CRS
CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES

Pursuing Just Peace:

An Overview and Case Studies for Faith-Based Peacebuilders



Edited by Mark M. Rogers, Tom Bamat and Julie Ideh

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Since 1943, Catholic Relief Services (CRS) has held the privilege of serving the poor and disadvantaged overseas. Without regard to race, creed or nationality, CRS provides emergency relief in the wake of natural and man-made disasters. Through development projects in fields such as education, peace and justice, agriculture, microfinance, health and HIV & AIDS, CRS works to uphold human dignity and promote better standards of living. CRS also works throughout the United States to expand the knowledge and action of Catholics and others interested in issues of international peace and justice. Our programs and resources respond to the U.S. Bishops' call to live in solidarity-as one human family-across borders, over oceans, and through differences in language, culture and economic condition.

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CRS Peacebuilding Principles

PEACEBUILDING:

- Responds to the root causes of violent conflict, including unjust relationships and structures, in addition to addressing its effects and symptoms.
- Is based on long-term commitment.
- Uses a comprehensive approach that focuses on the local community while strategically engaging the middle-range and top levels of leadership.
- Provides a methodology to achieve right relationships that should be integrated into all programming.
- Builds upon indigenous non-violent approaches to conflict transformation and reconciliation.
- Requires an in-depth and participatory analysis.
- Is driven by community-defined needs and involves as many stakeholders as possible.
- Is done through partners from the local Church and other organizations who represent the diversity of where we work and with whom we share common values.
- Strategically includes advocacy at local, national, and global levels to transform unjust structures and systems.
- Strengthens and contributes to a vibrant civil society that promotes peace.

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Critical to the task of collecting case studies from the regions around the CRS world was the CRS Peacebuilding Technical Commission, comprised of Senior and Regional Technical Advisors for Peacebuilding. This group developed the key learning questions and criteria for identifying the most appropriate examples of church action across the regions. CRS country program staff then carried the torch to organize writers, interviews and logistics; including careful review and final validation to ensure that the cases were submitted and crafted in a timely and accurate manner. We salute all of the CRS staff and partners engaged in this process, for their input on substance and their attention to deadlines. The efforts, of course, were facilitated by CRS' Deputy Director for Technical Excellence, and by the Country Representatives and Regional Directors who provided support and direction throughout the process.

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Introduction

In the eyes of many commentators, diplomats and ordinary citizens alike, religion appears to drive violence more than prevent or help overcome it. Indeed, from Northern Ireland to the Balkans, from North America to the Middle East, from Iraq to South Asia and across much of Africa, people have claimed and continue to claim religious legitimacy for violent acts against others. They are Christians, Muslims, Jews, Hindus, Buddhists and others. But as experience has shown us, and as historian Scott Appleby argues persuasively in *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation*, religion is also a potent resource and force for non-violent conflict transformation, and it has great potential for contributing to a more peaceful world.

Catholic Relief Services (CRS), founded for humanitarian assistance in the midst of World War II, is one of many international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that have added peacebuilding to their programming in the past twenty years (see Jonathan Goodhand, *Aiding Peace? The Role of NGOs in Armed Conflict*). For CRS, it was the 1994 genocide in Rwanda in particular that engendered a hard look at its prior vision and self-understanding. The ensuing evolution into peacebuilding has not only been a response to critical human realities or emerging opportunities, but also a response rooted in staff and partner reflection on Christian vocation, and assumed in the light of Catholic social teaching (CST). Justice and peacebuilding have become agency-wide priorities for CRS. Its staff and partner organizations around the world have gained practical experience over the past decade and more from which to speak about the power and potential of peacebuilding.

In 2006 CRS prepared and adopted a new justice and peacebuilding strategy. The strategy has much in common with that of the worldwide Caritas Internationalis network of which CRS is a part. It also draws on several years of close collaboration with the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame. The strategy centers on promoting equity and social cohesion to address the root causes of conflict, and fostering more effective church action, including inter-religious dialogue and collaboration on issues of peace and justice.

Part of the new strategy is aimed at CRS and its partners expanding and effectively applying learning drawn from the rich and diverse experience so far gained. Over the next few years CRS intends to produce and disseminate an annual volume of peacebuilding case studies from its overseas regions, together with an essay reviewing some of the best writings available on particular components of its strategy. The current volume serves as a practical resource for CRS staff and for its church and secular partners. It also seeks to address a much wider community of peacebuilding practitioners and those struggling to grapple with injustice and conflict. It delves into understanding and appreciation for faith-based peacebuilding in the hope that others may benefit from it.

The contents

The volume begins with a general overview of faith-based peacebuilding by pastor and peace-practitioner David Steele. Several CRS staff members provided input on the early drafts. In his essay, Steele takes a broad look at the field, beginning with a definition rooted in the concept of *shalom/salaam*. He discusses a variety of dimensions of faith-based peacebuilding processes, and then describes key roles that faith-based actors can play. Practical examples are plentiful and an extensive bibliography guides readers to further resources. While the essay intentionally incorporates insights and experiences from traditions other than Christianity, its principal source of inspiration and audience is that of Christian communities and peacebuilding practitioners.

The case studies that follow all deal with initiatives involving Catholic actors. This is the tradition out of which CRS functions, and within which it learns. However, CRS and its church partners frequently and intentionally act in tandem with other civil society organizations, and they cooperate with other faith-based actors. Two of the case studies in this work (one from Uganda and one from The Philippines) deal with inter-religious efforts, while a third (India) deals with a broad ecumenical effort among leaders and members of diverse Christian denominations. In addition, many cases demonstrate how church partners are able to engage key decision-makers and leaders at different levels of society at critical moments in the course of a conflict.

The central learning question for all the case studies is "what are the key factors that have contributed to, or impeded, the effectiveness of church peacebuilding action?" The intent is to surface lessons while helping to develop an internal, disciplined habit of reflection within the organization. The general guidelines for writing the studies emphasize four good learning practices: a) linking interventions to the context, b) articulating the implicit and explicit hypotheses or "theories of change," c) using, building upon and/or complementing evaluation, and d) recognizing potential rival explanations for why things happened.

It should be clear that the cases are exemplary, not representative. They provide a small sampling of the peacebuilding activities conducted by CRS and its partners in recent years. Each CRS region freely determined which particular case it would bring to the undertaking. Adherence to the initial qualifying criteria — including engagement with external actors (civil society, government or inter-religious) and commitments to social cohesion or equity — varied considerably. Regional and relevant country program staff decided who would author the study, and they ranged from staff, partners or interns to consultants or a combination of these. Regional and country staff also supervised the preparation of the corresponding study and made independent decisions on the methods of data collection and methods of analysis. The final versions of the studies were edited by a team of CRS peacebuilding technical advisors to meet space limitations and presentation standards.

These cases are intended to be exploratory rather than explanatory. They seek to contribute to a better understanding of effective peacebuilding by religious actors through the sharing of detailed descriptions of Catholic Church engagements in the pursuit of justice and peace. There is no pretension of causal explanation, as this would require a different and far more rigorous approach.

The analyses necessarily encompassed three complex notions: effectiveness, peacebuilding, and the church and its structures. While there are similarities from one place to another, the case studies involve highly diverse contexts and a variety of organizations, approaches and entry points in peacebuilding. The first three cases focus on strengthening internal church peacebuilding capacity through peace education. Following this is a case that looks at the role of alliances and networks in advocacy for addressing gender-based violence. The final three studies focus on ecumenical and inter-religious collaboration. The gleanings, found at the conclusion of the volume, draw out some of the factors that may have contributed to effective peacebuilding in these cases and provoke new questions for additional inquiry, analysis and learning.

An Introductory Overview to Faith-Based Peacebuilding

by David Steele

The purpose of this essay is to enable practitioners to understand better the different perspectives on faith-based peacebuilding, to provide them with a variety of concrete and practical ways they might approach this task, and to help them gain a better grasp of the variety of written resources available. The aim is to raise awareness regarding the key concepts, issues and methodologies in a way that enables people working in conflict settings for faith-based organizations to be better equipped for peacebuilding. This overview will not be completely comprehensive either conceptually or pragmatically. It will not offer the reader a thorough academic treatise on the subject of peacebuilding nor will it provide a comprehensive exposition of methodology such as one might find in a training manual. It will offer a broad look at the field, including a starting definition of faith-based peacebuilding, the distinct dimensions of the faith-based peacebuilding process and the various roles that faith-based actors can play. Practical application will be made to all three major stages of conflict intervention: prevention, mitigation and post-conflict reconstruction. The extended bibliography at the end is meant to supply interested readers with the opportunity to explore additional resources.

DEFINITION OF FAITH-BASED PEACEBUILDING

Faith-based peacebuilding within Judaism and Christianity must begin with the Biblical understanding of *shalom*, and within Islam the similar concept of *salaam*. This terminology is used to designate a rich concept that carries broader meaning than the English term *peace*. In Hebrew, the term *shalom* (like the Arabic term *salaam*) conveys a desire for wholeness, fulfillment, completion, unity, and wellbeing, thereby encompassing both reconciliation and justice. Biblical scholar John MacQuarrie traces the etymology of the word peace through numerous languages (Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Russian, Chinese) and various stages of Western philosophy in an attempt to distinguish the Biblical perspective from other definitions and to demonstrate the depth of meaning in a Biblical perspective that, according to him encompasses both reconciliation and justice (MacQuarrie, 1973, 14–41). Theologian Daniel Philpott shares MacQuarrie's understanding of *shalom* and conducts a similar review of the origins of the term reconciliation as understood in ancient Greek and Hebrew, as well as Latin and Arabic, all of which, according to him emphasize the process of restoring right relationships (Philpott, 2006, 14–15). South African theologian John De Gruchy also sets out the etymology of the Biblical terms for reconciliation and traces the development of this concept down through church history. He connects reconciliation to the maintaining of covenant relations and the Biblical concept of justification. According to him, Biblical justice also involves putting relationships right (De Gruchy, 2002, 41–95). Mennonite scholar Howard Zehr traces the etymology of terms used for justice in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, emphasizing, again, the Biblical focus on linking justice with righteousness, right order, or making things right (Zehr, 1995, 136–42). *Shalom* draws upon several other Biblical concepts — *mispat*, the act of doing justice; *sedaqa*, the practice of "offering" for the sake of others; *hesed*, just and righteous actions — and addresses not only fundamental attitudes about the way people are called to live together, but makes demands of the covenant people "Israel" in the economic, legal and social realms. Tension between justice and reconciliation efforts, however, has a long history within faith traditions. Those working on reconciliation are frequently criticized for attempting to reduce hostility too quickly at the expense of justice. "Peace with justice" has become a trademark of many faith–based initiatives fearful that mere pacification would result if justice were not seen as a prerequisite.

Within the past 40 years, one movement that articulated this concern most strongly has been liberation theology, originating in Latin America, but then spreading across the globe to Africa, Asia, North America and Europe. Jose Miguez Bonino, among the authors at the forefront of liberation theology's rise in the 1960s and 1970s, warned of a sentimentality, which hides reactionary attitudes behind theological concepts like reconciliation, forgiveness, and peace. He admitted that tranquility is preferable to hostility, but claimed that the realities of structural violence frequently necessitate placing priority on justice and liberation over a status quo preoccupation with order and harmony. In fact, Miguez Bonino asserted that frequently conflict,

sometimes even violence, is essential in order to transform an unjust order and participate in the creation of a new one (Miguez Bonino, 1973, 471–73). Outside of Latin America, other theologians from the developing world emphasized similar themes. For example, the Sri Lankan Jesuit Aloysius Pieris stressed the need to find true peace and harmony through conflict, not in the stoic avoidance of conflict. He challenged the church to return from its Christianized stoicism to an original Biblical understanding of liberation, which he claimed went beyond spiritual/personal/interior freedom to a freedom from oppressive social structures (Pieris, 1988, 114–24). Such a perspective emphasizing the injustice of structural violence and the necessary radical but nonviolent restructuring of society also can be found in the documents of the seminal 1968 meeting of the Latin American Episcopal Conference in Medellin, Colombia (Berryman, 1973, 358–67; and Henriot, DeBerri, and Schultheis, 1988, 134–38).

During the same time period, there were other Christian authors who disagreed with the predominance of justice concerns. Jacques Ellul, though concerned for social justice, was very critical of the claim that new structures, created by revolutionary means, can ever be a prerequisite for reconciliation. Instead he insisted on the pre-eminence of reconciliation as the foundation upon which true justice can be built. In fact, he charged that the unreconciled revolutionary is more than likely to act in a way that actually results in injustice (Ellul, 1970, 71–74). When justice gains pre-eminence over reconciliation, those of Ellul's persuasion fear that it too easily legitimizes violence and becomes a cover for vengeance and retribution.

While Miguez Bonino fears mere pacification and Ellul fears the injustice of a crusade mentality, others strike more of a balance between reconciliation and justice. Proponents of liberation theology have evolved to affirm the importance of spirituality, compassion and nonviolent democratic processes. Some of the prominent examples include Gustavo Gutierrez (1984), Jon Sobrino (1988), Albert Nolan (2006), and Robert Schreiter (1992). Schreiter, for example, clearly affirms the importance of both justice and reconciliation. However, he presents justice and liberation as prerequisites for reconciliation. For Schreiter, as for liberation theologians in general, structural injustice must be addressed before true reconciliation can be pursued. The nature of the violence must be acknowledged and its conditions for continuing removed. All of this is likely to increase the level of conflict at least for a time. This conflict should not be avoided, but its causes should be examined and addressed. Only when this is done can one address the healing of victims and offering of forgiveness to oppressors. These processes also take considerable time and cannot be managed as though reconciliation were simply a technical procedure. Yet, Schreiter is concerned throughout the whole process that faith-based entities exercise this prophetic ministry in a pastoral way (Schreiter, 1992, 18–27 and 68–69).

Structural injustice must be addressed before true reconciliation can be pursued. The nature of the violence must be acknowledged and its conditions for continuing removed.

Other authors recommend a balance of justice and reconciliation throughout the entire process of peacebuilding. John MacQuarrie acknowledges that justice is fundamental to *shalom* and that conflict may be necessary when the "pervading peace" is based on injustice. However, conflict must serve the goal of "wholeness," which is fundamental to the definition of *shalom*. Furthermore, since wholeness should be perceived as communal, not just individual, it must be operative for all people. Wholeness that does not include any conflict, MacQuarrie calls a "frozen condition." Creative conflict, he asserts, can help to accomplish *shalom*. On the other hand, he sees conflict that is separated from wholeness as destructive. For MacQuarrie, the goal can never be disorder, but must be a just and harmonious interdependence. The result is an approach to peace that is neither static nor totally disruptive, but thoroughly dynamic (MacQuarrie, 1973, 19–26, 33–37, 55).

This perspective is shared by Rowan Williams, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who affirms the place of conflict in the pursuit of reconciliation. For Archbishop Williams, the promise of *shalom* refers to a stability of relationships in which the people as a whole flourish in the context of God's universal order of justice and equity. When this breaks down due to injustice, there is no proper *shalom*. In such a context, he states that one must oppose superficial stability, even if it disrupts the comfortable peace of resignation. Structural violence cannot be overlooked. At the same time, Williams notes that the term used for peace in the New

Testament refers, among other things, to reconciliation across divisions of nation, culture and class. His concern not to give universal precedence to justice over harmony and reconciliation can be seen today in his appeal to the Anglican Communion to overcome their divisions regarding homosexuality. Archbishop Williams' call to faith-based peacebuilders, then, is to be participants in the restoration of a new order which is, throughout the process, both just and reconciling (Williams and Collier, 1984, 13–21).

While this essay depicts *shalom*/peace as the central concept that encompasses justice and reconciliation, it must be noted that some authors present reconciliation as the primary goal around which other dimensions of the peacebuilding task are to be organized. Conflict transformation theorist and practitioner John Paul Lederach identifies four core concepts which need to be woven together in the pursuit of reconciliation: truth, involving honest acknowledgment and accountability; mercy, involving forgiveness, compassion, acceptance; justice, involving rectifying wrong and making things right; and peace, involving security, harmony, well-being (Lederach 1997, 23–30). While a case can be made for organizing faith-based peacebuilding around the concept of reconciliation, I have chosen to retain *shalom* as the organizing principle for a number of reasons. First, the term "peace-building," with its etymological roots in the concept of *shalom*, is the most commonly used designation of this field and, therefore, the title of this essay. Second, *shalom* holds a very central role in Biblical literature which forms the foundation of any faith-based effort. Daniel Philpott, from the Kroc Institute at University of Notre Dame, introduces his discussion of reconciliation with a very informative etymological study of both terms — *shalom* and reconciliation — and presents a helpful perspective on the relationship between them. He depicts *shalom* as the goal of wholeness and well-being toward which reconciliation, defined as the restoration of right relationships, moves (Philpott, 2006, 14–15). I believe this distinction between *shalom* as the end and reconciliation as the process places each in the proper context. Whichever schema one uses as an organizing principle for faith-based peacebuilding, however, it is important to emphasize that no concept should be emphasized to the detriment of any other. In the next section of this essay, therefore, I will present the need to fully integrate peace as the end goal and reconciliation as the overarching process which must include justice, truth-telling, mercy/forgiveness, and other components of effective faith-based peacebuilding.

Catholic social teaching affirms such a definition of the peacebuilding task, as noted by Father Drew Christiansen in a presentation on Catholic peacemaking at the United States Institute of Peace (United States Institute of Peace, 2001, 3–5), and in a statement by the United States Catholic Bishops Conference (United States Catholic Bishops, 1998, 5–6). Christiansen defines peace as "the positive realization of the dignity of the whole human family." He then spells out four elements of the Catholic vision of peace — (1) universal human rights, (2) social and economic development, (3) human solidarity, and (4) nonviolent world order — the first two focusing on justice and the last two emphasizing reconciliation. As Christiansen notes:

- Human rights was a major focus of the encyclical letter on peace, Pacem in Terris (Peace in the World) issued by Pope John XXIII in 1963. The vision of peace set forth in this encyclical focused on traditional Catholic understanding of the sanctity of human life and dignity of the human person as the foundation for human rights.
- Development as an integral component of peacebuilding was set forth in a number of documents, including Vatican II Gaudium et Spes (The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, 1965), Pope Paul VI Populorum Progressio (Development of Peoples, 1968), Pope John Paul II Sollicitudo rei Socialis (On Social Concern, 1988) and Centesimus Annus (One Hundred Years, 1991). Although development is presented as encompassing more than economics, it does emphasize the church's preferential option for the poor and vulnerable.
- Solidarity is based in a belief in the unity of the human family. Loving one's neighbor is seen as having global dimensions in an increasingly interdependent world. Pope John Paul II, in Sollicitudo rei Socialis, described this as "a firm and persevering determination to commit oneself to the common good . . . because we are all really responsible for all."
- Concern for world order emphasizes the centrality of nonviolence as the fundamental Christian response to conflict. Pope John Paul II, in Centesimus Annus, made a dramatic affirmation of this stance. Reflecting on the events of 1989 in Eastern Europe, he called on Catholics everywhere to fight for justice without reliance on violence and war. (For summaries of the Vatican documents, see Henriot, DeBerri and Schultheis, 1992).

R. Scott Appleby (2003) notes that, during the past five decades, the Catholic Church first affirmed a focus on justice, then during the 1990's expanded it so as to better address issues of structural injustice. More recently, as represented in a peacebuilding manual published by Caritas Internationalis, the church has focused on a process of reconciliation, emphasizing what Catholic social teaching refers to as "right relations" between people. The Caritas manual describes reconciliation as "a longer term process of overcoming hostility and mistrust between divided peoples . . . [and of promoting] the consolidation of constructive social relations between different groups of the population, including parties to the conflict." According to Appleby, the turn toward both structural justice and reconciliation of peoples and groups was triggered by the experience of Caritas and other Catholic agencies as they faced the traumatic suffering of people during post cold-war conflicts around the world, including the conflicts in Rwanda, Sudan and Nigeria. There was an increasing awareness that relief and development efforts could not be taken in isolation from cultural and communal dynamics.

More recently, as represented in a peacebuilding manual published by Caritas Internationalis, the church has focused on a process of reconciliation, emphasizing what Catholic social teaching refers to as "right relations" between people.

One can conclude, then, that faith-based peacebuilding, and Catholic social teaching/practice in particular, should be understood fundamentally as an effort to assist antagonists to disavow violence of any kind and begin to move toward personal, relational, communal and social wholeness that affirms the need for both fairness/justice and healing/reconciliation. At the same time, as Lederach observes, faith-based peacebuilders need not only to find the right balance, but the optimal integration of "social justice building" and "direct violence reducing" processes. Lederach observes that though peace processes often bring political change, rarely do they attain structural change in the all important social, economic, religious and cultural spheres. At the same time, violent opposition to structural injustice usually results only in more oppressive injustice. He concludes that peacebuilders must move away from a myopic focus on agreements and toward a commitment to permanent relationship building that includes the social, cultural, political and economic dimensions of truly communal life (Lederach, 1999, 31–35).

One can conclude, then, that faith-based peacebuilding, and Catholic social teaching/practice in particular, should be understood fundamentally as an effort to assist antagonists to disavow violence of any kind and begin to move toward personal, relational, communal and social wholeness that affirms the need for both fairness/justice and healing/reconciliation.

Clearly, this emphasis on personal, relational and structural change through nonviolent processes, affirmed by Biblical *shalom* and Catholic social teaching/practice, must be evident throughout the peacebuilding process. Some faith-based practitioners distinguish between numerous types of conflict situations. For example, the Caritas Peacebuilding manual designates five stages: potential conflict, confrontation, crisis, smoldering conflict, and regeneration (Caritas Internationalis, 2002, 56–57). For the sake of simplicity, I will focus on three commonly referenced stages. Faith-based peacebuilders must work to prevent conflict escalation, mitigate ongoing conflict, and engage in post-conflict (or perhaps more accurately, post-violence) reconstruction. Joseph Bock (Bock, 2001, 63–103) has reviewed much of the literature that focuses on the role of religious interveners whom he presents as operating on both the middle and grassroots, but not top diplomatic levels. While he acknowledges that social scientists do not agree on a widely accepted categorization scheme regarding the stages of conflict and the most effective counter-actions at each stage, he adapts a stage theory of conflict developed by Michael Lund called the "life cycle of ethno-religious violence." Based on Lund, Bock presents a linear progression that moves from pre-violence stable relations to post-violence stable relations (pre-violence stable relations — unstable relations — manipulated crisis/violence engineering — post-violence reconstruction — ethno-religious reconciliation — post-violence stable relations). Bock claims that it is at the stage of unstable relations when demonization and scapegoating begins that religious leaders at mid- and grassroots levels, even more than government officials, can have the greatest impact. However, he contends that religious leaders have an important role to play at all three of the initial stages of conflict escalation. He points to

three aspects of religious leadership that give clerics in particular the opportunity to play a pivotal role in preventing violence:

- Ability to encourage disciplined information processing that can dispel distortion and enemy imaging;
- Ability to cultivate a healthy sense of belonging; and
- Authority to legitimize violence-preventing behavior and to delegitimize violence-promoting behavior.

At the stage of pre-violence stable relations, Bock contends that faith-based peacemakers should be involved specifically in *promotive* activity aimed at encouraging ethno-religious goodwill without explicitly stating this intention. Examples include joint cultural activities, combined worship services and common relief or development projects such as the provision by Caritas/Multan of emergency assistance following flood damage suffered by Muslim communities in Pakistan. At the second stage of unstable relations, faith-based peacemakers should be involved in *preventive* activity aimed at directly addressing the goal of bridge-building. Examples include helping people to understand the value of tolerance, celebrate diversity, or establish a protocol for handling differences. Inter-religious dialogue can play an important role at this point by laying a foundation for conflict management, as demonstrated by a series of dialogue sessions among Catholic bishops, Protestant bishops and Muslim religious leaders in Mindanao, The Philippines where Christian-Muslim tribal tension has been intense. At the third stage when violence engineering begins, Bock postulates that religious leaders together with top level government authorities must engage in what he calls *preemptive* activity. This action is taken in response to verbal, symbolic or physical ethno-religious aggression that is either anticipated or already occurring. It attempts to forestall an escalation of tension, preempting it from speeding throughout the wider community horizontally and from infecting political processes vertically. Although he delineates distinct stages at which each kind of activity is most needed, Bock also contends that preemptive activities may need to be conducted simultaneously with promotive and preventive approaches since one must respond immediately even to potential aggression. Examples of preemptive activity include forming peace committees, preserving or creating mixed neighborhoods, creating zones of peace, serving as human shields, providing safe havens, counteracting rumors, calling in the police or army, producing and distributing constructive media, making joint declarations, sending letters and taking other proactive steps. One specific example cited by Bock is a letter sent by the Sephardi chief rabbi of Jerusalem to Yasser Arafat condemning a plan by a Jewish militant group to throw the head of a pig into the Al-Aqsa Mosque during Ramadan. The letter was made public, violence near the mosque did not occur, and Muslim-Jewish tensions were diffused.

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Finally, Bock not only promotes "stand alone" peacemaking activity by faith-based actors, but urges them to engage in activities integrated into broader projects. He specifically encourages faith-based conflict management trainers to educate people involved in other parts of the faith-based/NGO family, including missionary societies, religious institutions involved in pastoral care, theological schools, interfaith and ecumenical dialogue and study centers, leadership training programs, philanthropic foundations focusing on religion and faith-based relief and development organizations (Bock, 2001, 129–34). Kenneth Hackett emphasizes the role of relief and development agencies and expands the list to include healthcare institutions, organizations that address human rights monitoring and advocacy, and those working to build democratic institutions (Hackett, 2000, 275–79). Both Bock and Hackett highlight the need for these parallel agencies to allocate resources for the purpose of raising awareness of suffering and injustice, identifying the status of conflict through early warning indicators, strengthening civil society, building indigenous capacity, and facilitating dialogue, relationship building and healing.

DIMENSIONS OF THE FAITH-BASED PEACEBUILDING PROCESS

Since the full definition of faith-based peacebuilding affirms the need for both fairness/justice and healing/reconciliation throughout the entire process of prevention, mitigation and post-violence reconstruction, it is important to conceptualize the dimensions of this process in a manner that integrates both violence reduction and social justice in optimal terms.

Since the full definition of faith-based peacebuilding affirms the need for both fairness/justice and healing/reconciliation throughout the entire process of prevention, mitigation and post-violence reconstruction, it is important to conceptualize the dimensions of this process in a manner that integrates both violence reduction and social justice in optimal terms. In a previous publication, I have set forth a series of seven dimensions that the faith-based peacebuilder must address in order to assist conflicted groups to break out of the vicious cycle of revenge and move through the reconciliation process (Steele, 2001, 95–104). These stages include: mourning/expressing grief/accepting loss — confronting fears — identifying needs and re-humanizing the "other" — acknowledgment of wrong-doing/truth telling/re-writing history — the choice to forgive — envisioning restorative and operational justice — and problem solving/joint planning. Daniel Philpott outlines a similar set of practices, which he claims are essential to attain reconciliation in a political order. These include: truth telling, accountability, reparation, repentance, and forgiveness (Philpott, 2006, 20–25). This review will incorporate aspects of both schemas, examining five dimensions that faith-based peacebuilders must address in facilitating an effective reconciliation process:

- Grief and trauma healing
- Hospitality
- Confession/apology
- Justice
- Forgiveness

Successful practice of each of these dimensions will require an assessment of both subjective intra-personal dynamics and interactive, interpersonal relationships.

Grief and trauma healing

Philpott introduces his set of reconciliation practices by first defining reconciliation as "the restoration of right relationship," (as previously noted) and then tracing this definition to the ancient religious meanings associated with the use of this term in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Arabic. He follows this definition by outlining six dimensions of woundedness that faith-based peacemakers must address when dealing with political violence (Philpott, 2006, 14–17):

- Brute harm
- Victim ignorance regarding the sources and circumstances of the wounds
- Violence perpetrated by the political order itself
- Withheld regard/honor
- Woundedness to the whole political community
- Suffering due to lack of apology/reparation/restitution

Experts in political psychology have for more than 20 years recognized the importance of historical hurts and traumatic experience on peacemaking initiatives. Two of the pioneers in this field, Joseph Montville and Vamik Volkan, helped to apply lessons learned regarding grief and trauma in the field of therapy and counseling to international relations. Montville recognizes the universal and mandatory need for mourning in the face of loss on the part of groups. Using Russia and Germany as examples, he contends that the wounded group self is perpetually in a state of uncompleted mourning, a condition that makes that people prone to the mobilization of nationalism (Montville, 1995, 159–72). Volkan stresses the importance of permitting the expression of historical grievances related to a group's "chosen (defining) trauma," namely, the outstanding event through which the group experienced shared injury, loss, helplessness and humiliation.

He discusses the important role of a neutral catalyst group that can provide safe space for such expression within problem solving workshops. Only when historical grievance is addressed empathetically can members of opposing groups constructively engage with their substantive disputes. Volkan cites an example in which Egyptians reacted vehemently to Israeli talk of "giving back" the Sinai until they were helped to see that the Israelis needed to mourn the loss of their security zone (Volkan, 1991, 213–19).

Lederach builds upon these insights and emphasizes the importance of historical narrative in dealing with grief and trauma. He illustrates the role that faith-based leaders can play in facilitating the grieving process by referring to the role played by both Christian and traditional tribal religious practice in Africa as well as the STAR program (originally named Strategies of Trauma Awareness and Recovery and currently named Strategies for Trauma Awareness and Resilience), sponsored by the World Council of Churches and Eastern Mennonite University. The STAR program has supported caregivers from all faith perspectives in response to the events of 9/11 in the United States and trained religious and community leaders in 45 countries, including Sudan, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Colombia, El Salvador and Northern Ireland (Lederach, 2005, 135–45; see also "STAR Training and Programs" on the web page for Eastern Mennonite University). Lederach also illustrates the integration of trauma healing into conflict resolution programming undertaken through the Christian Health Association of Liberia. In addition to training people in skills related to dealing with community conflict and violence in post-civil war Liberia, the members of the Association developed therapeutic, psychological and spiritual processes to help people deal with the effects of severe trauma. A team of faith-based conflict resolution trainers, public health officials and psychiatrists and counselors conducted a series of workshops as part of the country's healthcare delivery system (Lederach, 1997, 55). The training manual developed for these workshops is an excellent resource for Christian peacebuilders looking for spiritual and psychological resources with which to approach issues of grief, loss, and post-traumatic stress in the aftermath of war (Hart, Doe and Doe, 1993).

Other authors have illustrated the importance of effective grief work during warfare, not limiting such activities to the period of post-violence reconstruction. Douglas Johnston recounts how the Catholic Church in Guatemala launched an initiative called Project for the Reconstruction of a Historical Memory in Guatemala before the end of the civil war in that country. Begun in 1995, this project enabled victims and survivors of the war to tell their stories and provided public ceremonial reburials in order to both recover memory and provide closure (Johnston, 2005, 239–43).

In previous writings I have made the case for starting interfaith dialogue and conflict resolution training with spiritual approaches to grief and trauma healing. Beginning these efforts during the wars in the former Yugoslavia, I emphasized the importance of story telling as a modus operandi that helps people identify with each others' suffering, building bonds across ethnic and sectarian divides (Steele, 2002, 76–79). Use of the lament motif from the ancient Hebrew Scriptures served to root such story telling firmly in the Abrahamic faith traditions and provide a positive example of communal expression of grief while discouraging any effort to avenge. An examination of this lament motif and its effectiveness in countering vengeance can be found in the writings of Walter Brueggemann (Brueggemann, 1982, 67–79).

Finally, it is important to note the central role of ritual in providing space for catharsis and access to divine presence in order to facilitate effective grief work and trauma healing at all points in a people's experience. Marc Gopin stresses the importance of memorializing the dead, even those victims of long past atrocities. He discusses the need for Arabs and Israelis to bury the dead together, honoring and healing each group's memory. Writing as a Jewish rabbi, he advocates crawling out of the mass grave of the past together in order to build more hopeful and healthy relationships in the present and future (Gopin, 2000, 171–74; Gopin 2003, 93–98). Post-violence reconstruction that continues to address the Holocaust and 2000 years of anti-Semitism, as well as the 50 years of expulsion and occupation experienced by Palestinians, becomes a necessary first — in future conflict prevention. James Bill and John Alden Williams highlight the important role of ongoing, repeated religious rituals of mourning and commemoration in both Roman Catholicism and Shi'ite Islam. They trace the long history of mourning processions and passion plays commemorating the Stations of the Cross during Holy Week — practices that flowered in Europe in the Middle Ages, but today continue in Catholic Churches from Latin American to India. They compare these practices to the Shi'ite commemoration during the month of Muharram, of the martyrdom of the Imam Hussein in the annual reenactment of the Karbala tragedy. The Karbala reenactment, like the Catholic passion plays, provides a

spiritual lament and an opportunity for psychological catharsis that helps the pilgrim to vicariously identify with and gain the ability to handle constructively one's current sufferings in a redemptive manner (Bill and Williams, 2002, 69–74). They, too, represent a post-violence reconstruction of memory that can be used to prevent, rather than stoke, future violence.

Hospitality

In a world where many indigenous cultures value hospitality, extending it to the stranger and even the enemy, we cannot overlook the importance of this basic act of welcome as a tool for peacebuilding. This is especially true in relations between the West and the Islamic world, where Arab and other Muslim cultures place great value on honor and hospitality. In other publications I have stressed the importance of identifying basic human needs such as recognition, identity, belonging and community as an essential part of interfaith dialogue. When much communication has been blocked due to war, ethnic cleansing or other expressions of conflict, meeting face-to-face can help to re-humanize the "other" and dispel misinformation and false rumor. It is even possible to identify common or compatible needs that are shared by enemy groups. During a seminar I led during the siege of Sarajevo in 1995, an *imam* shared how he came to perceive the needs of the Serbs who had surrounded and bombarded his village. He concluded that the Serbs, as a minority population in Bosnia who held historical memories of their own victimization, were also striving to guarantee their survival as a people. He realized that both peoples were trying to satisfy the same basic need for survival. Through the telling of this story, the aggressor had been re-humanized and hospitality was offered to the "other" present in the room, opening the door for creative interfaith dialogue (Steele, 2002, 79–81).

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Thomas Ogletree locates the commencement of moral consciousness in the readiness to welcome the stranger. For him, it is response to the needs of the "other" rather than identification of one's own, which is the starting point for responsible behavior. Yet Ogletree is very concerned that hospitality does not become merely an excuse for assimilation of the "other" into one's own frame of reference, but rather an effort to learn from the "other." In fact, within relationships of asymmetrical power where cultural imperialism is likely a significant factor, he warns that true hospitality may necessitate an unsettling consciousness-raising encounter (Ogletree, 1985, 35–58).

Henri Nouwen shares Ogletree's concern that hospitality not become assimilation. He calls for confrontation with the powerful and solidarity with the dispossessed. However, he is more concerned to avoid judgmentalism. Nouwen writes at length about the need for movement away from hostility toward hospitality in all relationships. He identifies a latent hostility, masked by the wall of fear and resentment with which people tend to greet one whom they perceive as threatening. He calls the person of faith to break down these barriers by inviting the stranger, even the enemy, to be a guest. According to Nouwen, this process starts by purifying one's own heart, removing the enemy images, the hatred and desire for revenge, which restrict one from truly understanding the "other" (Nouwen, 1975, 46–54; Nouwen, 1982, 111–24). Mohammed Abu-Nimer, a Palestinian Muslim and expert in conflict resolution, shares an example of overcoming fear and hostility in order to offer sanctuary to an enemy. When a Palestinian woman opened her door to a panic-stricken Israeli soldier after his patrol had killed a youth throwing stones as part of the *Intifada,* she served him coffee until it was safe for him to leave despite the fact that it was her son who had been killed. The Palestinian telling Abu-Nimer this story added that she would offer the soldier coffee again if he came back because, "Religion and culture enable us to preserve our humanity. We will never … hate our enemy." (Abu-Nimer and Groves, 2003, 128). This example, and that of the Bosnian *imam*, demonstrate that hospitality, at least in the form of very simple acts of welcome, can be offered even during violent conflict, not just pre- or post-violence. Such acts of hospitality become means for healing and reconstructing social networks, restoring the power of human compassion to situations of extreme dehumanization, violence and hatred.

John Koenig sees hospitality as a partnership venture, one in which each party performs the roles of both host and guest, regardless who is deemed aggressor or victim. Each party is called upon to welcome the "other" despite any power imbalances. Yet, he contends that the ultimate goal of partnership hospital-

ity assumes the unmasking of any dominance in the relationship and, therefore, may necessitate precipitation of constructive conflict. At the same time, Koenig claims that partnership hospitality should contribute toward enhanced status as well as increased responsibility for all parties (Koenig, 1985, 28–38 and 55–60). Martin Marty applies Koenig's concept of partnership hospitality to interfaith dialogue and cooperation on issues of justice and peace. Yet he also warns that the task may not be easy. On the one hand, some groups, which live in conflict and persecution, reject approaches of hospitality from the other side. On the other hand, those willing to reach out in hospitality may face rejection as traitors by others within their own group (Marty, 2006, 31–34 and 138). Hospitality toward the "other" certainly faces a variety of challenges in different cultural contexts. The social mores found within each culture are of great importance in determining how best to practice hospitality in the particular. Still, examples of it can be found in a wide variety of contexts.

One example of this partnership hospitality can be found in Diane Kessler's account of the historic first meeting of the East Asian Christian Conference in 1959 (now known as the Christian Conference of Asia) where representatives from the churches of Australia and New Zealand attended. History, culture, politics and racism all contributed toward making them the region's outsiders. Australia and New Zealand looked, thought and acted like outposts of imperialism at a time when Asian people were divesting themselves of European colonialism. Yet Filipino Bishop Enrique Sobrepena welcomed these white churches into the EACC, telling his fellow Asians that they symbolized the Europeans through whom Asians had received their faith. Over the years friendships deepened and the white Christians learned much about the complexities of the region and the sensitivities of its majority non-white population. In time, the churches in Australia and New Zealand became advocates of better ties with neighboring countries and opponents of racism at home. Even during the conflict in East Timor in 1999, when Indonesian and Australian governments, military and press developed very adversarial relationships, the church relationships remained strong despite the patriotic concerns of fellow countrymen (Kessler, 2005, 73–75).

Miroslav Volf addresses the ingroup/outgroup problems that confront partnership hospitality by examining the tension between exclusion and embrace; categories that he believes provide a better response to the contemporary context of inter-ethnic/sectarian conflict than does liberation theology's focus on liberation from oppression. According to him, both Serbs and Croats, Hutus and Tutsis, can all too easily use the liberation motif to justify the use of violence to address their perceived victimization. The longer this kind of conflict persists, the more both parties get sucked into the vortex of mutually reinforcing victimization. Volf does not deny that oppression exists. However, he does contend that the categories of liberation/oppression are ill suited to bring about reconciliation and, therefore, need to be inserted into a larger framework of embrace, his paradigm for reconciliation. At the same time, he states that all people need self-definition, which implies establishing their distinctiveness. Some degree of exclusivity is, therefore, inevitable and, in fact, desirable. However, even one's own identity formation needs the "other" in order to complete the picture of social uniqueness. Therefore, we are called to embrace the stranger and the enemy. Volf delineates four movements in this "embrace" metaphor:

Both distance and belonging are essential. Belonging without distance destroys. It attempts either to assimilate or eliminate the "other." But distance without belonging isolates. It leaves us alone, separated from one's own culture and people rather than living in it and for them.

- Opening one's arms to the "other"
- Waiting for the "other's" response
- Closing one's arms around the "other"
- Opening them again to let the "other" go

Both distance and belonging are essential. Belonging without distance destroys. It attempts either to assimilate or eliminate the "other." But distance without belonging isolates. It leaves us alone, separated from one's own culture and people rather than living in it and for them. In the end, Volf calls for ultimate allegiance to be given to God, an act which helps to affirm that which is good in one's own identity group and to create space in one's arms and heart to receive the "other" (Volf, 1996, 57–157).

This affirmation of one's own identity, coupled with an embrace of the "other," is exemplified by a friendship between a Presbyterian pastor, Ken Newell, and a Roman Catholic priest, Gerry Reynolds, in Northern Ireland. Ronald Wells traces the development of their friendship through all stages of the conflict and describes the efforts each man made to reach out with understanding to both one's own group and the "other." Following the tragedy of Enniskillen when a Protestant legislator, Gordon Wilson, shared publicly that he bore no ill will toward the IRA members whose bomb had taken the life of his daughter, Ken Newell preached a sermon aired on BBC. In it he identified himself as a Protestant, but one with no desire to see a Protestant ascendancy; as a British citizen, but one who had the highest regard for the richness of Irish heritage; and as a Presbyterian who enjoyed deep and loving relationships with many Roman Catholic brothers and sisters. The only ascendancy that interested him was that of Christ's love, justice and reverence for life. In the wake of Enniskillen, he called upon all the residents of Northern Ireland, as one people, to close their minds completely against the way of violence (Wells, 2006, 198–218). Many other examples could also be cited in which people on both sides of a conflict have demonstrated an ability to affirm their own group and embrace the "other." The venues for accomplishing this are limitless — from radio sermons to inclusion in ecumenical or interfaith gatherings to conflict resolution workshops to cups of coffee offered to an enemy.

Confession/apology

The practice of apology or confession of wrongdoing, once considered applicable only within a personal, spiritual domain, has increasingly been applied, even by secular entities, to relations between groups and nations. Many other examples can be found, cited by Walter Wink (1998, 54–59), Donald Shriver 2001, 163–64) and Alan Geyer (1998, 80–89) who also points to failed cases, such as the Iran Hostage crisis, where there is evidence that making apology could have precipitated a successful ending. The potential for apology to make an impact, even at the level of official negotiation, has been demonstrated in the case of successful negotiations to end the Guinea Fowl War in northern Ghana from 1994–1996. Hizkias Assefa, a Kenyan, and Emmanuel Bombande, from Ghana, led Christian and Muslim combatants through a reconciliation process that was built around honest self-reflection, acknowledgment of responsibility, public admission, seeking apology and providing restitution. According to Assefa, the spiritual traditions of both groups were utilized to move the negotiations beyond competitive and legalistic discussion and generate an environment for sincere self-examination that could get to the roots of the problem (Assefa, 2001, 168–85).

Various terms have been used to describe this process of self-examination. In an attempt to make the concept more acceptable to non-religious actors, Joseph Montville uses the term "acknowledgment." Montville claims that victims cannot begin the process of healing until there has been acknowledgment of the abuses they have suffered. In fact, victims will normally continue to fear future violence unless the perpetrators have acknowledged their actions. Montville, a seasoned diplomat, concludes that the wounds of history must be healed by bringing them into the light of day. Only in this way can diplomacy succeed. Failure to give acknowledgment becomes a cancer in the society, a malignancy that will continue to drain energy and may lead to social death. It is important to help all groups in conflicted societies to "walk through history" and ascertain their own group's responsibility for actions that caused traumatic loss to others. Such acknowledgment can be made by any number of public actors — political leaders, militants, clergy, historians, journalists, educators, authors and artists — anyone capable of influencing public opinion. Montville, a Catholic, cites the important example set by Pope John Paul II when he acknowledged the moral debts of the Catholic Church in relation to Orthodox Christians, Muslims and Jews during such infamous events as the Crusades, the Inquisition and the Holocaust (Montville, 2001, 132–43).

Philpott makes an important distinction between different levels of acknowledgment. He presents truth telling as a process whereby the wrongs that have been committed become known. In the case of truth and reconciliation commissions, this discovery is made public. However, the process is not designed to determine guilt or innocence. A second level of acknowledgment, in the form of apology, is required in order to communicate the taking of responsibility. Apology involves an expression of contrition, sorrow and remorse and may lead to repentance, an act that manifests a change of behavior (Philpott, 2006, 20–24). Donald Shriver emphasizes that public disclosure through formal truth and reconciliation commissions or informal processes is important in any attempt to progress toward political repentance. At the same time, he acknowledges that engendering hope for reconciliation may well be an important motivation for the people who need to uncover the truth. Therefore, there is likely to be an important interplay between public disclosure and full apology. Shriver also asserts that truth about the past is more important than punish-

ment for the past (Shriver, 2001, 156–60). Wink offers a distinction between an apology that leads merely to public discovery and one that leads to reconciliation. He points out that a true apology can be made, but not accepted. In this case, the perpetrator has acknowledged responsibility, but the benefit may be limited to public disclosure rather than full reconciliation. Wink gives a couple examples, an apology offered by one of the American bombardiers who dropped the atomic bomb on Nagasaki and one offered by the United Church of Canada to the governing council for native peoples for imposing its religion and culture on them. In the first case, Nagasaki officials refused to accept the American's attempt to visit their city; in the second, the Native Americans indicated that words were not enough (Wink, 1998, 54–56).

Mark Amstutz grapples with the difficult issue of distinguishing between different types of accountability for different actors. Amstutz begins with the assumption that most individual and collective offenses involve shared culpability and that political conflict is rarely a contest between innocent saints and guilty sinners. Therefore the "walk through history" must be one that reveals mutual accountability. It must be a shared account that develops consensus on the nature of events, causes, scope and responsibilities. However, the task becomes more complicated when, in the political context, decision making is distributed among immediate actors, decision makers who authorize policies and political groups and associations that help to support and sustain those in power. In the political context, one must examine collective as well as individual responsibility. One must also examine broad, subjective moral concerns in addition to strictly legal infractions based on external rules. Amstutz utilizes a typology developed by philosopher Karl Jaspers to assess four distinct types of guilt:

- Criminal guilt involving an individual who breaks a law.
- Political guilt involving the whole body politic in which unjust laws and policies have been instituted.
- Moral guilt involving the subjective violation of conscience.
- Metaphysical guilt involving collective indifference, neglect and failure to oppose evil.

Amstutz indicates that responsibility cannot be distributed equally across the board in the cases of collective guilt. Although the body politic bears some responsibility for injustice done in its name and may, therefore, have to engage in collective reparation, the primary responsibility lies with those officials who devised the unjust policy (Amstutz, 2005, 67–71). One creative example of apology on the part of a whole country occurred in the establishment of a national "Sorry Day" in Australia to acknowledge and apologize for the wide scale stealing of Aboriginal children and placing them in orphanages. John Bond recounts how, despite resistance from the Australian government, most of Australia's state parliaments and churches held ceremonies where they heard from those who had been abducted as children and asked for their forgiveness. Thousands of grassroots events were held throughout the country on May 26, 1997. "Sorry Day" has now become an annual day of remembrance for which, in May 2004, the Australian government helped to build a memorial (Bond, 2005, 647–52).

Another creative example of a call for public acknowledgment of a collective trauma is shared by Rabbi Marc Gopin who tells of a letter written by a fellow Jew requesting that the Swiss government bury all the Jewish gold that it received from the Nazis during the Holocaust. Gopin portrays this seemingly bizarre suggestion as a request for an entire nation to perform penance rather than make reparation. He asks, "What better way to do penance than to bury the very thing [gold from the teeth of the executed] that was made more valuable than those human beings?" Gopin claims that such an act would be seen in the Jewish community as an authentic practice of *teshuva* — an apology process that includes detailed confession, expression of deep remorse and a commitment to change. He suggests that symbolic acts such as this, or ceremonies conducted on the site of mass graves, will serve to communicate genuine apology to many indigenous people (he mentions Africa in particular) at a greater depth than mere words could convey (Gopin, 2000, 188–91).

Islamic practice also places a high value on apology as one of the first steps in the Arab process of *sulha* (reconciliation). Mohammed Abu-Nimer cites a number of examples to illustrate this practice, including one in which Hizbullah, as the mediating party in a Lebanese revenge killing between two tribes, held a session of public apology as part of the *sulha* process (Abu-Nimer and Hamzeh, 1997, 110–15; Abu-Nimer, 2003, 92–109). Abdulaziz Sachedina states that humility resulting from honest self-assessment, not humiliation resulting from invalid accusation or alienation by others, is a necessary prerequisite to repairing self-

respect. He claims that Islam, therefore, requires all people to take responsibility for wrongdoing. Interpersonal and social justice depends on the ability of every member of society to recognize when moral injury has been done to others, even when the perpetrator is among one's own people (Sachedina, 2001, 106–08).

Islam requires all people to take responsibility for wrongdoing. Interpersonal and social justice depends on the ability of every member of society to recognize when moral injury has been done to others, even when the perpetrator is among one's own people (Sachedina, 2001, 106–08).

Abu-Nimer points to interfaith dialogue, in particular, as a venue, which can facilitate mutual acknowledgment of collective wrongdoing (Abu-Nimer, 2002, 25). My own experience leading interfaith dialogue events in the former Yugoslavia, detailed in a United States Institute of Peace publication (Steele, 2002, 76–85), further illustrates this claim. Building on the faith-based approach to acknowledging suffering and handling grief (described above), I have introduced participants to a "confession motif" that parallels the use of the lament motif in ancient Hebrew sacred texts. Small homogeneous groups of Muslim, Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant and Jewish religious leaders have entered into a parallel self-examination process, each group developing lists of times when they have wronged others, including personal attitudes and behavior or actions by other members of their religious group. These lists were then shared and discussed in an effort to emphasize the need for mutual accountability.

Finally, from the above examples, it can be seen that apology/confession can be a useful dimension of peacebuilding at all stages of conflict. It is clear that in the case of Australian "Sorry Day," the Swiss gold, and the United Church of Canada, there had been no previous violence between the specific groups in conflict. Even in the case of Pope John Paul II, the violence condoned or precipitated by the Catholic Church had occurred at a time so removed that, in effect, the apology served a preventive and restorative purpose in the present. In the examples of Ghana and Hizbullah in Lebanon, the apologies took place during violent conflict, and in the case of Nagasaki it was during a post-violent period.

Justice

As stated in the definition of peacebuilding, justice is one of the guiding principles that must continue to inform faith-based peacebuilding. It is, therefore, very important to define what we mean by justice. Most commentators would agree that justice involves people getting what they are due. There is also widespread agreement that justice is radically different from vengeance. However, there have been numerous attempts to spell out exactly what is meant by these parameters and to categorize the various types of justice. Wendy Lambourne (Lambourne, 2001, 311–38) lists a number of types of justice, which she indicates overlap and interact in different ways in distinct cultures.

- Retributive justice places emphasis on retribution/penalties imposed on those who violate the law. Proponents may focus attention on such activities as rule of law, respect for human rights, development of police forces and judiciaries and prosecution of war criminals.
- Restorative justice places emphasis on reestablishing good relationships between people and groups of people. Proponents may focus attention on such activities as truth and reconciliation commissions, refugee repatriation and integration, trauma healing and various reconciliation efforts.
- Procedural justice is concerned with fair process for making decisions.
- Social and economic justice is concerned with fairness with respect to social standing and economic distribution. Proponents may focus attention on such activities as addressing inequities in wealth, income or opportunities; economic reconstruction; development assistance; strengthening civil society; election monitoring; and support for democratization.
- Symbolic justice involves the minimal level of acknowledging injustice in the absence of substantive measures to correct it. Proponents may focus on activities such as hearings, commemorations, etc.

Lambourne then illustrates the need to address the various forms of justice in the post-conflict settings of Cambodia and Rwanda, in the latter case commenting, in particular, on the restorative focus of the modified traditional system of justice known as *gacaca*, which has been employed by the government in Rwanda following the genocide of 1994.

One of the most common types of justice in which faith communities have been involved is socio-economic. Writing as part of a group of Christian ethicists, peace activists and conflict resolution practitioners under the auspices of the Society of Christian Ethics, David Bronkema, David Lumsdaine and Roger Payne propose economic development as one of 10 practices designed to promote peace (Bronkema, Lumsdaine and Payne, 1998, 109–30). They trace the history of various types of development, connecting the dots between sustainable development, peacebuilding and environmental concerns. They conclude with lessons learned, guiding principles, and strategies to follow in developing effective programming at the interface of these fields. At all stages of conflict, examples abound of peacebuilding that intersects with economic and/or social development.

Cases in which faith-based peace activists and institutions were involved largely at the pre-violence stage:

- Civil Rights Movement in the United States (King, 1964; Shriver, 1995, 179–203)
- Protest against apartheid in South Africa (Johnston, 1994, 177–207)
- The Community of Sant'Egidio providing economic development and reducing religious persecution in Mozambique, activities which gave this lay Catholic community the necessary credibility to later mediate an end to the civil war in that country (Hume, 1994, 15–139)

Examples of efforts conducted during violent conflict:

- Quaker and Mennonite relief efforts to respond to the Biafran famine during the civil war in Nigeria, an involvement that included negotiating free passage of humanitarian supplies (Yarrow, 1978, 187–260)
- The Catholic Church in Guatemala supporting the rural poor to contest illegal land seizures, campaign for fair pay and benefits, assist refugees to return home and generally advocate for the marginalized — activities that led later to ecumenical church involvement in the peace negotiations that ended decades of civil war and a post-war project to recover historic memory through the gathering of testimony from victims (Jeffrey, 1998)
- The National Council of Churches of Kenya providing relief and rehabilitation and establishing local peace and reconciliation committees, structures which acted to restore local amenities and functioned as an "early warning system" to detect and defuse ethnic tensions before they erupted into a renewal of violence (Johnston, 1999, 210–13)

Examples of post-violence inter-ethnic efforts established to address concrete justice concerns in the former Yugoslavia:

- A group of Croatians engaged in interfaith religious education efforts
- A Bosnia group engaged in public media exposure of corruption
- Both groups supported refugee return programs (Steele, 1998, 246–53; Steele, 2001, 95–104)

The restorative justice movement represents one of the newest developments in this broad field. Howard Zehr, one of those responsible for bringing restorative justice into prominence, emphasizes that an adequate definition of justice needs to start from a different reference point entirely than the monitoring and punishment of unjust acts. Though vitally important to the maintenance of a stable society, exposure and retribution represent only the negative side of justice, that which is referred to as retributive. Zehr proposes that, for people of faith, the focus should be on the restorative. As previously stated, he notes that two of the Hebrew terms for justice used in the Old Testament view it as related to righteousness, right-ordering, making things right. The restorative justice lens, then, sees crime as a violation of people and relationships as opposed to the retributive justice lens which sees crime as a violation of the laws of the state. Restorative justice involves healing for the victim, the offender, their relationship and the whole community in a search for solutions that promote repair and reconciliation, whereas retributive justice determines blame and administers pain in a legal contest between the offender and the state. According to Zehr, the Judeo-Christian understanding of justice must begin with an evaluation of the norms and values that form the foundation for a positive vision of right relationships between all units within the society (Zehr, 1995, 141–53 and 181–209). As mentioned at the beginning of this essay, Catholic social teaching, as illustrated in a peacebuilding manual published by Caritas Internationalis, presents reconciliation in the same terms, i.e., as a pursuit of right relations between people.

Amstutz presents a balanced view that sees a place for both retributive and restorative justice. According to him, retributive justice emphasizes the important role of accountability, through rule of law, in establishing a peaceful and well-ordered society. Impartial accountability and strict enforcement are viewed as an effective way of dealing with past infractions, restoring proper human relations and providing a deterrent against future lawlessness. Though it focuses extensively on exposure of, and retribution for, past wrongdoing, it also endeavors to delineate constitutional norms that will prescribe social behavior that is protective of human rights. On the other hand, according to Amstutz, restorative justice gives precedence to the restoration of social and political order over accountability and enforcement, especially in fragmented societies torn by civil strife, where security is minimal, violence has been perpetrated by all sides, institutional culpability is widespread and prosecution might contribute to increased political destabilization. It reflects a future orientation focused more on development of shared social vision, healed relationships, and behavioral change that can prevent the repetition of lawlessness. It deals with the past through truth-telling, apology, amnesty and the renewal of the moral values and traditions that sustain the common life. Amstutz points out that in American history, for example, Lincolnian reconstruction following the Civil War illustrates this approach. Lincoln's Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction in 1863 established a baseline of moral equality among all combatants who were classified as "survivors" rather than innocent victims or guilty aggressors. Responsibility for both past atrocities and future reconstruction were understood primarily in corporate, not individualistic terms (Amstutz, 2005, 106–11 and 213–20).

It is important to note that efforts at restorative justice need not be conceived only as alternatives to retributive justice or the need for an effective criminal justice system. Many projects, with the aim of restoring relationships among conflicted groups, have been developed by non-governmental organizations working totally outside the legal system. Most of the socio-economic examples listed above fall into this category. At the same time, there have been a number of high profile attempts to evaluate the benefit of restorative versus retributive justice as a government sanctioned response in the aftermath of violent conflict. Various approaches to justice have been proposed for states in process of transitioning from authoritarian to democratic forms of government. Philpott delineates three basic approaches to transitional justice (Philpott, 2006, 2–6):

- Pragmatic compromise in which examination of the past is avoided by one or more of the parties involved.
- Punitive justice, which calls for either (a) domestic or international trials, or (b) the practice of "lustration" or "cleansing" in which past perpetrators of human rights violations are disqualified from holding public office (e.g., Czech Republic and the unified Germany).
- Reconciliation in which restorative justice is pursued by either government sponsored truth and reconciliation commissions or similar efforts sponsored by civil society actors, most common among which are religious communities.

Amstutz also addresses the complex issues inherent in determining the optimum balance between legal trials and various restorative alternatives in pursuit of transitional justice. He examines a few case studies, including ones on retributive justice in Argentina, truth-telling in Chile, the lack of truth-telling in Northern Ireland and the experience of truth and reconciliation in South Africa (Amstutz, 2005, 17–40 and 112–210). Since the South Africa case represents one of the most important efforts to apply restorative justice on the national level, and since it was led by a prominent religious figure, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, I will examine it in some detail.

According to Amstutz, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) relied on the indigenous concept of *ubuntu* that placed prominence on the values of harmony, friendliness and community and, therefore, fits well into the restorative justice paradigm. This communal focus informed the four basic steps undertaken by the TRC:

- Emphasis on personal injury and human suffering rather than impersonal rule breaking.
- Reparation for victims to facilitate their restoration into community life, while encouraging the rehabilitation of perpetrators.
- Encouragement of direct conflict resolution between victim, offender and the community.
- Calls for a "spirit of understanding" between victims and offenders.

Despite the fact that many citizens came forward to tell their stories and numerous perpetrators acknowledged their crimes, there has been considerable criticism of this effort. One critical assessment of the impact of the TRC has been given by Charles Villa-Vicencio (Villa-Vicencio, 2003, 30–47). His main points of contention include:

- In a transitional society, just emerging from illegitimate rule and lawlessness, establishing the integrity of the state and the rule of law is as important as developing good social relationships.
- Moral outrage is appropriate since failure to demonstrate anger at gross human rights abuse suggests indifference to human suffering and fails to affirm the moral worth of victims.
- Some retribution is necessary as a deterrent and moral persuader. Payment by the perpetrator elevates the level of moral responsibility expected from him.
- In the South African case, restorative measures alone were not extensive enough to meet the demands of most victims and survivors.

It is worth noting that Islamic understandings regarding the importance and nature of justice echo many of Villa-Vincencio's concerns. In Islam, according to Sachedina (Sachedina, 2001, 103–05, 111–15, and 123–26), the ultimate goal is restoration of relationships. Retribution, however, is worth pursuing to the extent that it leads to a *sulha* process of reconciliation, including acknowledgment of responsibility, then forgiveness and finally rehabilitation of the wrongdoer and restitution (exact repayment of what was lost) or reparation (payment in lieu) to the wronged party. Sachedina also notes that violence can be sanctioned, but only when restorative justice has not been achieved by peaceful means. Revenge, however, is not perceived as having any place in justice.

Returning to South Africa, it is important to note the response of Archbishop Desmond Tutu to the critiques of the TRC process (Tutu, 1999, 49–63).

- Responding to concerns that perpetrators were not held sufficiently accountable, Tutu replied that most did express remorse. To require this as a condition for amnesty, however, would have necessitated a very difficult evaluation of the person's sincerity. He also indicated that, in the case of gross violation of human rights, a public hearing was required and that the public exposure and humiliation often functioned as a penalty with very severe consequences. Finally, he expressed concern that if perpetrators had not been given civil as well as criminal immunity many would not have participated, resulting in trials and potential acquittals, as happened in some cases.
- Responding to concerns that victims have been forced to sacrifice their right to justice, Tutu acknowledged that victims did lose their rights to sue and to press criminal charges. However, they also avoided the bloodshed, ethnic cleansing and other traumatic experiences which have destroyed many lives in other transitional states. He pointed to the fact that the TRC system allowed the state to invest more in education, housing, healthcare and emergency food to those most in need. This policy, he argued, constituted a wider and fairer form of reparation.
- Responding to the accusation that only the victims, not state officials, had the right to grant amnesty, he replied that very many of those who set up the TRC process had, in fact, been victims.
- In general defense of the TRC process in South Africa, Tutu pointed to the fact that restorative justice is a primary characteristic of traditional African jurisprudence. This perspective is confirmed by the Tanzanian Catholic theologian Laurenti Magesa (Magesa, 1997, 272–76) who contends that relationships form the basis of African legal practice. In many African contexts judges actively attempt to prevent the breaking of relationships and assist the parties to live together peacefully. Any judgment or punishment is intended to re-educate the parties and the whole community. Acknowledging wrongdoing is considered to be a form of apology, and approval is extended, at the end, to both the perpetrator who apologizes and the victim who accepts the apology.

Restorative justice is still in its infancy and will, undoubtedly, be refined over time. It is important that the restorative dimension has entered the dialogue regarding implementation of full justice. Various cultural contexts will continue to offer insights into this essential part of the peacebuilding process. Though all cultures may share certain principles and ideals, every society will need to place its own imprint on the specific nature of justice within its territory, sphere of influence or jurisdiction.

Forgiveness

It also is very important to define what forgiveness involves, or more accurately, to provide people with the range of alternative understandings regarding the meaning of forgiveness. Amstutz (Amstutz, 2005, 43–105 and 221–33) presents three basic understandings of forgiveness, each suggesting its own approach or methodology:

- As an interactive process between parties, one in which the parties negotiate their way from violation to restoration of relationship.
- As a unilateral act in which, for one's own sake, a wronged party decides to set aside one's own anger and resentment, neither requiring nor eliminating the need for action on the part of the other party.
- Not as a single act or even series of actions, but as an ongoing moral process in which the virtue of forgiveness is learned and developed as a character trait that can be utilized as needed.

These three theories are not mutually exclusive. Elements of one or more can be integrated into the all others. However, it will be helpful to look at them one at a time.

1. Forgiveness as an interactive process is the classical understanding. In this case, it is an objective act on the part of both or all parties, not merely a subjective process.

- Offenders acknowledge their wrongdoing, express remorse and engage in restitution or reparation as agreed and appropriate.
- Victims refrain from vengeance, express empathy for offenders as fellow human beings, and may release offenders from all or part of their deserved penalty (Amstutz, 2005, 55).

Donald Shriver outlines four similar steps in this process of interactive forgiveness: the quest for truth, forbearance, empathy and restored relationships. He then traces the implementation of interactive forgiveness in three difficult conflicts involving the United States in relation to Germany, Japan and African Americans (Shriver, 1995, 6–9, and 73–217).

Although interactive forgiveness is a difficult process, specific methodologies have been developed that are based on this approach. William Bole, Drew Christiansen and Robert Hennemeyer tell the story of the post-war negotiation process led by the World Conference of Religions for Peace that produced a series of statements signed by the leaders of the four major religious traditions in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Bole, Christiansen and Hennemeyer, 2004, 145–49 and 165–66). The initial "Shared Statement of Moral Commitment" set benchmarks for reintroducing forgiveness as a concept of political import. A follow-up statement issued by Catholic and Orthodox leaders specifically contained mutual apologies for the harm done to each other by their respective communities, called for the prosecution of war criminals, stressed the rights guaranteed in the Dayton Accords and asked for sincere repentance, forgiveness and reconciliation between their respective communions. Finally, this interactive forgiveness process was linked to the creation of a new institution, the Inter-Religious Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a concrete step toward the restoring of relations.

Reparations, common in many cultures and religious traditions, have also been part of an interactive forgiveness process in many settings. Reparations are payments that return less than that which the victim lost and, thereby, involve a degree of release of the perpetrator from an obligation to provide complete redress. According to Sachedina, the practice of paying compensation to relatives in place of fomenting revenge killing is a common example of reparation within Islamic tradition (Sachedina, 2001, 104–07). Abu-Nimer agrees that the use of reparations in Islam limits vindictiveness. In fact, he claims that even when retribution is attached to the principle of forgiveness, when it is tempered with pardon, it can lead to restoration. The important place of forgiveness in the whole *sulha* reconciliation process was demonstrated in the introduction to a reconciliation ceremony reintegrating members of two Palestinian clans after one of them had been exiled for seven years following a double murder committed by one of their members. Abu-Nimer records that the ceremony began with an admonition for patience and forgiveness from the Qur'an. Because this kind of Islamic practice helps to bring the parties back into right relationship, he concludes that Islamic values give greater import to interactive forgiveness than to revenge or violence (Abu-Nimer, 2003, 43, 68, and 98–99).

2. Forgiveness as a unilateral practice need not involve any negotiation at all, even in a case where the non-belligerent party agrees to pay the belligerent one. According to Amstutz, it is an approach that has its origins in a therapeutic understanding of the victim's need to find release from captivity to one's own anger and hatred. It recognizes that the suffering of victims results not only from the original injustice, but from the continuing hurts derived from lingering bitterness and repressed resentment. The purpose is to free the victim from their own overwhelming sense of victimhood which frequently diminishes one's self-confidence, destroys self-esteem and leaves emotional scars. Forgiveness, in this case, is not done for the benefit of the other party, but for oneself (Amstutz, 2005, 56–58). In a project which I led at the Program on Preventive Diplomacy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, forgiveness was not presented as absolution — an act that frees others from the consequences of their actions. For example, it does not address the question of possible incarceration or amnesty from punishment (Bole, Christiansen and Hennemeyer, 2004, 162–64). This approach to forgiveness sees it as an individual's own journey out of the grip of the past and into an open and more promising future. During workshops for religious people in the former Yugoslavia, this unilateral forgiveness was presented as giving up all hope of a better *past*. I have described elsewhere an approach to raising this issue in the midst of interfaith dialogue, though the same process could be used within a single confession as well. Beginning with stories about giving and receiving forgiveness, discussion has then focused around the mutual difficulties people experienced being on either end of the process. I have frequently observed that people who enter a workshop determined never to forgive leave believing that forgiveness is possible even if they are not yet ready to act on that conviction. They have gained a better understanding of what is involved and what the benefits might be (Steele, 2002, 82–83).

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There are a number of examples where faith-based actors either called for, or granted, unilateral forgiveness. Archbishop Tutu not only called for this during the Truth and Reconciliation hearings in South Africa but also appealed for this response on the part of Tutsis and Hutus in post-genocide Rwanda during a visit to sites of massacres, prisons, participation in mass rallies and a personal meeting with the country's president (Tutu, 1999, 257–61). Ordinary citizens also have provided numerous cases. In addition to Gordon Wilson, referred to previously, who forgave the IRA for the bombing that took the life of his daughter, I will share two other examples. First, during the violence in Burundi, David Niyonzima, a teacher at a Quaker School, witnessed the slaughter of many of his students. After initially hiding in order to escape danger, he responded to a divine call to go and forgive the killers, an experience he claims transformed him from living in the grip of fear and revenge into an active peacebuilder (Niyonzima and Fendall, 2001, 1–14 and 105–29). Second, Brian Frost describes a "Witness for Peace" visit made by Henri Nouwen and a group of North Americans to Nicaragua in the mid-1980s. The group met with five women who recounted the murders, kidnappings and random destruction that they had personally experienced at the hand of the U.S. sponsored Contras who were fighting the government. As various North Americans asked repeatedly if the women could forgive them for the involvement of the U.S. government in these atrocities and other historical wrongs, they were, as Nouwen described it, lifted into a litany of forgiveness. This act of sheer grace emboldened the Americans to initiate, upon their return to the United States, efforts to raise awareness of the plight of these people (Frost, 1991, 138–41).

This approach to forgiveness may be more difficult in Islamic cultures where there is so much emphasis on acknowledgment of wrong as the first step in reconciliation. Yet Sachedina speaks of forgiveness requiring a *jihad* (struggle) against one's anger and resentment in order to restore one's spiritual station (Sachedina, 2001, 113). Abu-Nimer also states that, in Islam, forgiveness that vanquishes hatred and anger is a prized virtue, one that is even greater than justice (Abu-Nimer, 2003, 67).

3. Forgiveness as a learned character trait is important, according to Amstutz, because one needs to be prepared in order to practice forgiveness in very trying circumstances. Exercising forgiveness requires great humility and involves significant attitude change and moral courage, behaviors that are not easily developed at a moment's notice. Furthermore, forgiveness needs to be lived out on an ongoing basis, so that one is prepared to deal with the repressed resentment that suddenly surfaces while still viewing and responding to the other as a person of dignity and honor (Amstutz, 2005, 58–61). Again, a variety of examples could illustrate this point. One exceptional case, in the face of very trying circumstances in apartheid South Africa, had enormous influence on the prevention of violence during the transition to majority rule. Desmond Tutu, when asked what he would have done if great evil had been done to him personally, points to the character of Nelson Mandela who, after 27 years in prison, became the first democratically elected president of South Africa and invited his white jailor to the inauguration (Torrance, 2006, 77).

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Finally, it is important to ask whether forgiveness can transcend the interpersonal realm and be useful at the social and political level. Can groups rather than individuals forgive or be forgiven? Can people other than immediate victims forgive? Can this include political leaders? According to Amstutz, there are at least two reasons why groups are frequently drawn into the process of forgiveness:

- Victims are seldom, if ever, solitary individuals. Even in cases where only one person is immediately injured, that person's family, clan, friends, tribe, and possibly municipality become tertiary victims. Since these people also suffer loss at the hands of another, they face the possibility of giving forgiveness.
- Groups frequently make decisions that affect people's lives, for good or for ill, and need to be held accountable for those decisions. When the impact is negative, then these groups face the need to be forgiven (Amstutz, 2005, 81–84).

In addition to these reasons, Shriver has summed up well the reasons for pursuing forgiveness on a social-political level. He writes. "If politics is about forming, preserving, and equipping human groups for collective deliberation about allocations of collective resources, and if forgiveness is about reestablishing the capacity of alienated people to see themselves as members of a collective again, then, among groups fractured by a history of atrocity, forgiveness is one of the indispensable preconditions for the growth of political power." (Shriver, 1996, 1) At the same time, as crucial as political leadership is, Amstutz reflects that no one individual or small contingent of leaders can complete the entire process of forgiveness for their societies. Communal forgiveness only happens when the citizens from all parties to the conflict begin to experience transformation of their attitudes and behaviors (Amstutz, 2005, 85–86).

ROLES THAT FAITH-BASED ACTORS CAN PLAY

Transformation of societies into just and harmonious social orders, and the development of an infrastructure capable of maintaining this arrangement, requires a continuum of peacebuilding activity. It is critical to explore both current and potential capacity for faith-based peacebuilding with respect to the whole range of activities and potential impact. The change engendered is, in some cases, within the political context; in others it is outside of the political process. Examples of past efforts by faith-based actors around the world can illustrate different approaches and serve as a catalyst. The variety of potential faith-based actors is extensive, including:

- Indigenous and external players
- Individuals and institutions
- Denominations and ad-hoc commissions
- Ecumenical and interfaith organizations
- Politically motivated religious leaders at all levels and religiously motivated political leaders

One early attempt to categorize conflict intervention roles was made by James Laue, a Methodist layman and professor of conflict resolution at George Mason University. Laue (Laue, 1982, 32–34) outlined five roles: *activists* who are based within one of the conflicting parties; *advocates* who promote the cause of a particular party, outcome or process; *mediators* who seek to facilitate a win/win resolution involving all stakeholders; *researchers* who provide external observation and objective data to describe a conflict situation; and *enforcers* who operate from an independent base and have the power to impose conditions on the conflicting parties. Building upon Laue and other typologies proposed by Adam Curle, Christopher Mitchell, Louis Kriesberg, Loraleigh Keashley and Ronald Fisher, a much longer list of roles is suggested by John Paul Lederach (Lederach, 1997, 64–70). These include: explorer (forerunner, reassurer); convener (initiator, advocate); decoupler (disengager); unifier (aggregator); enskiller (empowerer); envisioner (fact finder); guarantor; facilitator; legitimizer (endorser); enhancer (developer); monitor (verifier); enforcer (implementer); and reconciler. From this wide range of typologies, Cynthia Sampson has narrowed the list to four predominant peacebuilding roles that she recommends for faith-based actors: observer, educator, advocate and intermediary (Sampson, 1997, 279–80). This review will utilize a slightly adapted version of Sampson's schema since it was developed with faith-based actors specifically in mind. The roles I will explore include:

- Observation and witness
- Education and formation
- Advocacy and empowerment
- Conciliation and mediation

All of these roles can be utilized to facilitate each of the dimensions of the faith-based peacebuilding process outlined above. Following a brief explanation of each role, a number of cases will be used in order to illustrate application to a variety of contexts. The following cases, it should be noted, are not exhaustive, but illustrative. The examples listed, however, do give indication of the breadth of involvement by faith-based actors over a period of time extending from the 1950s to the present.

Observation and witness

The observer's role is to be a vigilant presence in a conflict situation, one that is designed to prevent, or at least report, violence and other forms of injustice. Far from being a passive role, the observer is frequently called upon to be physically present, at least temporarily, amidst people who face possible or actual danger. Henri Nouwen refers to this as "patient action" that gives witness to the truth. In fact, he calls for the peacemaking witness not only to say "no" to oppression, but even more important to say "yes" to pursuing a positive vision of just peace (Nouwen, 1982, 92–93, 117–18, and 123–27; Nouwen, 1998, 40–55). Observer activities, therefore, can include:

- Conflict assessment efforts in order to prevent or mitigate future violence.
- Fact-finding/truth-telling missions focused on past incidents which, according to Ifi Amadiume and Abdullahi An-Na'im, can help to prevent future violence (Amadiume and An-Na'im, 2000, 16–17).
- Accompaniment of people in danger.
- Functioning as human shields.
- Monitoring of conflict related activity such as cease-fires, human rights abuses and election processes.
- Artistic expressions that bridge cultural divides.

In all of these activities, the hope is to reduce the likelihood of potential violence and transform unjust situations in the direction of *shalom*.

Gandhi spoke of people becoming a living wall, literally placing themselves between adversaries in an attempt to stop violence and transform a conflict. In such an act of civilian peacekeeping, one may take an impartial stance or one may set out to protect an oppressed dissident minority, or even majority, that has experienced violence or the threat thereof. The observer may come from within the society itself or from outside it. One ecumenical religious organization that has brought people from the outside into the conflict situation is Witness for Peace. Formed in the 1980s to provide direct contact between North Americans and those who suffer oppression in other lands, it has sent teams of people on fact-finding missions to observe the repression and violence against powerless people, documenting the conflicts. Starting first in Nicaragua, it later expanded its nonviolent peace promoting presence to Guatemala, El Salvador, Mexico, Haiti and the Middle East (Schirch, 1995, 2, 9–11, 21–28, 36–41, 49–54 and 84–86).

A second external religious organization undertaking this observer mission has been the Christian Peacemaker Teams (CPT) sponsored by the Mennonite Church. Since 1993 they have provided accompaniment to people in danger, functioned as human rights monitors and raised public consciousness regarding violence and militarism in Iraq, Palestine, Israel, Haiti, the United States and Canada (Charles, 1994, 20–21). One example of their witness occurred in Hebron in the Palestinian territories during a nonviolent demonstration against the closure of a mosque following the shooting of Jewish settlers. When Israeli soldiers threatened to fire on the crowd, two CPT members placed themselves in front of the rifles telling the soldiers this was a nonviolent demonstration (Bock, 2001, 74–75). In the case of both of these organizations, the teams have been sent during all periods of conflict, though the most common practice has been to send them during a low level period of violence.

A combination of indigenous and external actors from the Catholic Church performed an important monitoring role in the transition leading to Zimbabwe's independence in the 1970s. The Commission for Justice and Peace (JPC), based in Salisbury, Rhodesia and the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR), based in London, set up a system to monitor human rights abuses of blacks. During this war for liberation, reports from the two institutions did much to inform the outside world and provide hope to the oppressed. It was truth telling, more than the achievement of justice or peace, for which these Catholic institutions were remembered during this period (Kraybill, 1994, 213).

One example of local or indigenous witness is the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. Born in the context of the black churches, and led by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., this movement adopted and adapted Gandhi's strategy of absorbing violence through the formation of a "living wall." Time after time, King and his followers brought to light the extent of racial oppression and violence through their nonviolent resistance during the 1950s and 1960s. A primary example was the 1963 sit-ins in Birmingham, Alabama, followed by imprisonment and King's famous letter from the Birmingham jail in which he praises the brave demonstrators "for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer and their amazing discipline in the midst of great provocation" (King, 1964, 55–100).

A second example of an indigenous "living wall" can be found in East Germany's nonviolent revolution in 1989. Following a prayer meeting in Leipzig's Nikolaikirche (Lutheran Church), as 70,000 people were marching to demonstrate in front of the city hall, provocateurs that were lower echelon *Stasi* (secret police) attempted to incite violence by storming their own headquarters building. The church leaders, who had earlier promised the police that they would also protect them from violence, successfully formed a protective cordon around the *Stasi* building. Such actions helped convince the East German government that the churches were indeed leading a nonviolent movement and led some of the *Stasi* leadership to renounce the use of violence for themselves. This Leipzig demonstration, with its act of violence prevention, was the critical turning point that helped bring down the communist government in East Germany and with it the Berlin Wall (Steele, 1994, 120, 130–31, and 141).

A third example comes from Zambia, where the 1992 election process may well have been saved by the monitoring role performed by the Christian churches in that country. Initially the churches of Zambia participated in a national coalition of non-governmental organizations set up to ensure a fair electoral process. When confidence in this coalition broke down, the churches themselves decided to fill that role. The National Council of Churches, in cooperation with the Catholic Bishops Conference and a Protestant evangelical association, recruited, trained and sent out monitors to three thousand locations. The final impasse to the election was overcome when the top two presidential contenders met for prayer and discussion in Lusaka's Catholic cathedral, a meeting that produced a critical election protocol agreement and allowed for free and fair elections to proceed (Sampson, 1997, 287).

Finally, an example of artistic witness to peace is the interfaith Pontanima Choir and Chamber Orchestra, which performs a mixed repertoire of music from all religious traditions in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina. Started by Franciscan priest Ivo Markovic in 1996, the choir grew from its original Catholic base to include Muslims, Serbian Orthodox, Jews and unaffiliated people. As Father Markovic has said, the purpose is to understand the other, love their music and affirm it as part of one's own culture. At the beginning, many in the choir found it difficult to sing the songs of a former enemy, but in time bonds between choir members deepened; audiences numbering a total of thirty thousand have been moved; and it is perceived as one of the clearest manifestations of interfaith reconciliation and spiritual healing in Sarajevo (Peuraca, 2003; Little, 2007, 110–13).

Education and formation

The role of the educator is to lay the foundation for transforming an unjust and violent conflict into a just peace. It is the task of educators to convey to others information about the conflict situation and the skills needed for constructive peacebuilding. In order to adequately prepare a society for this work, educators may need to do one or more of the following:

- Conscientize the population regarding inequities in the system or perceptions of the various parties to the conflict (Freire, 1970, 74).
- Nourish the growth of values that can provide moral direction for the society (e.g., the recommendation by the World Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches that the Sri Lankan church should explore afresh the concept of the kingdom of God in an effort to rethink their relations to ethnicity and nationalism) (Bock, 2001, 110–11).
- Develop the skills necessary to perform other conflict intervention roles and train people in peacebuilding efforts such as alternative nonviolent action or democratic process (see a number of excellent training manuals, e.g., *Peacebuilding: A Caritas Training Manual*, 2002).
- Promote healing through proclamations, rituals of worship, prayer, confession, forgiveness and other community building activities.

Education may be approached through formal or more experiential learning events, including such things as seminars, conferences, schools, information campaigns, discussions, support groups, displays, posters, brochures and media coverage (in addition to cases listed elsewhere in the text, numerous examples of the role play by Vatican Radio can be found in Matelski, 1995). However, R. Scott Appleby also warns that true formation, especially when it involves the inculcation of ethical behavior, must go beyond typical educational methodology. Formation requires internalizing the peace-related values inherent within one's own spiritual tradition. This requires knowledge of the tradition as well as a methodology that emerges from, and applies to, life experience (Appleby, 2000, 284–86).

In some cases the educational efforts have been intentional, whereas in many situations they have been a byproduct of other activities. One can list innumerable situations of the latter type where awareness of a situation has increased through the implementation of an advocacy project, or where worship services and prayer meetings have had greater effect than was planned in providing moral direction or ritual healing. I shall concentrate here on situations where educational efforts were intentional.

In Northern Ireland, where religion has played a major role in the separate education and identity formation of Protestants and Catholics, one educational effort has been the development of intentional communities of reconciliation. Among these ecumenical communities are the Corrymeela Community, Lagan College, Columbanus, Columba House, Rostrevor and the charismatic movement (Frost, 1991, 111–13). Best known among these, the Corrymeela Community provides an opportunity for experiential learning where people can "rediscover each other as human beings" in a common living situation. Founded in 1965, and therefore active during all stages of the conflict, its members confess their own responsibility for the destructive conflicts in their society and bind themselves together as instruments of God's peace in church and society. They see themselves as the sign of a new community and a catalyst for its creation. At the heart of the Corrymeela Community is a process of peace-related spiritual formation. They encourage exploration of Christian values related to community building, develop nonviolent approaches to peacebuilding and hold specific educational events designed to raise consciousness about the causes and the effects of "the troubles." Their initiatives, in addition to meeting many immediate needs, have spawned numerous new organizations (Morrow, 1994). Moreover, these ecumenical communities have had an effect on the traditional church structures, especially in the realm of issuing statements against violence and urging prayers for peace. For example, the churches' healing rituals have included Good

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Friday prayers of confession made by both Catholics and Protestants in Derry in 1985, and later repeated in London, Belfast and Dublin in 1988 (Frost, 1991, 116–17).

Intentional inter-religious communities of reconciliation also have been formed in a variety of African contexts. In Burundi in 1994, the Quaker Friends meeting formed the Kibimba Peace Committee, a group that was open to people of all faiths, and a couple years later established a House of Peace in the town of Gitega. Since then, they have imported, translated and distributed many peace materials from abroad, informed the wider world about the conflicts in Burundi, held the first faith-based conflict resolution seminars in the country, established schools of peace for primary age children and for theological students and worked with the Burundi government on peace education projects. According to the superintendent of the Burundi Friends Meeting, David Niyonzima, the goal of all these efforts is the adoption of an ethic of love and a new way of caring for all people (Niyonzima, 2001, 105–11).

In Nigeria, the Muslim-Christian Dialogue Forum was established in 1995 by a Muslim *imam* and a Christian pastor, both of whom had fought previously on opposite sides of a civil war. This interfaith effort began by providing youth leaders with training in conflict resolution and trauma counseling in order that they could help to defuse ongoing tensions. Workshops then expanded to include women, tribal leaders and religious leaders. The organization, now known as the Interfaith Mediation Centre, has trained 10,000 people in interfaith mediation and conflict management, including two trained youth leaders in each of Nigeria's 36 states, and has a membership of over 10,000 youth and clergy. They now work cooperatively with local governments and various media outlets in an effort to expand knowledge about, and enhance the impact of, inter-religious dialogue (Little, 2007, 266–73).

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The communal life of the church also influenced the nonviolent revolution of 1989 in East Germany, but in quite a different way than the efforts to bridge the gap between religious groups in the previous examples. In the case of East Germany, the predominant Evangelische (Evangelical Lutheran) Church provided the space within which an alternative community could work to prevent violence during the disintegration of this totalitarian society. In this capacity, the church fulfilled a teaching role that, first, conscientized the nation, contributing directly to the peaceful protests of 1989, and then nurtured the development of a democratic process through its facilitation of national round tables in 1990. Both the church hierarchy and the grassroots participated in this process, which included the "Ten Days for Peace" program held annually during the 1980s, the "Justice, Peace, and Integrity of Creation" program initiated in cooperation with the World Council of Churches the peace prayers that began in Leipzig in 1981 and then spread throughout the country in 1989, and the many religious symbols and rituals that preceded and informed the peaceful demonstrations of 1989 (Steele, 1994, 126–33 and 144).

In South Africa, the black churches played a significant role in preventing the escalation of violence through peace education and formation. The South African Council of Churches took a leading role in raising awareness on the part of the whole population regarding the oppressive nature of apartheid. For example, in 1968 they published a "Message to the People of South Africa," a document demonstrating the incongruity between apartheid and Christian moral values. However, the most surprising educational role was played out within the Dutch Reformed Church. A small minority within the church, led by Beyers Naude and the Christian Institute, began an educational process within that bastion of separatism that eventually led to the church overturning its endorsement of apartheid. This slow and painful process finally resulted in a public confession of sin on the part of the Dutch Reformed Church at the ecumenical Rustenberg Conference of 1990. Furthermore, since many of the church hierarchy were prominent members of the ruling National Party, these changes in the attitude of the most powerful white church had an effect on the white South African government. President de Klerk had set in motion the very process that led to the Rustenberg

Conference in his 1989 Christmas message when he told the nation, "I need the churches to speak to me." Consequently, what started as a small protest movement against their own church developed into an educational movement that contributed toward the largely nonviolent dismantling of apartheid (Johnston, 1994, 191–200; Frost, 1991, 178–79).

The peace activity of the Christian Council of Mozambique, an ecumenical body of Protestant churches, illustrates an educational approach in the context of a very violent situation. In 1991, toward the end of close to thirty years of civil war, they launched a "Preparing People for Peace Program." In this program, the churches designed training courses related to political issues, such as nonviolence, human rights, the Mozambican constitution, disarmament, amnesty, repatriation, land distribution and healing a war-damaged environment. Social issues like public health, trauma treatment, child development and the family were also addressed. In addition, they led seminars on biblical peacemaking, reconciliation and practical conflict resolution skills. The program was organized in two phases: a five week seminar held in Maputu for representatives from all Protestant and Catholic churches; followed by a two week follow-up seminar held in each province for district representatives. Future programs, planned as of June 1994, included a nationwide meeting of reconciliation designed to bring together the whole Mozambican family in celebration and worship (Brubaker, 1993).

Finally, an excellent example of the use of the media as an educational tool can be found in an e-mail list serve disseminated by the Episcopate of Raska-Prizren of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Kosovo from 1996–2000, a period that included all conflict stages. The Serbian Orthodox priest, Sava Janjic, known as the Cybermonk because of his daily e-mails sent to numerous readers around the world, supplied an "on the ground" perspective in which he faithfully documented his sources, acknowledged differing perceptions, criticized both sides and called for nonviolent solutions. In addition, Father Sava gave interviews and made appearances in the Albanian media and wrote position papers on the ways the religious communities could be actively involved in conflict resolution and opposing violence. These papers later became a basis for inter-religious dialogue in Kosovo. In all of these efforts, Father Sava displayed his central motivation to be rooted in true spiritual formation. He actively challenged those who attempted to fuse religion with nationalism, thereby impoverishing spiritual values by restricting them to one ethnic group and purporting to achieve them through violence (Little, 2007, 128–47; Steele, 2003, 150–53).

Advocacy and empowerment

The role of the advocate is to speak in favor, to support or defend, in order to advance the cause of a just peace in the eyes of both the wider community and one or more of the parties in conflict. As already indicated, James Laue has distinguished three types of advocacy — for party, outcome or process (Laue, 1982, 30–32).

- Party advocacy exists when one takes the side of a particular party to the conflict. Frequently this is done on behalf of the perceived weaker party in order to create a more equitable balance of power.
- Outcome advocacy exists when one selects a particular outcome to the conflict as the most desirable and attempts to create an environment in which this solution will be adopted. This form of advocacy is often pursued in the name of justice, but can include promotion of violence reduction. One can endorse a disarmament campaign as well as a civil rights movement.
- Process advocacy exists when one presses for acceptance of a particular procedure for resolving the conflict. One could advocate mediation or arbitration; one could focus on the particular crisis or the underlying structural imbalances within the society.

As John Cartwright and Susan Thistlewaite have enumerated (Cartwright and Thistlewaite, 1998, 31–45), the methodology used by faith-based actors in each type of advocacy includes a variety of confrontational activities such as protests, petitions, marches, demonstrations, boycotts, strikes and other acts of civil disobedience, as well as less clashing methods like public statements, speeches, letters, lobbying, fasting and engaging in personal conversation. Some examples in which the Catholic Church has performed this prophetic "moral bell ringer" role include the Latin American Episcopal Conference addressing issues of structural violence and opposing violence in Latin America in 1968 (Henriot, DeBerri and Schultheis, 1988, 134–38), Pope John Paul II addressing the 2002 World Food Summit regarding world hunger, and then Cardinal Ratzinger opposing policies of preemptive war in a press conference following the invasion of Iraq in 2003 (Gillis, 2006, 107–09 and 192–94).

Within Christian tradition, there are also three distinct approaches to nonviolent advocacy:

- *Non-resistance*. This is a stance that only appeals for justice, but never demands it. This position is frequently found within the pacifist traditions. Mennonite John Howard Yoder refers to this as "revolutionary subordination" (Yoder, 1972, 189–92).
- *Non-coercive resistance*. Justice is demanded, but moral persuasion rather than coercion is the approved means. Theologian Walter Wink contends that this formulation allows one to be assertive, yet not force one's will on another. One may even "turn the other cheek," but in a way that exposes the injustice of the system (Wink, 2003, 22–28).
- *Coercive resistance*. In certain situations, some advocates recommend a limited show of force. Quaker Adam Curle suggests that this is frequently necessary when dealing with situations of asymmetrical power (Curle, 1971, 203–06).

I will now turn to examples, which illustrate all three types of advocacy, all three approaches to nonviolent advocacy and its practice in all three stages of conflict. South Africa's transition from apartheid to majority democratic rule gives many powerful examples of all three types of advocacy on the part of a multiplicity of faith-based actors, actions that helped to prevent escalation of violence. A complete listing of all faith-based advocates includes individuals (both laity and clergy), specific church denominations, ecumenical, para-church and ad-hoc religious organizations. Within South Africa, influential indigenous advocates included Beyers Naude (Dutch Reformed Church), Rev. Frank Chikane (general secretary of the South African Council of Churches), Rev. Allan Boesak (the colored leader of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church), and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu whose support for economic sanctions against his own country gained international attention for that cause. External advocates that opposed apartheid and supported sanctions included the World Council of Churches in its Harare Declaration in 1985 and Pope John Paul II in 1988 (see John Wyles, "Vatican Condemns Racism in South Africa," *Financial Times*, February 11, 1989, 2, cited in Johnston, 1994, 196 and 205). Church support for this nonviolent coercive act of resistance was instrumental in giving this approach moral legitimacy. In addition to support for sanctions, a number of churches protested the state of emergency declared by President Botha in 1985, calling for a national strike. During this same moment of crisis, 153 church leaders issued the Kairos Document which called for the church to "mobilize its members in every parish to begin to think and work and plan for a change of government in South Africa." Some protests were even made within white churches. Soon after apartheid policies were adopted in 1948, the English-speaking white churches opposed the policy at the Rosettenville Conference in 1949. One province within the Dutch Reformed Church (the Cape Province Synod) declared in 1983 that apartheid was unbiblical, rejected the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and opened its religious services to members of all races. Furthermore, to support religious freedom in South Africa, the World Conference of Religions for Peace planned interfaith prayer and protest meetings that included Muslims, Jews, Hindus, Buddhists, Baha'is and Sikhs, as well as Christians (Johnston, 1994, 186–200; Frost, 1991, 168–72; and Lubbe, 1994, 2–8).

The role played by the Catholic Church of The Philippines in that country's transition from the Marcos dictatorship to the democratically elected government of Corazon Aquino also illustrates all three types of advocacy at a predominantly violence-prevention stage. Reversing a history of submission to the state, the Catholic Church led religious opposition to the Marcos regime, beginning with the imposition of martial law in 1972. During the 1980s, this movement provided substantial support, resources and leadership to political opposition parties, calling for social justice, human rights, democratic process and nonviolence and opposing corruption, repression and economic mismanagement. The culminating event came in February 1986 when Marcos fraudulently claimed victory over Aquino in the presidential election. The Catholic bishops' conference responded by writing a pastoral letter asserting that the Marcos regime had lost its moral right to govern and that the "faithful" had an obligation to nonviolently protest this evil. Aquino then announced a campaign of civil disobedience during the celebration of a "victory of the people" Mass. The advocacy culminated in a call by Cardinal Jaime Sin, and broadcast on the Catholic-owned Radio Veritas, for mass peaceful demonstrations to prevent Marcos' troops from advancing on the president elect. Due to the fact that rebel military leaders sided with Aquino, providing significant clout, this protest must, in the end, be seen as a form of coercive, nonviolent resistance. Yet it was a successful, prayerful, four-day, demonstration by two million Filipinos that brought Aquino to power (Wooster, 1994, 155–69).

The Catholic Church in Chile also engaged in all three types of advocacy during and after the gross injustices carried out by the Pinochet government in the 1970s and 1980s. Beginning in 1973, Cardinal Raul Silva made very clear his opposition to the Pinochet regime yet instituted programs of non-resistance that focused more on support for the victims than on changing the regime. The Archdiocese of Santiago established a Vicariate of Solidarity, which served as a documentation center and as an advocacy agency for any family whose relatives had "disappeared." In the 1980s, the Chilean bishops developed a national pastoral plan for "reconciliation in truth" so that people's trauma could be remembered and properly addressed. As the Pinochet government came to an end, they established "houses of reconciliation" throughout the country, a localized version of a truth and reconciliation commission where victims of the regime could come to tell their stories (Schreiter, 1992, 66).

The Civil Rights Movement in the United States also utilized all three types of advocacy, but as an example of non-coercive resistance that prevented violent escalation. Under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., between 1956 and 1968, members of historically black churches organized bus boycotts, protest marches and other acts of civil disobedience. In 1963, leaders of the movement lobbied the U.S. Congress for passage of the Civil Rights Bill that outlawed literacy tests and other forms of voter restriction. They also called on the federal government to supervise elections and to challenge the constitutionality of elections in any state that failed to meet the new standards. Political commentators credited King and the Civil Rights Movement with the passage of the bill and with numerous other advances in the acquisition of minority rights. Furthermore, in response to the rise of the mostly secular black power movement in the mid-1960s, the leadership of the Civil Rights Movement signed a statement, in 1966, that repudiated violence and demagoguery and welcomed the participation of whites. In this declaration, as well as by their consistent peaceful response in the face of violence and imprisonment, black civil rights leaders demonstrated that they were as committed to process advocacy as to party and outcome advocacy (Frost, 1992, 123–29).

A Muslim example of all three types of advocacy can be found during an episode of violence in Thailand. In December 1975, Muslim activists formed the Civil Rights Protection Center in Pattani in order to protest the detainment of six Malay Muslims, five of whom had been brutally killed. They began a peaceful demonstration in which they requested the arrest of the criminals, compensation for the victim's families, withdrawal of government troops that had been sent to surround the city and a meeting with the prime minister. During the demonstration, 12 more people were killed and over 30 wounded by government police. In response, 50,000 people gathered at the mosque to pray, during which time one more person was killed. One week later, Muslims in Bangkok met for prayer and protest in solidarity with Pattani Muslims. In the end, after 45 days, the protesters met with the prime minister who removed the governor of Pattani from power. Non-resistance in the form of "revolutionary subordination" had succeeded (Satha-Anand, 1993, 19–21).

Party advocacy that forces a government transition, as in the South African, Thai and Filipino cases, is rare. However, powerful examples do exist of outcome and process advocacy that can impact government policy or even transition. During Zimbabwe's war of independence, the indigenous Commission for Justice and Peace (JPC) and the external Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR) lobbied western governments against lifting economic sanctions or allowing whites to remain in power. At the same time that they called for nonviolent coercive resistance to counter white supremacy, these Catholic institutions also publicly challenged the black liberation forces, deploring the atrocities committed by the guerrillas. Finally, in 1977 the JPC, local Catholic hierarchy and Pope John Paul II engaged in high-level advocacy for a peace process to end the fighting, efforts that had a distinct impact in Washington, London and Bonn (Kraybill, 1994, 212–22).

More recently, the Catholic Archbishop of Uganda, John Baptist Odama, engaged in non-resistance process and outcome advocacy. In a speech to the United Nations Security Council in February 2006, he called on the international community to help end the war in Northern Uganda. He engaged in process advocacy by asking the UN to be the mediator of talks between the government and the rebels of the Lord's Resistance Army. He also engaged in outcome advocacy by calling for the creation of a corridor to allow humanitarian aid to reach the civilian population (Catholic Peacebuilding Network, 2006). More heroic, Archbishop Odama announced to the world that he was prepared to stand in the place of the LRA commanders at The Hague and would serve whatever sentence was delivered in order to end the war and enable people to return to their homes in peace.

The Nonviolent revolution in East Germany in 1989 provides another example of the powerful influence of faith-based actors functioning as outcome and process advocates in a pre-violence context. Beginning in 1988 and accelerating in 1989, the Evangelische (Evangelical Lutheran) Church became increasingly involved in protesting government policy related to a host of issues including peace and disarmament, human rights, environment, economy, freedom of speech and travel, police brutality and election fraud. As previously noted, it was prayer services that provided the rallying point for non-coercive mass demonstrations that spread all over the country, culminating in the replacement of the hard-line communist regime with a moderate caretaker government that was willing to enter into dialogue on the future of the country and its entire political system (Steele, 1994, 127–33).

In Kosovo, the Serbian Orthodox priest, Father Sava, again provides us with an illustration of all three types of advocacy at all stages of the conflict. He consistently opposed the policies of the Milosevic regime, calling for all perpetrators of atrocities throughout the former Yugoslavia to be sent to the international tribunal in The Hague. Other than this call for forceful action, however, his conduct was non-coercive. He advocated for all who were in danger, denouncing any violation of human rights, including bodily harm, ethnic cleansing or destruction of property. He himself personally protected people and helped to provide them with necessary assistance. He met with anti-Milosevic Serbs from Belgrade to encourage them to acknowledge the atrocities committed against Albanians and supported the push for free and fair elections by the pro-democracy student groups in the country. Throughout all of the pre-war suppression of Albanians and the post-war suppressions of Serbs, he continued to advocated for a dialogue process that was honest, accurate and balanced (Steele, 2003, 150–53; Little, 2007, 128–47).

Finally, the Sanctuary Movement in the United States provides an example in which lay people of faith have engaged in all types of advocacy in an effort to support illegal or undocumented immigrants from Central America as they enter the United States. Much of the effort can be considered non-resistance since it aims to assist the immigrants rather than directly resist U.S. policy, though lobbying the United States government on behalf of this population has been part of their mission. Laura Sanchez, director of the Proyecto Hospitalidad in San Antonio, Texas is an example of one who has opened her home to hundreds of refugees and helped many to apply for asylum in Canada. During the 1980s and 1990s she helped to organize the "Overground Railroad" for undocumented immigrants to make their way from Mexico to Canada. With the help of the Catholic Church, she has attempted to meet physical as well as spiritual needs: raising funds for medical care; finding safe homes in which they can stay; and gathering them for prayer and worship (Dunleavy, 1998, 214–19).

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Conciliation and mediation

The role of the intermediary, according to Laue (Laue, 1982, 32–33), is to act as a go-between, facilitating communication between opposing sides in a conflict. The obvious expression of the intermediary role is that of formal "track one" mediation, when a third party sits face-to-face with the principal adversaries at the negotiating table in order to help resolve a particular dispute. Although some extraordinary examples do exist, it is rare to find religious groups functioning in this formal capacity, which requires greater authority to implement and enforce peace accords. It is more common that faith-based diplomacy will function as a "track two" effort in which the religious intermediary provides a

It is more common that faith-based diplomacy will function as a "track two" effort in which the religious intermediary provides a secondary channel of communication that parallels and complements the official "track one" negotiations. In this capacity, faith-based intermediaries are frequently in a good position to help the parties develop a better relationship.

secondary channel of communication that parallels and complements the official "track one" negotiations. In this capacity, faith-based intermediaries are frequently in a good position to help the parties develop a better relationship. When the aim is simply relationship building and not dispute resolution, then Laue refers to the intermediary effort as conciliation (Laue, 1981, 74). Conciliation has been very widely pursued by a great variety of faith-based individuals and groups who have tried to help reconcile parties through the encouragement of increased trust and cooperation. Quaker conciliation is perhaps the most prominent example (Yarrow, 1978). Conciliators often attempt to soften the hostile feelings each side has toward its adversary by reducing fear and correcting perceptions in order to create an atmosphere conducive to clear communication and formal negotiation. Laue notes that conciliation is often practiced at the pre-negotiation or pre-mediation stage of a conflict. However, it cannot be limited to this phase, since relational problems are inevitably at issue throughout a conflict. Any examination of conciliation and mediation reveals a great diversity of methods. Examples include:

- Individuals carrying messages
- Interfaith dialogue sessions that build relationships
- Off-the-record meetings where adversaries can explore alternatives
- Ecumenical and interfaith round tables that produce joint statements
- Religious leaders functioning as heads of delegations to secular conferences
- Participation in truth and reconciliation commissions at national, regional or local levels

Some of the cases listed below highlight the intermediary role played by external interveners while others demonstrate the potential for indigenous faith-based actors. Some cases have an obvious impact on the political level, while others exercise a broader influence on society, and still others will focus attention on key individuals who can, in turn, influence the political or social levels.

Resolution of the civil war in Mozambique provides one successful example of both conciliation and official mediation by a Catholic organization. Between 1990 and 1992, the Catholic lay community of Sant'Egidio in Rome together with Mozambican Archbishop Jaime Goncalves and Mario Raffaelli, a representative of the Italian government, acted as intermediaries between the Mozambican government and the RENAMO rebels. The intermediaries first acted as conciliators, building relationships of trust through their good offices. They then moved into a more formal role of convening talks at the Sant'Egidio monastery in Rome, though acting initially only as observers. Their success in bringing the parties to the table is credited to prior work by Goncalves and Sant'Egidio in reducing religious persecution in Mozambique, opening up church-state dialogue and providing humanitarian and development aid. After the second round of talks, the parties in conflict requested that the intermediaries transition from a role of message carrying to that of formal mediation. The sessions began with the mediation team recommending rules of engagement, securing agreement on an initial agenda and conducting shuttle diplomacy between the government and the rebels. After two years and nine rounds of talks, they succeeded in settling many of the political issues that would have to be implemented toward the end of the peace process. However, the mediators recognized that resolution of the military and administrative problems, as well as implementation of the entire agreement, would require a higher profile mediation team, one that had the power to apply needed leverage, confer diplomatic legitimacy on any agreement and sustain the process of implementation. Consequently, during the tenth round, the UN and a number of national governments helped bring the negotiations at Sant'Egidio's to a successful conclusion (Hume, 1994, 15–139).

Successful official mediation efforts by a combination of indigenous and foreign religious actors also can be found in Latin America. In Nicaragua, a conciliation commission of faith-based actors helped to mediate an agreement to end hostilities between the Sandinista government and the east coast Meskito Indians. Four Indians, led by Brooklyn Rivera and all members of the Moravian Church, together with a Baptist pastor from Managua, and an American Mennonite, John Paul Lederach, comprised the mediation team that successfully secured a preliminary agreement in 1988. The initial round of negotiations took place in a Moravian Church and included overt religious practices such as Bible readings and prayer, as well as typical intermediary functions like message carrying. These faith-based mediators, who saw themselves functioning as pastors, were most effective at engaging the parties emotionally on issues that touched on ethnic identity. They were least able to have any influence over questions of territorial redistricting or the existence of an independent rebel army. Consequently, as in the case of Mozambique, the final agreement had to be mediated by someone with more clout. In this case, the chair of the Conciliation Commission, a Baptist,

introduced the chair of the Meskito delegation, another Baptist, to former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, a committed Baptist layman. As a result of the subsequent invitation to intervene, Carter agreed to lead an international team to monitor elections in Nicaragua, an action that positioned him as mediator of a formal comprehensive agreement ending wars between Sandinistas and both the Meskitos and the American supported Contras (Nichols, 1994, 71–84).

A form of insider mediation also took place in East Germany in the final transition phase of the peaceful change from communist rule to electoral democracy. Between November 1989 and March 1990, following the period of advocacy activity, the church facilitated round table discussions consisting of communist government officials and members of the opposition movements. At both the national level, and in more than 350 local communities, these round tables negotiated such issues as the distribution of communist party property, the secret police legacy, the decision to hold elections, and changes in the constitution. Religious leaders functioned in the mediating role of moderator in most instances, including the national round table that was moderated by a three person team consisting of Lutheran, Catholic and Methodist clergy. Unlike the outcome advocacy role performed by religious leaders during the earlier protest phase, these round table moderators did not propose solutions or set out the position of the church. Instead they facilitated dialogue and introduced a democratic process by which decisions were made (Steele, 1994, 133–37).

South Africa gives us another example of how indigenous faith-based communities can change roles, in this case functioning first as conciliators, then as mediators, following a long-standing advocacy role. During the 1980s a few South African Quakers deliberately began to make the shift to conciliation. They perceived that the moral base of apartheid had been eroded and determined that white leadership could not sustain a long-term commitment to repressive measures when its moral rationale was gone. In 1983 after a violent interchange between the government and the African National Congress (ANC), Quakers Hendrick van der Merwe and David Muir issued a statement expressing disapproval of the violence, sympathy with both sets of victims, belief in the presence of some goodwill on each side and their own decision to contribute financially to victims on both sides. This began a series of contacts with all leaders. First, van der Merwe visited Winnie Mandela who entrusted him with messages to one of her most formidable opponents. There followed a series of meetings including Nelson Mandela, members of the Zulu Inkatha movement, government police, cabinet ministers and the Department of Foreign Affairs. Subsequently, van der Merwe was asked to facilitate informal meetings between the government and the ANC. As a result of this first off-the-record meeting in 24 years, the editor of the largest pro-government Afrikans newspaper, Dr. Piet Muller, wrote several editorials describing common ground he perceived between the two sides and called on the government to talk with the ANC. This Quaker conciliation role helped pioneer a radical shift in public opinion in South Africa so that, by 1986, 50 percent of whites favored talks with the nationalist, as opposed to the communist, faction of the ANC. By 1990 there was enough public support for President de Klerk's government to overturn its ban of the ANC and to release Mandela from prison (Van der Merwe, 1989, 1–8).

Colombia provides a third example in which indigenous faith-based actors, in this case various elements within the Catholic Church, functioned in advocacy, conciliation and mediation roles. Between 1993 and 1999, the church's base communities played an important role in the promotion of various advocacy initiatives, such as demonstrations and marches like the National Pilgrimage (or Stations of the Cross) for Life, Justice and Peace. It is noteworthy that one assessment of peace efforts in Colombia postulates that these advocacy actions by the church tended to be less confrontational than advocacy promoted by the broader peace movement (Duran, 2007, 11–13). Since 2000, conciliation efforts, focused on relationship building, have been primarily promoted by the Catholic Church, which has introduced the theme of reconciliation in the debate over how to proceed with peacebuilding. The church has also facilitated mediation at all levels. Local priests have facilitated peace agreements between youth groups and gangs in various cities and helped to negotiate agreements on humanitarian issues. Bishops and priests in some regions have facilitated informal dialogues with armed groups over the release of kidnapped persons. The church hierarchy — including figures such as Bishop Jose

Conciliation efforts in Colombia, focused on relationship building, have been primarily promoted by the Catholic Church, which has introduced the theme of reconciliation in the debate over how to proceed with peacebuilding.

Luis Serna, Monsignor Alberto Giraldo as president of the Bishop's conference and Monsignor Nel Beltran — has assisted at the very top levels of official mediation. In 1995, the president of the Colombian Bishops' Conference convened the National Conciliation Commission, which served as an informal mediator between armed groups and the government. In the 1990s, Bishop Jose Luis Serna was the chief negotiator of a region-wide cease-fire and peace agreement that lasted for six years between the Paez Indians and the paramilitary group Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC). In 2002–2003, church authorities facilitated confidential discussions between the government and another paramilitary group, The United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC) that led to a ceasefire and AUC demobilization. In 2005–2006, the church hierarchy formed part of a consultation process sponsored by Casa de Paz (House of Peace) between the paramilitary group National Liberation Army (ELN) and Colombian civil society. The concluding document suggested exploratory talks to be mediated by international facilitators. This led to three rounds of formal negotiations in Havana between the ELN and the Colombian government (Duran, 2007, 11–15; Bouvier, 2006, 2–11; Bouvier, 2004, 7–15; and Rudqvist, 2006, 8–9).

In Northern Ireland, a significant conciliation role has been played by indigenous faith-based groups who have influenced the society more than the political process by helping to prevent the escalation of violence. The ecumenical Corrymeela Community, already noted for its role in education, was among those groups, as were the British Quakers. Both organizations designed meetings to bring together people from opposing sides, including representatives of the paramilitaries. British Quaker Adam Curle describes one such encounter between representatives of the Ulster Defense Association (UDA) and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) during which they discussed common concerns for housing, jobs, public service and the future of their children. Despite the fact that the British authorities neglected to build upon this effort and others like it, such meetings contributed to the development of caring relationships between some of these people. The influence of such encounters on the eventual peace process cannot be discounted (Curle, 1990, 94–95; Williams and Williams, 1989, 7–8). Some church agencies went beyond the conciliation role to perform a mediating function, although one that seldom met with long term success. In 1974 the Irish Council of Churches brought together representatives of the British government and Sinn Fein, the political arm of the IRA. As a result of these formal negotiations, a four month cease-fire was achieved. The Catholic Church also frequently acted as a quiet intermediary between the IRA and the British government, never bringing about the critical breakthrough, but helping to keep the lines of communication open (Morrow, 1991, 117; Johnston, 1994, 324).

Finally, Nigeria provides another illustration of local conciliation efforts to reduce violence and ultimately mediate agreements between warring factions at all stages of conflict. As indicated already in the section on education and formation, the Muslim-Christian Dialogue Forum (MCDF) was formed in 1995 as an interfaith effort to stem the ongoing violence in Kaduna, Nigeria. The two founders, James Wuye, a Christian pastor, and Muhammad Ashafa, a Muslim *imam*, had formerly been members of the rival Christian and Muslim militant organizations, the Christian Association of Nigeria and the Jama'atu Nasril Islam. After abandoning personal militancy, they maintained the contacts within their respective organizations. Those initial contacts formed the basis for an ever expanding involvement with armed groups, especially youth. Peacemaker teams trained by MCDF were soon building mutual relationships to prevent violent eruptions between the rival militias in Kaduna and, later, to mediate political and economic conflicts such as land disputes. As their mediation role grew, they decided to change the name of the organization to the Interfaith Mediation Centre. Since then, they have successfully mediated a number of local conflicts. In both their training and mediation processes, they emphasize spiritual values and frequently rely on preaching and citing of scriptural references from both the Bible and the Qur'an. The response they receive also has been very spiritual in nature. For example, participants have apologized for the attitudes and behavior of other members of one's sectarian group. In 2002 they convinced the governor and 20 senior religious leaders, 10 from each faith community, to sign the Kaduna Peace Declaration, which calls on the whole community to oppose incitement, hatred and misrepresentation of one another. The signing of this declaration is credited with helping to keep Nigeria from erupting into more violence following the publishing of the Danish cartoons depicting the Prophet Mohammed in a negative light. In 2003 the two leaders successfully mediated a settlement between two warring communities in the Plateau State and held a workshop that produced a joint communiqué on stereotypes and misconceptions, which helped reduce violence following elections. In 2004 they gathered key leaders in Yelwa-Nshar and mediated joint acceptance of a Peace Affirmation related to ongoing post-war concerns over ethnicity, provocation, intimidation, confiscation of property, missing persons and the government role in economic development (Ashafa and Wuye, 2006, 21–24; Smock, 2006, 17–20; and Little, 2007, 268–73).

CONCLUSION

Faith-based peacebuilding within the Abrahamic traditions must be firmly rooted in *shalom* (*salaam*, peace), affirming both justice and reconciliation and avoiding both mere pacification and a crusade mentality. Implementation of this vision of personal, relational, communal and social wholeness requires the faith-based peacebuilder to pursue an optimal integration of "social justice building" and "direct violence reducing" methodologies. Catholic social teaching/practice spells out four concrete elements involved in this process of establishing right relationships. It calls all Catholic agencies to pursue:

- Universal human rights
- Social and economic development
- Solidarity with the entire human family
- A world order based on nonviolent response to conflict

The emphasis on personal, relational and nonviolent structural change must be evident throughout the peacebuilding process, including all stages of conflict:

- Prevention of violent conflict
- Conflict mitigation
- Post-violence reconstruction

For maximum effectiveness, this vision and methodology must be integrated into broader social projects, involving a wide spectrum of the faith-based NGO family. Whatever the institutional form, these peacebuilding efforts should attempt to build right relationships, giving attention to five dimensions of the peacebuilding process:

- Grief and trauma healing
- Hospitality
- Apology/confession
- Justice
- Forgiveness

In addressing these dimensions, four different roles may be played by a variety of faith-based actors:

- Observation and witness
- Education and formation
- Advocacy and empowerment
- Conciliation and mediation

From the literature survey and the cases observed, we may tentatively propose some best practices and draw out some lessons learned for future improvement.

SOME BEST PRACTICES

A number of practices keep reoccurring throughout many of the dimensions of the peacebuilding process and the roles discussed for faith-based actors:

1. Storytelling emerges over and over as a paramount modus operandi (critical tool). It can create empathetic bonds between people, clarify misunderstandings, help people explore their difficult experiences with apology or forgiveness and build the kind of relationships that can lead to joint implementation of any of the peacebuilding roles.
2. Joint activities frequently hold a special breakthrough power that could take the peacebuilding effort to a new level — joint accompaniment of those in danger, joint "walk through history," joint statements of apology or forgiveness, joint protests, joint advocacy for all victims, joint worship services or prayer meetings, joint relief and development projects, mediation of joint agreements, the creation of joint interfaith institutions, joint choirs, even sharing a cup of coffee as a simple act of hospitality.

3. Faith traditions have a unique contribution to make to peacebuilding in the form of ritual. Scriptural laments have been used as models for contemporary mourning. Rituals of grief and memorials for the dead are important for trauma healing. Symbolic acts like burying the Jewish gold speak louder than words of apology. Singing together songs of the faiths provides a peace witness that touches the heart. The Islamic ritual of *sulha*, reconciling two Palestinian tribes after a blood feud, begins with a reading from the Qur'an. Negotiations to end fighting in Nicaragua and Nigeria are interspersed with Scripture reading, prayer, and preaching. The Good Friday healing rituals, including prayers of confession, have seeped from the ecumenical communities of Northern Ireland into the church writ large.

Faith traditions have a unique contribution to make to peacebuilding in the form of ritual.

4. Making peacebuilding part of a larger social endeavor is important. Working in cooperation with schools, media and government will often enhance the educational program of faith-based peacebuilding and vice versa. For example, training programs in Nigeria have been enhanced and local government has become more stable through such cooperative ventures. The same is true regarding efforts to combine socio-economic development with peacebuilding. Easing of tensions can lead to economic benefit as can readily be seen in South Africa. On the other hand, as the role of Sant'Egidio in Mozambique illustrates, fostering economic development adds significantly to the legitimacy of a mediator. Furthermore, community mobilization for shared economic and social goals can contribute immeasurably to social cohesion, which is at the heart of restorative justice.

LESSONS LEARNED

Among the numerous lessons that can be drawn from the cases presented, five are particularly noteworthy:

1. It is clear from the variety of cases presented that each of the five dimensions of the peacebuilding process and each of the four roles played by faith-based actors can be applied at all levels in society — grassroots, middle and top — and at any stage of conflict — prevention, mitigation or post-violence. The exact nature of the application, however, may differ depending on both the stage of conflict and the specific cultural context. At the same time, it is clear that faith-based peacebuilding must start at a point of great sensitivity to the suffering of the people whom one wishes to serve. Extending oneself in empathy for their losses — reaching out to know the grief, the needs, the anger of each person and each group — is critically important. The simplest act of sheer presence, one that provides compassionate observation and witness, must be the place where peacebuilding begins. Other specific roles and steps will build from there.
2. Faith-based peacebuilders often build on beliefs and values that are widely disseminated in societies, and have the privilege and opportunity to engage in education and formation. A truly faith-based formation process is one that internalizes the peace values inherent in one's faith tradition and assists others to do this as well. It helps people move from protecting oneself and one's identity group to acknowledging responsibility; from fearing the other to learning from the other; from grievance and victimhood to a forgiving spirit; from enemy imaging and revenge to extending hospitality; and from healing of the past to envisioning the future.
3. There are different types of relationship with the "other" that will be appropriate in different circumstances. There are the moments when forgiveness needs to be unilateral in order to free one from internal resentment. There will be times when it needs to be interactive, asking for public disclosure and reparation or offering some degree of amnesty in order to achieve full rehabilitation and restoration of right relationship. There will be times when advocacy should take the form of unilateral non-resistance, and there will be times when it will require confrontation of the other, occasionally through exerting social pressure, but seldom coercive.
4. The creation of intentional communities is very important in order to sustain peacebuilding. Consider the powerful witness of the Corrymeela Community in Northern Ireland and the Interfaith Mediation Centre in Nigeria during long periods of sustained violence. Ecumenical and interfaith communities play a very important role in knowing and embracing the "other."

Consider the powerful witness of the East German churches during the transition from totalitarianism to democracy. A faith community can serve as an alternative community that helps the whole society to gain a new identity. Consider the powerful witness of the Christian Institute in the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa when it named the sin of apartheid. A small but faithful remnant can lead the wider faith community and society to know its true self and begin to dismantle the webs of deception.

A faith community can serve as an alternative community that helps the whole society to gain a new identity.

5. The full potential impact of faith-based peacebuilding has yet to be realized. Within the past 20 to 30 years, there has been an enormous growth in type and scope. There do seem to be limits. Party advocacy by faith-based actors rarely results in major government transition. Official mediation by faith-based entities appears largely limited to "track two" diplomacy, requiring augmentation by an official "track one" negotiator who can act as legitimizer, implementer and enforcer of any agreement. At the same time, however, there are impressive examples of this collaboration. The peace processes in Mozambique and Nicaragua may not have been finalized without the timely injection of "track one," but they would not have even started without the faithful conciliation and mediation efforts of the Community of Sant'Egidio and the Meskito Moravian Church. There is the mediation among armed groups in Nigeria and Northern Ireland, the gestures of apology — Pope John Paul II over the Crusades, the Inquisition and the Holocaust or "Sorry Day."

The variety of concrete and practical methodologies recommended here and in the case studies that follow can serve to open the horizon of possibilities for the peace practitioner, both faith-based and secular. This collective experience, as well as other examples that can be found in the bibliographical resources below, can serve to equip faith communities in particular for this most important mission in the 21st century. By allowing the new developments of the past 25 years to stimulate the imagination, previous accomplishments could well be surpassed by the growth of faith-based peacebuilding in the near future.

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Young participants in the culture of peace training after mass in Matimba parish.

RWANDA

Church Action in Promoting a Culture of Peace

Initial draft by Joseph Muyango and Laura Dills

INTRODUCTION

Rwanda is a small, densely populated central African country of some 8.4 million people. The Catholic Diocese of Byumba is situated in northeastern Rwanda. It shares borders with Tanzania in the east and Uganda in the north, and covers two administrative units, the Northern Province and Eastern Province. It has two pastoral zones, Byumba in the west and Umutara in the east, corresponding to the former administrative provinces of those names; the latter is discussed in this study. The Umutara area, which comprises a large part of Akagera Park, was mostly a hunting reserve area and little inhabited until 1994. Umutara's population has been estimated at 421,623 inhabitants.[1]

Umutara is among the areas of the country that have suffered the most in terms of human and property losses since the outbreak of war launched by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)[2] in October 1990 and the April-July 1994 genocide. The impact of these tragic moments is experienced differently in different sectors. Some places have been significantly affected by consequences of the war launched by the RPF, while others have suffered more from the effects of genocide and prolonged exile. The challenge lies in providing justice for all, and promoting truth among the younger generation.

Because the region shares borders with Uganda and Tanzania, it has the largest number of former 1959 refugees, who were repatriated into it in 1994. The area is especially prone to conflicts of interest between these returned refugees (mostly regarded as Tutsis) and those who stayed in the country, or more recent 1994 refugees who were repatriated mainly between 1995 and 1997 (largely regarded as Hutus, some of whom are also genocide suspects). The conflicts often have ethnic dimensions.

Rationale for this case study

The three year project examined in this case study has succeeded in engaging young people who have had painful past experiences, so as to promote positive changes at the individual and relational levels in their

1 Data from the National Population Census, 2002

2 The Rwandan Patriotic Front, composed largely of exiles, launched the war in northern Rwanda on October 1, 1990. The RPF's victory stopped the 1994 genocide, and it holds power to this day.

respective communities. At the structural level, the project also has contributed to the development of collaboration between various youth education and cultural institutions by promoting values of peace and reconciliation. The case study was conducted with the following questions: *How have results been achieved? Who are the key actors? What strategies and methodology were applied to attain these positive results as confirmed by all external observers?*

Brief methodological overview

Information and analysis presented in this document are based on a combination of a literature review, individual in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.

The first stage of the study consisted of conducting research and reading project documents (proposal, progress reports and evaluation reports), as well as documents related to the field of the development of a culture of peace. The second stage focused on gathering views of young people, parents and administrative and religious authorities in the Umutara area with respect to their assessment of the peacebuilding program. This consisted of six focus group discussions involving four for young people, one for parents and one for leaders of youth education structures, bringing together 94 people. There also were 10 individual in-depth interviews involving two administrative leaders, two religious leaders, two CRS workers who contributed to the project management, two young leaders and two young German volunteers.

NATURE AND EVOLUTION OF CONFLICT

Rwandan youth face multiple challenges. More than 60 percent of the population is made up of young people who confront a high rate of unemployment and scarce opportunity to go to school. Only 20 percent of the youth attend school. In the Rwandan context with the recent tragic experiences of war, the 1994 genocide, repatriation and conflicts that have continued to plague the Great Lakes region, there is a danger that idle young people can easily be manipulated into engaging in acts of violence and massive human rights violations.

The aftermath of war and genocide, which the youth have experienced differently, manifest themselves in various ways, such as loss of social values, internal divisions, fear, the desire for vengeance, mistrust, lack of solidarity and intolerance.

A large number of youth who complete primary and secondary education do not have the opportunity to further their preparation due to the lack of adequate places in public schools, or money to enroll in private ones. As a result, more than 80 percent of these youth fail to integrate themselves into productive society. The consequences of unemployment, which is almost absolute in rural areas, include idleness, excessive consumption of drugs, alcoholism, crime and sexual promiscuity. The aftermath of war and genocide, which the youth have experienced differently, manifest themselves in various ways, such as loss of social values, internal divisions, fear, the desire for vengeance, mistrust, lack of solidarity and intolerance.[3]

In describing this context of conflict, opinions gathered from the majority of interview respondents stressed that, at the time of the 2003 launch of the youth peace education project, the social climate was dominated by suspicion and despair for the future in communities, families and among young people. Here is how the situation was described by one of the youth:

> *…the fact of having evolved in different social, historical and cultural backgrounds did not facilitate our immediate integration. You see, it was not easy to live together when people found themselves together while coming from different countries and different cultures and they were blaming one another for their misfortunes.*[4]

In fact, within their families, young people were affected by the culture of prejudice and bigotry among adults resulting from the war, genocide and exile. There was a climate of hostility between those who were

3 Text of the project "Renforcement des capacités des aumôneries de la jeunesse de Kigali et Byumba pour la promotion de l'Education des jeunes à la culture de Paix" (2003), p. 2.

4 Participant in a discussion group at Rwimiyaga, Matimba parish, September 22, 2007.



repatriated after a long exile and those who were living in the region prior to the genocide. They avoided one another for reasons of safety. "We were afraid of meeting with those who were accusing us of being *Interahamwe*,"[5] said a young girl from Rukomo Church (Episcopal Church of Rwanda).[6]

Even students were not spared this climate of suspicion, as prejudices led to exclusion and ethnic divisions in the schools. Ideology based on ethnic identity was present in secondary schools and contributed to tense relations between students, as well as between students and their teachers. One student explained that, "… there were here, as in other schools, some behaviors and speech characterized by genocidal ideology. For example . . . forming work groups while discriminating against others saying they are Hutu, Twa or Tutsi."[7]

All in all, the socio-economic situation of the youth is reflected in the five major challenges identified in a study conducted by the youth chaplaincy in the Umutara pastoral zone in collaboration with CRS Rwanda Justice and Peace department. The challenges include: 1) human rights abuses; 2) lack of awareness of fundamental rights; 3) intolerance and bigotry; 4) tensions and conflicts in the aftermath of war, genocide and exile; and 5) poverty, exacerbated by a lack of basic information about opportunities for personal advancement. A parent from Musheri sub-parish stated: "Before trainings and awareness campaigns were conducted for youth on peace and reconciliation, there were frequent cases of the kidnapping of girls, fights, rape, sexual promiscuity, crime . . ."[8]

5 Interahamwe was the militia that perpetrated the genocide.
6 This girl participated in focus group discussions in Rukomo Parish, September 23, 2007.
7 Testimony by a student from Kiziguro high school at Kiziguro, September 21, 2007.
8 Remarks made by a parent, interviewed at Musheri, Matimba Parish, September 23, 2007.

It is worth noting that after the genocide, religious institutions had difficulties recovering their moral authority in the communities because their image was tarnished by the active involvement of some religious leaders, and especially many followers, in the genocide. In some instances, they lost credibility with the government and, of course, suffered the loss of leaders and followers, as well as the destruction of infrastructure during the hostilities. Despite this, churches made early strides towards mobilizing Rwandans for reconciliation and unity. Since this was high on the government's agenda, it served as a basis for common understanding and collaboration. It is in this context that the peacebuilding program was established for young people and enjoyed support from administrative authorities. In fact, authorities found that many religious institutions were key partners for mobilizing the population towards reconciliation. "We sought to work with the Catholic Church because we see that it has a great reputation among the population,"[9] said an administrative leader from Gatsibo District.

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Protagonists: conflicts based on misinformation

Having grown up in different socio-economic contexts and countries as a result of a series of ethnic conflicts and forced displacements, Rwanda's youth harbor prejudices against one another. They have organized themselves around groups who blame one another for their vulnerability and misfortunes, and characterize their situation by reference to victor and vanquished. On one hand, the group of youth who were in Rwanda during the genocide were characterized as victimizers or victims. Young Tutsi survivors accused their Hutu peers of being killers or the sons and daughters of those who killed their parents. Hutu youth, in turn, blamed the former for the imprisonment or exile and disappearance of their parents or relatives accused or suspected of genocide. Some youth returnees who had been born in exile prior to the genocide treated Hutu who were in Rwanda before and during the genocide as suspected genocidal murderers. The returnees who were in exile prior to the genocide were considered invaders or outsiders.

"A single incident like the case of an unattended cow that ravages the field of a neighbor could lead to disruptions and even physical violence,"[10] said one of the youths in Matimba parish. Confirming this, Father Salvain adds that:

> *Reactions of people in general and of youth in particular, to an inappropriate gesture made by a community member were not commensurate with the harm being caused; they were influenced by the perception of which group he/she belonged to before analyzing and judging whether it was done intentionally or unintentionally.*[11]

The reality is that protagonist groups are deeply rooted in the complexity and magnitude of the consequences of war and genocide, as well as ignorance.

The first set of challenges facing the young protagonists was to overcome the intrapersonal, interpersonal, intra- and inter-group conflicts, and analyze their social context rationally. They had to first confront within themselves their prejudices and fears, and then work together within a very limited space for communication and exchange that was inherent in the community.

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9 Interview with Richard Murego, September 21, 2007.
10 Remarks made by a young person during the interview at Rwimiyaga, September 22, 2007.
11 Interview with Father Salvain Ndayizeye, youth chaplain in Byumba Diocese/Umutara pastoral zone, September 22, 2007.

Levels of violence

The kinds of violence identified by interview respondents included lynching, abuse, intimidation or humiliation, exclusion and marginalization, mainly against groups of differing origins or differing material and economic interests. Not everyone was systematically attacked; just those who attempted to invade space, fields or water wells that were considered personal property. There were disputes ranging from simple to aggravated in character, which could sometimes result in assault and battery. One of the youths from Musheri said:

> *They could not come to attack us here; they had to wait for the times when we needed to go out to search for water, a scarce good in our area, to prevent us from drawing it. They would intimidate and sometimes beat us. We could get revenge by preventing them from grazing their cows in the area of our fields and vice versa"*[12]

Causes of conflict

The root causes of conflict include internal divisions, a culture of impunity and poor governance. The youth in our study have been disoriented by adults transferring their own misconceptions and prolonging the country's painful history. The youth claimed that their aggressive behavior was often due to the fact that they had not yet been immersed in the process of creating a culture of peace, and that they were not sufficiently informed about one another because they had no opportunity to sit together.[13] The root causes of conflict lie in history. "Parents used to tell us that someone was a member of such and such an ethnic group, he/she is so malicious, etc.,"[14] said one of the young people from Rwimiyaga. "Pre-genocide governments liked excluding a portion of the Rwandan population rather than punishing those who had been instilling division, exclusion, hatred and extermination since 1959. Instead they were rewarded with positions in the country's political administration . . ." indicated the Executive Secretary of Ngarama sector, Gatsibo district, in Ngarama Parish.[15]

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The overall objective of this church project has been to contribute to the education of school and non-school youth on developing a culture of peace. In the Diocese of Byumba, the target population was at least 10,000 young people, including those attending school and those who were not.[16] The project targeted both Catholic and non-Catholic youth to foster a culture of peace in society, and ensure its manifestation through acts of charity and self-resolution of conflicts.[17]

The overall objective of this church project has been to contribute to the education of school and non-school youth on developing a culture of peace.

The four strategic approaches outlined in the basic project document[18] were as follows:

1. Focus on intervention through school networks and existing movements or associations led by the youth chaplaincy, youth administrative structure or school services in targeted areas.
2. Build the capacity of members of the chaplaincy through training on various aspects of human rights, especially those relating to rights that are neglected or violated (the right to childhood, family law, land law, civic law and so on).
3. Work closely in the field of peacebuilding with other stakeholders, state and faith-based institutions other civil society organizations operating in the geographical zone so as to involve political and religious leaders as well as local communities in youth education on the culture of peace.
4. Use training materials (manuals, text, video and audio documents) and enrich them by improving the existing ones or exploring new paths.

12 Remarks made by a youth from Musheri during the interview of September 23, 2007.
13 Interview, September 21, 2007.
14 Interview, September 22, 2007.
15 Interview with Richard Murego, September 21, 2007.
16 Project document, "Renforcement des Aumôneries de la jeunesse du Diocèse de Byumba et de l'Archidiocèse de Kigali pour l'éducation des jeunes à la culture de la paix."
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid, p. 4.

Key actors

Project planning and implementation have been supported by the local Catholic diocese and CRS. They also received support from the youth organizations of the Catholic Church, religious denominations and the local government.

The Bishop of Byumba Diocese The project was created out of a pressing desire of the bishop of Byumba, Mgr. Servilien Nzakamwita, whose overall pastoral plans give priority to the accompaniment of youth. He proved to be a friend of youth. His unconditional support for this project has enabled the youth chaplain in Umutara pastoral zone to act with confidence: "The Bishop of Byumba authorized me to guarantee youth projects with the RIM (Inter-Diocese Microfinance Network) for possible credits."[19]

Coordination in the Umutara pastoral zone Father Abbot Salvain is the youth chaplain in Umutara pastoral zone. He is highly committed to the cause of the youth, particularly the Culture of Peace program. He also is committed to promoting conditions conducive to sustainable development. His spirit of cooperation and communication earned him the trust of other key actors, but especially the youth.

Local government Good collaboration with local authorities facilitated implementation of program activities, as well as availability of financial and human resources. Indeed, the local government has not only provided resource persons during trainings and awareness campaigns, but also supported applications for internal and external funds the program received from the Umutara Community Resource and Infrastructure Development Project (PDRCIU) and the European Union via the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission.

The executive secretary of the Ngarama sector, Gatsibo district, Mr. Richard Murego expressed satisfaction with the action of the church among the youth. The officer in charge of mobilization towards unity and reconciliation within PDRCIU in this district, Mr. Gilbert Sezirahiga, said that he believes that structures established by the peacebuilding project made it easier to reach out to youth who were attending or not attending school. In fact, he said:

> *The Catholic Church has proven to be the most worthy and most successful among all organizations operating in this region. At the time we were to commence the peacebuilding program we found that the church already had operational youth education structures established by the project.*[20]

Youth organizations Youth organizations can be found within the church, such as Catholic action movements and small Christian communities, and within local government (National Youth Council) as well as in other churches. Thanks to the commitment of leaders of these organizations, the project has been able to reach a large number of youth.

THEORIES OF CHANGE

Information can mitigate vulnerability to manipulation

To achieve a lasting peace it is necessary to inform and prevent youth from being manipulated by the adults who instill violence and internal divisions within Rwandan society. Youth are not the planners; they often commit acts for which they are not masterminds. A Rwandan proverb says *igiti kigororwa kikiri gito,* which literally means "a tree needs to be straightened out while it is still young."

The church seeks to encourage Rwandan youth to live in harmony and to use resources for the integral development of all.

Through its peacebuilding program the church seeks to enable its members and others of good will to understand clearly, as persons created in the image of God, their social duties, and to find their own solutions to the problems of coexistence. This culture of peace

19 Interview with Fr. Salvain Ndayizeye, September 22, 2007.
20 Interview with Gilbert Sezirahiga (PDRCIU), September 23, 2007.

among youth project fell within the scope of the orientation of the Church Synod, which was held to celebrate 100 years of the Catholic Church in Rwanda, and took into account the post-genocide situation.[21]

Training can prepare youth to transform conflicts now and in the future

The church seeks to encourage Rwandan youth to live in harmony and to use resources for the integral development of all. Mobilization toward an enduring culture of peace among youth revolves around such principles.

Targeting young people means approaching those who have the power to influence a lasting peace in the country. The project is designed to foster cohesion and responsibility among them with respect to both current and future challenges that the country must address.

Examples of collaboration promote coexistence

It was noted that at the Kiziguro school complex, those in charge of the Unity Club seemed to exercise greater tolerance and charity towards others. The strategy was therefore to use peer facilitators to educate the youth, and also to influence adults. Indeed, through dynamic and enthusiastic youth, the "wave" of the culture of peace also reaches parents and other adults such as teachers with whom they share their lives.

EFFECTS OF THE ACTION

The project's activities focused on thousands of youth from various backgrounds, and it exceeded the targets initially established. The final evaluation in August 2006 indicated that 2,858 young people had been trained, well above the figure of 2,000 initially envisaged. Quantitatively, the numbers of trainings, campaigns and conferences thus surpassed expectations. Qualitatively, the project appears to have triggered positive behavioral changes, including greater cooperation, reconciliation and mutual assistance.

From avoidance to collective intelligence[22]

The various groups interviewed—youth, parents, administrative authorities—unanimously affirmed that before the introduction of the peacebuilding program, a climate of intolerance and mutual avoidance reigned. They told several stories in which they, their neighbors or parents were subjected to physical and verbal violence.

We did not believe that we could sit down together as youth from different backgrounds and discuss problems, which divide us, and find solutions in the common interest of our country. I was not expecting significant changes when we were invited for training on reconciliation of youth leaders. I went there because it was organized by the church and I did not know others who had been invited . . . all the recreational activities, meals and discussions were open and frank — whereas we had come from environments and "families"[23] that do not share the same vision of things. But it is especially after the training received on the history of Rwanda that I was transformed.[24]

Another youth at Matimba explained how he managed to find peace with a former assailant:

One day when going to fetch water, a young man and some others found me along the road and brutally beat me. We met again in a youth solidarity camp and exchanged glances many times at first without speaking. Later the young man approached me and asked for my forgiveness, and since then we have become friends. We regularly visit each other and we are in the same association.[25]

21 Remarks by the Youth Chaplain in Umutara zone on September 24, 2007.
22 Annick, E., et. al., Animer un groupe d'entraide (L'Harmattan, Paris 2001) Rojzman, Charles, et. al., Savoir vivre ensemble, agir autrement contre le racisme et la violence Ed La Découverte (Paris, 1998).
23 The nuance in Kinyarwanda indicates that he wanted to say different ethnicities.
24 Discussions at Musheri, September 23, 2007.
25 Discussion held at Rwimiyaga, Septermber 22, 2007.

Solidarity and charity

Following public awareness campaigns on the peacebuilding process in secondary schools, students formed Unity and Reconciliation Clubs. Members of the Kiziguro Secondary School Unity and Reconciliation Club committed themselves not only to talking theoretically about peaceful coexistence, but to take actions that support and promote solidarity. They have been contributing funds to provide for the educational needs of poorer classmates since 2005, and have involved the school administration in the initiative. Here is a student's account:

> *I was always alone. I felt like an abandoned, forgotten person and since I could not manage to pay school fees, I was frequently chased out of school. I also lacked scholastic materials such as books . . . It was then that members of the Unity Club organized themselves to plead my case with the school administration. The administration was able to find me a scholarship, thanks to which I almost managed to pay all the school fees. Club members also organized a concert and managed to get most of the school materials which I needed so badly . . . Since then, I have joined them and I share their commitment as I participate in activities of the club.*[26]

The students of Kiziguro Secondary School stated they were satisfied with the changes they observed, especially within their school. They underlined two results which they judge very significant:

- There are no more needy students who abandon school for a long period due to a lack of school fees.
- Conflicts between students are settled amicably, even before the cases get to the level of the school administration.

The Unity Clubs created in secondary schools in the Umutara pastoral zone are often called upon to train other groups in local parishes. The Ngarama Secondary School Unity Club obtained first place in a contest organized in Gatsibo District on unity and reconciliation.[27]

In addition, the youth members of Catholic Action movements in the Rwimiyaga and Musheri sub-parishes in Matimba parish, as well as those of Rukomo, cited the following changes, which they describe as remarkable:

- We no longer see tensions and violence.
- Youth move everywhere without any problem and regularly visit those who used to threaten them.
- Young people now marry without consideration of ethnic origin or group belonging.
- Associations for income generating projects bring youth together without any discrimination based on ethnicity, religion or other origin.
- The capacity to resolve conflicts within families and in villages has been developed; sometimes the trained youth are called upon by colleagues and even adults to contribute to the resolution of conflicts in the community.
- Houses are built for vulnerable people.

We no longer see tensions and violence.

Youth move everywhere without any problem and regularly visit those who used to threaten them.

Young people now marry without consideration of ethnic origin or group belonging.

The youth who were trained will, in turn, train colleagues in the same groups or movements, as well as other youngsters who do not belong to the Catholic Church. They have set up a program for this purpose. However, they lack means of transportation, as well as training materials and modules, making it difficult for them to reach out and transmit the knowledge they have acquired.

Respondents expressed their thoughts on various changes experienced through participation in the peacebuilding program. Protestant youth in Rukomo noted the following:[28]

- We are no longer isolated from other Catholic young people; trainings and meetings have brought us closer and closer together.

26 Public Testimony at Kiziguro and confirmed by the Headmaster of the School, September 21, 2007.
27 Testimony by Gilbert Sezirahiga (PDRCIU), September 21, 2007.
28 Public Testimony at Kiziguro and confirmed by the headmaster of the school, September 21, 2007.

- We no longer despair vis-à-vis the challenges of poverty because, through our associations, we have learned that unity is strength.
- Many parents are now aware of the rights of the child and, unlike before, they send their children to school in large numbers.
- We have solved land disputes using conflict resolution techniques that we learned.
- Marital conflicts are settled before cases reach the level of *Abunzi* conciliators (committee of appointed mediators).
- We have tried to restore the confidence of many youth and adults in the *gacaca* courts (traditional conflict resolution mechanism, which was revised and redeployed in the post-genocide period). Rumors had caused people to flee the country. The truth about *gacaca* courts is essential.
- There is no longer mistrust between members of different religious confessions. We have no limits to sharing the same association with Catholic youth.

It should be noted that these Protestant youth feel at ease when they come to the Catholic parishes in Nyagatare or Rukomo. The youth coordinator affirmed that pastors greatly appreciated the project of educating youth on the culture of peace.[29]

Leaders of government programs for youth in Nyagatare Zone stated that:[30]

- A number of conflicts were settled and violence was being avoided among couples.
- Youth who participated in the peacebuilding process gave up excessive drinking, a source of conflicts and violence.
- Many of the youth who committed genocide crimes pleaded guilty and repented.
- Youth help in settling land disputes and cases of fraud.
- The youth presented dramas and sang songs on various topics that had been dealt with, especially during the solidarity camps.
- To promote a culture of peace among younger children, the youth trained them at Nyagahang, a parish. Every Saturday they played group games to educate younger children on the culture of peace and promote a harmonious future for them.

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These discussions indicate how youth developed amongst themselves a spirit of commitment to the culture of peace. They expressed themselves with self confidence and enthusiasm. It was apparent that they had acquired ownership of the Culture of Peace program.

Adult perceptions

The opinion of adults with respect to the Culture of Peace program is clear and positive. Some adults who were interviewed requested that similar training be made available to them. They observed that:[31]

- The trouble makers of yesterday have become peacemakers.
- There are no longer cases of kidnapping of girls or forced marriage and hardly any rape, which was common before.
- Street fights due to drunkenness have ceased.
- Young people are initiating positive and charitable action.
- In families, there is a climate of co-operation between parents and children, and even among children.
- Thanks to the training received, there currently are youth who are aware of the danger of HIV and AIDS; young people no longer wear very short and tight clothes.

29 Interview with youth leaders at Nyagatare, September 24, 2007.
30 Public Testimony at Kiziguro and confirmed by the headmaster of the school, September 21, 2007.
31 Discussions with parents, Musheri, September 23, 2007.

The youth chaplaincy developed national and international partnerships

Due to the dynamism of Father Salvain, the Culture of Peace project created partnerships with several local and international organizations and institutions, whereas, when it began in 2003, the youth chaplaincy had only CRS as a partner. In addition to the strengthening of the ecumenical spirit, this project allowed for stronger collaboration between the government and the church. A series of initiatives carried out by the youth chaplaincy in the Umutara pastoral zone enabled an extension of activities targeting a large number of youth. For example, training sessions were funded through the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission by the European Union. In addition, public awareness campaigns were financed by Nyagatare and Gatsibo district government offices through the PDRCIU project for the creation or consolidation of Unity and Reconciliation and AIDS Clubs in the secondary schools.[32] A PDRCIU worker interviewed for the case study stated that "the church's Umutara Youth Chaplaincy is our indispensable partner, with its strong capacity for mobilization of youth. It contributes to the achievement of the unity and reconciliation policy that is the priority of the current government."[33]

The work of the youth chaplaincy in the Umutara pastoral zone has also inspired young people in both the United States and Germany. A CRS program, *Called to Witness,* sponsored a 2004 visit to the project by a group of American youth leaders. Impressed by the dynamics of change they observed, the youth remained in touch and continued to exchange experiences with Father Salvain. The project was then presented at the World Youth Forum in Germany in 2004 and attracted widespread interest among participants. A priest and two German youth coordinators visited Rwanda to get exposure to the project, learn more about this kind of programs offered and consider how it might work in their country. Greatly inspired, the two German youth coordinators have volunteered with the Umutara zone youth organizational structures in order to identify areas of possible cooperation between the Chaplaincy and their organizations in Germany.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE EFFECTIVENESS

Dynamism and proactive leadership

The coordination team in the Umutara zone has a dynamic and proactive style of leadership that has contributed to the success of project initiatives. They prefer a type of management, which promotes proximity and direct collaboration with partners and youth working in the field. This methodology has placed youth at the center of all the actions that concern them. It is this dynamism that caught the attention of other stakeholders and partners, the national government, civil society and international collaborators.

Participatory approach

The methodology adopted by the Umutara chaplaincy resembles that adopted by other stakeholders and partners, in particular the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, in organizing solidarity camps, training on peacebuilding topics and conducting public awareness campaigns. However, the merit of the peacebuilding project of the Umutara pastoral zone is that it adopted a participatory approach on the basis of its operational planning, accompanied by specific monitoring of the implementation of planned activities. Such an operational plan offers three major advantages as a mechanism for coordination:

- Clear assignments and training structures, such that everyone knows his/her responsibility and role in attaining the overall objectives.
- Insistence on the sustainability of the activities and achievements in the framework of the project.
- A suitable management framework allowing other projects to be introduced without the risk of duplication, especially when these projects are funded by multiple partners.

The young people, partners and all other players are involved in preparation, management and coordination of solidarity camps. The youth interviewed said that they are proud of the role that they played in the preparation and coordination of this project.

32 Final evaluation of the project, (August 2006), p. 26.
33 Discussions in the Gatsibo District, September 21, 2007.

Unity Clubs and peer education

Groups of students were trained in all 28 secondary schools of the pastoral zone. The groups are known as Unity Clubs and each has an organization and an activity calendar. The role of the Club is to serve as a catalyst for a culture of peace within the school. Leaders and members of Unity Clubs must lead by example, so there was a need to provide them with necessary knowledge and the means to fulfill their mission effectively. Training in the culture of peace, which includes a focus on (human rights, conflict management, reconciliation and prevention of violence against women and children, is intended for all students but in a special way for Unity Club members, upon whom more is demanded.

Solidarity Camps and the creation of spaces favorable to coexistence

Youth who leave their usual social settings to participate in the solidarity camp experience it almost like a peace pilgrimage. They know that they will be staying with unknown "families." This provides an occasion to discover and understand other people. For some, it is an opportunity to experience life outside a restricted family framework. They tend to be filled with enthusiasm at the idea of meeting other young people and developing friendships. They are eager to make peace with others and to learn how to make peace at home.[34] The participating families prepare themselves to receive each other in order to establish cordial relations, solidarity and "universal fraternity."[35]

Facilitation by peers and the art of living together

The facilitation of the solidarity camps takes into account various elements of organization, including the reception of participants, respect for the timetable, manual work to help the poor or support the community, conferences and leisure. Participants are organized into "families" during the camp experience. Each family is composed of up to 10 people, including a father and a mother. Each family is identified by a name, which will serve as its point of reference during and after the solidarity camp experience.[36]

In the solidarity camps, youth organize dances and evenings of conviviality. The dance steps adopt the rhythms of songs they compose on the spot, based on topics developed during the camps or training sessions.

The relevance of the contents of conference debates

Conferences make it possible to transmit large amounts of knowledge in a short space of time. They make it possible to teach large groups and develop a variety of relevant concepts, which vary according to place, time and level of understanding. Those developed thus far are:

A culture of peace:

- Facilitation/coordination of youth
- Youth and decision-making authorities
- The role of religious institutions in national reconciliation
- Gender
- Care for those with psychic trauma due to genocide and war
- *Gacaca* jurisdictions
- Youth and the church

Consequences of genocide and Rwandan society:

- The history of Rwanda and its position in the National Unity and Reconciliation process
- Human rights
- History of genocide
- The origins of conflicts in the Great Lakes Region
- HIV and AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases
- The elaboration and management of income-generating projects
- The technique of "terracing" (soil conservation methods)

To efficiently organize these conferences, the Umutara Zone youth chaplaincy held many meetings and was frequently in touch with partners and other stakeholders. Meetings contributed to reducing divergent visions. Thanks to the mediation of Father Salvain, Protestant youth followed the program and ended up

34 Rojzman, Charles, et. al.
35 Ibid.
36 Byumba Diocese, "Peace Culture Project: report of the youth solidarity camps in Byumba Diocese," (CRS BPRM, 1999 - 2001).

training their pastors who witnessed positive changes among their youth and do not oppose their participation in the peacebuilding program organized by the Catholic Church.[37]

Sports and culture as spaces for communion

Sporting activities and artistic expression were used as means of communication for transmitting messages about a culture of peace. Excitement prevails on the playing field. Violent tendencies diminish because people work for the same cause, symbolized by the ball.[38] At Matimba, a Franciscan youth reported that the sector counselor used to tell them: "Instead of running behind one another uselessly, you should run together after the ball." He told them that by hating one another, they were losing out economically and even emotionally but, by working together, they would have everything to gain. Sporting events are a privileged occasion used to motivate many youth to be attentive to messages from other young people and project leaders.

Indeed, youth unanimously insisted on the need for sporting and cultural activities, not only to reach large numbers, but also to ensure that messages are retained. There was communication before an event, when interlocutors are attentive; and after an event they continued to reflect on the topic that was addressed. The Unity Club of Kiziguro Secondary School used sports competitions and song concerts as fundraising events intended to mobilize assistance for needy students. Sports and cultural activities enabled the youth of various religious groups to come together. Tensions diminished as youth got to know one another. The themes for communication after matches were connected to the objectives of the peacebuilding program: the rights of the child, the process of *gacaca* jurisdictions, reconciliation and the place of youth in the Rwandan society and in conflict resolution. The topics tended to sensitize and promote behavioral changes. According to Fr. Salvain, "The youth let us mobilize ourselves for reconciliation and against divisionism," or "youth let us organize ourselves around associations for development and peace."[39]

Other peace promoting initiatives

This Culture of Peace project cannot claim, however, that it alone was responsible for the results obtained. It profited from the contribution of other church and government initiatives. These included the strengthening of base communities within the Catholic Church, the processes of *gacaca* jurisdictions, which promoted justice, reconciliatioin and healing, and administrative decentralization that established youth structures in local communities. The political context was favorable for a wide variety of initiatives that have contributed to the process of reconciliation among Rwandans.

LESSONS LEARNED

Youth empowerment

The success of this project was due initially to the building up of capacity of youth and the promotion of their sense of leadership and responsibility in responding to the challenges confronting their society. It is critical that young people develop independent minds to make appropriate judgments, build self-confidence and explore creativity. The young members of Unity Clubs in the Umutara Zone secondary schools gained renown for their efforts to disseminate the training skills and experiences they had gained. Those of Matimba parish initiated exchange programs to strengthen friendships.

Once youth have acquired a sense of responsibility vis-à-vis the promotion of a culture of peace, as noted in the Umutara Pastoral Zone, it is necessary to show them that they are trusted. "I leave them the responsibility of choosing among themselves those who most need scholarship support . . . I am now absolutely sure that they will be able to act correctly, without partiality or injustice," declared Father Karinijabo, headmaster of Kiziguro Secondary School. In the same way, according to Father Salvain, the choice of participants in solidarity camps is carried out by youth through consultations with Catholic Action movements or basic ecclesial communities on the basis of need.

Young people must develop their creativity so that they might adapt themselves to any new situation and

37 Testimony of the youth from Rukomo, September 23, 2007.
38 The ball symbolizes a common interest, according to Rwimiyaga Youth.
39 Remarks by Father Salvain Ndayizeye.

find solutions to the problems and obstacles they encounter. At Kiziguro Secondary School, they have cultivated a spirit of compassion towards peers in need of assistance, especially the very poor.

The youth of Rukomo parish noted that the sensitization of the youth at a more advanced age, though necessary, was insufficient to create a long-term impact; intervention at an earlier age is necessary. Thus, they created a framework to bring together children between the ages of four and 16 for Culture of Peace education corresponding to their age.

Establish a culture of peace from an early age

The youth say they were confused by adults.[40] In fact, the family is the first window through which the child sees the world, followed by the school. This window can create a view of a malicious world, full of conflicts of hatred, a world without joy, without justice. This view can be shaped by negative language or by the perpetuation of a climate of fear and conflict among family members or neighbors. The youth of Rukomo parish noted that the sensitization of the youth at a more advanced age, though necessary, was insufficient to create a long-term impact; intervention at an earlier age is necessary. Thus, they created a framework to bring together children between the ages of four and 16 for Culture of Peace education corresponding to their age.[41] Educating for peace from an early age is a lesson learned and something that merits widespread support.

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40 Interview with the youth from Matimba at Rwimiyaga, September 22, 2007.
41 Interview with the youth leaders at Nyagatare, September 24, 2007.



Church officials and traditional chiefs met on grassroots issues, June 2007

TOGO

Catholic Church Contributions to Overcoming the Socio-Political Crisis

Initial drafts by Theodore Badonte and Rev. Eloi Yog Lambon

INTRODUCTION

Togo is a small West African country. It is bordered on the east by Benin, on the west by Ghana and on the north by Burkina Faso. In the south, the country has a coastline of 50 kilometers on the Atlantic Ocean. The country has 37 ethnic groups of which the largest in numerical terms are the Ewe-Ouatchi (44 percent of the population) of the Maritime region and the Kabye-Nawdeba-Lamba from the Kara region (21 percent). The Togolese population is estimated at 5,700,000 inhabitants. One-fifth of the people live in Lomé, the capital city. In religious terms, some 51 percent are followers of traditional religions, 29 percent are Christians and 20 percent are Muslims.[1]

Poverty greatly affects the Togolese people, mortgaging the attainment of their economic and social rights. The outcomes of the Quibb survey of 2006 show that poverty affects 61.7 percent of the population. Added to this poverty is the rise of unprecedented vulnerability, one of the consequences of the socio-political crisis that the country has been experiencing since the beginning of the 1990s.[2] Child exploitation is widespread. Thirty out of every 100 children in Togo work.[3]

This case study attempts to detail and analyze the contributions of the Togolese Catholic Church to the process of overcoming the country's persistent socio-political crisis. Two channels of inquiry were used to collect information, namely documentary research, and interviews with resource persons and others involved in the Messengers of Peace and Human Rights Project in Togo. Elements of documentary research on the church's contributions to the process of peacebuilding were reconciled with the perceptions of the targeted public.

1 Source CIA World Factbook, April 17, 2007; available at https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/to.html.
2 Master Plan of the United Nations Development Aid to Togo (UNDAF) 2008-2012, April 2007 p. 7
3 Op cit. p. 8.



NATURE OF THE CONFLICT: POLITICAL CRISIS AND VIOLENCE IN TOGO

Causes of the crisis

The violence which has affected Togo is essentially political. It has been carried out and maintained by political struggles, reaching its peaks around the time of elections. This holds true for legislative elections as well as the presidential elections organized since the opening of the country to multi-party democracy in 1991. The government in power seems to conserve any and every exercise of state power, while the opposition feels that "too much is too much," alluding to the endless and self-serving reign of the Rally of the Togolese People (RPT).

Beyond the immediate causes, a more refined analysis can bring to light hidden ones: prestige linked with the exercise of state power, and the seizure of the economic nuts and bolts of the country. Those who control economic power typically control the country's natural resources, trade opportunities and the customs duties and taxes of the country. Beyond the will to maintain or win power, a root cause which feeds the socio-political crisis is the control that those who govern exercise over the economic life of the country.

The State in Togo, in the words of Gilles Labarthe, has been:

> *An off-shore outpost where private American and European guard service companies, secret French agents, German co-operands, unscrupulous businessmen, and crooked politicians are activated. Many networks*

compete for the sake of a common passion: digging their part of the booty by diverting public funds, participating in the looting of natural resources for their own gain . . .[4]

In the history of Togo, neither the head of state nor his ministers have ever declared their assets before assuming office or at the end of their exercise of power. This is to say that purely political games are interwoven with economic interests. It is important to note that the socio-political crisis has no religious connotation. However, religious authorities have felt called to speak and act in response to the destruction caused by the crisis' protagonists.

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Protagonists of the conflict

The direct protagonists of the conflict are the Rally of the Togolese People (RPT), the party in power since its inception in 1969; and a coalition of parties known as the radical opposition parties. These are the Union of Forces of Change, the Committee of Action for Renewal, the Democratic Convention of the African People, and other small related parties. There is also a long-standing power struggle between two families: the Olympio and Gnassingbe families.

Those who enjoy the privileges linked with power, including the possibility of placing partisans in key positions of public administration, in the administration of State companies, and so on are not satisfied with or entirely secure in their positions. They place the State Security apparatus at their disposal in order to intimidate and sometimes crack down on their opponents.

Because General Gassingbe Eyadema held onto power for almost four decades, some Togolese believe that the ethnic group of the former head of state is the main beneficiary of the capture and exercise of power. The result is an ethnic reading of political differences. Generally, the RPT, is considered the party of the people from northern Togo; while the opposition parties represent the people from southern Togo.

This interpretation of the Togolese crisis is rather simplistic, since RPT party nationals hail from both northern and southern Togo. In addition, no physical line divides the country into two parts: north and south. The Togolese writer and historian Godwin Tete, in a recent book entitled *Togo: The True-False Question North-South*, contends that the north-south question in Togo has deep roots in geography, in anthropology and in history. The question has been manipulated, mythicised, and instrumentalized to Machiavellian ends by the colonizers and by post-colonial "African kinglets." It damages the socio-political life of Togo, victimising "the Northerner as well as the Southerner."[5]

The persistence of the socio-political crisis of Togo is also linked with a power struggle between France and Germany, two countries that have marked the history of Togo. Struggles for influence linked with its history as a former German Protectorate placed under the trusteeship of France continue to affect the crisis today. France, in particular, the former trusteeship power, is seen as an invisible external stakeholder. Its governments, both from the right and the left, appear as indirect actors in the Togolese crisis.

The putschist military men who perpetrated the first coup d'etat in 1963 were demobilized former soldiers from the French colonial army.[6] Nicolas Grunitzky, to whom the military handed over power after the coup, was reputed to be close to the French colonial administration. He was the leader of the Togolese Progress Party (PTP) which fought the party of the Nationalists and Independents, the Committee of Togolese Unity (CUT) led by Sylvanus Olympio. The party led by Grunitzky was beaten in general elections organized under the auspices of the UN in 1958. The CUT won the election, which led to the independence of Togo on the April 27, 1960.

4 Labarthe, Gilles, *Le Togo de l'esclavage au libéralisme mafieux* (Édition Agir ici et Survie, Collections Dossiers noirs, 2005)
5 Tete-Adjalogo, Godwin, *Le Togo, La vraie fausse question NORD-SUD* (Édition Haho (April, 2007), p. 42.
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Degree of violence

During eruptions of violence or demonstrations, one witnesses acts of aggression that are targeted in terms of victims' real or supposed belonging to one ethnic group or another. Within the strongholds of the opposition, the majority of victims may be sharecroppers of northern Togolese origin or elements of the Security Forces (such as the Gendarme beheaded in the Prefecture of Avé in 1992). The majority of the victims of the Security Forces are nationals of the south of the country, including the 30 lifeless bodies recovered in the Bè lagoon in Lomé in 1990). People have been attacked on the basis of appearance and/or language when they have been in the wrong place and at the wrong time.

Militia brutalize, strike and kill political opponents and systematically destroy their property. In 2005, during the crisis arising from the accession to power of President Faure Gnassingbé, houses of people presumed to belong to opposing political camps were demolished or even burned in several cities, notably Atakpamé and Sokodé. The physical integrity of people is affected. A report from the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights estimated between 400 and 500 people were killed during the violence before, during and after the presidential elections of April 2005. The same report estimates that more than 1,000 people were wounded in Togolese territory.[7]

Effects of the violence on social and community relationships

Victimizations create socio-psychological frictions which lead to irrational reactions that are devastating in terms of social cohesion. Many express feelings of desire for vengeance, hatred and rejection of the other.

Mistrust marks the social relationships between male and female alike. Everyone suspects the other and demonises his or her ethnic group. Occasionally, ethnic or regional differences are no longer tolerated. Some homeowners in Lomé have evicted renters who hail from the northern part of the country, not because of arrears in rent but, only because of their place of origin. These irrational reactions are expressions of vengeance against someone whose close neighbour or relative has done something against a relative or member of the ethnic group to which one belongs.

Entire families have been displaced from the south to the north and vice-versa following political violence. The "willingness to stay together" has been seriously disturbed. Youth are recruited by the political parties. When questioned about the reasons for their involvement in confrontations and destruction, the majority of the youth do not know what to say. They do not join the movements expecting payment at the end of hostilities. Some join groups so as to steal during acts of vandalism. Youth unemployment is a scourge in Togo; 33 percent of the economically active population of the country is without work[8]. The freeze on recruitment for government jobs and the closure of companies and projects because of Togo's economic slump and democratic deficit increase the number of unemployed youth who are easily manipulated by politicians. The level of civic education and notably that of youth is very low. Electoral campaigns are organized on the basis of tribalism and regionalism, in the absence of any real political project. Each faction tries to prevent others from getting the votes of its ethnic group, while expecting to fetch them from the other ethnic groups. The election campaigns are, therefore, not a competition of ideas, in which persuasion would dominate, but rather a question of power, of a relation of forces.[9]

Youth are recruited by the political parties. When questioned about the reasons for their involvement in confrontations and destruction, the majority of the youth do not know what to say. They do not join the movements expecting payment at the end of hostilities. Some join groups so as to steal during acts of vandalism.

That said, political leaders may be learning to speak to one another again; and many are admitting that violence is not and cannot be a means of gaining power. An Inter-Togolese Dialogue led to a Global Political Agreement signed in Lomé in August 2007. The latter recommended the formation of a national unity government, and the creation of an independent National Electoral Commission responsible for the organization of

7 UN Report, *Mission of establishment of facts on the violence and allegations of violation of human rights before, during and after the presidential elections of April 2005* (August 2005), pp.20-21.
8 World Bank, *Togo, Sortir de la crise, sortir de la pauvreté* (Édition Céda), p. 53.
9 Ketehouli, Boona, *Etude sur les dissensions ethniques et régionales au Togo* (Lomé, December 2005).



Press conference of the National Episcopal Justice and Peace Commission, September 2007

elections and institutional reforms. Such a commission did in fact guide the subsequent electoral process, and the legislative elections of October 2007 were not marked by violence.

NATURE OF THE CHURCH'S INTERVENTIONS

The Catholic Church did not wait for the 1990s to make pronouncements on the Togolese crisis and to offer its good offices for a solution. The church is well known in Togo for its commitments in the social realm. These include schooling, health promotion through the network of institutions linked with the church as well as other programs in favour of the rural world, and care for abandoned children and the blind. The church neither functions for the government in power nor for the parties in opposition. It has never issued instructions to vote for any particular political tendency or party.
Within a Togolese context so characterized by mistrust, the church has shown itself to be reliable and impartial. People pay attention to it. It has disseminated messages and truth, given comfort and care, and called for the recovery of good relationships between the people of Togo. Men and women of all political opinions form the church, and it does not communicate partisan messages. In addition, the church is an institution of moral training. Christians and non-Christians alike trust in its messages.

The violence which characterizes political life in Togo has created socio-psychological frictions rooted in xenophobia, the demonizing of adversaries, intolerance, ethnic branding of political opposition, and trauma from the violence. One can thus readily appreciate the peaceful mission of the church. Victims of all kinds search for comfort from the pastoral agents, and material assistance from those responsible for the social pastoral work of the church. Communicating messages of peace, listening, and accompanying the people affected by violence are means to psychological healing.

The bishops' conference of Togo has deemed it timely to be involved in resolving the Togolese crisis. The overall aim of the church's action is to contribute to national reconciliation and to the restoration of good relations among all. To achieve this, the bishops' conference of Togo has established the following objectives:

- Create awareness among believers and men and women of good will on human dignity.
- Sound early warnings about life-threatening issues.
- Strengthen the Episcopal Commission of Justice and Peace.

Creating awareness

Prayer for Peace[10] In responding to their own prophetic mission, the bishops of Togo have reflected on the most appropriate means to bring peace to the hearts and minds of the people. They therefore initiated, first of all, a prayer for peace. The Prayer for Peace in Togo is itself an initiative for national reconciliation. Between the lines of the stanzas, we see an implicit theory of change that underlies the initiatives of the bishops of Togo: achieving peace by building a critical mass of people that forgive one another, are tolerant of one another, and work together for the common good. This prayer is recited at every Eucharistic celebration in all the parishes across the country.

Prayer for Peace

This prayer was initiated by the Catholic Bishops Conference of Togo.

You the Master of History, You who hold in your hands the hearts of men and guarantee the rights of people,
You know that since the birth of our nation, all our people have cried out to You.

Do not abandon the work of your hands.
Togo was consecrated to the Sacred Heart of your Son forever.
Take care of your vine; take care of your domain!

Fill us with your Spirit, so that all the children of our dear country, from East to West, from North to South, recognize themselves as true brothers and sisters and become capable of love instead of hate, unity instead of division.

Lord, help us by your grace to make room in our hearts for justice and peace instead of injustice and violence, for forgiveness instead of the desire to avenge.

So that everywhere in our land, security and peace shall be ensured; enemies in our country shall reconcile, adversaries extend hands to each other; groups and families who oppose each other agree to walk together and love triumphs over hatred.

Virgin Mary, Mother of the Saviour, Queen of Peace and Mother of Mercy, towards you also we turn our gaze, you to whom our dear Togo was consecrated since independence.

You whom the Togolese invoke with different names throughout the country, you to whom Pope John-Paul II has solemnly confirmed our consecration in your Sanctuary of Togoville, keep from us all evil and gather your Togolese children as a Mother; so that they unite at last to work generously towards the construction of the earthly City on its journey towards the Celestial City.

Pastoral letters Between 1967 and 2007, the Catholic bishops of Togo issued 10 pastoral letters focussed on the crisis and ways of transcending it. These pastoral letters, published in French, were translated into the Togolese national languages. The French and vernacular versions are read and commented on over the air waves of Radio-Maria, and private FM or community radio stations. The pastoral letters are often photocopied by youth who sell them on the streets. This phenomenon is widespread in Lomé, as well as in towns in the hinterland.

The main messages of the pastoral letters are repeated during liturgies. Thus, the essential messages reach literate as well as illiterate people. The following indicate major themes:

- The pastoral letter published on June 18, 2002 called on the political elite to agree on a consensual process for the organization of presidential elections in 2003. The adoption of a consensual process, according to the bishops, would prevent the country from falling again into challenging electoral results and violent reprisals.
- The letter published on March 19, 2003 entitled *In truth, let us build the city* again called on the best from Togolese men and women, saying that commitment to peace necessarily involves respect for truth.

10 See text box on this page for the Prayer in full.

Sounding early warnings on life-threatening issues
The secretariat of the bishops' conference compiles and analyzes data on incidents like demonstrations, repression of demonstrations, and activities that increase insecurity. The analyses enable the bishops to assess the volatility of such situations and to call upon Togolese men and women to ward off imminent danger. That is why on February 18, 2005, the bishops' conference published a pastoral letter to draw the attention of the political class to the danger that modifications to the Togolese constitution would bring to the whole nation.



The bishops' conference seeks to strengthen the Justice and Peace Commission.

On April 15, 2005 the Archbishop of Lomé, accompanied by a delegation of lawyers from the Lomé office, gave the Togolese head of state a statement in which the church proposed that the authorities postpone the presidential elections, given the tensions following the death of President Eyadema. The suggestion was not heeded, and the elections that were held a few weeks later were the most violent that had ever occurred in Togo. There were hundreds of deaths and thousands of people injured (see the UN report on the presidential elections in 2005 in Togo).

Collaboration with other organizations

Ecumenical mission Prior to the statement urging that elections be postponed, the bishops were part of an ecumenical mission. On April 2, 2005 this mission published a communiqué calling for reconciliation between the Armed Forces of Togo and the Togolese people. The mission also launched an appeal to the international community to help Togo overcome its crisis.

This mission consisted of a delegate from the World Council of Churches, three delegates from the All Africa Council of Churches, a delegate from the Federation of French Protestant Churches, the Moderator of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Togo, the Archbishop of Lomé and a delegate from the Community of Churches in Mission, as well as a delegate of the Norddeutsche Mission of Bremen, Germany. The ecumenical dimension enlarged the base and the scope of messages that the Catholic Church had earlier disseminated alone, though the leaders of the Office of the Muslim Union opted not to participate.

Ultimately only the Catholic, Evangelical Presbyterian and Methodist religious authorities would publish a common text on the need to search for consensus and banish violence from the Togolese political arena. Ecumenical initiatives are rare. The majority of religious denominations dare not propose ways to resolve the Togolese crisis. They would prefer sticking to evangelization in the narrow sense. The habit of acting in a coalition is not yet anchored in the mores of religious authorities in Togo.

Strengthening the National Episcopal Commission of Justice and Peace In order to pursue everyday awareness among the public, and peaceful hearts and minds, the bishops conference of Togo formally instituted the National Episcopal Commission of Justice and Peace. A national coordinator was appointed. Members of the Commission were presented to the Togolese political authorities in August 2005.

At the national level, the National Episcopal Commission of Justice and Peace consists of a national coordinator, who is a priest, and two volunteers: a woman and a man who are both lecturers-researchers at the University of Lomé. The National Commission and the diocesan Commissions of Justice and Peace define the priority areas of intervention on the basis of an analysis of the context and the guidelines of the Episcopal Conference. The diocesan Commissions consist of 10 members each. Male/female parity is proposed, but the reality is that on average there are about seven men to three women. One reason is that the busier daily schedules of women make their availability more difficult.

The National Commission organizes two inter-diocesan meetings per year for sharing information and research on how to overcome the challenges encountered. Each diocesan commission has a listening and accompanying center for persons affected and/or traumatized by violence. The leaders of diocesan commissions have the advantage of knowing the local political leaders with whom they need to collaborate to mitigate or prevent escalation of the crisis at that level.

Messengers of Peace and Human Rights The National Commission of Justice and Peace launched the project of female and male Messengers of Peace and Human Rights in Togo in 2005. With this project, the Commission intends to contribute to reducing intolerance. The public directly targeted includes youth, rural women, village and area chiefs, and representatives of political parties in grassroots communities. The leaders of the Commission seek to improve the civic education of the youth so that they can do critical analysis before engaging in political activities. Women are targeted because in local communities it is they who train children. Decision makers are also key. These various categories of people are called upon to spread the messages of peace and human rights in Togo.

The overall aim of the project is to contribute to the reduction of intolerance in the seven dioceses of Togo. The specific objectives include:

- Enhanced capacities of diocesan commissions and the National Commission of Justice and Peace.
- Improved citizen education for the Togolese people.
- Accelerated healing of painful memories.

The project's direct beneficiaries include 70 Diocesan Justice and Peace Commission members, 2,100 young girls and boys per diocese, 140 rural paralegal women, and 45,000 people among whom 27,000 are women and 18,000 men.

THEORIES OF CHANGE

Peace emerges from the individual transformation of a great number of people.

The Messengers initiative of the bishops follows the theory of individual change according to which peace emerges from the transformation of the awareness, attitudes, and behaviours of a great number of people. Change is sought through awareness creation, training and dialogue.

Education can help youth to resist manipulation by politicians.

Civic education of the youth has become urgent because politicians abuse the naïveté of the youth to enlist them in acts of vandalism and violence.

Media can serve to create awareness.

The project uses several forms of media: radio, posters and drama. Even the pastoral letters and the Prayer for Peace have been broadcast by several media outlets.

Methodologies adopted

Strategy for modern and traditional media The Messengers of Peace and Human Rights project combines the use of popular means of communication (popular drama, educational songs, artistic expressions and the production of posters and slogans by youth) and radio broadcasts. It creates awareness on forgiveness, and the peaceful resolution of interpersonal and inter-community conflicts, as well as civic education.

Strengthening human capital in the local church
The gravity and persistence of the socio-political crisis in Togo has given impetus to the work of the National Commission of Justice and Peace. Essential skills in peacebuilding and deep motivation have been necessary so that the new structure could become a driving force for conflict transformation. It is important to increase the knowledge, aptitudes and motivations of the men and women of the Commissions; hence, the planning of complementary trainings and access to enriching information through the internet, as well as reference texts on human rights and on peacebuilding.

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Major activities

Institutional capacity building for national and diocesan Commissions of Justice and Peace The project of male and female Messengers of Peace and Human Rights in Togo puts emphasis on more than just the delivery of services. It invests equally in institutional capacity building. Acknowledging that no organization is born fully mature and capable of accomplishing the tasks assigned to it, the Catholic Church in Togo and its partners, including CRS, are gradually building the capacities of these commissions through an experiential process of learning and reflection.

Eleven out of the 70 members of the diocesan Commissions of Justice and Peace participated in a modular training programs organized by the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) in Ghana. These training programs included: conflict-generating factors, conflict dynamics, forms of conflict management and peace-generating factors. The training programs not only increased the knowledge of the participants but also offered them space to exchange their points of view and concrete experiences of peacebuilding in west Africa. The acquired knowledge and aptitudes are being implemented in the dioceses. The personnel trained get involved as artisans of peace by offering activists room for meetings and discussions. The personnel trained by WANEP have in turn offered two weeks of training on the paradigms of peace in collaboration with the Togolese branch of WANEP for 60 members of the diocesan Commissions. The International Movement for Reconciliation has also trained 70 members of diocesan Commissions in active nonviolence. In order to gain inspiration from other Peace and Justice Commissions, the Messengers of Peace have had travel opportunities for exchanges among the Justice and Peace Commissions of Togo, Benin and Cameroon.

Civic education for youth Young people and women constitute a key part of the public that is targeted by the Messengers of Peace and Human Rights in Togo. Civic education for youth appeared urgent because politicians enlist youth in acts of vandalism and violence. The project team is striving hard to reach young people in and outside the parishes. Two-week-long holiday courses on the paradigms of peace, nonviolence and reconciliation are being organized. Twenty-five hundred girls and boys from all religious denominations and from various political tendencies in Togo participated. Youth are also taking part in competitions to create posters, educational songs and slogans on peace, forgiveness and reconciliation.

Promotion of rural women About 70 rural women chosen from the seven dioceses of Togo were trained by a women's organization (Women's Group for Development and Democracy, GF2D) specialized in the training of paralegal workers. The rural paralegal workers foster women's awareness of their rights, and their role as peacemakers of hearts and promoters of peace in the grassroots communities. The women take up their role by teaching their children and women colleagues messages of forgiveness, acceptance of others, tolerance and compassion. In the family unit and at the level of grassroots communities, the expectation of more peaceful relations between Togolese men and women is cultivated by these female messengers of Peace and Human Rights.

These women, supervised by the rural paralegal workers, have succeeded in examining issues of social rights which deprive them of family heritage and inheritance by the traditional chiefs, in the case of the death of their spouses. The opening up of this matter alone constitutes a social stride forward for, since time immemorial, no one has dared acknowledge the existence of this problem, let alone the grievances of rural women.

EFFECTS OF INTERVENTIONS BY THE CHURCH

Negative effects

Sharp criticism of bishops The positions taken by the bishops conference of Togo have provoked disapproval from men in power. Voices were raised against the Catholic Church for coming out of its traditional area of religious training for believers. Tracts were written to criticize the bishops. Some went to the extent of stating that the bishops had interest in exercising political power. An unsigned article that appeared in the national daily denounced a conspiracy by the bishops.

Positive effects

Consensual search for ways out of the crisis The church has no political, military or economic means to *impose* peace in Togo. It nonetheless plays the role of *critical leaven* by engendering, through an organization like Sant'Egidio of Rome, and local diocesan Commissions for Justice and Peace in grassroots commu-

nities, spaces for meetings and discussions between key leaders. Among them are politicians like Gilchrist Olympio and Faure Gnassingbe and regional political leaders. The aim is to address and suppress some of the drivers of the persistent crisis in Togo.

As the political leaders begin speaking to each other, it should be noted, tension is reduced among ordinary Togolese people. One of the indicators of a progressive recovery of trust is a voluntary return of Togolese refugees from Benin and Ghana.

Youth overcoming artificial barriers maintained by politicians A mid-term Messengers project evaluation in February 2007, led by lecturer-researcher Yao Nuakey from the University of Lomé and his team, revealed that the slogan competition had enabled youth to express their conceptions of peace and reconciliation. Furthermore, a week-long rally of youth without any discrimination based on religious belonging or political labels constituted a beginning for the acceptance of differences. Youth appreciated the mix of participants. Some declared having exchanged addresses so as to keep up contact. This readiness to stay in touch, according to the evaluators, is an indicator that the artificial barriers maintained by politicians can be overcome. Education of youth for peace and nonviolence helped allow for the fact that during the legislative elections of October 2007, young people were no longer exposed to physical confrontations or insults. The national television station, as well as private ones, showed youth from different political backgrounds sympathizing with and embracing each other during the electoral campaign.

Credibility of the Justice and Peace Commission The National Commission of Justice and Peace is now recognized by the authorities as a credible stakeholder in the process of reconciliation. And in July 2007, the commission acquired observer status for the country's elections.

The Commission of Justice and Peace has been asked to organize conferences and training sessions for other elements of Togolese civil society. The Association of Women Media Professionals, WANEP/Togo and others have asked the commission to organize lecture forums on the spirituality of human rights and active nonviolence.

Compassion and healing of trauma The Listening and Accompanying Centers of the diocesan commissions, notably those in the cities of Sokode, Mango, Lomé, Atakpamé and Anèho — where atrocities were committed like the assassination of family members in front of their wives and children, vandalizing of homes, and the burning of furniture and buildings — have received and treated some 60 people, mainly women. Thanks to their active listening abilities and compassion, members of these commissions have helped traumatized people to accept their pain, renounce the desire for vengeance and change their outlook on others. Clinical psychologists provided assistance, as did lawyers with the Messengers project who helped victims of atrocities lodge their complaints.

FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE EFFECTS

External pressures

The European Union strongly pressured government authorities so that they would initiate a serious national dialogue. This requirement was written into the 22 commitments signed between the European Union and the Government of Togo in 2004. Making the beginning of a real Inter-Togolese Dialogue, and the organization of transparent legislative elections open to all political groupings, a condition for renewed cooperation probably motivated those in power to initiate the process. For their part religious authorities — Catholics, Presbyterians, Muslims and traditional practitioners — were associated with the final phases of the Inter-Togolese Dialogue, which led to the Global Political Agreement of August 2007.

Bishops speak with one voice

The Catholic bishops have always expressed their opinions on the Togolese crisis in common. No bishop has ever issued a disclaimer vis-à-vis the positions expressed through joint pastoral letters. A group spirit, solidarity among the bishops themselves, and mutual support did not give politicians an opportunity to put them at odds. The common approval of the pastoral letters has reinforced the credibility and renown of the

messages transmitted. When key leaders of an institution such as the Catholic Church in Togo adopt a common front, their voice carries weight and this adds credence to the message.

Collaboration of priests and laity

Priests and laypeople at various levels have pooled their knowledge to develop curricula and key messages for radio broadcasts. The priests provided their knowledge of the spirituality of human rights, and professional jurists their knowledge of the legal aspects of human rights. The transformation of conflicts, peacebuilding and positive law are not currently part of seminary courses, but the mastery of such disciplines is fundamental for architects of peace in a society artificially divided by politicians. Bringing together the knowledge and ideas of priests and laity has fostered an integral accompaniment of the victims of violence. Material and non-material needs have been taken into account.

Appropriate media coverage

The use of various media (both traditional and modern) has proved wise and beneficial. Radio transmissions relay positive stories ("we are all Togolese from north, south, east and west"), in an effort to rectify ethnic or regional prejudices. Other messages aim to inculcate the culture of citizenship through advocacy for nonviolence and education about rights and obligations. Women's rights are promoted, and their sufferings during ordinary and extraordinary times are enumerated. Each day, Radio-Maria-Togo closes its programming with a transmission of The Prayer for Peace in Togo. The station reserves one hour a week for programs prepared and broadcast by the National Episcopal Commission of Justice and Peace; and the latter are aired as well on Radio FM Nana and Radio Nostalgie in Lomé. People who do not have time to listen to the radio broadcasts often enjoy popular street theatre productions. When media authorities banned radio broadcasts for civic education, they could not stop the itinerant street theater.

LESSONS LEARNED: UNITY, SPIRITUALITY, KEY RELATIONSHIPS AND ORGANIZATION

The church's voice is strong and is particularly formidable when its leaders, chiefly the bishops, speak with one voice. All seven bishops of the Episcopal Conference in Togo have consistently identified themselves as co-authors of several pastoral letters stressing nonviolence, tolerance, the ethics of truth, and the reconciliation of Togolese men and women. While these bishops come from different parts of Togo, they have transcended regional identities in order to communicate messages of fraternity, respect for human dignity and reconciliation.

The bishops and the leaders of the National Episcopal Commission of Justice and Peace acknowledge, furthermore, that prayer has been fundamental in their commitment to the peaceful resolution of the Togolese socio-political crisis. This spiritual dimension of the church's action in the search for peace should not be ignored.

The members of the National Commission of Justice and Peace recognize the necessity of collaborating with traditional authorities around the status of rural women. The formal clauses in individual and family law in no way affect the real status of rural women in Togo. Winning the trust of the custodians of traditional customs can open the way to an evolution in traditions regarding women's rights. This is to say that, in order to promote social change, it is important to identify and work with key people who hold real power, in addition to the practitioners of formal law and justice.

The emergence and strengthening of local church structures, finally, have been essential in the church's contribution to overcoming the Togolese conflict. The public perception of the Commission of Justice and Peace is one of a national structure that aims to establish a just order, without any hidden agenda. The church's contribution to the emergence of such local structures is a tangible component of its commitment to peace.

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Participants in a workshop picture their personal and organizational experience with the EPC.

COLOMBIA

School for Peace and Coexistence in the Archdiocese of Manizales

Initial draft by Maria Victoria Rivera Paez

INTRODUCTION

This case study refers to the School for Peace and Coexistence (EPC, for *Escuelas de Paz y Convivencia*), that began functioning in the Colombian coffee region of Manizales in 2003. The region includes five Catholic dioceses: the Archdiocese of Manizales and the dioceses of Pereira, Armenia, Cartago and Dorada-Guaduas. The study focuses on the experience of the Social Ministry Apostolate of the Archdiocese (SEPAS) which covers 13 counties, 10 vicariates and 80 parishes with approximately 700,000 inhabitants. It seeks to identify and explain the changes resulting from the implementation of the EPC in the coffee region – Archdiocese of Manizales, and concrete action by the Catholic Church and other social actors such as teachers, community leaders and local authorities.

The methods of inquiry for the study included a one-day workshop with the EPC's coordinating team, document review and analysis, a three-day workshop with staff and members of the base communities, neighborhood focus groups, key informant interviews, and related prison community and parish visits.[1]

Conflict analysis

Poverty and inequality, unmet basic needs, unemployment and limited employment opportunities, low wages, population displacements, drug addiction, alcoholism, child abuse, sexual and intra-family violence,

1 This included the following activities: a one-day systematization workshop in Bogotá with the EPC coordinating team; a three-day systematization workshop in Manizales with the EPC team and persons from base communities; and visits to experiences in Santa Rosa de Cabal, Chinchiná and the path of La Plata en Palestina, the women's prison where the School was implemented, and the Solferino and Estrella neighborhoods in Manizales with an average of 20 persons per group (a total of approximately 140 persons). There were also visits to Palerma and the Virgen del Patrocinio parishes and interviews with members of the central team of the National Secretariat for Social Ministry (SNPS), the Coordinator of the Joint Program SNPS-CRS Colombia, and Monsignor Fabio Betancur, Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Manizales.

and crime and prostitution confront SEPAS and the population of the coffee region. So does the continued armed violence perpetrated by guerrillas, paramilitaries and groups dedicated to "social cleansing."

The armed conflict in Colombia dates back more than 40 years and has left more than 60,000 dead and 4,000 disappeared in its wake since 1985 — not to mention the drama of more than 11,000 child soldiers, one of the highest figures in the world. It is a conflict that is rooted in a long history of extreme inequality and political exclusion that has intensified dramatically in the last 20 years due to drug trafficking. According to the United Nations, Colombia is the country hardest hit by organized crime in Latin America; and it is among those with the highest numbers of people displaced by armed conflict, and victimized by anti-personnel mines.

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More than 13,000 people have been kidnapped in the past six years, a situation that has been aggravated by the reluctance of the government and illegal groups that operate outside of the law to sign humanitarian agreements that protect the rights of civilians who are deprived of their freedom.[2] Between 1985 and 2005, 3,720,428 people were displaced in Colombia according to data from the Consultancy on Human Rights and Displacement (CODHES).[3] Despite the existence of legal and judicial rulings such as a Constitutional Court sentence, displaced persons continue to lobby the state — without concrete results — to carry out public policies that will re-establish, and allow them effectively to exercise, their rights.

In the year 2006, as of June there had been 132 extra-judicial executions in Colombia, 800 kidnappings, 73 disappearances and some 112,000 cases of displaced people, according to the Jesuit Center for Research and Popular Education (CINEP), the Human Rights Observatory of the Vice Presidency of the Republic, and CODHES. For the first six months of that year 5,301 requests for refugee status were presented before the UN High Commissioner on Refugees offices in Ecuador, Venezuela and Panama.

The road to peace in Colombia remains thorny today. Negotiations with armed actors, which began in 1983, continue to fail. The violence has become a source of wealth for many sectors. A demobilization process with paramilitary groups was proposed by the government as a step toward national reconciliation, but has been questioned by sectors of Colombian society because it does not guarantee a dismantling of the economic and social structure of the paramilitary groups or provide effective mechanisms that ensure truth, justice and integral reparation. Neither does it guarantee that atrocities will not be repeated.

A so-called Justice and Peace law, approved in June 2005, leaves much to be desired. Human Rights Watch has indicated that the demobilization of illegal armed actors as proposed by this law allows commanders to launder their acts of torture and legitimize their political power. The development of judicial hearings based on the Justice and Peace law has generated concern, as witnesses and victims linked to these judicial processes have been murdered. As a result, the state is being called upon to provide guarantees for the protection of the victims and organizations of victims.

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE SCHOOLS FOR PEACE AND COEXISTENCE

The School for Peace and Coexistence (EPC) is a nation-wide Catholic program that was founded jointly by Caritas Colombia (Social Pastoral Office) and the Jesuit's Program for Peace in 1996. The EPC is based on a commitment to educating and training people to acquire capacities, knowledge and attitudes favoring peace as an option; enabling them to help break the vicious cycle of conflict in which Colombians have been

2 Medios para la Paz. Available at http://www.mediosparalapaz.org/?idcategoria=46.
3 Information that is at odds with figures from the Presidential Agency for Social Action that counts 1,896,105 displaced between 1995 and October 2006.



trapped for so many years. The School, whose programs have been implemented around the country, seeks to link spirituality with social action, helping build in both lay and religious persons a new understanding of the church's action. It provides a tool that can strengthen diocesan renewal and evangelization, following the pastoral planning method that each church jurisdiction selects.

As indicated, the EPC is a mobile school which, since 1997, works year-round in different ecclesiastical provinces selected by the bishops. To date the EPC has worked in 49 dioceses in 21 departments (states) of the 32 in Colombia; and in nine of the church's Social Ministry Regions. Through its multiplier effect it has trained approximately 14,000 persons in building a culture of peace and coexistence.

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The EPC program is designed for priests and pastoral agents, as well as parish communities; religious communities who work in the region; community leaders, members of civil and social organizations such as civil defense or organizations of mothers; government and non-governmental entities on the local, departmental and regional level; educational institutions; and, in general, anyone who is aware of the violent reality of the country, is interested in building peace, and has the time and ability to share their experience.

The School has one overarching *goal*: Social Ministry staff and pastoral agents have been trained and organized, and are able to make firm, coordinated responses in favor of transforming the social and ecclesial context.

It has the following, more specific *objectives:*

1. To design and develop an annual training plan to focus diocesan and regional social ministries' ac-

tivities on peace, human rights, theological/spiritual, gender and social advocacy dimensions.

2. To promote the creation and/or consolidation of at least one local and regional organizing mechanism in each diocese, as well as one for the larger ecclesiastical region.
3. To design, on the basis of diocesan structures and the School's own processes, an annual social action project proposing firm ministerial responses to the challenges to peace and coexistence within the local context.

The EPC responds to two central problems in Colombian society: (a) widespread lack of education on identity, peace, citizenship, political culture, social co-existence and citizen participation; and (b) grassroots organizations and NGOs weakened by the violence and political instability at the local level. The School for Peace and Coexistence project responds as a church program to the lack of citizen education. It allows Colombians to learn how to contribute to the creation of a culture of peace, based on how they relate to one another in daily life, so as to take on and transform conflicts in a constructive manner. It helps people learn to think collectively, with an awareness that the common good comes before that of the individual.

A training model based on central themes, stages and cross-cutting themes

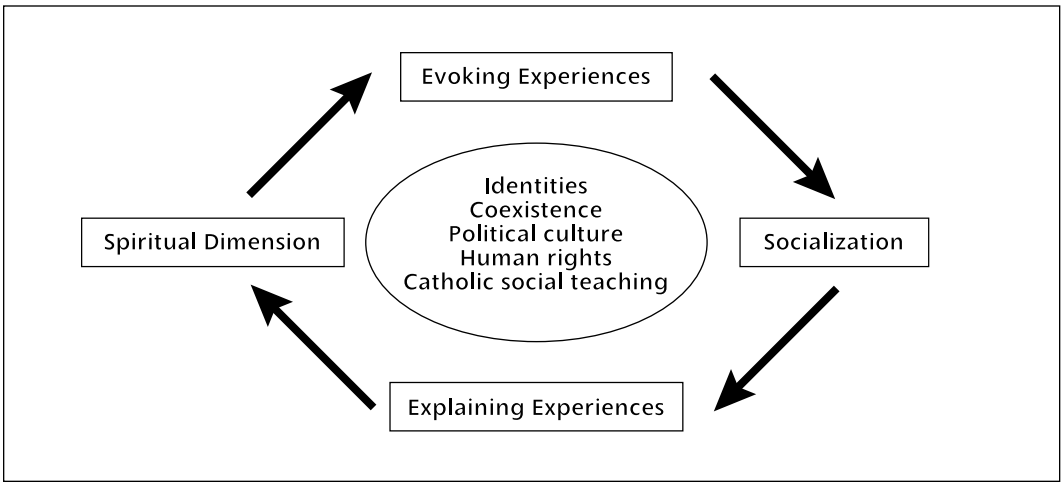
The training model of the Schools for Peace and Coexistence has been built on three central axes or areas: organization, formation (the training stage) and development (the social action stage).

Organizational Stage Months 1–3	Training Stage Months 4–9	Social Action Stage Months 6–12
a) **Awareness raising** strategy among potential participants and pastoral leaders of each region in order to carry out joint pastoral activities, share diagnoses and create awareness of the need to work towards peace- building initiatives, as well as the preparation of School activities.	a) **Conceptual dimension:** prioritizing issues and strategies which respond to the needs and challenges of each region.	a) **Planning strategy:** designing follow-up on issues addressed with/by the School, taking into account existing pastoral plans. To be carried out at a later stage (the following year).
b) **Strategizing** to create an **organizational structure** (including the EPC team and the diocesan teams); one advisor per diocese hired to accompany the process continuously.	b) **Educational dimension:** (learning by doing or "constructivist" approach). This is replicated from the regional level, through each diocese to the parish level.	b) Social **project design** strategy: some dioceses already carry out such projects; therefore, the post-School plan is reviewed within the diocese.
c) **Continuous accompaniment and advisory** strategy formulated in the area where the School is set up each year (by the EPC coordination team, made up of the institutions and the Social Ministry directors of each diocese).	c) **Implementation** of an **educational pathway:** this is developed based on: 1) personal experience; 2) sharing experiences; 3) conceptualization; and 4) spiritual experiences.	c) Strategy for the **implementation of social projects,** coordinated with pastoral plans, generally supported by other donors at later stages.
	d) **Documentation and contextualization** according to each region's cultural and conceptual characteristics. New support materials are produced each year.	

All themes are equally important and are based on the assumption that as the EPC develops in each of these three areas, the others will develop simultaneously. However, during the first year the EPC operates in a given context, the formative and organizational focus components are developed clearly, while the bases for the social action component await full development only later.

The pedagogical path or process has four steps. First is the lived experience step, one of remembering events from the past, called *evoking experience*. It begins with a game or group activity in which role-play has frequently been used as a didactic tool. After this exercise comes the step of *socialization* in which experiences are shared with the group and participants express their feelings, perceptions, impressions and ideas. This moment allows participants to build knowledge on the basis of what each of them knows and has experienced, according to the theme being discussed. They next attempt to make sense of the experiences, which consists in analyzing more deeply and conceptualizing what has been learned with the workshop leader. The final step is an exercise with spirituality as related to the themes developed. This is followed by a moment of drawing conclusions and inter-relating all the steps or moments of the process, so as to integrate the knowledge and see how to recreate such knowledge with others. This, then, is the process through which persons, who will seek later to train or form others, are first trained themselves.

Pedagogical Path for Building and Integration of Knowledge



This didactic approach implies creativity, role-play, participation, integration of the body, expressing spirituality, teamwork, building solidarity among all, facing reality and putting into practice what has been learned. In the EPC process in Manizales, the group of persons who were trained demonstrated a great capacity to adapt to the level of community participants. They recreated all of the workshops right down to the parish level, preserving the methodological scheme, the pedagogical path, the thematic contents, and the proposal of the School for Peace and Coexistence for building a culture of peace from an ecclesial perspective.

In synthesis, the EPC is a coherent and consistent training model that aims to help people transcend the reality and experiences of violence and conflict. It integrates a methodology, pedagogy and didactic methods in an holistic way. Through a treatment of pertinent contents, the EPC creates opportunities for reflection and for encounters on the personal, group and regional levels. It fosters commitments geared to confronting concrete situations and resolving many conflicts that face families, communities and the country as a whole. It stimulates some political and civic reflection. It strengthens awareness of and within the Catholic Church in the face of



Deacon Ancizar Neira, Director Social Ministry Program, with other School participants in the Archdiocese of Manizales.

the social problems of a region, and it collaborates with the pastoral organization of the respective dioceses. Participants integrate theoretical-conceptual tools, practice, pedagogies and teamwork for social action through building peace and coexistence in their daily lives and with the community.

The EPC fosters teamwork that demonstrates the potential of church structures to carry out social action on the community level. However, this organizational potential functions only to the extent that it has institutional support guaranteeing adequate infrastructure to carry out the process. In the first year, the keys to success were: economic support for a regional coordinator of EPC; accompaniment and follow-up by an advisor dedicated to this task; and teams at the central office, at the regional level, and in the Archdiocese of Manizales that were constantly aware of the situation and helped with the next level of organization. The dynamic network of teams tends to weaken over time, however, unless various factors mesh to keep it functioning. These factors include the active commitment of the local bishop and the director of Social Pastoral initiatives, support from the national Social Pastoral office, and external funding for needed infrastructure.

THEORIES OF CHANGE

Peace depends on the transformative change of a critical mass of individuals.

> Participants need to build peace within themselves. In finding their identity, in awakening their spirituality, in recognizing the identity of others and, therefore, respect for them, people learn to know, to value, to love and to respect themselves. This contributes to their self esteem. Recognizing the value of human dignity helps them to make sense of life.

A sense of belonging and shared identity increases the sense of security and reduces violence.

> Awareness develops that in community or group events there are also conflicts and violence, and that there are opportunities to change the way they are approached and resolved. The fabric of relations woven among neighbors creates a network of solidarity that provides confidence and social support to individuals.

EFFECTS OF THE PROJECT

The EPC approaches peacebuilding as a long term process. Some of the effects of the EPC's actions in developing a culture of peace will be evident only with time when future generations, who have grown up in such a culture, will have incorporated it and it has become part of their life. At that time the program's ultimate impact can be assessed.

Recognition of one's role in a culture of peace

In terms of personal identity, a review of base lines, comparative surveys, and life stories show that the EPC has generally helped participants identify the need to build peace within themselves. This has enabled them to see that conflict is not only what occurs outside, in armed violence in Colombia. Persons also create violence from within which becomes part of the culture. Transformations begin in this environment. In the EPC, participants have found tools to build their life projects, they have become more self-confident and secure, and they have changed attitudes and basic perspectives.

The majority of participants in the School have referred to personal changes in their way of approaching and resolving conflicts. Many say that they have learned the importance of being tolerant and of "putting themselves in others' shoes." Coexistence in vital situations has improved thanks to changes in attitude and behavior. An EPC evaluation carried out by Trocaire and CRS in 2006 stated:

> *Within the family, participants manifested changes in customs and habits that are expressed in valuing family unity, strengthening fraternal ties, communication and resolution of conflicts, and the development of aptitudes for understanding and tolerating their relatives … In terms of relations with others, the effect of the formation process can be clearly seen. The acquisition of skills for tolerance and understanding, valuing family*

unity, capacity for work, maturity and integrity, as well as abilities for handling conflicts are highlighted.

Through the transformation that is being generated in persons and in their family life, we find that the School of Peace and Coexistence promotes effects on groups of participants, guiding an opening of awareness of the social; in this way we see references to the strengthening of group identity, peaceful coexistence, the development of capabilities and skills, aptitudes for collaboration and integration, community commitment, a strengthening of participation in the communities.



Solferino neighborhood, city of Manizales, where the EPC team accompanies poor communities.

In the words of one EPC participant:

With the EPC, I have changed things about me that I was not aware of. I was very egotistical and now have learned to share more easily with others and to give what little I have to my friends and family. I have learned to respect the ways of other persons and have stopped being so critical. Also, I am more tolerant with persons around me because previously I did not like anything and I got mad about little things. Also, I learned to value my time and do not waste so much time now doing nothing, but learned to do things for me or for others. I was a little lazy about learning and with what the school has taught me I am more interested in reading and studying to be able to tell others what I have learned.

Participants have said that the school equipped them to continue living with their pain and learning to forgive and reconcile with themselves and with those who have harmed them.

On the individual level, changes can also be seen in the political culture. According to surveys carried out by the EPC, there has been a development of awareness of collective responsibility and community participation, and a modification of attitudes and practices concerning elections. Indifference and a lack of political sense were changed for analysis of candidates' programs and conscientious voting. While few cases were found of persons connected to public forms of participation — and in this aspect there is still a lot of work to be done — there seems to be a greater awareness of the rights and duties of each person, and it is reflected in the election of local leaders with transparency and accountability.

Recognition of family as a microcosm of society

Based on the work of the EPC, family identity and integration have been consolidated. According to periodic surveys, there is a greater appreciation of the family and more willingness to show love and affection within them. The School has contributed to creating goodwill thanks to improvement in intra-family relations. People have learned that family relations take place in an environment of conflict and sometimes violence, and that these can be transformed because they are not a given, but are in the hands of those who themselves create the relations. Coming to this understanding has enabled many participants in the school to see the role each person plays in conflicts, and it has consequently improved their capacity both to manage their own conflicts, and to serve others in conflict. In response to the tool used in this case study, as well as in the earlier evaluation by Trocaire and CRS, there is evidence for such an affirmation. The case study tool explicitly asked respondents from the coffee region about the impact of the EPC there on their personal and family life during and after the experience, and for specific indicators of effects. One of the structured group discussions also dwelt on changes participants perceived in themselves, their co-participants, and the region; and the reasons they thought that the experience in Manizales was successful.

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Engagement in the larger community

Participants in the School identified a set of changes in community relations and dynamics: They affirmed that previously many relations were based on distrust, lack of caring and lack of awareness. They did not even greet neighbors. Persons who did not like to meet or participate in group activities now participate in and even lead community activities. One participant said:

> *I was a person who did not talk to my neighbors. I did not even know them. Now, I am a person who talks to my neighbors and lets them give me advice. I was very indifferent to events and celebrations but have changed and now participate, help to organize, mix easily and freely give advice.*

The EPC helped build a sense of belonging and identity in communities. The awareness that conflicts and violence are pervasive, but simultaneously offer opportunities for change, has been internalized in many participants. They have been able to see that they do not need to do the impossible, such as convince armed groups to enter into dialogue; but that conflicts are found in everyday life and that a culture of peace can be built there. The Archdiocesan team in Manizales witnessed to such an awareness in a group interview in 2005:

> *Three years ago this team was not the same as it is today, because the School has given us a lot to make us distinct, different, more just, more committed to solidarity; we are in fact greater friends, more of a community, more concerned with the problems of the Archdiocese . . . and finally at the parish level people with the School have become aware of their right to be citizens, to participate, to see the difference in the other, to respect the identity of the other person, and to feel parte of the same community . . .*[4]

Increased mobility within the community

Since they have found the EPC, individuals and families feel more secure not just with regard to one another, but in their relations and ability to move about in their communities. The fabric of relationships that they have been weaving with neighbors creates a network that provides confidence and social support. An example that participants provided is how women who attend EPC meetings no longer feel afraid in the streets. The youth who consume drugs on the corners recognize the EPC as a place in which people are doing something to change the life of the community, and they respect it.

Emerging sense of neighborhood

Today, there seems to be a stronger sense of belonging to a place, an acceptance that neighborhood problems are also personal problems, and that people can do something to change them. Rituals of celebration have a critical place in building collective identities and a culture of peace. The EPC has contributed to the building of territorial identity, new values that have to do with working with others, building together, celebrating with others. Neighbors have reestablished levels of confidence that had been destroyed; social cohesion seems stronger.

At this collective level, surveys and interviews indicate a stronger sense of belonging to the church, and there are affirmations that the EPC has enabled people to work to build what they see as the reign of God through social practices that have concrete human faces.

Absence of political or policy activism

Political culture is an arena in which the School for Peace and Coexistence could continue its work to achieve social change on a broader scale. There have been no proposals from the community to increase or to engage in citizen participation. The EPC is a long way from fostering collective actions that could influence public policy.

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4 Interview with members of the Manizales Archdiocesan team, carried out October 13, 2005.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO EFFECTIVENESS

An experiential pedagogy

The methodological, pedagogical and didactic approach of EPC requires the active participation of those who are being trained. The design of the pedagogical path, rooted in personal experiences, has facilitated replications. The training of trainers has been effective thanks in large measure to this experiential pedagogy.

Commitment and adaptability of the team

An aspect that stands out is the continuity of some key members of the central team and the vicariate (group of parishes) teams, which enabled them to incorporate and update new themes to present to communities. The continuous support and credibility of the National Secretariat for Social Ministry in the SEPAS of Manizales during the three years after the school was established has likewise been fundamental to the progress achieved.

Of great importance was the commitment and seriousness with which the group of lay persons and the director of SEPAS assumed responsibility for the process. In addition, noteworthy was the capacity of this team to adapt the contents to the local reality and the necessities of communities through materials in which they contextualized the themes in the language and culture of the region.

Organizational dynamism

The EPC provides a model of teamwork in which there is assistance and mutual follow-up within each team, and among teams on different levels, creating a dynamic network. The multiplier mechanism functions well. During the first year of the program, those who replicated the program in workshops were not alone but began with careful planning and had strong, many-layered accompaniment.

For four years the weekly meetings of the Central Team or the Archdiocese has enabled continuous dialogue, communication and learning. Without the commitment, dedication and consistency of the follow-up of the teams, the EPC would undoubtedly not have advanced as far as it has.

Local leadership

The EPC was able to take advantage of and motivate the structure of ecclesial jurisdictions to carry out social action on the community level. There was strong commitment from the hierarchy, the Director of SEPAS and others.

EPC has been able to rely in particular on a deacon, the director of SEPAS, who has had the vision, clarity and will to continuously take advantage of the thematic, methodological, pedagogical and didactic strengths that the EPC provides and has sustained the decision to give it vitality.

Linkages to other components of social action and service

The SEPAS uses the School for Peace and Coexistence as one of several intervention programs. The EPC complements other programs that include medical brigades and psycho-social care, a food bank, temporary shelter for street persons, community therapy for recovering young drug addicts and, most recently, Seedbeds for Peace, a program involving children and youth in the process of building peace.

Home visits to motivate, get to know, and gain the confidence of participants in the EPC is a new practice that has been very important for the people. It makes them feel carefully attended to; and it has allowed the vicariate team more direct contact with the realities and concrete problems facing persons in neighborhoods.

The EPC complements other programs that include medical brigades and psycho-social care, a food bank, temporary shelter for street persons, community therapy for recovering young drug addicts and, most recently, Seedbeds for Peace, a program involving children and youth in the process of building peace.

Joint activities

Joint action and alliances with other entities and institutions in the area have been a good practice that SEPAS of Manizales has begun to explore. It is clear that synergies with others and the building of support networks would facilitate greater achievements — a direction worthy of deeper exploration.

CHALLENGES

For EPC in the Social Ministry Apostolate of the Archdiocese of Manizales

Uneven church participation In the Archdiocese of Manizales EPC counted on strong support from the hierarchy, full engagement by the Social Ministry director, and the commitment of most of the clergy. Nonetheless, while the priests of the Archdiocese are well aware of the EPC, a there is not full recognition of the potential inherent in each of them having access to it. While the program is present, has been enriched with experience, and can be used in the parishes to help fulfill the mission of SEPAS, and renewed or new evangelization, some priests have been concerned that welcoming the EPC will add to their workload. Working in teams with SEPAS and committed lay persons could, to the contrary, more readily allow them to accomplish their mission, and complement traditional catechetical and social service work.

In the Archdiocese of Manizales EPC counted on strong support from the hierarchy, full engagement by the Social Ministry director, and the commitment of most of the clergy.

Need for additional resources and integral development projects The voluntary work of lay people has been fundamental to keeping the process alive, but the model of volunteerism is not sustainable over the long term. It seems important that SEPAS accept the role of managing the EPC in ways that could allow it to obtain new resources to work on sustainable livelihood projects, thereby expanding a pilot peace and development program — recently begun in two communities — to those others who request it.

Staff retention Although there has been a key team of people continuously dedicated to the process, it is a challenge to retain a sizeable and skilled group that will remain in the process and use their learning and growth to sustain the EPC. There has been a loss of talented people trained in the EPC process who, for lack of a contract, end up working in the public sector, for NGO's or for other entities. These persons have valuable experience and, in some way, are lost to the peacebuilding process at least for the church.

Activation of synergies with others The EPC has provided an opportunity — locally as well as nationally — to establish or reinforce relations, build synergies and create alliances for building peace. It has reached different sectors and contexts of society such as educational institutions, prisons, the army, fire fighters, poor communities and privileged communities as well, raising awareness and promoting peace actions. Forums in the context of the Week for Peace every year, or in the period before elections for local positions, have been opportunities to promote dialogue and collaborative work, and to foster citizen participation in the public arena.

For the national coordination of the EPC

Clear and sustained commitments A clear country-wide challenge for the EPC is to build a common understanding with the church hierarchy about the commitments required and the opportunities offered to use this tool for building peace and coexistence in a more consistent and permanent manner in the regions. It can be an especially difficult task to achieve the commitments necessary to sustain the EPC once an initial one-year program has moved to a new region.

A clear country-wide challenge for the EPC is to build a common understanding with the church hierarchy about the commitments required and the opportunities offered to use this tool for building peace and coexistence.

Designating participating priests It is clear that the EPC will remain strong in those parishes and social groups where local priests have provided the opportunity for them to work, but further steps may be desirable. It might be more productive in the future for the selection of participating parish priests in a given region to be made jointly by the national coordinators of the EPC and the local bishops.

Additional early training opportunities Many priests need to strengthen their knowledge and awareness of the social, economic and cultural situations that affect the parishes in Colombia. Consideration might be given to the EPC teaching seminarians, and working with them in the final years of their preparation for ministry.

Links to development initiatives A final important challenge for the national coordination of the EPC is that of completing the early training exercises with social action and the initiation of sustainable livelihood projects, or the identification of already existing development projects which can help local communities resolve their most urgent economic necessities.

CONCLUSIONS

The School for Peace and Coexistence seeks to construct a culture of peace in Colombia, helping people to break free of the image of armed conflict and forms of everyday violence as natural or inevitable. It moves beyond mere denunciation of and reaction to violence, to the proactive promotion of peace especially among individuals, families and local communities. The EPC is a systematic program that helps the church carry its message and carry out its mission in the country. It is strengthened by the privileged position the institution enjoys in terms of its credibility and legitimacy in contributing to peace.

The School has fostered changes on the personal level, and in relations in the family and community. Communities have gained from a new sense of belonging and local identity.

The School for Peace and Coexistence in Manizales has strengthened the local church through the efforts of committed and generous lay people guided by their faith and love of God. SEPAS has played an important role, with its director consistently animating the process in the Archdiocese. A stronger commitment from the overall church, however, would greatly assist in the implementation of the EPC.

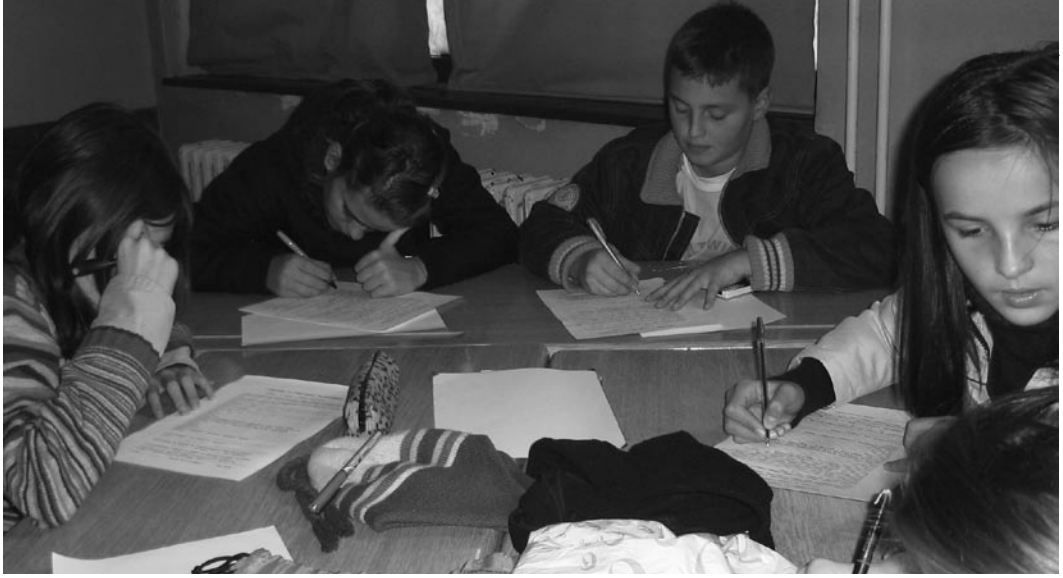
The School has fostered changes on the personal level, and in relations in the family and community. Individuals have experienced transformations in their self-esteem and relations with others; and they have found tools for building life projects with greater self-confidence and a sense of security. Communities have gained from a new sense of belonging and local identity through the EPC's promotion of values related to working with others, building and celebrating together and belonging to church. Participants have reached levels of trust that had previously been destroyed. There is greater understanding and engagement at the personal, family and community levels in Manizales. The commitment to peace is not yet manifested, however, in the realm of more active participation in public spaces and broader forms of citizen participation.

INTERVIEWS

Maria Angélica Zuluaga, Manizales Archdiocesan team member
Carlos Calle Valencia, Manizales Archdiocesan team member
Luz Angela Carvajal Rodríguez, Manizales Archdiocesan team member
Diana Milena Cárdenas, Manizales Archdiocesan team member
Alvaro Gutiérrez Castaño, Manizales Archdiocesan team member
Carlos Julio Rodríguez, Manizales Archdiocesan team member

A Case Study on
NETWORKING AGAINST GENDER BASED VIOLENCE

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Risk awareness is crucial from an early age.

ALBANIA and BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Church Action on the Trafficking of Women and Girls

Initial draft by Monica Mueller

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the case study

The following case study focuses on the efforts of the Catholic Church in Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina to halt trafficking in women.[1] The underlying premise of much of the work on counter-trafficking is that violence against women, in general, and trafficking specifically, is a manifestation of structural inequities that can be addressed by actions promoting justice and equity at both policy and community levels. This case study explores how Caritas organizations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Albania — in the wider context of the regional and international Caritas organizations — came to be involved in counter-trafficking, how they have approached the issue, what factors assisted or impeded their efforts, and what kind of outcomes resulted from those efforts.

What we mean by violence against women

This case study uses the UN General Assembly Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (VAW) definition (at Article 1) of such violence: "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life." Of special relevance to our subject, Article 2 of the Declaration states that VAW encompasses "Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, *trafficking in women* and forced prostitution."[2]

1 Caritas Internationalis has adopted the definition of trafficking set out in the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime: Trafficking in persons [is defined as] the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation includes, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

2 Emphasis added. United Nations General Assembly Resolution 48/104 of 20 December 1993. Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women.



NATURE AND COURSE OF THE ISSUE

Trafficking of women in Europe

It is beyond the scope of this report to analyze the multiple and widely ranging estimates of how many women are trafficked from, to and through Europe. The nature of the crime (making research difficult if not dangerous), definitional debates across ideologies and data sources that affect data collection criteria (trafficking versus smuggling; trafficked persons versus "lawbreakers" who have violated migration and labor laws; cross-border versus domestic trafficking) and resource constraints are among the factors that make such estimates unreliable if not impossible.[3]

As a starting point for discussion, we can look to the International Organization on Migration (IOM), which has gathered data about IOM-assisted trafficked persons in the Counter-Trafficking Module (CTM)

3 For a scholarly discussion and analysis of available research worldwide, see "Data and research on human trafficking: A global survey." Offprint of the Special Issue of *International Migration,* Vol. 3 (1/2). IOM. 2005.



Database since 1999. A 2005 IOM report states that in July 2004 the database contained data on 2,791 trafficked persons representing 35 nationalities. Strangely, this report does not indicate how many of these cases are female; nevertheless we can assume that the great majority are women, based on a data table describing 2,469 of the cases (88 percent[4] of the total) as "mothers or single mothers." The most common countries of origin, accounting for 88 percent[5] of the data, were Moldova, Romania, Ukraine, Belarus, Bulgaria and the Dominican Republic.

The four highest destination countries or regions where trafficked persons were referred for IOM assistance were the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo and Albania. Highlighting characteristics of trafficked persons from the six top countries of origin named above (note that five of these are in Europe, with Europe accounting for 2,732, or 98 percent of the cases), the report notes that 75 percent of this group experienced sexual exploitation (only one percent worked in the sex industry prior to recruitment), and seven percent experienced forced labor. Fifty-nine percent of the total cases were between the ages of 18 and 24, with 72 percent under age 24. Only 50 percent worked at the time of recruitment, and 30 percent had had no work experience at all. Forty-five percent of those who worked prior to recruitment reported earning less than USD50 per month, and most were the sole income providers for their household.[6]

Trafficking of women in Albania

While a country of destination, Albania is primarily a country of origin for women and girls trafficked internationally and internally for commercial sexual exploitation.[7] Extreme poverty — particularly in rural

4 All percentages in this section are rounded.
5 Not a typo – both this and the previous figure happen to be the same: 88 percent.
6 International Organization on Migration, "World Migration 2005: Costs and Benefits of International Migration" Section 3, pp. 417-421. Available at www.iom.int.
7 U.S. Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report, 2007.

areas — and low levels of education are commonly cited as causes of the phenomenon, and many trafficked persons come from dysfunctional or broken homes.[8] In addition, the lack of education of girls, a particular problem in rural areas, sustains inequities that limit their livelihood options and ultimately increases girls' and women's vulnerability to exploitation. The pervasiveness of organized crime and corruption are commonly cited causes for the persistence of trafficking in Albania.

The lack of education of girls, a particular problem in rural areas, sustains inequities that limit their livelihood options and ultimately increases vulnerability to exploitation.

Since around 2002, both IOM and local NGOs providing assistance and referrals have reported a general downward trend in the cases of trafficking in Albania — particularly of persons being trafficked across borders. This has been attributed to police crackdowns on the use of speedboats delivering trafficked persons and smuggled migrants to Italy, changes in visa requirements that now eliminate the necessity of migrants to pass through Albania to enter the EU, changes in east-west migration routes and increased sophistication in the use of real and fraudulent immigration documents. Meanwhile the number of women and girls trafficked internally into prostitution has reportedly increased, as has internal trafficking of children.[9]

Trafficking of women in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) is a source, transit point and destination of trafficked persons, with trafficking of women and girls into commercial sexual exploitation considered its predominant characteristic.[10] While there is general consensus that local and internal trafficking (i.e., trafficking of Bosnians within BiH and "reselling" of foreign victims within BiH) have been on the rise in recent years, a debate regarding a decline in the general phenomenon of trafficking has emerged. Some argue that law enforcement efforts have genuinely succeeded to curb trafficking while others state that the difference is only in the number of cases reported and referred. The thinking behind the latter view is that ramped-up policing efforts have driven the enterprise further underground, further isolating victims in remote or less visible venues (small restaurants, private apartments), and that traffickers have endeavored to "improve" their treatment of women, continuing their controlling and exploitative practices but paying women enough to compel them to remain — silently — in their situation.[11]

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the demand for sexual services is believed to have spiked due to the presence of international law enforcement/peacekeeping forces. Continuing past trends, recent analyses report that the majority of persons who are trafficked to BiH from abroad are from Serbia, Ukraine, Moldova, Romania and Russia, some remaining in BiH and some traveling on to destinations in Western Europe.[12] While the departure of foreign soldiers is correlated to some decrease in trafficking of foreign women into prostitution in BiH, internal trafficking is widely considered to have intensified, accompanying increasing trends in rural to urban migration, continuing high poverty and unemployment rates, particularly in rural areas, and limited livelihood opportunities even for those with high levels of education.

In addition, the displacement of populations and the departure of family members during the conflict as it played out in BiH are also significant in increasing risks of exploitation, perhaps even more acutely in groups already socially marginalized, such as the Roma population. A recent CRS proposal points out that "In BiH, the different stages of the refugee cycle often separate family members leaving children isolated from the rest of the family, and women alone responsible for the security and care of the home. There are several examples in Roma refugees communities in BiH where girls as young as 13 to 14 years of age are charged to care for the family and, under their fathers' orders, to leave school. These young Roma women are at risk from trafficking for labor, sexual exploitation or early marriage."[13]

8 Changing Patterns and Trends of Trafficking in Persons in the Balkan Region. Assessment Carried out in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Province of Kosovo, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and the Republic of Moldova. IOM. July 2004.
9 Ibid.
10 U.S. Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report, 2007.
11 This concept is discussed in IOM (July 2004) but also in numerous other sources not cited here. This shift in traffickers' modus operandi is not limited to BiH, but has been remarked on elsewhere as well, for example in Kosovo.
12 U.S. Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report, 2007.
13 Empowerment for Prevention of Trafficking. CRS proposal in response to Austrian Development Cooperation (ADC) CfP SOE/01/2006, Initiative against Trafficking in Human Beings with focus on women and girls in South Eastern Europe (June 2005).

Gender bases of root causes of trafficking and gender-specific impacts

Numerous explanations exist as to why gender-based inequities contribute to violence against women and to the exploitation of women in slavery. The UN Division for the Advancement of Women, charged with analyzing "supply" and "demand" factors related to trafficking, has reported that "factors that rendered poor persons, especially women and children, vulnerable to trafficking were development processes based on class, gender and cultural concerns that marginalize women, in particular, from employment and education; displacement as a result of natural and human-made catastrophes; dysfunctional families; and gendered cultural practices, gender discrimination and gender-based violence in families and communities." The report also concluded that on the demand side, causes included, inter alia, "globalization that had fuelled the development of economic sectors with a woman-specific demand for cheap labor and the growth of the commercial sex industry."[14]

Respected scholars and UN documents alike view the low status of women and girls in many parts of the world and the discriminatory and abusive treatment this can engender as key root causes of trafficking. A significant percentage of trafficking victims experienced domestic violence or incest earlier in life. They have been affected by limited legal protection in cases of domestic and sexual violence or harassment; the feminization of poverty; and the comparatively low investment in girls in societies where girls are less valued than boys, limiting access to education and information that could empower them.[15]

Gender discrimination in a post-conflict environment: the multiplication of risk factors

Post-conflict situations heighten the vulnerability of women to trafficking. "In post-conflict contexts where male members of a society have been disproportionately recruited in armed conflicts or killed, women and children compose the majority of the internally displaced and refugee populations. As their social/economic support network is diminished, and there are significant delays in their reintegration and/or resettlement, women and children become even more vulnerable to criminal predation."[16]

Post-conflict situations heighten the vulnerability of women to trafficking where male members of a society have been disproportionately recruited.

BiH provides an example of gender discrimination in a post-conflict environment. According to the January 2004 report of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in BiH, the employment rate for women there is only 44 percent (although women make up 51 percent of the population). Women are estimated to make up 80 percent of the employees of the so-called grey economy in BiH and in addition, women make up 45 percent of the people registered in employment bureaus. Gender-based discrimination in BiH impedes women's access to work. For example, women are marginalized in the process of privatization of state-owned companies and women are the first to lose their jobs when private companies lay off workers.[17]

NATURE OF CHURCH ACTION

Church documents and statements

In September 2005 Caritas Internationalis (CI) held an inter-regional workshop on trafficking and forced migration. The workshop aimed to identify possible strategies and instruments that Caritas members would be able to use in a cooperative effort to address the root causes of human trafficking.[18] The meeting brought together Caritas members from Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania and the Americas, as well as members of

14 Report of the Expert Group Meeting on the Trafficking of Women and Girls, (Glen Cove, New York, 18-22 November 2002). United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women and United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. Cited in 2004 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development: Women and International Migration. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Division for the Advancement of Women (2005).

15 CRS, "Counter-Trafficking Framework", developed July 2005, document undated.

16 Ibid.

17 Report on the State of Human Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina - January 2005. The Helsinki Committee. Cited in CRS/BiH's Empowerment/ADC proposal, available at http://www.bh-hchr.org/Reports/reportHR2004.htm.

18 Caritas Internationalis press release: "Caritas Formulating New Strategy for Combating Human Trafficking" (September 12, 2005).

the Network of Christian Organisations Against Trafficking in Women (COATNET), founded in 2001 by Caritas Europe with support from CRS. A significant output of the workshop was the final draft of the CI Commitment on Trafficking in Human Beings. The CI Commitment cites various church-issued texts from which it derives its foundation and inspiration; selections from these are found below.

> *The solemn proclamation of human rights is contradicted by a painful reality of violations, wars and violence of every kind, in the first place, genocides and mass deportations, the spreading on a virtual worldwide dimension of ever new forms of slavery such as trafficking in human beings, child soldiers, the exploitation of workers, illegal drug trafficking, prostitution.*
>
> Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Reprint April 2005, page 88, paragraph 158.

> *Trafficking in persons — in which men, women and children from all over the globe are transported to other countries for the purposes of forced prostitution or labour — inherently rejects the dignity of the human person and exploits conditions of global poverty.*
>
> Strangers no longer: Together on the journey of hope, a joint U.S./Mexico bishops pastoral letter, November 2002.

During Vatican II the Catholic Church renewed its historic concern on forced labor, stating that "slavery, prostitution, the selling of women and children and disgraceful working conditions where people are treated as instruments of gain rather than free and responsible persons" are "infamies" and "an affront to fundamental values . . . values rooted in the very nature of the human person."[19] These very words were re-emphasized in a statement from Vatican City on May 15, 2002, by Pope John Paul II: "The trade in human persons constitutes a shocking offense against human dignity and a grave violation of fundamental human rights. It is an affront to fundamental values that are shared by all cultures and all peoples, values rooted in the very nature of the human person."

Pope John Paul II: "The trade in human persons constitutes a shocking offense against human dignity and a grave violation of fundamental human rights.

In recent years, the Vatican has increasingly called for global action against trafficking, participated in various events about the issue, and consistently raised the concern in international fora.[20] In the 2006 annual statement on migration, entitled "Migrations: A Sign of the Times," Pope Benedict XVI deplored the "trafficking of human beings — especially women — which flourishes where opportunities to improve their standard of living or even to survive are limited." The Holy See expressed related concerns in a 2005 UN address:

> *[The treatment of a woman], not as a human person with rights on an equal basis with others, but as an object to be exploited, very often underlies violence against women…[a context in which]…an increasing scourge is trafficking in women and girls, as well as various forms of prostitution.*[21]

Taken together, these formal articulations of standards and official expressions of commitment to combating trafficking by individual states or organizations of states, and by the church, have catalyzed and nurtured the growth of counter-trafficking work in multiple sectors.

Albania

Background and current activities Caritas Albania's first contributions to the fight against trafficking began around 1991, in the form of assistance to trafficked persons. As Sister Josefina Rojo Rabadan of Caritas Albania explains, "At that time there were no phones in Albania. Families could not connect with their family members in other countries. We supplied phones so that people could talk with the women abroad. Then we started assisting women with documents."[22]

19 Guadium et Spes, 27 – Second Vatican Council.
20 CRS Counter-Trafficking Framework, undated.
21 Rescuing Women From Abuse: Statement to 3rd Committee of the 60th session of the U.N. General Assembly on the item: "Implementation of the Outcome of the 4th World Conference on Women and of the Special Session of the General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace in the 21st Century." Archbishop Migliore October 17, 2005.
22 Interview with Sister Josefina Rojo Rabadan, July 26, 2007.



Trainings like this in Odzak parish raise awareness on trafficking.

As with many organizations at the vanguard of trafficking prevention and victim assistance activities, especially in the early to mid 1990s prior to the boom in global and national attention to the issue, the operational context was especially challenging. Mistrust of authorities, security fears, lack of understanding of what trafficking is, and reluctance to engage openly in discussion related to the commercial sex industry, not to mention interaction with persons who had worked — willingly or not — in the sex trade, were all strongly dissuasive factors. All of which had to be overcome in order to reach out to trafficked persons and mobilize resources that could assist them. Often, acts of assistance were acts of individuals responding to individual situations before them in a case by case manner, and the official backing of their organizations came only later with increased sensitization efforts that often originated from outside the local community, alongside a general increase in information about the severity and urgency of the problem. In the meantime, government actions against trafficking in Albania were focused mainly on law enforcement, and the efforts of civil society organizations were additionally challenged by resource limitations (with much reliance on external funding). Initial actions in this area were driven less by organizational mandates or explicit planning than by the need to respond to emergent situations faced by communities and individuals in danger.

The growing experience with trafficked persons and persons in need, and the increasing ability to view trafficking as a preventable phenomenon with linkages to existing areas of humanitarian concern and programming, moved Caritas and other faith-based organizations to engage more deeply and ultimately, more formally on the issue. As Sister Josefina notes, "Caritas soon saw the need for more work on trafficking, and in the past two to three years, Caritas and religious congregations received education about the issue that facilitated and motivated their deeper involvement." Father Carmelo, a priest of the Giuseppini del Murialdo order which has worked especially on the education of vulnerable youth, remarks that:

> *The [order's] involvement in counter-trafficking was not any mandate from the church leadership, it just resulted naturally based on the situation in Albania. It was built upon the continuing programs that the school has focused on: education, capacity building, employment opportunities — which are all ways to prevent trafficking in human beings.*

The work of various religious orders of both women and men on this issue in Albania, especially in the areas of victim assistance and awareness-raising, is quite noteworthy:

> *The proximity with Rome where most congregations have headquarters has resulted in a natural engagement of some international congregations in this area. Often called upon in Italy to provide assistance to an identified victim, the congregations would follow up and accompany the repatriation and reintegration processes in Albania. Congregations like the Salesians, for example, have developed solid links with IOM and intervene frequently to assist victims.*[23]

Perhaps one of the first efforts to unite the work of congregations was a reflection and training meeting for religious personnel in April 2004 organized by IOM, the Joint Commission on Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation (JPIC) Commission of the Unions of the Superiors General (USG/UISG), and the Italian Union of Major Superiors (USMI), the latter two entities based in Rome.[24] Thirteen Catholic

23 Catholic Religious Congregations Against Trafficking (CRCAT). CRS proposal to Secours Catholique, March 2005.

24 It is worth noting that Sister Eugenia Bonetti, M.C., the head of USMI, is a well-known advocate for congregational work on trafficking: through USMI, she coordinates the work of 250 religious nuns from 70 different world congregations working full time in counter-trafficking, assisting mostly trafficked women and young girls who are enslaved in prostitution to regain their freedom and independence.

religious women representing eleven congregations attended the training. At the end of the training, they made a public declaration to make themselves available for the fight against trafficking and to raise the awareness about the phenomenon. The declaration prompted the anti-trafficking working group of the JPIC to envisage possibilities for helping the sisters implement their commitment.[25]

Following the April training, a reflection meeting was held to decide a course of action to harness and direct the knowledge and motivation that was building within congregations to work in the counter-trafficking field. The reflection resulted in the Catholic Religious Congregations Against Trafficking (CRCAT) — a joint initiative of CRS, Secours Catholique and Caritas Albania which attempts to engage Catholic communities in such efforts. CRCAT I increased the number of congregations participating in a core group on counter-trafficking led by Caritas Albania and resulted in various trafficking awareness and prevention-oriented contributions, such as an awareness raising initiative for Caritas health operators, and the development of educational materials targeting religious communities as well as the larger Albanian community. In its second phase, CRCAT II conducted prevention activities including support for professional development and employment based on proven initiatives from different parishes and congregations using mini-projects. CRCAT II also supports Caritas Albania's advocacy efforts and aims to facilitate exchanges with other religious and non-religious actors in Albania and the region.

Accomplishments Many of the comments of persons interviewed for this case study focused on changes in awareness about trafficking, how this has led to changes in attitudes among persons and communities in a position to play a role in prevention and assistance, and a better understanding of how to become involved in ways that are safe, within reach of current capacities, and consistent with organizational missions and mandates. Sister Josefina comments:

> *Because of the training, we now have a deeper understanding of the phenomenon — a deeper knowledge of its causes. At the beginning, we saw fear and reticence, but the training opened up other possibilities. Another achievement is that the message arrives to people close to the nuns especially school directors and lay persons. It has opened up a circle. Now, we have a more complete vision of the issue."*

Father Carmelo's reflections on achievements are in line with this concept of *opening*:

> *I see the main results of our work in counter-trafficking as moving from mistrust to trust; from indifference to interest, motivation and hope. Other results have been legislative changes, involvement in the [national] strategy, and referrals. Overall trafficking has been reduced and there's much more awareness and many more instruments to fight it. All the elements have contributed to these results and changes — the actors, the capacities, the conditions and the pressure from the international actors.*

The significant results of Caritas and congregations' work on trafficking are summarized below:

- Increased interest and involvement of congregations and Albanian sisters in counter-trafficking work through CRCAT and prior initiatives.
- The involvement of priests and collaborators, oftentimes taking a leadership role, in many of the CRCAT activities.
- Caritas Albania becoming a COATNET member, which has increased its opportunities for the exchange of information, resources, experience and expertise.
- A unique initiative developed during the CRCAT project, awareness raising and training of the Caritas staff working in the health sector. Health workers are critical contributors to trafficking prevention and assistance because of their potential to recognize trauma and abuse, identify vulnerability to exploitation and provide direct service or referral.

Health workers are critical contributors to trafficking prevention and assistance because of their potential to recognize trauma and abuse, identify vulnerability to exploitation and provide direct service or referral.

25 CRCAT proposal (April 2007).

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Background and current activities Since 2004, Caritas of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Caritas BiH) and three of its diocesan offices have implemented various counter-trafficking initiatives. A combination of factors motivated their initial interest and action in counter-trafficking work. Sanja Horvat, the Anti-Trafficking Coordinator for Caritas BiH during this time, explains that in the early 2000s, the Office of the BiH State Coordinator on Anti-trafficking started to report changes in trafficking trends, namely that BiH was not only an importer of women trafficked from Romania and Moldova, but that trafficking of BiH women was growing. According to Sanja Horvat, this information served as "an alarm for Caritas to inform as many people as possible about the trafficking phenomenon in the country." She notes that information and advocacy from Caritas Europa also were an impetus to action and, quite concretely, that the Catholic Church in BiH mandated Caritas BiH to implement prevention programs and to participate in networks in the counter-trafficking field. In 2005, the Director of Caritas BiH participated in meetings in Brussels with Caritas Europa, where an agreement was reached between Caritas BiH, Caritas Norway and CRS to work in partnership on the issue in BiH.



Caritas course in Sarajevo includes elements of economic empowerment for women.

Trafficking is a priority on the Church and Caritas agendas in BiH. The Church Commission on Justice and Peace of Bosnia-Herzegovina publishes a yearly document on human rights, reporting on — among other issues — violence, peacebuilding, and combating trafficking; and Caritas has published other documents on the topic that are more oriented to target groups and to the media. Counter-trafficking activities are directly linked to peacebuilding and public awareness goals outlined in the Caritas BiH Strategic Plan 2005–2010.[26]

Caritas BiH has worked on prevention campaigns and coordinates with secular NGOs and government counter-trafficking actors such as the State Commission for Combating Human Trafficking and Illegal Migration. Over the course of this involvement, Caritas BiH became a member of COATNET and is deeply committed to continuing counter-trafficking activities, particularly at the diocesan and parish level.

Enhancing Local Capacities to Stop Trafficking is a current Caritas project implemented with the support of CRS and Caritas Norway, and builds on the work enabled by the technical and financial assistance of this continuing partnership since 2004. With the overall goal of reducing trafficking in BiH, the project aims to implement trafficking prevention activities through cooperative government — civil society efforts. Its main objectives are to build civil society capacity to implement and coordinate trafficking-prevention activities, promote the utilization of counter-trafficking coordination mechanisms by civil society and government, and improve the awareness of the risks and responses to trafficking in persons through a range of prevention activities.

The *Enhancing Local Capacities* project, in partnership with other NGOs and institutions, utilizes the extensive parish network and Caritas-run Family Counselling Centers to improve access to information in at-risk communities and to at-risk populations (e.g., Roma, refugees and youth). Activities include working with parish volunteers and social ministry networks to ensure that parishioners and the church leadership (priests) understand the problem. This understanding will serve as the basis for awareness-raising campaigns at the parish level.

The Caritas BiH Family Counseling Centers, whose history in providing social services long predates their involvement in counter-trafficking work, are an important locus of activity for this and prior projects' trafficking awareness-raising interventions. As Maja Brenjo, the Counter-trafficking Officer for CRS/BiH explains, "Their clients are everybody who has family problems, whether it is domestic violence, marriage

26 Interview and email correspondence with Sanja Horvat.

problems, or anything else. Clients can be of any religion. While the centers are not closed to men, the majority of clients are women, because mostly women are suffering violence."[27] Through the counter-trafficking interventions, these centers offer targeted social integration and support services to young women in highly vulnerable positions such as orphans, women from boarding schools, young women from dysfunctional families, children of migrant workers or trafficking victims, and young minority or refugee women.[28]

Another important project activity is the administration of economic empowerment grants targeted to at-risk families by Caritas, local faith-based organizations and NGOs. Through these small grants, the project provides families — particularly women — a chance to learn new skills and build linkages with employers.

Accomplishments Generally perceived as the most significant results of the cumulative counter-trafficking efforts implemented by Caritas in the past years are:

- Increased trafficking awareness in church structures, Caritas organizations and parishes.
- Increased trafficking awareness in communities at risk. For example, the midterm report for the *Enhancing Local Capacities* project notes that, of the small grants participants surveyed, 70 percent reported that their awareness and knowledge of trafficking risks had improved, and 30 percent stated that it had significantly improved. New skills and information learned included common trafficking recruitment scenarios, how to protect themselves and their friends, and ways of earning income.[29]
- The multiplier effect of education/awareness activities achieved by sensitizing key community actors and those with access to at-risk individuals and groups.
- Regular information exchange and cooperative effort between faith-based, NGO and state entities. The *Enhancing Local Capacities* midterm report states that "CRS and Caritas are recognized as strategic partners within the broader network of organizations combating trafficking coordinated by the State Commission." Caritas and other partner NGOs actively participate in the IOM and State Commission's established coordination/information mechanisms. One indication of the value placed on the contributions of project partners is the opportunity extended to CRS and partners to comment on the State Commission's State Operation Plan for 2007. In addition, CRS has been invited by IOM to take a role in an Interagency Training Committee, a body formed primarily to develop modules for the delivery of effective training on trafficking issues (prevention, protection and prosecution) to a wide range of professionals.[30]
- Caritas' participation in and exchange with national and international counter-trafficking networks (e.g., La Strada, COATNET) and its recognition as an important contributor.
- The implementation of 18 small-grants initiatives that focus on economic empowerment and gender equality in 27 local communities. At midterm in the *Enhancing Local Capacities* project, 11 small grants recipients had begun to implement prevention activities relating to government-citizen cooperation mechanisms, local awareness raising activities targeted to at-risk groups, economic empowerment activities or reducing domestic violence.[31]
- Caritas BiH participation in the development of the BiH State Action Plan to fight against trafficking in BiH. State cooperation with the Caritas BiH was formalized with the signing in July 2007 of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). The MoU acknowledges ongoing cooperation and commits the signatories to cooperate in the fight against trafficking in BiH.

The role of Caritas Europa and COATNET[32]

Caritas Europa (CE) has played a fundamental role in putting counter-trafficking on the global Caritas agenda. It first became involved in counter-trafficking work because of its connection to CE's and members' ongoing work on migration, and its international character. Later, through multiple efforts with national

27 Email communication from Maja Brenjo to Monica Mueller, 16 July 2007.
28 Empowerment for Prevention of Trafficking (EPT) proposal.
29 Enhancing Local Capacities to Stop Trafficking in Bosnia-Herzegovina II. Midterm Report: 1 September 2006 28 February 2007.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 The majority of the history and information for this section is taken from interviews with Marius Wanders, Secretary General of Caritas Europa, and Martina Liepsch, who is Caritas Germany representative at Caritas Europa as well as President of the CE Migration Committee, and wears other hats as well.

Caritas groups and secular organizations working to combat trafficking, a network was established and ultimately housed under the legal authority of Caritas Europa. COATNET — Christian Organizations Against Trafficking in Women network — was launched in 2001 with key financial support from CRS in the region. Another milestone of the year came in December 2003, with CE's adoption of a formal Commitment on Combating Trafficking in Women.

Caritas Europa (CE) has played a fundamental role in putting counter-trafficking on the global Caritas agenda. Counter-trafficking work is integrated into all of the goals outlined in CE's current strategic plan.

At present, Caritas Europa's primary goals are to provide assistance to trafficked persons, to address the root causes of trafficking and to raise awareness, both in countries of origin — targeting initiatives to the most vulnerable — and in countries where persons are exploited, willingly or unknowingly, by persons using and benefiting from their services and conditions. Counter-trafficking work is integrated into all of the goals outlined in CE's current strategic plan. The first goal, fighting poverty and social exclusion in Europe, is significant because, as Marius states, "trafficking emanates from the migration area, but we see more and more that at its roots, it is a question of social exclusion." The second, which relates to migration, refugees, asylum and the integration of migrants, places a special emphasis on combating trafficking. Emergency response, CE's third overarching goal, is relevant in that trafficking can be considered "collateral damage" in emergency settings: "people capitalize on the misery of those affected by the disaster or conflict." And last, international development and building sustainable peace, is an area where CE aims to integrate trafficking awareness activities and to work to change unjust power structures. Counter-trafficking work is also realized within CE's cross-cutting goals of increased networking and partnerships and community advocacy.

Among the most significant results of the counter-trafficking efforts of Caritas Europa are:

- The visibility of churches at the EU and Council of Europe level; the wide recognition of the church's voice and differentiated positions on migration and trafficking issues. Martina notes that there about 15,000 lobbyists at the EU, with only 20 "core" lobbyists. How can the church hope to have an influence with so many interests represented? She has observed that "As churches, we are seen. People want to hear our voice."
- The acknowledgment among Caritas groups that as Marius notes, trafficking "does happen in our societies." This recognition has validated existing actions and encouraged entrance into counter-trafficking work.
- Increased awareness of the needs, problems and challenges faced by women generally. Sensitization about how women can come to be exploited in a trafficking situation has broken down misinformed or conservative ideas held by many church actors that women come to work in the sex trade or are abused due to their own provocations.

The creation and strengthening of communication, trust, networking and collaboration within and among church, NGO and state networks is a significant contribution to strategic counter-trafficking efforts named by most interviewees; and cited repeatedly in the documents consulted for this case study. That this ultimately has an effect on the actual numbers of persons trafficked, on the quality of life, or on the protection of human rights of trafficked persons or vulnerable populations, is a critical assumption.

The creation and strengthening of communication, trust, networking and collaboration within and among church, NGO and state networks is a significant contribution to strategic counter-trafficking efforts.

Effective measurement of the changes resulting from these efforts remains elusive to all actors involved, whether faith-based, NGO or governmental. As Marius points out, one must be realistic:

> *The amount of money generated by trafficking is over seven or eight billion dollars per year; this is just behind the profits made from the trafficking of drugs and arms. If we compare this to what authorities and civil societies are spending on efforts to combat trafficking, well, this is just a drop in the ocean.*

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO EFFECTIVENESS

Concurrent international awareness and advocacy campaigns

Information and standards at both the international and national level have greatly evolved. This both responded to and reinforced the initial and increasing involvement of governments, the church, Caritas and civil society organizations in counter-trafficking actions generally. First, in November 2000, the UN adopted and opened for signature the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime. This groundbreaking protocol had been preceded by years of discussion, debate and analysis relating to the issue, drawing attention to it at the highest international level.

Around the same time, the United States passed the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (2000), which mandates the U.S. Department of State to monitor and report on the activities of foreign governments in combating trafficking. The Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report has been issued annually since 2001. Its findings are utilized to direct U.S. foreign assistance to combating trafficking and may also be used as grounds for sanctions of certain types of aid to governments found to be negligently inactive or complicit in human rights violations related to trafficking. The stigma alone of receiving a poor mark in the TIP Report has prompted many governments to enact anti-trafficking legislation and scale up their prevention, prosecution and victim protection efforts. In addition, marking a significant moment in the pan-European discussion on the issue was the adoption of the Council of Europe Convention on Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings in 2005.

The process of developing these legal instruments was accompanied by substantial advocacy and awareness-raising on the part of international and local civil society organizations and networks working on human rights, women's issues, child protection, domestic violence, anti-slavery and a host of development themes.

Good media coverage

The media has played a tremendous role in raising awareness about trafficking worldwide, most visibly with regard to its more graphic and provocative aspects. These include the commercial sexual exploitation of trafficked women and children, the severe physical and sexual violence trafficked persons often experience in the process of being trafficked, and the role of international peacekeeping forces in fueling the sex industry in post-conflict regions.

Leadership

Persistent internal advocacy by determined individuals within the church and Caritas structures to promote action in this area — regardless of whether or not they had the initial support of organizational leaders — played a significant role in getting the structures to engage constructively. These individuals took it upon themselves to educate the leaders, clarify misconceptions and persuade authorities that this is an urgent human rights issue meriting church involvement. In the case of CRS, constituents who were hearing tragic stories and prompting CRS to take action, further legitimized the internal advocacy. In many cases this persistence resulted in the integration of counter-trafficking into organizational strategic plans and investment in training efforts. The training of Caritas staff was essential to working effectively and appropriately on the issue of trafficking.

Persistent internal advocacy by determined individuals within the church and Caritas played a significant role in getting the structures to engage constructively.

Networks built on personal relationships

The flip side of the leadership coin involved strategic networking. Opportunities for developing face-to-face relationships included visits to other countries of origin and destination, CRCAT and COATNET trainings and conferences, visits to partner projects and participation in inter-sectoral meetings (e.g., BiH State Commission). These helped greatly to circulate ideas, build friendships, build motivation, maintain morale and facilitate cooperation. There is great value in knowing one's partners personally, and this extends to state actors as well.

The immersion of the "front-line" members of the network at the community level has ensured deep grass-roots penetration. The location of congregations and missionaries allows them to identify at-risk families and persons and assist them early on. They are also well situated to help with the reintegration processes when people return.

Effective partnerships

In the course of implementing CRCAT and the *Enhancing Local Capacities* project, as well as within predecessor initiatives and ongoing relationships of information sharing and exchange, Caritas Albania, Caritas BiH and the Murialdo Center have worked successfully with partners representing church-based and faith-based organizations and congregations, national NGOs, international NGOs, government entities and international organizations.

Activities around which these relationships are built include exchange of information and experience, joint projects, joint training, collaboration on cases of specific trafficked persons, secondment of staff, referral of beneficiaries for specific services, joint advocacy, and collaboration on the development of strategic documents such as State National Action Plans to Combat Trafficking and the Caritas Internationalis commitment statement on trafficking. The outcomes of these activities have included the growth of mutual trust and ongoing commitments — formal or informal — to work in a strategic and coordinated manner.

Ready links to other development sectors

Because the low status of women and girls in many parts of the world and the discriminatory and abusive treatment this can engender are seen as the key root causes of trafficking, anti-trafficking programming is easily connected to existing development programming in areas of education, livelihoods, HIV and AIDS, and other poverty reduction initiatives. Many of the solutions can be found within the kind of services already being provided by NGOs and church organizations, though not necessarily specifically targeting women vulnerable to trafficking.

Anti-trafficking programming is easily connected to existing development programming in areas of education, livelihoods, HIV and AIDS, and other poverty reduction initiatives.

CONCLUSIONS

The experiences of Caritas Europa, Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina provide valuable insights into how to effect institutional change within religious structures, particularly on gender-related issues. Sometimes, before engaging in peacebuilding, the peacebuilders themselves must first change. The case study illustrates the effort required to raise the awareness needed in order for church structures to make a commitment to address an issue, to say nothing of the subsequent work of actually providing services, monitoring the context and engaging in external advocacy. This is why so many of the accomplishments to date are limited to changes in awareness within church organizations. These changes in awareness are the building blocks for more substantial societal changes needed at the relational, structural and cultural levels.

INTERVIEWS

Interviews were attempted but not obtained with representatives from Caritas Norway and Secours Catholique.

Father Carmelo, Giuseppini del Murialdo order Murialdo Social Canter, Fier, Albania
Sister Josefina Rojo Rabadan, Caritas Albania
Sanja Horvat, Caritas BK BiH
Martina Liepsch, Caritas Germany, Representative at Caritas Europa Office in Brussels, President of Migration Committee at Caritas Europa, Member of COATNET Steering Group, Member of EU Experts Group on Trafficking in Human Beings
Marius Wanders, Caritas Europa, Secretary General

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Victims in conflict area with relief items. (Diocesan Social Service Society, Imphal)

INDIA

Ecumenism in Violent Conflict: The Joint Peace Mission Team

Initial draft by Dr. Deben Sharma

INTRODUCTION

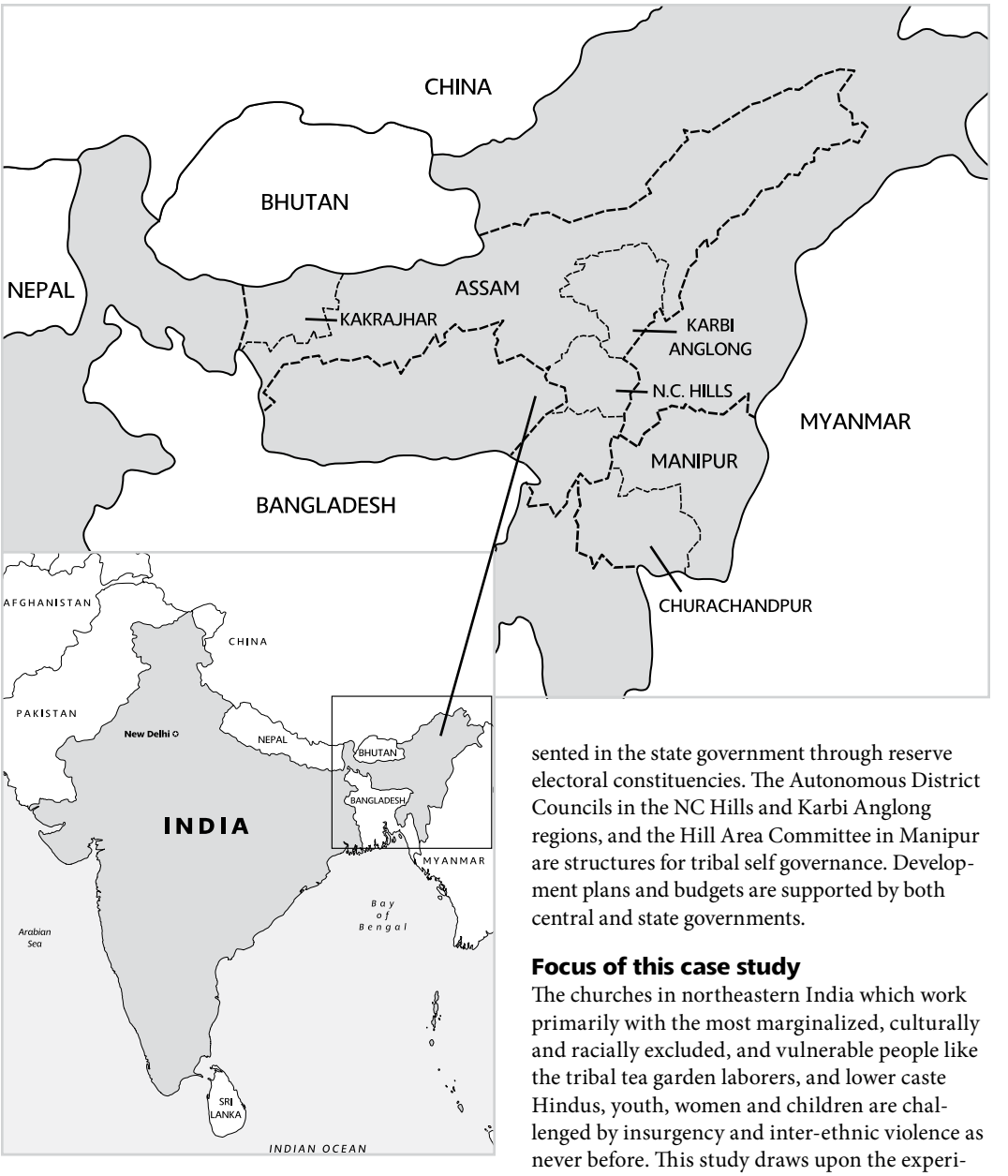
Between 1996 and 2005 inter-ethnic violence broke out in the districts of Kokrajhar, Karbi Anglong, North Cachar Hills (NC Hills) and Churachandpur in northeastern India. In addition there were tensions between Nagaland and its neighboring states of Arunachal, Assam and Manipur over perceived and actual territorial issues. Factional fights continue to be a major concern for civil society in Nagaland and its adjoining areas.

This case study focuses on the states of Assam and Manipur, two of the seven states in India's northeastern region. Both states have a majority Hindu population and various ethnic tribal, indigenous and Muslim populations. In Manipur, Hindus in the valley make up 57.67 percent, while almost all the ethnic tribes in the surrounding hills are Christian (34.11 percent) and Muslim (7.27 percent). In Assam 67.13 percent are Hindu; 8.43 percent are Muslims and 3.32 percent are Christians (Census of India 1991). In both states the larger percentage groups represent the dominant culture influencing the state. Christians, who are mostly tribal groups, and Muslims comprise the minority communities.

Recently a highly influential and powerful elite group has emerged that cuts across the majority and minority divisions. This elitist class of people has come to the fore in the post- independence period. They are close relatives or descendants of first generation of politicians, bureaucrats, technocrats, contractors and business-people. This elite group ultimately prevails on decisions affecting the lives of the general populace. Common people feel that much of the development resources and opportunities are concentrated among these elites.

In Assam, tribal areas are administered separately under the 6th Schedule of the India Constitution[1] called the Autonomous District Councils, part of the British legacy. Tribal and minority communities are repre-

1 The 6th Schedule in Manipur remains a bone of contention between hills and valley people and among tribal communities themselves (between the Naga and Kuki communities). In its place a Hill Area Committee, headed by elected representatives from the hills, has been working as an alternative.



sented in the state government through reserve electoral constituencies. The Autonomous District Councils in the NC Hills and Karbi Anglong regions, and the Hill Area Committee in Manipur are structures for tribal self governance. Development plans and budgets are supported by both central and state governments.

Focus of this case study

The churches in northeastern India which work primarily with the most marginalized, culturally and racially excluded, and vulnerable people like the tribal tea garden laborers, and lower caste Hindus, youth, women and children are challenged by insurgency and inter-ethnic violence as never before. This study draws upon the experience of an inter-church peacebuilding body called the Joint Peace Mission Team (JPMT) that emerged at the regional level when Christian communities were caught in the complex, multi-faceted violent ethnic conflicts in northeastern India.

Site selection methodology and rationale

Though ethnic violence is widespread in many parts of Assam and Manipur, three specific sites where the JPMT intervened were selected for this case study. The selection criteria included: a specific conflict between two or more well defined ethnic communities, occurring within a particular period of time, and in a specific location. The JPMT was also strategic in selecting the conflicts in which it would intervene.

The three sites chosen represent a microcosm of the complex issues the nation is facing today. The two tribal districts of Karbi Anglong and NC Hills in Assam resemble national dynamics where peripheral communities are in tension with the traditional nationalist center-state of the Brahmanical order (caste-based

discrimination). For its part, the Churachandpur tribal district in Manipur mirrors many of the dynamics of the larger picture of contemporary socio-political processes between the nation-state and the minority non-Hindu, Christian and Muslim communities.

NATURE AND COURSE OF THE CONFLICT

The northeast and the national context

The conflicts affecting the people in North East India in general and the tribal groups in particular can be better understood in the context of India's pre- and post-independence political processes. Any conflict analysis requires recognition of at least a few critical dynamics in India's history:

- The relocation of thousands of tribal people from the rest of India to the Assam during the British period put extra pressure on tribal territory and resources.
- Most people in the northeastern region of India felt that they were annexed to the Indian Union without consent.
- Partition occurred when the Islamic nationalist groups separated from India as Pakistan at midnight of India's independence.
- The partition of Bengal unleashed a floodgate of cross-border population influx and has threatened the survival of tribal and indigenous people.
- Political processes of a sub-national and regional nature began to take shape starting with the Naga declaring their independence in 1947 following the rejection of their appeals for self-determination by the Indian National Congress.
- In 1955 the army was sent into the region to quell the Naga resistance movement and subsequently was given extra-judicial power to counter all armed or unarmed resistance movements in the region.
- Politically conscious radical groups belonging to majority communities in Manipur and Assam initiated armed struggles in the 1970s demanding restoration of their lost sovereignty.
- A generation of educated leaders of diverse ethnic and tribal groups also began to assert their distinctive identities and needs for some autonomy from the dominant community in their immediate area.

The absence of Gandhi's leadership and the separation of two Islamic nations left post-independence India largely a nation dominated by Hindus. Any secessionist tendency or resistance to the state tended to be perceived as direct threats to the Indian nation under the influence of Hindu nationalist political parties. The government of India began to use military and centralist political strategies to quell unrest and integrate the region of diverse tribal and ethnic groups.

After Nehru, the Congress government was accused of using political power and money to appease minority communities, especially the Muslim population, in order to stay in power. This was seen as a national compromise and threat to the Hindu cultural heritage by Hindu rightist political groups such as Rastriya Swayam Sevak (RSS) and the Bharatiya Janata Party. The subsequent rise of Hindu nationalist forces into the national political mainstream in the 1980s and 1990s created religiously motivated tensions and violence throughout the country; and between Hindu and Muslim communities and Hindu and Christian communities throughout 1990s.

The political turmoil created a religiously intolerant nationalist state of the majority. The conflict pattern that emerges is one of a culturally dominant community marginalizing smaller communities of diverse cultural backgrounds.

The political turmoil created a religiously intolerant nationalist state of the majority in opposition to the marginalized minorities of the Islamic community and other geographically and culturally diverse tribal and indigenous communities. The conflict pattern that emerges is one of a culturally dominant community marginalizing smaller communities of diverse cultural backgrounds.

Following Nehru's tribal development policy — the British legacy let the tribal people develop in their own ways according to their genius — the government of undivided Assam created Autonomous Districts for many tribes inhabiting the two hill districts of Karbi Anglong and NC Hills, in addition to other hill regions. But 1956 constitutional provisions did not provide adequate safeguards for protecting tribal land, or opportunities for self development.

The Karbis and the Dimasas in Karbi Anglong and NC Hills districts Over the years the dominant tribes, the Dimasa and the Karbi, have been losing control over the resources within their own vast tracts of land. Biharis, Bengalis, Adivasi and other tribes have been pouring into Karbi Anglong and NC Hills occupying land as shared-basis cultivators. This is not share cropping as such. Migrant laborers work on tribal land for their share of return. Church leaders who have been working in these areas have their opinions on the causes of the conflicts, including socio-economic disparity, collective selfishness, anger, control over local resources and power imbalances.

Karbi Anglong The Karbi Anglong and NC Hills are two tribal Autonomous District Councils in Assam. The two districts are geographically separated by a large valley district. The district of Karbi Anglong is named after the Karbi tribes who consider the vast tract of hills and forest land as their traditional home. The Dimasa are the dominant community in the NC Hills district. Over a dozen other tribes and small communities live in both districts.

Although both the Karbi and the Dimasa have their own distinctive dialect and cultural traditions they are generally known as a Hindu community of low social status with respect to the dominant Hindu tradition. Christians are a small minority in both communities. Hindu radical groups like Rastriya Swayam Sevak (RSS) run youth centers in both districts.

The Karbis and the Dimasa tribes in NC Hills have been demanding autonomous state status since 1986, when they formed a joint political front[2] based on their common experiences of exploitation and discrimination. This was the only common platform between them. But soon support for this common political platform withered as the Dimasa, who are located in remote hills, decided to safeguard their own political interests independently.

The educated younger leadership of the Dimasa formed their own armed group in 1992, following a split in the common political platform between the Karbi and Dimasa. Dissatisfied with half-hearted responses of the state and central governments, the educated younger generation of Karbis organized armed groups[3] from 1994 onward to fight for their state, demand autonomous status and protect their traditional territory from population influx. After a brief armed campaign, both Karbi and Dimasa armed groups signed a cease-fire agreement with central and state governments in 2001. The cease-fire agreement resulted in a split between the armed groups of both communities. Complicating matters further, the location of one of the designated camps for the disarming Dimasa was perceived as an encroachment into the Karbi area. Soon the campsite became a flash point between the two armed groups. Splinter armed groups, who rejected cease-fire with the government, were actively involved in the violent clashes.

Karbi militants clashed with the Kuki, the Khasi Pnars and the Dimasa in 2003-2004. The economic prosperity and political aspiration of the Kuki was met with violent reactions from Karbi militants. The militant leaders rejected the Karbi political leaders and Kuki community leaders who signed a memo of understanding in 2000 outlining mutual support in achieving their respective political goals: an autonomous state for the Karbi and an autonomous region for Kuki within that. Under threat, the Kuki organized their own armed groups resulting in violent clashes, the displacement of hundreds of people, and the loss of lives on both sides.

2 ASDC (Autonomous State Demand Committee) was formed to work jointly for autonomous state status through electoral politics. ASDC was in power for one and a half decades between 1988 and 1999.

3 UPDS (United Peoples Democratic Solidarity) is a Karbi militant group established in 1999 by integrating two already existing Karbi armed outfits: KNV (Karbi National Volunteers formed in 1994) and KPF (Karbi People's Front formed in 1994). In 2001, UPDS entered into a ceasefire agreement with the Government of India and State Government for finding a political solution through dialogue. Some dissident leaders of UPDS walked out of the dialogue process. The group came to be known as "Anti-Talk faction" and formed KLNLF (Karbi Longri National Liberation Front) in 2001. Some believe that UPDS maintains an undeclared "reserve armed group" who are officially kept out of the ceasefire agreement purview. This reserve is said to be actively involved in much of the ethnic violence with Kuki, Khasi, Bihari and Dimasa.



Dominic Lumon of Imphal Archdiocese distributing relief items to Internally Displaced Persons in Moreh, Manipur.

NC Hill District In the NC Hills, the communal situation deteriorated quickly after the formation of Dimasa armed groups. The concept of Dimaraji relates to the aspiration of creating a separate state for all Dimasa by integrating all past and present Dimasa inhabited land including part of present day Nagaland.[4] This was perceived as a threat by other tribes in the district particularly the Kukis and the Hmar. Divisions between the Dimasa and the non-Dimasa tribes escalated from small incidents to a full scale ethnic clash between the Dimasa and the Hmar in 2003. The violence resulted in the death of more than 100 people and the burning and displacement of hundreds of households. Although the conflict was characterized as a Hindu-Christian conflict by some right-wing Hindu RSS leaders, influential Dimasa leaders clarified that religion had nothing to do in the Hmar-Dimasa conflict.

In the NC Hills the large Bengali community has a strong cultural influence on the Dimasa communities. NC Hills schools teach in Bengali, whereas in the rest of Assam classes are taught in Assamese.[5] RSS has its base only among the Bengali and Dimasa in NC Hills. Christian influence among the Dimasa has been negligible. The Catholic Church was allowed to open just one school outside the town area. There is also a small Muslim community in the district. The Dimasi are some 35 to 40 percent of the district's total population, but have more than half of the council members. The rest of the minority tribes, who when combined numerically form the majority, do not have corresponding representation, and tend to resent it.

The Christian Hmars are proud of having the most English-educated and technically qualified persons. Most educated Non-Dimasa tribes who belong to different Christian denominations occupy bureaucratic and technical jobs in the district. Except for political leadership and being the dominant tribe in the district, the Dimasa feel backward compared to the other tribes. These factors contributed to the violent conflict between Dimasa and Hmar communities. Trouble began with incidents of kidnapping and killing, and counter actions by armed groups from both the communities. The Hmar community was supported by

4 Incidentally, the Dimaraji territorial demand came long after the Naga's demand for greater Nagaland including adjacent parts of Assam's territory. Parts of the areas in NC Hills district where Zemei and Rangkhols Naga tribes also live as minority groups along with the Dimasa come under the greater Nagaland demand. Dimasa people have strongly objected to the greater Nagaland demand. The demand for parts of present day Nagaland in the proposed map of Dimaraji or Dimasa state is also seen as a reaction to the Naga demands.

5 Assamese distinguish themselves as a people with a distinctive linguistic identity from that of the Bengali. This has been the case since British rule and even before Bengali cultural influence over the Assamese community had threatened existence of the latter. The two have had very close socio-cultural interactions since earlier times. In the 1950s and 1960s, Assamese literary society made concerted efforts to reassert their distinctiveness although commonalities between the two communities are greater than the differences today. There has been a sense of hatred for Bengali among some sectors of the Assamese population.

Hmar armed groups from Manipur. It was also reported that a section of Naga armed groups supported the Hmar community in the clash with the Dimasa.

The Kuki-Paite conflict in Churachandpur In Manipur violent conflict between the Naga and Kukis, both Christian communities[6], took more than a thousand lives throughout the four hill districts between 1992 and 1995. Most Kuki families were displaced. Non-Naga perceived the Naga violence as ethnic cleansing intended to create an integrated and unified greater Nagaland. The Kuki leaders resisted paying a loyalty tax to the Naga army. Kuki armed cadres had to retreat to Churachandpur, the Kuki home base, where the Naga have no claim.

The Kuki retreat to Churachandpur served to enlist the support of all other tribes of the Kuki-chin[7] group in the district, against the Naga military campaign to create a greater Nagaland territory. The Kuki alliance-building effort failed when the Zomi group (a closely related ethnic group of six tribes including Paite tribe) resisted what they called *Kukinization*, the imposition of Kuki identity and a loyalty tax. It was reported that there was a conspiracy between Naga nationalist leaders of Manipur and the armed Zomi group in Churachandpur district to carve out a separate land from Manipur for the Zomi.

In mid 1997 frustrated armed cadres of the Kuki kidnapped Paite leaders. Retaliatory killing started in the district, which was otherwise known as the Land of Christians. The death toll was over 400 and hundreds of families were displaced. A Naga was the Chief Minister of the state during that time, and he tried to intervene but the Kuki did not trust him. Fighting continued day and night.

Neither the army nor the police were perceived to be neutral. Observers reported that the army posted in the district supported the Paite fighters, and that the Central Reserve Police Forces in the district supported the Kuki fighters.

The district administration officials were spectators until the church initiatives demonstrated potential and a new leadership in the state government came at the end of 1997 from among the Meitei community, who were perceived as neutral in this context.

The new government built on the peace processes facilitated by the Guwahati-based inter-church peace body and signed a peace accord between the two tribes in the presence of state government and elected representatives of the district.

NATURE OF CHURCH ACTIONS

Origins of the JPMT

The Joint Peace Mission Team (JPMT) is an ecumenical peacebuilding body that emerged at the regional level in the midst of the violence. The foundation was laid in June 1996[8] when Thomas Menamparampil, the newly appointed Archbishop of Guwahati Archdiocese, met with other leaders of different denominations and religious congregations to coordinate their emergency humanitarian response for victims of violence between Bodo and Adivasi (Santhal) tribes in Kokrajhar, Assam. Christians killing one another and those of other faith traditions was a tremendous challenge for the churches in the region.

Christians killing one another and those of other faith traditions was a tremendous challenge for the churches in the region.

6 Both Naga and Kuki Christians committed heinous crimes against each other's women and children. The killings happened in the hills far away from towns and the capital city. Meitei, the dominant valley based community, who in general shares Kuki sentiments as Nagalim threatens Manipur's 2000 year old territorial boundary, did little to stop the violence but largely remained silent spectators of the human tragedies. Inter-tribal clashes during the British period left the relations between the Naga and the Kukis marked with an uneasy calm and mutual suspicion.

7 Kuki occupied certain areas in Tripura, North Cachar Hills district, Lushai Hills district, Naga Hills district, Manipur and other districts in India, and in Arakan and Chittagong Hills Tracts of Bangladesh. These same Kuki tribes are known as Chin in Burma.

8 JPMT Imphal Meeting minutes dated January 6, 2005. Source: JPMT File at NEDSF.



Fighting has affected the poor and their environment.

The group of regional church leaders included the Archbishop of Guwahati and Director of the North East Diocesan Social Forum (NEDSF), Guwahati, representing the Catholics; executive members of Council of Baptist Church of North East India (CBCNEI, Guwahati), North Eastern India Council of Churches (NEICC, Shillong), and Northern Lutheran Evangelical Church (based in Kokrajhar) as well as other church-based support agencies. Among the latter were the Church Auxiliary for Social Action (CASA, Guwahati), and the North East India Committee for Relief and Development (NEICORD, Guwahati). It was then informally known as the Inter-Church Peace Mission Team in Kokrajhar (1996). They came to be known as Church Leaders of North East India (CLNEI) when they facilitated a dialogue process in the Churachandpur district of Manipur in 1997.

The same group continued to work together, and came to be known as the North East Peace Team (NEPT) when they intervened in ethnic violence in Karbi Anglong and NC Hills districts in 2003. A fact-finding church delegation which included CRS and CASA alongside representatives of Catholic, Baptist and other Evangelical churches toured NC Hills during the Hmar-Dimasa violence and became known as the Guwahati Peace Team (GPT) since it was organized by Guwahati-based regional churches.

In a team meeting held in August 2003, the team resolved formally to call the inter-church team the Joint Peace Mission Team[9] and place it under the joint convener-ship of Rev. Haia of the NEICC, Archbishop Thomas of Guwahati Archdiocese (Catholic Church) and Rev. Lalmangaiaja of the PCI (Presbyterian Church). Rev. PBM Baiasawmoit of PCI was made the Spokesperson.

Goals and objectives of the JPMT

Vision: A society based on peace with justice.

Mission: Reduction of violence and better understanding between the ethnic communities for a harmonious and just society in the northeast region.

Objectives:

- To promote appreciation of each others' culture and reconciliation between the ethnic communities.
- To enable tribal and indigenous people to protect land and develop their resources.
- To enable civil society groups to prevent human rights violations, corruption and extortion.
- To inculcate in children and youth an attitude of peaceful living and cooperation.

The JPMT is not a formal, structured organization. Decisions are made by consensus, and the team works on a case by case basis.

9 "We are just a group of good friends who came together as each of us works in conflict situations. It is very flexible. There is an understanding among us. Any one among us can represent the entire group once a decision is made. JPMT is an understanding, a brotherhood and friendship. It is not a structure. We are not bound by any rules. We meet at least four to six times a year with a gap of two to three months." Personal interview with Archbishop Thomas Menamparampil, Guwahati, July 13, 2007.

THEORIES OF CHANGE

Dialogue facilitated by a neutral body can lead groups to cease their engagement in violence.

Neutrality is rare in a region with a high level of ethnic sensitivity and insurgency. Even the churches have been a casualty of the ethnic divides among the people. Non-Catholic churches are divided along ethnic lines. Most church leaders preach in their own community in their own dialects and are sustained by local resources. Churches are built upon ethnic identities.

Neutrality is rare in a region with a high level of ethnic sensitivity and insurgency. Even the churches have been a casualty of the ethnic divides among the people.

In such situations the Catholic Church in the region stands alone in maintaining its social development institutions as a common space for all communities. This helps explain why the Catholic Church is well-respected by the state and the people in general. Convening dialogue between conflicting parties is easier when facilitated by a third party of recognized credibility and impartiality, working in collaboration with church leaders.

Demonstrated ecumenical collaboration can counter the use of religion to justify politically motivated violence.

The approach of the JPMT has been one of accompaniment, healing and empowerment. Leaders listen without being judgmental, and identify and empower key people to explore creative ways of solving problems without violence. This approach engages all stakeholders. In the midst of crises and critics from faith-based organizations, Archbishop Thomas exhorted, "whatever happens, we are determined to collaborate with each other; we will refuse to compete or seek to outshine each other. We look at the goals to be achieved rather than boast about the respective roles we have played. What is important is to be effective in our service."

Efforts by each of the churches were supplemental and complementary. The understanding among the church leaders was such that any one of them could represent the entirety of the efforts for all the churches. The Lutheran church brought a great deal of relief materials, the Baptists had more followers in the district, and the Catholic Church mobilized a large number of volunteers and set up camp infrastructure[10] and accommodations for volunteers. The churches pooled their resources, shared their plans, shared responsibilities and coordinated work. The strength of each church was appreciated and fully recognized in the relief and peace efforts. Decisions for any action were made by consensus.

The churches pooled their resources, shared their plans, shared responsibilities and coordinated work. Decisions for any action were made by consensus.

Archbishop Thomas Menamparampil has stated that if the Joint Peace Team succeeded, it was because it was culturally inserted, it studied the socio-political realities carefully, its members represented credible organizations, they themselves were credible persons, and, most of all, they used a realistic and intelligent pedagogy:

- The Team was a mixed team (representing different churches, ethnic groups and experiences).
- It sought to be non-judgmental (it accused nobody, showed sympathy to all, encouraged all and welcomed everyone's help).
- It intelligently interpreted the reasons for the tragedy and the moods of the clashing parties, and approached each accordingly.

10 Because of the availability of infrastructures and facilities St. Aloysius Seminary, Kokrajhar became operational headquarters for the churches collective. Archbishop Thomas became the undisputed person in charge of the operational center. He took care not only of the volunteers' health concerns when they were coming from far and wide and when hygiene and sanitation in the relief camps was deteriorating, but also their transportation needs. With around 200,000 people in 42 camps to serve, 400 volunteers stayed, worked, shared the mysticism of the brief moment and prayed together for four to six months. Other churches provided materials and logistical support. The mission of the team was to work together as best as possible.

- It was prepared to fail. It sought no glory. It diligently avoided excessive publicity, seeking merely to be convincing.
- It was forward-looking, not finding fault with the past, but intent instead on finding a way to the future.
- It tried to keep expenses related to peace-programs and animation events to a minimum.
- It was built on faith.

RESULTS OF THE ACTIONS

De-escalation

When violence broke out in 1997 in Churachandpur, a Christian district in Manipur, the regional heads of the churches were unable to influence the protagonists because the local church leaders belonged to the same communities in conflict. The need for a more neutral figure, like a Catholic priest from outside the region, became an effective technical necessity.

In Diphu, following a peace conference, the NEPT (as the JPMT was then known) offered support for a dialogue facilitation among the communities in conflict. And in NC Hills where the local inter-church network was weak and religious sensitivity was high, NEPT's interventions had positive impacts on relief operations and dialogue processes between the communities and influence on local churches. Local churches were able to come together for the first time to coordinate GPT delegations visiting relief camps and meeting stakeholders for dialogue initiatives.

Under the influence of the regional heads of churches team, local churches were effective in mobilizing community leaders for dialogue in Guwahati. A mutual agreement between the leaders of two communities, Hmar and Dimasa, brought about by active facilitation of church leaders in Guwahati contributed to reducing the level of violence in the district in 2004.

Improved security

In Kokrajhar in 1996, a situation of fear and insecurity began to improve when churches got together to provide safe shelter. When the team of church leaders began to organize relief camps and move around without fear, they caught the attention of the local administration which was struggling without clear direction from the state. The local administrations came forward to support and assist the churches leaders in reaching out to insecure areas, and organize more relief camps.

Negotiated agreements

After shuttling between communities preparing the ground for dialogue, what was then called Church Leaders of North East India (CLNEI) brought the affected church leaders to Guwahati for a facilitated dialogue process that resulted in a joint statement on December 4, 1997. The statement resulted in a Memorandum of Understanding signed between community leaders, and witnessed by representatives of state government on May 26, 1998.

CLNEI's role in Churachandpur peace processes was limited but strategic. It had a snowballing effect on reconciliation efforts between the communities. Following the final peace accord several other peace accords were signed between armed groups and the army and also separate accords between armed groups themselves.

Institutionalizing peacebuilding

Peacebuilding seems to have been taken seriously by the constituent churches as never before. Most of the member churches did not have a separate department for peace and justice. But PCI, in its general assembly in 2005 resolved to form a Peace and Justice committee at its headquarters. Incidentally, the executive members of PCI who are also active members in JPMT, head the regional committee on PCI peace and justice. The regional Justice and Peace Commission of the Catholic Church of India[11] has been able to dovetail with the JPMT's inter-church peace movement at the regional level.

11 JPMT Files at NEDSF.

Improved relations between civil society and local administrations

When church leaders together organized a huge peace rally, the district administration not only fully cooperated by providing logistics, security and transportation; they also gave further impetus to public pressure for peace by organizing follow up peace meetings and rallies in different geographic areas. In public speeches the Chief Minister of State gave due recognitions to the churches teams' efforts.

Deepening analysis

Peacebuilding requires that churches go deeper in their analysis of the issues causing violence. JPMT has been deliberating on the issue of corruption for the past year. They consider corruption as one of the most pervasive forms of violence that threatens peace in the society. In a three-day workshop organized by JPMT in May 2007 at Guwahati, church leaders including many social activists and scholars seriously deliberated on corruption and expressed concerns that even the churches — which stand for peace — are not immune to corruption. This sent out a clear message that churches need to do some introspection even as they talk about corruption. A press statement issued at the end of deliberations included some concrete ideas on follow up programs, such as the formation of a collective forum for political and democratic education and public awareness on constitutional provisions to combat corruption.

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Openings for inter-religious engagement

The JPMT not only works with different faith traditions within the Christian community, it also serves as a forum for multi-ethnic and multi-racial issues. JPMT members are drawn from churches/denominations comprised of different ethnic groups. This gives it a universal appeal and makes it even more influential in the region. JPMT enjoys respect not only among Christian communities but also other faith communities. The Muslim leaders of Assam, Rama Krishna Mission leaders, and traditional religious leaders relate with the JPMT on common issues of peacemaking and relief response during emergencies.

In an effort to sustain inter-religious dialogue with other faiths, the Archbishop of Guwahati holds consultation meetings with the Satradhikars (the Assembly of Hindu religious institutions in the state of Assam) and leaders of Jamait Islam, on how religious groups can come together for collective action on peace.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE RESULTS

JPMT today has emerged as an effective regional body for peace and dialogue. Without any written rules or structures, the body is open, inclusive and flexible. Members enjoy a common understanding, commitment and consensus. Since the members are at executive levels, decisions are made and implemented quickly.

Being a representative body, it can perform multiple tasks by substitution and duplication of team members in any emergency situation. In terms of its social influence, outreach, values, principle strengths, resources and infrastructure, the JPMT is strategically positioned in the region for peacebuilding. The factors contributing to the success of the JPMT fall into four general categories: organizational factors, relational considerations, procedural dimensions of effective dialogue and external circumstances.

Relief operations slowly and gradually paved a way towards dialogue and peacebuilding.

Organizational factors

Relief and development as entrées into peacebuilding The relief operations slowly and gradually paved a way towards dialogue and peacebuilding. The large network of different churches became very effective in identifying key people from among the conflicting communities. People who are critical of the churches' in-

terventions in conflicts were also given equal importance in public relations. Encounters with the leaders of the armed groups presented an opportunity to listen to them and also call for alternative ways of addressing the issues in hand. Encounters with such people were catalytic in changing the situation.

Supporting ecumenical initiatives JPMT grew out of and operated in a rich environment of church peacebuilding initiatives. Some of the more notable efforts included the following.

1. *Church Leaders of North East India (CLNEI)* During the 1997 Kuki-Paite conflict in Churachandpur district of Manipur the Baptist CBCNEI led the team of NEICC, NEICORD and the Catholic Church from Guwahati for another peace mission in Churachandpur. At the same time the Presbyterian Church of India (PCI) which has a strong presence in the district was already there on their own mission. The Guwahati Church Team which came to be known as CLNEI, in Churachandpur, broke the ice between church leaders of the parties in conflict, opening space for dialogue. The CLNEI worked together with the Inter-Church Peace Committee (ICPC) of the Churachandpur District Christian Goodwill Council[12] which came into existence a year before the violent conflict broke out.
2. *North Eastern Peace Team (NEPT)* Four years later, in March 2003, close to Guwahati, the Karbi-Kuki conflict burst into flames in Karbi Anglong District of Assam. The Guwahati team held meetings with the local church leaders' forum to assess the situation and discuss various peacebuilding interventions. Although the headquarters of the Presbyterian Church of India (PCI) is based in Shillong, four hours away, the executive members of PCI began to actively participate in the team. The team there came to be known as North Eastern Peace Team (NEPT) by the local church leaders' forum. NEPT provided moral and technical support to the local Christian leaders forum, the United Christian Forum (UCF), for initiating a dialogue process between the key people of the two communities. UCF represents all denominations in the district including the Baptist, Presbyterian and Catholic communities. It has the credibility and ability to handle the local situation.
3. *Guwahati Peace Team (GPT)* Soon after the Karbi Anglong conflict, violence also erupted between the Hmar-Dimasa tribes in the NC Hills district in April 2003. The regional church leaders organized a peace team called Guwahati Peace Team[13] (GPT) for a fact finding mission in NC Hills and Cachar districts. The team was comprised of representatives from CASA, CBCNEI, CRS and the Catholic Church. It collaborated with the Chittagong Hills Tract Synod based in the district headquarters and the local Catholic Church. The team visited all relief camps and met with youth organizations and administrative officers to assess the situation on the ground for relief and possible dialogue initiatives. Before the NC Hills visit, the GPT also organized a larger consultation involving other church stakeholders including the Bodo Evangelical Lutheran Church (BELC), the Evangelical Fellowship of India Commission on Relief (EFICOR) and Evangelical Churches Council of India (ECCI). This was done to mobilize resources from various church based agencies, make collective appeals to conflicting parties for cessation of violence, apprise government of the situation on the ground and seek cooperation for relief and peace initiatives.

Team cohesion Prior to engaging in peacebuilding, members of the JPMT first established a common vision, mutual trust, solidarity, friendship and brotherhood as ways of functioning and working together. The strength and capabilities of each constituent member and church are well recognized and appreciated in the team. Members take turns to address dialogue teams and also facilitate the processes. Because of the mutual trust and solidarity among the members, the team can simultaneously manage several tasks in an emergency situation.

Prior to engaging in peacebuilding, members of the JPMT first established a common vision, mutual trust, solidarity, friendship and brotherhood.

12 The Churachandpur District Christian Goodwill Council came into existence with an expectation that the 26 different churches in the district would prevail over the situation and prevent the violence. The council was the personal initiative of a retired district police officer. Before he retired, the officer called a meeting of church leaders in his residence and apprised them of the impending dangers of ethnic violence in the district. Shortly afterwards, church leaders formed the Goodwill Council. However, when violence broke out, the Goodwill council was unable to respond effectively, so they decided to form another smaller committee called the Inter-Church Peace Committee involving church leaders of communities directly affected by the violence.

13 An emergency consultation on the situation of NC Hills was held at Guwahati. The meeting was attended by Rev. (Ms) Basumatary of BELC, A.K. Goldsmith of CASA, Rev. Pau and Mr. Raychawdhury of CBCNEI, Rev. Dino L. Touthang of EFICOR, Archbishop Thomas of Guwahati Diocese and Fr. Santiago of NEDSF, Fr. Jerry Thomas of NERYC, Rev. Lalhouklien of ECCI, and Rev. Roulhei Pakhuongte of Partnership Mission.

Support helps members overcome the fears of risking their own life or being excluded from their own community. For example, Rt. Rev. Nitya Nanda Borguwary, Bishop Nels who belonging to the Bodo tribe risked maintaining neutrality in the face of Bodo-Santhal violence in Kokrajhar going to both camps, and extending relief materials equally. He was threatened and felt excluded. His credibility was questioned and he was suspected by both parties. "We cover one another when any one of us experiences threat and risks," says Rev. Pau, Head of the regional Baptist Church.

JPMT is also a team including different churches, ethnic groups, and experiences that can bring out a comprehensive understanding of a local situation by linking it with the larger scenario and creating future visions. JPMT's neutrality and credibility derived from its cross-cultural membership composition and its social services is unparalleled.

Relational considerations

Constituent consultative assessments The constituent churches shared their plans for future joint peace consultations, interventions and collaboration based on the existing respective church networks and areas of influence in the region. As part of regular situation assessment and monitoring of peace processes, JPMT identified church, community, civil society leaders and intellectuals belonging to different faiths, professions and communities from existing or potential conflict zone in their respective areas of influence, and organized larger peace consultations meetings.

These consultations helped JPMT develop rapport with key people in each community and better understand the situation from different perspectives. This in turn helped the team prepare proactive response strategies for specific cases of conflict. For example, in assessing a potential conflict between Meitei, Naga and Kuki in Manipur, a representative of JPMT visited Manipur twice in 2004 and 2005. A three-day consultation meeting with leaders of Meitei, Kuki and Naga helped reveal areas of common concern among the communities. On a regular basis, members of JPMT also shared news of potential dangers coming from their own areas of influence.

The combination of different churches in the JPMT pool brings unparalleled spheres of influence and social mobilization, ranging from the grassroot levels to the middle level and in some places to the top levels of leadership.

Extensive reach in mobilization and connectivity The combination of different churches in the JPMT pool brings unparalleled spheres of influence and social mobilization, ranging from the grassroot levels to the middle level and in some places to the top levels of leadership, particularly in the Christian communities. Of the three constituent church members, the Presbyterian Church of India (PCI) has horizontal and vertical influence in the state of Meghalaya. Addressing Karbi-Khasi Pnars violence and tensions by JPMT was very quick and effective. In Churachandpur the existence of the Churachandpur District Christian Goodwill Council and the formation of the Inter-Church Peace Committee dovetailing with the JPMT during the crises worked as a very powerful connector.

In Karbi Anglong and NC Hills there is an undercurrent of Christian-Hindu religious sensitivity. Nevertheless, the existence of the United Christian Forum including Baptist, Presbyterian and Catholic Churches already served as a connector due to the influence of the Catholic Church. The latter stemmed from their schools, agricultural development and health services in the district.

Opening up the United Christian Forum as Diphu Citizens' Peace Forum to include key people in Karbi Anglong has increased the power of connectivity and influence over all the communities in the district. However, in NC Hills only Christian tribal communities — particularly Hmar, Kuki, Paite and Jeme Naga — are organized well under church and tribal council. Due to the absence of an overarching community organization among the Dimasa community there has been a very weak social bond between the Hmar and Dimasa. Here, the social influence of the Catholics among the Dimasa due to their schools and health services worked as the only connecting factor that brought the two communities together within the peace process.

Coordination with local authorities The JPMT has always made it a point to keep the government and local administration informed of church initiatives which could have security implications, and apprise them of the situation on the ground for necessary actions and response. But in the case of an emergency like that

of Kokrajhar it was the administration that took notice of the church actions, engaged them and coordinated the efforts for better outreach and coverage by providing logistics and security.

While a peace mission team was dispatched to Halflong (NC Hills) district during ethnic clashes in 2003, Archbishop Thomas led a team of church leaders to brief the new Chief Minister about the church move for peace intervention. In all the relief operations financial and material supports were very important. The JPMT's close associations with different church-based funding agencies like CASA, NEICORD, CRS and Caritas were instrumental for successful relief operations.

Procedural dimensions of effective dialogue

Identifying key people The JPMT's strategy of identifying and working with socially respected people or "key people" worked like yeast in mobilizing communities and influencing opinion towards peace processes. As Bishop Thomas has said:

> *I thought it better to bring together those who were respected in society, e.g. professors, writers, poets, artists, cultural and religious leaders and socially important people, who had untarnished names and were not inclined to exaggerate in one direction or the other.*

The JPMT's strategy of identifying and working with socially respected people or "key people" worked like yeast in mobilizing communities and influencing opinion.

The roles of local church leaders and other key people in their own communities were crucial links between communities, the radical and armed groups, and JPMT. Key people were invited into dialogue processes and often acted as advocates of their own communities. In the latter stages of the dialogue they acted as extension agents for the JPMT and led dialogue processes reaching out to radical people, community (tribe organization) leaders and leaders of armed groups in their own communities to convey to them the need to shun violence. Following a series of meetings when trust and confidence levels were high enough, a small team of local church leaders close to the fighting and also to neutral communities made joint visits to secret camps of radical and armed groups on both sides, and engaged them in discussions on issues and concerns in ways that could lead to an amicable solution.

Dialogue processes in all five ethnic conflicts in the region were directly facilitated by JPMT members whose knowledge, skills, wisdom and expertise in dialogue and healing were very effective.

In a way, this was a replication of the JPMT model by local church leaders at the local level. These leaders also were instrumental in social mobilization in their own community by performing customary rituals for the cessation of hostilities. They also helped to ensure the implementation of peace agreements in their own communities and in other communities through their counterparts there.

Balanced representation in dialogue Selection of a representative team from both communities for dialogue followed certain criteria. Most important among them were to have equal numbers of persons from both sides. While key people were the target, efforts were also made to include a few people in the dialogue who held strong opinions again in equal numbers on both sides. The balance in number on both sides, the presence of a neutral party facilitating, and meeting in a neutral venue far removed from any battleground seemed to have had a cumulative effect in leveling the playing field.

Competence Dialogue processes in all five ethnic conflicts in the region were directly facilitated by JPMT members whose knowledge, skills, wisdom and expertise in dialogue and healing were very effective without any external technical support. Each member of the JPMT assumes specific roles to facilitate the dialogue process during days of negotiations.

The experience of working together in peace missions has been documented by Archbishop Thomas. Some of his resource materials on peace and peacebuilding have been translated into local dialects in Churachandpur and circulated in the region. These materials provide useful information for future peacebuilders.

Showing empathy with those who suffered, and respect for those who had certain goals for the advancement of their own people, including those who took to violence, made people listen to church leaders facilitating dialogue. This was another element of the JPMT approach that contributed to successful dialogue.

Use of facilitators The facilitation by Catholic priests was an important factor contributing to the success of dialogue. For example, the knowledge, expertise and reputation of Archbishop Thomas Menamparampil contributed to the success of the dialogue processes in which he was involved. In showing respect for all persons and their opinions, people were able to explore alternative ways of solving problems based on their own cultural resources and life experiences.

Neutral and relaxed environment for dialogue In Kokrajhar, moving the entire team of dialogue partners outside the district created a fresh environment that was helpful to peace processes. Replicating the Kokrajhar peace process, representative teams of conflicting parties from Diphu, NC Hills and Churachandpur were brought to Guwahati for a peace process.

Religious sisters in Catholic institutions belonging to conflicting parties were also engaged during the dialogue process. They served as hosts and had a calming effect through their presence during dialogues. They provided the dialogue partners with tea and water and created a relaxed environment through hymns, songs and traditional dances when tempers and tensions ran high. They worked as catalysts when representatives of conflicting parties from Bodo and Santhal communities, and from Kuki and Paite church leaders from Kokrajhar and Churachandpur, respectively met at the North East Diocesan Social Forum, Guwahati for a dialogue process.

Beginning with the low hanging fruit — commonalities The issues raised in the dialogue between the conflicting parties focused initially on the concerns which both communities commonly identified. The JPMT leaders facilitating such dialogue process highlighted areas of common interests and the importance of social and economic complementarities as well as the advantage of living together with other communities. By telling stories and sharing resources from religious texts the facilitating team urged the parties to prioritize their goals into essential and less essential goals, and then reach a comprise on their lesser goals. Agreements were immediately documented, shared and verified before drafting a final Memorandum of Understanding.

The JPMT leaders highlighted areas of common interests and the importance of social and economic complementarities as well as the advantage of living together.

Dissemination and public validation At times the dialogue process is reinforced through public pressure and advocacy. Opinions of the key people need to be aired. People who truly favor peace need to be counted and the degree of popular support for peace needs to be demonstrated and gauged. On occasion huge public peace rallies were organized in collaboration with local churches and administrations. Key people who are instrumental to dialogue processes and other influential people addressed large gatherings. Youth and women actively participated in such events.

Engagement with the media was another crucial factor for the JPMT. Previously journalists wrote from their offices, often based on second-hand information provided by politically motivated stakeholders. There were times when the churches had to invite national and local media persons to the relief camps to see the situation for themselves. Engaging some influential local and national media through personal contact with journalists has helped correct distorted pictures of church action in conflict situations.

Engagement with the media was another crucial factor for the JPMT.

Major external circumstances contributing to key changes

JPMT did not operate in a vacuum and other external initiatives also contributed significantly to some the results identified in this case study. Seeking to determine relative weights for each factor is beyond the scope of this study. A more rigorous accounting of additional external circumstances would strengthen the case study. Interventions by state and district officials were at times critical in opening up opportunities to

enable the JPMT to operate and in marginalizing or removing perpetrators of violence. Three examples follow.

Interventions by state and district officials were at times critical in opening up opportunities to enable the JPMT to operate and in marginalizing or removing perpetrators of violence.

- In Manipur and Assam the change of leadership in the state government contributed to the cessation of inter-ethnic violence between communities and created circumstances where capacities for war or dividers had to withdraw.
- In Kokrajhar the Chief Minister gave no order to the army to act and he directed the district administration to control the situation and to support the relief and peace initiatives. This created an environment for the Catholic Church to move beyond mere relief to the hungry and injured amidst strong anti-Christian sentiment to peacebuilding. When the Catholic Church initiated peace processes anti-Christian groups went almost silent.
- In NC Hills retaliatory killings, the destruction of villages and the displacement of hundreds continued unabated. The district administration, with a bias favoring the dominant Dimasa community, did little to control the situation. In the continuing inter-ethnic violence and hatred, one of the armed group shot the son of the Chief Executive Member of the District Council, who belonged to Dimasa community. This incident changed the circumstances swiftly. With the help of the state government the army was called in to remove all armed groups from the district. Violence thus came to an end, creating space for peace work.

CONCLUSION

The JPMT has avoided prickly hurdles and road blocks, such as the insurgency or conflicts of a political nature like the Naga movement, power politics and situations with anti-Christian undercurrents. Rather, JPMT chose to work with civil society members, and socially and economically poor and marginalized sections of society, and to engage in inter-faith dialogue. It concentrated on humanitarian issues. This was a strategic as well as a spiritual choice for JPMT.

Interest in addressing corruption could now be leading the JPMT toward the social justice movement and more diverse conflict transformation programming.

Interest in addressing corruption could now be leading the JPMT toward the social justice movement and more diverse conflict transformation programming. Except for the case of Churachandpur where the peace process came to a conclusive end, in Kokrajhar, Karbi Anglong and NC Hills the conflicts still have the potential to flare up again. Although the successes in addressing the underlying causes of conflict are few, JPMT has been able to create a space for peace in the northeast region of India. In the nature of its membership and representation JPMT has grown out of a local reality of cultural diversities integrated with a larger outlook. Church action on violent conflict in northeast India has addressed important historical events that will shape the future in the region.

JPMT is a strong, credible leadership group actively involved in peacebuilding in the region. It has solid grassroot connections and national and international influence. However, the challenge is substantial: rebuilding social relations between ethnic groups while also responding to emergency needs when violence breaks out. Continued success requires establishing and nurturing relations at the grassroots and top levels, built on non-violent means for attaining social justice and structural changes in governance.

It may be a good indicator that during the last three or four years, no inter-ethnic clashes of a serious nature have broken out. Considerable credit goes to the endeavors of the JPMT. The Joint Peace Team still has much work to do. It continues to visit different parts of the region periodically, to work for peace and for integrity in public life.



The "tri-people" of Mindanao yearn for a just peace.

THE PHILIPPINES

The Mindanao Bishops-Ulama Conference

Initial draft by Brenda Fitzpatrick

INTRODUCTION

This case study examines the history of the Bishops-Ulama Conference (BUC), a dialogue forum bringing together Catholic and Protestant bishops and Muslim *ulama* (Islamic religious scholars.) Now over 10 years old, the BUC is a formal institution through which Muslim and Christian religious leaders can jointly respond to conflict and promote peace. CRS Philippines provided partial funding for the foundation of the BUC and has been closely connected with the BUC and other inter-religious dialogue (IRD) initiatives in Mindanao ever since.

The BUC case study was chosen as an instance of the Catholic bishops engaging directly with leaders of other denominations and religions (in this case Protestant and Muslim), as well as civil society, the Government of The Philippines (GRP), and the armed opposition group the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). The BUC was deliberately developed as a forum in which to build trust and improve understanding and relationships between Christian and Muslim groups in Mindanao.

The case study is based on informal interviews (in person, by phone or in writing) with members, staff, and observers of the BUC, and CRS staff.[1] Partner organizations — civil society and government — of the

1 There was no systematic analysis of the perspectives of Muslims versus Catholics versus Protestants or Convenors versus Tripartite Commission members of observers within the BUC, and the number of interviewees was perhaps not large enough to warrant this. There were few obvious divisions in perspective; in fact, the consistency of responses was surprising. Therefore, in the interests of anonymity, the religious affiliation and position of respondents quoted has not been included unless there is particular reason to do so.



BUC were not consulted; nor were the BUC's critics. Concrete indicators and specific statistics were often not available, though the qualitative impact of the BUC's work on participants was clear. The result is an anecdotal, sometimes incomplete picture of the BUC's work, based on information provided by those most closely associated with the organization.

NATURE AND COURSE OF THE CONFLICT[2]

Arab traders and Islamic missionaries are believed to have brought Islam to the southern Philippines in the 13th or 14th century. Over the next several centuries, Islam gradually spread through the southern Philippines, reordering the sociopolitical, religious and cultural life of the region around administrative units called sultanates,[3] coexisting with the indigenous tribes who had held to ancestral traditions rather than convert.

The Spanish, who colonized the Philippines from the mid 16th to the late 19th century, encountered resistance particularly from Muslims in the southern Philippines, and were not able to colonize Mindanao as they colonized Luzon and the Visayas. Nevertheless, they violently displaced many residents of Mindanao,

2 CRS Philippines, *Wild Dreams of Peace: Lessons from the Moro-IP Grassroots Peace Process* (Davao 2005, updated).
3 CRS Philippines, *Mindanao Conflict Map—Draft* (Davao, 2003).

and, to the extent that they were able, imposed a new land tenure system: all land not legally registered under this system was claimed by the Spanish crown. The Spanish also introduced an ethno-religious hierarchy with indigenous Mindanaoans and Muslim Mindanaoans, whom they referred to as *Moros* (the Spanish term for Muslims in Spain), both considered inferior to Filipino Christians.

Though the Spanish had never controlled more than small portions of Mindanao, the island was included in the package when, in 1898, the Spanish sold the Philippines to the United States as part of the settlement of the Spanish-American war. Because of the "Muslim difference," a belief that Muslims were intrinsically different from and inferior to Christians, the U.S. administered Mindanao separately from the rest of the Philippines. The U.S. army, not the civilian authority, governed Mindanao. The U.S. regime encouraged Christian Filipinos from the northern Philippines to resettle in Mindanao, and Muslims, who had formed a clear majority on the island, were *minoritized* within two generations.

Legal reforms under the American regime discriminated against non-Christians, constituting a comprehensive system of ethnic apartheid. New laws explicitly invalidated ancestral domain claims, and set different limits on private land ownership for Christians and non-Christians. New institutions of self-government for Mindanao effectively excluded non-Christians. By the mid-20th century, the Muslims and indigenous people (IP) of Mindanao were dispossessed, displaced, and disempowered.

After 1946, the independent Philippine government continued to encourage settlement of Mindanao by northern Christians. Continuation of the prejudicial land tenure reform begun under the Americans saw the best land appropriated for farming, plantations and logging by settlers and large companies, further marginalizing Muslims and IPs, both economically and politically.

Social tensions increased to the point that Christian, IP and Muslim elites all began forming private armies. In the late 1960s, a Muslim independence movement began to emerge as paramilitaries harassed the minority Muslim communities. By the early 1970s, a full-scale civil war had erupted between the Philippine government and the revolutionary Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), who, reclaiming the originally derogatory term *Moro* as an expression of political pride, were fighting for the independence of the *Bangsamoro*, the Muslim Nation.

Peace negotiations were attempted under Presidents Marcos and Aquino, and in 1987 four of Mindanao's 23 provinces voted for, and were granted autonomy (not full independence), forming the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao. No lasting settlement was reached, however, until the MNLF and the government of Fidel Ramos signed a peace accord in 1996, creating the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development, and the Special Zone for Peace and Development. Although the signing of the agreement offered significant potential for peace and development, many communities and groups — particularly the indigenous people — felt that they and their needs had been ignored during the process.

Peace talks also began with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), which had earlier split off from the MNLF and continued to fight for the right to self-determination for Bangsamoro. Despite the signing of an Interim Ceasefire Agreement in 1997, negotiations were fragile, taking place against a background of continuing hostilities. Following a series of violent incidents in 2000, President Estrada declared "all-out war" on Muslim rebels, while the MILF declared *jihad* against the government.

Gloria Macapagal Arroyo instituted a policy of "all-out peace" when she took over the presidency in 2001. During peace talks in 2001 and 2002, the government and the MILF agreed to follow the terms of the 1997 ceasefire. Implementation guidelines were adopted and monitoring mechanisms created. In addition, the Bangsamoro Development Agency was formed to guide relief, rehabilitation and development in conflict-affected Bangsamoro areas.

Full-blown war re-erupted, however, in early 2003, and the conflict entered a fourth decade with an estimated total of 120,000 killed and millions displaced. Though a bilateral ceasefire in July 2003 re-established the possibility of peace talks, in the meantime, hundreds of thousands of civilians were forced to evacuate their homes. As of August 2007, issues regarding relief and rehabilitation, as well as ceasefire terms have been resolved through negotiations. Mechanisms for maintenance of the ceasefire — a Ceasefire Committee supported by both an International Monitoring Team and Local Monitoring Teams and civil society moni-

toring groups — are in place while the peace panels continue negotiation of ancestral domain and self-determination.

The violent conflict in Mindanao is commonly portrayed and perceived as a religious, Muslim-Christian conflict. Although this is a simplistic, even inaccurate picture of the conflict, given the underlying issues described above, the fact remains that after several generations of tension and violence, mistrust between Muslims and Christians among the general population is a significant impediment to the resolution of the Mindanao conflict.

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NATURE OF CHURCH INTERVENTION

Background and formation of the BUC

Over the last several decades various attempts have been made by representatives of religious "parties" to initiate dialogue aimed at improving understanding between Muslims and Christians. Since the late 1960s, religious leaders have held "many serious formal dialogues" to "analyze the problem [of mistrust and misunderstanding between Christians and Muslims]."[4] Annual dialogues in which many Muslim and Christian leaders participate were held from 1967 until the late 1990s, including seminars on Islam and topics such as the problems of Moros and their role in a Christian-dominated society.[5] During the late 1970s and 1980s, the Protestant National Council of Churches of The Philippines (NCCP) implemented a program known as Program to Assist Christians in Education about Muslims (PACEM), with the goal of increasing Christian understanding of the Moro minority. Members of the NCCP as well as Catholics joined in *Duyog Ramadan* (participating in Ramadan) a program that facilitated young Christians celebrating Ramadan while temporarily living in Muslim communities.[6] During the Marcos years, PACEM, and similar programs of the Catholic Church developed a focus on human rights, including those of the oppressed Moros. However, as Bishop Gomez explains:

> *When Marcos was overthrown in 1986, the NCCP program for better Christian-Muslim understanding lost its steam, as it was anchored on the militant stance against martial law. It missed the important point that dialogues for a just and lasting peace is beyond fighting for human rights.*[7]

Other notable dialogue efforts include the program for Muslim-Christian dialogue of the Silsilah Dialogue Movement based in Zamboanga City, and the Inter-Seminary Christian-Muslim Dialogue and Exposure Program of NCCP-related seminaries, which ran from 1978 to 1988, and facilitated Protestant seminarians living and participating in community life among poor Moro and Christian communities during summer breaks.[8]

In the early 1990s, religious leaders served as convenors of the National Unification Commission, a venue for identifying root causes of the conflict. An additional initiative, the government-sponsored Peace and Development Summits in key Mindanao cities in 1995 resulted in the Mindanao Agenda for Peace and Development.[9]

In early 1996, peace negotiations between the MNLF and the government of Fidel Ramos had nearly concluded, supported by the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD), under the Chairmanship of Nur Misuari. Although some religious leaders saw this as a confidence-building measure, there was concern in Christian areas that the SPCPD endorsed handing over significant areas to Muslim leaders, though the national government retained overall authority. Daily newspaper articles, many originating from the religious sector, criticized the SPCPD and denounced the President for sacrificing the interests of the nation to please the rebels, appeared almost daily.

4 Gomez, 2004, p. 221.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Larousse, William, *Walking Together Seeking Peace: The Local Church of Mindanao-Sulu Journeying in Dialogue with the Muslim-Community* (1965-2000) (Claretian Publications, Diliman Quezon City, 2001).



Inter-faith dialogue in Mindanao has been a model for others.

Government and religious leaders, both Muslim and Catholic, felt that public input from religious leaders could help to sooth the situation. Dr. Mahid Mutilan, head of the Ulama League of The Philippines and, at that time the Governor of Lanao del Sur (one of the Mindanao provinces with the most significant Muslim population), felt that he and his colleagues, non-rebel Muslim leaders could present a more neutral perspective and clarify misunderstandings. For their part, Ramos' advisors thought that the support of religious leaders would be helpful for the effective implementation of the agreement, because of their wide networks and close association with Muslim communities through projects introduced to help Muslims. Dr. Mutilan contacted Fernando Capalla, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Davao, then-chair of the Episcopal Commission for Inter-Religious Dialogue, and a long time friend since they had been mayor and bishop of the cities of Marawi and Iligan respectively.

At the time, as the peace negotiations concluded, energy for peace initiatives was high, and at an initial meeting of several ulama and Catholic bishops in Manila in July 1996, the idea emerged of a high-level inter-religious dialogue (IRD) initiative that would provide a moral and spiritual dimension to the peace agreement, symbolically demonstrate that dialogue among high-level religious leaders is possible and act as a body to pressure the MNLF and the government to reach a resolution. The Manila meeting resulted in a resolution which was presented to the President and contributed to the signing of the peace agreement.

In July 1996, the idea emerged of a high-level inter-religious dialogue (IRD) initiative that would provide a moral and spiritual dimension to the peace agreement.

A meeting in Cebu City in November 1996 formally launched the Bishops-Ulama Forum, later renamed the Bishops-Ulama Conference. Regular meetings (three times yearly), were arranged with organizational support from the National Secretariat for Social Action, Justice and Peace, the Office of the Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process and CRS. Protestant bishops, who had not initially been involved, were soon invited to join.[10] Current active members of the BUC are 24 Catholic bishops, 26 ulama and 18 Protestant bishops and pastors.

BUC goals and objectives

The BUC's stated aspiration, according to the BUC *Primer*, is to:

> *[Seek] the soul of comprehensive development by pursuing peace in the common search for a unifying ground of their religious aspirations and experiences through dialogue, and in particular, to give impetus to all Muslims and Christians as they enter the new millennium in a spirit of mutual respect and peace.*[11]

The BUC strives to attain this vision as follows:

- In a move to purify, substantiate and strengthen their commitment to total human development, the members of the BUF regularly and continuously hold dialogues on areas of common concerns along the lines of the peace process.
- Even while they share their religious aspirations and experiences in these dialogues, they have articulated common concerns, including the common desire for "security for Brother Muslims in the Christian areas and Brother Christians in the Muslim areas," the minimization of criminality, the

10 Early meetings focused on sharing faith and theology, sometimes referred to as *familiarization* — examining ideas on peace from the Qur'an and the Bible — as well as discussing *unpeace* in Mindanao and what to do about it, and sharing contacts.

11 Bishops-Ulama Conference Secretariat, *BUC Primer* (Iligan City, undated).

shared commitment to correct the media's negative image of Muslims, and the concrete sharing of common beliefs, values, practices, doctrines and traditions.

- Aside from these, the BUF coordinates with all peace and dialogue partners throughout Mindanao, introduces dialogue and culture of peace in schools, and promotes Dialogue of faith sharing with Shamans or religious leaders of the Indigenous peoples.

All these are geared towards the promotion of mutual understanding, reconciliation, peace and unity between Muslims, Christians and Lumads in Mindanao.[12]

As the *Primer* notes, the BUC also harnesses religious beliefs of people . . . so that they purify and strengthen the social, political, economic and cultural projects for peace. As explained by interviewees, the BUC not only brings a spiritual element to the peace process, but also works to promote "correct" understanding of Islamic and Christian values and eliminate misinterpretations — this means correcting the religious groups' misconceptions about each other, and also highlighting religious traditions as a resource for peace, to counteract those who promote violence in the name of religion.

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Activities

Dialogue Assemblies More than ten years after the founding of the Bishops Ulama Forum, plenary Dialogue Assemblies continue to be the central activity of the BUC. All Catholic bishops, bishops of the NCCP, and members of the Ulama League of The Philippines (ULP) in Mindanao are invited. Sixty to 75 people, roughly equally distributed among the three parties typically attend these Assemblies, which take place two to four times per year, and last several days. Discussion centers around two general areas: the "spiritual dimensions of dialogue," and "current concerns arising from the ongoing peace process."[13]

Resource people are often invited to lead seminars on topics such as the Islamic and Biblical foundations of dialogue, peace, and forgiveness as well as *Peace and Development: Christian and Muslim Perspectives*, *Peace and the Family: A BUF Priority* and *Maryam in the Qur'an and Mary in the Bible*.[14] Topical issues discussed include the Organic Act for the New Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao, the place of indigenous peoples in the development process and their concerns regarding the peace process, and the report of the Organization of Islamic Countries Fact-finding Team on the implementation of the government-MNLF Peace Agreement.[15]

Members of the BUC also participate in related inter-religious dialogue events, such as the Asia-Pacific Policy Forum on Interfaith Dialogue for Peace, and the National Interfaith Dialogue for a Culture of Peace. With the support of the Philippine government and Catholic organizations including CRS, in 2003 the BUC hosted *The First Encounter of Muslim Ulama and Christian Bishops of Asia*. Convened in response to curiosity abroad regarding the BUC's activities, this conference brought 121 participants from 19 countries to a dialogue assembly on a larger scale, and resulted in a joint statement affirming religions of peace and condemning violence.[16]

Involvement in the Peace Process Although the BUC has no official status in the formal peace process in the Philippines, members individually and collectively advise both negotiating parties, and its joint statements condemning violence and urging return to the negotiating table carry weight. For example, shortly before the second BUF Assembly in February 1997, the Catholic Bishop of Jolo was murdered by an extremist group. Though some participants feared this event would be detrimental to the continuation

12 Ibid.
13 Ledesma, Bishop Antonio J., *Healing the Past, Building the Future: Soundings from Mindanao* (Manila, Jesuit Communication Foundation, Inc., 2005).
14 Bishops-Ulama Conference Secretariat, undated, p.1.
15 Bishops-Ulama Conference Secretariat, undated.
16 Mercado, Leonardo N., ed., *The First Encounter of Muslim Ulama and Christian Bishops of Asia*, edited by Leonardo N. Mercado(Bishops-Ulama Conference, Iligan City, The Philippines, 2004).

of the BUF, the second dialogue assembly was well attended, and the participation of both Muslims and Christians in creating a joint statement condemning the "brutal killing," and "the formation of vigilante or fanatical groups," as well as endorsing the peace process and local peace efforts[17], was an important confidence-building measure. More recently, when an Italian priest was kidnapped in July 2007, the Catholic Bishops Conference of The Philippines called on members of the BUC to use their influence to secure his release.[18]

Week of Peace Initiated by Peace Advocates Zamboanga, the yearly Mindanao Week of Peace has been coordinated by the BUC in partnership with various Mindanao peace organizations since 1999. The Week of Peace, observed in late November/early December is a round of community activities, celebrations and advocacy for peace. Objectives focus on promoting unity-in-diversity, community involvement in local peace initiatives, the artistic and academic expression of peace aspirations, and providing a point of convergence for peace initiatives in Mindanao.[19]

As well as region-wide activities, each BUC province/diocese/sectoral area also has its own Mindanao Week of Peace Activities.[20] A wide variety of creative and participatory activities — peace marches, caravans, torch parades, lighting of candles along the highway, peace prayers, Tri-partite Youth Summits and Peace Camps, films, poetry readings, essay, oratorical and poster contests, art and photography exhibits, peace awards, history and culture congress, story-telling, fast for peace, round table discussions on peace issues for media, and performance showcases[21] — convey the message that mainstream communities want peace, and that the Mindanao conflict is not about religion. Participants in the Week of Peace include the public sector, educators, and businessmen.[22] In 2005 nearly 4,500 children participated in component activities of the Week of Peace.[23]

Peace marches, caravans, torch parades, peace prayers, films, contests, fast for peace, round table discussions and performance showcases convey the message that mainstream communities want peace.

Youth programs In order to bring the message of the BUC to Mindanao youth, a youth formation program was created. The Mindanao Tripartite Youth Corps works closely with the Ustadz-Priests-Pastors-Imams Forum (see below) to implement peace education programs for young people, including a Peace Camp every second or third year. The Peace Camp provides five days of creative activities (singing, dancing, etc.) for Muslim, Christian and Indigenous youth.

Ad Hoc Activities As well as the regular Assemblies and Week of Peace Celebrations, the BUC from time to time organizes activities in response to specific perceived needs. For example, recognizing that "peace and development in the future depends on the formation of the youth now," and the role of teachers in promoting peace, the BUC sponsored a seminar on Development of a Culture of Peace, where school superintendents and administrators drafted and critiqued secondary school teaching modules.[24] Since correcting the negative image of Muslims in the media is also a BUC priority, the BUC also held a seminar for journalists, examining the media's coverage of the conflict and treatment of the parties.

Local level IRD Several IRD initiatives at the local level are also closely connected with the BUC.One of these is the Ustadz Imam-Priests-Pastors Forum (UPPIF),[25] established in the dioceses of Davao and Kidapawan, which obtained funds with the assistance of the BUC Secretariat. Focusing on Culture of Peace

17 Bishops-Ulama Conference Secretariat, undated, p. 26.
18 MindaNews Staff, "Bishops Tap Ties with Ulama for Bossi's Release," *Mindanews* (Davao City, July 7, 2007), available online at http://www.mindanews.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2804&Itemid=50. Though the priest was freed, it is not clear to what degree the BUC's intervention contributed.
19 Asian Center for the Progress of Peoples, *ACCP Backgrounder: Working for Peace in Mindanao* (2003), available online at http://www.acpp.org/uappeals/bground/Backgrounder%20on%20Mindanao.rtf.
20 Asian Center for the Progress of Peoples, 2003.
21 Ibid.
22 Bishops-Ulama Conference Secretariat, undated.
23 CRS Peace and Reconciliation Program Staff, "March 2006 Donor Report," (Davao City, 2006).
24 Larousse, 2001.
25 *Ustadz* means "teacher;" *iman*, "prayer leader."

training and peace education, the UPPIF brings dialogue to the grassroots, and has also included comparative studies of Islam and Christianity, municipal peace forums, and "election formation" (public education regarding elections). Members of the UPPIF are observers of the BUC, and in the words of one priest, it "implements what the BUC talks about so it is more realistic."

Diocesan inter-religious dialogue activities are reportedly most extensive in Davao, where IRD has gained momentum over the last 10 years, and where, beginning in 2007, all parishes will have an orientation to IRD. Catholic seminaries in Davao have also institutionalized IRD activities; since 2000, 10 to 15 seminarians per year have spent five days living with families in Muslim communities through the Peace Orientation and Immersion program, which has received very positive feedback from participants.

THEORIES OF CHANGE

Although the BUC has not articulated explicit theories of change, several implicit theories of change drawn from conversations with members and observers might be synthesized as follows.

Interaction between Muslims and Christians that includes explanation of the experiences of the minority will iron out misunderstandings and historical bias.

> Problems between Muslims and Christians are due to misunderstandings and historical biases based on lack of interaction. If the minority explains "their side," [their situation], the majority will sympathize with them. If interaction increases and misunderstandings are "ironed out," people will respect each other, even become friends, and "problems will be reduced."

When religious leaders model collaboration and support peace, others will listen and support peace too.

> Muslim, Christian, and indigenous Filipinos are strongly religious, and peace is an important element in all Filipino religions. Religious leaders have status, credibility and influence, and people trust them (more than politicians). If religious leaders support peace, ordinary people will be more likely to listen and follow suit. (This is particularly true for the Catholic Church which is more hierarchical; the words of ulama, on the other hand, are not necessarily binding). Dialogue among high-level religious leaders, then, can inspire grassroots dialogue initiatives. For example, the sight of bishops attending Friday prayers at the mosque (as has occasionally happened in Marawi City, since the formation of the BUC), shows that there need not be enmity between Muslims and Christians.[26] Therefore, if there is better understanding among religious leaders, "peace and order problems will be minimized."

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Societal wounds caused by conflict require a return to values — religious roots and spiritual traditions — to achieve a culture of peace

> The focus of the BUC's activities rests firmly on relationship-building and promoting peace in the spiritual sense, rather than the development of concrete political solutions, in the belief that "Any peace process is inadequate if there is no spiritual element." As one of the Convenors explains, "the area has been torn by conflicts for 400 years. There are many wounds, and a great need for healing." Government solutions — military action on one hand, and development programs on the other —cannot heal these wounds. It is necessary to "go back to values." Thus the BUC looks to "religious roots and spiritual traditions to promote a Culture of Peace."

Strong relationships are built first on commonalities that later enable people to respectfully explore differences.

> Relationship-building through stressing commonalities between Muslims and Christians, and between Islam and Christianity has been a deliberate strategy of BUC leaders and participants. Meetings always

26 Bishops-Ulama Conference Secretariat, undated.

start with a prayer, underlining members' shared belief in one God, though they use different names, and emphasizing that all are equals created in God's image. Archbishop Capalla very deliberately "did not allow discussion on the non-negotiables of the faiths" for 10 years, until relationships had been sufficiently strengthened; instead, the Dialogue Assemblies focused on positive topics such as success stories of reconciliation. A BUC staff member agreed that the process is long, but building friendship first allows people to see their similarities and build trust. Once trust has been established, it is possible to discuss "difficult topics, without fear of being converted," but "don't touch the differences at first!"

RESULTS OF THE INTERVENTIONS

The results of peacebuilding initiatives are notoriously difficult to measure, and the BUC has no monitoring system in place. Anecdotal reports noted the following results.

Preventing escalation of violence

One of the BUC's Convenors remarks that it is "perhaps during periods of open conflict and violence that the Bishops-Ulama forum has played its key role by providing a neutral forum where joint statements against violence have had a moderating effect."[27]

Interviewees also noted that the growth in peacebuilding activities, including the work of the BUC in Mindanao, has reduced violence. For example, a Tripartite Committee member commented that the communal violence, such as the burning of villages to the ground that occurred during the 1970s, has been greatly reduced, even during periods of high tension such as the "all-out war" of 2000. When instances of violence, such as kidnapping or "carnapping," do occur (either in Mindanao or even internationally), joint statements from the BUC or local leaders may diffuse tension and prevent "stereotyping and reprisals." For example, when a Filipino worker was kidnapped in Iraq, Dr. Mutilan's public appeal to the Iraqi religious leaders for his release was "much appreciated locally." Archbishop Capalla has been able to assist in negotiations for the release of people kidnapped in Mindanao, because of his contacts with the MNLF and MILF, as well as the Armed Forces. On the other hand, according to a Mindanao journalist, "the BUF has also been criticized by civil society groups for its silence at key moments in the negotiation process and especially during clashes between the armed groups."[28]

Influence within formal peace process

BUC members network at a high level, and individually and collectively have served as advisors to the Peace Process technical working groups or to the President or the MILF peace panel directly. The MILF last year indirectly (through civil society peace networks) asked the help of religious leaders to intervene and move forward when the peace talks were threatened. In response, the BUC convened an emergency gathering of Mindanao leaders from the right to the left of the political spectrum, the All-Mindanao Leaders' Peace Consultation, which provided a forum to discuss and propose solutions to help break the impasse in the talks between the government and the MILF, in the presence of the peace panel chairs.

BUC members network at a high level, and individually and collectively have served as advisors to the Peace Process technical working groups or to the President or the MILF peace panel directly. Yet, as an organization it plays no official role in the formal peace process.

The BUC, with the backing of Mindanao's many peace groups, seems to have sufficient clout to get the peace panel Chairs into the room. As one of the Convenors expresses it, the Philippine government and the MILF "have had to reckon with the BUC in a way they do not have to do with other groups or stakeholders." Yet, though the BUC has several times requested observer/witness status, or a position as Adviser on Religious Issues,[29] as an organization it plays no official role in the formal peace process.

27 Ledesma, 2005, p. 24.
28 Arguillas, Carolyn, "Enlarging Spaces and Strengthening Voices for Peace: Civil Society in Mindanao," *Accord*, Conciliation Resources (2003), available online at http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/philippines-mindanao/enlarging-spaces.php.
29 Bishops-Ulama Conference Secretariat, undated, p.33, p.17.

As a Tripartite Commission member pointed out, the BUC also provides a "neutral forum for both sides to bring up their concerns," which can then be presented to the government through the attendance of government officials at meetings. From time to time, the BUC releases statements with concrete and specific recommendations to the peace panels, such as including representatives of the indigenous people on the peace panel, providing "translators in the local dialects . . . for more accurate exchange of ideas," observing "total (absolute) ceasefire, not as interpreted by each group," and "in making demands, while setting them high, be open to reach an acceptable, reasonable and just compromise." [30]

Peaceful coexistence

Among the results noted in the *BUC Primer* are the following.

Friendship among religious leaders The *Primer* reports the "most notable fruit" of the BUC "has been the friendship established between the Muslim Ulama and Catholic as well as Protestant Bishops."[31] It became very clear during interviews that the dialogue experience has been extremely powerful for members and staff of the BUC, as well as participants in Imam-Priests-Pastors Forum (IPPF) activities.

Tolerance of other religious traditions There are emerging signs of tolerance between Christians and Muslims in Mindanao, and "respect for the religious traditions, even if they differ in doctrine and philosophy."[32] Interview respondents echoed the *BUC Primer* in asserting that mutual tolerance and respect for the religious traditions of the other have increased between Muslims and Christians, due to improved mutual knowledge.

Collaboration and mutual help at the grassroots Interviewees provided several examples of increased cooperation and interest in peacebuilding which may have been inspired by the activities of the BUC and related grassroots inter-religious dialogue initiatives. For example, in one parish, the Catholic "Basic Ecclesiastical Communities" (BECs) now invite Muslims and Protestants to play inter-BEC sports.

Mainstreaming IRD

One of the BUC's greatest achievements lies in "mainstreaming inter-religious dialogue," in The Philippines and neighboring countries. "Modeling the possibility that high-level religious leaders can talk," sending "a steadfast message to all . . . that the senior Christian and Muslim leaders of Mindanao are for peace," is no small achievement, however. The same grassroots IRD participant quoted above continued that "from 1996, the BUC has been an inspiration for people on the ground. Since political leaders don't talk to each other, seeing religious leaders talking to each other inspires them to emulate them. It sets a precedent for many activities initiated by dioceses and civil society organizations."

The National Security Advisor is a regular attendee at BUC assemblies, and President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo has recognized the BUC's role in "strengthening the spiritual and moral fiber of our society, in sustaining the spirit of enterprise among our people, in keeping our guard against terror, destabilization and in bringing peace to Mindanao and in guiding us towards the preferential option for the poor."[33] Inter-religious dialogue is now mandated by executive order, and government agencies are instructed to participate in the Mindanao Week of Peace, for example.

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30 Ibid., p.33.
31 Ibid., p.15.
32 Bishops-Ulama Conference Secretariat, undated, p. 15.
33 Philippine Information Agency, "PGMA lauds Bishops-Ulama's role in promoting interfaith dialogue as means to protect community" (Davao City, December 1, 2006), available online at http://www.pia.gov.ph/default.asp?m=12&sec=reader&rp=2&fi=p061201.htm&no=17&date.

CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS

Inclusivity and reach

It has been said that the BUC has a "limited reach."[34] On the Muslim side, although the Ulama League of The Philippines does not speak for all ulama or all Muslims, members of other ulama associations are not invited; while "Catholic Bishops have difficulty reaching their own ranks."[35] Although a survey conducted by the Catholic Bishops Conference of The Philippines-Episcopal Commission for Inter-religious Dialogue reported that 90 percent of 4,000 Filipino respondents felt "the need for inter-religious dialogue because of the presence of tribal religions, Islam and other beliefs,"[36] BUC members and observers almost unanimously report lack of support among their own constituents for the BUC and IRD initiatives. All members of the Ulama League of The Philippines and Catholic and Protestant Bishops in Mindanao are invited to BUC assemblies; however, only 15 or 20 Catholics, 15 or 20 Protestants, and approximately 20 ulama usually attend, and even those who participate do not necessarily have backing from those they lead.

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On the Christian side, religious leaders' attitudes towards inter-religious dialogue range from lack of interest — IRD is "not fashionable" and involves additional work — to hostile. Priests who participate in the IPPF report receiving negative feedback from parishioners, and being "insulted, criticized, isolated and accused of being pro-Muslim."

On the Muslim side, the fear that dialogue will be used to convert them still persists, and some Muslims oppose the BUC for this reason. Dr. Mutilan reported that some religious leaders claimed that discussion with Christian leaders was forbidden by Islam, and his participation in the BUC was used against him in an election campaign. (Because of his prestige as an Islamic scholar, he was able to refute these claims). "Even the UPPIF receives negative feedback from people." Although the story of the Alim whose family stayed at the home of a parish priest when his house burned down is often cited as evidence of the new tolerance, it is less often mentioned that this Alim was ostracized by his own community, to the point that Dr. Mutilan felt the need to make a personal visit to reassure local Muslims that he, the Alim, had not been converted to Catholicism.

The BUC also reflects the make-up of its component faith groups in being led almost exclusively by men, though many women work "on the sidelines." The BUC Secretariat includes female staff, as do many of the BUC's partner organizations, such as CRS. However a single Protestant pastora is the only female full member of the BUC itself. Women's participation in the BUC is therefore quite limited: a one-time women's dialogue was organized in Zamboanga City, female CRS staff have from time to time facilitated BUC meetings, and other female Protestant pastors, Catholic sisters, and the wives (and children) of ulama and Protestant bishops have occasionally participated in BUC activities. One observer feels that the content of the dialogues reflects this lack of women's input in that, "sometimes it lacks the human relations aspect."

Indigenous organizations have claimed that they are left out, and proposed that the idea of inter-religious dialogue could be expanded; they are still invited to the BUC only as observers, not as equal members.

In addition, there are no indigenous people participating in the BUC. The ulama do not recognize indigenous spirituality as a religion because there is no holy book. Including Indigenous People would also present practical problems of representation — with 18 different indigenous groups in Mindanao, it is not neces-

34 Rood, Steven, "Civil Society and Conflict Management, " from The Dynamics and Management of Internal Conflicts in Asia, Third Study Group Meeting. (Washington, DC, 2004), available online at http://cpn.nd.edu/article%20on%20Civil%20Soc%20--%20final.doc.

35 Ibid.

36 *ACEID News*, May-July 2004, no date given for survey.

sarily obvious who represents indigenous people (a question that may also arise with regard to Muslims and Protestants). Indigenous organizations have claimed that they are left out, and proposed that the idea of inter-religious dialogue could be expanded; they are still invited to the BUC only as observers, not as equal members.

Power balance and differing structures

One scholar has written that:

> *There is an inevitable degree of asymmetry involved in interreligious dialog. Islam has no hierarchy, whereas the Catholic Church is very bureaucratic (Protestant churches lie somewhere in between). Muslims exist immersed in the predominant culture of the Philippines, while Christians can (and historically have) ignored Muslim culture.*[37]

Notwithstanding these comments, apart from the financial difficulties that some ulama face in attending assemblies, members of the BUC seemed unconcerned about a possible power imbalance among the three groups. Protestants and Muslims agreed that all groups are equal within the BUC. The United Church of Christ in The Philippines, like the Catholic Church, has a strong organizational structure, and Muslims are "actually more active in terms of numbers within the BUC." While the number of participating bishops, both Catholic and Protestant, has declined over the life of the BUC, the number of active Muslim participants has remained stable.

The major implication of the very different institutional structures among Christians and Muslims seems to be that it is easier for Catholics and Protestants to transmit the results of BUC assemblies to the grassroots level, because of their hierarchical reporting structures. Within Islam, there is no automatic reporting system from ulama to grassroots leaders, so the local communities may not be aware of what transpires at meetings. Another observer noted that a number of the ulama require translators to interpret into their dialect.

Environment

A number of respondents also named factors in the operating environment that pose challenges. For example, the continuing armed conflict impedes progress on reconciliation work. Insecurity occasionally impairs the ability of participants to travel, and the venue must be changed. As one priest explained, "Every time there is a war, a bombing, or a kidnapping, etc., we start back at zero." ACEID staff also noted that during the "all-out war" in 2000, when an MILF camp was destroyed by the military, there was a sharp drop in participation by Muslims in ACEID activities. Muslims reportedly similarly distanced themselves after bombings in Davao in 2003 bombings. Even partisan politics may have a divisive effect, as they did during the last two elections.

Interviewees further noted that general poverty has a negative impact on IRD activities, especially at the grassroots. Because of their economic problems, people are forced to focus so much attention on their livelihoods that they have little attention left over for dialogue. Some BUC participants feel that the government should pay more attention and support the implementation of concrete programs; government officials who live far from areas in Mindanao where conflict is a daily reality were sometimes seen as "apathetic."

EFFECTIVENESS OF THE BUC

Assessment of the BUC's effectiveness is challenging. The BUC faces the classic problem of most peacebuilding initiatives: not only how to measure intangible results, but how to attribute them, either to its own programs or to other factors. In the case of the BUC, the challenge is compounded in that its numerous goals are not always clearly defined, and the results and changes have not been well documented.

Clearly, as evidenced by the heartfelt stories told by interviewees, the BUC has improved mutual understanding and friendship between Christians and Muslims, especially the direct participants in the BUC and in

37 Rood, 2004.

grassroots IRD. As long as these reports remain anecdotal, however, it is difficult to weigh assertions that things have changed for the better against the equally heartfelt accounts of the vilification that IRD participants often continue to face.

A Mindanao journalist asserts that in fact, "the lessons learned in the series of BUF meetings, dialogues and other activities have not trickled down to the grassroots level, and this is attributed to the fact that BUF membership comprises primarily middle to top level religious functionaries."[38] A CRS staff member adds that it is difficult for the message to be transmitted from the top-level to the grassroots, both because religious leaders may not have support for IRD efforts from all of their constituents and because there is no clear system connecting top-level efforts with "efforts on the ground," in either direction.

The many "spin-off" dialogue initiatives attest to concrete steps made in promoting inter-religious dialogue and the culture of peace, though comprehensive cataloguing of these must await for an evaluation process. Articulation or clarification of common concerns has certainly taken place. It is not clear, however, whether actions such as joint statements condemning violence and occasional media workshops have had concrete results in addressing media stereotypes, or in reducing criminality and violence and improving security.

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In terms of other contextual changes, significant developments in mainstreaming IRC at a high level have been directly attributed to the BUC, though this is not one of its stated objectives. In the absence of baseline or current statistics, the BUC's influence on levels of violence or advancement of the peace talks simply cannot be measured with the information available.

Sharing of common beliefs, values and traditions has undoubtedly occurred, to powerful effect, among a relatively small group of people. The strengthening of ties across religious divides at the high-level and the visible unity of top religious leaders, however, can only be positive, even if it is slow to translate to actual progress at the negotiating table and on the ground. The BUC could also be more outspoken during moments of tension.

SUCCESS FACTORS

Without an accurate measure of the BUC's impact, it may be doubly difficult to determine the factors responsible for these effects. However, interviewees raised several factors contributing to what is perceived as the BUC's success.

Leadership and camaraderie

A key factor in the success of the BUC's work has undoubtedly been the individuals involved, particularly the personalities, personal prestige and relationships of the Convenors. Archbishop Capalla is recognized as a "person of dialogue," and is well-respected by all parties. His "consultative" leadership style serves him well in his role as the head of the most externally powerful party in an association of equals. Dr. Mutilan's Islamic learning is equally respected, which allows him to refute criticism by other religious leaders who claim that Islam forbids dialogue with adherents of other religions. Bishop Gomez brings to the BUC his previous understanding of Muslim beliefs and feelings, gained from serving in the predominantly Muslim province of Lanao, which Muslim leaders acknowledge as an important factor in the success of the dialogue process. The long and public friendship of the Convenors serves as an example to other religious leaders as well as the grassroots. In addition, the social/institutional positions of all three Convenors and their connections allow for productive networking and access to funding.

Several respondents also mentioned that the commitment and dedication of all BUC participants — Convenors, members of the Tripartite Committee, and members at large — is an important factor in the BUC's

38 Arguillas, 2003.

success. As one Tripartite Committee member explained, the members are dedicated not only to the cause of IRD, but to each other. Religious leaders "stick together," and look forward to meeting their "comrades" again at assemblies. The opportunity to talk openly and share what they feel, even to criticize, creates a feeling of closeness among members.

Cultural importance attached to religion

The work of the BUC draws on key social values in Mindanao. First, all the peoples of Mindanao — the Christians, Muslims and Indigenous Peoples — are very religious, and place great importance on moral values. It may also be helpful that the religious beliefs of BUC members are all monotheistic, with common roots. Although they "express their faith in different modes," all believe in "divine origin," and a "benevolent, merciful, loving God." The BUC, as well as the UPPIF, deliberately draws on resources from Islam and Christianity. As well as referring to writings in the Koran and Bible enjoining peace, the BUC looks to Vatican II documents regarding ecumenism and inter-religious dialogue, and Protestant peace movements in Europe, and emphasizes that Islam means peace, to bolster calls for inter-religious dialogue and peace. According to Archbishop Capalla, the BUC offers a practical opportunity for people such as heads of Christian schools to apply the concepts contained in the Vatican documents.

Although the BUC is by definition an inter-faith initiative, the participation of the Catholic Church is crucial due to the numerical, socio-economic, and cultural dominance of Catholics in The Philippines. The structure, wide network, and reach of the Catholic Church are great assets organizationally. The church has "massive influence with its constituents," and its leaders have a "moral high ground," therefore, projects offered through the church enjoy improved reception. Since, in addition, "most actors within the conflict are Christian," Catholic Church peace initiatives have great potential to effect change in the Philippines.

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In addition to being strongly religious, the peoples of Mindanao revere their ancestors. Peacebuilders and proponents of inter-religious dialogue accordingly remind the tri-peoples of Mindanao that peace is possible because in the days before the civil war, their ancestors lived "like brothers and sisters." In one municipality, even the local government has joined the "movement to go back to those days."

The BUC also benefited from being established at an "historic time," when the conclusion of the peace agreement between the Government of The Philippines and the MNLF created excitement and people were exploring the idea of peace initiatives.

Synergies and support of other parties

Successes of the BUC have also been credited to the collaboration of other parties and groups. Convenor Mutilan credits the national government for their financial support and encouragement, and Bishop Gomez notes the "willingness of the government to listen to the concerns of the people of Mindanao as articulated by the BUC." Others cited the involvement of NGOs, including CRS, as key to the success of inter-religious dialogue efforts, not only because of the support they provided (such as funding, resource people, networking), but because of their generally humanitarian and inclusive missions. As one IRD participant explained, not only are NGOs "there on the ground," and able to "take care of the organization of activities," but unlike some in the Catholic Church, they "understand the need for, and the value of IRD."

Although the BUC is a partnership of equals among Catholic bishops, Protestant bishops and the Ulama League of The Philippines, Catholic Church institutions — for which there may be no Muslim or Protestant equivalent — play prominent partnership roles. These include the Episcopal Commission for Inter-religious Dialogue (ECID), and the many Catholic dioceses of Mindanao.

The Archdiocesan Center for Ecumenical and Inter-religious Dialogue (ACEID) in Davao is also closely associated with the BUC. Established in 1997 by Archbishop Capalla, this center is the only one of three planned centers so far established. ACEID exists to promote the culture of peace and "dialogue of life, faith

and love," as well as moral and spiritual values.[39] ACEID's culture of peace workshops and peace education programs have led to the formation of the Culture of Peace Advocates Movement in Schools, and contributed to the integration of peacebuilding into school curricula. ACEID also provides "formation" for dialogue partners including youth, academics, Muslims at the grassroots, and church workers, and participates in a Fellowship Dialogue with Protestant Bishops. ACEID also acts as the secretariat for the UPPIF.

LESSONS LEARNED

Involve all stakeholders

Lessons learned put forward by the interviewees centered on increased preparation for inter-religious dialogue efforts, and greater inclusion. One of the Convenors suggested that in hindsight, he would start small, without government help, and "get a solid, committed group in one community" before spreading to other areas. Another respondent remarked that is "important to know the culture and traditions of the people you are working for and with. Get involved, know the intricacies involved." Others suggested that a comprehensive context, stakeholder and needs assessment at the beginning would have been beneficial.

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Democratize early

One of the Convenors wrote that "if we start this over again, it is helpful to democratize this immediately, by letting the grassroots participate — from priests, pastors, imams, *baylans*, *ustadzes*, lay leaders, even young people." "Giving more responsibility to parish priests and their [Muslim] and [Indigenous] counterparts for discussion and planning would extend participation," explained a priest leader of grassroots dialogue initiatives, adding that grassroots IRD programs should be expanded to more parishes. Members also noted the benefits of engaging youth. Not only are they "more open than elders because they do not have the memories of war," but because they "just like to enjoy themselves" they are easily drawn into creative peace activities with youth from other religious groups.

Develop internal support

Beyond simply "democratizing," the need to build support from within each constituency strongly emerged, with several respondents advocating additional *intra*-religious dialogue to overcome the trauma and biases that lead to resistance to IRD among leaders and the grassroots participants. According to one respondent, for example, intra-religious dialogue is necessary to educate Catholics on Jesus' teachings regarding peace . . . "to show that IRD is integral to the church's mission." Another added that dialogue and reconciliation within the church are needed before the church will be "a strong mover for peace."

INTERVIEWS

Convenors

Dr. Mahid Mutilan, President, Ulama League of The Philippines (tragically killed in a traffic accident December 2007)
Archbishop Fernando Capalla, Archdiocese of Davao
Bishop Hilario Gomez, Bishop Emeritus, United Church of Christ in The Philippines

Tripartite Commission Members

Professor Shariff Mohsin Julabbi
Pastora Purita Bahandi, United Church of Christ in The Philipppines
Archbishop Antonio Ledesma, Archbishop of Cagayan de Oro

39 Larousse, 2001.

Participants in Local Inter-religious Dialogue Groups
Father Roberto Layson, Immaculate Conception Parish of Pikit
Father Pete Lamata, Archdiocesan Center for Ecumenical and Inter-religious Dialogue
Marinor Ogario, Archdiocesan Center for Ecumenical and Inter-religious Dialogue
Father Eddie Pedregoza, Diocese of Kidapawan, Inter-religious Dialogue Desk
Alim Mahmood Adilao, Southern Mindanao Chapter Ulama League of The Philippines, Chairperson

BUC Secretariat Staff
Lou Solijon, Executive Secretary

Partners/Associates
Sister Roseanne, National Secretariat for Social Action, Justice and Peace, Executive Secretary,
Myla Leguro, CRS, Peace and Reconciliation Program Manager

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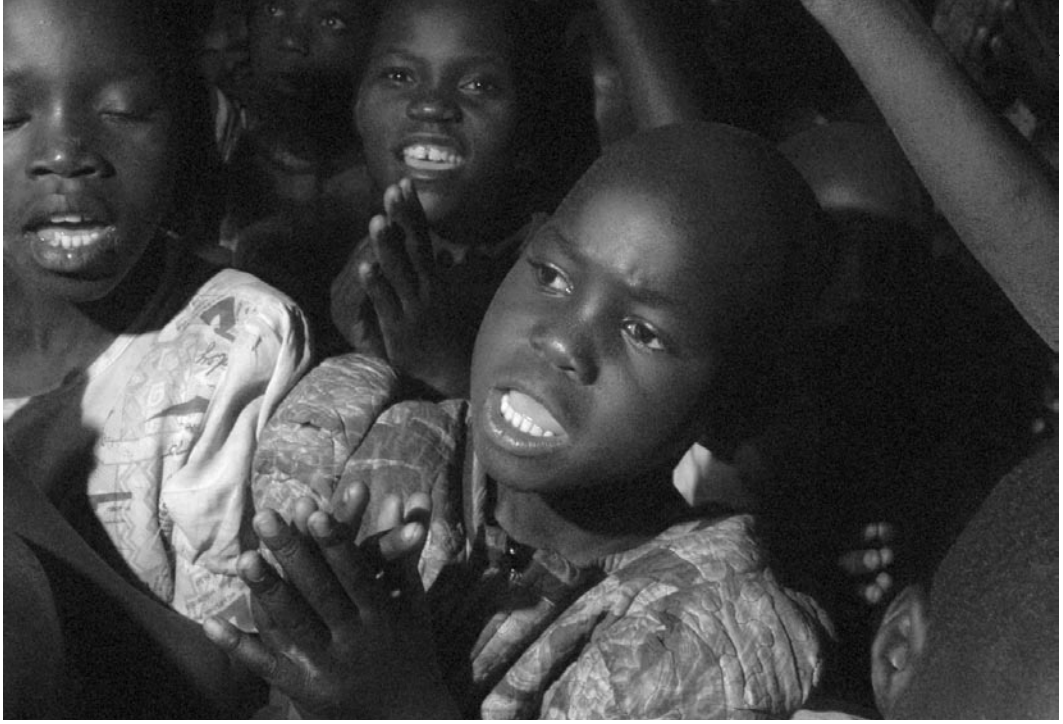
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Children sing at center for "night commuters" in war-torn northern Uganda.

UGANDA

Alliances for Peace: The Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative

Initial draft by Kelsie Thompson[1]

INTRODUCTION

The Acholi Religious Leaders' Peace Initiative (ARLPI) is an inter-religious peacebuilding and conflict transformation initiative formed in 1997, dedicated to working for peace in the conflict-ridden area of northern Uganda. ARLPI brings together leaders of different religions and denominations and their respective constituencies, including the Anglican Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Muslim community and the Orthodox Church. ARLPI has been able to mobilize a large number of people for peace. Its leaders organize and facilitate community dialogue and mediation sessions to deal with issues such as land disputes, cross border conflict, community reconciliation, acceptance, forgiveness and the reintegration of formerly abducted persons. They are trusted in the community and people seek interventions from ARLPI when they face issues or situations that they cannot resolve themselves. ARLPI has also played the role of emissary, serving as a bridge between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the government of Uganda (GoU).

The aim of this case study is to detail ARLPI's methods, accomplishments and challenges, so that their example may be useful to other organizations working to achieve similar goals.

This study was conducted by interviewing people involved with ARLPI at different levels. Information was gathered through individual interviews and group discussions with Sub-County Religious Leaders Peace Committees, district stakeholders, ARLPI staff, some Core Team members (the governing body of ARLPI) and participants in the Kitgum, Pader, Amuru and Gulu districts.

1 Notre Dame Intern at CRS Uganda, August 2007.

NATURE AND COURSE OF CONFLICT

Uganda has experienced conflict for most of its post-independence period. From the constitutional crisis of 1966 until the overthrow of the second regime of President Milton Obote in 1985, northern-dominated regimes were seen as taking retribution against the south for the perceived imbalances of the colonial period. In the past twenty years, Uganda has seen the emergence of over 20 armed movements. Every change of political regime in post-colonial Uganda has been brought about through armed conflict, leaving deep scars of distrust and anger between different regional and ethnic groups, particularly between northern and southern/central parts of the country. This turbulent recent history is coupled with more chaotic 20-year armed conflict involving the Lords Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda. The LRA is derived from anti-government movements that formed in the north and later crystallized into opposition to President Yoweri Museveni, after he took power in 1986 by overthrowing an ethnically Acholi-led military government. The roots of the conflict are political, social, economic and security-related. Since its inception, the Acholi spiritualist turned rebel, Joseph Kony, has been the leader of the LRA. It is better known for its shockingly brutal tactics and the perpetration of mass atrocities against civilians in the north than for its political positions.

The northern conflict has centered on the predominantly Acholi districts of Amuru, Gulu, Kitgum and Pader in northern Uganda, with extension into some districts of the West Nile, Lango, Teso sub-regions and Southern Sudan. Between 1996 and 2006 an estimated 1.8 million northern Ugandans were uprooted by the war and forced into camps for internally displaced persons (IDP). The LRA is notorious for filling its ranks with abducted child soldiers who are often forced to torture and kill their own family members or fellow abductees. At the peak of the insurgency in 2003, the fear of abduction was so pervasive that nearly 40,000 child "night commuters" walked up to eight kilometers each evening to seek protection in the more secure town centers.

As a consequence of violent conflict, northern Uganda remains the poorest region in the country today, lagging behind on all socio-economic indicators. The war has caused significant setbacks in education, healthcare, food production, sanitation systems, infrastructure, local governance, democratic participation and other sectors fundamental to economic, political and social development. Insecurity in the region has also restricted access and capacity to provide basic protection for displaced and vulnerable populations. Given the historical north/south divide in the country, these consequences of war reinforce the ongoing dynamics of the conflict and limit the potential for peace. Despite its limited geographic reach and the myth that it is a "northern problem," the war in the north is not an Acholi war but rather a war that is, and has always been, connected with other dimensions of Ugandan politics and society. Additionally, the war has assumed important regional dimensions across the Sudanese and Congolese borders and beyond.

The history of the quest for peace in Uganda is long and complicated. In November 1993, Betty Bigombe, then Minister for pacification of northern Uganda, led a delegation from the Government of Uganda into talks with the LRA. In February 1994, after several meetings without agreement, President Museveni issued a seven-day ultimatum to the LRA to surrender or face the resumption of the military campaign. The LRA was in Southern Sudan, and it is thought that military and logistical support from the Government of Sudan began in earnest at this point. Complicating matters further, the Ugandan government was providing military assistance to the Sudan People's Liberation Army.

In December of 1999, the Government of Uganda passed a law giving amnesty to all fighters who renounced the armed struggle[2]. In November 2004, the government responded to a request from the LRA for peace talks, by announcing a temporary ceasefire in a small area of northern Uganda, into which the LRA were requested to congregate. Although LRA raids and fighting continued outside this zone, negotiations between government representatives, Acholi religious and traditional leaders and senior LRA figures took place in December 2004 in Palabek Paluda in Kitgum district. However by 31 December 2004, when the ceasefire ended, a Memorandum of Understanding outlining the details of a truce had not yet been signed. In January 2005, the government renewed its military campaign against the LRA, though negotiations continued. A second ceasefire lasted February 4–22, 2005, during which period the main LRA negotiator, Sam Kolo, left the LRA, throwing the peace process into confusion.

2 ARLPI contributed to this law and played a key role in ensuring it was passed.



In October 2005 the International Criminal Court indicted the five top leaders of the LRA for war crimes and crimes against humanity. Peace talks between the GoU and the LRA began in Juba, Southern Sudan on July 14, 2006 and a cessation of hostilities agreement was signed in August. Since then there has been a steady improvement in security in northern Uganda as evidenced by a declining number of rebel attacks, abductions and "night commuters." Although there have been repeated periods of both violence and hope over the years in northern Uganda, many sectors of Ugandan society have warmed to the possibility of reconciliation and the current peace negotiations between the GoU and the LRA have inspired renewed hope that one of Africa's longest and most brutal conflicts may finally end. However, if the talks in Juba fail, there will likely be a return to violence and the gains made over the past year in the north will be quickly reversed. Moreover, beyond a peace settlement between the Government of Uganda and the LRA, northern Uganda still faces many potential conflicts internal and external to the region.

Beyond the LRA conflict, there are long-standing and pervasive ethnic and regional divides within northern Uganda. Historic violence along ethnic lines has contributed to a situation where most Ugandans' primary identity lies with their ethnic group[3], and not with the country as a whole. Pronounced grievances and mistrust along ethnic and regional lines exist among various groups in Uganda. These inter-ethnic and regional grievances are pervasive within and between the north and the rest of the country, though the so-called north-south divide (which is attributed to the colonial system of administra-

3 Including the Karamojong, Teso, Langi, Acholi, Alur and Acholi/Karamojong.

tion) is profoundly political in character. There is also widespread blame and retribution between groups for specific actions such as perceived support for the LRA, alleged abuses by the Uganda People's Defense Force (UPDF) and complicity in the overthrow of previous governments.

Violations of human rights in northern Uganda are committed not only by the LRA but also by military (UPDF) and paramilitary forces and in the region. While the LRA is known for abductions and killings, the UPDF and other paramilitary groups are known for constantly violating the rights of non-combatants. The relationships between civilians and the military in northern Uganda have deteriorated. Reports from NGOs, the United Nations (UN), and human rights organizations show a pattern of human rights abuses and the continued intimidation of civilians by the armed forces, leading to an overwhelming degree of community distrust vis-à-vis the people who are supposed to be protecting them, such as in the camp settings. This is compounded by a breakdown in traditional family and clan conflict resolution structures, increased vulnerability due to stigma and trauma, an atmosphere of despair and hopelessness, increases in gender-based violence and ongoing conflict over land and cattle rustling.

In Lango and Teso many IDPs have returned home while in Acholiland many have moved voluntarily from the bigger camps to new intermediate sites (satellites camps) closer to their places of origin. While this is a positive sign for peace and it helps to remedy many problems caused by the congestion of the IDP camps, the return of people to their natural land also causes additional problems. Some people have been away from their homes for over a decade, and upon returning to reclaim their land they are often met with other people who claim that land as their own. The nature of property law in Uganda is complex and often misunderstood. The amended Land Policy declaring that absenteeism, "is an automatic case for forfeiting of that land or a squatter on a piece of land for duration of twelve years qualified to own that land" has increased claims on land by some individuals.

Another issue that is beginning to emerge in the development toward peace is the reintegration of formerly abducted persons. The majority of LRA rebels were abducted, conscripted into this army and forced to fight against their will. Some who return from the bush are having problems reintegrating into normal life in their original communities due to rejection by family members and community, on top of the psychological trauma they experienced. The situation of formerly abducted people is hard for many other people to accept: they are victims who were abducted and forced to commit atrocities on the one hand, while they are the perpetrators of violence on the other. Unfortunately, some are not apologetic and still threaten violence on the community. Others who did not go through reception/rehabilitation centers are even more traumatized, a situation manifested in increased mental illness and in acts of violence.

NATURE OF CHURCH INTERVENTION

Background of ARLPI

The Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) is an interfaith organization, which brings together the religious leaders from Muslim, Anglican, Catholic and Orthodox faiths together with their constituencies to participate effectively in transforming conflict. The original inspiration came from the situations in the IDP camps. Religious leaders, having extensive ties to the community, saw that there was no way for the voice of the people to be heard from the camps. ARLPI has worked hard to engage interfaith communities to contribute proactively in bringing peace in Acholiland. It has acted as a springboard for mediation and advocacy regarding the situation in northern Uganda at both the national and international levels. Over the years, ARLPI has used an inclusive approach where stakeholders are involved in peace activities such as dialogue and mediation, community sensitization, peace education, peace rallies, experience sharing during exchange visits, lobbying and advocacy for dialogue to end the northern conflict. These activities have helped to develop meaningful relationships of trust and hope within the communities, which strengthen and maximize opportunities for peace and reconciliation at the local, district and national levels. ARLPI believes that

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As an interfaith organization, ARLPI has networked with the Inter Religious Council of Uganda (IRCU), and the Uganda Joint Christian Council (UJCC), while on the international scene it subscribes to the World Council of Religious Leaders and the United Religions Initiative. Both IRCU and UJCC have worked with ARLPI on advocacy initiatives, holding workshops and conferences, making solidarity visits, organizing peace rallies and hosting an international day of peace.



The ARLPI process mobilizes diverse local constituencies for peace.

Project goal and objectives

ARLPI worked in partnership with CRS under the five-year USAID-funded Community Resilience and Dialogue Program (CRD). ARLPI undertook two projects under the CRD: phase one from April 2004 to June 2006 called "Community Mediation and Peacebuilding Program;" and phase two, "Interfaith Network for Peacebuilding Program," which ran from August 2006 to July 2007. The second will be discussed in more detail in this case study. The goal of this project was "to create a climate conducive for sustainable peace and development in Uganda." It aimed to do so by incorporating structures from the grassroots level, the sub counties, districts and regional leaders to engage in non-violent approaches to conflict resolution and peacebuilding processes in northern Uganda. The two objectives were to enhance community capacity to engage in peacebuilding programs and to strengthen dialogue and mediation services.

Structures

Sub-County Religious Leaders Peace Committees ARLPI borrowed the idea of forming local level Peace Committees from the experiences of Burundi and Rwanda. The goal of the Sub-County Religious Leaders Peace Committees (SCRLPC) is to educate people as well as consult, coordinate and organize peace prayers, contribute to building peace in communities[4] and make referrals to paralegals and other community resource persons. The committees are composed of respected members of the community such as teachers, clergy and opinion leaders. They include three members from each faith or denomination (a religious leader, a woman and a youth representative). They coordinate with other peace agencies and mobilize the community for awareness meetings and sensitization on peacebuilding, reconciliation and peaceful coexistence.

District Religious Leaders Peace Team Initially, the high level religious leaders worked directly with the grassroots Peace Committees, leaving out the midlevel clergy. This was remedied by forming the District Religious Leaders Peace Team (DRLPT). They are composed of 12 members for each district, including three members from each of the four faiths or denominations: a religious leader, a woman and a youth. Their purpose is to act as an intermediary between the grassroots and upper level religious leaders, and to ease the workload of the upper level leaders.

All members of the DRLPT received in-depth training on all aspects of ARLPI programs and activities, as well as extensive training on peacebuilding, mediation and dialogue, gender-based violence, reintegration and psychosocial issues. Besides their support to the sub-county structure, they are involved in monitoring and follow up visits to the sub-county peacebuilding activities, community sensitization and awareness raising, conducting peace rallies, holding review meetings with sub-county religious peace committees, networking and collaborating with other relevant stakeholders in the district. They also liaise with the cultural leaders at sub-county levels in their work for reconciliation, peacebuilding and cultural rejuvenation.

4 One example of this work is that ARLPI has worked with communities to erect monuments at sites where atrocities occurred in the past.

Women's task force ARLPI initiated a Women's Empowerment Strategy which has incorporated women's contributions in the peace process in Acholiland. An exchange visit to the West Nile region for the women's task force was organized and supported in June 2007. The objectives of the visit were to learn the nature of conflict in the West Nile region in comparison with the Acholi situation and share experiences on coping and roles in peacebuilding in a post conflict situation. During the visit, it was recommended that the women's task force be involved in the community outreach programs to sensitize other women on the importance of their participation in community peacebuilding, especially as the Acholi region emerges from its violent past. The task force is now playing this role.



Female members of the SCRLPT Kitgum district

Processes

Peace information and education ARLPI developed and disseminated dialogue, peacebuilding and human rights messages to community members in the northern region via the radio and by word of mouth. The community members were educated through these methods on the themes: "Among All Peace for All" in 2003, "Solidarity for Peace" in 2004, "Peace depends on you too" in 2005, "Peace for all through dialogue and reconciliation" in 2006 and "Women are peace builders (sic) by nature" in 2007. They were encouraged to take a non-violent approach to conflict and increase women's participation in peace work. Many people called in during the radio talk shows and they encouraged ARLPI to continue sending messages to the rebel leader Joseph Kony and other rebels concerning community commitment to welcoming them back home. Women were called to increase their involvement in peacebuilding and conflict resolution.

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Community awareness meetings The purpose of ARLPI's community awareness meetings is to sensitize and educate the communities on reconciliation, forgiveness and peaceful coexistence, land rights, and domestic and gender based violence. This is done through networking with other organizations, cultural institutions, district stakeholders and community leaders in order to inform them about the nature of the conflict as well as to gather information on relevant issues arising in the community. Discussions are centered on preparations for the traditional community reconciliation ceremony, support for and ways to ease reintegration of returnees, and sensitization on human rights abuses and the implications of the peace talks. They also frequently discuss with a community ways to manage conflict between the Acholi and the neighboring tribes.

Community dialogue sessions ARLPI uses information gathered from the awareness meetings to organize dialogues about relevant conflict issues in the community. Some examples of subjects addressed during dialogue and mediation meetings are tensions between political parties and leaders, mistrust between the civilians and the military and conflict between different tribes such as the Karamojong and the Langi, as well as among Acholi clans and between ex-combatants and the community. These meetings help resolve tension resulting from political affiliation, land disputes, attitudes of revenge toward returnees and latent cultural tensions that are now surfacing. The meetings help strengthen the communities' capacities to resolve conflicts locally, as well as their commitment to peace. This approach prepares the community for reconciliation, which is so vital in the region.

LRA fighters came out of the bush and requested specifically to be handed over to ARLPI due to the trust in the religious leaders.

ARLPI also conducted a mediation session between three LRA fighters and the community in Omiya Anyima sub-county in Kitgum district. ARLPI contacted the LRA members through their relatives and encouraged them to come out and join the community. With the help of the SCRLPCs and the DRLPT, the three LRA fighters came out of the bush and requested specifically to be handed over to ARLPI due to the trust in the re-

ligious leaders. They were taken to their parents and shared their experiences with the community during a Sunday prayer meeting. Members of the Peace Committee who helped facilitate this endeavor were publicly honored, which helped to create awareness within the community and to demonstrate that those who forgive and promote reconciliation are celebrated.



Memorial in Pader honoring 27 people massacred by the LRA.

Community peace prayer/rallies ARLPI has been involved in the organization and recitation of peace prayers in commemorations of those lost during massacres, as well as sub-county peace prayers/rallies and end of year peace prayers. All peace prayers are inter-religious, and involve not just religious leaders and church-goers, but local officials, cultural representatives, UPDF soldiers, and even members of the LRA. In some rallies cabinet ministers, presidential representatives and members of parliament bring messages of hope and solidarity from the president and other parts of Uganda, while advocating for the end of the conflict.

ARLPI in collaboration with Kabarole Research Center, Gulu District Reconciliation and Peace Team, Justice and Peace Commission and the Gulu District NGO Forum hosted the International Peace Day celebration in Gulu district in 2004 that was attended by over 5,000 people from within and outside Uganda.

The main objectives of the community peace prayers/rallies are: mobilization for reconciliation and advocacy for peaceful coexistence and end to the northern conflict. ARLPI envisages these rallies/prayers as a way of raising solidarity for peace and reinforcing the sense of hope among Ugandans. At the sub-county level, the Peace Committees have been very instrumental in organizing and mobilizing communities to participate in the rallies.

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Memorials ARLPI helped construct and support three monuments to commemorate the loss of lives during three terrible massacres. It erected a peace monument at Tangi Opota in Pader district, for example, where LRA brutally murdered 28 people in 2003 and cooked the bodies to be eaten by the community members. ARLPI constructed two additional monuments, one in Kitgum district and one in Gulu. These two monuments were placed at the sites where over 400 people were killed and buried in mass graves. The monuments are signs of peace and reconciliation in the community and serve to educate future generation on the dangers of conflict.

Two memorial peace prayers were conducted at massacre sites, attended by over 4,000 people each. The objectives of the memorial prayers were to console those who lost their loved ones during the massacre, to appeal to the rebel group to resume peace talks in Juba, and to encourage the community members to practice forgiveness and reconciliation.

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THEORIES OF CHANGE

When combined, awareness, dialogue and inter-faith organization are an effective first resort in dealing with local conflict.

ARLPI's aim was to create an environment where the interfaith team ensures that community members have a sense of purpose and hope for the future. This was accomplished through a series of community-based peace actions and activities. The interfaith structure works down to the local or parish level, ensuring the views of the grassroots are heard. This contributes significantly to improving the communities' relationships both internally and externally, thereby lessening the likelihood of future conflicts.

These interfaith structures facilitate awareness-raising and dialogue processes capable of addressing most minor conflicts.

Interfaith structures employing collaborative processes can leverage influence beyond the combination of their respective communities.

To accomplish their goals under this project, ARLPI has undertaken a number of activities involving religious leaders in the area, local and traditional leaders, government officials and participants from the community. In the broader context ARLPI has been behind the LRA-GoU dialogue since its inception and is participating in the ongoing Juba Peace Talks as observers and advisers to both delegations and the mediation team.

RESULTS

Improved relations between the civilians and the military

There have been great improvements in the relationship between the civilians and military in areas where ARLPI carried out civil-military dialogues. Previously there were clashes between civilians and the military over unlawful arrests and torture of civilians and theft of property by the military. Dialogues facilitated by ARLPI were followed by awareness raising on peaceful coexistence and the role of military and civilians. Perpetrators were handled by the rightful authorities. This has resulted in a reduction in the number of tensions between civilians and the military.

Community dialogues and decreased conflict with the Karamojong

Throughout this project, ARLPI has taken on a number of dialogue and mediation sessions aimed at resolving specific issues of conflict in communities including land ownership and boundaries, threats and theft. The success of these operations can be seen not only in the concrete reduction of conflict, but also in the desire of communities to have additional dialogue and mediation meetings conducted by ARLPI.

The Peace Committees have had some success in defusing conflict in the local setting. Community members seek assistance from the Peace Committees to help resolve disputes. The members are highly respected and, for this reason, the community often tries to imitate their commitment to peace and tolerance. If the Peace Committee members can work with people from religions different than their own, it is thought, so can the community. Peace committees have exercised an important aspect of forgiveness, and welcoming of formerly abducted persons despite the atrocities they were forced to commit. This has increased community trust and mutual respect.

The success of these operations can be seen not only in the concrete reduction of conflict, but also in the desire of communities to have additional dialogue and mediation meetings conducted by ARLPI.

Participation in the peace talks

The LRA and the Government of Uganda recognize the importance of ARLPI's practices and consistent advocacy for the use of a non-violent approach, dialogue, mediation and reconciliation. ARLPI members are now participating in the ongoing Juba peace talks as observers, confidence builders and advisors, and being consulted by both delegations and the mediator.

Inspired hope and healing

The yearly peace prayers organized by ARLPI at the district and sub-county levels have instilled hope for peace in the community members. The peace prayers have a restorative effect, and the communities frequently request that ARLPI hold additional peace prayers to help them cope with difficulties. Peace prayers, offering an inter-religious approach, help to foster unity among the people of northern Uganda. The community members are now organizing the peace prayers at the parish and village levels themselves, an act of sustainability.

ARLPI has also shown solidarity with the child night commuters. The Catholic archbishop of Gulu, John Baptist Odama, Chairman of ARLPI, retired Bishop Macleod Baker Ochola, Bishop Onono Onweng,

Sheik Musa Khali and others top religious leaders have slept in the cold at Gulu Bus Park with the night commuters as an act of solidarity and advocacy. This event captured the attention of the international community on the situation in northern Uganda, and sent signals to many international bodies, NGOs and governments who responded by constructing night commuter shelters and initiated fundraising through the famous "Gulu Walk." For the first time, the UN Under Secretary for Humanitarian Affairs, Jan Egeland, visited northern Uganda to assess the situation, making a statement that the war is one of the most forgotten in the world.

There has been strengthening of women's capacity in peace work due to ARLPI's intentional involvement of women in its activities and organizational structures. Women have been trained in psychosocial support, peacebuilding and conflict management, and this is now being taught to the community through awareness meetings and sensitizations on nonviolence and harmonious coexistence. Currently ARLPI is a partner in a pilot scheme to implement the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 empowering women in peace and security.

Replication

With its interfaith network for peace, ARLPI is consulted by many and is a source of information for scholars and numerous organizations in Uganda and around the world. The structure, ideals and nature of ARLPI have been and can continue to be a model for anyone in a similar situation working towards peace. Many communities in the region have copied ARLPI's structure and formed their own fora, like the Lango Religious Leaders Forum. Southern Sudan has taken note of ARLPI's successes in uniting different religions and working for peace; religious leaders there have invited ARLPI to help them form a similar organization. Additionally, the gains achieved by ARLPI in working for unity and peace have broken down barriers and demonstrated the viability of inter-religious initiatives and paved the way for the Inter-Religious Council of Uganda and the Kotido Peace Initiative.

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CHALLENGES

Uneven trickle down

ARPLI has faced a number of internal challenges in the implementation of its activities. Unity among the top religious leaders is slowly cascading down to the lower religious leaders. Additionally, the inter-religious approach is a challenge in districts like Kitgum and Pader, which do not have all the four religious bodies that comprise the ARLPI. This is a hindrance for the structure of the District Religious Leaders Peace Team (DRLPT) and Sub-County Religious Leaders Peace Committees (SCRLPC). However the different heads of the constituencies are working out the modalities for addressing this.

Return and resettlement program

Another challenge to the success of ARLPI's work is that it is increasingly difficult to mobilize the community for sensitization and dialogue. As people begin to return to locations closer to their homes, the constituents of the sub-county are no longer located in one convenient, clustered location. This creates a problem with transportation for the Peace Committee members, where there is only one bicycle for an entire sub-county. Additionally, it is hard to mobilize the community for meetings because they expect to receive some token compensation for their time. The temporary solution that ARLPI has developed is to involve the local leaders in mobilization and facilitation of activities. This has also strengthened the networking and collaboration between the SCRLPCs and the sub-county stakeholders.

Credentialing

The Peace Committee members have no way to demonstrate that they are legitimate members of the Peace Committee. This can be detrimental when members are trying to intervene in a dispute and are asked for proof of their status as Peace Committee members. Along the same lines, the Peace Committees do not have

an established office. They work out of their homes and, thus, it is sometimes difficult for the community to locate them in times of need. One plan is to provide them with ARLPI t-shirts or aprons to wear while conducting their activities.

Over-dependency

The community often expects ARLPI to get involved in every situation, which stretches the organization's thin resources and goes beyond its mandate. For example, ARLPI is now dealing with issues such as fear of the Karamojong within the community, violations of children's rights, such as child labor and defilement, land conflict and growing immorality, such as gambling within the camps. Though ARLPI is committed to peace and tackles peace and conflict issues in the way of achieving its goal, the demand for ARLPI's intervention is growing beyond what can be currently supplied. Many issues in need of ARLPI's intervention have emerged, such as land disputes. Deciding whether to get involved is difficult.

Divisive dialogue

In June of 2006, ARLPI led a dialogue between supporters of the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) and the National Resistance Movement (NRM). The north is predominantly composed of FDC, and the NRM supporters often feel discriminated against and marginalized. Politics became very divisive, with a prevailing negative attitude towards NRM supporters. The dialogue was meant to address these issues.

ARLPI used its grassroots structures to approach the situation and resolve the misunderstanding between the leaders and their supporters, who were later reconciled. A Peace Task Force was formed which sensitized the community on the danger of divisive politics and the need for dialogue to embrace development.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE RESULTS

The Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative is an organization intent on achieving peace in northern Uganda. Its hardworking members are focused on a positive peace: not just the absence of violence but the presence of equality and harmony. They work towards this goal by incorporating all of the major religions of the area, women and men, young and old in their quest. The inclusive nature of the effort fosters a sense of unity in those that ARLPI touches, and inspires trust and hope.

Inter-religious approach

The inter-religious nature of ARLPI is a major reason for its success. On top of that, the inter-religious perspective has helped to spread unity and religious tolerance within northern Uganda. The formation of District and Sub-County Religious Leaders Peace Committees has strengthened the relationship among the religious leaders of the different denominations, and this has trickled down to their parishioners and the community at large. It has helped to take the interfaith approach to peacebuilding down to the grassroots in order to forge unity and realize the motto of ARLPI, "Together for Peace."

Close proximity of participants

Though the congestion in the IDP camps is one of the conflict situations that ARLPI works to remedy, the heavy concentration of people in these camps is actually one of the factors that has helped ARLPI be so successful. Because everyone is located so close to one another, it makes it simpler for ARLPI to mobilize and sensitize them.

Extensive outreach capacity

As indicated, the interfaith structure works down to the local community or parish level, ensuring that the views of the grassroots are heard. This contributes significantly to improving communities' relationships. ARLPI's strategy of networking with authorities of sub-counties has led to harmonious relationships between religious leaders and the local leaders. These authorities, thanks to the friendship built with ARLPI, have been instrumental in the mobilization of people and they often have increased access to resources, which ARLPI members would not otherwise be able to attain. The structure of ARLPI, with its focus on the grassroots, increases the capability for dissemination, awareness gathering, dialogue and mediation while still allowing for cooperation from the top level religious leaders.

Inclusive of diversity

The unity and diversity of ARLPI enhances its possibility for success. The inclusive nature allows more

people to be involved in the peace process. All religions, women and men, youth, the military, traditional leaders, politicians and government members are involved. This highly participatory approach lays the foundation for a sustainable peace.

ARLPI also collaborates with different organizations and non-church participants to bring change. This has created a wide base of support, allowing ARLPI to reach people they otherwise may not have been able to reach.

Integrity of leadership

The courage and integrity of the religious leaders involved in ARLPI has been crucial to the success of the organization. ARLPI has gained credibility due to the willingness of religious leaders to suffer with and for their people, to live in solidarity with them. For example, as mentioned before, Archbishop Odama and his team slept with the night commuter children in Gulu town. This attracted international attention and was the inspiration for the worldwide "Gulu Walk." The religious leaders have also had the courage to go into the bush and talk with members of the LRA. There was a time, when the conflict in the north was more perilous, that religious leaders risked their lives daily to work for peace.

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Recognition

The peace awards (the Niwano Peace Prize from Japan, and the Paul Carus award from the Council for a Parliament of the World's Religions) that ARLPI has received are an added factor contributing to its success. They have allowed for greater recognition of ARLPI nationally and internationally, and created additional financial opportunities.

Religious leaders have a permanent audience that allows them to maintain a constant presence and to continuously advocate for peace. They also have an inherent moral authority and are generally equipped with a loyal laity or loyal followers, which has allowed ARLPI to begin work with a solid foundation of trust.

Unity among the religious leaders contributes to unity among religious believers in the community.

Responsiveness

ARLPI is well known for responding to issues within communities, making ARLPI one of the first organizations people think of when they are in need of mediation. Unlike some others, ARLPI renders its services freely, something that is much appreciated by the community.

LESSONS LEARNED

Through trial and error, ARLPI believes it has learned many things about peacebuilding. Some of these include:

- The persistence of religious leaders in pursuing dialogue can open opportunities to influence the opinions of both the warring parties and donor communities (such as having an observer role in the Juba Peace Talks and serving on the cessation of hostility monitoring team).
- Dialogues based on one issue often raise others, which are in need of attention. In working on political conflict, other issues arise such as land use, leadership struggles among traditional leaders and domestic violence. Some issues may be overshadowed by revenge, making the conflicts cyclical.
- ARLPI cannot do everything. Focusing on its intended mission is important.
- Unity among the religious leaders contributes to unity among religious believers in the community.
- To welcome without discrimination and listen with an open and consoling heart is one of the most important steps to building trust.
- Leading by example and living an exemplary life is key to being successful.

INTERVIEWS

Gulu

Archbishop John Baptist Odama, ARLPI, Chairman
Mrs. Karima Lanyero, ARLPI, Chairperson, Programme Committee
Mr. James Nyeko, ARLPI, Program Coordinator
Mr. George Ochan, ARLPI, Program Officer of Gulu
Ms. Zipporah Alaroker, ARLPI, Student Intern
Fr. David Lakwor, DRLPT, member
Ms. Filda Aber, Peace Committee, member

Kitgum

Mr. Opira Benjamin, Peace Committee, Chairperson
Mr. Rev. Donasiano Opoka, Peace Committee, Vice
Mr. Opaka Richard, Peace Committee, Secretary
Mr. Lupenyi John Hasuman, Peace Committee, Publicity
Ms. Nekolina Okello, Peace Committee, member
Ms. Ibrahim Okumu, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Okot Patrick Odongad, Peace Committee, member

Pader

Mr. Orach Joseph, Peace Committee, Chairperson
Ms. Olal Christine, Peace Committee, Vice Chairperson
Mr. Odongo Issemael, Peace Committee, Secretary
Ms. Akot Santa, Peace Committee, member
Ms. Martina Okot, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Odwar B.D Orach, Peace Committee, member
Ms. Abonyo Ajoleta, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Omony Staveno, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Ocan Anthony, Peace Committee, member
Ms. Acayo Silvia, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Okeny Norbert, Peace Committee, member
Ms. Acan Margaret, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Onek Alex, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Obwoch Charlse, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Okello Albino, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Ojara Richard, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Omara Mohamed, Peace Committee, member
Ms. Abur Pauline, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Oruom Saibe, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Kidega Ensiirs, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Okeny Vincent, Peace Committee, member
Mrs. Atto Kala, Peace Committee, member
Ms. Aciro Beatrice, Peace Committee, member
Ms. Akwero Lilly, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Owot Robert, Peace Committee, member
Rev. Simon Acarac, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Olike John, Peace Committee, member
Ms. Akello Juliana, Peace Committee, member
Mrs. Lakop Florence, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Abdulaih Hussein, Peace Committee, member
Mrs. Lamunu Florence, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Nyeko James, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Okot George, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Ongom Mathew, Peace Committee, member
Hon. Okwir Ray, Peace Committee, member
Rev. PG Labaya, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Oyo Jabiel, Peace Committee, member
Rev. Okot William, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Ouram Fadili, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Ojok Peter, Peace Committee, member
Mrs. Rosalta Okello, , Peace Committee, member
Mr. Tookema Joseph, Peace Committee, member
Mrs. Acirocan Beatrice, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Odong Pius, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Oneka Joseph, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Oryem John, Peace Committee, member
Mr. Oryema Terensio, Peace Committee, member

Synthesis: Gleanings on Process-Structures — Currents, Gravity, Streams and Leverage

In *The Moral Imagination*, John Paul Lederach asks how we can create durable, adaptive spaces and structures for building peace, which he calls "process structures." Using metaphors from the physical world to describe them, he defines process-structures as:

> *… phenomena that are simultaneously dynamic processes and take shape in identifiable structures. Some examples include rivers, glaciers, and skin. These are changing and adapting, yet have a form and shape that from a distance appear static. Applied to social change, building justpeace is a process that must be both responsively adapting to the context and the evolution of events, yet must have a vision, direction, purpose, infrastructure of support, and a shape that helps sustain its movement toward the desired changes.*[1]

Given the work Lederach has done with CRS over the years, it is not surprising to find some of his questions echoed in CRS' work. By engaging in this case study inquiry into peacebuilding by the church, CRS is in effect asking, "how can the Catholic Church create and/or support smart, flexible process-structures with the purpose of building peace?"[2] This is not to suggest that these independent initiatives were conceived around a common appreciation of process structures. It is simply a relevant framework within which to make comparisons and draw out lessons.

All seven case studies contribute specific insights into some of the answers to the question above. The Bishops-Ulama Conference (BUC), the Acholi Religious Leaders' Peace Initiative (ARLPI), and the Joint Peace Mission Team (JPMT) to varying degrees are all examples of peacebuilding process-structures. Their vision, direction and infrastructure are recognized as viable, and each has been dynamic in employing a variety of processes and interventions in response to their changing contexts. The experiences of Christian Organizations Against Trafficking in Women Network (COATNET) and the Schools for Peace and Coexistence (EPC) both offer valuable insights into process-structures, including ways they can expand their range of influence. The Rwanda case refers to the significance of proactive leadership. The Togo case study indicates the potential of a common ecclesial structure: the Catholic Church's many justice and peace commissions around the world.

Combined, the case studies in this volume suggest at least half a dozen different considerations in the creation and support of effective process-structures. Certain insights surface repeatedly and others as gems unique to a single case. While there are undoubtedly other important considerations that were not part of the experience of these few cases, were not captured in the different studies or were inadvertently deleted given space limitations, the components that do emerge are significant. These components are:

1. Focus on the leadership that animates the structures
   Find the current that moves the water
2. Consider the context, carefully and continuously
   Step into the water, gauge the depth, take another step
3. Develop key competencies
   Currents are directed by gravity
4. Build dynamic alliances — intra-church, ecumenical, inter-religious and societal
   The streams together make the river swell
5. Anticipate and plan for greater scale
   Effective irrigation is planned and regular
6. Strive for synergies between service and advocacy roles
   The most convincing experts on waves constantly swim in the surf

1 Lederach, John Paul, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Peacebuilding*, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 127-28 and p. 182.
2 While important, the issue of sustainability or "constant capacity for adaptation," exceeds the scope of this preliminary round of case studies. Our humble point of departure involves looking at the initial "how" question regarding peacebuilding by the church. The issues of durability and constant adaptability are left for subsequent inquiry and reflection.

These are not necessary considerations in every context, they are not presented in any particular sequence and there is no intent to be formulaic. Episcopal conferences, other church organizations, other peacebuilders, partners and donors may find these gleanings useful in their discussions on program design and effectiveness in peacebuilding.

1. FOCUS ON THE LEADERSHIP THAT ANIMATES THE STRUCTURES

Find the current that moves the water

Exercising leadership

Structures are often ambivalent. They can be catalysts for change or heavy anchors for the status quo. Structures are created and animated by leadership but not necessarily by those in formal posts or top positions. The cases that were most effective focused on the leadership that animated the structures. While endorsement, permission and delegation are important in any hierarchy, these are trappings of office not necessarily the essence of leadership.

Leadership is a practice, a function and a process combining vision, direction and an inclination toward action. In both Rwanda and northeastern India the leadership needed to move peace initiatives forward involved dynamism, not exclusively seniority. Those most engaged were a chaplain and an archbishop who had only recently assumed his post when he began working on peace. While hierarchical endorsement or clearance may be necessary or helpful in many cases, the drive needed to make things happen has more to do with leadership than formal authority. In certain cases, such as Uganda and the Philippines, it was not just the authority of top church officials that accounted for their success, but also the kind of leadership they exercised.

The advantages of working within Catholic structures are not automatic. Assumed advantages typically include explicit or implicit support from hierarchical authority, extensive social outreach and scale and moral authority — the ability to speak from an ethical perspective rooted in faith. However, a lack of consensus within a bishops' conference can keep it from making a public pronouncement on matters of grave importance, and the power entrusted to the clergy can be wielded to impede or debilitate initiatives by lay leaders. Likewise, concerns about manipulation by others or undue partisanship can keep churches from potentially effective alliances with other civil society organizations. The case studies suggest that the potential advantages are better approached by donors and partners seeking to work with Catholic structures as variables, rather than givens. The cases offer two explanations for this and, no doubt, others exist too. First, church authorities may place internal institutional needs and realities ahead of justice and peacebuilding needs. Second, while structures may be similar from one country to another, there are idiosyncrasies unique to each reality and church conference.

The case studies reveal how structures are animated by leadership at various levels. A number of cases also highlight how complementary actions at different levels can be helpful. For example, the drive to work on gender-based violence, at least in the Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina case, did not originate with official leaders. The examples of leadership in the case studies were characterized by dynamism, knowledge, wisdom, integrity, camaraderie, proximity to constituents and respect for their dignity, and commitment.

Rapid and flexible response

The strengths of the institutional church and the breadth of its history and presence are characterized by steadfastness, deliberation and perseverance. The conservative nature of its structure has enabled the institutional church to endure but it can also mitigate against flexibility when working on and with social movements or pushing for structural change. This can present a challenge in peacebuilding scenarios requiring rapid and flexible interventions. In the cases where individual Catholic bishops or Episcopal conferences engaged directly in peacebuilding, this tension did not appear in the case studies. In Mindanao and northeastern India church leaders were able to act swiftly and showed considerable flexibility in working toward peace. Where changes were promoted from further down the hierarchy, as in the case of Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina, additional internal advocacy and maneuvering were needed. The latter initiatives opened space for pragmatic changes within the local church without tackling larger questions on how insti-

tutional change can occur within religious structures, including some of their theological underpinnings, to transform attitudes and practices unfavorable to the empowerment of women.

2. CONSIDER THE CONTEXT, CAREFULLY AND CONTINUOUSLY
Step into the water, gauge the depth, take another step

Conflict assessments are generally considered to be a standard or a best practice within the field of peacebuilding. In the Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina case, where advocacy was the primary *modus operandi*, the conflict analysis was a large part of the intervention. Analysis is intended to inform policy and intervention. This study also reveals the importance of linking national analysis to international assessments and campaigns both as a means of legitimizing local work on gender-based violence and for local initiatives to see how they compare to gender-based violence programming elsewhere. The multi-country natures of some issues, such as trafficking, require communicating and receiving information and analysis.

None of the other case studies highlights in-depth conflict analysis as a pre-requisite to initial engagement. In some of the early work by the JMPT there is little separation between assessment and action. More frequently we see examples in the case studies where activists conducted informal conflict analyses and assessments after they were already engaged. Both Colombia and Rwanda developed curricula and debate topics over time that were increasingly sophisticated in terms of the relevance to the conflict and the sensitivity of the issues. This suggests a periodic, if not continuous analysis of the context. The regular, larger meetings of the extended BUC seek to improve understanding of Islam and Christianity as well as the Mindanao conflict. In reality activists' need for information and understanding may drive the timing of conflict analysis as much as any sort of theoretical best practice.

The tendency to view religious conflict — and conflicts where religion is manipulated for political purposes — as identity conflicts may inhibit understanding about how change happens. The experiences of the BUC and the ARLPI offer important opportunities for learning about religion, conflict and peacebuilding and could yield more light on the matter.

3. DEVELOP KEY COMPETENCIES
Currents are directed by gravity

The case studies reinforce the recognition by CRS and Caritas Internationalis that religious leaders too need to develop their peacebuilding capacity,[3] and more specifically their competencies in peacebuilding processes. Competencies involve proficiency in drawing on relevant knowledge and applying appropriate skills. For example, competency in diplomacy may draw on communication and negotiation skills and knowledge of political science and diplomatic protocol. Another competency, more relevant to the issue, involves recognizing gaps in skills and knowledge, and bringing in or partnering with someone to fill those gaps. The case studies point to several fundamental competencies for peacebuilding practitioners, as well as critical mechanisms for forming such competencies, and the vocational inspiration for building peace that directs their flow.

Forging functional and strategic relationships

Guides on peacebuilding emphasize strategic relationships without considering the wide range of functional relationships needed to undertake peacebuilding activities. Forging a vast array of functional relationships is critical in almost any social change initiative. Functional relationships exist when one party or organization can access another for the purpose that organization is intended to serve. Being able to call on the police for protection is an example of a functional relationship rather than an alliance.

3 Many cases raised the issue of resources as a dimension of capacity, and all concluded that additional financial support was in order. These very real and legitimate concerns were omitted due to space restrictions.

Strategic relationships are those relationships needed to bring about the desired changes and usually involve key stakeholders or key "connectors." The distinction between functional and strategic is contextual. Mary Anderson stresses the importance of working with "key people"[4] while John Paul Lederach emphasizes the "strategic who." This tends to take for granted the wide range of functional relationships needed to operate in any given environment.

Frequently, a relationship, such as the citizen/police example above, is only or is principally functional for men. Creating access to functional relationships for women can involve substantial investment in cultural change initiatives and may represent pre-requisite peacebuilding efforts in their own right, as the Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina case shows.

The following table illustrates some of the functional relationships from across the case studies. The intent is not to offer a universal list of relationships, but rather offer a simple tool for considering the full spectrum of both the functional and the strategic relationships. In larger bodies, the entire entity may not need to be engaged.

Functional Relationships found in the Case Studies

	Internal	**External**
Horizontal	Other parishes Other dioceses Religious orders Other church structures, (e.g. peace & justice commissions) Other Episcopal conferences of Catholic bishops	Other Christian churches Other religions and faith traditions NGOs Other civil society groups Local authorities Private donors
Vertical	Regional Episcopal conferences Sant'Egidio	Governmental ministries Heads of state Governmental donors

Victims and perpetrators

Church actors need to be both internally nimble and externally connected. Effectiveness in peacebuilding depends in part on competency in forging horizontal and vertical functional relationships, both internally and externally. Here "vertical" does not imply line authority of one body over another body, but rather another sphere of operation. For example, Sant'Egidio is by no means in a vertical relationship to any other church entity, despite being based in Rome. However, it has successfully convened heads of state in numerous peacebuilding initiatives. Given its expertise and experience, Sant'Egidio may be a valuable resource for an Episcopal conference seeking help with track one, or "top of the pyramid," programming. Similarly regional Episcopal conferences may be able to access other regional structures, such as the African Union or ASEAN, that a single Episcopal conference cannot. In addition to being strategic, peacebuilding initiatives need functional relationships in order to realize activities, assure mobility and identify and access key people or "the strategic who."

Positive framing and reframing

Constructive or positive framing of issues is a time-tested means of keeping matters relevant to all stakeholders in conflict and opening space for new perceptions and behaviors. The importance and utility of reframing was reinforced by several cases. In the Colombia case, non-belligerents saw a role for themselves in working on peaceful coexistence that they did not see in resolving the war as such. In a similar vein the Rwanda project shifted the focus from the behavior of others to one's own behavior. In the Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina case, awareness-raising helped church activists to recognize the importance of working with prostitutes who had been trafficked and seeing them as victims of structural violence. Two studies

4 Anderson, Mary and Lara Olson, *Confronting War: Critical Lessons for Peacebuilders*, The Collaborative for Development Action Inc., Cambridge MA, 2003.

spoke to the importance of non-judgmental language in building rapport with dialogue participants. Positive framing and reframing are as important in facilitating dialogue as they are in the issuance of pastoral letters and the formulation of public prayer.

Inspiring and motivating constituents

The Mindanao and Uganda case studies worked with a modeling theory of change that holds that inter-religious collaboration among top religious leaders inspires collaboration between their faith communities. Peacebuilding messages were incorporated into traditional communications tools such as pastoral letters in Togo; and public prayer in Togo, Uganda and Mindanao. The case studies suggest that the empathy, integrity and commitment exhibited by those modeling collaboration may influence the effect of such modeling. At least one of the case studies also mentioned the importance of maintaining hope.

Accompanying

Accompaniment was a key element in all three ecumenical and inter-religious efforts. The actual process ranged from symbolic solidarity as in the case of child commuters in Uganda to clandestine meetings with armed groups in northeast India in order to lay the groundwork for dialogue. Proximity to the displaced residing in camps was important in both northeast India and Uganda. In some cases accompaniment represented a degree of personal risk — itself not so much a competency as another dimension of leadership. As Lederach addresses it, this is a matter of responding to the mystery of vocation and being willing to step vulnerably into the unknown.

Working with others of different persuasions

Both ecumenical and inter-religious collaboration require religious leaders to directly engage with people of different beliefs. Peace has been shown to be an effective common denominator, a basis for solidarity and a shared vocation. Although this receives little attention in the case studies, agreeing to collaborate requires ways of talking about faith that unite people across their differences. And faith-based peacebuilders are often called to work as well with committed people who have no religious beliefs.

Engaging in formation

In the sites covered by these case studies the traditional formation of the Catholic clergy had not included training in peacebuilding, the gamut of skills and the key competencies needed to lead or facilitate peacebuilding interventions. The EPC program in Colombia seeks to directly address this gap, at least for some members of the clergy. The case studies reveal a variety of means to enhance skills and knowledge:

- Training (Colombia in particular)
- Service within a team, an ecumenical body, an inter-religious council or a governance initiative (i.e., curriculum development or elections monitoring) (Uganda, Mindanao, North East India, Togo)
- Learning by doing (North East India)
- Visits/exchanges with other practitioners (Uganda, Mindanao)
- Engaging in international campaigns (Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina)

Responding to vocation

The vocational component, part of what Lederach refers to above as the vision, direction and purpose, is less clearly addressed in the case studies; but for religious constituencies, the language of faith can be more convincing than the language of rights espoused by many secular NGOs. The Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina case suggests that motivation may often be quite individual. "Motivation and interest, persistence and advocacy by determined individuals within the church and Caritas structure" were key contributors to success.

Catholic social teachings and Catholic social action provide a rich tradition of work on issues of peace and justice, as noted in David Steele's essay *An Introductory Overview of Faith-Based Peacebuilding.* This is particularly true since the time of the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s and the encyclicals of popes John XXIII and Paul VI. However, peacebuilding is not currently perceived as a universal mandate of the Catholic Church. There is not yet a "peace theology" as clear and as widely recognized and practiced as, for example, liberation theology. To help address this void the Catholic Peacebuilding Network is preparing a volume on the theology, ethics and practice of peace. While the work will help raise awareness among local Catholic Church leaders, challenges remain. Without full support of the

institutional Church for peacebuilding initiatives, many Catholic leaders are reluctant to take on the risks that peacebuilding can represent.

Donors and implementing partners cannot assume that Catholic clergy come out of the seminary prepared to engage in effective peacebuilding. The contrary tends to be true. The commitment of the institutional church to peacebuilding is uneven. The capacity and will of Catholic leaders at all levels will undoubtedly need to be addressed in almost every peacebuilding program. This raises certain questions.

Would mandating and mainstreaming peace education as a core component of all Catholic clerical formation endeavors be more effective than efforts like those of the EPC which can sometimes lack local support? If so, how might this be done?

What needs to happen for peacebuilding to assume a more prominent position within Catholic social teaching? And for Catholic social teaching to be more widely known and understood by Catholic leaders at all levels?

4. Build Dynamic Alliances — Intra-Church, Ecumenical, Inter-Religious and Societal

The streams together make the river swell[5]

The case studies clearly illustrate the importance of building strategic alliances: intra-church, ecumenical, inter-religious and societal. Alliance building invariably involves working in-house at some point. The Togo case illustrated the importance of such "single identity" work, or more precisely intra-conference work. The fact that the Togolese bishops spoke with one voice distinguished them from some of their neighboring Episcopal conferences of Catholic bishops.

Where religion is involved in a conflict, or implicated through manipulation, ecumenical and inter-religious collaboration are automatically strategic. The same may be true when a vast majority of the population is deeply religious. Ecumenical and inter-religious collaboration can contribute to de-escalation and non-violent problem solving, as was the case in northeast India, Uganda and Mindanao.

The Acholi Religious Leaders' Peace Initiative suggests that people of given faith traditions do not need to be protagonists in a conflict for collaborative inter-religious peacebuilding initiatives to be strategic. Taken alone, Catholic structures, or those of any single church, are insufficient to affect the structural changes needed in most peacebuilding initiatives, as in northeast India.

From outside, the JMPT probably appeared as a static organization — a constant. Yet the case study revealed its many incarnations and different configurations as it adapted to the needs on the ground and its own resources. How much its own fluid, unstructured management contributed to its adaptability remains unknown.

In addition to their shared commitment to a common purpose there appear to be at least two practices, below, that contributed to the effectiveness of the alliances and process-structures described in the case studies.

Lean and expansive

In all three of the inter-religious or ecumenical cases the alliances had small teams that were able to intervene in a timely way and larger memberships to exert influence. The JPMT missions, the ARLPI and the BUC executive corps were relatively lean when intervening in conflict and more expansive when engaging in dialogue and advocacy. Larger forums and groupings came together under the wide umbrella of the JPMT and BUC to influence public opinion. In the case of the BUC, related annual forums served as a means of engaging large numbers of key people in dialogue and discussion.

Accepting of asymmetry

The case study on the BUC recognizes different internal capacities between faith traditions in terms of communications, constituent mobilization and reporting as well as the authority to represent others. For

5 Anonymous

example, the participating *ulama* did not speak for all the *ulama* of Mindanao. In northeast India, asymmetry was used to strategic advantage. The relatively small presence of Catholics in certain areas seems to have contributed to the acceptance of Catholic priests as facilitators.

The case studies also reveal that collaborative relations among religious leaders alone are usually insufficient to leverage changes at the structural and cultural levels. The results sought in Togo and Colombia, two programs that invest heavily in building church capacity, were largely limited to the personal and relational levels. Even programs that seek large scale peace, such as that in Mindanao, or cultural change, are unlikely to produce these types of changes unilaterally or in isolation.

5. Anticipate and Plan for Greater Scale

Effective Irrigation Is Planned And Regular

While farmers may strive to plant larger amounts of land and wider ranges of crops through irrigation, peacebuilding programs frequently seek to reach increasingly greater numbers of people. This is particularly important where structural and/or cultural changes are sought. The projects in the case studies demonstrated two different means of achieving greater scale: hierarchical extension and programmatic replication. Hierarchical extension refers to constituent mobilization, as in the case of northeast India, and message dissemination through the church channels and structures as illustrated in the Togo and the Colombia cases.

Program replication was evident in numerous examples of planned multiplication and unplanned spin-offs reproducing or building on the successes of other inter-religious and ecumenical initiatives. They included unity clubs in Rwanda, Women's Forums in Mindanao, local ecumenical councils in northeast India, new EPC schools in Colombia, and inter-religious groups in Uganda. These are important mechanisms for programs to extend their coverage or reach. Forming one's own organization can be very empowering.

Unfortunately, too many programs can ignore women until they begin looking at how to achieve greater scale. By the same token scaling up can represent opportunities for women to influence peacebuilding programs that may have ignored them previously. Networks such as those described in the Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina case can help lower-level leadership get important issues on the agenda of national leaders by providing paradigms, comparisons and stories of others' experiences and successes.

Replication is often considered an indicator of reach or scale rather than one of programmatic success, as proposed by two case studies. It is worth noting that there are many projects that fail, even though they achieved significant scale before their failure was fully understood.

Replication presents additional challenges in program design and management. The case studies revealed issues of quality control, support and technical assistance, resourcing, linkages to the parent initiative, and demands on key people serving at multiple levels. Replication also offers opportunities for empowerment, innovation and learning. In the Rwanda case at one site the students themselves decided how scholarships would be awarded and to whom; and at another site the young people, in consultations with their communities, decided who could attend the solidarity camps.

6. Strive for Synergies Between Service and Advocacy Roles

The most convincing experts on waves constantly swim in the surf

Steele identifies four specific social roles for actors engaged in faith-based peacebuilding: observation/witness, education and formation, advocacy, and conciliation/mediation. Taxonomies such as this, while quite useful, can also blind a reader to the synergies and interaction between different roles. The case studies illustrate the interaction between different roles, particularly between advocacy on issues or processes relating to public policy and governance and the other three, which are more typically thought of as conflict transformation interventions or more broadly as services and interventions. Lederach highlights similar

connections between these roles when identifying their corresponding levels of change.[6] Whereas some of the roles specified by Steele may most likely result in personal or relational change, other roles such as advocacy can result in structural change. For issues such as gender-based violence which require changes at the individual, relational, structural and cultural levels, advocacy may be a strategic starting point, but alone will probably not leverage all the changes needed.

The programs in Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina fall into what has been called the institutional development theory of change which maintains that "peace is ensured through stable and reliable social institutions that guarantee democracy and human rights."[7] These types of programs draw on advocacy theories of change, or in Steele's schema, an advocacy role in society. Consider the theories of change for the Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina case.

- Increased awareness leads to improved enforcement and the reduction in trafficking of persons
- Information influences the formalization of standards and commitments
- State instruments and policy facilitate civil society and church involvement in counter-trafficking

Here we see the opportunity for synergy between intervention and advocacy, where the need for intervention/service reflects a failing policy or a need for policy reform. Improved policy reduces the need for intervention and/or legitimizes intervention/service. Put another way, experience makes the advocate credible and advocacy makes the service provider more effective. Only in providing social services to women who had been trafficked, did religious orders come to comprehend structural violence and become credible spokespeople for church action on trafficking.

In their recent book *Forces for Good*, Leslie R. Crutchfield and Heather McLeod Grant identify six practices of high-impact nonprofits. At the top of the list is "serve and advocate." Each of the organizations they studied had developed the capacity to directly engage in their field of endeavor and advocate for policy change. "The more they advocate and serve, the greater the levels of impact they achieve."[8]

There are several examples of "serve and advocate" in the case studies. The North East India study referred to a role for JMPT in cease-fire monitoring. The Togo case referred to the local church's involvement in the oversight of governance processes, such as elections. The JMPT was deliberating taking on the issue of corruption.

Effective process structures need to include strategic advocacy in their portfolios along with another service or services (roles). This is not to say that process-structures need to do everything for everybody; they need to remain strategic. The outcomes sought through advocacy need not always be policy-related. The case studies on Colombia, North East India and Mindanao each raised some reluctance of local religious actors to address political conflict directly, though the rationales behind the choices to avoid such conflicts were not analyzed or explained.

CONCLUSIONS

The case studies illustrate that although faith traditions may be better prepared for certain peacebuilding roles, peacebuilding by definition requires an integral approach. This represents an enormous challenge. In these studies effectiveness involved bringing different constituencies and different dynamics together: multiple spiritual and secular perspectives, civil society and governmental bodies, leaders and leadership, peacebuilding competency and strategy, and services/interventions and advocacy.

Ecumenical and inter-religious collaboration offer valuable insights into the workings of process-structures, which are key to sustained peacebuilding. They illustrate a flexibility and fluidity uncommon in formal

6 See among other sources chapter five in *Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning, Monitoring and Learning Toolkit* written by John Paul Lederach, Reina Neufeldt and Hal Cuthbertson, CRS and the Kroc Institute, 2007.

7 Developed by Peter Woodrow. Source: *The Evaluation of Conflict Resolution Interventions, Part II Emerging Practice and Theory,* Church and Shouldice, INCORE, 2003.

8 Crutchfield, Leslie R. and Heather McLeod Grant, *Forces for Good, the six practices of high-impact nonprofits*. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 2008.

institutions, including the institutional church, or narrowly conceived ministries for peace and reconciliation or social justice. The BUC makes an impressive case for the long-term engagement that is so absent in short-term NGO projects and donor assistance.

Certainly there is more to creating effective process-structures for peace than can be found in these few case studies. The cases highlight some of the challenges facing the Catholic Church, particularly at the diocesan and Episcopal conference levels. A task for CRS is to contribute to building consensus among partners around more profound research or learning; and then facilitating further experience, documentation, inquiry and reflection. With more rigorous methods and more clearly defined learning questions, ongoing efforts such as these case studies will contribute over time to enhanced learning and improved performance in the pursuit of just peace.

Contributors

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List of Abbreviations

ACEID	Archdiocesan Center for Ecumenical and Interreligious Dialogue
APG	Global Political Agreement
ARLPI	Acholi Religious Leaders' Peace Initiative
ASDC	Autonomous State Demand Committee
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BELC	Bodo Evangelical Lutheran Church
BiH	Bosnia-Herzegovina
BUC	Bishops-Ulama Conference
CAR	Committee of Action for Renewal
CASA	Church Auxiliary for Social Action
CBCNEI	Council of Baptist Church of North East India
CDPA	Democratic Convention of the African People
CE	Caritas Europa
CI	Caritas Internationalis
CINEP	Center for Research and Popular Education
CLNEI	Church Leaders of North East India
COATNET	Network of Christian Organizations Against Trafficking in Women
CODHES	Consultancy on Human Rights and Displacement
CRCAT (I & II)	Catholic Religious Congregations Against Trafficking
CRD	Community Resilience and Dialogue Program
CTM	Counter-Trafficking Module
CUT	Committee of Togolese Unity
DRLPT	District Religious Leaders Peace Team
ECCI	Evangelical Churches Council of India
EFICOR	Evangelical Fellowship of India Commission on Relief
EPC	School for Peace and Coexistence
FDC	Forum for Democratic Change
GF2D	Women's Group for Development and Democracy
GoU	Government of Uganda
GPT	Guwahati Peace Team
GRP	Government of the Republic of the Philippines
ICPC	Inter-Church Peace Committee
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IOM	International Organization on Migration
IP	Indigenous People(s)
IRCU	Inter-Religious Council of Uganda
IRD	Inter-Religious Dialogue
JPIC	Joint Commission on Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation
JPMT	Joint Peace Mission Team
KLNLF	Karbi Longri National Liberation Front
KNV	Karbi National Volunteers
KPF	Karbi People's Front
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MIR	International Movement for Reconciliation
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
NCCP	National Council of Churches of the Philippines
NEDSF	North East Diocesan Social Forum
NEICC	North Eastern India Council of Churches
NEICORD	North East India Committee for Relief and Development
NEPT	North Eastern Peace Team
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization

NRM	National Resistance Movement
PACEM	Program to Assist Christians in Education about Muslims
PCI	Presbyterian Church of India
PDRCIU	Umutara Community Resource and Infrastructure Development Project
SCCs	Small Christian Communities
PTP	Togolese Progress Party
RIM	Inter-Diocese Microfinance Network
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RPT	Rally of the Togolese People
RSS	Rastriya Swayam Sevak
SCRLPC	Sub-County Religious Leaders Peace Committees
SEPAS	Social Ministry Secretariat
SPCPD	Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
UCF	United Christian Forum
UFC	Union of Forces of Change
UJCC	Uganda Joint Christian Council
ULP	Ulama League of the Philippines
UPDF	Uganda People's Defense Force
UPDS	United Peoples Democratic Solidarity
UPPIF	Ustadz-Imams-Priests-Pastors-Forum
USG/UISG	Commission of the Unions of Superiors General
USMI	Italian Union of Major Superiors
VAW	Elimination of Violence Against Women
WANEP	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding



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