict management, advanced courses in the same subject, training programmes for trainers, courses for field workers, training in security for assignments abroad, and special conflict management courses for young people. It has also produced a curriculum and a book: *Empowerment for Peace Service: A Curriculum for Education and Training in Violence Prevention, Non-violent Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding* and a guide in Swedish.

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cooperation between the organisations, for projects concerning the prevention of violence, for conflict management and peace-building. The network's mission statement defines its main aim, which is "to develop a capacity for the prevention of violence, conflict management and peace building projects in Sweden and contribute to a non-military structure for peace and security in Europe and the world" (mission statement 2001).

Peace Team Forum is part of a European cooperation network, *European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation*, which is open to CSOs working internationally with conflict management, conflict resolution and prevention of armed conflicts. CSOs can be in direct contact with European Platform but it especially welcomes national networks and likes to see that networks of this type are established in countries where this has not yet taken place. National networks existed in 2001 in Germany, Finland, Switzerland, Sweden, Great Britain and the Netherlands. In the last-mentioned country there is also the Centre for Conflict Prevention and Transformation, which is the hub of the network.

(See also Appendix 1 for a list of the 58 organisations that participated in the study, including websites, Appendix 2 for a brief presentation of the 69 projects in the field of conflict transformation and peace-building, and Appendix 3 for a brief summary of the process used in the study.)

1.2 Broad range of actors, phases of conflicts and levels in society

The project inventory (Appendix 2) reflects an interesting and broad range of the types of actors in civil society and of types of projects. All Swedish CSOs in the study are non-governmental and non-profit making, and they work within democratic structures with openness and insight in their decision-making processes and their finances. In all other respects there is a great degree of variation.

Several of the organisations that participated in the study are peace

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With support provided by the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, two major international conferences have been held within the framework of the network. In 1997 a conference was held at the Folk High School in Gripsholm on the theme Government – NGO Relations in Preventing Violence, Transforming Conflict and Building Peace. In the spring of 2001, during the Swedish presidency of the EU, *Peace Team Forum* and *European Platform* organised a conference: Promoting the Prevention of Violent Conflict and Building Peace by Interaction Between State Actors and Voluntary Organisations. This conference was also held in Gripsholm.

Capacity development in the network also led to cooperation for the acquisition of knowledge and methods development for conflict impact assessments in development cooperation. In 2001 a cooperation project on this issue was implemented with an institute in the USA, *Collaborative for Development Action*, when the network participated in the "mainstreaming phase" of the Local Capacities for Peace Project.

organisations.⁴ Other organisations describe themselves rather as women's organisations, children and youth organisations, religious organisations, human rights organisations, humanitarian organisations or, quite simply, development cooperation organisations.

Together, these different organisations have projects in different phases of armed conflicts around the world. There are examples from Europe, Middle East, Africa, Asia and Latin America. One fairly widespread conception appears to be that Swedish CSOs are not very active in areas of ongoing armed conflict due to the risks that this would involve. However, in the project inventory (Appendix 1), there are almost as many projects taking place during armed conflicts as after armed conflicts. The examples of projects contradict another generally widespread conception: that the projects of CSOs in armed conflicts only refer to rapid, urgently needed measures of a pure humanitarian character. In the inventory there are a great number of examples of long-term peace-building work in all phases of conflicts. Furthermore, the projects focus on and reach all levels of society, even if high decision-making levels are relatively uncommon in the material.

One important trend (see chapter 2) since the end of the Cold War is that a broad security perspective has obtained the support of politicians and, to a certain extent, of a wider public. This is connected with the realisation that most armed conflicts are intrastate conflicts. Parallel trends are the emphasis on the role that identity factors play in conflicts, and the role of democracy and truth and reconciliation processes which have popular support. One common factor of all these trends is that they interact to highlight the role of civil society in armed conflicts. The more researchers and practitioners can learn about the role of civil society, the more effective CSO cooperation can be for peace (see chapters 3 and 12). The study should be seen in this perspective. It reflects a process in which an increasing number of organisations are detecting the role civil society can play in the transformation of conflicts and building peace.

1.3 Analytical framework for surveys, classification and analysis

The study provides evidence of the way in which the overlapping field of conflict transformation and peace-building in development cooperation is growing into a field in its own right. The boundaries were not staked out in advance, and a great deal of time and effort were therefore expended

4 A "peace organisation" in this context is defined as an organisation whose main aim is to work for peace with peaceful means.

on defining the question at issue. One important contribution, which has been tested and used in many contexts since the study was made, is the analytical model (see chapter 5) which was produced by the coordinator of the study⁵ and which has then been tested in seminars and workshops.

The idea behind the analytical framework is simple. It consists of a combination of the conflict triangle produced by a peace researcher, Johan Galtung (1996:72), and a somewhat extended version of a definition of peace-building made by a former Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros Ghali. An analytical framework was created from the triangle and definition which is capable of identifying both projects of the type that attempt to exert an influence on, change and transform the very dynamics of a conflict, and projects of the type that focus on contributing to creating a more favourable climate for peaceful conflict management and conflict resolution. The first aspect is referred to here as conflict transformation and the latter to peace-building. Conflict transformation focuses on peace as a process; peace-building on peace as a structure.

The projects in the inventory have either been classified as conflict transformation projects or peace-building projects. The conflict transformation projects are divided in turn into projects intended to influence attitudes, influence behaviour or influence the dispute. The peace-building projects are classified into work with norms and knowledge, development of institutions and structures, and elimination of structural risk factors. Chapters 6–11 each focus on one of these six main categories of projects.

The analytical framework is sufficiently broad to include projects in different phases of a violent conflict. It can be used to describe and survey projects in conflicts that threaten to break out into violence, in violent conflicts, and in conflicts that have gone through a violent stage but have then adopted a peaceful direction. At the same time it is sufficiently narrow in that it insists that each project must have an explicit peace aim and be placed in relation to a specific, named conflict (current or feared). Furthermore, the analytical framework allows any possible “gaps” to be revealed, i.e. types of projects that can be implemented but for which there are no examples in the project inventory. This is of importance for analysis of the potential of CSOs to contribute to conflict transformation and peace-building, which has also been done within the framework of the study. The bank of ideas (chapter 13) contains 80 examples of types of projects that have the aim of preventing violence, handling conflicts and building peace – based on both experience and potential projects.

5 Anna Åkerlund.

The analytical framework is thus used as a way of classifying and surveying different types of projects that have the aim of peace. It can also be used as an instrument to see a certain project in relation to other ongoing projects in the same area of conflict, or to survey and identify an organisation's selection of strategies in its peace work. One of the great merits of the analytical framework is its usefulness for processing ways in which the work to create a good society relates to peace work. The point of departure of several responses to the questionnaire and inputs in the discussions was that organisations could consider that they were working for peace when they were working for democracy or for the reduction of poverty – that more democracy and less poverty would automatically lead to “more” peace. The analytical framework provides a means of sharpening this argument by pointing out, in concrete terms, ways in which projects of this type can relate to conflicts. Achieving greater clarity in this subject will offer better opportunities for acting in a way that improves the prospects of peace.

1.4 Prevention potential

Despite the fact that the study covered all phases of a conflict – and despite the fact that most of the projects in the inventory were implemented in areas where there was an ongoing armed conflict – one particular result of the study is that it strongly emphasises the considerable potential of civil society to prevent the immediate outbreak of conflicts into violence. The analytical framework made a strong contribution to this. Most of the projects are peace-building projects, i.e. they focus on creating and maintaining norms and institutions that support peace and aim to eliminate structural risk factors for armed conflict. The very aim of developing capacity for peaceful conflict management and eliminating risk factors includes a long-term perspective. Most of the projects in this category can very well be implemented before a conflict has broken out into violence, and it is with the aim of preventing violence that the projects take place.

However, the prevention of armed conflicts is more than peace-building at an early stage. The process-oriented conflict transformation approach can be preventive when it is implemented at an early stage. A conflict does not arise when behaviour in the conflict becomes violent: focusing on prevention is to see and do something about conflicts before they break out into violence. It is also possible to work in a process for the peaceful management or resolution of conflicts, even in conflicts that are not violent.

The most important lesson learned in the study in respect of the potential of civil society to contribute to dealing with conflicts, preventing violence and building peace is to point out the elements of prevention that

many of the projects have and to point out possible ways of further improving preparedness. Organisations working in areas of crisis can learn to identify the prevention potential more systematically and strategically through their unique points of entry into local civil society. The work now being done for the sake of democracy, justice, the environment or human rights can also have an unutilised potential to be done for peace. For more on this as well as on ways to improve preparedness to act, see chapter 12.

1.5 The extended security perspective – circumscribed after 11 September 2001

After the end of the Cold War, a new security thinking gained support; the security concept was extended to include more threats than the strictly military. The concept of “human security” is of special relevance for organisations that work with international development cooperation. It puts the security of individuals in focus beside that of states, and offers a supplementary dimension to the better-established concept of “human development”.⁶ It was in this light that the study was implemented. The final report was completed in August 2001. Less than one month later there was the act of terror in the United States, which would have a profound effect on and partly change the security policy debate. Since September 11, 2001, international relations have once again been dominated by a narrow security agenda. There is a deep irony in this. The point of departure of earlier discussions on terrorism as a threat to security had often been the extended security perspective. Nonetheless, in the aftermath of the events of September 11, 2001, the USA declared a “war on terrorism” in which the emphasis was placed on military solutions instead of the register of actions based on the extended security perspective.

According to an independent American think-tank, the following measures have been neglected in the USA after September 11, 2001: the focus on intelligence sharing; strengthening of international police cooperation; support for international court of justice; protection of important infrastructure (airports, nuclear power plants, chemical factories, IT security), the focus on arms control regimes; strengthening of international legal norms and human rights; and a change in policy so that active support is no longer given to oppressive regimes (Gershman 2004:1).⁷ It maintains that the war against terrorism has been allowed to legitimise a massive

⁶ More on human security can be found in chapter 2.

⁷ Foreign Policy in Focus (FPF), Task Force on Terrorism, a project run jointly by the Interhemispheric Resource Center (IRC) and the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). (Gershman 2004.)

increase in military investments that are not related to terrorism to any great extent. With the doctrine of preventive war, this focus is directly counterproductive since a doctrine of this type makes international cooperation difficult and increases global instability and insecurity, particularly if the doctrine is adopted by more countries (Gershman 2004:9-10).

The conceived extended threats of today confirm the relevance of an extended security perspective. Moreover, in view of the fact that the world's protracted conflict hotbeds are also breeding grounds for terrorism, it is not far-fetched to imagine that it should be possible today to rally political determination behind an entirely new initiative for conflict management and prevention of armed violence.

1.6 Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC)

In June 2001, the Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, presented the report "Prevention of Armed Conflict" to the General Assembly. The report emphasises the importance of civil society working together with other actors to prevent violent and armed conflicts. It urges organisations in civil society to organise a global conference for local, national and international CSOs on their role in the prevention of armed conflicts, and future cooperation with the UN in this field (Prevention of Armed Conflict, 2001, recommendation 27). With this as the point of departure, a global process has been started: *the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC)*. The main aim is to produce a global action plan for the prevention of war and armed conflict. This will be based on regional action plans that have been produced over a two-year period at a number of regional and national conferences around the world and which have involved CSOs at local, national, regional and international level. The global plan will be presented for discussion at an international conference in New York on July 19-21, 2005, which will be arranged by GPPAC. The focus of the conference will be on implementation of the action plan and partnership between CSOs and the UN to build peace and security. It is also hoped that the international conference will offer an opportunity to gather support for a future process of concrete work on the prevention of armed conflicts.⁸

It is expected that the global action plan will incorporate ten principles that were formulated at one of the regional conferences held within

⁸ Read more on the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict at www.gppac.net. ECCP (European Center for Conflict Prevention) is the host for GPPAC's secretariat. Its website is www.conflict-prevention.net.

the framework of *GPPAC*.⁹ These are: shift to prevention, building a ‘culture of prevention’ and ‘culture of peace’, human security, responsibility to prevent and protect, multilateralism, a new partnership for prevention between civil society, governments and Inter-Governmental Organisations, primacy of local ownership, inclusion and equality, learning from practice and accountability, and – finally – sustainability. *GPPAC* can be seen as an expression of the formulation of a new role for civil society in the field of conflict transformation and peace-building. In that respect the point of departure is the same as in the Swedish study presented here. Many of the Swedish organisations that participated in the study have also participated in the *GPPAC* process.¹⁰

1.7 A new generation of development projects

The sub-heading of the Swedish version of this report, “A new generation of development projects”, refers to the report “Prevention of Armed Conflict” presented by the Secretary General of the UN in June 2001. It is the discovery of the considerable potential for prevention that can be found in the work done by CSOs for peace in areas of crisis and conflict which justifies the reference to Kofi Annan’s words in paragraph 103 of the report: “A new generation of development projects is specifically focused on conflict prevention...”.

One common denominator of the Swedish projects presented in this report is that they are development projects with clearly defined peace aims and that they are being implemented in areas of crisis or conflict. Purely conceptually it can be said that the projects lie in the area where development cooperation work and peace work overlap. Many of the organisations that participated in the study stated that relations between peace organisations and development cooperation organisations have grown closer during the last decade. Accordingly, the study is an example of how an ever-increasing number of Swedish CSOs working with development cooperation feel called upon to examine, define and develop their role in the field of peace and conflict.

Apart from the fact that the inventory gives an idea of the skills and experience already possessed by Swedish CSOs, it also gives a picture of a field that has considerable development potential. When conflict transformation and peace-building develop into a field in its own right, it is

9 That in Dublin in March 2004 for Western Europe, i.e. the extended EU and Norway and Switzerland.

10 This is true at least for those organisations participating in the *Peace Team Forum* network, today 50 organisations.

probable that an ever-increasing number of actors in civil society will contribute to creating peace in all phases of conflicts. Above all, the newly gained experience can contribute to entirely new possibilities for preventing conflicts breaking out into violence and thereby preventing a great deal of human suffering. Proposals for future strategies in this growing field are presented and discussed in the final chapter of the book, chapter 14.

This edition of the report produced by the study enables a wider group of English language readers to enter into a dialogue with Swedish CSOs on the role of civil society in conflict transformation and peace-building. It is written from the perspective of the Swedish organisations, but the work that they do is carried out in close cooperation with local actors, as shall be apparent throughout the report. Hopefully this new edition can facilitate a deeper dialogue with these local actors as well as with CSOs in other countries that are also working locally in areas of crisis and conflict in order to contribute to peace. The potential and entry points possessed by CSOs to contribute to conflict transformation and peace-building are frequently discussed by CSOs in many countries. If this book can contribute to some extent to the development of human resources and capacity, it has more than achieved its purpose.

2.1 More and more civilian victims of war

Last century, the 20th century, has been called the most belligerent and violent century in the history of mankind. After two world wars, and despite the establishment of the UN with the explicit intention of “saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war” (United Nations’ charter, 1945; introduction), the world entered into a cold war between two superpowers. “The Cold War” is a Eurocentric concept. Outside Europe and North America the cold war often flared up into conventional “hot” wars, when the superpowers supported and armed different sides in armed conflicts. Since the end of the Second World War, over 50 million people have died in wars, just as many people as in the Second World War.¹¹

This figure includes all those who died in direct acts of warfare, which includes starvation in cases where supplies of food were withheld as a weapon in the conflict (for example in Biafra, Ethiopia, Somalia, Cambodia and Sudan). On the other hand, the figure does not include those who died of starvation and disease as a result of wars, when this was considered to be an unintentional consequence of warfare, of a mass exodus of refugees, and of an economy in ruins. Nonetheless, consequences of this type tend to be the rule rather than the exception. In the 1990s alone, over 50 million people were forced to flee from their homes as a result of wars (Human Development Report 2000:36). A large proportion of these people ended up as refugees in their own country, so-called internally displaced persons. The number of internally displaced persons in the world

11 Conference on Data Collection in Armed Conflict, Uppsala, June 8-9, 2001, contribution by Milton Leitenberg of the Centre for International and Security Studies, University of Maryland. The number of deaths in war during the entire 1900s was estimated by the same source to be between 130 million and 142 million people.

has increased considerably, which can be related to an increase in the number of intrastate conflicts. According to a FAO report, armed conflicts are also the cause of the most serious food shortages in the very poorest countries in the world (see, for example, the foreword to *The state of food insecurity in the world*, 2000). In February 2000 it was estimated that almost 15 million people were in need of emergency food aid as a direct consequence of wars.¹² Malnutrition leads to high mortality rates from all sorts of diseases and every estimate of the victims of wars conceals the additional millions of deaths that are never counted.

Even with a more conventional (restrictive) calculation of victims of wars, it is quite clear that the proportion of civilians among those killed in wars increased steadily throughout the 1990s. During the First World War, the proportion of civilian deaths was 14%; the corresponding figure for the Second World War was 67% (Ahlström et al. 1991). In the armed conflicts of today, the proportion is even higher. A report made by the Secretary General of the United Nations to the Security Council in March 2001 uses a relatively cautious figure: the proportion of civilian victims in modern wars was estimated at approximately 75% on average (Report on the protection of civilians, 2001).

According to humanitarian law, the law of armed conflict, civilians (non-combatants) shall be protected in war and not be the target of aggression. However, real life is different. More and more are seeing the consequences of a steadily increasing proportion of civilian victims in wars and are putting the perspective of the civilian population in focus in a different way than before. When approximately 75% of those who die in wars are civilians, it is difficult to address the issue of the suffering of the civilian population in wars as merely an unfortunate side-effect of war.

2.2 Increase in number and proportion of intrastate conflicts

The vast majority of armed conflicts are *intrastate* conflicts. The conflict database at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University registers only two armed conflicts *between* states at the end of the 1990s, namely that between India and Pakistan, and that between Ethiopia and Eritrea (Sollenberg 2000).¹³

Contrary to common belief, this situation is not new. Since the end of the

¹² www.worldhunger.org/articles/fall2000/messer2.htm (July 13, 2004).

¹³ This is not to deny that *the involvement of other states* is a major element in several civil wars. The foremost example is the war that has raged for many years in the Great Lakes region and which involves large parts of sub-Saharan Africa. The conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi have been interwoven with conflicts in the vast country (in terms of surface area) of Democratic Republic Congo (DRC), their neighbouring country in the west. There, Rwanda and Uganda face the DRC's regime, which has the assistance of Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe (Sollenberg 2000:11).

Second World War there has been a slow and steady increase in the number of *intrastate* armed conflicts, while the number of armed conflicts *between* states has remained at a fairly constant level.¹⁴ Towards the end of the last century, the proportion of intrastate armed conflicts had increased considerably in relation to all armed conflicts (Gurr, Marshall & Khosla 2001: 7).

Not only did the number and proportion of intrastate armed conflicts increase during the latter half of the last century, there was a peak shortly after the end of the Cold War. In 1992 observers could note a depressing record: we had not had as many armed conflicts as we had then at any point in time since the end of the Second World War, due to an increase in the number of minor conflicts (i.e. less than 1000 battle-related deaths during the course of the conflict).¹⁵ With the end of the Cold War, new conflicts, or conflicts that had been held back under the pressure of the Cold War, flared up. In connection with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, armed conflicts broke out in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Tajikistan, Moldova and, a few years later, Chechnya. Violent wars now broke out in Croatia, Bosnia & Herzegovina and Kosovo/a.

In the post-Cold War era, a new awareness has been raised about the high prevalence of intrastate armed conflicts. With it comes a shift from a rather single-sided focus on state actors to a new interest in many different kind of actors, including non-state actors as well as societies and civil society actors.

2.3 Now the number of armed conflicts is decreasing – except in the poorest countries

The increase in the number of intrastate armed conflicts described above would have been even greater if the end of the Cold War had not also had a positive effect on many local conflicts around the world. Conflicts that had been fomented by the rivalry between the superpowers and financed by them were then often able to pursue a more peaceful course. In countries such as Mozambique, Cambodia, El Salvador and Guatemala the foundations were laid for peace processes.

Towards the end of the 1990s it began to appear as if the increase in the number of intrastate armed conflicts had come to an end, or had even started to decrease (Sollenberg 2000; Gurr, Marshall & Khosla 2001). Will this trend continue? Are we now seeing the first indications that we are moving into a more peaceful era?

¹⁴ Interview, Margareta Sollenberg, February 27, 2001.

¹⁵ Sollenberg 2001:11 combined with the interview, see above.

In fact there are reasons that indicate that this is the case. One can point out that the process of decolonisation, a process that is fraught with conflict, has largely been completed in most parts of the world. After the referendum in East Timor in 1999, the major exception is western Sahara, where no solution yet appears to be in sight. One closely related argument for the belief in a bright future is that, after the fall of the Soviet Union and the wars in the Balkans, there are fewer large empires that are at risk of disintegrating. (China may be the major exception.)

One completely different reason for the decrease in the number of armed conflicts could be that we now have a larger number of far-reaching peace-building activities (Gurr, Marshall & Khosla 2001: 11). Thus, one contributory reason for the positive trend is the work for peace that has been done – and is being done – by the UN, regional organisations, states and – not least – CSOs. With an interpretation of this type, it should be possible to indulge in a certain degree of cautious optimism, both in respect of the prospects of more peace in the world and in our ability to be able to contribute to progress of this type through CSOs. Since this analysis was completed, the war in Afghanistan and, even more so, the war in Iraq, has moderated this optimism. However, despite these disquieting examples of how solutions that include violence are given precedence in international relations – even, as in the case in Iraq, without the assent of the UN Security Council – the underlying general trend continues. The number of armed conflicts continued to decrease in 2003 (Eriksson & Wallensteen: 625).

However, even if, in general, we can note a smaller number of conflicts in the last few years, the picture is distinctly more alarming where the poorest countries are concerned. If the countries of the world are divided into five groups on the basis of per capita energy consumption, it can be seen that the reduction in the number of conflicts applies to all groups of countries except the group of countries that has the lowest per capita energy consumption (Gurr, Marshall & Khosla 2001: 12-13). In this group the number of armed conflicts has remained more or less constant since the 1970s and shows no sign of declining. The poorest countries in the world are to be found in this group.

Most of the armed conflicts are being fought in Africa and Asia (Soltenberg 2000, Eriksson & Wallensteen: 632 ff). With the method, even if it is approximate, of classifying the world into poor and rich countries, based on per capita energy consumption, it is the "next poorest" group that has most armed conflicts (even if the number appears to be declining somewhat). This group is closely followed by the poorest group, i.e. the group with the lowest per capita energy consumption. The situation

that the second poorest group of countries is more seriously affected by armed conflict than the very poorest countries can depend on the fact that the former countries have slightly more resources for war purposes and more resources to fight over. War contractors, who take advantage of opportunities to make money from war, are also most often to blame for the continuation of hostilities. In this respect there is also a link to the end of the Cold War. Armed groups, which were previously in receipt of support from the superpowers, were forced to rely more on the drugs trade or the exploitation of natural resources such as gold, oil and diamonds in order to finance wars. At the beginning of this century, questions concerning the funding of wars have therefore been given entirely new importance and a degree of urgency. The question of marks of origin for diamonds has, for example, become a peace issue, since the diamond trade has financed and prolonged wars, particularly in Angola, Sierra Leone and Democratic Republic Congo.¹⁶

2.4 The role of ethnicity and religion in conflicts

Many armed conflicts have ethnic elements, i.e. the groups that oppose each other describe themselves as different, in terms of history, culture, religion and language. A dangerous situation arises when identity markers coincide with dividing lines in conflicts over, for example, the economy, natural resources or political power. Ethnicity, religion, language, common history, clan affiliation – everything that can define and motivate groups – is then used for mobilisation. There is a tremendous force in that which concerns the deepest identity of people. Furthermore, it is often claimed that issues relating to identity have gained in importance in the armed conflicts of today as a result of globalisation. However, peace and conflict researchers are usually cautious in using terms such as “ethnic conflict” or “religious war” since, by doing so, it can appear as if ethnicity or religion itself is the cause of the conflict. The mere assertion that the two peoples fighting against each other are different in ethnic or religious respects does not explain why they are at war. The question of the cause of the conflict is still to be answered, and the answer is not usually related to any great extent to ethnicity or religion, but often much more to economics and politics.

¹⁶ Democratic Republic Congo provides many examples linked to wars of illegal exploitation of natural assets and other riches. A survey has been made on behalf of the UN Security Council. The report, which was presented to the Security Council on April 12, 2001 (S/2001/357), contains a survey of the ways in which regimes and individuals in belligerent countries are exploiting DRC's natural assets, and the ways in which this is contributing to the continuation of war on a large scale.

However, the fact that religion and ethnicity are rarely the real reasons for armed conflicts does not mean that they do not play an important role in conflicts. Any possible illusions to the contrary have not been able to survive the events of the last fifteen years: the disintegration of the Soviet Union and Former Yugoslavia into smaller states based on ethnicity, and all the devastating wars between ethnic groups that had previously lived side by side. The news reports in the media abound with examples of ways in which violence and war are legitimised on the basis of ethnic and religious motives. The genocide in Rwanda also gave prominence to issues of ethnicity and conflict. However, this example illustrates that issues that are related to – for example – power, resources and/or identity do not necessarily have to do with “ethnicity” *per se*.

Simultaneously, there is the doctrine of modernity under which religion and ethnicity are irrational and provincial phenomena, which strike a discordant note with informed and modern cosmopolitan society. According to this doctrine, religion and ethnicity will be increasingly marginalised and eventually become meaningless and picturesque elements in our image of society. However, it would seem that the conflicts contradict this picture. It cannot be denied that identity issues such as religion and ethnicity play a major role in many conflicts. Therefore, it is important to understand the role that identity markers can play in mobilisation for war. If it is possible to isolate the mechanisms behind this phenomenon and understand them better, it should be possible to see more clearly ways in which mobilisation for war and violence can be counteracted. It should even be possible to turn the question around and explore ways in which actions that can be used to mobilise for war can be used instead – are already being used – to mobilise for peace. Where religion is concerned, it is easy to point out examples of religious inspiration and mobilisation for the work for peace. (See 12.5).

2.5 The “democratic peace”

One important trend since the end of the Cold war is the realisation that there is a strong connection between democracy and peace. The theory that democracies do not go to war against each other is the closest it is possible to come to an empirical law in the field of peace and conflict research.¹⁷ If it were possible to spread democracy to the entire world, wars

¹⁷ The original idea can be traced back to Immanuel Kant's *Treatise on Eternal Peace* and in modern time the observation can be traced to an article by Dean Babst in 1964 (“Elective Government – A Force For Peace”, *Wisconsin Sociologist* 3, no.1, 1964:9-14). Babst's article was followed up by several studies. See Bruce Russett *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Press, 1993). A lucid and critical review of different types of links between democracy and peace is given by Georg Sorensen in “Democracy and Democratization”, 1993.

between states would be abolished! The “democratic peace”, peace between democracies, is now a concept.

However, the theory on democratic peace states first and foremost that democracies do not make war against each other. Since the birth of modern democracy we have experienced a number of wars that have involved democracies, including the largest wars known in world history: the two world wars. Nor in the post-war period have armed conflicts between democracies and non-democracies been particularly uncommon. Hypotheses about a greater degree of peacefulness in democracies are therefore more contested than the theory about the democratic peace, i.e. peace among democracies.

As a system for collective decision-making, democracy is of course an institutionalised conflict management system. The institutions and procedures of democracy offer ways of both identifying conflicts in a community and of dealing with them and solving them without violence. Therefore one could assume that there should be a crystal-clear relationship between democracy and intrastate peace. Nevertheless, armed conflicts are taking place in several formal democracies in the world: Ireland, Spain, India, Philippines and Mexico, to name a few. A simple rule of the type: “more democracy, more peace; less democracy more war” is thus difficult to prove. If the world is divided up into distinct democracies, distinct autocracies and a group of states that have both democratic and autocratic elements, one can find that autocracies are almost as peaceful as democracies where intrastate armed conflicts are concerned. The probability of intrastate conflict is greatest in the states that are to be found somewhere in the middle between democracy and dictatorship (Gurr, Marshall & Khosla 2001: 20).

2.5.1 Formal democracy not enough

To understand why the relationship between democracy and peace at the intrastate level is so unclear, it is perhaps sufficient to point out that individual components in democratic systems can very well contribute to exacerbating conflicts. In a society where there is a latent conflict, a majority system where the “winner takes all” can cause problems, particularly if there is not a reasonable chance that the loser on one occasion can win the next election. And this can be the case in a society where political mobilisation is based on ethnic grounds. Even proportional election systems can create strong tensions if the ethnic group that is in the majority always wins over the minorities. In such cases the government of the state will be determined more by demographic factors than policies. The conclusion from the conflict management perspective is not that the one de-

mocratic system is better than another, but that an attempt should be made to find a system that functions best in each individual case. It is a matter of finding a system that allows democracy to do itself justice as a continuous and flexible process for handling minor and major conflicts. Deeply divided communities can be helped by different ways of sharing power (representation of all ethnic groups, decisions by consensus in important issues). One possible alternative to achieve the same objective is to divide the country (federalism or autonomy). However, one important conclusion of the above discussion is that formal democracy, i.e. democratic institutions and procedures, is not sufficient. A holistic definition of democracy should also include protection of the rights and privileges of the citizens and a democratic culture supported by women and men in civil society. If these components are weak, the ability of the democratic system to identify conflicts, which is normally an asset, can lead to problems. The conflicts may come to the surface but the system may not be strong enough to deal with them in a satisfactory way. A widespread democratic culture and a strong civil society play a key role in enabling the peace-creating potential of democracy to do itself justice. Provided that all three components are strong (the institutions of democracy, rights and privileges, and culture), democracy is at least in theory an unrivalled system for conflict management in that it offers the possibility to draw attention to conflicts at an early stage and prescribes ways of dealing with and solving these conflicts with a high degree of legitimacy.

2.6 Extended security concept

With the end of the Cold War, military threats diminished. The narrow view of security of the Cold War was replaced with a number of proposals for an extended security concept. All have one thing in common: they put the security of people instead of states in focus. Security is no longer a matter of territory and regime, but of all threats to mankind. A new concept, human security, has gained a footing. In DAC's guidelines for conflicts, peace and development cooperation, it is expressed in the following way:

“Actors in international, national and local government and civil society have thus come together around a changing concept of security aimed at freeing people from pervasive threats to their lives, safety or rights. This is especially critical for the poor.” (DAC 2001:19).

There are aspects of human security in a number of fields: terrorism, systematic violations of human rights, organised crime, violence against

women, epidemics, food supplies, natural disasters and environmental disasters. Human security and that of states mutually reinforce each other and an extension of the security concept is intimately linked with an extension of the stakeholders involved in the field of security. Traditionally, national security is protected by a country's military forces and an active foreign policy. The new, extended security concept underlines the importance of comparing military budgets with budgets for disaster preparedness, healthcare, social security systems and many other aspects that promote human security.

2.7 Strong increase in multi-functional operations initiated by the UN

In the same way as the security policy agenda has been widened, the peace-keeping register has been extended. The UN Security Council, which was paralysed by the right of veto during the Cold War, was suddenly given the opportunity at the end of the Cold war to initiate a number of peace-keeping operations around the world. Between 1989 and 1995 there were more peace-keeping operations than during the entire history of the UN up to that time (1946-1989). Moreover, these new peace-keeping operations were of a new "multi-functional" type. Repatriation of refugees, election supervision, democratic development, and the temporary administration of territories now became part of the UN operations.

With Boutros Boutros-Ghali's Agenda for peace (1992), the peace-building concept was widely disseminated. Also here the extended concept and action programme are combined with an extension of stakeholders and methods. Hitherto this has mainly taken place in the form of an increase in the number of civil police in operations, but there is also a growing need for civilian personnel of other categories. The so-called Brahimi report proposed the establishment of a special register of well-educated and well-qualified civilian professionals of various types who were prepared to undertake, at short notice, short-term assignments in peace-keeping operations with elements of peace-building (Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations 2000).

2.8 Truth commissions – a new trend

A further development in our time, which has had the effect of broadening the register of conflict management and peace-building and of giving greater emphasis to the role of the civil population, is the new scope, importance and use of truth commissions. The first commissions (Uganda,

Bolivia, Argentina, Zimbabwe, Uruguay, Philippines, Chile etc) questioned witnesses in camera in fear of fomenting antagonism between the defenders of the former regime and their opponents. On the other hand, the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission insisted on holding public hearings and inviting radio and TV to cover the proceedings (Rotberg & Thompson, 2000:5). Instead of receiving a final product in the form of a processed and complete report, the general public was invited to participate in the entire process.

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission is far from being uncontroversial: the use of amnesty in exchange for truth has been criticised. However, there is a great deal of agreement that it represents a radical and pioneering form of truth commission in which civil society is regarded as a stakeholder and a subject in a national process of reconciliation. By arriving at the truth within the framework of a public discussion, emphasis is given to the importance of creating common ground for a new democratic society. The commission also constitutes an illustration, and a reminder, of the close links between truth and reconciliation. Eliciting the truth in respect of excesses and crimes committed during a violent conflict is a prerequisite – not an obstacle – for peace and reconciliation.

2.9 International law to protect civilians in war

Progress has also been made in the field of humanitarian law. An attempt has been made to respond to the unfortunate trend of the 1900s of an increasing number of civilian victims in armed conflicts. For the first time since the aftermath of the Second World War, persons have been convicted of genocide. For the very first time, cases of rape in armed conflicts have been taken up in an international tribunal as a crime against humanity.¹⁸

Another major step to come to terms with exemption from punishment in this field was taken with the step to establish the world's first permanent international criminal court. When Sweden ratified the agreement for the establishment of this court on June 28, 2001, it was the 36th country to do so (60 ratifications are required).¹⁹ The court, with its headquarters in The Hague, will be able to sentence individuals for war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity and possibly, in the future, crimes of

18 On February 2001, three men were sentenced to prison for rape, torture and sexual slavery by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. For the first time the crime of rape in an armed conflict was classified as a crime against humanity.

19 The constitution of the International Criminal Court entered into force July 1, 2002.

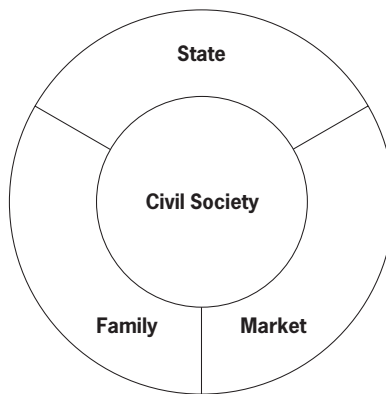
aggression. The court will be able to take over in cases where national courts cannot or do not wish to prosecute offenders in the categories mentioned above. Hopefully it will have a deterrent effect on presumptive criminals and function as a means of bringing pressure to bear on countries to hold more national trials.

Actors in civil society

CHAPTER 3

3.1 Civil society and its organisations

In chapter 2 we saw how developments during the last ten years have increasingly put the spotlight on civil society in conflicts. In this context civil society means the phenomenon that arises when people organise themselves



and act together in the space between the family, the state and the market. Civil society consists of formal and informal networks, organisations and institutions. People organise themselves on the basis of their common interests or needs, religious affiliations, for pure entertainment ... the list can be made long. In civil society one can also expect to find formal and informal institutions and mechanisms for peaceful conflict management. There is probably no society or culture that lacks mechanisms for handling conflicts of different types: village councils, ombudsman institutions, religious institutions and rituals, courts of law, democratic elections and referenda etc. Some of them are the responsibility of the state, others are part of civil society.

Accordingly civil society is an extremely wide concept. It is much more than civil society organisations (CSOs). Civil society includes, but is not identical to, CSOs. The CSO concept (or NGO, here the concepts are used synonymously and are interchangeable with each other) is sufficiently wide to include classical popular movements and voluntary organisations, churches, foundations of different types and umbrella organisations. This also makes it possible to speak about Swedish and local organisations (i.e. local to the conflict area) without it being necessary to take different organisational cultures into consideration. According to the Human Development Report 2000, every fifth person participates in a formal organisation within civil society (Human Development Report 2000:5).

3.2 A gender and generation perspective

3.2.1 *Stereotyped pictures of women in war*

The field of war and armed conflict is one of the most gender-segregated fields that exist. For a long time women took almost no part at all in foreign policy, diplomacy and defence. Questions concerning war and peace are still decided to a very large extent by men. Women are seldom seen, for example, at the negotiation table. Even if the number of women soldiers has increased, the overwhelming majority of the world's soldiers are men. The conventional picture, i.e. that men make war while the women stay at home, is therefore fairly accurate.

Gender stereotypes can be found in many places, i.e. that the “natural” role of women is to take care of the “home front”: providing the food, looking after the children, taking care of the sick etc. However, when most of the men have gone to war, the women also take over jobs that are not traditionally regarded as women's jobs. Women constitute a labour force reserve. They take over the jobs in the community and in industry that are not being done since the labour force has been called up. They are often also the first to become unemployed during the difficult reconstruction phase after the war, when the men have returned home. However, it has happened that women have succeeded in advancing their positions in society during wars, and that they have struggled with a certain degree of success to retain these positions after the wars.

Even if the conventional picture mentioned above contains some corns of truth where the roles of men and women in war are concerned, it is misleading in other ways. The idea of a war front and a peace front has always been a simplification and is now out-of-date. When 75% of those who die in war are civilians (see Chapter 2.1), it is meaningless to speak

about a home front as something that is separate from a war front. On the contrary, we have been forced to witness violence against women as a war strategy and rape as ethnic cleansing.

A large majority of the refugees in the world are women and children – as many as 80 per cent (report to the UN General Assembly, 1996). War increases the number of households that are headed by women or by one woman (most often war widows). Women are also the main victims of the general increase in violence that seems to follow in the wake of armed conflicts. This includes both criminal violence, which makes the streets unsafe, and violence in the home.²⁰ Prostitution also follows in the wake of war.

Women are not merely victims. They play an active role in war, not only by providing most of the essential basic services but also, for example, by ideologically supporting the war effort and keeping military morale high. Women are also a force to be counted on in the work for peace. Since it is mostly women who keep communities going during war, it is also mostly women who have effective organisations and networks to deal with peace-building after war.

While a great deal has been written about women and children in war, it is more difficult to obtain material on men in war. The other side of the coin of conventional ideas about the “soft” role of women is a similarly conventional notion of manliness associated with the myth of the warrior. What does the increase in violence against women after a war actually say about what war does to men?

3.2.2 Adolescents and children

Adolescents, like women, are a group in society that are affected very severely by armed conflicts but seldom participate in and make decisions on matters concerning war and peace. However, there the similarities end; the role of adolescents is unique in several ways. Women are rarely directly involved in acts of warfare even if there are exceptions. On the other hand, half of the adolescents, the young men, are the very group that are called up. Young people are forced to take sides. Those who take a stand against armed violence adopt a radical position and are a force to be reckoned with. Young people are also a key group where influencing attitudes is concerned. It is during adolescence that the norms and values

20 The level of violence in a community after a war is usually higher than before the war, a consequence of the fact that there are more weapons in circulation due to the war, and that social institutions have been weakened. *Kvinna till Kvinna*, as well as many other organisations around the world, can report a considerable increase in violence in the home both during and after wars.

taken from childhood are questioned. They either become a conscious part of one's identity or are rejected. The inquiring attitude of young people makes it easier to exert an influence on adolescents than older people.

The increase in the vulnerability of civilians in modern war has also increased the risks for children in communities at war. The risk of children becoming orphans has increased, as well as the risk that they themselves will be killed, maimed, wounded and raped. As weapons become lighter to carry and handle, and also become more widespread and accessible, an increasing use has been made of boys and girls as soldiers. *Save the Children Sweden* estimates that today over 300 000 child soldiers are participating in more than 30 armed conflicts all over the world, in both government armies and guerrilla groups.²¹

3.3 Cooperation between local and external CSOs

Hitherto, this chapter has exclusively taken up local civil society in areas of crisis and conflict. This is as it should be. No one can come in from the outside and “fix peace” for someone else. It is naturally only the parties that are directly concerned and the people that can create peace. However, external actors can provide assistance and support local peace efforts. They can support structures for peaceful conflict management. With the right intervention at the right point in time, they can contribute to improving prospects of peace. The organisations that participated in this study were unanimous about the importance of local ownership. Local civil society has the potential to act for peace. It is usually always possible to find people who work for peace and for structures, institutions or organisations that can actually, or potentially, overcome the dividing lines of a conflict. One question for the Swedish organisations is whether, and if so how, they can enter the picture and support the realisation of peace-building potential in local civil society. The Swedish organisations also often emphasised that local ownership is associated with sustainability. The ownership of peace processes must lie with the local actors if the aim is to build sustainable and permanent peace.

At the same time there is no reason to romanticise civil society. One of the organisations that this study was in contact with described its work in a country in which there was a conflict and criticised its partner in co-operation there for not acting particularly constructively in the conflict. For this reason, the Swedish organisation had chosen not to work with peace matters but with entirely different things which the partner organ-

²¹ <http://www.rb.se/sv/FaktaOmBarn/BarnKrig/Barnsoldater/> (2004-10-16).

isation was good at. This example was therefore not included in the study. The reason for mentioning it here is that the example can serve as a reminder of the obvious: that not all organisations in local civil society play a constructive role in local conflicts.²² Having close relations with an organisation that, for one reason or another, contributes to exacerbating a conflict presents a problem if nothing is done about it. However, if an organisation is prepared to work actively for change leading to peace, a relationship of this type can offer an interesting point of entry for making a difference in the conflict. Many organisations working actively with peace issues would like to have the opportunity to exert an influence on local parties that contribute to increasing tensions and exacerbating the conflict.

3.3.1 What is “Swedish”?

All the Swedish organisations in the study are non-governmental, non-profit organisations and they work within a democratic framework with openness and the promotion of transparency in both their decision-making processes and their finances. In other respects they vary in many ways.

The “Swedish” aspect of these organisations lies quite simply in the fact that they have their base in Sweden. However, the borderlines between Swedish and international are not always crystal clear. Several organisations are, for example, part of international organisations. Swedish Amnesty is a section of *Amnesty International*, the *Swedish Red Cross* is a national association within the international *Red Cross* and *Red Crescent Federation*; *YMCA-YWCA of Sweden* is a member of the *World Alliance of YMCAs* and *World YWCA*. All these three organisations are examples of organisations whose international activities are so strongly associated with their international counterpart that it is difficult to draw the borderline between the work of the Swedish organisation and the international organisation. This is also true of *Peace Brigades International*, the *Swedish section of Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom*, *Greenpeace* and the *Swedish branch of Médecins Sans Frontières*. *Church of Sweden Aid*, which as part of the Swedish Church is without any doubt a Swedish organisation, has chosen to work mostly internationally and multilaterally (via the *Lutheran World Federation* or the *World Council of Churches*). Two projects of this type have been included, but it can be difficult to distinguish exactly the Swedish organisation’s contribution.

The *Life and Peace Institute* is something of a special case. With its in-

²² It is obvious that external NGOs, as well as local organisations, can also contribute to exacerbating conflicts. In order to avoid unintentionally exacerbating a violent conflict, a growing number of organisations have started to make systematic conflict impact assessments of their activities. See chapter 14.

ternational board it is, in a way, an international institute. However, it has clear links to the Swedish ecumenical movement (through the *Christian Council of Sweden*) and its head office is situated in Uppsala. Thus the Institute should be considered to have sufficient roots in Sweden to be included in the study.

3.3.2 Immigrant organisations

A number of immigrant organisations belong to the Swedish CSO community. In an organisation study performed by Anders Olin on behalf of the *Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation (Forum Syd)*, it is stated that immigrant organisations in development cooperation are probably able to guarantee that their programmes of cooperation and projects are better adapted and more sustainable than other forms of development cooperation. A warning is also issued here: “While this form of support is interesting, there are also dangers. The fact that organisations come from the country in question also means that they will not be unbiased in any possible conflicts. Therefore, Swedish government grants can, at worst, be channelled to projects that favour one side in a local conflict and thus exacerbate the conflict.” (Olin 2000:24)

This is an important warning. It is certainly the case that well-to-do politically active pressure groups in exile can play an extremely important role in armed conflicts. And they can play this role to do harm – but also to do good. A number of international organisations working with conflict resolution are therefore seeking to actively involve exile groups – with their resources, commitment and local knowledge – in the work for peace in their home countries. However, it is still a simplified picture since it only refers to immigrant organisations. Questions of bias or lack of bias are more complex than this. Other external organisations can also be biased and deliberately or against their will be in the hands of biased local organisations.

The fact that the person comes from the country in question does not need necessarily mean that he or she is biased and unsuitable in the context. On the contrary, the basic attitude must be that it is the local stakeholders who are, and should be, owners and agents in the work of dealing with conflicts, preventing violence and building peace.

3.4 Track-two and multi-track diplomacy

Today, the role of non-government stakeholders in handling conflicts, preventing violence and building peace is often summarised through references to various “tracks”. An American diplomat, Joseph Montville, is

considered to be the originator of the concept track two diplomacy as a designation of unofficial diplomacy, performed by private persons and CSOs. Since it is a well-known concept, it is worth looking at a little more closely.

The first track is that of governments and states whether they act separately or jointly. This track is of decisive importance in issues concerning war and peace. Government and states have a great deal of resources at their disposal and can put force behind their words. This is naturally a strength, but it also suffers from certain disadvantages. If we remain in the field of diplomacy, it can, for example, be difficult for states to maintain a low profile in certain situations, particularly in the media society we live in today. Furthermore, states can have problems in intervening in internal conflicts since they can then be accused of becoming involved in the internal affairs of another state. In addition, one weakness is that their actions are often limited in view of their own national interests. The second track consists of CSOs with special competence in the areas of conflict transformation and peace-building. The advantages and disadvantages of the second track mirror those of the first track. Their relative lack of power has the result that there is a risk that they are not taken seriously. However, it is in fact this that also gives them greater possibilities to experiment and to test ideas. They are limited by a lack of resources, but not by any consideration of the principle of non-involvement or by national interests. They are informal and discreet. They often have direct points of entry to local civil society (cf Wirmark et al 1997:17).

Louise Diamond, director and founder of an institute for peace education, took up the idea of the two tracks and launched the expression multi-track diplomacy. She was of the opinion that unofficial diplomacy consisted of a multitude of initiatives that should not be regarded as one single track. Together with the American diplomat, John W McDonald, Diamond devised a model for diplomacy in nine tracks. They also founded an institute, Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, to transform their ideas into practice. The concept of multi-track diplomacy has become widespread, but the names and numbers of the tracks can vary. In addition to the first and second tracks (above): Diamond and McDonald include the following tracks: industry, individual citizens, research and education, religion, “the activist track”, “the donor track” (“funding), communication and media. Others have added further tracks, for example art, gender work and sport (e.g. van Tongeren et al 1999). From having referred to diplomatic functions such as mediation, hosting negotiations and suchlike, the concept has come to be used to point out the breadth of participants that can contribute to building peace. The concept also includes

the belief that the different tracks should interact in order to achieve the best possible effect.

In the following the concept of track two diplomacy will be used on a few occasions. We will return to the basic idea that different actors in civil society can act in several mutually reinforcing tracks.

Theoretical points of departure

CHAPTER 4

4.1 What is “peace”?

“Peace” is an extremely nebulous concept. The lowest common denominator of peace is the absence of war and armed conflict. But is this sufficient? How should we regard a situation in which a military superior force succeeds in holding conflicts just under the surface? Or situations of systematic discrimination and oppression by one group against another? Is it really possible to speak of peace without justice and respect for human rights?

A distinction has often been made between “negative peace”, i.e. the absence of war, and “positive peace” which also includes the realisation of values such as economic and social justice and respect for human rights. The terms originate from a peace researcher, Johan Galtung, and his distinction between direct, structural and cultural violence (Galtung 1996:2). Direct violence is physical and verbal. It is violence that is visible. But there is also violence that is not visible: violence rooted in the culture (machismo, chauvinism, corporal punishment of children etc) or in structures (institutionalised racism, economic injustices etc). Positive peace is the absence of all forms of violence.

When we look below at Swedish CSO’s projects in areas of crisis and conflict with the aim of creating peace, we will see that, without exception, the contributions relate to armed conflict. In other words it is a case of situations in which direct violence is expressed. However, the vision of peace is more than the absence of direct armed violence. With a process-oriented perspective, it is obvious that peace, justice and human rights are interrelated. Long-term “peace-building” includes working with things that could be called cultural and structural violence.

No attempt is made to survey the entire process to the realisation of positive peace in all its aspects. Moreover, there is disagreement on what

this would mean exactly. Some common associations are: safety from external threats, disarmament, a society without violence, a society in which everyone's basic needs are met, full respect for human rights, justice for everyone, a state of harmony, tranquillity, ecological balance. In its widest definition peace is synonymous with everything that is good.

This study does not provide a complete recipe for the “good society”. The focus of interest is, without exception, on the issue of how CSOs can contribute to prevent, handle or solve large-scale armed conflicts.

4.2 The violence curve and its various phases

Occasionally an armed conflict is illustrated with the aid of a curve, in which the degree of violence is related to a time axis. In other words, the curve shows the level of violence. The difference between armed conflict and war is the degree of violence. The Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University documents the number of armed conflicts from year to year. According to the definition that is used in the Department, an “armed conflict” is a conflict between at least two parties with at least 25 deaths in the fighting. War is defined as an armed conflict with at least 1 000 deaths in the fighting per year.²³ No matter whether it is a war or a smaller armed conflict, it is a question of a conflict between organised parties in which at least one is a state. Violence between gangs is not included, even if it is fought with weapons. The curve of violence usually looks like an upside-down “U”. In reality the curve is never smooth and regular: the level of violence flows forwards and backwards. Nor is it certain that a war starts as a limited armed conflict, which then escalates.

The curve is useful when considering different contributions in relation to the various phases of violence. Prevention of armed conflict can, for example, be visualised as working to ensure that there will not be any “curve” at all in a conflict. Prevention means stopping outbreaks of violence or stopping a return to armed conflict after peace has been achieved. Accordingly, the first phase lies outside the curve, before the curve. It is at this point that there is a risk of armed conflict, but it has not broken out yet. Sometimes this is referred to as a phase prior to armed conflict, but language of this type can lead thoughts on to the wrong track. It can sound as if the next step is inevitably an outbreak of war. However, there is no law of nature that states that conflicts must be violent. To underline that the possibility of avoiding an outbreak of violence always exists, the first phase will be referred to instead hereinafter as a crisis.

²³ In addition, at least one of the parties must be a state, and the incompatibility between the parties (the dispute) must refer to government or territory. See www.pcr.uu.se/database.

When violence breaks out, an important borderline is passed. The dynamism of the conflict is drastically exacerbated. The phenomenon has been called “the Rubicon problem”. As when Caesar crossed the Rubicon, an action has been taken that cannot be undone. A change has taken place in the situation. There is a difference between preventing an armed conflict and trying to handle it or solve it when it has become an established fact. The second phase has started. On the other hand, it is never too late to bring down the curve of violence once again. The fact that the level of violence has started to increase does not mean that it must necessarily continue to do so and then eventually start to make a slow descent. Early outbreaks of violence need not lead to a long, drawn-out war. The earlier action is taken, the better. Accordingly, as opposed to Caesar, we need – and we should – never assume that “the die is cast” once and for all.

Prevention of armed conflict includes handling or solving the conflict before it becomes violent. Most often one starts to speak of conflict management and conflict resolution when the curve of violence is an established fact. Very often, one also speaks about prevention of violence only after the outbreak of violence. In this context (direct) prevention of violence means the prevention of outbreaks of violence, of a return to violence, or of the escalation of violence in armed conflicts. Escalation of violence can mean an escalation of the level of violence (vertical escalation), or the spread of violent conflict (horizontal escalation). Accordingly, as with conflict management and conflict resolution, it can take place at any time in a crisis, during or after an armed conflict. Prevention of armed conflict is the only concept used here which – logically – can only take place in one phase: in a crisis. When an armed conflict has already broken out, it is of course too late to prevent it. But this does not preclude a preventive perspective in all phases of an armed conflict: all interventions in a conflict can either be acute and short term interventions or interventions for the long-term prevention of deterioration in the situation or a relapse in the future. (Both are needed!)

The third and last phase in the curve of violence starts when the level of violence has diminished to such a low level that it starts to approach the degree of violence before outbreak of the armed conflict. Then serious efforts begin on the arduous process of reconstruction after war. The first period after the end of a war is extremely sensitive. In general there is a substantial risk of a new outbreak of war in countries that have recently been at war. According to often quoted figures, the risk of a new outbreak of war is approximately 42% immediately after the start of formal peace, and this is a risk level that only diminishes slowly. Five years after the end of the war the risk of new hostilities is still 37% (Collier and Hoeffler 2000:23).

4.3 What is conflict?

Peace and conflict are not antonyms. There are also conflicts in peacetime, and conflicts are neither good nor bad in themselves. Conflicts are a part of the social interaction between people. In cases where conflicts are an effect of the legitimate aspirations of people, to uphold their rights, they should rather be promoted than prevented. During the apartheid era in South Africa, good peace work was hardly a matter of preventing a conflict over the policies that were being pursued. On the contrary, it was a question of drawing attention to and promoting a conflict of this type – and channelling it in peaceful forms.

Conflicts arise, for example, when two individuals, groups or states strive towards incompatible goals and to some extent define their relations with the other on the basis of this incompatibility. The latter implies that they must be parties. They must be aware of this incompatibility and be prepared to pursue the issue for the situation to be described as a conflict. Or to quote from Professor Peter Wallensteen's "From War to Peace: on conflict resolution in the global system":

"A conflict is a social situation in which at least two parties are striving simultaneously to acquire the same set of scarce assets." (Wallensteen 1994:14).

It is important to point out that the "assets" here are not necessarily material. They can refer to incomes, raw materials and land, as well as power, status or other values. The use of the expressions "simultaneously" and the "same set of scarce assets" is a more precise way of describing the incompatibility mentioned above. The fact that a conflict is a "social situation" means that the conflict is something that one party always has in common with other parties.

4.3.1 *Parties and the power situation*

Sometimes the expressions primary and secondary parties are used. The primary parties are those that are fighting. The secondary parties are those that back up and support those who are fighting. On the other hand, third parties work for a solution or settlement of the conflict without actually being part of the conflict.

Since a conflict is a relationship, the question of power is important. The definition of conflict only mentions parties in the general sense of the term and thus, in one's thoughts, there is the picture of equal parties. In reality equal parties are seldom to be found. If the difference is extreme-

ly great, so great that one party can dominate totally, it is called an asymmetrical conflict. Both the nature of the issue and the power situation between the parties involved must be given consideration in a conflict analysis worth its name.

Analytical framework

CHAPTER 5

5.1 Conflict transformation

There are always ways of dealing with conflicts that are more or less constructive (or more or less destructive). The scale is a floating scale: in reality many solutions end up in a grey zone in which constructive and destructive solutions are mixed. But the extremes, the poles of the scale, are sufficiently distinct. All ways that have the objective of annihilating the other party are obviously destructive. Violence as a form of conflict behaviour is to be found on the destructive side of the scale. Constructive ways of handling conflicts are attempts to do something about the causes of the conflict and to find a long-term sustainable solution that all can agree on.

The goal is peaceful conflict resolution or conflict management and reconciliation. Reconciliation is the restoration and healing of ruptured relations. To enable a reconciliation process to take place, there must be the willingness to see and recognise the harm that has been caused; sincere repentance; determination not to repeat the harm; preparedness to make amends for and to provide compensation for any damage caused; and preparedness to enter into new, improved relations with the other party. The path to reconciliation can sometimes be long and can never be imposed externally. Sometimes it can take generations. In some situations peaceful co-existence can be good enough. Unfortunately the term “reconciliation” has a negative resonance in some areas that have been at war, since well-meaning outsiders make unrealistic and insensitive demands for reconciliation.

The work that is done to ensure that conflict dynamics are led into constructive processes is referred to hereinafter as conflict transformation. In order to better understand what conflict dynamics are and how an in-

fluence can be exerted on them, a well tried and tested model will be used: the conflict triangle.

5.1.1 Description with the aid of the triangle

A conflict can be described with the aid of a triangle whose three corners represent *attitude*, *behaviour* and the dispute (referred to here as *contradiction*); (the A, B and C triangle). The model is taken from John Galtung (Galtung 1996:72).²⁴ The corners of the triangle represent the points of entry that are available for exerting an influence of the dynamics of the conflict.

The A is the parties' attitudes to – or rather relations with – each other. The parties define each other, at least partly, on the basis of the conflict itself. One way of focusing on the A in the triangle is to build on what the parties have in common, so that they do not – or not merely – define each other as enemies. This can be the first step in an intervention for the promotion of dialogue, in which an attempt is made to create trust between the parties so that they rely on each other sufficiently to start speaking to each other. The A also serves as a reminder that, in conflicts, the parties' subjective conception of reality must be taken seriously (which does not necessarily mean that one agrees with it).

The B in the triangle, behaviour, becomes a problem, primarily when it includes violence. Most of the interventions that focus on behaviour in conflicts therefore usually try to tackle – or even better prevent – violence as a form of behaviour in a conflict.

The C in the triangle, contradiction, or the dispute, is seldom one single issue but rather an entire complex of problems. One important and often exceedingly difficult task for a person who wants to do something about a conflict is helping the parties to reach agreement on what the conflict is all about. There are also elements of subjectivity here. No conflict is given. Even if there are objective grounds for a conflict, it is possible to choose perspectives on it.

The model emphasises conflict as a dynamic process. If an influence is exerted on one corner of the triangle, this in turn affects the other two corners. If it is possible, for example, to exert an influence on behaviour in a conflict in a positive way (less violence), the attitudes between the parties are also affected which, in turn, affects the dispute and so on. The triangle can be made to spin in either a positive or negative direction. The conflict can, so to speak, be turned up or turned down.

²⁴ Galtung is an extremely productive author. He has also allowed reviews of his basic theories and thoughts to be put on TRANSCEND's website (an organisation he has founded). It is possible, for example, to read about the conflict triangle in Participants Manual, which can be reached at www.transcend.org/ (July 2004).

5.2 Peace-building

In addition to direct intervention in the dynamics of a conflict, contributions are needed that structurally support and intensify peace. These activities are usually referred to as peace-building. Peace-building means that the focus is taken away from the warring parties, their behaviour, their attitudes and the dispute, and is placed instead on the community.

In his Action Programme for Peace (1992), a former UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, wrote about peace-building after conflicts as an "action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict". (Boutros-Ghali 1992: §21).

Today the concept of "peace-building" is used to refer to the building of structures for peace in all phases of a conflict, not merely after a violent phase has been replaced by a fragile peace.

5.2.1 Norms, frameworks, structural causes of conflicts

Structures that contribute to strengthening and solidifying peace can be institutions that offer forms for peaceful conflict resolution or that prevent violence. But they can also be norms. Peace is not only consolidated through formal institutions. According to the reflections and recommendations at a conference arranged by *Forum Syd* at the Red Cross Folk High School in Mariefred in 1997, peace-building consists, among other things, of the construction of an institutional framework that supports the peace, as well as the building of a culture of non-violence (Wirmark et al 1997:11).

One component of peace-building, which far too often ends up in the background, is a set of measures to remedy the structural causes of conflicts, i.e. indirect, underlying causes. This is not the same as the dispute or the direct cause. For the moment it is perhaps sufficient to explain the difference by taking an example: Rwanda. If the direct causes of the conflict in Rwanda, which degenerated into the genocide in 1994, were definite political conflicts with the exploitation – for political power purposes – of the ethnic factor, the structural cause was lack of land, an effect of population growth combined with environmental degradation (Rupesinghe 1998:34). Peace-building includes contributions that tackle these types of underlying causes of armed conflict.

On the basis of the above discussion, during the course of this study, in my capacity as a project leader, I constructed a definition of peace-

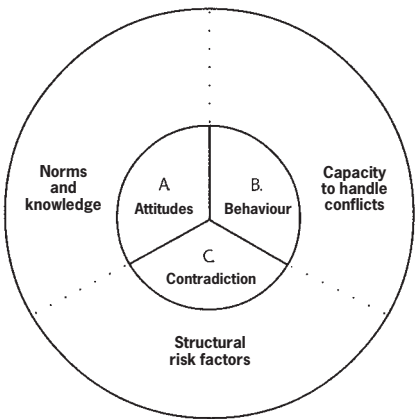
building with three components: creation of norms that contribute to reinforcing and consolidating peace in areas of crisis and conflict; development of an institutional framework with the same purpose, and the counteraction of structural causes of armed conflicts.²⁵

5.3 The holistic picture

We have seen that the conflict triangle can be made to “spin”. To transform a conflict means exerting an influence on attitudes, behaviour or dispute in such a way that the destructive dynamics of the conflict are reversed and proceed in a positive direction. The conflict triangle can be “turned up” or “turned down”. Although it is a triangle, it is highly reminiscent of a spiral or a circle.

By going the whole way and turning the triangle into a circle and relating it to the three components of peace-building, a model for surveying different types of peace interventions is created. The effect of conflict transformation on attitudes, behaviour and the dispute becomes three fields in a circle (instead of corners in a triangle). These three fields correspond to the norm and concepts of peace-building, the strengthening of capacity for conflict management, and the elimination of structural risk factors.

Two circles are thereby obtained. The inner circle represents conflict transformation and the outer circle represents peace-building.



²⁵ This definition is very close to the definition quoted from the conference in Mariefred. The counteraction of structural causes of armed conflicts (sometimes also described as the counteraction of structural violence) is included in the building of a culture of non-violence. The problem is that the term “culture” in “culture of non-violence” obscures the fact that the structural causes are concrete injustices and unsatisfactory conditions. The three-part definition of “peace-building” made in this report, is more specific.

The difference between the outer and inner circles is the difference between peace as a process and peace as a structure. The relationship between them has been formulated in the following way by John Paul Lederach:

“Peace is neither a process nor a structure. It is both. Peace building requires us to work at constructing an infrastructure to support a process of desired change, and change is permanent.” (van Tongeren 1999:34)

The more that conflict transformation is successful in changing conflict dynamics into constructive lines, the greater the chance will be that the conflict results in desired change. Peace-building secures change and supports processes of conflict transformation in a long-term manner by focusing on building a better society. In this context, a “better” society means a society where the avoidance of violence and respect for human rights are the norm, where there are institutions for managing conflicts without violence, and where structural causes of conflicts are eliminated.²⁶

Each of the two circles forms a whole. In exactly the same way as the inner circle’s attitudes, behaviour and dispute (contradiction) are interwoven and affect each other, the outer circle’s norms, institutions and elimination of structural risk factors are also interwoven.

²⁶ See also Peter Wallensteen’s description of the difference between structural conflict prevention and direct conflict prevention in the introductory chapter of “Preventing Violent Conflicts: Past Record and Future Challenges”. (Wallensteen 1998: 9-25) The terminology is different, but the principle is the same: peace as a process and structure.

Experience gained during the study: Influence on attitudes

CHAPTER 6

6.1 Conflict transformation by exerting an influence on attitudes

This chapter provides a rather motley variety of interventions in areas of crisis and conflict. One common denominator of all of the interventions is that they have the aim of exerting an influence in one way or another on parties' attitudes to each other to make cooperation between them possible.

One way of looking at attitudes is to regard them as expectations. We base our expectations of the other party on previous experience, our assessment of the other's vested interests, or by asking someone we rely on. Not all types of information are equally comprehensive. For a person who has long negative experience of another person, it is not sufficient to say to this person that he or she should see reality in another way. Expectations, based on one's own experience, are not courted so easily.²⁷

In other words, it is pointless to come from the outside and tell people that they should change their attitudes towards each other – apart from it also being arrogant and disrespectful. To attempt to change parties' attitudes to each other is not to ensure that everyone "thinks correctly" or has "the right" frame of mind. Working with the A in the conflict triangle (see chapter 5) is rather a case of exerting an influence on the parties' relations to each other than their attitude to each other. With the aid of measures that create trust and promote a dialogue, parties can be offered an opportunity to examine a form of reality in which it is possible for them to rely so much on each other that they can cooperate.

²⁷ This entire paragraph is based on Magnus Öberg's introduction to the study's strategy seminar on processing enemy images and promotion of dialogue. Magnus Öberg was at that point in time a postgraduate student at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University.

The examples of projects below had the aim of exerting an influence on parties' attitudes towards each other (either as the main purpose or a part purpose of the projects).

6.2 Processing enemy images and prejudices

Processing enemy images and breaking down prejudices about “the other side” is a classical mission for many peace organisations. *PeaceQuest/Sweden* is an example of an organisation that works a great deal with processing stereotypes and enemy images, both in Sweden and in cooperation with organisations in other countries. One of *PeaceQuest*'s projects in 2000-2001 was to break stereotypes held by young people in Israel/Palestine and Sweden. The project was implemented in cooperation with an Israeli organisation and a Palestinian organisation. The intention was that half of the participants from Israel/Palestine should be Jews and half Arabs; among the Palestinians half should be Christian and half Muslim and, among the Swedes, half should be born in Sweden and half should have a foreign background. Through the project the participants were given the chance to meet and get to know each other in such a way that they could reflect together about social stereotypes in the groups they belong to.

In view of the fact that all information is not equally comprehensive, it is important not merely to speak about the other party, but to meet face to face. Unofficial processes provide scope for building trustful relations. At the same time *PeaceQuest* felt that representativity could be a problem since representation in itself strengthened the group identity. It was a case of finding ways of taking up sensitive themes without them constituting a threat, and actively searching for things that unite directly over expected dividing lines.²⁸ Another problem that *PeaceQuest* identified is the risk that the project might only reach those who have already “seen the light”. Those people who apply to participate in projects of this type are already prepared to reflect critically on their own assumptions of social prejudices.

The questions at issue put the spotlight on the fact that there are problems in reaching those people who do not want to change a strong negative or stereotyped picture of the “other side”. Moreover, there is a risk that the people who have “already seen the light” will be further alienated from more aggressive groups in their own community. In polarised communities, strongly characterised by stereotypes and enemy images, it

²⁸ Based on a review of the project and a discussion of the project at the study's strategy seminar on processing enemy images and promotion of dialogue, on March 22, 2001, by Kristina Hållén (*PeaceQuest*).

can be hazardous to speak to opponents; there is a risk of punishment by one's own group. In some cases risks of this type can be avoided by holding meetings on neutral ground and by ensuring that the project has a low profile. One may also need to think about what the participants have to return to. How can they obtain support to break customs in their everyday environment? The question also concerns ways in which positive effects of the project can be disseminated beyond the limited group of participants.

As a supplement to dialogue projects over the dividing lines of a conflict, there can sometimes be a need for dialogue projects between "hawks" and "doves" within the ranks of one party to the conflict. It can appear extremely idealistic as a party to work voluntarily to change one's attitude. However, in actual fact it is a case of enlightened self-interest. The power of one party to exert an influence on the opponent's negative attitude to oneself comes in fact from influencing one's own attitude. For the sake of credibility one must be able to show a change in attitude in one's practical actions for it to have any significance.²⁹ If one can change the attitude and behaviour of one's own side from aggression into a more conciliatory attitude, a good way has been found of getting the conflict triangle to spin towards peace.

6.3 Processing enemy images and war traumas

Several organisations have pointed out that processing enemy images can also be an element in processing traumas. The scenario is a post-war situation in which the cruelties of war have resulted in "meta conflicts", conflicts within conflicts. The violence itself and any acts of cruelty perpetrated by the opposing side have created new disputes and new spirals of violence. They have also created new negative expectations, based on the experience gained of the opposing side. If these attitudes are not processed, the risk of relapse into new outbreaks of war will increase. Processing traumatic experiences in a situation of this type can also affect attitudes towards the former enemy.

There are a number of examples of processing traumas and psychosocial rehabilitation among the projects in the inventory. Some of them refer to making diagnoses and providing treatment of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), while many work with psychosocial rehabilitation in a very wide sense of the term. For our purpose, no attempt

29 Magnus Öberg's (see footnote 24) introduction to the study's strategy seminar on processing enemy images and promotion of dialogue, March 22, 2001. See also chapter on exerting an influence on behaviour in conflicts (chapter 8) on in-group policing.

is made to separate these types of projects. In all cases it can be assumed that the trauma is related to war and that the post-traumatic stress (in a narrow or wide sense) is a normal reaction to an abnormal situation.

In Colombia, a CSO with psychiatric expertise is cooperating with an organisation that has specialised in psychology in a psychosocial rehabilitation project among internally displaced persons. The project is listed in the project inventory under “*Diakonia*”, from which it received support. A project of *PMU Interlife* involved training trauma social workers in Liberia and spreading know-how on traumatic stress, for example among teachers who find it easier to identify children who need special support and assistance in processing their traumatic experiences. The *Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society (SPAS)* has also had projects for training in post-traumatic stress. In this case the training was for Russian psychologists and doctors, and the project was implemented in relation to the war in Chechnya. Furthermore, *Church of Sweden Aid* was taking part and supporting psychosocial rehabilitation activities in the Balkans and the Swedish branch of *Médecins du Monde (MDM)* ran a special project for this purpose in Kosovo/a.

In 2001 the *Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation* made a study of projects for psychosocial assistance in the Balkans. They reported two projects of this type to the study (even if the majority of the organisation’s projects in Former Yugoslavia – which amount to more than 50 – have elements of processing enemy images and war traumas). In Tuzla in Bosnia & Herzegovina, *Kvinna till Kvinna* supported an organisation which provides psychosocial assistance to refugee women and children and which also supports refugee women in re-establishing contact with the village in eastern Republika Srpska that they were forced to leave. In this way both those people who have been forced to flee and those people who moved into the house in the interim can start to approach each other. In Pristina in Kosovo/a, support was given to a centre that works with supporting and assisting women to process war traumas, with an interesting link to human rights work. The fact that the centre documented human rights violations and discovered the truth about what really happened was regarded as an asset for its psychosocial rehabilitation work.

The main aim of all these projects is to help people suffering from post-traumatic stress reactions to return to a more tolerable life. As far as this study is concerned, it is interesting to ask about the ways in which they affect people’s attitudes to the former enemy. Marta Cullberg Weston, a psychologist with considerable experience in this field, and the person who is implementing *Kvinna till Kvinna*’s study, emphasises the role of grieving. Undergoing a process of grief in respect of the traumas one has gone

through prevents their return as ghosts seeking revenge, which can start new conflicts.³⁰ According to Marta Cullberg Weston, the grieving process can also be expressed publicly at social level: memorials, sculptures, museums and commemoration days. In many cases purification ceremonies or other rituals can provide meaning and have a healing effect. Vamik Volkan, the professor in psychiatry at Virginia University, warns that war traumas can develop into what he calls “chosen traumas”. This means that they become a dominant part of a person’s concept of reality in a way that magnifies enemy images and exacerbates prospects of peace.

“What primarily differentiates catastrophes due to ethnic conflict from natural or man-made disasters is that, in the former, societal responses can last in particular, uniquely damaging ways for generations: the mental representation of the disastrous historical event may develop into a “chosen trauma” for the group [...] The mental representation of the past disaster becomes condensed with the issues surrounding current conflicts, magnifying enemy images and distorting realistic considerations in peace negotiation processes.” (Volkan 2000).

When Marta Cullberg Weston emphasises the violence prevention function of the grieving process, she has the support of Volkan. It is unprocessed traumas that are in danger of becoming chosen traumas and thereby of increasing the risk of future wars.

However, memorials, museums and commemoration days – and why not trauma groups? – can symbolise and consolidate chosen traumas. How can a person working with processing traumas ensure that the path being followed leads to peace and does not unintentionally pave the way for demands for revenge and new wars? If it is possible to see that processing traumas has a great chance of influencing attitudes in a positive direction, then a way of working with the A in the triangle has also been found, which has the potential to reach very many people. However, no universal solution should be sought. The grieving process and processing traumas are – and must be allowed to be – dependent on the cultural and religious context.

6.4 Creation of meeting places for dialogue

PeaceQuest’s Israel-Palestine project was not the only one that offered a meeting place for people who are associated with different sides in an

30 Marta Cullberg Weston, interview, June 29, 2001.

armed conflict. There are several examples of projects that invite people from different sides in a conflict to have a dialogue on a common theme.

One of these projects has interesting similarities with the projects for processing traumas and psychosocial support. The difference is that loss and sorrow are identified here as a common experience that unites people over the dividing lines of conflicts. In Turkey, *Olof Palme International Center (OPIC)* has given its support to a project that brings together Turkish and Kurdish mothers of sons who lost their lives in the armed conflict in eastern Turkey. From the ethnic perspective, these mothers belong to different parties in the conflict. Their sons were killed in action on different sides. Nonetheless, they could meet each other on the basis of their common experience: the loss of a son in war. Through the project they were given the opportunity to express their feelings, thoughts and experiences about this loss and to make them publicly known. The accounts were compiled for use in a series of joint seminars for Turkish and Kurdish mothers.

The identification of experience of war and loss as a uniting factor can appear surprising. It is probably more common that people meet to share a common interest. As an example, mention can be made of projects of the *Swedish Social Democratic Youth League* in the Balkans. Young politicians from different parts of the Balkans have met at regional seminars to discuss and drawn up plans for their future together.

Common symbols and commemoration days can also constitute a basis for dialogue. In an additional comment in their response to the questionnaire by *PMU Interlife*, the Christian religion is identified as a uniting factor in the Great Lakes region in Africa. In this case there is no project with peace objectives. What *PMU Interlife* would like to do is to give prominence to the network of the church in the community, common values of the church and its belief in the equal value of people, and the (possible) superiority of the Christian identity over the ethnic identity. At the same time it admits that it would be erroneous to claim that the churches in the area have been “completely successful in remaining outside conflicts with ethnic elements”.³¹ All world religions have both peaceful and warlike features. Therefore the question is not whether or not a message of peace exists. The question is instead how it can be made possible, with the aid of an interpretation of the message in a specific context and through active leadership, to mobilise supporters of peace instead of war.

³¹ Additional information provided in response to the questionnaire, by e-mail from Niclas Lindgren, *PMU Interlife*, on March 28, 2001 and in a follow-up letter dated April 5, 2001.

The mere existence of a meeting place – for example a church – for people from different sides in a conflict is not enough that one can speak of a “dialogue”. However, *the identification* of a meeting place of this type or a uniting factor over the dividing lines constitutes an interesting potential foundation for a dialogue project. (See further chapter 12.)

Where dialogue projects at the grassroots level are concerned, it is normally the case that the participants do not represent anyone else than themselves. Otherwise there is a risk that the dividing lines would be emphasised and reinforced since the participants are unable to see each other as anything else than in the role of representing separate groups. The rule of thumb is: understand what it is that divides, build on that which is common to all.

6.5 Establishment of think-tanks and popular peace forums

The *Swedish Mission Covenant Church* has been active in Congo-Brazzaville for over 100 years (since 1881). In the 1990s the country was affected by a civil war, which culminated in 1997. Together with the *Evangelical Church* in Congo-Brazzaville (EEC), its sister churches in the Nordic countries, including the *Swedish Mission Covenant Church*, have been deeply engaged in a programme for peace and reconciliation in the country since 1996. The strategy drawn up by the churches includes humanitarian assistance, a Nordic presence in the form of personnel (as witnesses among other things, and possibly also to have a moderating effect on the violence) and working with opinion in order to stop the war. In addition to this the *Swedish Mission Covenant Church* has also worked to create meeting places for Congolese from different groups in the Congo. Two meetings have been held in the Stockholm area with the participation of persons with considerable experience of conflict transformation and of peace and reconciliation work. This has taken place in cooperation with the *Life and Peace Institute* and the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University. The meetings have had the character of think-tanks for independent social analysts from the Congo. This has also been linked to the preparedness to accompany the main antagonists to a possible dialogue in the future. Pressure to start a dialogue and offers of assistance have been conveyed via indirect channels and public declarations, both individually and with other churches and the World Council of Churches.

Another example of a think-tank can be found at the *African Swedish National Association*. Together with a CSO with its headquarters in Nairobi, the *African Swedish National Association* arranged a meeting for representatives of organisations in civil society and of churches from different parts

of the deeply split DRC. The theme of the meeting was the implementation of the Lusaka agreement and the role of civil society in the peace process. The meeting took place in Sweden. Holding the meeting in a neutral and safe place was considered essential for it to be held at all and to have as broad participation as possible.³²

The ambition behind the engagement of the *African Swedish National Association* is to make it easier for local civil society to make their voice heard. In this respect it is reminiscent of a project in Colombia supported by *Diakonia*: a network for civil society organisations, churches and base organisations to engage in and discuss the peace process. The difference is, of course, that *APP, Asamblea Permanente por la Paz*, is based in Colombia where it offers a forum for a long period of time.

It has been recognised for a long time that civil society has a role as an external protector of peace agreements. Decision-makers and peace and conflict researchers speak about gaining the acceptance and support of the people for peace processes. However, the perspective is sometimes the reverse: organisations in civil society demand to be given an active role in the peace process. Popular peace forums, formed specifically to give civil society an opportunity to become engaged in and to discuss a peace process, are usually able to shed light on the human rights perspective for broad groups and sectors in the community. They give voice to the interests and demands of women, indigenous peoples, farmers or other groups for peace in the future. Popular peace forums can thus give forces for peace a voice through a broad dialogue in society. When seen in this light, such peace forums can also constitute a response to a fact that peace researcher, John Paul Lederach, has pointed out as a shortcoming: that most of the work done by CSOs to promote a dialogue lacks channels to the decision-making level (van Tongeren et al 1999:29). Contributions for the promotion of a dialogue usually bring together similar groups on both sides: grass roots speak to grass roots, academics to academics, religious leaders to religious leaders, and those in power to those in power.

6.6 Shuttle diplomacy

In Liberia, *Church of Sweden Aid* has provided support for interventions designed to bring about a dialogue between belligerent parties. Support has been given to the *Interfaith Council of Liberia (IFCL)*. *IFCL* is itself a peace initiative. Since ethnic and religious affiliations often coincide, there was a risk that the civil war in Liberia would assume the character of a war be-

³² Interview, Mkyabela Sabuni, *African Swedish National Association*, February 23, 2001.

tween religions. It was to counteract a development of this type that the *National Muslim Council* and the *Liberian Council of Churches* jointly formed a committee (*Interfaith Mediation Committee*), which later developed into IFCL. The original committee was behind a peace plan that *Economic Community of West African States* later adopted and which became ECOWAS' plan in 1997. In 1999 attacks were made on a couple of occasions by armed groups from bases on Guinean territory, and IFCL then started to develop contacts and to encourage mediation between the Liberian government and these armed groups. This was an acute intervention which was facilitated by the established contacts of the *Church of Sweden* in Liberia and by Sida, which provided additional funds. In order not to compromise IFCL's integrity and objectivity, it was important in this case that the financial support provided was external and not provided by sources in the country.

Development cooperation organisations that are active in areas in which there are crises or conflicts must speak with the local authorities. In cases where a guerrilla groups has control over parts of a country, it is this group that functions in practice as the local authority. In a situation of this type, an organisation that is active in different parts of a country can get into contact with both (or more) sides in an armed conflict. If there is a need – and the occasion arises – use can be made of these contacts to put the parties involved in contact with each other.

In this connection it should be mentioned that the development cooperation organisations' negotiations with local authorities can have undesired side-effects if they do not penetrate the dynamics of the conflict. Negotiations with local warlords can give the warlords a form of legitimacy in the eyes of the people which they would not otherwise have had. Their power is confirmed. This is particularly the case if it is possible for them to claim the credit for supplies of disaster relief brought into the area. The project Local Capacities for Peace has studied this and other undesired negative side-effects of assistance in areas of crisis and conflict. The project has also collected a large number of proposals for ways in which organisations can avoid these undesired side-effects without putting their mandates or the goals of their cooperation projects at risk.³³

6.7 Summary of conflict phases and target groups in the projects

The table below shows the different projects in the project inventory that have been classified as projects that have the aim of transforming conflicts by exerting an influence on attitudes. For the most part projects of this

³³ See Anderson 1999 and/or www.cdainc.com for more information.

type directed at one side at a time. Processing traumas at the societal level through memorials, sculptures, museums, commemoration days or religious ceremonies was also mentioned (even if there are no examples of this). This is reminiscent of other public reconciliation processes, support to open truth commissions, which provide an opportunity for collective processing.

No project at all has been implemented in areas where a violent conflict had not yet broken out. Instead, approximately half of them took place during situations of armed conflict and half in the post-war phase. The former include most of the dialogue-promotion projects. The latter includes most of the trauma processing projects – but not all. The trauma processing projects in Colombia and Russia (in relation to the conflict in Chechnya) took place during an ongoing armed conflict.

Level	Crisis:	During armed conflict:	After armed conflict:
Decision- makers:			<i>Church of Sweden: Liberia</i>
Leaders at intermediate level:		<i>Swedish Mission Covenant Church: Congo-Brazzaville</i> <i>African Swedish National Association: Congo-Kinshasa</i> <i>SPAS: Russia.</i>	
Broad mass of the people:		<i>Diakonia: Colombia</i> <i>Diakonia: Colombia</i> <i>PeaceQuest: Israel/Palestine</i> <i>OPIC: Turkey</i>	<i>Swedish Social Democratic Youth League: Balkans</i> <i>PMU: Liberia</i> <i>Church of Sweden: Balkans</i> <i>Kvinna till Kvinna: Bosnia & Herzegovina</i> <i>Kvinna till Kvinna i Kosovo/a.</i> <i>MDM: Kosovo/a</i>

In addition to it showing the relations of the projects to the curve of violence (no armed violence, ongoing armed violence, after armed violence) the table also shows the relations with levels in the community in areas of crisis and conflict. One project, that of the Swedish Church in Liberia, focuses directly on warring parties at the decision-making level. The other projects are distributed between grassroots and intermediate levels. The distinction is difficult to make: many of these projects overlap both levels. However three of the projects focus specifically on local leaders in civil society, academics or professional groups with an academic background.

They have therefore been placed at intermediate level which does not prevent them from eventually also having an effect on grassroots level. The remainder of the projects are directed towards broad layers of the population. They are therefore classified as “grassroots projects”, even if several of them are directed towards both intermediate and grassroots level.

Experience gained from the study: Influencing the contradiction

CHAPTER 7

7.1 Conflict transformation by processing the contradiction

The promotion of a dialogue can lead to, but is not the same thing as, peace negotiations. A dialogue has the aim of creating understanding and more trust. Peace negotiations have the aim of reaching an agreement between the parties on ways in which they should handle or solve the conflict. The contradiction itself is dealt with (at best directly, but it can also be the case that it is only done indirectly or is implied). Negotiations take place of necessity at decision-making level.

However, a contradiction is not merely changed through negotiations. A referendum or an election can also be steps in the process to settle a contradiction. Contradictions can also be settled through arbitration or in a court of law, but no matter how an agreement is reached, a contradiction is not solved or ended with a signature on a piece of paper or a handshake. The agreement must be put into practice or, as one usually says, implemented. Implementation is also part of influencing the contradiction. It is of course a question of achieving change in the matter the conflict was all about.

Far from all armed conflicts end in a peace agreement, an election result, arbitration or suchlike. Of the 75 armed conflicts that came to an end during the 1990s, only 21 ended in this way (Sollenberg 2000:12). Nonetheless, the ideal arrangement must be that political solutions are found for armed conflicts. The fact that so few conflicts end in a peace agreement indicates that there is a need to improve capacity to support parties to find political solutions to conflicts.

Where the examples given in this chapter are projects run by Swedish CSOs, there is a more exhaustive description of the projects in the project inventory.

7.2 Think-tanks that exert an influence on official negotiations

In chapter 6, an example was given from Congo-Brazzaville of how social analysts in a community in conflict create workshops for forging peace plans. Another example was a conference on the implementation of a peace agreement in Congo Kinshasa and the role of civil society. A further example was a popular peace forum for discussions on ways to achieve peace in Colombia. The dispute is processed in workshops, conferences and forums of this type. However, here they are regarded as exerting an influence on attitudes and not on the dispute. The reason for this is that their foremost influence on the conflict and the parties to the conflict is that they show peace as an alternative. They urge warring parties to sit down at the negotiation table. They show alternative ways of achieving peace. They mobilise organisations in local civil society to participate actively in the peace process.

Exerting an influence on the dispute itself requires channels to the decision-making level or the power to exert a direct effect on the differences between the parties involved. It is sometimes the case that think-tanks are given access to official negotiations or, to put this another way, the ability of the think-tanks to think freely and produce creative solutions is utilised by the negotiators which accept or reject the solutions as they think fit.

CSOs can also arrange informal meetings between people from different sides of a conflict with the aim of arriving at possible next steps in a peace process. In this case the participants would not have the formal powers to make decisions but have sufficient insight into each camp to make assessments of what is possible – or almost possible (it is important not to apply strict censorship to processes that have the aim of getting people to think in new ways and produce proposals). The negotiators themselves can benefit from testing ideas and making analyses in a series of unofficial meetings with a trusted facilitator. In this way, first track diplomacy can benefit completely informally from the competence that has been developed through activities to promote a dialogue among CSOs (second-track diplomacy).

A think-tank with well-established contacts for peace negotiations is the so-called Stockholm Group, whose meetings and activities are arranged and facilitated by the *Olof Palme International Center*. The group consists of two Palestinians and two Israelis. Their work involves producing proposals for solutions to various problems that are of direct relevance to the negotiations that have been intermittently conducted by the parties since the start of the Oslo process in 1993. A document that the Stock-

holm Group produced in 1995 on common points of departure for negotiations has been adopted by the parties as fundamental starting point for a future solution of the conflict. The Group also participated directly in the planning and implementation of the negotiations at Camp David in the summer of the year 2000 and the Taba negotiations in January 2001. One advantage that CSOs can possess for this type of activity is that they are relatively free from political pressure and therefore have greater freedom to elaborate ideas. Often it is also easier for them to maintain a low profile and avoid the mass media activities that accompany official negotiations. *Olof Palme International Center* emphasises that the Stockholm Group has provided a channel to advance the peace process, even in times when the political negotiations have been politically impossible (for example in the sequels after particularly serious acts of violence).³⁴

7.3 Hosting peace talks

Anyone can act as a host for peace talks. Being the host or facilitator means offering a safe place for parties to a conflict to meet, and being available for them. The host can assist the parties in creating better processes to speak about what divides them and in arranging further education in relevant issues. However, it is the parties themselves that determine the agenda. The ability of CSOs to maintain a low profile is an advantage in this type of peace talks. It is also possible for some CSOs to take certain risks since they have not got much to lose if the talks fail. An organisation that does not run any operational activities wrote the following:

“We have arranged foreign visits in Sweden that other organisations and government agencies do not dare to arrange. We have no activities in the conflict area and therefore this type of visit does not constitute a risk to us.”³⁵

Foreign CSOs in particular can have special openings and a special freedom to act in this context. External organisations can form a bridge between local civil society and the international community in urging parties to conduct a dialogue. They can also offer neutral ground where the parties can discuss the dispute in relative safety. In cases where the CSO works with other things than peace issues it can also offer a form of “cover” to ensure the greatest possible discretion. The first meeting of representatives of both sides within the framework of what would eventual-

³⁴ Telephone interview, Joakim Johansson, *Olof Palme International Center*, July 31, 2001.

³⁵ Anonymous.

ly be called the Oslo process³⁶ took place under the cover of it being a research conference on the results of a survey which the Norwegian labour organisation research institute *Fafo* had made on living conditions in Gaza and on the West Bank. In actual fact – and in the greatest secrecy – the meeting was held in order to investigate the possibility of talks between the parties.

After the project inventory was compiled, a meeting has taken place, which should be mentioned in this context (but which, accordingly, is not included in the list of projects). During a couple of days in April 2001, some 60 persons actively engaged in the peace process in Colombia participated in an informal meeting in Stockholm. The meeting was attended by representatives of Colombia's government, a guerrilla group – ELN, and organisations from civil society in Colombia. The aim of the meeting was to create trust among the different parties and to make a dialogue possible that would strengthen the ongoing peace process in the country. Experience of peace processes in other parts of the world was also examined and special light was shed on the role of the international community, the importance of agreements on human rights, and the significance of the participation of civil society in the peace process. The arrangers of the meeting were a number of Swedish CSOs: *Civis*, *Diakonia*, the *Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation (Forum Syd)*, the *Swedish NGO Foundation for Human Rights*, *Catholic Church/ Caritas*, the *Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation*, the *Swedish Trade Union Confederation*, the *International Council of Swedish Industry*, *Church of Sweden*, *Swedish Red Cross* and the *Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees*. (The organisations received support from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Sida.)

7.4 Mediation

Forms of mediation can vary considerably. However they differ from that which was referred to above as "hosting peace talks" in that a mediator adopts a more active role. Where both hosting peace talks and mediation are concerned, it is essential that the third party is accepted by the primary parties to the dispute. This does not necessarily mean that the third party has to be neutral or an outsider. One feature which distinguishes one type of mediation from another is the relationship of the mediator to

³⁶ The Oslo process is an example of very close cooperation between a CSO (*Fafo* led by Terje Larsen) and the country's Ministry for Foreign Affairs (particularly State Secretary Jan Egeland) where it was an advantage that both were involved. *Fafo* hosted the Oslo channel between Israel and the PLO that led to the Declaration of Principles, which the parties signed on the 13 September 1993. This agreement started the so called Oslo Process which led to an Interim Agreement in 1995.

the parties. Mediation from a position of power, where the mediator can use both the “whip and carrot” is completely different to cases where the mediator has the role of an adviser or facilitator. When states mediate it can be from a position of power. An advisory tone is usually favoured by organisations such as the UN, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Organisation of African Unity.³⁷ The third form of mediation, in which the mediator is a facilitator, can be used by trusted representatives of civil society, for example church leaders, or by external CSOs.³⁸

Like hosting, the facilitator has the task of creating a constructive climate for talks and making it easy for the parties to create trustful relations with each other. However, it is also a case of reaching agreement and of solving problems together, and finding ways to achieve political solutions. Possibly the parties can also be involved in making a conflict analysis together where the facilitator can produce and emphasise aspects that can bring about new understanding of the other side. Understanding is naturally not the same thing as acceptance. However, a joint analysis of this type can help the parties to take the step from defence of the positions they have assumed to giving more attention to interests and needs.

One example of a non-Swedish CSO that has played an extremely significant and active role as mediator in armed conflicts is the Catholic layman order, *Comunità di Sant’ Egidio*, which is mediating, or has mediated, in Guatemala, Burundi, Congo-Kinshasa, Kosovo etc. The organisation is best known for its contributions in Mozambique. It was *Sant’ Egidio* that made it possible for the Catholic Church in Mozambique to mediate by establishing negotiation contacts with Renamo. From July 1990 to October 1994 *Sant’ Egidio* invited the parties to 12 rounds of negotiations in Rome, which led to the peace agreement of October 7, 1994. (This naturally took place with the full agreement of the Italian government.)

7.5 Implementation of peace agreements

The tragic wars in the Balkans introduced a new and frightening concept into our vocabulary: ethnic cleansing. Ethnic cleansing means that people are killed or banished on account of their ethnic affiliation in order to permit ethnically homogenous areas to be established with violence. At

37 In 2002, the OAU was succeeded by the African Union (AU).

38 The classification into three types of mediation is based on a review made by Kjell-Åke Nordquist at the study’s strategy seminar on peace negotiations and peace agreements, April 11, 2001.

the peace negotiations that resulted in the so-called Dayton Agreement (December 1995), the wording of the agreement stated that people should be given the opportunity to return to their home villages even if they were part of an ethnic group that was in the minority in the area in question. A rehabilitation and repatriation project, which eventually, from 1998 onwards, changed its focus into giving priority to the repatriation of minorities, was the major project supported by *Church of Sweden Aid* in Sanski Most (Bosnia&Herzegovina). The following is quoted from the response to the questionnaire received from *Church of Sweden Aid*.

“This is an extremely delicate project, above all where Republika Sprska is concerned, and the process must be slow and cautious. The people who have a genuine will to return home are identified. These people are also aware of the risk and are willing to take it. It is also a case of promoting reconciliation between neighbours and old friends, exerting an influence on decision-makers to allow minorities to return and, in the long run, even working for it. It is, in other words, delicate advocacy work.”³⁹

PMU Interlife has helped refugees to return to Bosnia & Herzegovina and gives priority to the repatriation of minorities. The organisation has provided information on three projects of this type to the study (see the project inventory).

The *Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation* has two projects in the inventory which also combined the work of helping refugees in a purely practical way to return to their homes and the task of building up trust between different sections of the population (one in Bosnia, the other in Croatia).

The examples serve as a reminder of the importance of supporting the implementation of peace agreements or processing disputes in other ways after peace has been formally established. The period after the conclusion of a peace agreement is a critical period. Mere words or signatures on paper without any definite changes taking place breeds cynicism and undermines belief in a political solution. Development cooperation organisations can support a process of transition from negative to positive peace by starting projects that symbolise or concretise the peace process.

To enable refugees to return to “ethnically cleansed” areas, the repatriation and rehabilitation projects must be coupled with work on reconciliation and the promotion of a dialogue at local level. If this is not done, there is a risk that CSOs participate in and legitimate ethnic cleansing. There is a borderline where the implementation of peace agreements becomes a more long-term and institutionalised process, and their motivation is no longer as directly linked to the original agreement. At the be-

39 Additional information provided in response to the questionnaire by e-mail July 7, 2001, from Birgitta Handog (*Church of Sweden Mission/Church of Sweden Aid*).

ginning of 1997, *Forum Syd – the Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation* initiated a programme of cooperation with the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Guatemala for the recruitment of personnel, so-called “Promotores de la Paz” to serve in institutions and in Guatemalan and international organisations to work with the implementation of the peace agreements of 1996. In 2001, the work was still ongoing but it now had an emphasis on long-term support for democracy. The same applies to *Forum Syd’s* democracy programme in Cambodia. (Both these projects are discussed in Chapter 10.)

7.6 Direct influence on the contradiction

During the apartheid era, a South African, H. W. van der Merwe, founded a centre to work, among other things, with conflicts in society: *the Centre for Intergroup Studies* (now *the Centre for Conflict Resolution*). During a process of mediation between the police and residents in housing areas for black South Africans, the focus of its work changed direction. The Centre realised that it was untenable and unjust to attempt to mediate in a traditional fashion between two parties that were so obviously unequal. Instead, the work developed increasingly into helping to present the views of the black inhabitants on the matter, and placing the resources of the Centre at the disposal of the weaker party. This change in methods was not a departure from the Centre’s idea of helping parties to achieve a political solution, but was a precondition to enable this to take place. As long as the stronger party could do exactly what it wanted, there was no reason for the weaker party to take up matters to negotiation. Instead, it resorted to violence. At the same time there was nothing to hold the stronger party back and the violence escalated rapidly. In this situation the Centre’s (white) representatives sat on the (black) residents’ side at the negotiation table in an attempt to mitigate the effects of this extreme imbalance (Hansen 2000).⁴⁰

A further example is taken from Fiji where, at the end of the 1980s, a military coup d’état resulted in new laws and a new constitution, which disregarded certain civil rights for Fijians of Indian descent. An international organisation for conflict resolution, *International Alert*, investigated the situation with the aid of contacts in Fiji and among Fijians in exile in Europe. A number of consultations on Fiji eventually inspired the Fijian

40 This paragraph is a summary of a case study produced by Greg Hansen within the framework of the international project Reflecting on Peace Practice, which was led by *Collaborative for Development Action (CDA)*. See www.cdainc.com.

participants to establish the *Citizens' Constitutional Forum (CCF)* which had the aim of gaining a hearing for a new reform of the constitution in support of a multicultural society. *Conciliation Resources (CR)*, another international organisation working with conflict resolution, and the *Minority Rights Group* have also given the *CCF* their support (Woodrow 2000).⁴¹

The two examples given above show that conflict resolution organisations sometimes try to change the dynamics of a conflict by making the conflict visible and intervening directly in a dispute. This kind of work is far from being uncontroversial. For the organisations involved, foreign and local, it is a matter of rights. In the political situation in the country in question, it is a matter of politics.

Many Swedish CSOs have already acquired experience of cooperation with local CSOs that pursue politically sensitive processes of change. In itself this is nothing new. The difference is that we are now placing it in a peace and conflict perspective, as well as a rights perspective. The dispute can be defined as the gap between what one expects to achieve and what one actually achieves. Both can be influenced. What happens when an organisation, as in the above examples, pleads for the cause of one side in a conflict or supports the establishment of a local organisation to pursue a process of change? Expectations grow. The conflict is not only made visible, it is intensified. It is not odd that interventions of this type encounter resistance. Then it is important to have a clear strategy for a peaceful process of change and a high degree of conflict awareness so that there is no outbreak or escalation of violence.

7.7 Summary of conflict phases and target groups in the projects

The chapter has discussed assistance for peace talks, think-tanks with informal points of access to official negotiations, informal meetings with people from different sides of a conflict with the aim of thinking out all the possible next steps in a peace process, popular peace forums that formulate problems in political instead of military terms, hosting for peace talks and mediation, and the implementation of peace agreements. In addition the issue of exerting a direct influence on disputes with the aid of peaceful processes of change has also been taken up.

All but one of the Swedish projects in this chapter are of the type “implementation of peace agreements”. They refer to the phase “after armed

41 This paragraph is a summary of a case study produced by Peter Woodrow within the framework of the international project Reflecting on Peace Practice, which was led by *Collaborative for Development Action (CDA)*. See www.cdainc.com.

conflict". The examples are taken from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. These projects are directed towards a broad public and reach both grassroots and intermediate levels. The project pursued by the *Olof Palme International Center* in relation to the conflict in Israel/Palestine is of a different type. It is directed towards decision-makers and is taking place during an armed conflict.

Level	Crisis:	During armed conflict:	After armed conflict:
Decision-makers		OPIC: Israel/Palestine	
Leaders at intermediate level:			
Broad mass of the people:			<i>PMU-Interlife:</i> Bosnia & Herzegovina <i>PMU-Interlife:</i> Bosnia & Herzegovina <i>PMU-Interlife:</i> Bosnia & Herzegovina <i>Kvinna till Kvinna:</i> Bosnia & Herzegovina <i>Church of Sweden:</i> Bosnia & Herzegovina <i>Kvinna till Kvinna:</i> Croatia

None of the projects referred to conflicts that had not yet broken out in violence. However, the discussion of direct influence on the dispute is still of relevance for the approach of taking action at an early stage. Where preventing a conflict by tackling a dispute is concerned, one tries to exert pressure for a solution to a dispute that perhaps has not yet been recognised as a dispute. To intervene at an early stage in a conflict by focusing on the dispute is therefore politically sensitive. However, the possibility should not be forgotten.

Experience gained from the study: Influencing behaviour in conflicts

CHAPTER 8

Conflicts are not necessarily violent. It is possible to handle conflicts without resorting to violence. This may sound obvious but is easy to forget since so much time and energy are spent on violent armed conflicts. However, it is not without reason that conflicts of this type are given special attention. First and foremost, violence as a form of behaviour in a conflict causes an immense amount of suffering. However, violence also changes the dynamics of a conflict. When one party has resorted to violence, attitudes deteriorate and this has a drastic effect on finding a solution to the dispute. Violence breeds violence. This makes the spiral of the conflict, which in itself is neither good nor evil, a destructive spiral of violence. Most of this chapter will therefore take up interventions that have the foremost aim of preventing outbreaks of violence, escalation, or a return to violence, as a step in turning the spiral of conflict on to a more constructive course (direct violence prevention work).

Violence as a form of behaviour in a conflict does not necessarily have to be large-scale armed violence. In connection with armed conflicts, there is often a dramatic increase in political violence and violations of human rights. Violence in armed conflicts is always much more than regular encounters between armies or between an army and a guerrilla force. In so-called “low-intensive” wars, disappearances and general terror are major features in the parties’ behaviour in the conflict.

However if violence is a destructive form of behaviour in a conflict, what is a constructive form of behaviour? Far too little energy has been spent on this question. Therefore, at the end of this chapter, non-violence will be taken up briefly as a method that can be used in the struggle, i.e. as conflict behaviour. The non-violent intervention of third parties will also naturally be taken up.

The projects run by Swedish CSOs, that are given as examples in this

chapter, can also be found in the project inventory (arranged by region and country).

8.1 Disarmament, demobilisation, reintegration

One example of an intervention designed to change the behaviour of warring parties in conflicts is *Save the Children Sweden's* project in the Sudan. The aim was to demobilise child soldiers and to put them instead in schools, and to prevent the recruitment of children as soldiers. The work to prevent mobilisation of children is naturally being done for the sake of the children and has a value in itself. However, it also contributes to moderating violent behaviour in the conflict. It prevents complete mobilisation of the entire community for military purposes by at least removing the children. The children thus become a sort of peace zone. Furthermore there is some evidence that indicates that children who are forced to become soldiers commit cruel and unpredictable excesses more often than adult soldiers. Counteracting the use of children as soldiers thus contributes in more than one way to moderating the violence in a conflict.

Through talks with armed forces in the Sudan, *Save the Children Sweden* has obtained a promise that they will stop using children as soldiers. According to Birgit Arellano (*Save the Children*), this agreement has been achieved as a result of a long presence in the country, without involvement in the conflict.⁴² Obtaining promises or providing assistance for demobilisation, which this is more or less a question of, is a typical task for a third party.

In a post-war phase, an outsider can play an important role in assisting and verifying disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration. Not least the reintegration of former soldiers into society is important in order to prevent a reversion to armed conflict or to generally prevent a high level of violence in the community. Development cooperation organisations can contribute with the aid of development projects which do something about unemployment, and can also contribute concretely and practically with disarmament and with controls of weapons. In Mozambique the local church has participated in, and verified, the collection of weapons. This type of contribution can be combined with symbolic actions, a type of transitional rite from war to peace. The peace flame in Mali, where enormous pyres of collected weapons were burnt, was a powerful symbolic act. Far too often there is a desire to reduce the number of soldiers, but disarmament and reintegration are neglected. This is a major

⁴² Interview with Birgit Arellano, *Save the Children*, November 1, 1999.

contributory cause to a situation in which levels of violence and criminality are usually much higher in communities for a long period of time after a war than they were before the outbreak of war. A further cause can be found in the general brutalisation and lowering of moral standards in communities at war. The latter can be seen in the increase in violence against women that usually follows in the wake of war. This takes place not only during the demobilisation phase but during the entire war.

During the war in the Balkans, Serbian and Croatian women coined the expression “post TV news syndrome” to describe their experience of an increase in violence against women in their homes in connection with reports on the war on TV (Jacobs, Jacobsson & Marchbank (Eds) 2000:59). In other words, several factors interact to bring about a higher level of violence after a war. Regardless of the cause, and regardless of the phase, it is always important to remember that there is a difference in the effects on women and men of a lack of security and high levels of violence. The lack of security reduces the freedom of movement of women and men in different ways.

In a wider sense this category also includes a project that contributes to disarming a country. In the project inventory there is an example of a mine clearance project which is being supported by the *Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society* in Iraqi Kurdistan. One grotesque feature of modern war is that conflict behaviour does not come to an end when the war comes to an end; mines can continue to claim victims for years and decades afterwards.

8.2 Pockets of resistance to violence

In times of war there is a great pressure on entire communities to mobilise for the war effort. The equivalent to disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DD&R) in an earlier phase of a conflict is the counteraction of mobilisation for war. The *Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society* has co-operated for many years with the *Russian Committee of Soldiers' Mothers* (hereinafter referred to as *the Soldiers' Mothers*). During the war in Chechnya, *the Soldiers' Mothers* have collected information on the number of fatalities and violations of human rights in the army. A congress for soldiers' mothers from the 43 regions and 13 republics of Russia, which was held in Moscow in 1995 (three months after Russian troops were sent to Chechnya), established that the war had not been preceded by a declaration of war, that it was illegal, and that it had been provoked by the Russian authorities, which deliberately avoided the possibility of finding a political solution (Isaksson 1997). Demands have been made that the war should

be stopped on a number of occasions. By providing support for organisation development and capacity building, the *Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society* wishes to strengthen this Russian organisation's criticism of the war conducted by its own state in Chechnya.

Another example is the support provided for the work with conscientious objection in Colombia. This is a case of organisation development and capacity building for a local organisation. Sometimes it is also possible to give support to villages and areas that have declared that they are weapon-free zones. The symbolic value of traditional weapon-free zones, for example holy places, can be used to mobilise people to take active initiatives for peace. For instance, Christian churches are by tradition weapon-free zones and many churches have anterooms where by custom people leave their weapons before entering the place of worship.

Working against mobilisation can mean finding and supporting the forces in civil society that reject war. However, it can also mean supporting forces that reject certain types of violence. In the chapter on influencing attitudes it was mentioned that one party's power to influence the opponent's negative attitude is based on exerting an influence on its own attitudes and behaviour. By refraining from using certain types of violence or attacking certain types of targets, one party can reverse a negative spiral of conflict. Peace actors in local civil society can play an important role for exerting pressure on their own side to refrain from always responding to violence with more violence, with resultant permanent escalation of the conflict. There is a special term for exerting an influence of this type on the behaviour of one's own side: in-group policing. This means that perpetrators of violence are punished by their own side in order to avoid escalation. In this way it is possible to influence the attitudes of the opposite party – and in the long run also its behaviour – in a positive direction. Changing one's own behaviour does not require any goodwill from the opposing side and is possible to do unilaterally. However, it is easier for the stronger party to take the first step.⁴³

8.3 Peace monitoring

Today elections and referenda are often parts of peace processes. Conflict behaviour is changed from acts of warfare, temporary cease-fires and suchlike to reaching a decision on the dispute with the aid of a referendum or a general election. International observers can make things easi-

43 Magnus Öberg at the study's strategy seminar on processing enemy images and dialogue promotion, March 22, 2001.

er by verifying that the referendum or election has proceeded correctly and by having a moderating effect on violence. It can also be a case of formal verification of a cease-fire or the implementation of disarmament and demobilisation, according to the peace agreement reached. The foremost task of OSCE's Kosovo Verification Mission, which was to consist of 2 500 unarmed observers, was to supervise a cease-fire. (Unfortunately it was only successful in sending 1 400 observers and the mission was discontinued after Nato's decision to start bombing.)⁴⁴

In South Africa, *Diakonia* has supported *Kwa Zulu Natal Monitoring Forum* to enable it to supervise the security situation in connection with the general elections in 2000. A network of 23 local CSOs were given the responsibility for supervising one area each and for reporting to each other. It was a local early warning system, at the same time as the monitoring in itself was intended to prevent or moderate any outbreaks of violence in connection with the election.

The project is reminiscent of *PEMSA*, which coordinated the work of Swedish CSOs for peace monitoring in South Africa in connection with the first free elections in the country (in the spring of 1994). The aim of peace monitoring (as opposed to election observation) was to moderate and prevent violence before, during and after the elections. A reduction in violence and threats of violence was essential to enable free and fair elections to be held without any problems. The project for peace monitoring in South Africa is too old to be included in the project inventory, but is mentioned here for three reasons. Firstly it was a very broad and unique cooperation project by Swedish CSOs. No fewer than 17 Swedish CSOs participated (Ewald & Thörn 1994). Secondly, the project was specifically linked to the broad security agenda after the end of the Cold War and was regarded as a potential model for a new generation of peace initiatives. Thirdly, *PEMSA* constitutes an important part of the pre-history of the *Peace Team Forum*, which is now a network of almost 50 organisations, and which has the aim of developing capacity in the field of peace-building and conflict transformation.

Since 1998 a small network of Swedish organisations, the *Observers Group*, has been holding discussions on sending peace observers to Western Sahara. The group consists of the *Africa Groups of Sweden*, *Caritas Sweden*, *Forum Syd – the Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation*, *Swedish Western Sahara Committee*, *Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation*, *Olof Palme International Center* and the *National Federation of Social Democratic Women in Sweden*,

⁴⁴ The example was used by Jörgen Johansen at the study's strategy seminar on prevention of violence, May 14, 2001.

Stockholm section. The overall goals would be to reduce the possibility of a confrontation between the army, police, Moroccan settlers, the returning refugees and the people living there before, during and after a referendum on the future of Western Sahara. However, the referendum has been postponed on several occasions.

8.4 Preventive presence

One organisation that specialises in moderating violence through an international presence is *Peace Brigades International (PBI)*. The name of the organisation is an allusion to Mahatma Ghandi's peace brigade idea, *Shanti Sena*, the idea of using unarmed forces, well trained in methods of non-violence, to maintain calm and order and to create peace in unsettled areas. The unarmed forces would literally go between the warring factions and keep them apart (so-called inter-positioning), and maintain secure zones.⁴⁵ However, the model that *PBI* eventually focused on and developed remained methodologically at the level of individuals: unarmed volunteers who, through their presence, protect individual people whose lives are threatened since they work for peace and human rights. One condition for *PBI* engagement in their cases is that they do not carry weapons.

Even if the method used in this so-called "bodyguard model" focuses on protection of individuals, *PBI* would emphasise that the effect is of importance for the organisations that these people are active in. The presence of the volunteers and the protection that they give to individual human rights activists increase the possibilities for human rights organisations to take action. In a book published by *PBI*, *Unarmed Bodyguards* (Mahoney&Eguren 1997), the effect of an international presence is explained in terms of acceptable and unacceptable costs for the person who is protected and the potential aggressor. The presence of an international volunteer who has an international organisation behind him/her, involves a threat of international repercussions in one form or another if an attack is made. This increases the "costs" for the aggressor, which hopefully has a deterrent effect. At the same time the safety and security of the people being threatened increase (the unacceptable costs decrease) and thereby their possibilities for taking action. During the time when the inventory was made, *PBI Sweden* contributed in particular to projects in

45 One variation of inter-positioning that has been used by the Balkan Peace Team is an international presence in houses whose inhabitants are threatened by eviction and expulsion, in a situation where this was included as part of a deliberate strategy for ethnic cleansing. The Balkan Peace Team was supported by both the organisations mentioned in the section of a preventive presence: *PBI* and the *Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation*.

Colombia and East Timor. It also supported *PBI International's* projects: in Mexico, on Haiti, and even in North America. *PBI's* project in Colombia received support through *Diakonia* (and can be found under *Diakonia* in the project inventory).

In the low-intensive conflict that is taking place in Chiapas in Mexico, the *Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation* is engaged in international preventive presence. It is doing this in cooperation with a local human rights organisation which coordinates the presence of peace observers in 27 vulnerable villages. In 2000 four young Swedes were trained and sent to Chiapas. They lived together with people in the village and shared their daily life. Through their presence they also functioned as observers: any violations of human rights were reported to the local partner organisation. The international presence was assumed to have a general moderating effect of violence.

8.5 Non-violence as a method

Peace monitoring, a preventive presence and the establishment of buffer zones and safe zones (without the use of weapons) are forms of non-violence, namely third party non-violent intervention. However, non-violence is more than this. Non-violence can also be certain types of methods.⁴⁶

Hitherto this chapter has discussed ways in which violence as behaviour in a conflict can be prevented and moderated. However, if violence is regarded as destructive behaviour (which in principle most would agree with), what can be suggested as constructive conflict behaviour? The suggestions to solve this question, which are indirectly mentioned in this chapter, include negotiations, democratic elections and referenda. However, before any of these alternatives can be used, there must be agreement that a conflict exists and, at least in the two latter cases, one must also know what the conflict refers to. But how can this point be reached if the opposing party does not want to listen?

Struggles without violence are taking place around the world. This is a permanent ongoing process of change which is often supported by organisations in civil society; trade unions, human rights organisations, interest associations, women's groups, environmental organisations etc. There is also an abundance of methods: demonstrations, protest letters, proclamations, boycotts, strikes, non-cooperation, civil disobedience, establishment of alternative ("shadow") institutions etc. In his monumental

⁴⁶ This is based to a certain extent on George Lakey's classification of non-violence into social change, social defence, and third party non-violent intervention. George Lakey is a Quaker and non-violence activist (and, among other things, a member of *PBI's* first team in Sri Lanka).

work on non-violent methods, Gene Sharp catalogued no less than 198 methods of this type (Sharp 1973).

The vast majority are cases of conflicts that could not result in large-scale violence, even under the most unfavourable conditions. For example, the subordination of women has never resulted in war and this is not due to the fact that oppression of women is a less important issue or a less serious injustice! (The fact that there is no danger that all conflicts break out into armed conflicts will probably only astonish those who believe that war is a “natural” step in the escalation of a conflict.) However, major changes have been accomplished without large-scale violence, even in situations where violence could have been expected. In this respect, the first events we tend to think about in Sweden are the fall of the Berlin Wall, the “singing revolution” in the Baltic States, and the fall of apartheid in South Africa. Many probably also remember the overthrow of the dictator Ferdinand Marcos through the People Power Revolution in the Philippines in 1986. The event was repeated in January 2001 when hundreds of thousands of people gathered in the same place to demand the resignation of the president at that time, Joseph Estrada. Less well-known examples of peaceful changes are the autonomy of Tatarstan in 1994 and self-government for Nunavut in Canada, the homeland of 22 000 Inuit people in 1999. All these examples are concerned with sensitive issues of territory and the power of government – just like armed conflicts and war.

Some choose to fight without violence since it is most effective in certain situations and carries fewer risks than the use of violence. Others reject all forms of violence on moral grounds. “Instrumental” non-violence has the goal of winning over the opposing side and gaining advantages for one’s own side. “Moral” non-violence tries to win over the opposing side to one’s own side or to find a solution that satisfies both parties.⁴⁷ The most prominent figure where moral non-violence is concerned is Mohandas “Mahatma” Ghandi. Methods for active non-violence have been developed in which non-violence has a much wider meaning than “without violence”.

In Kosovo there was a highly successful civil resistance campaign that ran for eight years and held war at bay. An extensive parallel society was built up which included schools and universities, healthcare systems, and a system of voluntary taxation. A highly readable analysis (Clark 2000) of the civil resistance struggle in Kosovo claims that one contributory cause

47 Cf Adam Curle’s worldly and moral non-violence. Adam Curle is a Quaker, psychologist, educationalist and author.

for its eventual failure was that the “non-violence” (the author prefers to call it civil resistance), which set the tone, was far too instrumental and cautious. The author is of the opinion that it was a tactical mistake not to use more radical and visionary non-violence that was mainly supported by students and women’s groups and which was closer to the type referred to above as “moral” non-violence. However, above all he notes, without concealing his bitterness, that a war that has been preceded by eight long years of civil resistance is a war that the outside world has had every chance of preventing. He recommends a third party intervention in the same style as the Kosovo Verification Mission, was intended to function, but earlier and on a larger scale (Clark 2000:213).

This section has highlighted methods for struggles without violence, active non-violence as a method and the outside world’s response to it. Where the response of the outside world is concerned, we have hitherto merely looked at non-violent third party intervention. In principle it is also possible to actively support one party in a non-violent struggle. This means that one is biased. A method used in a struggle is of course by definition a form of conflict behaviour, regardless of the fact that in this case it is a method that does not intend to harm. The question of direct support to a non-violent struggle can be read together with the section in the chapter above on exerting a direct influence in a dispute. Being proactive in a dispute is to try to exert pressure to reach a solution before the conflict becomes violent. An intervention of this type is thus logical from a prevention perspective, but we also saw that it is politically sensitive and risky. A possible solution of this dilemma is to use, in a highly disciplined manner, methods that can be characterised as morally non-violent. This would reduce the risk of a violent escalation of the conflict.

8.6 Summary of conflict phases and target groups in the projects

This chapter has discussed the provision of support to those forces in civil society that reject war or certain uses of violence. It includes disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of ex-combatants, who no longer take part in the fighting. Furthermore it has covered peace monitoring and a preventive presence. All this has the aim of moderating violence as a form of behaviour in a conflict in such a way that, in turn, it influences attitudes and disputes and thus steers the dynamics of a conflict in a positive direction. In addition we have touched upon the issue of alternative forms of behaviour in conflicts, less destructive methods that can be used in a struggle that can replace violence. There are no examples of such projects among those reported to the study. This does not necessarily mean that

there are no projects of this type, but perhaps rather that they are not regarded as peace projects. All the projects are taking place in areas where violence has already broken out, and have the aim of moderating the violence, preventing an escalation of violence, and/or preventing new outbreaks of violence. The projects on the chapter can be broken down under the phases “during armed conflict” and “after armed conflict”. The former include the projects in Sudan, Russia (in respect of the conflict in Chechnya) and Colombia. The latter include the projects in South Africa, Iraq, East Timor and Mexico. There is no example in this category being done in order to prevent a peaceful conflict developing into a violent conflict. However, in theory it should be possible to also use this type of intervention for purely preventive purposes – to prevent a conflict from breaking out into violence at all.

Level	Crisis:	During armed conflict:	After armed conflict:
Decision-makers:			
Leaders at intermediate level:		<i>Save the Children</i> : Sudan	
Broad mass of the people:		<i>Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society</i> : Russia <i>Diakonia (PBI)</i> : Colombia <i>Diakonia</i> : Colombia	<i>Diakonia</i> : South Africa <i>PBI</i> : East Timor <i>Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society</i> : Iraq <i>Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation</i> : Mexico

Save the Children’s negotiations with armed groups has been classified as being directed towards leaders at intermediate level. Otherwise the projects are directed towards the broad masses and the grassroots level. In the latter cases they have been classified as projects for the broad mass of the people. Mine clearance naturally benefits all levels.

All work for the prevention of violence mentioned in this chapter can, with the aid of an unusual term, be said to concern vertical escalation. They focus on moderating levels of violence. However, a preventive presence could also be used to counteract horizontal escalation, i.e. the spread of a violent conflict, but there is no example of this kind in the inventory of projects.

Experience gained in the study:

Norms and knowledge

CHAPTER 9

9.1 Peace building with the aid of norms and knowledge

The last three chapters have dealt with different aspects of conflict transformation. This chapter brings us into the subject of peace-building: identifying and providing support for structures that contribute to reinforcing and consolidating peace. Now the dynamics of the conflict and the warring parties are no longer in focus. Instead it is on the context of conflicts, and attempts to support and further develop the capacity for peace that can be found there. This step in a capacity development process includes preservation of respect for internationally recognised norms and human resource development in the form of education and training.

Norms and knowledge constitute a foundation for the institutions and structures that are part of the peace-building process. The preservation of respect for human rights corresponds to the institutionalisation of these rights in the form of laws, ombudsman institutions etc. Education in democracy is associated with the development of, or provision of support for, democratic institutions. There are a large number of educational projects in this category. The aim is to provide information on the norms and rules that apply internationally, to increase awareness of what can be done to create better conditions for peace, and to train people for assignments in the service of peace. In addition it is also a matter of capacity development for the type of initiatives that are required to influence attitudes, behaviour in conflicts, or the dispute in question.

The actual point here is of course to create a favourable context for peaceful dynamics in the conflict. Accordingly the question that should be asked concerns the extent to which projects for peace-building contribute to improving conditions for constructive conflict management or conflict resolution of the ongoing or potential armed conflict. Projects run by

Swedish CSOs in this field are given as examples. For more exhaustive descriptions, reference should be made to the project inventory or to the organisation responsible.

9.2 Maintenance of internationally recognised norms

In Sweden we have seen how popular movements and other civil society organisations have exerted an influence on society by supporting and presenting ideas and norms for society. Internationally CSOs fill the same function. They contribute to maintaining respect for international norms and rules through pressure work, shaping opinion, and adult education activities. CSOs are an important critical instance not least since they can remain relatively free of states, power politics and commercial interests. They can also act as driving forces to extend existing rules. Where extending international norms and rules is concerned, the historical example par excellence is the *Red Cross*. The *Red Cross* was the driving force behind the emergence of modern humanitarian law and still has a special position as guardian of this law. Many organisations see their primary task as supervising and maintaining respect for internationally recognised norms such as the principles of humanitarian law and the universal declaration of human rights. Several organisations that participated in this study work in this way alone, or emphasise this type of work.

Humanitarian organisations, which are on the spot in many of the crisis areas in the world, sound the alarm when the civilian population is threatened due to an escalation of warfare. With its tradition of *témoignage* (evidence/testimony), *Médecins sans Frontières* often single out guilty governments and warlords and do not hesitate at all to accuse international organisations for their sins of omission. The *Swedish East Timor Committee* was formed with the aim of making the situation in East Timor known at a time when the conflict had been somewhat forgotten. The organisation eventually also played an important role in drawing attention to the conflict there (together with other organisations such as the *Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation*).

The list can be made long. It is important to remember that the survey made within the framework of this study refers to projects in areas of crisis and conflict. No corresponding survey has been made of general peace work or of regular campaigns, proclamations, letters etc.

Cases in which one or more parties in a conflict are urged to change their behaviour in the conflict (to stop using violence or a certain type of violence, stop building houses on occupied territory etc) can be classified as prevention of violence or a part of conflict transformation. Campaigns

and proclamations can have a purpose of this type. However, they always have a function of mobilising solidarity, of forming and manifesting opinion. Therefore, they are primarily perceived as a form of norm work.

The only individual project that fits in under this heading can be seen as a form of concretisation of this general monitoring function in relation to a specific conflict. The *Swedish NGO Foundation for Human Rights* supports an evaluation and documentation centre that follows developments in Burma. The centre follows the situation in the country both in respect of violations of human rights and military activity. The information is channelled to CSOs and the UN.

9.3 Peace ethics for special professional groups and stakeholders

There are a number of projects that are directed towards specific professional groups or stakeholders with the aim of better equipping them to observe norms that they are expected to maintain. This type of project can therefore be seen as a direct extension of lobbying work.

In Uganda and West Africa, *Save the Children Sweden* had a project for training soldiers in norms and rules that refer to the protection of children in war and other issues concerning children's rights.⁴⁸ In Liberia, both *Caritas* and the *Church of Sweden* were working with extensive educational projects that also have elements of training in human rights, democracy and peaceful conflict management for policemen, paramilitary forces and, in the case of the *Church of Sweden* – also soldiers. In Congo-Kinshasa, *Caritas* contributed to the implementation of a four-day conference on peace ethics in the media for journalists and others active in newspapers, radio and TV. This is also an example of an educational project that is directed towards a specific target group and it took up the norms that this particular group are expected to maintain and respect.

The *Left International Forum* is responsible for a slightly different type of project in this category. The organisation participated in the transformation of the FMLN in El Salvador and URNG in Guatemala: from armed movements into democratic political parties. Cooperation has primarily focused on the transfer of knowledge through seminars at the local level on forms for democratic meetings and the participation of women on equal terms. The latter theme has been selected to ensure that the movements will not lose the relatively high degree of gender equality that characterised them during the years of armed struggle. With the aid of edu-

⁴⁸ *Save the Children Sweden*, *Amnesty International*, the *Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation* and the *Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society* have similar experiences.

cation, they wish to foster and support certain norms and values that contribute to sustainable peace.

9.4 Training for peace with a focus on children and adolescents

We have now seen a number of projects that are directed towards special professional groups or stakeholders. However, the vast majority of the educational projects are adult education projects and focus on the broad mass of the people. Many adult education projects, which have an emphasis on peaceful conflict management and co-existence, are directed specially towards children and adolescents. They are intended to foster peace.

Several organisations specialise in this type of work. *Children's International Summer Villages (CISV)* offers training for children in peaceful conflict resolution through games, simulation exercises, discussions and dramatisations. The *Life-Link Foundation* works through a twinning programme for schools with peace education for school children. In connection with Unesco's initiative for an International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010) the organisation is pursuing a campaign called Youth Peace Actions 2000+. The aim of the campaign is to draw attention to the peace theme in schools by, amongst other things, distributing a manual with suggestion for actions and lessons with peace themes that can be used in schools.

Another organisation that works with peace education in schools is *Swedish Teachers for Peace*. This organisation also has the ambition of changing teacher training programmes, curricula and teaching aids in cases where they have a negative influence on a conflict.

"Teaching in history up to the present time has been predominantly governed by a war perspective rather than a peace perspective. Moreover, history books are full of enemy images, prejudices, myths, ultra nationalism."⁴⁹

Swedish Teachers for Peace have contributed to a number of peace education projects in, for example, the Baltic States where relations between the Balts on the one hand and the Russian minority on the other have been a cause of unrest. During the period covered by the project inventory, the organisation implemented a project in Lithuania.

A large number of projects are directed towards youth. In South Africa *Diakonia* supported the Victory Sonqoba Theatre Company. The

49 Ingrid Inglander, *Swedish Teachers for Peace*, from The Role of Education in Peace-building, an article posted on the website of Professional groups against nuclear weapons, <http://welcome.to./ymk> (August 2001). Received as additional information together with the response to the questionnaire from *Swedish Teachers for Peace*.

group uses the theatre to create debates and stimulate discussions in workshops after performances. Their main themes are peace, tolerance, rehabilitation and reconciliation. The *National Council of Swedish Youth Organisations* has held conflict management courses in the Balkans and the Middle East (Israel/Palestine) with a focus on the role of youth organisations in conflicts. In Israel/Palestine the *Church of Sweden* has provided support for democracy and leadership training projects for young Palestinians. *Peace-Quest*, which also arranges courses in conflict management for young people and young adults, had a project in Israel/Palestine (see Chapter 6).

In Colombia, *Civis* trains young people in conflict management inside and outside schools. *Civis* sees one of its roles as constituting a link in the chain between high level peace research and the reality of young people in urban districts with a high frequency of violence. To ensure that the training programmes continue and are not isolated phenomena, trainers are also being trained and cooperation with the schools has been initiated.

9.5 Education for peace with a focus on adults

Together with Gothenburg University, the *Swedish Social Democratic Youth League* ran an educational project at university level: a master's course in peace and development in Israel-Palestine. The course provided general knowledge in the field as well as a great deal of information about the background and development of the Israel/Palestine conflict. The participants were young Israelis, Palestinians and Europeans. Students who have attended the course are now to be found in the Israeli and Palestinian administrations. There they contribute to building up a bank of knowledge in both camps on the ideas of peace and development research with a bearing on the conflict between Israel and Palestine.

Several projects are of an adult education character and have the aim of developing capacity in local communities to act for peace in areas of crisis and conflicts. One example is *Life and Peace Institute's* adult education initiative within the framework of its support to the work of local churches in the Sudan. The project of the *Christian Socialists of Sweden* in Congo-Brazzaville is another example. Together with their partner organisation, the *Christian Socialists of Sweden* worked there with training programmes in democratic leadership, with a special focus on reconciliation meetings at local and regional level. The project emphasised that mediation and reconciliation is a task for the people. It can be a case of local conflicts, for example between different youth groups and traditional leaders in a village. At the same time, through raising awareness there is the objective of gathering all CSOs to exert pressure on the government to accept me-

diation as a method of attaining a sustainable solution to the armed conflict in the country.⁵⁰

The two different projects that *Caritas* and the *Church of Sweden* supported in Liberia were two very broad human resource development projects. The training of soldiers, which has been mentioned above, is merely a small component in each project. The core activity is adult education on a broad front in the community. *Caritas'* educational initiative in Gbarnga in Liberia focused on human rights and democracy issues. Counteracting prejudices and resolution of conflicts were sub-goals. The target groups included local leaders and pressure groups of different types: journalists, elected student representatives, market organisations, women's organisations and youth societies. The target groups in the Trauma Healing and Reconciliation Programme (THRP), which the *Church of Sweden* supported in Liberia, include traditional leaders, persons working in public authorities, pastors, imams, teachers, medical personnel and representatives of local and national CSOs. In addition training was also being given to members of the National Reconciliation and Reunification Commission, a government body that is responsible for reconciliation work in the country. In its educational activities THRP has increasingly given priority to the training of trainers as a method of reaching more people.

Peace-building work rests to a great extent on the efforts of women and women's groups. Women's groups are also a strategic target group due to the strong dissemination effect through their families. In Macedonia *Kvinna till Kvinna* is working with increasing the participation of women in democratic processes. Its multi-ethnic dimension and preventive aims make the project a peace project. In cooperation with the *Christian Council of Sweden*, the *Swedish Ecumenical Women's Council* has arranged a course in conflict management and non-violence for women from different parts of India, and for women from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Cambodia. Other projects in this category include the support being provided by *Diakonia* to an organisation working with peaceful conflict resolution through adult education in Colombia and the educational projects run by *Olof Palme International Center* for participants from Russia and the Baltic States (in the project inventory under "Region: Baltic States").

9.6 Human Resource Development of partner organisations

In Pakistan, the *Olof Palme International Center* has a project which has the aim of helping the organisations *Students for Peace* to become established at

50 Åsa Dalmalm, at the study's strategy seminar on norms and ideas, April 26, 2001.

all universities and to strengthen the active engagement of the trade unions for peace. The following comments have been given by the *Olof Palme International Center*:

“The major political parties do not dare to oppose nuclear weapons – but trade union groups have done so. If the peace issue can be transformed into a distinct trade union/human issue, the trade unions can spread interest in peace work to other peace organisations.” (Application to Sida, 2000).

In other words this educational project had the strategy of developing capacity in local organisations to make contributions for peace. Similar examples can be found in the projects of the *Life and Peace Institute*. In Ethiopia, the Institute has assisted a local church (Mekane Yesus) to explore its role as a peacemaker with the aid of consultations and workshops. In Sri Lanka it is trying to make local peace initiatives visible and to strengthen them through international seminars. The conflict management courses in the Balkans and Middle East of the *National Council of Swedish Youth Organisations* (see 9.4) can also be mentioned here since they took up the role of youth organisations in conflicts.

9.7 Summary of conflict phases and target groups in the projects

This chapter has shown that there are a large number of educational projects. As the table shows, under this heading we have for the first time several examples of peace projects in relation to conflicts that have not broken out into armed violence: two projects in the Baltic States, one in India and one in Macedonia. Most of the projects in this category took place during the course of armed conflicts in the following countries: Burma, Colombia, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa, Ethiopia, Israel/Palestine, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Uganda. West Africa as a region is also included here due to the armed conflicts in Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau.

A number of projects refer to the post-conflict phase. These include two projects in Liberia, one on the Balkans and one in South Africa. The training programme for FMLN in El Salvador and URNG in Guatemala as a step in the process of their transformation from armed movements into political parties are, for natural reasons, part of a post-conflict phase. The latter two projects are considered to be projects at a high level since they focus directly on (former) warring factions as organisations. While most of the projects here are at the grassroots level, there are also a significant number of projects that are directed towards leaders at intermediate level in society: traditional leaders, pastors, imams, media people etc. Soldiers and policemen are also included here. The project supported by

the *Church of Sweden* in Liberia also trained national state bodies: National Bureau of Investigation, Immigration, Ministry of National Security, and members of the government body National Reconciliation and Reunification Commission. In the approximate classification made here it is nonetheless included at intermediate level due to the fact that its focus lies on local reconciliation work and that it is also directed towards local leaders and CSOs.

Level	Crisis:	During armed conflict:	After armed conflict:
Decision-makers:			<i>Left International Forum:</i> Guatemala <i>Left International Forum:</i> El Salvador
Leaders at intermediate level:		<i>Swedish Social Democratic Youth League:</i> Israel/Palestine <i>Save the Children Sweden:</i> West Africa <i>Save the Children Sweden:</i> Uganda <i>Caritas:</i> Congo-Kinshasa <i>Life & Peace Institute:</i> Ethiopia <i>Life & Peace Institute:</i> Sri Lanka <i>Life & Peace Institute:</i> Sudan <i>Swedish NGO Foundation for Human Rights:</i> Burma	<i>Church of Sweden:</i> Liberia <i>Caritas:</i> Liberia
Broad mass of the people:	<i>Christian Council of Sweden / Swedish Ecumenical Women Council:</i> India <i>Kvinna till Kvinna:</i> Macedonia <i>Swedish Teachers for Peace:</i> Lithuania <i>OPIC:</i> Baltic States	<i>National Council of Swedish Youth Organisations:</i> Israel/Palestine <i>Civis:</i> Colombia <i>Diakonia:</i> Colombia <i>Christian Socialists of Sweden:</i> Congo-Brazzaville <i>Church of Sweden:</i> Israel/Palestine <i>OPIC:</i> Pakistan	<i>National Council of Swedish Youth Organisations:</i> Balkans <i>Diakonia:</i> South Africa

Experience gained from the study: institutions and structures

CHAPTER 10

10.1 Peace-building through institutions and structures

In themselves, conflicts are neither good nor bad. What is important is that they are handled constructively and without violence. Institutions, conflict management mechanisms and diplomatic resources for handling conflicts in a peaceful manner are fairly undeveloped, particularly where intrastate conflicts are concerned. In view of the fact that the vast majority of conflicts today are intrastate, strengthening the capacity of society to handle conflicts should be given high priority.

Conflicts are a part of social life. Thus, there is not one society in the world that lacks local conflict management mechanisms. Often something can be found to build on that is rooted in the culture in question. One argument that appeals to common sense is that such mechanisms will be more sustainable. It is also of the utmost importance that a conflict management process is regarded as legitimate by those it refers to.

10.2 Development of intervention teams and peace-building teams

In the town of Osijek in eastern Croatia there is a peace centre, the *Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights*. It was founded in 1992, during the war, by a small number of doctors, teachers, lawyers and economists. Since the end of 1998, the *Life and Peace Institute* and the Centre in Osijek have been running a project called "Building a Democratic Society Based on the Culture of Non-violence". The project includes the creation of local peace teams for interventions in local conflicts. The majority of the members of the peace teams are Croatians. They define themselves as Croatian Croatians or Serbian Croatians. Some come from abroad (Austrians). The teams are now active in five communities in eastern Croatia.

Apart from being available to intervene when local conflicts arise, they support a number of local development projects and local initiatives for peace-building – through media and culture, women’s projects and youth projects, and legal aid to returning refugees. The project, which was partly a response to the withdrawal of the UN’s peacekeeping force from the area (UNTAES), can be seen as a way of helping to lead a society from negative to positive peace.

There are several examples of special institutions and structures that are being built up at local level to tackle local conflicts. One example is the *Christian Socialists of Sweden’s* project in South Africa. In the Western Cape Province in South Africa a non-violence team was built up for interventions in local conflicts. The project was implemented in cooperation with local authorities and had the aim of building up conflict management capacity in municipal structures as well as independent local organisations.

Another example, also taken from South Africa, is the support by *Diakonia* to an independent local organisation, *Practical Ministries*. *Practical Ministries* is working in Kwa Zulu Natal with local conflict management and conflict resolution and has established good contacts with traditional leaders. The organisation acts as a facilitator and mediator in conflicts between traditional structures and other formal institutions. The point of departure of all three projects is to build an infrastructure to solve and handle local conflicts of various types. Accordingly, the interventions here are related to local conflicts. It is this aspect that distinguishes them from the type of third party non-violent interventions that we became acquainted with in the chapter on exerting an influence on behaviour in conflicts, as examples of conflict transformation work. At the same time there is a direct potential link to conflict transformation work through the capacity for non-violent intervention in conflicts that is being built up in the teams.

10.3 Strengthening of local institutions

The *Life and Peace Institute* has made the use of traditional decision-making structures as the starting point for its peace-building efforts a somewhat distinctive feature of its work. In Burundi the *Life and Peace Institute* has made studies of a traditional institution for conflict management, Bashingantahe. This is a system of appointing specially trusted people in the community to handle and solve conflicts. At this stage, the project is still in the form of a study. The *Life and Peace Institute’s* project to identify and build on traditional decision-making structures is based, among other things, on the experience it gained from Somalia, where it has worked for many years. There the Institute has supported traditional local lead-

ers – municipal leaders, village elders, religious leaders, women’s groups and intellectuals – to work actively for peace at the local level. It has also supported groups and institutions that have been able to disassociate themselves from the ongoing armed conflict. The general public has been involved in peace building through traditional public meetings at local level. Although Somalia lacked a national government, there were various forms of decentralised self-government in many places. In places where local authorities were strong, effective local communities emerged. This also had the effect that the security of the inhabitants improved. Since 1992 the *Life and Peace Institute* has supported local structures of this type around the country. Both in the north-west (Somaliland) and in the north-east (Puntland), interesting structures have emerged that have broad popular support. The *Life and Peace Institute* has thus contributed to building up alternative structures as a counterweight to the power of the so-called “warlords”. In this work it has tried to build on, strengthen and mobilise traditional institutions for conflict management.

An entirely different way of strengthening local capacity to handle conflicts peacefully can be found in the project that the *Swedish NGO Foundation for Human Rights* is running in Colombia. The project has the aim of supporting the knowledge of human rights and humanitarian law possessed by local structures and to take measures against violations of human rights.

10.4 Strengthening national and regional institutions

Today the strengthening of national institutions for peaceful conflict management is almost synonymous with building or strengthening democratic institutions. During the 1990s, the majority of all peace agreements, particularly those that had been reached through international participation, included a clause on the establishment of a democratic social order. This has resulted in a number of peace and democratisation processes in which it is difficult to separate these two components from each other.

This is the case for example in Cambodia where *Forum Syd – the Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation* has been active since 1992, the year of the UN’s peace-keeping operation in the country.⁵¹ *Forum Syd*’s contribution to the combined peace and democratisation process in Cambodia

51 UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia) is an example of the new era of multi-functional UN operations with far-reaching powers for the administration and government of the country. Post-conflict peace building – for example in the form of democratisation and good governance – was part of the operation.

includes a long-term, continuous programme of support for the training of the electorate and election observers, and lobbying in respect of the legislation that regulates election procedures and democratic governance at local and national level. The programme was started up before and during the national elections that were held in the country in 1998 but, as opposed to many other donors, *Forum Syd* continued its initiative prior to subsequent elections.

Another of *Forum Syd*'s projects was working in Guatemala with the democracy component of a peace and democracy process in close cooperation within the UN (UNDP/UNV). The support was being provided in the form of personnel assistance in organisations and institutions in Guatemala that are working with the implementation of the peace agreements that were signed in 1996.

Free media are essential for the culture of democracy and essential to make it possible for democracy to do itself justice as a conflict management system. In conflicts it is particularly important that the media's coverage is comprehensive and balanced. The *Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights* is providing extensive support to alternative media in the Balkans, for example in Kosovo and Serbia. In its response to the questionnaire, the *Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights* writes:

“We regard access to nuanced/balanced information and the possibility to have one's opinions and comments heard as cornerstones in a democracy as well as a prerequisite for tolerance and peace.”⁵²

Sometimes national structures are not sufficient. Even if most conflicts are intrastate conflicts, neighbouring countries are affected in the form of flows of refugees, encroachment by armed groups etc. Regional frameworks for economic and political cooperation have been increasingly developed in recent decades. Some of them have developed, or are in the process of developing, conflict management capacity in order to be able to do something about the armed conflicts in the region. Two sub-regional interstate organisations are among the projects in the inventory. Both are Africa. ECOWAS was mentioned in the chapter above (see *Save the Children*'s project in West Africa). Now we come to a project that involves IGAD, the Inter Governmental Authority on Development, in eastern Africa. IGAD consists of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda. There are ongoing armed conflicts in several of these countries (Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda). Moreover, two of the states in this

52 *Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights*, response to the questionnaire.

interstate programme of cooperation are in conflict with each other (Ethiopia-Eritrea). In the face of these challenges, *IGAD* wishes to increase its conflict management capacity. The *Life and Peace Institute* has provided assistance in the form of training for the secretariat and officials from the ministries for foreign affairs in the various countries.

10.5 Reform of the security sector

One of the distinguishing characteristics of a state is its fundamental monopoly of the use of violence. However, this monopoly is also associated with responsibility. It is important that the control and authority of civil agencies over the security sector is consolidated, democratic insight is promoted, human rights are respected, and those who have the task of administering the state monopoly of violence remain within the bounds of the law and attend properly to their primary task: to protect the security of the citizens. The reform of the security sector in this direction can be seen as a form of good governance. The security sector includes the armed forces, intelligence service, police, other parts of the legal sector, and the civil agencies, institutions and processes that have the task of controlling these organisations (DAC Guidelines 2001:38).

A reform of the security sector should, by definition, be accompanied by the promotion of a public debate and insight into priorities and budget issues in the security sector. In this respect CSOs (particularly local CSOs) play an extremely important role. However, it has been relatively uncommon hitherto for CSOs to have the scope and the expertise that are necessary for a surveillance function in the field of security. Naturally this exists, but it is nonetheless obvious that in general there is a need for the development of human resources and capacity in the security field in civil society (Ball 1998).

There were not many projects in the study that had the aim of (or the part-aim of) reforming the security sector, and which contained elements of institutionalisation in the form of legalisation, establishment of supervisory institutions etc. The only examples in the study are *Diakonia's* projects in South Africa, which aim to improve relations between the police force and the general public. In one case support is given to a local network, *the Network of Independent Monitors (NIM)*. In the other case *Diakonia's* partner organisation actively engaged church leaders in the so-called Community Policing Forums, which have been established by the country's parliament. After all the years in which South Africa was a police state, it was deemed necessary to work actively to build up trust between the police and the population.

The projects that had the reform of the security sector as their aim – but which were purely training projects – were included in the chapter above on norms and knowledge. These were projects for training military personnel in norms that they are expected to uphold and respect, and the examples were *Save the Children*'s projects in West Africa and Uganda, the support provided by *Caritas* for the training of policemen in Liberia and the support provided by the *Church of Sweden* for the training of military personnel and policemen in the same country.

10.6 Strengthening the capacity of civil society

Many projects have elements of strengthening the institutional capacity of civil society for peace purposes. The theme is so central to the study that it deserves a section of its own despite a lack of illustrative examples from the project inventory.

It is often claimed that strengthening civil society in itself is a form of peace-building. This is confusing, particularly if it is considered that Germany in the 1930s is sometimes taken as an example of a country with a strict and well-organised civil society. Naturally, the mere fact that people organise themselves creates neither peace nor war in itself. There is no reason to romanticise about civil society. Civil society can constitute a source of energy for peace efforts – but it can also encourage war. The issue refers to the ways in which it is possible to support the capacity of civil society for peace.

In crisis areas where there is a risk that an intrastate conflict will break out into violence, or has already broken out into violence, it is highly probable that there is a strong pressure for polarisation and the erosion of social capital.⁵³

The pressure of polarisation is part of the process of mobilisation for conflict. The parties demand that the people support them. Those who are not for are accused of being against. Nevertheless there are those who resist: local groups and institutions that repudiate or criticise the ongoing armed conflict. Much of this report discusses the ways in which Swedish CSOs have identified and cooperated with those local resources that are for peace in one way or the other. Strengthening local organisations that work actively for peace, strengthening the links that exist across dividing lines, increasing the scope of local forces for peace to take action with the

53 A study of the consequences of violence and conflict in villages in Sri Lanka found that the erosion of social capital was strongest the closer to the front the villages were situated. See Goodhand & Lewer, 1999.

aid of a preventive presence... all this (and more) strengthens the capacity of local civil society to achieve peace.⁵⁴

The possibilities of supporting peace are overlooked far too often. In areas of crisis and conflict it is easy to become so caught up in the tragic nature of war that it is only possible to see the negative sides. However, if one only sees the misery, there is a danger that any opportunities of supporting the positive aspects will be lost. Positive aspects are always present. It is a case of learning to identify local structures, institutions, values, interests, symbols etc that can constitute a resource for peace.

If one looks up from the local level, one can see that it is important that civil society includes, in principle, everyone if the disintegration of a country is to be prevented. Therefore, in multi-cultural countries it is important that overlapping identities are permitted (and which country in the world is not multi-cultural!). Above all it should be possible to feel a sense of belonging to the country as such, at the same time as it is possible to have other group affiliations and loyalties. Strengthening the capacity of civil society for peace therefore means (among other things) working actively for a civil society that is characterised by both diversity and solidarity.

Another word for diversity and solidarity is integration. Integration is positive from the perspective of peace and conflicts, while pressure on minorities to assimilate is extremely risky. Unfortunately these concepts, i.e. integration and assimilation, are often confused. As opposed to assimilation, which stands for one-sided adjustment, integration is always mutual. An integrated society is a society that accepts differences and thus can hold together, while segregated societies are vulnerable to disintegration and destructive conflict. In other words, strengthening civil society in areas that are characterised by intrastate conflicts (violent or not) means strengthening links that cross the dividing lines of conflicts. This can include, but is not the same as, strengthening CSOs.

10.7 Summary of conflict phases and target groups in the projects

The majority of the projects in this category are in a post-war phase: post-conflict peace building. This is the case in respect of projects in Guatemala, Cambodia, Kosovo, Croatia, South Africa, Serbia and Somalia. However, two projects refer specifically to the phase of “during armed conflict”: that in Burundi and that in Colombia. IGAD is also in-

⁵⁴ An international project that has commendably discussed and also systematised types of local factors that support peace is the Local Capacities for Peace Project that is being run by the Collaborative for Development Action (CDA). See www.cdainc.com.

cluded due to the fact that there are several ongoing conflicts in the sub-region (Ethiopia, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Sudan, Uganda).

None of the projects in this chapter is in a crisis area where there is a conflict, that has not broken out into violence. The strengthening of local institutions and structures for peaceful conflict management at a sufficiently early stage to prevent armed conflict requires an increase in the capacity for analysis and a culture of taking action at an early stage.

The project involving IGAD is the only project that is directed towards decision-makers at a high level. Most projects focus on key persons at intermediate level: traditional leaders, police, media people, local politicians and local government employees. Some focus on the broad mass of the people, including grassroots.

Level	Crisis:	During armed conflict:	After armed conflict:
Decision-makers:		<i>Life & Peace Institute: IGAD</i>	
Leaders at intermediate level:		<i>Life & Peace Institute: Burundi</i> <i>Swedish NGO Foundation for Human Rights: Colombia</i>	<i>Life & Peace Institute: Somalia</i> <i>Christian Socialists of Sweden: South Africa</i> <i>Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights: Kosovo</i> <i>Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights: Serbia</i> <i>Diakonia: South Africa (NIM)</i> <i>Diakonia: South Africa (Community Policing)</i>
Broad mass of the people:			<i>Diakonia: South Africa (Practical Ministries)</i> <i>Forum Syd: Guatemala</i> <i>Forum Syd: Cambodia</i> <i>Life & Peace Institute: Croatia</i>

Experience gained during the study: Structural risk factors

CHAPTER 11

In the Swedish Government's communication on preventing armed conflicts, emphasis is given to the need of more knowledge and understanding of structural risk factors in violent conflicts (Government communication 2000:41).⁵⁵ The examination of structural risk factors is difficult. By definition, there are no direct cause and effect relationships. Instead they are indirect, complicated and very difficult to determine.

The reason why it is nonetheless worth the effort to learn more about structural risk factors is that this knowledge is essential for early interventions that tackle the basic causes of armed conflicts. Therefore, in this chapter a special section has been devoted to the identification of structural risk factors in a type of early warning system. First, some main groups of structural factors are discussed and illustrated with examples of projects from the project inventory.

11.1 Distribution issues

Not much more is needed than a map of ongoing armed conflicts in the world to suspect that there is a connection between poverty and conflicts. Most armed conflicts are taking place in poor countries, particularly in Africa and Asia. The simplest and most obvious relationship between poverty and conflicts is that armed conflicts create poverty. But can it also be said that poverty creates conflicts?

Conflicts are all about the control of scarce resources (see Chapter 4). Keeping people in extreme poverty is a form of structural violence. Nonetheless, it is not the very poorest people that start wars. This can be

⁵⁵ Structural risk factors are factors that do not, in themselves, lead to armed conflicts, but which increase the risk of armed conflicts. (Factors that lead to armed conflicts are called direct causes. Structural risk factors are indirect, underlying causes.)

partly due to the fact that they simply lack the resources to do so. However, it is also the case that it is hardly the poor that benefit from wars. Quite the reverse! It is the poorest people who are most seriously affected. We have already seen that it is the next poorest countries, not the very poorest, that have the highest incidence of armed conflict (even if the very poorest countries do not lag far behind). If an examination is made of the groups in the countries that are most inclined to take to weapons, it can be found that as, a rule, it is not the poorest at all. It is rather groups from the middle class or elites that are inclined to resort to violence under certain circumstances. The key words to explain this are relative deprivation and imbalance in social status. Relative deprivation is the difference between what people have expected and what they actually have the possibility of obtaining. An imbalance in social status occurs when a person has a high ranking on the social scale in one respect but a lower ranking in another (for example a high level of education combined with poverty on account of unemployment).

Poverty that affects everyone equally is unlikely to increase the risk of armed conflict. On the contrary it can unite a people. A possible breeding ground for conflict develops when poverty is combined with an uneven distribution of resources. The greatest risk of conflict occurs when the economic dividing lines coincide with other dividing lines, for example those relating to language, religion or ethnicity.

An obviously unjust distribution of land is a heated issue in many countries. *Caritas Sweden* supports the Catholic diocese of San Marcos in Guatemala in its conflict management work in respect of the right of ownership to land. The conflicts involved here are not armed. However, the lopsided distribution of land was the underlying cause of 36 years of civil war in the country. In addition that part of the peace agreement that takes up the land issue has not been implemented. Working for a solution of conflicts over land in Guatemala can therefore be seen as a way of eliminating a structural cause of armed conflict. A further example is *Diakonia's* activities in South Africa. Here it is a case of water supplies – even if redistribution of land is part of the story. In a pilot project for the redistribution of ownership to land, it was noticed that the new landowners, like the people who had lived in the area previously, were dependent on their – white – neighbours for their water supply. *Diakonia's* partner organisation in the area is working to break this situation of dependence with the aim of reducing tensions between these groups and preventing violence. The conflict is local but is part of a general structural problem in South African society: the obviously unjust distribution that has been inherited from the apartheid era.

Land and water are basic necessities for life. If the cake to be shared suddenly becomes much smaller – for economic reasons or on account of an environmental disaster – and this affects people unevenly, the stage is set for a conflict. In general it is predicted that water will play an increasingly important role as a cause of conflicts in the future. (Distribution problems associated with water can very well be a direct cause, but can also – as in the example above – constitute a structural factor.) In order to identify risks in time in this field, it is essential that peace work has access to environmental expertise.

11.2 Issues concerning minorities

The suppression of the rights of minorities – or where relevant of majorities – is an obvious structural risk factor. The project Minorities at Risk has identified 223 minorities that are either discriminated against or have collectively confronted the state they live in. These minorities are separated from their surroundings on the basis of their position in society, and their ethnic or religious affiliations. A large proportion of the population of the world, more than one-sixth (1990), is estimated to belong to minorities of this type (Gurr 1993:315). Many of them have naturally never resorted to violence and have no plans to do so either. Nevertheless here is a potential breeding ground for conflicts that can possibly be armed. In other words it is a typical structural risk factor.

The main problem is discrimination and lack of rights, not least economic, social and cultural rights. Accordingly, once again it is a question of uneven distribution, in this case in combination with discrimination against a group. Often it is an ethnic group and ethnic markers are therefore important. The right of people to their own culture, religion and language should be safeguarded in an early prevention perspective. Where this right is denied to groups in society a structural risk factor exists.

It can also be a case of representation. One particular problem refers to the people who lack representation in the international system, such as the UN. Unrepresented Nations and Peoples (UNPO), is an international umbrella organisation for organisations that represent people of this type. UNPO represents 55 unrepresented nations and peoples and over 150 millions of people.⁵⁶ Identifying minorities is not very difficult. On the other hand the UN, states, and international and national CSOs need to be better at daring to act in time – and at acting in the right way.

⁵⁶ Updated by e-mail from the General Secretariat of UNPO, December 2004. For further information, see www.unpo.org.

11.3 Arms trade issues

Access to arms naturally increases the risk of an armed conflict. Prior to the UN Conference on Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) in July 2001, it was estimated that there were 500 million such weapons in circulation in the world, i.e. one for every 12th living person (Fréchette 2001). Approximately 90 per cent of all those killed and wounded in armed conflicts today are victims of SALW. Even after the armed conflicts have officially ended, many of these weapons continue to reap victims since they often end up in the hands of criminal groups. This is one of the reasons why the level of violence in a community after a war is usually much higher than before the war. There is also a relationship between the small, light and effective weapons in use today and the use of child soldiers.

The *Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation* works to combat the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. In 1999 and 2000, *SweFOR* organised conferences for parliamentarians from Central American states, Spain and Sweden in order to shed light on legislation and parliamentary control of the arms trade and flows of weapons.⁵⁷ In one way the project (see “Central America” in the project inventory), could be regarded as an example of strengthening the capacity of countries and communities to handle conflicts peacefully. However, above all it is an example of the elimination of a structural risk factor: the high incidence and lack of control of SALW in the area.

The issue of arms trade also has to do with economic interests behind armed conflicts. Otherwise the counteraction of economic structures and interests that earn money from war and have a negative effect on prospects of peace is relatively absent in the project material. This would indicate that this theme is not often worked with in project form in areas of crisis and conflict. (However, this does not mean that Swedish CSOs do not work with issues of this type, but that most of the work is taking place in the form of campaigns and opinion shaping activities in Sweden and cannot thus be referred to as projects in crisis and conflict areas.)

11.4 Identification of structural risk factors as a form of early warning

An unjust distribution between groups, discrimination against minorities (or majorities where it occurs) and a high incidence of weapons can also

⁵⁷ Since then, more conferences of parliamentarians have been arranged by *SweFOR*. The initiative has resulted in the creation of the Permanent Parliamentary Forum on Small Arms and Light Weapons (in Madrid, 2002). More information can be obtained through *SweFOR* (see list of organisations).

be used as early warning signals. However, there are more early warning signals than those discussed above. Some phenomena, discussed in chapter 2, could also, in principle, be taken up as structural risk factors. For example, the higher probability of armed conflict in states that have recently undergone an earlier conflict is a structural cause. In places in which an armed conflict has occurred the risk of armed conflict is significantly higher than in areas that have experienced peace for a long period of time.

Transition regimes, i.e. countries that are on the way from authoritarian rule to democracy, run a greater risk of ending up in armed conflict than other countries. Undemocratic forms of government and weak social structures are two of the structural risk factors that are taken up in the Swedish Government's communication on the prevention of armed conflicts (Government communication 2000:41). These factors have already been discussed elsewhere in this report (see section 2.5.1 and 10.6). In fact the entire outer circle in the analysis framework consists of early warning signals!

Organisations working with peace-building activities in areas of crisis and conflict should be able to be amongst the first to notice the very early warning signals of this type. At the study's strategy seminar on structural risk factors, a presentation was made of early risk factors in four main groups: economic (see section above on distribution issues); institutional; social-psychological (particularly previous experience of war); and highly transformative social processes (for example democratisation processes).⁵⁸ A brief presentation of *Caritas'* project in San Marcos at this seminar demonstrated indicators in all four fields: economic differences that coincide with ethnic differences, a non-functioning ownership register, experience of earlier wars, and a relatively young peace and democratisation process.⁵⁹

However there is rarely any systematic collection and analysis of structural risk factors such as early warning signals. The most obvious exception is the monitoring of violations of human rights. When violations of human rights are included in a pattern of discrimination, they can be a structural risk factor and a very early warning signal. However, violations of human rights can also be part of behaviour in conflicts, a later early warning signal. In internal conflicts an increase in political violence and

⁵⁸ Based on Andrés Jato's introduction at the study's strategy seminar on reducing the risk of armed conflict, May 29, 2001, and can be compared with a slightly different classification of indicators for early warning in the Manual for Early Warning and Early Response, produced by FEWER (*Forum on Early warning and Early Response*). There the following four groups are given: political, economic, socio-cultural and institutional.

⁵⁹ Based on a review given by Sofia Nordenmark, *Caritas*, at the study's strategy seminar, May 29, 2001.

violations of human rights are a sign that a civil war can be imminent unless something is done to break the spiral of violence. *Amnesty International*, with its continuous monitoring activities of the human rights situation in countries around the world, identifies such signals. The project run by the *Swedish NGO Foundation for Human Rights* in Burma (see Chapter 9) is an example of monitoring the human rights situation in an area of crisis and conflict with the intention of keeping the UN up to date with the latest events.

This chapter has discussed issues relating to equitable distribution, human rights and arms trade. There are strong links between security issues in a narrow sense of the term (armed conflict) and the wider security concept, human security. A paragraph from the UN Secretary General's report on prevention of armed conflict can serve as a summary of the analysis in this chapter:

“Although poverty by itself is not a root cause of violent conflict, the fact is that some of the poorest societies are either on the precipice or embroiled in armed conflict. Progress in the eradication of poverty and addressing in particular, inequality, injustice and human security issues in developing countries would greatly contribute to conflict prevention in the long term.” (Prevention of Armed Conflict 2001: §152)

11.5 Summary of conflict phases and target groups in the projects

The three projects in this category refer to the period “after armed conflict” and take place in South Africa, Guatemala and Central America. The *Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation's* project in Central America is directed towards a high decision-making level, national parliaments, whereas the water and land distribution projects are typical grassroots projects.

Level	Crisis:	During armed conflict:	After armed conflict:
Decision-makers:			<i>The Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation: Central America</i>
Leaders at intermediate level:			
Broad mass of the people:			<i>Caritas Sweden: Guatemala</i> <i>Diakonia: South Africa</i>

Realising the potential of civil society organisations in their work for peace

CHAPTER 12

12.1 Identifying the potential

In Chapters 6-11 we have considered types of projects such as dialogue projects, hosting peace talks, think-tanks, popular peace forums, child soldier projects, a preventive presence, peace monitoring, human resource development of local stakeholders for peace, building up intervention teams for local conflicts, support for the reform of the security sector, strengthening institutions for conflict management at different levels, and the elimination of structural causes of armed conflicts.

This means that Swedish organisations that have worked in or with the projects possess knowledge and experience of working in areas of crisis and conflicts. Their experience represents an important potential, not least through the points of entry that the organisations have in local civil society. The breadth of civil society organisations and their potential cross-sector cooperation pave the way for multidimensional peace work.

The potential of CSOs for peace work is analysed in this chapter in relation to their various fields of expertise, as well as the phases and geographical areas of conflicts. Moreover, the chapter contains a discussion of new types of peace initiatives and the possibility of including a peace objective in existing projects.

12.2 The work of the Swedish civil society organisations

The organisations included in the list of organisations, whose activities are based on membership, have over 700 000 members. This figure does not include members of foundations, committees, umbrella organisations and churches. Merely by adding the number of members of the churches (7 367 000) with that of the organisations (approx 700 000), a figure is obtained which approaches the entire population of Sweden (8 882 792 as

at December 31, 2000, according to Statistics Sweden).⁶⁰ If the other categories are then added, the figure reached is extremely high. Even if there is considerable overlapping in membership it is quite clear that, in combination, the organisations included in the study cover a significant proportion of the population of Sweden. Having the possibility of channelling the engagement of many people represents a potential in itself.

There is also something in the experience of classical popular movements or civil society organisations that is an asset. Popular movements, as they emerged in Sweden, are characterised by being voluntary and non-governmental, and by meetings and democracy. Traditionally, the place where people met played an important role. The term – “popular movement” – reflects its ability to mobilise people. As an activity all this is very close to peace-building. The schooling that experience of the popular movement gives in fields such as representative democracy and democratic forms of meetings is an asset when working with democracy. The tradition of meetings in time and space, places to meet in, are also important in peace-building activities that have, as their point of departure, strengthening local stakeholders in civil society. In addition, the promotion of dialogue at grassroots level involves concrete meetings. Patience and a presence over a long period of time are assets in this work. The classical way used by popular movements to organise people are in fact better suited for peace-building and working with dialogue than the current trends towards professionalism, virtual meetings, project dependence and campaign work.⁶¹ The traditional ways used by popular movements to organise people, and their points of entry into local civil society can, in other words, be added to the comparative advantages that were previously dealt with in a comparison between official and unofficial diplomacy (under the heading Track-two and multi-track diplomacy Chapter 3).

12.3 The local stakeholders

Without their local contacts and their partner organisations, Swedish CSOs would not be able to make any contributions for peace in areas of crisis and conflict since such a significant proportion of the skills required for these contributions are possessed by local partners in cooperation. As mentioned above, the peace-creating potential in the peace work of CSOs also refers to a large extent to their entry points into local civil society.

60 http://www.scb.se/templates/tableOrChart___26040.asp , 2004-11-08.

61 Kjell-Åke Nordquist at the study's strategy seminar on support for peace negotiations and peace agreements, April 11, 2001.

In order that a Swedish CSO working in an area of crisis or conflict shall not risk fomenting or exacerbating a conflict by mistake, it is important that it analyses its own relationship as well as that of its partner organisation to the conflict. If it has a partner that is perceived as biased, it can work with projects that have the aim of in-group policing. However, it can hardly acquire the type of trust that is needed to be a mediator. If an organisation provides political and possibly financial support for a party involved in the conflict, it can hardly work at the same time with a preventive presence. Even something that appears to be neutral and impartial, such as a general exhortation to have a dialogue that is directed to all parties in a conflict, can be perceived as biased depending on the situation (for example when one party has everything to gain from a dialogue while the other has everything to lose). It is important for an organisation to be aware of its actions and to be able to see them in a wider context.

In some cases Swedish CSOs have had relations with their partners for a long period of time. For better or worse an organisation is more or less obliged to work with the partner one has. In other cases the Swedish CSO must try and find key stakeholders in civil society and support them. However, even in the latter case, it should consider the possibility of a relatively long-term engagement. (Peace work is often a long-term engagement.)

Apart from local CSOs, in local civil society there are other stakeholders as well as structures, institutions, values, interests, symbols etc that can constitute resources for peace.⁶² It is a matter of learning to identify these resources and to support unifying factors directly across the dividing lines of the conflict. By identifying things that unite the parties, for example a market where people meet over the dividing lines or a festival that is celebrated by both parties, opportunities for a dialogue project or other targeted interventions can be discovered.

One idea is to examine the possibilities inherent in local civil society of resisting and actively counteracting economic structures and interests that gain through war and have a negative impact on prospects of peace. Time and time again the inventory has pointed out a need to learn more about what happens to conflict management mechanisms and other local resources for peace in local civil society in areas of crisis and conflict, not least before an outbreak of war. In other words more knowledge is needed to take even better advantage of the resources that already exist in local communities in order to create peace.

⁶² Once again this categorisation is indebted to the Local Capacities for Peace Project, which is being led by *Collaborative for Development Action (CDA)* in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Categories in their Framework for Considering the Impact of Aid on Conflict are: Systems & Institutions, Attitudes & Actions, Values Interests, Experiences, Symbols & Occasions.

12.4 The gender perspective

Several organisations in the study give special prominence to the role and perspectives of women. The women's organisations that took part of the study by responding to the questionnaire (and are thus included in the specification of organisations in Appendix 1) are the *Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation*, *Swedish Ecumenical Women Council*, *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Swedish section)*, *Women for Peace*, *National Federation of Social Democratic Women in Sweden*, and the *Left Association of Swedish Women*.

The *Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation* and the *Swedish Ecumenical Women Council* have projects that involve women as local stakeholders in the Balkans and in India. Through the projects of other organisations, we have also made the acquaintance of the *Russian Committee of Soldiers' Mothers* (supported by SPAS) and the *Mothers for Peace* in Turkey (supported by OPIC). Furthermore, the project inventory tell the stories of women's groups in Cambodia (*Forum Syd – the Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation*), Liberia (*Caritas*), Somalia (*LPI*) and Sudan (*LPI*), all of which work with peace-building in one way or another (see Appendix 2). Further examples of peace-building projects involve women in two former armed movements in Central America. They are struggling to maintain the relatively high degree of gender equality that existed in wartime in the new democracies of the post-war era.

In a critical review of the Dayton agreement, the *Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation* has shown how the lack of a gender perspective has had an impact in the implementation of the agreement. The democratic elections that have been held, the political institutions that have been built up, the laws that have been passed have all resulted in a lost opportunity to contribute to greater equality. Despite a broad reconstruction programme, questions concerning violence against women, trafficking in women, the participation of women in decision-making bodies, and the right of women to own and inherit were not included. Eventually it was possible to remedy some of these things – but not before the implementing organisations had established a special structure for it, four years after the Dayton agreement had been concluded. According to the analysis made by *Kvinna till Kvinna*, the shortcomings in the gender perspective are linked to the fact that the role of CSOs is not mentioned in the agreement. During the war many women's groups had taken over social functions (legal aid, nursing etc) after the public institutions had closed down. These groups should have been made partners in implementation to enable them to build further on the relative prominence of the positions of

women during the war. Instead the women's groups lost ground in the reconstruction phase (Lithander et al 2000).

To perform peace work that is more effective and takes gender equality into consideration, it is important that women participate to a greater degree at the negotiation table and in decision-making positions.⁶³ It is not enough merely to support the indirect, long-term work done by women in building the peace unless, at the same time, their participation in peace negotiations for the transformation of the conflict, in mediation assignments, and in work for the prevention of violence are promoted. With the terminology used here, it can be said that, if this does not happen, there is a risk that the peace work legitimises a division in conflict transformation and peace building based on gender: the inner circle for the men and the outer circle for the women...

12.5 Religions

A large group of organisations in the study are churches and organisations associated with the church: *Caritas Sweden*, *Diakonia*, *PMU Interlife*, *Church of Sweden*, *Swedish Mission Covenant Church*, *Swedish Ecumenical Women Council* and *Swedish Mission Council*. They are represented in projects in all six areas in the analysis, in all phases and at all levels. Almost half of the projects in the project inventory (Appendix 2) are related to churches or organisations associated with churches. One of the examples had to do with the counteraction of religious overtones in ethnic conflicts (the project supported by the *Church of Sweden* in Liberia, see Appendix 2 and chapter 6).

The latter project is a type of peace initiative which, in fact, only persons who practise a religion can implement in a credible way. It is much more difficult for secular organisations to warn against religious overtones in a conflict. Sooner or later representatives of the religions concerned must show, through their words and deeds, that they will not tolerate or contribute to their religions being used for war mobilisation purposes. Churches and religious communities have played a role in this field for a long time. However, potentially they could play an even bigger role than they do today. A specific and active repudiation of war in peace-time

63 A global campaign, which was launched by *International Alert* in May 1999 entitled Women Building Peace: From the Village Council to the Negotiating Table, gives prominence to the following demands: Include women in peace negotiations as decision-makers (N.B. they are already participating to a great extent in other positions); put women at the heart of reconstruction and reconciliation; strengthen the protection and participation of refugee and internally displaced women; end impunity and ensure redress for crimes committed against women; and provide women and women's organizations with the support and resources they need. More information can be found at www.womenbuildingpeace.org.

would make it difficult for those who are tempted, in a war, to use religion to motivate their acts of warfare.

There is a great deal of power in religious language. If used constructively it can strengthen the peace. Rites and symbols can heal. The method used for assembling and choosing symbols may be the expression of a culture, but the need is universal and there are similar traditions in many cultures. In many contexts church services for peace can give people an opportunity to turn their back on war and decide to give a peace process a chance. It is naturally important that rites and symbols that create peace are established in the local culture.

In many countries the religions represent the best-organised and most extensive institutions in society. Moreover, religious leaders often enjoy the considerable trust of broad groups in the population and exercise a form of moral leadership. One illustrative example of the latter can be taken from the time of the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. There was one religious group in Rwanda that stood out by not participating in the genocide to the extent as most other groups did: the Muslims. A case study of the Muslim community actions during the Rwandan genocide reports that no Muslim religious leaders have been charged or arrested for participating in the genocide, that no people who sought refuge at mosques were killed with the collusion of the Muslim leadership and that a disproportionate number of survivors, both Muslim and non-Muslim, had been protected by Muslims.⁶⁴ The case study also reports consistent leadership actions to convey a message of moderation and peace in the period leading up to the genocide and during the genocide. It concludes that leadership was an important factor: "It is clear that the vast majority of Muslims followed the teachings and ideology of their religious leaders over the state leaders regarding the genocide" (Ntambara & Doughty 2003:23).

As *PMU Interlife* has pointed out (chapter 6.4), Christianity is the majority religion in the Great Lakes region and includes people associated with different sides in conflicts. In addition to the prospect that the churches could actively disassociate themselves from and oppose all violence, Christian symbols, festivals and themes could appeal to many people and be used to a greater extent to unite people over the dividing lines of a conflict. However, the mere identification of a positive potential should not be allowed to obscure actual shortcomings.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ This paragraph is based on a case study which David Moussa Ntambara and Kristin Doughty produced within the framework of the international project STEPS, which is being led by *Collaborative for Development Action (CDA)*. See www.cdainc.com.

⁶⁵ In a country such as Rwanda, where priests and pastors are accused of having participated in the genocide of 700 000 – 800 000 Rwandans in 1994, this is an issue of credibility for the churches themselves. (On the official website of the International Tribunal for Rwanda, www.ictt.org, it is possible to follow the cases).

The world religions have a considerable potential for peace that is of relevance in all conflicts in the world. The exact role religious communities and institutions can play in individual conflicts must be determined from case to case and depends on, for example, the relations they have with the parties in the conflict and the local population in general. However, regardless of this, it is usually possible to find openings for positive action, if one looks for them. The possibility that religious communities and institutions can actually act constructively in relation to an armed conflict should increase if they deliberately work with the peace theme in peace time as well as in troubled times.

12.6 Diversity

Religious organisations and women's organisations are sometimes referred to as two "tracks" in multi-track diplomacy (see 3.4). It is also possible to discern more tracks in the material in the study.

One broad track in the study, in terms of representation, is represented by the peace organisations.⁶⁶ The organisations that contributed projects to the project inventory, and which call themselves peace organisations, are *Civis*, the *Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation*, *Kvinna till Kvinna*, *Life and Peace Institute*, *Peace Brigade International*, *PeaceQuest*, *Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society* and *Swedish Teachers for Peace*. Together they have projects in all fields included in the analysis. There are also examples of interventions in all phases of conflicts and at all levels in society. Some types of interventions are unique to these groups in the material: processing images of the enemy, a preventive presence, mine clearance and arms control. This does not mean that peace interventions of this type are something that only peace organisations focus on. On the other hand, it can be said that the material indicates that today Swedish peace organisations possess special expertise in the classical peace areas listed. If so, there should be a great deal to obtain from this expertise for other types of organisations, which are now building up the preparedness and capacity to work with "a new generation of development projects".

There are also peace organisations that have not reported special projects, but which nonetheless have been engaged in the study and participated with descriptions of projects. These are *Clowns without Borders – Sweden*, *Swedish section of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, *Swedish Peace Committee*, *Peace Council of Sweden* and *Transnational Foundation for Peace*

⁶⁶ In this context, a peace organisation is defined as an organisation whose main purpose is to work for peace with peaceful means.

and *Future Research*. Together with the peace organisations with projects (see above), one can see them as a special track in the study.

Another track is the youth track. Several organisations in the list of organisations have a particular focus on young people: *YMCA-YWCA of Sweden*, *National Council of Swedish youth organisations*, *Life-Link*, *Children's International Summer Villages*, and *PeaceQuest*. In addition, several projects are directed towards young people. Most of these refer to influencing attitudes or fostering peace. *Save the Children Sweden* has a distinct profile in the material with its special child rights perspective. In this case it involves a focus on child soldiers. However, the child rights perspective as a track could also include issues relating to the special vulnerability and exposure of children in wars, in areas with mines, under sanctions, and fleeing from their homes.

Education as a track surfaces in chapter 10. In the specification of organisations there are four organisations working with adult education and education in general: *The Workers Educational Association, Stockholm*, *Base Tech for Daily Life*, *Swedish Development Forum* and *Life-Link*, but many more work with the theme in one way or another. There is a potential for peace in educational work, not least regular schoolwork. To realise this peace potential, it is necessary that a peace and conflict perspective is actively integrated into the work and – wherever suitable – include instruction in conflict management, non-violence, or peace and conflict studies (including international humanitarian law).

Another track could be referred to as the human rights track. Three human rights organisations have participated. The *Swedish NGO Foundation for Human Rights* has participated with two projects for monitoring the human rights situation and capacity development in respect of maintenance of respect for human rights. The *Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights* contributes support to free media in areas of crisis and conflict. The *Swedish section of Amnesty International* has also participated in the study. Violations of human rights are often a part of the behaviour of parties in conflicts and an early warning signal. Rights issues are of great importance for counteracting the structural causes of armed conflict. Even where direct causes are concerned, CSOs can often make constructive contributions merely by giving prominence to a rights perspective.

In the chapter on structural risk factors (chapter 11) we also saw the need of environmental expertise. *Greenpeace* is included in the study and their contributions in this field could be characterised as general work for the elimination of structural causes, for example their work for nuclear disarmament.

A number of organisations in the study have political affiliations. The

Christian Socialists of Sweden, Swedish Social Democratic Youth League, Olof Palme International Center and Left International Forum all have projects in the inventory. In addition the *Center Party International Foundation*, the *National Federation of Social Democratic Women in Sweden* and the *Swedish International Liberal Centre* have participated. All of these organisations can be placed on a right-left scale; some of them are directly affiliated to political parties. It is difficult to try and summarise their work as a special track, but many of them contribute to the track that could be called the democracy track.

Furthermore the study has included some humanitarian organisations, for which the protection of civilians in war, and peace as a perspective, are very relevant: the *Swedish Red Cross*, the *Swedish branch of Médecins du Monde* and the *Swedish branch of Médecins Sans Frontières*.

The broad support provided by different types of organisations for interventions that contribute to peace in areas of crisis and conflict means that there is a potential for multi-functional and mutually supplementary projects.

12.7 New areas

12.7.1 Structural risk factors

The analysis framework helped the participants in the study to identify some possible activities that have the potential for peace, which are new in relation to the material in the inventory. These are given in point form in the summary in chapter 13. Some of these proposals are discussed below.

Today, the elimination of structural risk factors is a relatively little-known field which has considerable development potential. Organisations working with issues that concern international development cooperation, a world order permeated by justice, human rights, democracy, gender equality, integration, disarmament, arms control, and the environment all have something to contribute to the development of better methods to remedy structural causes of armed conflicts. With the aid of greater awareness in this field, it should be possible to achieve a much greater impact in the long-term work of preventing armed conflicts. At the same time an enhanced analytical capacity in this field could contribute to improving the system for early warning and early action.

12.7.2 Early action

Where early action is concerned, it was proposed above (chapter 8.5) that the early resolution of disputes should be considered together with non-violence as a method. If early action means preventing the use of violence,

methods must be developed to work with conflicts before conflict behaviour becomes a problem. In this respect, there is a risk that early warning and early action that focus on violence as a form of behaviour in conflicts will always come too late. In addition, it is not enough to renounce violence as a form of behaviour in a conflict unless there are realistic alternatives to offer.

In the field of non-violence, the following were also mentioned as possible interventions during the study: a preventive presence with the aim of preventing a conflict from spreading, investigative missions, formal verification assignments, establishment of and support for weapon-free zones (see further chapter 8.2), and interventions in cases of evictions from homes or construction of houses on occupied territory.

12.7.3 Processing traumas, dialogue and in-group policing

Social processing of traumas through collective rites, memorials, museums and festivals is another example of a field that was identified as of potential interest when the inventory was made, but where there are not any examples in the form of projects. Here the religions, with their traditions of rites and symbols, have a great deal to contribute. Moral leadership that can contribute to interpretation can also be found in the religions. Collective rites, memorials and festival days can, for that matter, symbolise and reinforce chosen traumas (see chapter 6.3). However, they can also constitute rallying points and sources of energy for peace. Stakeholders for peace therefore need to have an interest in ways in which historical traumas are processed and interpreted and the extent to which the messages of peace in the religions are emphasised.

Two areas that were also identified as of potential interest during the course of the study are worth giving special prominence to, since they are often overlooked. One is to supplement dialogue projects over the dividing lines of conflicts, with dialogues between “hawks” and “doves”. The other is support for initiatives to break the spiral of violence by reducing the violence and restraining perpetrators of violence on one’s own side (so-called in-group policing). Both these types of interventions can be implemented with a partner organisation that is, or is associated with, one side in a conflict, and wants to do something to improve the prospects of peace from this position. It is important to point this out since some Swedish CSOs have certain given partner organisations. In a conflict it is by no means certain that the partner you have had for decades (and which you do not wish to abandon) is in a position to constitute a credible bridge for a dialogue with the other side in a conflict, but this does not necessarily prevent a stakeholder of this type from making a contribution to peace.

12.8 Adding peace objectives to existing projects

Another way of finding the potential to contribute to peace is to examine existing projects in areas of crisis and conflict that have another objective than peace. It is not particularly far-fetched to imagine that a few of the large number of projects that are being implemented for the sake of democracy, justice, the environment or human rights have an unutilised potential that could also be used for peace. If a distinct peace objective was incorporated into these projects, one would be doing what one is already doing today – plus a little more. The peace objective could provide added value.

One example is school projects of various types. During the course of the study two organisations have claimed that schooling and education lead in themselves to broad-mindedness, tolerance and peace. However, if this were the case, it would of course be the uneducated people in the world who would take up weapons while the world's educated elites would be peaceful. This is patently not the case. However with, for example, a deliberate focus on contextually adapted peace pedagogics and by counteracting enemy images in textbooks, it is possible that the prospects of peace would be enhanced in the long term. In order to achieve the greatest possible effect, the goal should be that this should be part of regular instruction and curricula.

Chapter 2.5 described the relationship between democracy and peace. Democracy projects can support peace. However, as we also saw there, democratic systems can contribute to increasing tensions and violent conflicts. If a democracy project is implemented in an area of crisis or conflict without giving consideration to its impact on the conflict, there is a danger of not only missing a golden opportunity to support peace, there is also a risk that the project actually makes the conflict worse. An analysis that has the aim of determining the effects that a development project may have on a latent or manifest conflict is called a conflict impact assessment. If conflict impact assessment is made of projects systematically, it can be possible to avoid doing harm and to identify and discover the added value that is gained by giving existing projects a peace objective. (More on this in chapter 14.)

12.9 Prevention – and its dilemma

Only four of 69 projects have been implemented in areas of conflict that were not considered to be armed conflicts in 1999-2000. In one case, Macedonia, an armed conflict broke out later. Nonetheless it can be said

that the entire outer circle of the analytical model consists of early warning signals. There is no lack of information. It is striking that use was not made of this early warning in more early projects. Information must be collected more systematically and made available to more stakeholders. CSOs with expertise in respect of human rights, democracy, the environment, poverty reduction, disarmament and the arms trade could make contributions. However, there is a problem in ways of handling and evaluating prevention. How is it possible to report a result that consists of an event that did not happen? The fact that a conflict did not develop into an armed conflict can be due to a successful project for the prevention of violence. However, it can also be due to the fact that the organisation made a mistake in its assessment of the risk of armed conflict. And what conclusions can be drawn from those cases in which an armed conflict breaks out? Despite the unrest in Macedonia it is hardly possible to say automatically that *Kvinna till Kvinna*'s project was a failure there since they worked with a small project at local level. Neither do we know what would have happened if this project and peace projects had not been implemented in the area. On the other hand, we know that all the peace projects combined and the efforts made by the international community did not suffice to prevent the outbreak of violence in Macedonia. The conclusions should be drawn at that level.

There is no entirely satisfactory solution to this dilemma. However, perhaps there is a way of cutting the Gordian knot: reporting and evaluating the results in relation to the actual conflict. Conflicts do not start with the outbreak of violence. It is a matter of finding indicators for the constructive transformation of the conflict at a stage at which the conflict is not violent. A successful result could then be described in terms of the solution or effect achieved and the parties' new relations with each other. In this way it is possible to avoid measuring the result on the basis of an event that did not happen: the absence of armed conflict.

12.10 Post-war phase

A great amount of the work that is done in a post-war phase is, by its very character, related to long-term prevention. In fact, this work could equally well be done in a conflict that did not break out into violence. Education for peace, a dialogue between religions, multi-ethnic projects, development of local conflict management capacity, and strict arms controls are some examples of this type. CSOs working in these fields can play a similar role in both phases. In this respect there are many lessons to be learned in the work of preventing the outbreak of armed conflicts. However, the

similarities should not be exaggerated. The fact that CSOs have somewhat similar roles in conflicts that have not broken out into violence as in post-war situations does not mean that the work would be identical in the two phases. Experience of having gone through an armed conflict makes the difference. Wars and armed conflicts are collective trauma of considerable dimensions. The longer and more violent a conflict is, the greater is the risk that meta-conflicts develop which make the efforts to find a solution difficult. On the other hand, there can be a completely different state of preparedness for change after a conflict, compared with the situation before the conflict. In cases of this type, CSOs often act to promote change – in the same way as they exert pressure to have structural risk factors and injustices taken up within the framework of the peace negotiations.

Psychosocial rehabilitation and the implementation of peace agreements have been used as examples of activities for the transformation of conflicts. In view of the fact that they are both included in general reconstruction work after war, it is easy to refer them to the field of peace-building. However, then there is a great risk that their potential to transform a conflict would be lost. Psychosocial projects relieve distress and build up the country but could be used more specifically as part of a conflict transformation process. One reason in favour of separating conflict transformation and peace-building, process and structure, is that a clearer assessment can be made of ways in which different projects may have an effect on the dynamics of the conflict. Once again, if it is not seen, there is a risk that, at worst, the conflict can be inadvertently exacerbated.

12.11 Greater cooperation within regions

The projects in the inventory take place in 29 countries: 7 in Europe, 3 in the Middle East, 9 in Africa, 6 in Asia and 4 in Latin America. Where Europe, the Middle East and Latin America are concerned, the figures correspond fairly well to the number of armed conflicts that were either ongoing or had come to an end relatively recently in the region in question.⁶⁷ (However, one area is conspicuous by its absence: Caucasus.) Africa and Asia are relatively underrepresented in relation to the large number of ongoing conflicts in these regions.⁶⁸

67 There were conflicts in eight countries in Europe at one time or another during the period 1995 – 1999. In the Middle East there were four countries in which there were conflicts during the same period. For Latin America the figure was also four. Sollenberg 2000.

68 During the period 1995 – 1999 armed conflicts were registered in 20 countries in Africa and 12 in Asia, i.e. in approximately twice as many countries in each region compared to the number of countries that are included in this study's project inventory. Sollenberg 2000.

For a rough estimate of the extent to which Swedish CSOs are implementing projects with a peace objective in areas of conflict around the world (29 countries), it can be mentioned that there were armed conflicts in 73 places in the world in 1989-1999.⁶⁹ In the following eleven countries in the project inventory more than one Swedish CSO is active with projects for conflict transformation or peace-building:

Bosnia	<i>PMU-Interlife, Kvinna till Kvinna, Church of Sweden</i>
Colombia	<i>Diakonia, The Swedish NGO Foundation for Human Rights, Civis</i>
Guatemala	<i>Caritas Sweden, Forum Syd, Left International Forum, Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation</i>
Israel/Palestine	<i>PeaceQuest/Sweden, Swedish Social Democratic Youth League, National Council of Swedish Youth Organisations, Church of Sweden</i>
Kosovo	<i>Médecins du Monde/Sweden, Kvinna till Kvinna, Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights</i>
Congo-Brazzaville	<i>Swedish Mission Council, Life and Peace Institute, Christian Socialists of Sweden</i>
Congo-Kinshasa	<i>African Swedish National Association, Caritas Sweden</i>
Croatia	<i>Kvinna till Kvinna, Life and Peace Institute</i>
Liberia	<i>Church of Sweden, Caritas Sweden, PMU-Interlife</i>
Sudan	<i>Save the Children/Sweden, Life and Peace Institute</i>
South Africa	<i>Diakonia, Christian Socialists of Sweden</i>

For these areas, consideration could be given to having joint strategy seminars with country analyses. If this is done, it could be linked to advantage to the results of Sida's ongoing programme of integrating a conflict perspective into its country strategies. Making conflict analyses and systematically integrating a peace and conflict perspective is still new to many organisations. The organisations should also be able to contribute different pieces of the puzzle to analyses of this type. Therefore, there is good reason to cooperate in building up joint expertise.

With an analysis of current and probable future conflict areas as its point of departure, a global strategy should give particular attention to Africa. Many Swedish CSOs have many years' experience of solidarity work with and in Africa, if in other fields than conflict transformation and

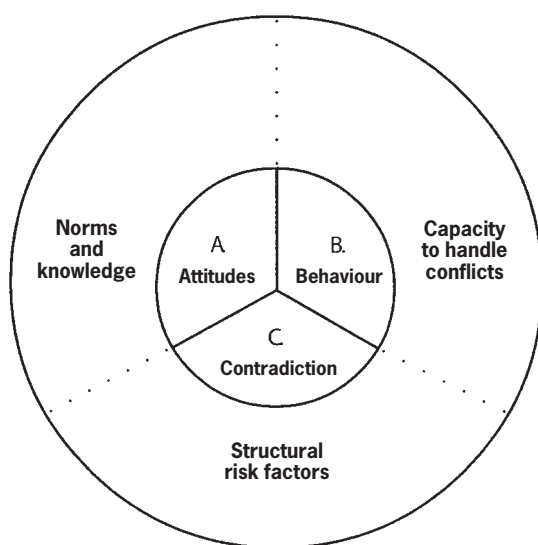
⁶⁹ From the conflict database of the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University (see www.pcr.uu.se). Since the project inventory includes countries that have undergone a conflict at one time or another during the 1990s in the phase "after armed conflict", it is this figure that should be used for purposes of comparison and not the number of countries in which there were armed conflicts in 1999.

peace building. This applies not least to the organisations in this study, which should therefore, in principle, be equipped to increase their support for peace in partner countries in Africa.

Types of contributions from CSOs in areas of crisis and conflict

A summary is given below of all the types of contributions in areas of crisis and conflict that were mentioned in the dialogue with the popular movements when the inventory was made. Most are based on the projects/experience of the organisations, but there are also some proposals that were generated as ideas during the work on the analysis framework (these are in *italics*). The latter were taken up as ideas during the work on the analysis framework. The summary of the 80 contributions can be regarded as Swedish CSOs' suggestions to each other – a bank of ideas.

Where possible the types of contributions have been arranged from the early phase to the late phase. The contributions have been classified on the basis of the headings in the analysis framework.



13.1 Contributions that focus on influencing attitudes

1. Meeting places for people who associate themselves/are associated with different parties in a conflict, where they can meet and where there is a deliberate strategy to process enemy images and stereotyped images of each other.
2. Dialogue at grassroots level on common experiences, common interests, and common symbols.
3. *Dialogue between “hawks” and “doves” within one party involved in a conflict, with the aim of uniting people behind an ongoing peace process or prior to a future peace process.*
4. Establishment of/support for think-tanks with local social analysts and international experts.
5. Involving the organisations of civil society in a peace process by establishing and/or supporting popular peace forums.
6. Efforts to bring about peace talks, for example through statements, shuttle diplomacy, and possibly offers of assistance.
7. Making use of the conflict transformation potential of processing traumas – processing images of the enemy – at the level of individuals (also in groups).
8. *Processing traumas within the framework of a social strategy for psychosocial reconstruction (e.g. memorials, sculptures, museums or commemoration days, religious ceremonies).*
9. Documentation of war crimes and violations of human rights and deliberate processing of information for psychosocial reconstruction (*or truth and reconciliation commissions*).
10. Working to allow civil society – women and men – a constructive role in reconciliation processes.

13.2 Contributions that focus on influencing the dispute

11. *Identification of possible disputes at an early stage and support for partner organisations working to solve these disputes through peaceful work for change.*
12. Mobilisation of people to make demands and to pursue a peace process through popular peace forums.
13. Discussion of the dispute and suggestions for its resolution in popular peace forums.

14. Formulating the dispute in political terms instead of military terms and for giving prominence to issues relating to human rights that have the broad acceptance and support of the people (including the right to peace).
15. Working to give civil society – women and men – a constructive role in peace negotiations (an issue that is related to popular acceptance and support as well as sustainability – and is also a matter of democracy).
16. An offer of neutral ground and possibly “cover” for peace overtures between parties.
17. Hosting peace talks.
18. Informal think-tanks in support of official negotiations.
19. *Mediation*.
20. Implementation of peace agreements and processing disputes in a post-war situation. (Respect the local process!)

13.3 Contributions that focus on influencing behaviour in a conflict

21. *Early resolution of the dispute using methods of non-violence.*
22. Establishment of local early warning systems.
23. Support for local work on human rights.
24. Support for people who refuse to bear weapons.
25. Monitoring violations of human rights and outbreaks of violence through an international preventive presence *and investigative missions*.
26. Protection of local work for peace and human rights through an international preventive presence.
27. Moderating violence through an international preventive presence.
28. Monitoring to ensure that all parties follow the rules of war.
29. Working to stop the use of child soldiers.
30. Support to local campaigns to get one or more parties that are involved in a conflict to change their behaviour in the conflict.
31. *Support for initiatives in a community to punish perpetrators of violence and to moderate behaviour of one's own side in the conflict (so-called in-group policing).*
32. Support for local organisations to renounce the war.
33. *Support for people who refuse to participate in the war.*
34. International presence and non-violent intervention in

- cases of evictions from homes and building houses on occupied territory.
35. *Preventive presence to prevent the conflict from spreading.*
 36. *Establishment of non-militarised zones through non-violent intervention.*
 37. Monitoring the security situation in connection with general elections.
 38. *Cease-fire verification.*
 39. *Verification of disarmament and implementation of peace agreements.*
 40. Disarming, demobilising and rehabilitating child soldiers.
 41. *Disarming, demobilising and reintegrating soldiers.*
 42. Mine clearance.

13.4 Contributions that focus on norms and knowledge

43. Monitoring violations of human rights as a form of behaviour in a conflict.
44. Monitoring individual conflicts with the aim of sounding the alarm in cases of escalation of violence.
45. Monitoring and upholding respect for humanitarian law and human rights.
46. Working to ensure that school books do not contain enemy images, prejudices, and ultra-nationalism.
47. Training for children in peaceful conflict resolution.
48. Peace education and conflict management as compulsory subjects in schools.
49. Education of the general public in non-violence and in non-violent conflict management.
50. Working together with people in areas of crisis and conflict with campaigns for the development of norms.
51. Education of soldiers in norms and rules for the protection of children in war, human rights, and laws relating to war.
52. Establishment of forums for debate on and production of peace ethics in the media.
53. Conflict management courses in order to make specific local stakeholders visible and to enhance their capacity (e.g. youth organisations, churches, media, trade unions).
54. Conflict management courses for local leaders of different types.
55. Links between high-level peace research and local stakeholders in civil society in areas of crisis and conflict.

56. Training trainers in conflict management, conflict analysis and peace-building.
57. Training in peace and conflict studies at university level for future civil servants and leaders in areas of crisis and conflict.
58. Support to former armed movements for their transformation into democratic political parties.
59. Counterattacking exemptions from punishment: provision of documentation of violations of humanitarian law to international tribunals.

13.5 Contributions that focus on institutions and structures

60. Development of structures for non-violent intervention in local conflicts.
61. Support for and mobilisation of traditional institutions for conflict management.
62. Development of/support for democratic institutions for peaceful conflict management.
63. Strengthening capacity in governmental bodies and inter-state organisations to handle or solve conflicts.
64. Support for alternative decision-making structures that can act as a counterweight to the power of “warlords”.
65. Support for peace and democratisation processes through training programmes for electors and election observers and for strengthening the culture of democracy.
66. Strengthening local capacity to resolve conflicts peacefully through capacity development in humanitarian law and human rights (the latter with the aim of preventing violations of human rights as a form of behaviour in a conflict).
67. Reform of the security sector – particularly the bodies that have the responsibility for administering the state’s monopoly of violence.
68. *Human resource development and capacity development in the field of security in civil society: promotion of a public debate on security issues and support for CSOs to develop the expertise necessary to have a monitoring function in this field.*
69. Development of peace and development teams, consisting of people associated with different sides in a conflict, for building the peace after war.

70. *Strengthening links in civil society that traverse the dividing lines of a conflict. Strengthening integration and diversity.*

13.6 Contributions that focus on structural risk factors

71. Monitoring the situation in respect of human rights as part of an early warning system.
72. *CSOs with expertise in respect of human rights, democracy, the environment, poverty reduction, disarmament and the arms trade cooperating with each other in respect of early warning.*
73. Identification and elimination of structural causes (for example conflicts over land, dependence on another group for water supplies).
74. Giving priority to the elimination of structural causes in poverty reduction.
75. Regulation and reduction in the trade in small arms and light weapons (codes of conduct, parliamentary controls etc).
76. Regulation and reduction of all trade in arms. Abolition of particularly inhuman weapons such as mines, nuclear weapons, biological and chemical weapons.
77. Disarmament.
78. Protection of the rights of minorities and of unrepresented people.
79. Protection of economic, social and cultural rights.
80. Counteracting economic structures and interest that gain from war and undermine prospects of peace.

Future strategies

CHAPTER 14

Conflict transformation and peace-building is a field that is making considerable advances. An ever-increasing number of organisations are losing their blindness to conflicts and are ensuring that they acquire the expertise necessary to make conflict analyses and conflict impact assessments. The 25 recommendations that bring this report to an end take up ways in which organisations can strengthen this expertise and further develop methods and strategies for conflict transformation and peace-building.

The conclusions should be seen in the perspective that development cooperation in itself cannot lead to peace in the world. External CSOs cannot create peace for people in other countries. Therefore, the contributions described here can never absolve political stakeholders and the primary parties from their responsibilities. On the other hand, what CSOs can do is to improve the prospects of peace by supporting organisations that work for peace – morally, financially or through support for human resource development. They can also create scope for these forces to act by lessening the violence with the aid of an international preventive presence. They can make resources available for a local peace process, for example by hosting peace talks, establishing think-tanks that produce suggestions for the resolution of conflicts, or contributing to the implementation of a peace agreement. They can identify and support local structures for peace, factors that unite parties over dividing lines, conflict management mechanisms etc. They can learn to identify direct and indirect (structural) causes of armed conflicts and can do something about them.

The project inventory provides a picture of the expertise and experience that can be found among Swedish CSOs in the field of conflict transformation and peace-building. It also clearly indicates possibilities for development. CSOs have the capacity and the opportunity to act in an early

phase in a conflict to prevent an outbreak of violence – even if they need extended analytical capacity in this field. Chapter 12 contained a discussion of the need to realise the potential for the prevention of armed conflicts.

The work that is now being done for the sake of democracy, justice, the environment or human rights, can also have an unutilised potential to work for peace. Reconstruction after war, psychosocial rehabilitation, school and education projects, and church work in areas of crisis and conflict could be designed in such a way that they also contribute to peace. CSOs often have unique points of entry into local civil society in areas of crisis and conflict. Cooperation between different areas in civil society and between different types of stakeholders can also be refined so that best use is made of the comparative advantages of all parties concerned. In a process of interaction, the different expertise possessed by the organisations can strengthen them, for example the expertise in peace and disarmament, gender issues, religion, youth, a child rights perspective, human rights, democracy, education, environmental issues and humanitarian issues. Chapter 13 contains a list of 80 different types of contributions that are possible to implement in order to transform conflicts and to build peace. There are also considerable opportunities to develop the repertoire for types of contributions in all phases of conflicts, see further below.

14.1 Bringing about a real culture of prevention

In diplomatic circles the difficulties of bringing about a “culture of prevention” is often emphasised. However, in a wider perspective it can be claimed, in a way, that this is the simplest thing in the world: much of the concept of peace building – and which is preventive in the long term – is something that the organisations of civil society devote their efforts to all the time. Creating norms and institutions for peaceful conflict management, maintaining respect for human rights, and combating social injustice are the goals of many organisations. It is merely a question of being clear about the peace-building potential in work of this type and of making more specific use of it.

Furthermore, the traditional perspective is usually based on trying to find a bridge from early warning to early action. The logic in the analysis framework used in the study, combined with the examples of projects, leads to a radical discovery: it is a case of taking advantage of early action in order to produce early warning signals! Organisations with a presence in crisis areas and working within the wide field of peace-building have every prospect of seeing what is happening. One interesting contribution

to a culture of prevention would be to document what happens to civil society's normal capacity for prevention during the period before an outbreak of war. What happens to what we have called "local resources for peace"? When is it noticed that they are not strong enough to hold back an impending outbreak of violence? How can they be strengthened in time?

In extension, the work of conflict transformation and peace-building includes the abolition of war. This sounds like an immense task. However, when looking at each individual case in retrospect, it is always possible to find an occasion when armed conflict could have been avoided. It is a question of building up capacity to discover these opportunities – and to act – in time. No armed conflict is impossible to prevent. Apart from real prevention, which is based on ensuring that a conflict does not break out into violence at all, it is possible to apply a preventive perspective to all phases of a conflict. By working with peace-building during the armed conflict itself, the ground is prepared for peace-building afterwards and for a sustainable peace. During the reconstruction after war work takes place to prevent new outbreaks of violence.

With continuous work on norms, knowledge, institutions and mechanisms for conflict management, and the elimination of structural causes of conflicts, it would be possible to talk about a real preventive culture. This would be a broad, accepted and supported culture for conflict management and early action. It would be necessary to combine a culture of this type with an increase in analytical capacity in order to identify and systematically collect early warning signals – from, among other things, this early action. This would be done in the form of cooperation between various fields of expertise: human rights, democracy, the environment, poverty reduction, disarmament and the arms trade. Thus it also clearly overlaps an extended security agenda focusing on human security.

The development of a widely accepted preventive culture has consequences for adult education and education programmes in Sweden. Much peace-building can and also should be done in areas that are characterised by a stable peace. This applies not least to the introduction of peace education and conflict management as compulsory subjects in schools and the education of the general public in non-violence and conflict management without violence. Through the work that is being done within the framework of the UN's International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010), there are opportunities for CSOs to contribute to the development of a culture for conflict management and early action in Sweden – which would also enhance the credibility in the peace-building work done by Swedish CSOs

in other countries. The organisations included in the study represent, as mentioned above, a considerable proportion of Sweden's population and should therefore be able to have a considerable impact.

14.2 Extending the repertoire

Early warning and early action are not always sufficient. It is also a case of acting in the right way. In chapter 2 we saw that a perspective that is broader than the traditional perspective has become generally accepted. However, the broader perspective has not always found a counterpart in a broader repertoire of contributions. When the only tool you have in your toolbox is a hammer, every problem you encounter is likely to seem like a nail. The breakthrough for a preventive culture and a broader security agenda must be matched with a larger repertoire of methods for contributions in conflicts.

The summary of all types of contributions in chapter 13 shows that a broad repertoire already exists: the list has a total of 80 different types of contributions. However, the list also contains types of potential contributions. Among these, special mention can be made of early warning and early action, support for parties to find political solutions to conflicts, certain types of non-violence contributions, processing of traumas and reconciliation processes at the community level, uniting one party behind a peace process, counteraction of exemption from punishment for perpetrators of violence "on one's own side", strengthening local organisations to undertake a monitoring function in respect of security, and the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of soldiers.

The need of a broad repertoire of contributions is also evident from the analytical framework, particularly in respect of peace-building. "Norms and knowledge" are closely associated with "institutions and structure" and, in combination, they include aspects of "structural causes". Many types of contributions are needed and they mutually reinforce each other. The organisations can strategically relate different contributions to each other.

With norms and institutions for peaceful conflict management at different levels (internationally, nationally and locally), with continuous efforts to reduce structural risk factors, and with the education and training of people who can intervene in conflict dynamics, the risk of war is reduced considerably.

14.3 Importance of conflict analysis and conflict impact assessments

Examples of conflict transformation (see chapters 6-8) show how CSOs try to handle a conflict and prevent violence by intervening in the vicious circle of mistrust, violence and relentlessness of a conflict and by transforming it, i.e. steer it into more constructive paths. However, as easily as a conflict process can be changed for the better, it can also be changed for the worse. This can happen at any time during the course of a conflict, even after a peace agreement has been concluded. An influence can be exerted on attitudes, behaviour or the dispute in question in a way that brings the conflict closer to a constructive solution – or which undermines the prospects of peace.

How is it possible to ensure that the project has the desired effect? The obvious answer is that the purpose of peace is specified and that the results are evaluated in relation to this. However, this study would also draw attention to the step prior to this: the importance of formulating the aim on the basis of an analysis of the dynamics of the conflict. The need for analysis also applies to peace-building – exactly how peace-building contributions are expected to have an effect on the conflict. By placing peace-building contributions in relation to the dynamics of the ongoing conflict (attitudes, behaviour and dispute), it is also possible to ensure that consideration is given to the unique aspects in each situation. Warnings have been given on several occasions against blind faith in universal solutions. All contributions should be formulated on the basis of a good understanding and analysis of the local context and the dynamics of the conflict. The tools for the purpose are primarily conflict analyses and conflict impact assessments.

In the analytical framework used in the study, the circles that are used to provide a map of contributions in a conflict can equally well be used as a map of the conflicts. The first step is to identify the parties, without which there would not be a conflict. Then an examination is made of the parties' relations to each other (including their basic assumptions, the power situation and their positions), conflict behaviour (level of violence, escalation, de-escalation and so on), the dispute in question, norms and institutions which support the war and which support prospects of peace, as well as underlying structural causes. In this respect care should be taken to ensure that all relevant parties in the conflict are included: institutions, organisations and groups that have a special interest and act in a certain way in relation to the conflict (positively and negatively). Here special consideration should be given to one's own organisation and the partner organisation.

Obviously there are more comprehensive models for conflict analysis. However, the analytical framework used in this study provides a good start which can then be developed. The intended contribution, the project, is easy to relate to the conflict analysis by using the same model for both – a map of the contribution is placed directly on top of the conflict analysis (rather like when one overhead is put on top of another).

14.4 Losing conflict blindness in development cooperation

Making a conflict impact assessment involves making a systematic review and learning to predict and give consideration to the effects, positive and negative, of development cooperation on conflicts. It is a question of integrating a peace and conflict perspective in development cooperation, or in other words, of losing conflict blindness.

This study is mostly about peace as an operational area. However, peace is also a perspective. It is not only projects with a peace objective that can have an effect on a local conflict. All development cooperation projects and humanitarian contributions in areas of crisis and conflict can have an effect on the conflict – for better or for worse. In his Nobel prize-winning speech, the representative of *Médecins sans Frontières*, Dr James Orbinski (chairman of the international council of *Médecins sans Frontières*) took up two of the best-known examples of negative side effects of humanitarian contributions, the forced movement of people in Ethiopia in 1985 and the building up of a militia in the refugee camps in Goma in 1996.

For all development projects in areas of crisis and conflict, it is important to give consideration to the effects that a project can have on a potential or ongoing armed conflict so that the conflict is not worsened by mistake. Perhaps it is also possible to find ways of contributing to enhancing prospects of peace as a sort of positive side-effect of a development project (see chapter 12.8).

One recommendation made by the study, which was partly realised during the course of the study, is that Swedish CSOs should learn more about conflict impact assessments. In 2001, the *Peace Team Forum* participated in a project for conflict impact assessment. The model that was used has been produced in cooperation with an international project that has been running for many years: Local Capacities for Peace Project, which is led by an institute in Cambridge, Massachusetts, *Collaborative for Development Action (CDA)*. Five Swedish organisations worked actively with the project: *Forum Syd* (which had the main responsibility) *Swedish Red Cross*, *Church of Sweden*, *Olof Palme International Center*, and *Civis*.

14.5 Coordination of CSOs and human resource development

Conflict transformation and, to an even greater degree, peace-building have points of contact with many different areas of expertise. The different tracks can and need to cooperate with and reinforce each other: peace and disarmament, gender issues, religion, youth, child rights perspective, human rights, democracy, education, environmental issues, and the humanitarian track.

Conflict transformation and peace-building in development cooperation is a field that is making strong progress. To enable Swedish CSOs to obtain full information on developments, a person responsible for this field should be appointed in each organisation. With capacity development of this type in the organisations, Swedish organisations should be able to make better contributions to the international acquisition of knowledge. In the search for knowledge it is important to collect and utilise experience from those who are most affected by the projects: the partner organisations and the target groups in areas of crisis and conflict.

Where human resource development is concerned, there are also gains to be made through cooperation, for example joint conflict analyses for organisations working in the same country. It is always a good idea to include more points of view and perspectives when making an analysis. In addition, it is not easy for all organisations to do it alone. Building up expertise jointly is a quicker method. The 80 different types of contributions identified (chapter 13) need to be further developed and tested, approaches and indicators need to be refined, methods for conflict impact assessments need to be further developed etc. With several different perspectives and angles it is easier to link the development of expertise and methods in order to build up an integrated capacity for analysis. This method would make it possible to develop special popular movement expertise in this field that takes advantage of classical popular movement experience of organising people, meetings in time and space, democratic training, and the experience of local ownership, partnership and building democracy from the bottom-up, gained from the development programmes of the popular movement.

14.5.1 Development of the Peace Team Forum – a Swedish network

This form of cooperation can, in principle, take place through a number of different cooperation projects that are not linked to each other. However, for the sake of institutional memory and for dissemination effects, it is recommended that the projects are implemented in the first place through the framework of the *Peace Team Forum*, which already exists as a

network for this type of issue. There is a considerable amount of overlapping between the *Peace Team Forum* and the organisations in the study. (In addition there are eight organisations in the network that did not participate in the study.) The network could be developed and strengthened in order to take on the responsibilities and duties identified in the study. By focusing on human resource development in the future, the network can function as a nursery for a growing field of interest in development cooperation: the field that has the aim of transforming conflicts and building peace.

14.5.2 Cooperation with Reflecting on Peace Practice – an international project for improving efficiency

Where the contributions of CSOs for peace are concerned, it hardly needs to be pointed out that Swedish CSOs are not the only CSOs in the world that have looked at the developments which have taken place since the end of the Cold War. *Collaborative for Development Action*, which runs the Local Capacities for Peace Project (see above) is also responsible for an international project entitled Reflecting on Peace Practice (RPP). The point of departure of the project is to collect experience from organisations working with peace projects around the world with the aim of improving efficiency. The *Peace Team Forum* participated actively in RPP in the spring of 2002 and the *Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation* has continued to be engaged in the project.

14.6 Cooperation between different stakeholders in Sweden and internationally

The study has referred in its entirety to Swedish CSOs. The study was intended to offer an opportunity to Swedish CSOs to understand their new role in the field of conflict transformation and peace-building.

The considerable importance of local CSOs has been emphasised time and time again. However, questions concerning the characteristics of local CSOs and the relations between Swedish and local CSOs have not been taken up within the framework of this study. Logically, the next step for those organisations that wish to proceed further on the basis of this study is to take the results to their partner organisations and to test them on these organisations. Only together with local stakeholders will Swedish CSOs be able to realise the potential that is also one of the foremost comparative advantages of CSOs: the inherent possibilities that exist in local civil society.

Relations with stakeholders outside civil society have not been taken

up. However, there are two stakeholders that the study has not been able to avoid mentioning, even if this has only been done in passing: the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Sida, and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. These are the two main donors to the projects (particularly Sida). Many of the aspects taken up in the study are linked implicitly to Sida's work of giving prominence to peace-building as a special field, and the work done by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs on producing action programmes and government communications on the prevention of conflict.

Close cooperation between popular movements and CSOs facilitate cooperation with other stakeholders such as the *Swedish Emergency Management Agency*, *National Police Board*, *Swedish Rescue Services Agency*, *United Nations*, *the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe* etc. The conference at Gripsholm in 2001, which was arranged jointly by *European Platform*, *the Peace Team Forum* and the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, recommended among other things the establishment of national platforms for prevention of armed conflict and peace-building, "with sufficient capacity in respect of funding and personnel resources", in cooperation with governmental organisations and CSOs (*Promoting the Prevention of Violent Conflict*, 2001).

In Sweden two government commissions have proposed the establishment, in one form or another, of a peace centre for cooperation between governmental and non-governmental parties: "Acting for peace – a joint peace centre in Sweden" (SOU 2000:74) and "International conflict management – making joint preparations" (SOU 1999:29). The latter speaks explicitly about the proposed centre in terms of a "competence centre". After a further commission, *the Folke Bernadotte Academy* was formed in 2002, with its headquarters in Kramfors, as an independent agency subordinate to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Its basic responsibility is to prepare, train and co-train personnel who are to participate in international disaster relief projects, crisis management projects, peace contributions or other international assignments. Another important resource for development in this field is *Sida Civil Society Center* in Härnösand. There is a member of staff there who is responsible for conflict management, democracy and humanitarian assistance and the centre offers courses in these subjects.

There is an increasing demand for the expertise of popular movements in international contributions, even outside the popular movements themselves. A resource base (*Redo*) has been developed at *Forum Syd* (see list of organisations in Appendix 1). It is intended that this resource base will meet the increase in demand for popular movement expertise in the work

with peace, human rights and democracy. This is a database of Swedes with experience of international assignments in the development cooperation programmes of popular movements who are willing to serve on short-term assignments in the field. The procedure is that the UN, or other international and Swedish organisations submit a profile of the type of person they are looking for together with a job description. These are sent to conceivable candidates in the database who are given the opportunity to notify their interest in the assignment. *Redo* makes a short list and sends selected candidates and their CVs to the organisation that has made the request. This organisation then makes the final decision. It is hoped that this can offer a way in which the experience gained from development projects of popular movements on local ownership, partnership, and building democracy from the bottom up can make a positive contribution to major operations organised by the United Nations and *the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe*.

14.7 Need of a national strategic council to coordinate organisations, agencies and researchers

There is a tendency to link conflict management and the prevention of armed conflict to humanitarian interventions in disasters. Interventions of this type should naturally not be excluded and many CSOs work with them. However, to judge from the responses received to the questionnaire and conversations held within the framework of the study, few work with humanitarian interventions that have the aim of creating peace. The peace-creating activities of Swedish CSOs in areas of crisis and conflict should instead be seen in the first place as long-term undertakings that are performed in cooperation with local stakeholders. There is great deal that indicates that their primary strength lies in the long-term prevention and peace-building work. Most of this work is much closer to long-term development cooperation than disaster relief. If Swedish government agencies wish to support and encourage the work of CSOs for peace in areas of crisis and conflict in general, and prevention in particular, tendencies to narrow down the area to rapid interventions, crisis management and humanitarian undertakings should be counteracted. Tendencies of this type strike a discordant note with the possibility of achieving a preventive culture.

There is a need to establish, in cooperation with government agencies and CSOs, a national council or the like that thinks in a strategic and visionary manner on conflict transformation, peace-building and the prevention of armed conflicts. We have seen that the subject area, as an area

in its own right, is relatively new and is being rapidly developed and growing. The council would adopt an overall approach. It would support and encourage both what is already being done and new initiatives, and develop strategies and visions in the field. The council would stimulate and provide support for different forms of development work, and coordinate cooperation between different organisations, institutes and government agencies active in the field in Sweden and internationally. Stimulation and support could also be given to Swedish and international seminars and conferences and for the construction of a national and international database with information, seminars, conferences, training programmes and resource persons. Funds should also be allocated and personnel resources made available for providing stimulation and support for evaluations, learning lessons, and research in the subject area.

In the academic world there is valuable knowledge that can be utilised. During the course of the study, several seminars have been held with resource persons from academic institutions for peace and conflict research. One common reaction from participants has been that it is far too seldom the case that meeting places are offered to researchers and activists to exchange experience on interventions that have the aim of creating peace.

The council would supplement further close cooperation between CSOs. One would facilitate the other. If CSOs can continue to enhance each other's awareness and to support each other through the *Peace Team Forum*, an understanding would be built up that would facilitate a dialogue between government agencies and CSOs.

14.8 Summary of recommendations from the study

Finally, 25 recommendations are provided below which summarise the conclusions drawn in the report.

1. The conflict transformation and peace-building work of Swedish CSOs should be regarded primarily as long-term commitments that are implemented in cooperation with local stakeholders. An excessively one-sided focus on rapid interventions, crisis management and humanitarian undertakings counteracts the creation of a preventive culture. Different stakeholders should work together to develop a strategic approach and to acquire a comprehensive grasp of the entire field of conflict transformation, peace-building and prevention of armed conflict. Rapid inter-

- ventions naturally have a place in a strategy of this type but they should be related to a longer perspective and a local context. A preventive perspective should be applied in all peace-building work in all phases of conflicts.
2. Swedish CSOs should take advantage of the UN's International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010) in order to exert pressure for the introduction of peace education and conflict management as compulsory programmes in schools, and education programmes for the general public in non-violence and conflict management without violence. This would contribute to extending a culture for conflict management and early action in Sweden and thereby also increase the credibility of the peace-building work of Swedish CSOs in other countries.
 3. A preventive culture (in Sweden and internationally) should be linked to the promotion of human security and be permeated by a human rights perspective. It is not conflicts in themselves that shall be prevented, but violence. The security that shall be promoted does not only concern the territories and national sovereignty of states, but also has the aim of liberating people from threats to their lives, security and rights.
 4. Prevention can be extended to cover much more: there is a considerable potential in this field, but very few projects. What is needed to take advantage of this potential is partly an increase in analytical capacity and partly actions for an extended, widely accepted and supported culture for early action and conflict management.
 5. The capacity for identification of early warning signals should be developed into broad cooperation in which scope is provided for several perspectives, for example human rights, the environment, poverty reduction, democracy, disarmament and arms trade issues.
 6. Conflict transformation and peace-building work should be implemented with reconciliation as the vision and guiding principle, and without demands for reconciliation externally and prematurely. Process-based conflict transformation work has a direct effect on the dynamics of a conflict. The structurally-based peace-building process is more concerned with the context of a conflict and seeks to

support and further develop the structures for peace that are found there. Both these two types of peace contributions are needed and shall not be played off against each other. Swedish CSOs should focus even more on both types of work and should refine and develop them.

7. Further work on methods development and an extension of the repertoire for contributions in areas affected by crises and conflicts are recommended. A suitable point of departure is the 80 types of peace-building and conflict transformation contributions identified in this study (chapter 13). Some examples of relatively neglected fields that have the potential for development have been mentioned: support to parties to find political solutions to conflicts, non-violence, processing of traumas and reconciliation processes at community level, uniting one party behind a peace process, punishment of perpetrators of violence on one's own side, strengthening local organisations to undertake a monitoring function in respect of security, and the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of soldiers.
8. It is only together with local stakeholders that Swedish CSOs can realise the potential that is also one of the foremost comparative advantages of CSOs: the potential that exists in local civil society. Lessons should be learned and conclusions drawn on the role of local civil society in violent conflicts and its potential to resist and actively counteract economic structures and interests that gain from war and undermine the prospects of peace. The capacity of Swedish CSOs to identify and support local structures for peace, factors that unite over the dividing lines of conflicts, conflict management mechanisms etc should be further developed.
9. The peace-building potential that can be found in the work for democracy, justice, the environment, human rights, reconstruction after war (etc) in areas of crisis and conflict should be utilised and developed. If this is to happen it is essential that a peace and conflict perspective is integrated in all work of this type and that conflict impact assessments are made.
10. It is recommended that all organisations that have not already done so integrate a peace and conflict perspective in all their work. This should be done on a broad basis

and involve elected officials, personnel and members. To facilitate this work, in most cases a person responsible for human resources development in peace and conflict issues should be appointed.

11. Organisations with projects in areas of crisis and conflict should learn and use conflict impact assessments as part of their routines for the planning, management and evaluation of projects. Boards, project managers, personnel preparing to serve abroad, locally employed personnel and people active in popular movements should be trained in this subject.
12. Swedish CSOs should proceed with issues that start where this study ends: above all issues in respect of methods to use for work with conflict transformation and peace-building and issues relating to actual results. In this work it is important to include the experience of those who are affected most by the projects: partner organisations and target groups in areas of crisis and conflict. One way of tackling these issues is to make an evaluation of selected projects in the project inventory. Another method is provided in the next point.
13. Cooperation should be sought with the international project Reflecting on Peace Practice, which is being coordinated by the *Collaborative for Development Action*. This would most suitably be done within the framework of the *Peace Team Forum*, which should also follow up its contacts with the European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation and its work with Lessons Learned.
14. The work of further developing methods to make conflict impact assessments should continue and be reinforced.
15. Swedish CSOs should extend their cooperation for joint conflict analyses and discussions on country strategies. The next step could be to give special emphasis to countries in which several organisations in the study have conflict transformation or peace-building projects: Bosnia, Colombia, Guatemala, Israel/Palestine, Kosovo, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa, Croatia, Liberia, Sudan and South Africa.
16. More meeting places should be created for people active in popular movements and academics who have an inter-

est in peace and conflict issues in order to promote a mutual exchange of ideas.

17. The peace-building potential of the religions should be systematically examined and further developed in a time when attention is drawn far too often to evidence of their negative influence on conflicts. Even in peacetime religious organisations and representatives should show in their words and deeds that they do not tolerate or contribute to situations in which their religion is used to mobilise for war. Instead they should explore their peace-making role through conflict transformation over borders and peace-building activities.
18. With the aid of further cooperation, there should be a further development of the special expertise that exists in popular movements, that takes advantage of classical experience of popular movements in organising women and men, their democratic training, and their experience of local ownership, partnership and building democracy from the bottom-up through their programmes of development cooperation. This should also be linked to making good use of the comparative advantages of CSOs and further exploration of the role of civil society.
19. The capacity development of civilians, women and men, for assignments in the service of peace should be strengthened. Furthermore this should be linked to the popular movement expertise, strategic thinking and analytical capacity that are being built up among Swedish CSOs in cooperation with each other.
20. A gender perspective should be integrated in all conflict transformation and peace-building activities. Tendencies towards a separation of these two operational areas, based on gender, should be actively counteracted. More women must be included in peace negotiations and the conflict prevention activities of civil society.
21. In a global strategy for conflict transformation and peace-building, Africa should be given special attention (based on an analysis of both current and probable future areas of conflict). The Swedish CSOs that have many years' experience of solidarity work in Africa should consider possible extensions of their peace activities there.

22. In order to tackle the tasks mentioned above, some form of cooperation will be necessary between Swedish CSOs in most cases. Cooperation is also needed to develop strength in diversity, where the different “tracks” can reinforce each other: peace and disarmament, gender issues, religion, youth, child rights perspective, human rights, democracy, education, environmental issues and the humanitarian track. This should be done through networking and cooperation projects among CSOs.
23. The *Peace Team Forum* should be developed and reinforced to enable it to take on the common tasks identified in the study. In the future the network should continue to focus on human resource development through the exchange of information and cooperation projects. In this way it could function as a nursery for a growing subject field: work that has the aim of transforming conflicts and building peace.
24. The recommendations made and experience gained from the two-year study among CSOs should be put to use in new initiatives for cooperation between government agencies and CSOs in respect of human resource development and training for conflict transformation, peace-building and prevention of conflicts, and service in areas of crisis and conflict.
25. A council for conflict transformation, peace-building and conflict prevention should be established in cooperation between CSOs and government agencies. Its responsibilities would include assuming a comprehensive, overall grasp of the subject area, contributing to developing it, and supporting and stimulating goal-oriented, long-term initiatives for conflict transformation, peace building and preventive work among government agencies and CSOs.

Appendix 1 Organisations that participated in the study

The Appendix includes details on the 58 organisations (the network *Peace Team Forum* included) that participated in the study of the work of popular movements on conflict management, prevention of violence and peace building described in this report. *Forum Syd – the Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation*, (www.forumsyd.se), is a coordinatory organisation for the development cooperation activities of Swedish popular movements; with almost 150 member organisations (2001). See further details under the entry *Forum Syd* below. *Forum Syd* was the lead agency for the study.

Peace Team Forum (Forum för Fredstjänst, (www.fredsforum.se), is the network for the coordination and cooperation of Swedish organisations for projects related to prevention of violence, conflict management and peace-building. For further information on *Peace Team Forum*, including some examples of education, training, literature and conferences held within the framework of the network, please see the entry *Peace Team Forum* in the list below. Brief information on the *Peace Team Forum's* cooperation project with the *Collaborative for Development Action* (www.cdainc.com) and its Local Capacities for Peace Project is also included. *Peace Team Forum* is part of a European cooperation network, *European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation* (www.conflict-prevention.net).

It should be noted that the information on the organisations are translated from, and mostly based on, responses to a questionnaire and information obtained from the organisations' websites during the period 1999-2001 – i.e. when the inventory was made. Hence with few exceptions, the texts and details on the organisations in the Appendix have not been updated since then. The texts in the Appendix on the organisations were distributed to the organisations for their approval in connection with the inventory in 2001.

In the list below, the addresses of the organisations' websites are included where available (in April 2005). Otherwise a post address, an e-mail address or a telephone number/fax number is given.

AFRICA GROUPS OF SWEDEN, (Afrikagrupperna), is a solidarity organisation that works chiefly for southern Africa. The organisation works against colonialism and has supported – and still supports – "liberation struggles" in Africa. One current example is Western Sahara: "Africa's last colony".

Since the period when the countries in southern Africa gradually gained their independence, *Africa Groups of Sweden* has worked increasingly with development cooperation – in Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. However, the organisation emphasises its role in shaping opinion. Peace is one of the long-term goals of the work of the organisation (which can be seen in their plans of operation). *Africa Groups of Sweden* has approximately 20 employees in Sweden and some 40 in Africa. It is a membership-based organisation and has some 2000 members. *Africa Groups of Sweden* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.
www.afrikagrupperna.se

AFRICAN SWEDISH NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, (Afrosvenskarnas riksförbund, ASR), is a humanitarian, cultural, non-profit organisation which was formed in 1990. It has no religious or political affiliations. The Association's main goal is to create a meaningful existence for Africans who are resident in Sweden. However, the organisation also supports different projects in Africa and tries to monitor, and actively participate in, the debate on issues that concern Africa. By arranging conferences in Sweden on the conflicts in the Great Lakes Region, the *African Swedish National Association* has built up a network of contacts and an engagement during the last three years, particularly in respect of Democratic Republic Congo (DRC). The Association is a membership-based organisation. It has some 1 500 members, and seven employees.
www.afrosvenskarna.se

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, SWEDISH SECTION, is part of *Amnesty International*, a world-wide organisation that works for human rights. Its work is based on in-depth studies of violations of these rights and international conventions that regulate the rights. The organisation is independent of all governments and political ideologies. Through its surveillance and reporting system, Amnesty can often provide early warning signals of incipient conflicts. In Sweden, *Amnesty International* has over 66 000 members. There are almost 30 employees and some 50 volunteers working at Swedish Amnesty's secretariat in Stockholm and its regional office in Gothenburg. *Amnesty International, Swedish section*, participates in *Peace Team Forum*.
www.amnesty.se

BASE TECH FOR DAILY LIFE organises innovative activities with a pedagogical form. The organisation develops ideas, constructs and tests prototypes and small series of solutions intended to improve living conditions

in countries in the Third World. Its main principle is to develop products that are inexpensive to construct and repair, simple to handle, and not harmful to the environment. The organisation also implements occupational training programmes with international participation. *Base Tech* was established in 1996 and it now has some 74 members. In 2000 a section, “International volunteers”, was formed in the organisation. It consists of about ten people who are working on returning to their former home countries – Tanzania, Somalia, Eritrea, Sudan and Ethiopia – in order to work with small-scale projects there. *Base Tech for Daily Life* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.basetech.se

CARITAS SWEDEN, (Caritas Sverige), is the development cooperation organisation of the Catholic Church in Sweden. The organisation was formed in 1946 in the wake of the Second World War. Its development cooperation policy states that *Caritas Sweden* shall support contributions that have the aim of solving conflicts and situations of violence in a peaceful manner. *Caritas Sweden* is a member of *Caritas Internationalis*, which unites *Caritas* organisations around the world. Practically all Catholic dioceses – today there are more than 2 500 all over the world – have their own *Caritas* organisation in this network. Some 25 employees work at the secretariat in Stockholm. *Caritas Sweden* works with the following countries: Sweden, Iraq, Lebanon, Western Sahara, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Paraguay, Peru, Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico, Kosovo, Bosnia, India, East Timor, Philippines, Thailand, Gambia, Liberia, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, South Africa, Kenya. *Caritas Sweden* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.caritas.se

CENTER PARTY INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION, (Centerpartiets Internationella Stiftelse), aims at stimulating debate on international issues in Sweden, contributing to economic and democratic development, to develop the international contacts of the Center Party, and contributing to ecologically sustainable international development. In addition there is Center Party’s international fund, which is responsible for fund-raising for the movement. The foundation has one employee and activities in the following countries/regions: Baltic States, Bosnia, Burkina Faso, Kenya, Croatia, Namibia, Palestine, Russia, Slovenia, South Africa, Ukraine, Belarus, Zambia. The *Center Party International Foundation* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.cis.centerpartiet.se

CHILDREN'S INTERNATIONAL SUMMER VILLAGES, CISV SWEDEN, is the Swedish branch of *CISV International* (one of 67 national societies). The Swedish organisation and the international organisation were founded in 1951. CISV is a non-profit, peace and cultural meeting organisation without any political or religious affiliations. The aim of the organisation is to contribute to the world's efforts to achieve peace by fostering peace based on human rights and the UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child. The organisation makes it possible for individuals to develop a global perspective, a philosophy of life and an active desire to work for peace. CISV Sweden has some 5500 members, of whom 3500 are between 7 and 25 years. Two employees.

www.cisv.se

CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF SWEDEN, (Sveriges Kristna Råd, SKR), is an ecumenical meeting place and coordinatory body for 25 member churches and 3 observers. The elements that the churches have emphasised as the most central fields for ecumenical reflection and cooperation are included in what is called the Council's core: ecumenical theology, mission and evangelisation, social ethics and ecumenical care, including work with peace, justice and the environment. There are persons with special responsibilities for these areas at the Council's secretariat, a workplace for 11 persons. The *Christian Council of Sweden* participates in *Peace Team Forum*. www.skr.org

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS OF SWEDEN, (Broderskapsrörelsen), is a movement within the Social Democratic Party. It was formed in 1929 as Sweden's Christian Social Democrats' Association. The movement works for social and economic justice from a Christian perspective. The projects of the *Christian Socialists of Sweden* in the Third World focus on democracy, human rights, dialogue between religions, culture and education. It has the aspiration of linking its selection of projects to possibilities of engaging refugee organisations or individual inhabitants/refugees in projects for their home countries. The *Christian Socialists of Sweden* works with the following countries: Algeria, Israel, Congo, Kurdistan, Latvia, Lithuania, Palestine, Serbia-Montenegro, Sri Lanka, South Africa. It is a membership-based organisation and has some 4,000 members and some 10 employees. It is the Swedish branch of the *International League of Religious Socialists*. The *Christian Socialists of Sweden* participates in *Peace Team Forum*. www.broderskap.se

CHURCH OF SWEDEN, (Svenska Kyrkan), through *Church of Sweden Aid*, *Church of Sweden Mission (CSM)* and *Swedish Evangelical Mission* is active in many countries in the world. *Church of Sweden Mission* coordinates the missions of *Church of Sweden's* dioceses and parishes. Its activities are run together with churches and organisations in Africa, Asia and Latin America. *Church of Sweden Aid* is the *Church of Sweden's* organisation for long-term development cooperation and disaster contributions. This work is done in particular within the framework of two church networks: *Lutheran World Federation* and the *World Council of Churches*. In Sweden more than 4 000 people work on a voluntary basis with information, fund-raising and shaping opinion. *Swedish Evangelical Mission* is an independent organisation in the *Swedish Church*. All in all, CSM, *Church of Sweden Aid* and *Swedish Evangelical Mission* have about 80 staff in their headquarters in Uppsala, Sweden, and some hundred employees in other countries. The *Church of Sweden* works with the following countries/regions: Angola, Argentina, Armenia, Baltic States, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Philippines, Former Republic of Yugoslavia, Georgia, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Iraq, Israel/Palestine, Jordan, Cambodia, Cameroon, China, Congo, Lebanon, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, North Korea, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Rumania, Rwanda, Russia, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, South Africa, Tanzania, Czech Republic, Chechnya, Turkey, Uganda, Hungary, Belarus, Zimbabwe. *Church of Sweden Mission* and *Church of Sweden Aid* participate in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.svenskakyrkan.se

CIVIS is a fund-raising foundation with its base in Gothenburg. It has the aim of building peace and transforming peace research into practice in conflict areas. *Civis'* activities are based on national and international cooperation, partly in the form of project support for peace promotion projects in, for example, Colombia and Sweden, and partly in the form of support for research and the dissemination of information and forming opinion/lobbying in respect of peaceful conflict management as well as democracy issues and peace-building contributions. *Civis* combines theory and practice and works with both decision-makers and grassroots with the aim of supporting peace processes and disseminating a culture of peace. One of the cornerstones in the work is project cooperation with peace and human rights organisations in Colombia. This work includes courses in peaceful conflict management and peace building, exchanges

of young people, and opportunities for researchers in peace issues and people in conflict areas to meet and learn from each other. *Civis* was founded in 1996. It has six project employees and a few volunteers as well as an international network that functions as a think-tank for its work. *Civis* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.civis.nu

CLOWNS WITHOUT BORDERS, SWEDEN, (Clowner utan Gränser), is a sister organisation of *Clowns sans Frontières*, *Clowns without Borders* and *Payasos sin Fronteras*. The organisation, which has some 40 members, arranges expeditions with artists to spread laughter. It has the ambition of making one expedition per year to countries such as Bosnia & Herzegovina and Macedonia. One of the basic ideas of *Clowns without Borders, Sweden*, is the power of culture and laughter to unite people. By providing opportunities for people to laugh and react as a group, regardless of their nationality or opinion, a “we-feeling” and a message of peace are spread.

www.skratt.nu

COMMITTEE FOR WEST SAHARIAN WOMEN, (Kommittén för Västsaharas kvinnor), consists of 10 member organisations. Among other things the Committee works in support of the participation of the women of Western Sahara in the peace process, to spread information, to create public opinion for a free and fair referendum on the future of Western Sahara, and to assist in the work of building up democracy in the future Western Sahara. E-mail: gardefjord@spray.se

DIAKONIA is a cooperation organisation for free Christian communities for international development cooperation and development work. It was formed in 1966, then under the name “Free Church Aid”, with a distinct disaster relief profile. The organisation works with development in some 50 countries. The overall goal of its activities is the establishment of the equal value of all people. It has identified four main areas for its work: democratisation, gender, human rights, and economic justice. *Diakonia*’s work with peace and conflict management mainly falls within its work for democratisation. There are 21 employees at its secretariat in Stockholm and some 30 people work at *Diakonia*’s regional offices in seven countries. *Diakonia* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.diakonia.se

EDUCATION FOR AID ACTIVITIES, (Utbildning för biståndsverksamhet, UBV) is an organisation without any political or religious affiliations that

has 25 years' experience of solidarity work in Latin America. The organisation works with volunteers in its partner countries and with information on Latin America in Sweden. Its work in Latin America has the goal of supporting the emergence of robust popular organisation and popular movements, which it regards as essential for democratic and equitable social development. *Education for Aid Activities* works with the following countries: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador and Nicaragua.
www.ubv.se

FATIMA UNION, (FATIMA unionen, Fredligt Arbete Till Insikt, Medmänsklighet, Ansvar), whose aim is "peaceful work for thorough knowledge, humanity and responsibility", was founded in 1951. It is a membership-based organisation without any religious or political affiliations. Today it has 3 480 members. Its international activities consist of information activities, development cooperation in the form of commitments to raise funds for sponsored children, tree planting projects in developing countries, and family exchanges and support for families. The organisation works in the following countries: Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Malawi, Peru, and Somalia. *FATIMA Union* participates in *Peace Team Forum*. Address: Fatima Union, Box 2078, SE-103 12 Stockholm, Sweden. Phone: + 46 8 659 85 21. Fax: + 46 8 659 27 68

FORUM SYD — SWEDISH NGO CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION, is a coordinatory organisation for the development cooperation activities of popular movements. It has almost 150 member organisations. Its main working areas are development cooperation and human resource development, networks and exchanges of experience, information activities and activities intended to shape opinion, and idea and development work. On behalf of Sida, *Forum Syd* administers applications from certain CSOs for grants for development cooperation and information projects. Its member organisations have development cooperation programmes through *Forum Syd*, mainly in the form of personnel assistance in Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Cambodia and Central America. *Forum Syd* has a resource base of some 250 persons who have a good knowledge of languages and international experience and are interested in working abroad. *Forum Syd* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.
www.forumsyd.se

GREENPEACE NORDIC, (Greenpeace Norden), was the result of a merger of *Greenpeace* Sweden, Norway and Finland in 1998 and *Greenpeace* Denmark in 1999. There are 84 000 members in the four countries, and the

head office in Stockholm has some 25 employees. *Greenpeace Nordic* is part of *Greenpeace International*, an environmental organisation that has no political or religious affiliations. The international organisation was formed in 1971 in Vancouver, Canada, after an attempt of twelve activists to prevent American nuclear weapon tests in the Pacific Ocean off the coast of Alaska by setting out for the test area in a ship. Its opposition to nuclear weapons remains one of *Greenpeace's* key issues. Among other things it is running a special campaign against the USA's initiative to develop a national missile defence system (see www.stopstarwars.org). The long-term goal of *Greenpeace's* work is a world at peace and in ecological balance. www.greenpeace.se

KVINNA TILL KVINNA FOUNDATION, looks after the special needs of women in wars and conflicts. *Kvinna till Kvinna* ("Woman to Woman" in Swedish) started as a project in the Swedish section of *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, *WILPF*, which founded the organisation in 1995 in the form of a fund-raising foundation. Today it is a completely independent organisation. Its board is appointed by *WILPF, Swedish section*, and the *Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society* (SPAS). Hitherto *Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation* has supported local women's organisations in the Western Balkans: Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro and Albania. It is now planning to extend its activities to the Middle East and to Eastern Europe/Asia. *Kvinna till Kvinna's* main office is in Stockholm and currently has eight employees. A further seven employees work in the Western Balkans. *Kvinna till Kvinna* participates in *Peace Team Forum*. www.iktk.se

LEFT ASSOCIATION OF SWEDISH WOMEN, (Svenska Kvinnors Vänsterförbund), was formed in 1914 as a peace society and even if the society now works with other issues, it still has a strong engagement against war and imperialism and for peace and disarmament. Its activities include solidarity work with the Third World, including support for a women's shelter in Honduras, projects for self-help for women in Ghana, and a bakery in South Africa. The organisation also supports the Fistula hospital in Ethiopia. The *Left Association of Swedish Women* is independent of party politics. It is a membership-based organisation and has approximately 1 000 members. Internationally, the Association is affiliated to the Women's International Democratic Federation. The Association participates in *Peace Team Forum*. www.svenskakvinnor.nu

LEFT INTERNATIONAL FORUM, (Vänsterns Internationella Forum, Vif, earlier Vänsterns Solidaritetsforum), is the development cooperation organisation of the Left Party. It was formed in 1995 to work with solidarity activities with organisations in the Third World and in former Eastern Europe. The aim of its work is to reduce the gaps between rich and poor countries and between social classes, to strengthen the opportunities available to women, to promote ecologically sustainable development, to combat oppression, exploitation and sex discrimination, to increase respect for democratic and human rights and privileges, and to support processes of democratisation. The *Left International Forum* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.vansterpartiet.se

LIFE AND PEACE INSTITUTE, LPI, (Liv & Fred-institutet), is an international and ecumenical centre for peace research and peace work. It was formed in 1985 and has its headquarters in Uppsala with about ten employees. The Institute works with peace research and conflict research, and shall develop and use action research with the aim of promoting peaceful transformation in conflicts. It shall also serve the churches and their ecumenical organisations in their work for justice, peace and reconciliation. The largest programme is in the Horn of Africa where LPI has supported local peace initiatives for a period of ten years (2001). The Institute is led by an international board, appointed for a period of four years by the *Christian Council of Sweden*, which also selects its chairperson. LPI participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.life-peace.org

LIFE-LINK FRIENDSHIP-SCHOOLS ASSOCIATION works to increase cooperation between young people and their schools in different countries through school twinning projects on issues related to survival: the environment, human rights, conflict resolution and constructive cooperation. The association was formed in 1987-88, and its contact network now includes 300 schools in 57 countries. Approximately 200 people have chosen to become members. *Life-Link's* campaign Youth Peace Actions 2000+ is taking place at the present time. *Life-Link Friendship-Schools Association* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.life-link.org

MÉDECINS DU MONDE, MDM, SWEDISH BRANCH, (Läkare i Världen), is a development cooperation and humanitarian organisation. *Médecins du Monde* was formed in France in 1980. It is an international organisation

consisting of twelve autonomous delegations in twelve countries that have projects in 70 countries around the world. *MDM Sweden* was established in 1995. Today it has 350 members. The organisation works to help, care for, and testify on behalf of, disadvantaged groups inside and outside the country concerned. Most of the work is long-term development work even if emergency projects can arise. *MDM Sweden* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.lakareivarlden.org

MÉDECINS SANS FRONTIÈRES, MSF, SWEDISH BRANCH, (Läkare utan Gränser), works to help, care for, and testify on behalf of, disadvantaged groups inside and outside the country concerned. Every year *MSF Sweden* sends out some 2 500 doctors, nurses, water and sanitation experts, economists, and technical and administrative personnel to projects in approximately 80 countries around the world. The international organisation was formed in Paris in 1971, the Swedish organisation was formed in 1993. Persons wishing to become members of *MSF Sweden* must have worked for the organisation in the field (for at least six months). At present there are 75 members in Sweden. Apart from the members, there are approximately 7 500 members who provide support, i.e. regular donors. www.lakareutangranser.org

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SWEDISH YOUTH ORGANISATIONS, (Landsrådet för Sveriges Ungdomsorganisationer, LSU), is a cooperation organisation for almost 100 Swedish children and youth organisations. The Council has the aim of strengthening the abilities and democratic rights of young people. With the aid of exchanges and study tours, seminars and conferences, information material and a database, the organisation provides opportunities for enhancing knowledge of and contacts with youth organisations in the South. The Council works with the following countries: Baltic States, Israel, Laos, Moldova, Nepal, Nicaragua, Palestine, Ukraine, Belarus, and Zambia. Its international work focuses to a great extent on support for democracy and as a result it has also come into conflict management, particularly in its contacts with the Middle East and the Balkans. The *National Council of Swedish Youth Organisations* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.lsu.se

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WOMEN IN SWEDEN, (S-Kvinnor, Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Kvinnoförbund), is a political women's organisation with some 15 000 members in 450 clubs. It is a so-

cial-democratic and feminist organisation which represents women's interests and rights. Internationally the Federation works for better living conditions for women in the form of education and training, and initiatives to make it easier for women to earn a living and to have the right to decide over their own lives. At present, for example, the Federation is running projects for women in Mozambique, Vietnam and Nicaragua. It works for peace and disarmament in Sweden and internationally. Its women's clubs, and their members, are also members of the Social Democratic Party via the local branch of the party. The organisation was formed in 1920, and four employees work at the secretariat.

www.s-kvinnor.a.se

OLOF PALME INTERNATIONAL CENTER, OPIC (Olof Palmes Internationella Center), was formed in 1992 and has 32 member organisations. The core activities of the Center are providing support for the development of democracy and organisations in developing countries and in Central and Eastern Europe, and activities designed to influence opinion. At present the Palme Center is supporting almost 300 projects around the world. The international support focuses on seven priority regions: Central America (with the emphasis on El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua); southern Africa (with the emphasis on Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa); the Middle East (with the emphasis on the Palestine issue); South-East Asia (with the emphasis on Burma, Vietnam and the Philippines); China; the Baltic Sea area (with the emphasis on the Baltic States, Poland and North-West Russia); and former Yugoslavia. The Center participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.palmecenter.se

PEACE BRIGADES INTERNATIONAL, PBI is a non-violence organisation that works for peace and fundamental human rights all over the world. PBI's goal is to create more scope for human rights by providing escorts from different countries for threatened persons and by spreading information on the situation in the countries it works in. During the time of the study, it had projects in Colombia, North America, East Timor, Mexico and Haiti. PBI-Sweden has approximately 80 members who provide financial support. The organisation participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.pbi.nu

PEACE COUNCIL OF SWEDEN, (Sveriges Fredsråd), is a forum for peace organisations, e.g.: *PeaceQuest/Sweden*, the *Swedish Peace Committee*, *Left Association of Swedish Women*, the *Sweden Yearly Meeting (Quakers)* and *Women for*

Peace. Disarmament, particularly in respect of nuclear weapons, has always been in focus. The Council is a member of the Special NGO Committee for Disarmament (headquarters in Geneva). The *Peace Council of Sweden* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.
www.frednu.se

PEACE TEAM FORUM (Forum för Fredstjänst) is a network for the coordination of Swedish organisations and for the exchange of information and cooperation concerning the prevention of violence, conflict management and peace-building. The network's mission statement defines its main aim, which is "to develop a capacity for the prevention of violence, conflict management and peace building projects in Sweden and contribute to a non-military structure for peace and security in Europe and the world" (mission statement 2001).

The network is part of a European cooperation network, *European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation*, which is open to CSOs working internationally with conflict management, conflict resolution and prevention of armed conflicts. CSOs can be in direct contact with European Platform but it especially welcomes national networks and likes to see that networks of this type are established in countries where this has not yet taken place. National networks existed in 2001 in the following European countries: Germany, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland, Great Britain and the Netherlands. In the last-mentioned country there is also the Centre for Conflict Prevention and Transformation, which is the hub of the network.

One important impulse for the establishment of *Peace Team Forum* was a cooperation project organised by Swedish CSOs for peace surveillance in South Africa at the time of the first free elections, which were held in 1994. Since then *Peace Team Forum* has focused, among other things, on education and training. A large number of courses have been arranged: basic courses in conflict management, advanced courses in the same subject, training programmes for trainers, courses for field workers, training in security for assignments abroad, and special conflict management courses for young people. It has also produced a curriculum and a book: *Empowerment for Peace Service: A Curriculum for Education and Training in Violence Prevention, Non-violent Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding* and a guide in Swedish.

With support provided by the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, two major international conferences have been held within the framework of the network. In 1997 a conference was held at the Folk High School in Gripsholm on the theme Government – NGO Relations in Preventing Violence, Transforming Conflict and Building Peace. In the spring of

2001, during the Swedish presidency of the EU, *Peace Team Forum* and *European Platform* organised a conference: “Promoting the Prevention of Violent Conflict and Building Peace by Interaction Between State Actors and Voluntary Organisations”. This conference was also held in Gripsholm.

Capacity development in the network also led to cooperation for the acquisition of knowledge and methods development for conflict impact assessments in development cooperation. In 2001 a cooperation project on this issue was implemented with an institute in the USA, *Collaborative for Development Action* (www.cdainc.com), when the network participated in the “mainstreaming phase” of the Local Capacities for Peace Project. www.fredsforum.se

PEACEQUEST/SWEDEN is a peace organisation that focuses on young people. It was started in 1983. It is an independent organisation with no religious or political affiliations. It has 500 – 600 members. The goal of the organisation is to tackle the causes of violence, develop ways and means to handle conflicts, and to strengthen the active engagement of young people and to inspire them to participate actively in the development of society. *PeaceQuest/Sweden* cooperates with organisations in different parts of the world to develop democracy, to prevent violence, and to handle conflicts peacefully. *PeaceQuest/Sweden* participates in *Peace Team Forum*. www.peacequest.se

PMU INTERLIFE, (Pingstmissionens Utvecklingssamarbete), supports over 200 ongoing projects in some 65 countries. The organisation, which was formed in 1965, is an umbrella organisation. It has 270 Swedish Pentecostal parishes as members. 45 persons work at the head office and depot. Education and health and medical services are priority sectors. Emergency contributions are also made in connection with natural disasters or armed conflicts. Support is given to Swedish personnel in the field but it is always a Swedish parish that employs the personnel. The organisation works with the following countries/regions: Afghanistan, Argentina, Armenia, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Colombia, Cyprus, Egypt, El Salvador, Estonia, Ethiopia, Philippines, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras, India, Iran, Israel, Kenya, China, Congo, Cuba, Lebanon, Liberia, Macedonia, Mali, Mozambique, Moldova, Nepal, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Rumania, Rwanda, Russia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, South Africa, Tanzania, Chad, Thailand, Togo, Ukraine, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, Belarus, West Bank,

Yemen. *PMU InterLife* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.pmu.se

SAVE THE CHILDREN, SWEDEN, (Rädda Barnen), is an independent organisation, without any political and religious affiliations, that fights for children's rights. The organisation was formed in 1919. It is a membership-based organisation with 88 000 members, organised in over 300 local societies. The organisation supports activities that focus on disadvantaged and vulnerable children, for example children in hazardous jobs, street children, children in wars and displaced children. Its work is in the form of practical support and development work, and shaping opinion. Since 1993 it has had a resource base for use in emergencies, which has mainly been used for secondments to UNHCR. The organisation has nine regional offices and a number of local offices in four continents. *Save the Children* work with the following countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bosnia & Herzegovina, El Salvador, Eritrea, Estonia, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Guinea-Bissau, Yugoslavia, Kenya, Croatia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Rumania, Russia, Sudan, South Africa, Vietnam, Yemen. Internationally Swedish *Save the Children* is part of the International *Save the Children Alliance* (which has 26 members). *Save the Children* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.rb.se

SHABELLE PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION was formed in 1997. The organisation works with peace and humanitarian projects in Marka, in Somalia. It has 40 members. One person is employed in the office in Somalia and two volunteers work in the region.

www.markacadey.com

SWALLOWS IN GOTHENBURG, (Svalorna i Göteborg), is a membership-based organisation with 100 members. The local society was formed in the 1950s. The Swallows is part of the *Emmaus* movement. Since 1983, the *Swallows in Gothenburg* has supported a neighbourhood association, *Sevaprija* in Madras, India, and its women's section, *Arwangel*. These are two Indian societies that mostly consist of low-caste, Tamil-speaking Indians without any formal education. The *Swallows in Gothenburg* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

E-mail: andrerodin@hotmail.com

SWEDISH COMMITTEE FOR AFGHANISTAN, (Svenska Afghanistan-kommittén, SAK), is a development cooperation organisation without any po-

litical or religious affiliations. The Committee was founded in 1980 to shape opinion and inspire support for the freedom aspirations of the Afghan people. It now provides humanitarian support for Afghanistan. It runs activities in the fields of healthcare and education and provides extensive assistance for the reconstruction of the agricultural sector. The Committee is a membership-based organisation with 3 500 members. Eight people work at the office in Sweden and 14 people with a European background work in the field organisation (together with 850 Afghan colleagues).

www.sak.a.se

SWEDISH DEVELOPMENT FORUM, (Föreningen för Utvecklingsfrågor, FUF) is an association that has no political or religious affiliations. It was formed in 1972 to promote information and exchanges of ideas on development issues. The Forum arranges debates and lectures on current issues relating to development cooperation and the Third World. During the course of this study (1999-2001), the Forum has arranged seminars about the linkages between democracy and peace and about the diamond trade and armed conflict. It has also taken up and shed light on armed conflicts and possible peace processes in, for example, Colombia, Western Sahara, Kashmir, Liberia and Mauritania. The *Swedish Development Forum* has one employee.

www.fuf.se

SWEDISH EAST TIMOR COMMITTEE, (Östtimorkommittén), is a solidarity organisation that has the aim of spreading knowledge about East Timor, its people and its culture. The Committee supports the process of transition in East Timor from a territory administered by the UN to an independent democratic state, as well as political, economic and cultural development in the country. In addition the Committee works to encourage the Swedish government to support East Timor politically, economically and culturally, both bilaterally and in international bodies, to monitor Indonesia's policy vis-à-vis East Timor and to take powerful action against any attacks or attempts to destabilise the country. The *Swedish East Timor Committee* has some 110 members.

www.algonet.se/~tpollak/OTK

SWEDISH ECUMENICAL WOMEN COUNCIL, (Sveriges Ekumeniska Kvinnoråd, SEK), is a forum for the women members of the Christian community and organisations who, by exchanging ideas and experience, want to strengthen solidarity between Sweden's Christian women and to work

for the position of women in society, particularly in churches and religious communities, in order to achieve equality between women and men. The Council has one employee (part-time). The Council has more than 4 000 members but it numbers considerably more if all the organisations are included.

www.skr.org/sek

SWEDISH FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, SWEFOR, (Kristna Fredsrörelsen, KrF), is a non-violence movement working with peaceful conflict management, a preventive presence in conflict areas, peace policies, dialogue between religions, human security, disarmament and issues concerning the arms trade. The organisation was formed in 1919. It is a membership-based organisation with some 3 000 members and ten staff. One major mission of SweFOR is to influence and inspire churches, parishes and individual Christians to work more actively for peace, disarmament and justice. The *Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation* is the Swedish branch of the *International Fellowship of Reconciliation*, which consists of faith-based peace organisations (including Buddhist, Muslim, Jewish and Christian organisations). SweFOR works with the following countries/regions: Baltic States, Latin America, Middle East, Sudan, Western Sahara and East Timor. SweFOR participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.swefor.org and www.krf.se

SWEDISH HELSINKI COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, (Svenska Helsingforskommittén för Mänskliga Rättigheter), was formed in 1982 as the Swedish branch of the *International Helsinki Federation*, IHF. Its main mission is to ensure that the member states of the *Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe* (OSSE) follow their undertakings in respect of human rights, and to attempt to promote democratic development mainly in the new democracies. The Committee supports individuals and groups that work for democratic systems and communities governed by the rule of law, or which strive for the peaceful resolution of conflicts between ethnic and national minorities. At present the Committee is supporting 70 projects in Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Macedonia, Croatia and Bosnia. The *Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights* is a membership-based organisation with some 140 members. There are five employees at the office in Stockholm.

www.shc.se

SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL LIBERAL CENTRE, SILC, (Svenskt Internationellt Liberalt Centrum), is a foundation that has the goal of defending

democracy and human rights. It was founded in 1989 and is closely associated with the Liberal Party. SILC supports the emergence of parties, liberal movements and organisations that work for human rights. Two persons work at the secretariat. The foundation works with the following countries: Estonia, Ghana, Cuba, Latvia, Lithuania, Paraguay, Russia, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Ukraine, and Belarus. SILC participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.silc.liberal.se

SWEDISH MISSION COUNCIL, SMC, (Svenska Missionsrådet, SMR), is an umbrella organisation for 27 Christian development cooperation organisations, churches and religious communities. SMC has no development cooperation activities of its own. It coordinates the mission/development cooperation work of the organisations affiliated to it and attempts to take advantage of their common interests and aspirations to deepen understanding of the Christian mission assignment. The overall aim of activities is to preserve and restore human dignity and, from a holistic perspective, to create the requisite conditions for sustainable development. Each member organisation is responsible for its projects, but coordination, reflection and evaluation take place within the framework of SMC. The organisation was founded in 1912 (formally established in 1922). SMC participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.missioncouncil.se

SWEDISH MISSION COVENANT CHURCH, (Svenska Missionsförbundet), formed in 1878, is an association that has always had a strong commitment in respect of mission and international issues. The *Swedish Mission Covenant Church's* international activities take place in cooperation with churches in other countries in fields such as evangelism, development cooperation, leadership training and healthcare. Its mission in the world is in the following countries/regions: Ecuador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Congo-Brazzaville, Democratic Republic Congo, Eastern Europe, Middle East, India, Pakistan, Japan, China. It has some 67 000 members. The *Swedish Mission Covenant Church* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.smf.se

SWEDISH PEACE AND ARBITRATION SOCIETY, SPAS, (Svenska Freds- och Skiljedomsföreningen), was founded in 1883 and have about 6000 members with several local branches in Sweden. SPAS demands the redistribution of resources: from military investments to civil, peace-creating work. The organisation works to stop the arms trade, examines the European

security policy, and has the aim of speeding up the process of nuclear disarmament. The *Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.svenskafreds.se

SWEDISH PEACE COMMITTEE, (Svenska Fredskommittén), works in four fields: solidarity, ecology, anti-racism and security. The organisation was formed in 1949 and today it has one employee and 1 500 members. The Committee supports local women's and children's groups in Nicaragua, Chile and Cuba. In Russia the Committee has participated in starting up two nature schools and is now working with the training of pre-school and infant school teachers to stimulate the interest of their young charges in nature and the outdoor life. The *Swedish Peace Committee* also supplies aids for the disabled and helps Russian organisations for the disabled to find suitable sister organisations in Sweden. In order to check racism in Sweden, the Committee organises coach tours for young people to former concentration camps in Germany. Where security matters are concerned, the organisation is engaged in the work of strengthening the nuclear weapon free zone in the Nordic countries. It is also working against an increase in militarization in Europe and against nuclear weapons. The Committee participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.svenskafredskommitten.nu

SWEDISH RED CROSS, (Svenska Röda Korset), is one of 177 national *Red Cross* societies that are affiliated to the *International Red Cross and Red Crescent Federation*. The *Red Cross* societies work with disaster preparedness, disaster contributions, primary healthcare, and maintenance of respect for humanitarian principles. The *Swedish Red Cross* has some 360 000 members of whom approximately 40 000 are active voluntary workers. Most of the *Red Cross*' disaster projects and development cooperation projects are channelled through the Federation. It has a pool of delegates consisting of 180 persons who are prepared to serve abroad. Apart from the national societies and the federation, the *Red Cross* and *Red Crescent* movements also include the *International Red Cross Committee* (ICRC). The ICRC has a special mandate from the governments that have signed the Geneva Conventions to protect victims of armed conflicts. The *Swedish Red Cross* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.redcross.se

SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC YOUTH LEAGUE, (Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Ungdomsförbund, SSU), is a political youth organisation

with 20 600 members (organised in some 600 local societies) and some 40 employees. The League runs activities internationally, for example in the Middle East, Belarus and the Balkans. The organisation's international activities focus, in the first place, on providing support for democracy and organisation development, and to some extent peace building. The *Swedish Social Democratic Youth League* is a member of several international networks, for example *IUSY*, *International Union of Socialist Youth*, *ECOSY*, *European Community Organisation of Socialist Youth*, and *FNSU*, the *Nordic network*.

www.ssu.se

SWEDISH TEACHERS FOR PEACE, (Sveriges Lärare för Fred), was formed in 1983. The objective of the society is, among other things, to work to ensure that instruction in peace, i.e. instruction in non-violent conflict management, intercultural and international understanding, democracy and human rights, ecological sustainable environment and international cooperation to achieve these goals, is an integral part of all teaching. *Swedish Teachers for Peace* is affiliated to the *International Association of Educators for Peace*, which holds international congresses every second year for peace education in different countries. The organisation cooperates with its networks in the Baltic States, the Balkans, Russia and Ukraine in various peace education projects. It is a membership-based organisation with 290 members. *Swedish Teachers for Peace* participates in *Peace Team Forum*. www.welcome.to/ymk

SWEDISH TIBETAN SOCIETY FOR SCHOOL AND CULTURE, (Svensk-tibetanska Skol- och Kulturföreningen), is a membership-based organisation without political or religious affiliations. It has 1116 members and six local groups. The Society was formed in 1988. Its goal is to build and renovate 108 schools in rural areas in Tibet. Operations at several of the schools are mainly financed by sponsorship (at present 503 sponsors). At the beginning of 2001, 41 schools had been built. The Society is convinced that education makes it possible to see and take conflicts in a "humanitarian way". It also emphasises that education leads to contacts – in this case with Chinese people. Many of the children educated at the Tibetan schools now attend universities in China where instruction is in Tibetan (mainly) and Chinese. www.tibet-school.org

SWEDISH NGO FOUNDATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, (Frivilligorganisationernas Fond för Mänskliga Rättigheter), has the overall goal of enhancing

knowledge and respect for human rights in Sweden and other parts of the world. In this work it emphasises that the economic, cultural, civil, political and social rights are part of an indivisible whole and are universal. The foundation is a non-profit organisation, founded in 1991. Four Swedish organisations: *Diakonia*, *Church of Sweden*, the *Swedish Red Cross* and the *Raoul Wallenberg Institute* are the principals of the foundation. The work of the foundation is intended to supplement the activities of its principals and Sida's international development cooperation activities in the field of democracy and human rights. Seven employees work at the secretariat. The organisation participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.humanrights.se

TRANSNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR PEACE AND FUTURE RESEARCH, TFF, is a foundation that was established in 1986. The work of the foundation includes the following: understanding conflicts, peace research, education and alternative security, global development, non-violence, UN and the world, and the diagnosis, prognosis and treatment of conflicts. Field work: former Yugoslavia since 1991, Georgia 1993 and Burundi 1999. 41 missions have been carried through to all parts of former Yugoslavia, and over 25 publications and books have been published.

www.transnational.org

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF SWEDEN, (Svenska FN-förbundet), has the basic mission of spreading information on the UN and its activities, goals and importance. The *UN Association of Sweden* has some 120 active local chapters with approximately 6 000 members. Some 140 national organisations are members of the Association. These are trade unions organisations, peace organisations, solidarity organisations, youth organisations, women's organisations, and environmental organisations. Ten people work at the office in Stockholm. The *United Nations Association of Sweden* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.fn.se

WOMEN FOR PEACE, (Kvinnor för Fred), is a member organisation, with no political or religious affiliations. It has 550 members who work in small, self-governing groups. The structure of the organisation is non-hierarchical. It does not have a chairperson but a steering group. *Women for Peace* works with disarmament issues and for a switchover from military to civil production, for nuclear disarmament, conflict resolution without violence, and for measures to prevent violence. The organisation cooperates with women's and peace organisations, nationally and international-

ly, and describes itself as a peace organisation with an emphasis on women. It participates in *Peace Team Forum*.
www.kvinnorforfred.com

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM, WILPF, SWEDISH SECTION, (Internationella Kvinnoförbundet för Fred och Frihet, IKFF), is a membership-based organisation with some 1500 members. It has a part-time secretary. *WILPF, Swedish section* works for general disarmament, peaceful conflict management, human rights, the equitable distribution of the earth's resources, support for women in economic and social matters, the environment, and development. The ultimate goal of the organisation is to participate, from the perspective of women, in the creation of global security in which war is prevented. The organisation participates in *Peace Team Forum*.
www.ikff.se

WORKERS EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, STOCKHOLM, (Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund, ABF Stockholm), participates in and supports adult education projects in different parts of the world, and is interested in developing potential for the prevention of violence in this work. The objective of adult education in 1912, when the organisation was formed, was partly to raise the educational levels of disadvantaged groups and partly to train members for the wide variety of practical tasks in the work of changing society. The *Workers Educational Association, Stockholm* has development cooperation projects in Asia, Latin America, Africa (in particular South Africa) and Eastern Europe. The development cooperation projects comprise transfer of knowledge. The goal is to contribute to democratic development in the partner countries. The Association is an umbrella organisation. It has 54 member organisations and is affiliated to an international federation, *International Federation of Workers' Education Associations, IFWEA*. The *Workers Educational Association Stockholm* participates in *Peace Team Forum*.
www.abf.se

YWCA-YMCA OF SWEDEN, (KFUK/KFUMs riksförbund), is a member of two global organisations: the *World Alliance of YMCAs* and *World YWCA*, which have over 55 million members in more than 130 countries. *YWCA-YMCA of Sweden* has existed in Sweden for more than 110 years and has approximately 70 000 members in 650 local associations. *YWCA-YMCA of Sweden* has some 10 000 voluntary leaders and over 300 employees at local, regional and national level. The national association is an umbrel-

la organisation with the responsibility for overall coordination, including international development cooperation activities. *YWCA-YMCA of Sweden* works with the following countries: Bangladesh, Burma, Colombia, El Salvador, Estonia, Gambia, Gaza, Guatemala, Honduras, Kenya, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Palestine, Russia, Sri Lanka, South Africa, Tanzania, Togo, Uruguay, Belarus, Zambia. The national association participates in *Peace Team Forum*.

www.kfuk-kfum.se

Appendix 2 Project inventory

Compilation of projects by classification (conflict transformation and/or peacebuilding), geographical area and conflict phase

The projects in the study took place in 34 crisis and conflict areas in the world. The inventory is broken down, below, by *conflict transformation* and *peace building*, as well as by *continent, country and phase*. The projects are in alphabetical order by country, apart from regional projects which are in their own section. The project costs for 1999 and/or 2000, i.e. the years that the study took place, are indicated.

In the box to the right of each project, there is a letter that indicates the interpretation of the type of project. The A, B and C for the *conflict transformation* projects stand for *advocacy, behaviour and contradiction*. Where the *peace building* projects are concerned, *A* represents *work on norms and ideas*, *B* represents *strengthening capacity for conflict management*, and *C* the *elimination of structural risk factors*.

The areas where a conflict has not yet broken out in armed violence has been classified as a “*crisis area*” (*c*), provided that the Swedish CSO that is active in the area claims that there is an imminent risk of armed conflict.

Where the two phases *ongoing armed conflict*, (*o*) and *after armed conflict* (*a*) are concerned, an approximate classification has been made with the aid of data from the Uppsala project.

The Swedish organisations that participated in the study provided descriptions of their respective projects. After some changes had been made, the project list was sent along with the rest of the report for approval by the organisations in August 2001. Since then no alteration has been made.

Conflict transformation projects in the study by continent, country/region and phase

The *A*, *B* and *C* for the *conflict transformation* projects stand for *advocacy*, *behaviour* and *contradiction*. The letters for different phases are *c* for *crisis area*, *o* for *ongoing conflict* and *a* for *after armed conflict*.

CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION IN Sub-Saharan Africa

Congo-Brazzaville	A
Swedish Mission Covenant Church	Phase: o
Project cost: SEK 858 000, in 1999 and 2000	
During the 1990s, there were three civil wars in Congo-Brazzaville. The Swedish Mission Covenant Church has been engaged in various ways via its partner church, Eglise Evangelique du Congo, in conflict management before, during and after the various crises. This part of the project is intended to facilitate dialogue with the aid of international experts and social analysts from the conflict area. It also included adult education programmes and local and international work with opinion.	
Democratic Republic Congo (DRC)	A
African Swedish National Association	Phase: o
Project cost: SEK 400 000, in 2000	
A conference in Stockholm, February 12-14 2000, with representatives of organisations, civil society, political organisations and religious representatives from South Kivu, North Kivu and North Katanga (DRC) was arranged jointly with the Africa Initiative Programme, a regional African organisation with its head office in Nairobi. The conference offered a forum for the discussion of the application of the Lusaka agreement and possible ways of involving the local people in a peace process. The conference resulted in the establishment of a network in DRC, Coalitions des Forces Vives du Congo.	
Liberia	A
Church of Sweden	Phase: a
Project cost: SEK 270 000, in 1999; SEK 200 000, in 2000	
Support for the Interfaith Council of Liberia (IFCL), which consists of members of the National Muslim Council and the Liberian Council of Churches. The support has been provided for the IFCL's regular activities for mediation and prevention of violence in areas where there is tension between ethnic and religious groups. In addition, additional funds were provided to support a particularly acute project in the wake of armed attacks from Guinea (April and August 1999). At that time, the IFCL made some journeys in West Africa to create contacts and encourage mediation between the Liberian government and leaders of factions of the armed groups that were making the attacks.	
Liberia	A
PMU-Interlife	Phase: a
Project cost: SEK 5 000 000, in 1999 and 2000	
In Liberia people have been severely affected by the civil war, not only physically and materially, but also mentally. PMU InterLife in Liberia has formed teams of trauma workers trained on site in Monrovia through three-month courses arranged by, among others Unicef. A total of 12 persons have completed	

this training programme. These teams have then had the goal of working in two ways: 1) functioning as social workers in refugee camps, in children's homes, at schools and in prisons; and 2) training key persons in the community such as teachers, church leaders, children's groups leaders, etc. By spreading information to teachers for example, children with traumatic experiences can be identified more easily and thereby be given the help that they need, either by PMU InterLife's personnel or other professional social workers.

South Africa	B
<i>Diakonia</i>	Phase: a
Project cost: SEK 500 000, in 2000	
Support for Kwa Zulu Natal Monitoring Forum, which consists of 23 local CSOs that all work with development projects. Based on experience gained from the election in 1999, these CSOs produced a joint strategy for monitoring the elections in 2000. Kwa Zulu Natal Monitoring Forum coordinates personnel of the 23 organisations voluntary workers and contacts, and divides the entire geographical area of Kwa Zulu Natal between them. Each organisation is responsible for monitoring the security situation in its area and sharing information, which is then analysed. It is a local early warning system. At the same time the monitoring activities are intended to prevent or diminish outbreaks of violence in connection with the election.	
Sudan	B
<i>Save the Children Sweden</i>	Phase: o
Project cost: SEK 800 000, in 1999; SEK 1 500 000, in 2000	
The "child soldier project" prevents the recruitment of child soldiers and demobilises child soldiers by making it possible for the children to go to school. The dialogue with armed forces in Sudan has led to promises from their side to stop recruiting children and to demobilize them. Save the Children Sweden has helped local communities to set up and run schools and has implemented teacher training programmes, for example for refugees who want to be repatriated.	

CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION in Asia & Oceania

East Timor	B
<i>Peace Brigades International (PBI)</i>	Phase: a
Project cost: SEK 254 000, in 2000	
After it had participated with observers in the referendum on the future status of East Timor on August 30, 1999, and at the request of human rights organisations in East Timor and Indonesia, PBI started a trial project among refugees from East Timor in West Timor. PBI contributes financially to the project.	

CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION in Europe

Regional: Balkans	A
<i>Church of Sweden</i>	Phase: a
Project cost: SEK 210 000 per year (1999, 2000)	

Ecumenical Women's Solidarity Fund. The fund has the goal of assisting women and children to enable them to handle and heal the mental and physical injuries they suffered during the war. Activities:

women's centres, doctors' surgeries, crisis and therapy clinics, development of and support for women's networks. The *Church of Sweden* has supported the fund since 1996.

Regional: Balkans
A
Swedish Social Democratic Youth League

Phase: a

 Project cost: approx. SEK 500 000, in 2000

The project has the aim of strengthening youth organisations in the Balkans and of giving young politicians the opportunity to meet and discuss the future of the region. Among other things, the Swedish Social Democratic Youth League has arranged a campaign seminar and conferences for young Social Democrats. The participants come from all parts of the Balkans but they do not defend war or any one side participating in the war.

Bosnia & Herzegovina
C
PMU Interlife

Phase: a

 Project cost: SEK 22 315 000, in 1999

This contribution was a continuation of an earlier reconstruction project to help refugee families to return home. The project is focusing on the return of minorities, part of the implementation of the Dayton agreement. The goal of the project is to help 180 refugee families to build up their houses. The activities, which follow the plan, focus as in previous projects on a number of villages in the municipalities of Jajce, Vitez and Travnik in Middle Bosnia Canton and in the municipalities of Maglaj, Usora, Zenica and Zepce in Zenica – Doboj Canton, and on Doboj and Teslic in Republika Srpska. In total 228 houses have been constructed and small projects have been undertaken in respect of basic infrastructure and services. The project has been implemented in cooperation with Crossroads International.

Bosnia & Herzegovina
C
PMU Interlife

Phase: a

 Project cost: SEK 14 674 000, in 2000

The project is for the reconstruction of 240 houses in Republika Srpska, Zenica-Doboj Canton and Middle Bosnia Canton and supplements the ongoing project. This project also focuses on the return of minorities, which is part of the implementation of the Dayton Agreement. Necessary infrastructural assistance for specific houses in the project area is also included as part of the project. Currently construction work has been started on 247 houses, and 2 blocks of flats for 24 families have been renovated. The project started in August 200 by identifying needs in all areas and in September the first houses were selected.

Bosnia & Herzegovina
C
PMU Interlife

Phase: a

 Project cost: SEK 21 227 000, in 2000

The overall goal is to make it possible for refugee families to return to their homes and to make certain basic efforts in respect of infrastructure and services. The project focuses on the return of minorities as part of the implementation of the Dayton Agreement. In concrete terms the objective is to make it possible for 260 families to return to their homes in the municipalities of Jajce, Vitez, Maglaj, Teslic and Doboj. In this project priority is being given to spontaneous return. The repair of water and electricity supplies is also included to a certain extent in these villages. The target group is participating actively in the implementation of the project through the "help for self-help principle" and hitherto 317 families have been included in the project.

Bosnia & Herzegovina	A
<i>Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation</i>	Phase: a
Project cost: SEK 300 000, for 1999 and 2000	
Since 1998, in Tuzla, the Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation has supported Prijateljice, an organisation that provides psychosocial help to refugee women and children. It also runs various projects with the aim of giving women an income. The activity includes courses, for example in sewing and computers. Prijateljice also works to increase solidarity between different women's groups. In addition it contributes to increasing contacts between women in Tuzla and women from various places in Republika Srpska.	
Bosnia & Herzegovina	C
<i>Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation</i>	Phase: a
Project cost: SEK 200 000, in 1999 and 2000	
Before the war Gornji Vakuf was a multi-ethnic town with Croats and Muslims as the two largest groups in the population. After the war the town was divided into two parts: the Muslim Gornji Vakuf and the Croatian Uskoplje. An organisation, Counselling Service, is trying to get refugees to return to their homes and to build up trust between the different groups. To achieve this it arranges seminars on the theme of "Life in a Divided Town". The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation has supported Counselling Service since 1997.	
Bosnia & Herzegovina	C
<i>Church of Sweden</i>	Phase: a
Project cost: SEK 20 919 000 in 1999 and 2000	
One important component of the Dayton agreement was that minorities should be given the possibility to return to their home villages even if these villages were governed by a majority from another ethnic group. Therefore, in this phase of the Sanski Most project, the Church of Sweden has mainly focused on the return of minorities to Una Sana Canton and Republika Srpska. The project includes identifying people who have a genuine willingness to return home and who are also aware of the risk and are prepared to accept it. It is also a question of exerting an influence on decision-makers to allow the return of minorities and to support reconciliation between neighbours in order to increase the safety of the returnees.	
Croatia	C
<i>Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation</i>	Phase: a
Project cost: SEK 350 000, in 1999 and 2000	
The river Sava forms the border between Croatia and Bosnia. Today, there is a town on each side of the river, Bosanski Brod and Slavonski Brod. Before the war the people regarded the towns as one town. Today it is regarded as two – divided between Croats and Serbs. Women in the Croatian town have started a group, Zenska Grupa Brod, which regularly visits women on the other side of the river. Zenska Grupa Brod helps refugees to prepare to return home and they have started a telephone line to give legal advice for vulnerable women that covers both towns. The organisation also arranges lectures on women's rights that are open to women from both sides of the river.	
Russia	B
<i>Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society</i>	Phase: o
Project cost: approx. SEK 320 000 in 2000 (varies from year to year)	
Organisational support and cooperation with the Committee of Russian Soldiers' Mothers. Moral	

support to opponents of war. A large proportion of the programme of cooperation has the aim of transferring skills and knowledge on popular movement work and all its aspects (organisation development, fund raising, members' registers, internal democracy, fund-raising techniques etc.) Swedish study tours to Russia have also been made, open to members, to gain support and to spread knowledge. The programme of cooperation has been in force since 1995.

Russia	A
<i>Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society</i>	Phase: o
Project cost: SEK 350 000, for 1999 and 2000	
In cooperation with Karolinska Institute in Stockholm, the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society has arranged a couple of courses for Russian psychologists on post-traumatic stress, one of the after-effects of the war in Chechnya. The aim of the project has been to provide Swedish knowledge and experience for the diagnosis and treatment of post-traumatic stress to Russia. In the spring of 1999, ten Russian psychologists and doctors attended an intensive course in Stockholm. Phase 2 was implemented in the spring of 2000, with a seminar on May 12-13 as the main feature and conclusion. The seminar attracted approx. 50 persons.	

Yugoslavia, Federal Republic: Kosovo/a	A
<i>Médecins du Monde (MDM), Swedish branch</i>	Phase: a
Project cost: SEK 800 000, April – December 2000	
Rehabilitation centre in Djakovitz in Kosovo to provide psychosocial help to survivors and relatives of murdered people and violated inhabitants of Kosovo. In addition Kosovo-Albanian psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers are offered professional development activities and information exchanges by visiting Swedish psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers with broad experience of working with victims of disasters.	

Yugoslavia, Federal Republic: Kosovo/a	A
<i>Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation</i>	Phase: a
Project cost: SEK 1.260.000 SEK, in 1999 and 2000	
The women's centre that the Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation cooperates with in Pristina, Centre for Protection of Women and Children – CPWC, works for human rights in the area. Among other things, the Centre has collected documentation and testimony on violations of human rights around the country. "The documentation is important in many ways, not least for the activities of the Centre, since many women approach the Centre to be given help to process their war traumas." The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation has supported CPWC since 1995.	

CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION in Latin America

Colombia	B
<i>Diakonia</i>	Phase: o
Project cost: SEK 500 000 per year (1999 and 2000)	
I Colombia, Peace Brigades International (PBI) has 35 volunteers (of whom two are Swedish, from PBI Sweden). The volunteers act as bodyguards for persons working in human rights organisations and whose lives are threatened on account of their work for human rights. The project has the aim of making it possible for these people to continue their work for human rights. The volunteers make regular visits to conflict zones. They also work with lobbying activities to draw international attention to the situation in Colombia. Diakonia is providing financial support for the project.	

Colombia	A
<i>Diakonia</i>	Phase:o
Project cost: SEK 450 000 (APP) + SEK 620 000 (ILSA), 1999 and 2000	
The aim is to create a debate and discussion forums on the peace process in Colombia. ILSA is a CSO that works vis-à-vis base organisations. APP (Asembleo Permanente por la Paz) is a network for popular movements, churches and base organisations to become engaged in and discuss the peace process.	
Colombia	A
<i>Diakonia</i>	Phase:o
Project cost: SEK 750 000 (AVRE), SEK 600 000 (Dos Mundos), 450 000 (OIM, Dos Mundos, AVRE) per year (1999 and 2000)	
The restoration of the mental health of individuals and groups through psychosocial work, rehabilitation and measures intended to create trust. AVRE and Dos Mundos are CSOs that specialise in psychiatric assistance (AVRE) and psychological assistance (Dos Mundos). The project is being run in an area where many internally displaced persons have settled and that is the reason why OIM, Organization for International Migration (an inter-governmental organisation) is participating.	
Colombia	B
<i>Diakonia</i>	Phase:o
Project cost: SEK 400 000 per year (1999 and 2000)	
The project has the aim of strengthening and developing work with conscientious objection. Lobbying in support of the right to non-combatant service. The cooperation organisation, Justapaz, is a CSO that has been formed by Mennonites to train peace activists and provide courses for young people on non-combatant service.	
Mexico	B
<i>Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation (SweFOR)</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 550 000, in 2000	
In 2000, SweFOR had four peace observers in Mexico working in a local organisation for human rights, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas. A South-South exchange is also linked to the project. Two from East Timor, two from Chiapas and two from Western Sahara as well as the peace observers participated in a course in conflict management, non-violence and peace-creation. The course was arranged by SweFOR in cooperation with the Red Cross Folk High School in Mariefred. The main goal of both the presence in Mexico and the South-South exchange is to prevent further escalation of violence through a deeper understanding of the basic causes of conflicts and, with the aid of increased international attention, contribute to a more stable situation in the areas concerned.	
CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION in the Middle East and North Africa	
Iraq	B
<i>Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 40 000 per year, 1999 and 2000	

The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society is providing support for mine clearance and mine information work in Iraqi Kurdistan. The work is being done by the British Mines Advisory Group. The role of the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society has chiefly been to make collections for MAG's work and to spread information about mine clearance and MAG's work in Sweden. This activity started in 1994.

Israel/Palestine
A
Peace Quest Sweden

Phase:o

 Project cost: SEK 1.2 million; January 2000 – October 2001

Programmes to break stereotypes and prejudices among Israelis and Palestinians, Swedes and immigrants. International meetings in both Sweden and Israel/Palestine are sandwiched with training programmes and arrangements locally. 10 Swedish, 10 Palestinian and 10 Israeli young people (20 – 26 years) are trained in conflict management with a special emphasis on breaking stereotypes and on leadership. These young people then become trainers under supervision for the next part of the project which is directed towards 10 Swedish, 10 Palestinian and 10 Israeli young people (16 – 19 years). The young people are given the opportunity to train in conflict management, their approach to the situation they live in, and to create awareness and break the prejudices that can exist between them, i.e. change their attitudes. Originally the intention was to arrange two international meetings of 12 to 30 days in Sweden and Israel/Palestine, but the later was cancelled due to the security situation. The partner organisations are the Israeli youth organisation Reut-Sadaka and the Palestinian organisation Rapprochement Center.

Israel/Palestine
C
Olof Palme International Center

Phase:o

 Project cost: SEK 2.7 million for 2000.

Since the Oslo process was started in 1994, the parties in the Middle East conflict have started negotiations that will lead to the implementation of UN resolutions, principally 242 and 338. The peace process is not merely a case of the Palestinians getting their own state in the areas occupied by Israel since 1967. The peace work and the existing problems are multi-dimensional and there are many difficult questions to be resolved at the negotiating table. Directly after the interim agreement (the Oslo agreement) was signed, the so-called Stockholm Group was established on a Palestinian-Israeli initiative. This group consists of 2 Palestinians and 2 Israelis. Their task is to solve direct or long-term problems within the framework of ongoing and future negotiations in parallel with the peace process. Among other things, the group participated in the planning and implementation of the negotiations in Camp David in the summer of the year 2000. The document that the Stockholm Group produced in 1995 on common points of departure has been accepted as a basis for the negotiations for a future solution of the conflict.

Turkey
A
Olof Palme International Center (OPIC)

Phase:o

 Project cost: SEK 180 000, in 1999 and 2000

In 1999 a project was finalised on documenting the situation of Kurdish and Turkish mothers of sons who had been killed in the conflict in eastern Turkey. The mothers have participated actively themselves in the project. Their accounts have been compiled and are the subject of academic analysis. They are being processed into readable material which can be utilized in further discussions on ongoing conflicts in Turkey and Kurdistan. The new project is based on selecting 20 + 20 mothers and publishing their accounts in book form. The book will then be used in a number of joint seminars for Turkish and Kurdish mothers. The partner organization is TOSAV-TOSAM, Foundation for the Research of Societal Problems.

Peace-Building projects in the study by continent, country/region and phase

A represents *work on norms and ideas*, *B* represents *strengthening capacity for conflict management*, and *C* the *elimination of structural risk factors*. The letters for different phases are *c* for *crisis area*, *o* for *ongoing conflict* and *a* for *after armed conflict*.

PEACE-BUILDING in Sub-Sahara Africa

Regional: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda. B

Life and Peace Institute

Phase:o

Project cost: SEK 1.2 million, in 1999

IGAD, Inter Governmental Authority on Development, is a regional organisation with Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda as member states. The Life and Peace Institute has assisted IGAD in building up capacity for the prevention of armed conflicts, conflict management and conflict resolution. In April 1999 a one-week training programme was held for IGAD's secretariat in Djibouti. Later during the same year, a two-week training programme was held, mainly for officials from the ministries for foreign affairs in the different countries (in Kenya).

Regional: West Africa A

Save the Children Sweden

Phase:o

Project cost: SEK 1 800 000 / year 2000

Training programme, June 12 – 24, 2000, in Côte d'Ivoire for trainers from the West African Armed Forces (especially potential peace-keepers). A total of 34 participants from the 16 countries in ECOWAS. Goal: to start the integration of child rights issues and issues that concern the protection of children during armed conflicts in the basic military training programmes in West African countries. (It is planned that the project will continue until 2003.)

Burundi B

Life and Peace Institute

Phase:o

Project cost: SEK 241 000, in 1999; SEK 161 000, in 2000

At the invitation of Burundis who are closely involved in the peace process that has been taking place since 1997, the Life and Peace Institute is helping to produce studies of a traditional institution for conflict management, Bashingantahe. Persons with a high moral position can become members of Bashingantahe and can also lose their position in Bashingantahe if they no longer have the confidence of the people. This traditional form of conflict management is associated with neither Hutus nor Tutsis but is part of their common cultural heritage. The Life and Peace Institute's contribution was to study and publish reports on Bashingantahe as an institution for conflict management.

Congo-Brazzaville A

Christian Socialists of Sweden

Phase:o

Project cost: ca SEK 7 000, in 1999

The project constitutes a contribution to education in democracy in Congo-Brazzaville and has been running since 1995 (reduced in terms of financial support in 1999 and 2000). The project goals are

partly to introduce, together with the partner organisation, Niosi, the people and their leaders to participative development models, and partly to stimulate social actors to assume responsibility for local development. The focus is now on meetings for reconciliation at local and regional level.

Democratic Republic Congo	A
<i>Caritas</i>	Phase:0
Project cost: SEK 155 000, in 1999	
Symposium on the theme "Media ethics and democracy on the verge of the 21st century", November 24 – 27, 1999, at the Catholic University in Kinshasa. The symposium is to be held at the Faculty for Communication and Media and the emphasis will lie on protection of human rights, gaining support for permanent peace, and an end to the violence. In DRC today, the media often contain lies, defamation of character and libel. At the same time the media is also being politicised. The goal of the project was to collect 75% or more of the people working with newspapers, radio stations and TV channels in DRC to discuss the ethical problems in the media together with professors at the university. Among other things, the symposium took up the issue of the media's relations to security and public order as well as peace ethics in the media	
Ethiopia	A
<i>Life and Peace Institute</i>	Phase:0
Project cost: SEK 160 000, in 2000	
The conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea reinforces old tensions from 30 years of civil war, tensions between Ethiopia's large population and ethnic groups. In this difficult situation the churches are examining their role as moral leaders and founders of peace. The Life and Peace Institute has assisted the Ethiopian Evangelical Church, Mekane Yesus, by arranging consultations and workshops on conflict transformation and creating peace with church leaders (March 2000). The persons responsible for the Mekane Yesus Church's programme for peace have also consulted the Life and Peace Institute on development of the programme and possible cooperation in the future in respect of research and education..	
Liberia	A
<i>Caritas</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 248 000, November 1999 – November 2000	
Training programmes in democracy and human rights in a diocese, Gbarnga, the largest of three Catholic dioceses in Liberia. Ten one-week seminars were arranged for a total of some 250 participants. The target groups are teachers, representatives and members of local pressure groups (journalists, market associations, women's organisations and youth clubs), representatives of local churches, elected representatives of students, local police and paramilitary groups. One of the goals of the project is to counteract prejudices and to show ways of solving conflicts. In a long-term perspective there is a vision that every large community or village should have a person who makes the population aware of their human and civil rights and promotes democratic decision-making.	
Liberia	A
<i>Church of Sweden</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 2 200 000, in 1999; SEK 2 400 000, in 2000	
Peace and reconciliation work in Liberia. With linkages to a number of rehabilitation projects, a special "Trauma Healing and Reconciliation Program" (THRP) has been started by the Lutheran Church in Liberia in cooperation with LWF/WS. The programme works with raising awareness and capacity development	

in conflict management and reconciliation through different workshops. The target groups are 1. Local leaders (traditional leaders, persons in authority, priests, imams, teachers, medical personnel, representatives of local CSOs); 2. National military and paramilitary security groups (police, army, National Bureau of Investigation, Immigration, Ministry of National Security) and also former soldiers; 3. National CSOs (Veterans' Association, Press Union of Liberia, a network of human rights organisations etc); 4. Members of the National Reconciliation and Reunification Commission, a government body that is responsible for reconciliation work in the country; and 5. month-long training programmes for trainers: trauma and recovery, conflict analysis and transformation, locally based reconciliation and rehabilitation, project planning.

Somalia	B
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Life and Peace Institute	Phase:a
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Project cost: approx. SEK 15 million per year (1999, 2000)

Since 1992, the Life and Peace Institute has been actively involved in peace-building work in Somalia. The Institute has supported traditional leaders – municipal leaders, village elders, religious leaders, women's groups and intellectuals – to work for peace at the local level. It has done this with the aid of adult education programmes in which the emphasis has been placed on conflict transformation and democratic leadership, direct institutional support to local and regional authorities, and support to local reconciliation processes to which traditional leaders have to the initiative. Since 1998, the Life and Peace Institute has started a process to hand over the programme to their Somali partners and from 2001 will adopt a more consultative and supportive role (as opposed to implementing). (According to plan the project will continue until 2003.)

South Africa	B
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Christian Socialists of Sweden	Phase:a
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Project cost: SEK 530 000, in 2000

The partner organisation, Mediation and Transformation Practice (MTP), will focus on 12 places in the Western Cape Province in a dialogue with the provincial government. The "Integrated Dispute Resolution System" model builds up and trains "intervention teams" that will represent, for example, locally supported societies, the police, CSOs, development projects, neighbourhood organisations, traditional leaders, SANCOs, members of local councils, church leaders, tribal courts and traditional healing. The aim of the project is to develop capacity in local authorities and other local organisations, to deal with any conflicts that arise and to minimize their destructive effects. The goal of the project is to be achieved by providing support for activities that are run by MTP. The model being used is Craig Arendse's "Integrated Dispute Resolution System", a model that combines western and African forms of conflict resolution in the traditional system.

South Africa	B
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Diakonia	Phase:a
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Project cost: SEK 1 442 000, in 1999 and SEK 500 000, in 2000

Diakonia Council of Churches is working to improve relations between the general public and the police force by engaging church leaders in the so-called "Community Policing Forums" that have been established by the parliament of the country with the aim of facilitating a dialogue between the general public and the police and to give the police more support. In addition Diakonia Council of Churches is working to support victims of crimes by forming support groups.

South Africa	B
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Diakonia	Phase:a
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Project cost: SEK 391 000, in 1999; and SEK 500 000, in 2000

Support for the Network of Independent Monitors (NIM), a local network that works to create trust and to improve relations between the general public and the police force. It does this by working actively for popular participation in crime prevention.

South Africa	B
<i>Diakonia</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 335 000, in 1999 and SEK 300 000, in 2000	

Support for the work being done by Practical Ministries (PM) on issues relating to human rights and conflicts. Target groups are traditional leaders, women and young people. Through its activities, PM has built up trust among traditional leaders. They facilitate and mediate in conflicts between traditional structures and other formal institutions. (PM was founded in 1984 and is an ecumenical bureau working in southern Kwa Zulu Natal).

South Africa	A
<i>Diakonia</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 350 000, in 2000	

Support for the Victory Sonqoba Theatre Company, a non-profit making theatre for development projects in Alexandra township in Johannesburg. The group use the theatre to create a debate and stimulate discussions in workshops after the performances. Its main themes are peace, tolerance, rehabilitation and reconciliation. The target group is young people, and the way in which the theatre group works has influenced the attitudes of young people. With members who have a background in both the ANC and IFP traditions, they are well equipped to understand the complexity of political and group identities. They have formed one single drama group as a living example of tolerance and to facilitate dialogue between groups in society.

South Africa	C
<i>Diakonia</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 218 000, in 1999 and SEK 250 000, in 2000	

Zibambeleni, a local CSO in KwaZulu Natal has worked to facilitate cooperation between white farmers and black workers in the area. It has also worked with the Department of Land Affairs in a pilot project for the redistribution of land. The project resulted in the distribution of 600 grants to people to enable them to live in the area. Zibambeleni also works to secure water supplies to the new land owners. Hitherto, everyone in the area has been dependent on white landowners for their water supplies. Breaking this state of dependence is regarded as a key issue where reducing tensions between black landowners and their white neighbours is concerned.

Sudan	A
<i>Life and Peace Institute</i>	Phase:o
Project cost: approx. SEK 250 000, in 2000	

As a result of the fact that the war in Sudan has split the country, the churches have been forced to establish a Church Council in Nairobi in order to remain in contact with all churches in Sudan (New Sudan Council of Churches). Through the World Council of Churches and the Sudan Focal Point international Christian development cooperation organisations are supporting local peace processes in southern Sudan and initiatives for inter-religion dialogues in northern Sudan. Women have always played an important role in the local peace work. The Life and Peace Institute is supporting the work being done by the churches and church councils, both in the south and north. This is done for example through an adult education project (a manual was published in November 2000) and a special focus on women. (According to the plans, the project will continue until 2003.)

Uganda	A
<i>Save the Children Sweden</i>	Phase:o
Project cost: SEK 94 695, in 1999	
Save the Children Denmark works continuously with education programmes for soldiers in northern Uganda (Gulu district). In 1999, Save the Children Sweden participated in this education project with two workshops. In Gulu, the LRA (Lord's Resistance Army) has used child soldiers for a long time and many children have been kidnapped and forced to become soldiers.	
PEACE BUILDING in Asia & Oceania	
Burma	A
<i>Swedish NGO Foundation for Human Rights</i>	Phase:o
Project cost: SEK 306 540, July 1999 – June 2000	
The support provided by the Foundation is allocated to an evaluation and documentation centre which monitors developments in Burma, documents abuses, makes surveys of military activities, disseminates information and provides material to both CSOs and the UN. The centre is part of a larger organisation and supplies this organisation with material for its external political activities. Support has been provided since 1992.	
Cambodia	B
<i>Forum Syd, Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 3.5 million, in 1999; SEK 5.6 million, in 2000	
In cooperation with local CSOs that focus, for example, on the training of electors and election observation, Forum Syd is working with a democracy programme in which human resource development is included as an important component. This programme started before the elections in 1998, but continued in 1999 and 2000 for the local elections that are being planned. Since the start of the programme there has been a focus on strengthening the role of women in society. Activities: training of electors, election observation, vote counting, lobbying for good legislation, training programmes in democracy/management, gender/democracy studies, shaping opinion, Culture of Peace Day.	
India	A
<i>Swedish Ecumenical Women's Council/Christian Council of Sweden</i>	Phase:c
Project cost: SEK 162 000, 3 – 10 November 1999	
For one week in November 1999, the Swedish Ecumenical Women's Council, in cooperation with the Christian Council of Sweden, arranged a workshop, training of trainers, in conflict management and active non-violence in India. The participants were some 20 women, most of whom were leaders of organisations and groups, from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Cambodia. The course took up everyday violence – violence in the home, violence on the street, violence in everyday life as well as structural violence. There was also an inter-religious dimension with linkages to increase in tensions between religious groups in India. A follow-up course is planned for November 2001.	
Pakistan	A
<i>Olof Palme International Center</i>	Phase:o
Project cost: SEK 230 000, in 2000	

The goal is to train and supervise peace trainers at the five main universities – Students for Peace. Workshops shall be held at each university that promote peace work and peace thinking. A trade union structure shall be established over the borderlines between trade unions – Workers for Peace. The training programmes, seminars, shall be accompanied by public activities, for example peace marches. The target groups are Students for Peace, with the aim that they shall become established at all universities in the country, and trade union groups. The partner organisation is the Education Foundation. (According to the plans, the project shall continue until 2002).

Sri Lanka	A
<i>Life and Peace Institute</i>	Phase:o
Project cost: total SEK 1 million, winter 1999 – spring 2001	
The stalemate in the peace process in Sri Lanka and the ongoing war there brutalises society in the country. It is necessary to support peace initiatives in order to overcome the extreme nationalism and disarm Sri Lanka's war machine. In the light of this, the aim of the project is to strengthen grassroots projects in the form an inter-ethnic and inter-religious dialogue and to put an end to the ongoing marginalisation of peace initiatives. This is being done through three international seminars and a publication. Partner: Inter-religious Peace Foundation, Colombo, Sri Lanka.	

PEACE-BUILDING in Europe

Regional: Balkans	A
<i>National Council of Swedish Youth Organisations</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 100 000, in 1999	
Organisation of a conference. A neutral meeting place for youth organisations from the Balkans and Middle East. Focus on methods for conflict management and the role of youth organisations. The starting point is not their own conflicts. (N.B. The project has also been included under "Israel-Palestine").	

Regional: Baltic States	A
<i>Olof Palme International Center</i>	Phase:c
Project cost: SEK 63 000, in 2000	
A three-day course on peace studies for some 20 young graduates from the Baltic states and North-West Russia. The course brings together Russians and Balts. The partner organisation is Center for Development and Peace Studies Forum.	

Croatia	B
<i>Life and Peace Institute</i>	Phase:a
Budget: SEK 10 150 000, Jan 1998 – Dec 2000	

The goal of the project is to contribute to a new security structure, based on non-violence, in eastern Croatia by creating local peace teams. A network of trained multi-ethnic, multi-national and multi-religious peace teams are now active in five communities in eastern Croatia. The first step in the work of the peace teams was the so-called listening programme ; structured interviews with almost 400 people with the aim of identifying local needs and creating trust and mutual respect. From this work a number of local projects originated: workshops and training programmes in identifying and solving local social problems; local development projects; support to women's and youth projects; peace-building through media and culture; training in democratic institutions and legal aid for returning refugees. The

programme has been implemented in close cooperation with Centre for Peace, Non-Violence and Human Rights in Osijek. The title of the project also provides a description of its goal: "Building a Democratic Society on a Culture of Non-Violence: Peace-Building in Eastern Croatia"

Lithuania	A
<i>Swedish Teachers for Peace</i>	Phase:c
Project cost: SEK 12 000, in 2000	
Swedish Teachers for Peace have cooperated with teachers and students in the Baltic States since 1990. As part of this work, the organisation participated in two educational programmes in Lithuania in 2000. In May, a programme in conflict management was held at a Baltic upper secondary school conference: "Human Rights and Peace Education, Life-Long Learning". Approximately 90 upper secondary school students and 30 teachers participated in the conference. In November 2000, there was a follow-up in the form of a further-education programme in conflict management for teachers in which some 30 teachers participated.	
Macedonia (FYROM)	A
<i>Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation</i>	Phase:c
Project cost: SEK 105 000, in 2000	
Two organisations of different ethnic affiliation in Kumanovo have merged in order to train and motivate women to participate in the democratic process. They wish to enhance the knowledge of Macedonian, Albanian and Serbian women so that they can participate more actively in the development of society. This is a democracy project that deliberately seeks to overcome ethnic dividing lines.	
Yugoslavia, Federal Republic: Kosovo/a	B
<i>Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 2 200 000 (1999), SEK 2 340 000 (2000)	
The media situation in Kosovo after the war is unclear – particularly on the electronic side. OSCE's move to take control of the previously state-controlled radio and TV in order to develop, as they say, a public service company, is now proving to be an obstacle to the development of alternative and private electronic media. The process of awarding permits and frequencies has not been performed well and is, in principle, at a standstill. To assist in remedying this situation the Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights is supporting several independent daily newspapers as well as a weekly publication and radio in the area.	
Yugoslavia, Federal Republic: Serbia	B
<i>Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 6 834 000 SEK (1999), SEK 8 200 000 (2000)	
Due to martial law and the increasingly desperate situation of the Serbian government, freedom of speech and freedom of the press have been radically curtailed. Independent media are being threatened into silence. The Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights is supporting independent newspapers, radio and TV, a news agency and training programmes for journalists. The focus is on cooperation between different media, as well as to make possible the broadcasting and publication of professional information rather than making investments in equipment. The media are producing alternative distribution channels to provide information if they are forced to close down.	

PEACE-BUILDING in Latin America & the Caribbean

Regional: Central America	C
<i>Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 1 625 000 for the years 1999 and 2000	
In connection with the major donor conference after the Mitch disaster, the Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation arranged an international conference in May 1999 on light weapons in Central America (in Stockholm). One of the proposals in the action plan that was adopted at the conference referred to an exchange of parliamentarians between some European and Central American parliaments with the aim of consolidating the debate and raising awareness of the importance of parliamentary control over weapons and security issues. Together with partners in Spain and Central America, the Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation implemented an exchange of parliamentarians in 2000. The project included two conferences at which an attempt was made to compare methods in the Central American region with international experience from other regions that – in a similar way – had large numbers of light weapons, which had been affected by civil war, and which were characterised by a dangerous culture of violence.	
Colombia	B
<i>Swedish NGO Foundation for Human Rights</i>	Phase:o
Project cost: SEK 428 000/year for 1999 and 2000	
Support for Comité Permanente por la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos (CPDH), the permanent committee in defence of human rights. The support has been given to CPDH's work with educational programmes on human rights and international humanitarian law, and on planning and implementation of the work in defence of human rights, production of a publication on human rights, advisory services to the municipal human rights ombudsmen and social and human rights organisations in order to strengthen the local human rights committees, participation in the work of planning, implementation, follow-up and evaluation of the activities of the human rights committees, notifications of violations of human rights committed in the municipalities in the country, participation in activities that will lead to peace and respect for human rights. The overall aim of the project is to strengthen the knowledge of the local human rights committees on human rights and international humanitarian law. The Foundation has supported CPDH since 1994.	
Colombia	A
<i>Diakonia</i>	Phase:o
Project cost: SEK 380 000 per year for 1999 and 2000	
Support to CINEP, an organisation that was established by Jesuits to work with education programmes on the culture of peace, i.e. peaceful conflict resolution and issues concerning values. An adult education project.	
Colombia	A
<i>Civis</i>	Phase:o
Project cost: SEK 2 850 081 in 1999; SEK 1 898 320 in 2000	
Civis and its twin organisation Ficonpaz train people, mostly young people, to be constructores de paz.	

They are trained in forum theatre, role play, tripartite intervention, mediation for work in their local environment. The training programme can be everything from a weekend to recurrent programmes through schools, and reaches approximately 5 000 people per year. Teachers are trained to continue the work. The work started in Ciudad Bolívar, and is now to be found in four more places. In Ciudad Bolívar academics are invited to speak, to adapt their language to a broader public, and to publish material, for example on the role of mass media in the conflict. This programme has been running since 1996.

El Salvador	A
<i>Left International Forum</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 100 000, in 2000	
In eight years FMLN has undergone a process of transformation from an armed movement to a political party which pursues its struggle through general elections as well as various forms of extra-parliamentary work. The cooperation project for 2000 focuses mainly on further support to FMLN's internal democratisation process and its role as one of the most important stakeholders in the Salvadorian democratisation process, with a special focus on the role of women. The goal of the project is to raise awareness of the role of women in the democratisation process and to strengthen their position in political life. The most important project activities will be seminars at national and regional level where the discussions will be based on written material that has been specially prepared for this project.	
Guatemala	C
<i>Caritas</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 250 000 (2000)	
As in so many other war-torn countries in Latin America, the lop-sided distribution of land was one of the basic causes of the armed conflict in Guatemala which lasted for 36 years. The land question is still unsolved. It has rather been exacerbated by the movements of people as a result of the war. Both disputes in respect of ownership rights between large landowners and small farmers and conflicts over borders between different villages are some of the problems that are related to the land issue. That part of the peace agreement which deals with access to land and the legal security of farmers has not led to any real improvements for the farming majority of Guatemalans who live in rural areas. Caritas Sweden supports the Catholic dioceses in San Marcos in their work for land issues. The work has the aim of offering the target group legal advice and strengthening the organisation of the farmers. It is a question of finding long-term solutions to the land conflicts and to make it possible to avoid the social destitution that the lop-sided and unclear distribution of land causes. The work done by the diocese should be regarded as conflict prevention since it intends to eliminate the social unrest that starts wars. The project in San Marcos is one of three contributions in support of the church's local land offices in Guatemala.	
Guatemala	B
<i>Forum Syd, Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 701 000 in 1999, SEK 363 000 in 2000	
Forum Syd supports the UN's strategic role in Guatemala by giving UNDP/UNV access to qualified personnel with a CSO profile for projects that promote the peace and democracy process in Guatemala. By making personnel resources available for work in Guatemalan organisations and institutions, Forum Syd wishes to contribute to strengthening organisations in civil society and local governmental organisations' participation in the work of fulfilling and implementing the peace agreements, and strengthening democracy.	
Guatemala	A
<i>Left International Forum</i>	Phase:a
Project cost: SEK 100 000, in 2000	

The Left International Forum is supporting URNG in its process of transition from an armed movement to a political party. In 2000, a new step will be taken in the project when local politicians from URNG in four municipalities are invited to Tyresö municipality in Sweden to learn more about the ways in which local politicians work in Sweden. Among other things they will study budgets, goal documents and other municipal documents.

PEACE-BUILDING in the Middle East and North Africa

Israel/Palestine

A
Church of Sweden

Phase:o

Project cost: SEK 72 000 (1999); SEK 41 000 (2000)

In the fragile peace process between Israelis and Palestinians, rapid direct contributions are often needed, for example seminars, opinion work, advocacy and support to those who suffer. MECC's Jerusalem office therefore arranges leadership training for young Palestinians, Christians and Muslims in and around Bethlehem. The Palestinian Center for Rapprochement Between People (PCR) and the Union of Medical Organisations (UPMCO) participate in the organisation of training projects of this type. The goal is to overcome the growing antagonism and to strengthen the democratic values of civil society. The partner organisation is MECC and support has been provided since 1997.

Israel/Palestine

A
National Council of Swedish Youth Organisations

Phase:o

Project cost: SEK 100 000, in 1999

Organising a conference. A neutral meeting place for youth organisations from the Balkans and the Middle East. Focus on methods for conflict management and the role of youth organisations. The point of departure is not their own conflicts. (N.B. This project is also included under "Balkans").

Israel/Palestine

A
Swedish Social Democratic Youth League

Phase:o

Project cost: SEK 2.5 million, in 2000.

For several years the Swedish Social Democratic Youth League has had good contacts with both Israelis and Palestinians. During the last twelve months the Swedish Social Democratic Youth League and Gothenburg University have been running an degree programme in Palestine. The programme is a master's programme in peace and development issues. The programme is open to Israelis, Palestinians and Europeans. The aim of the programme is to create a platform where the next generation of Israelis and Palestinians can meet, discuss and be informed about each other's background. The programme was held for the first time in 1999 and after the programme several of the students have obtained jobs in the Palestinian and Israeli administrations.

List of the crisis and conflict areas in the study

Below there is a list of all crisis and conflict areas in the study. Their classification is given in the centre column. The column on the right states the years during the 1990s when there was an *armed conflict (ac)* in these areas. The source of information and definitions for this list is Sollenberg (ed): *States in Armed Conflict 1999*, published by Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University. The Uppsala project's definition of an armed conflict is that it is a conflict in which at least one of the parties is a state and where armed violence between the parties results in at least 25 persons being killed in fighting. (Note that "killed in battle" refers to those who died in regular encounters between armed parties, not the total number of deaths in the conflict in question.)

The letters for different phases are *c* for *crisis area*, *o* for *ongoing conflict* and *a* for *after armed conflict*.

(Deviations from the source (additional information and reclassifications) are in bold type.)

Bosnia & -Herzegovina	A	ac 1992 – 95.
Burma	O	ac entire 1990s except 1996.
Burundi	O	ac to 1991 and 1995 – 99.
Colombia	O	ac to 1999.
El Salvador	A	ac 1989 – 91.
Ethiopia	O	ac with Eritrea 1998 – 99.
Guatemala	A	ac to 1995.
India	O	ac to 1999 Kashmir, Assam.
Iraq	A	ac to 1996.
Israel/Palestine	O	ac to 1999.
Yugoslavia, Federal Republic: Kosovo/a	A	ac 98-99 , UNMIK since June 1999.
Yugoslavia, Federal Republic: Serbia	A	ac 98-99 , UNMIK since June 1999.
Cambodia	A	ac to 1998.
Congo-Brazzaville	O	ac 1997-99 .
Congo-Kinshasa	O	ac 1996-99.
Croatia	A	ac 1992 – 93, 1995.
Liberia	A	ac 1989 to 96.
Lithuania	C	—
Macedonia (FYROM)	C	—
Mexico	A	ac 1994.

Pakistan	A	ac 1995 – 1996.
Regional: Balkan 1999.	A	Kosovo 1998 – 99, UNMIK since June
Regional: Baltic States	C	—
Regional: Central America	A	Guatemala to 1995, El S to 1991. Mexico 1994; Nicaragua & Panama 1989.
Regional: IGAD	O	Djibouti 1991-94, Ethiopia 1989-91 & 1996-99, Eritrea-Ethiopia 1998-99, Somalia 1989-96, Sudan 1989-99 and Uganda 1989-91 and 1994-99.
Regional: West Africa	O	Chad 1989-94, 1997-99; Guinea Bissau 1998-99; Senegal 1990, 1992-3, 1995, 1997-99; Sierra Leone 1991-99.
Russia	O	1994 -96, 1999.
Somalia	A	until 1996.
Sri Lanka	O	1989-99.
Sudan	O	1989-99.
South Africa	A	until 1993.
Turkey	O	1989 – 99.
Uganda	O	1989-91; 1994-99.
East Timor	A	1989, 1992, 1997 – 98.

Compiled from Sollenberg (ed): States in Armed Conflict 1999, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Sweden.

Appendix 3 Description of the procedure used in the study

The strategies and recommendations presented in the report are a result of the entire two-year study and adult education process described below.⁷⁰

The study was performed on the initiative of *Peace Team Forum*⁷¹, a loose network of CSOs with a common interest in developing ideas and projects for human resource development and capacity development in the field of conflict transformation and peace-building.

The goal of the study was to:

1. make a survey of the current contributions of Swedish CSOs in the field of prevention of violence, conflict management and peace-building
2. identify the potential of Swedish CSOs in this field
3. formulate conceivable future strategies for further work in the field.

Furthermore, the study was regarded as a stage in an adult education process in which the work done in the study would contribute to raising awareness in the organisations of the role of civil society for preventing violence, handling conflicts and building peace. In extension the study would also constitute an instrument for interaction and dialogue.

The principal method used in the study was dialogue in a consultative process. Firstly, a preliminary questionnaire was distributed to the organisations in *Peace Team Forum*. At this time some 30 organisations participated in the network.⁷² The questionnaire was followed up by interviews. On the basis of the survey and a review of the concepts (in the first interim report), the questionnaire was reworded and then distributed to a large number of organisations both inside and outside the network, in all 150 organisations. All the organisations that responded to the new questionnaire were included in the study (unless they answered in the negative to

⁷⁰ The conclusions and recommendations are a natural consequence of the entire process and thus not merely a result of the strategy seminars which took place in phase 3.

⁷¹ For a more detailed description of the network, see the introduction of the list of organisations in Appendix 1.

⁷² During the course of the study the network became better known and more organisations joined. In 2001, 49 organisations were participating in the *Peace Team Forum*.

all questions). All in all, 57 organisations participated, which is more than one third of the organisations reached by the questionnaire.⁷³

The questionnaire survey resulted in the first inventory of projects in areas of crisis and conflict. In addition, an analytical framework was produced which had the aim of discovering patterns in the material received, and of identifying possibilities that were so to speak concealed just under the surface (the potential). The analytical framework was tested by persons active in CSOs at two workshops in the spring of 2000 and thereafter a first rudimentary discussion was presented of the potential of CSOs in the field of conflict transformation and peace-building (second interim report).

In the third and final phase, the production of future strategies, the exchange of experience was intensified. During the spring of 2001, the participating organisations and other active CSOs, other interested parties and resource persons from the academic world were invited to six strategy seminars: a seminar on each of the subject areas in the analytical framework.

Both the interim reports and the final report were circulated to all organisations in the study for their comments. The contact persons in the organisations answered by e-mail. Mostly the responses were short and clear-cut. In a few cases the responses developed into short discussions by e-mail with the coordinator of the study until both parties considered that agreement had been reached on the meaning of the questions and answers. Those who did not reply by e-mail had a second chance to present their points of view and their reactions to the study: the interim reports, as well as the final report, were also discussed at special working seminars within the framework of the study. All in all, an overwhelming majority of the 57 organisations took advantage of the opportunity to participate actively in the dialogue with the study (in addition to responding to the questionnaire).⁷⁴

73 In view of the fact that the questionnaire was distributed to more organisations than those that were expected to be active in the field, it may be considered to be a satisfactory outcome.

74 The task of the coordinator of the study was to ensure that the study moved forwards by interpreting comments on reports etc circulated for comment, making analyses, arranging seminars and meeting places, and writing the final report. The coordinator was assisted by a reference group in *Peace Team Forum* which consisted of representatives of the following organisations: *Forum Syd – Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation* (Rodrigo Arce), *Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation* (Kerstin Grebäck), *Christian Council of Sweden* (Margareta Ingelstam), *Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation* (Isak Svensson) and *the Swedish UN Association* (Lott Jansson).

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Other material

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Strategy seminar 22 March 2001, Stockholm, Processing images of the enemy and promoting dialogue. Introduced by Magnus Öberg, postgraduate student at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University. Kerstin Grebäck, Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation, talked about processing trauma in the Balkans and Kristina Hållén, PeaceQuest about the project Breaking stereotypes among young people in Israel/Palestine and Sweden 2000-2001.

Strategy seminar 11 April 2001, Stockholm, Support for peace negotiations and peace agreements. Introduced by Kjell-Åke Nordquist, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Strategy seminar 26 April 2001, Stockholm, Building peace: working with norms and ideas. Introduced by Ivana Maček, anthropologist and researcher at the Centre for Multi-ethnic Research, Uppsala University. Mikael Lindgren, civis, presented educational projects in Colombia and Åsa Dalmalm, Christian Socialists of Sweden, presented educational projects in Congo-Brazzaville.

Strategy seminar 14 May 2001, Gothenburg, Preventing violence in areas of crisis and conflict. Introduced by Jörgen Johansen, postgraduate student at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Gothenburg University. Eduardo Villanueva, Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation, talked about working with a preventive presence in Chiapas, Mexico.

Strategy seminar 29 May 2001, Stockholm, Reducing the risk of armed conflict. Introduced by Andres Jato, postgraduate student at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, and officials from the Africa Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Sofia

Nordenmark, Caritas, talked about a project to solve conflicts over land in San Marcos, Guatemala.

Strategy seminar 7 June 2001, Stockholm, Strengthening the capacity of society to deal with conflicts. Introduced by Mimmi Söderberg, postgraduate student at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University. Rodrigo Arce, Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation, talked about experience gained from working with the “democracy component” of a peace and democracy process in Guatemala.

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Glossary

Civil society	The phenomenon that arises when people organise and act in the space between the family, the state and the market
DAC	OECD's Development Assistance Committee
Peace-building	Interventions that have the aim of supporting structures that contribute to strengthening and consolidating peace; here through the creation and development of norms, the establishment of institutional frameworks, and by counteracting structural causes of armed conflicts.
Prevention of armed conflict	Includes the management and solution of conflicts before they become violent.
GPPAC	<i>Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict</i>
Horizontal escalation	Spread of armed conflicts
Conflict	A social situation in which at least two parties aspire at the same point in time to acquire the same set of scarce assets. (Wallensteen 1994:14 – translation from Swedish)
Conflict impact assessment	To systematically examine, and learn to predict and take into consideration, the impacts, positive and negative, of development cooperation on conflicts.
Conflict transformation	To exert an influence on the dynamics of a conflict in order to lead it into a constructive phase; here by influencing attitudes, behaviour and the dispute in question.
<i>Peace Team Forum</i>	A network for the exchange of information, coordination and cooperation between Swedish organisations working for the prevention of violence, conflict management and peace-building interventions.

Primary parties	Parties that are in conflict with each other.
Secondary parties	Parties that back up and support the warring factions.
Third parties	Parties that work for a solution or management of the conflict, without being a party to it themselves.
Prevention of violence	Preventing outbreaks of violence, reversion to violence or escalation of violence in armed conflicts.
Vertical escalation	Intensification of the level of violence.

Notes on the Author

Anna Åkerlund has been the Secretary General of the Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation since 2002. She previously worked with peace and conflict issues in development organisations and with gender issues at the women's desk of the World Council of Churches' headquarters in Geneva.

In 1999 she was recruited by *Forum Syd – the Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation*, where she was employed to conduct a study of Swedish CSOs' activities for managing conflicts, preventing violence and building peace. The project was carried out within the framework of a larger NGO network, the so-called *Peace Team Forum*. Anna Åkerlund also facilitated and coordinated the participation of *Peace Team Forum* in the mainstreaming phase of the international project *Local Capacities for Peace Project*, which was led by the *Collaborative for Development Action* (CDA) in Massachusetts, USA, as well as the *Reflecting on Peace Practice Project* (RPP) of CDA. During her work with *Peace Team Forum* (up to the end of July 2002), Anna Åkerlund was first placed at *Forum Syd – the Swedish NGO Centre for Development Cooperation* and then at Diakonia, a development organisation.

Anna Åkerlund has been active in civil society organisations, working for peace, justice and human rights, over a period of 15 years. In 2002 she was recruited as Secretary General of the Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation, a peace organisation with ten staff and some 40 projects in Sweden and abroad.

Anna Åkerlund has three academic degrees: an MA from the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, Uppsala University, 1997; a BA with majors in theology, history of science and ideas and development studies, Uppsala University, 1996; and a BD in theology, Uppsala University, 1994.

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Anna Åkerlund, currently Secretary General of the Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation, was responsible for a study of Swedish CSOs' programmes in areas of crisis and conflict, which was made between 1999 and 2001 on behalf of some 50 Swedish CSOs in the Peace Team Forum network.

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