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# **CONFLICT AND PEACE** an introduction

#### About this Book

This book is a short introduction to peace education. It is based on Mote Oo's *Peace* course. The full book will be ready at the end of 2016 but until then, we have prepared this short course for people who would like to study this subject.

In this book you will find some of the main ideas in peace education, split into two chapters. *Chapter One, Understanding Conflict,* looks at different kinds of conflict, the actors in conflicts and the main sources of conflicts. *Chapter 2, Understanding Peace* focuses on the idea of "peace", peacemaking and transitional justice.

#### How to use this book

This course has several different types of task, to help you in your learning. They are:

- Exercises: which mostly focus on checking understanding of the main ideas.
- Activities: which help you practice new and existing skills.
- Reflections: which encourage you to think about your own values.
- Discussions: which encourage the group or class to share their own thoughts about the topics.

#### Additional Information

- There are also additional "Focus on Myanmar" sections, which links ideas from the course to events in Myanmar.
- Key learning goals for the two chapters are on the opposite page, and all answers are in an accompanying teacher's book.
- If you enjoy using this book, please let us know, please visit our website for other, similar books, and please Like our Facebook page.
- Because this is a draft, there may be mistakes.
   We aplogise for this, and aim to correct all mistakes for the final version.
- The final version will be available in two volumes, in English and Myanmar languages between October 2016 and March 2017.

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Draft

Chapter 1				
Knowledge	Skills	Values		
In this chapter, you will increase your knowledge of:	In this chapter, you will develop your ability to:	In this chapter, you will reflect on:		
<ul> <li>levels of conflict;</li> <li>actors in a conflict;</li> <li>goals in a conflict;</li> <li>how relationships affect conflict;</li> <li>the advantages and disadvantages of conflict;</li> <li>needs as a source of conflict;</li> <li>individual and collective identity as a source of conflict;</li> <li>values as a source of conflict.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>distinguish between different levels of conflict;</li> <li>identify main and supporting actors;</li> <li>contrast compatible and incompatible goals;</li> <li>assess how needs are met in communities;</li> <li>identify key factors in individual and collective identities;</li> <li>explore values and where they come from.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>how different levels of conflict can affect you;</li> <li>the benefits of conflict;</li> <li>how well your needs are met;</li> <li>your identity;</li> <li>your values.</li> </ul>		

## Learning Goals for This Course

	Chapter 2				
Knowledge	Skills	Values			
<ul> <li>Knowledge</li> <li>In this chapter, you will increase your knowledge of:</li> <li>levels of peace in a society;</li> <li>the difference between incomplete and complete peace;</li> <li>the notion of structural violence;</li> <li>the relationship between peace and social justice;</li> <li>gendered violence and its impacts on society;</li> </ul>	Skills In this chapter, you will develop your ability to: • identify the features of complete and incomplete peace; • differentiate between types of violence in a variety of situations; • analyse societies for direct and structural violence that is gendered; • identify needs in post- conflict communities;	Values In this chapter, you will reflect on: • how different levels of conflict can affect you; • the benefits of conflict; • how well your needs are met; • your identity; • your values.			
<ul> <li>types of peacebuilding in a post-conflict community;</li> <li>transitional justice;</li> <li>the concept of reconciliation;</li> <li>the features and stages of reconciliation;</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>select appropriate forms of transitional justice in post-conflict situations;</li> <li>identify fundamental actions for reconciliation to be successful;</li> <li>differentiate between stages of reconciliation;</li> </ul>				



# Chapter 1: UNDERSTANDING CONFLICT

#### PREVIEW

- 1. List ten conflicts.
- 2. Classify the conflicts into conflicts between individuals, groups of people, or nations.

# **1.1 – LEVELS OF CONFLICT**

Conflict happens everywhere and at every level of society. We classify conflicts by the number of people involved or affected. Conflicts can occur between:

- a. individuals (interpersonal);
- b. groups of people (intergroup);
- c. nations (international or interstate),

#### A. Interpersonal Conflicts

Interpersonal conflicts happen in all of our relationships: with our classmates, friends, parents, siblings, partners, children, teachers, colleagues and neighbours.

The difference between interpersonal conflicts and other conflicts in society is that interpersonal conflicts affect only a small number of people – they do not affect a whole town, city or country.

#### B. Intergroup Conflicts

Intergroup conflicts take place between groups of people. Those groups can be small or large. In a small group, the members know each other personally, For example, families, youth gangs or organizations. Conflicts between small groups are similar to interpersonal conflicts.

Large groups have a lot of members. One member cannot know all the others personally. When we describe large conflicts in this category we do not focus on individual people, but whole groups. This can include:

- ethnic groups
- social classes
- religious groups
- military

- police unions

political parties companies

Conflicts between large groups can affect the whole population of a country. There are two types of large intergroup conflicts:

A COMMUNAL CONFLICT is a conflict in which a group defines itself in contrast to another group. For example, the dividing line might be between "original" inhabitants of an area and more recent "newcomers'. Most often, it is between people of different religions, ethnicities or nationalities.

An INTRASTATE CONFLICT is a conflict between a government group and a non-government group within a country, for example. the "People Power" movement in the Philippines. In 1986, people used nonviolent civil action to overthrow the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos. Another example is the ethnic armed group "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam", who fought against the government of Sri Lanka between 1983 and 2009.

## C. International or Interstate Conflict

International conflicts are conflicts between two or more nations or states.

Just like other conflicts, conflicts between nations are carried out either with or without violence. A violent conflict between two states is a *war*. The largest international conflict so far was the Second World War (1939–1945). It was fought by approximately 70 nations and killed about 64 million people.

Identify the level of conflict for each situation: interpersonal, intergroup or interstate.

- 1. Two children fight for a toy.
- 2. Fighting in the First World War (1914–1918).
- 3. Religious leaders protest to demand democracy in their country.
- 4. The President of Myanmar has an argument with his wife about whether or not their children will travel with them on an upcoming trip to China.
- 5. The President of Myanmar has an argument with the President of China about the sale of natural resources.
- 6. An ethnic group forms an army and fights the national military.
- 7. On the street, a Burman man calls a Rakhine man rude names, referring to his ethnicity.
- 8. On the street, a Kachin man calls another Kachin man a rude name because of his bad driving skills.
- 9. Football fans from two different teams attack each other.

Which conflicts are most important to your life: interpersonal, intergroup or international conflicts?

EXERCISE

REFLECTION

#### PREVIEW

Are all people who are involved in a conflict equally important?

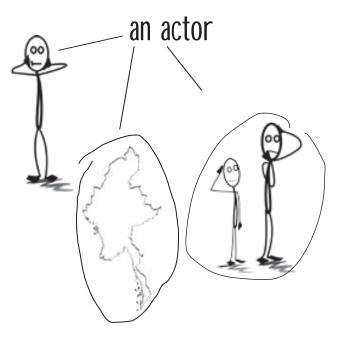
# **1.2 – ACTORS IN CONFLICT**

## MAIN ACTORS AND SUPPORTING ACTORS

Actors are the people involved in a conflict. Just like in movies, there are main actors and supporting actors. The main actors are the people who have the main role in the conflict. Actors are also called the *opponents* or the *different sides*. Supporting actors are involved in the conflict, but they do not have the main role.

An actor does not need to be just one person — the actor represents one side in a conflict. The actor in a conflict can be an individual, a group of people or an entire nation. Actors in interpersonal and intergroup conflicts are individuals (or groups of individuals) who have the same goal.

In interstate or intergroup conflicts, nations, parties or religious groups can be single actors. They are united by one goal and want the same thing to happen.



## **EXERCISE**

Identify the main and supporting actors in the examples of interpersonal conflict.

Conflict	Main Actors	Supporting Actors
Example A	Sai Kyaw Win, Nang Hseng Lern	Their children
Example B		
Example C		
Example D		
Example E		
Example F		

In a family, there is a disagreement about where to spend an important festival. Nang Hseng Lern would like the family to visit relatives. Sai Kyaw Win would like the family to travel to an important temple. Both places are very far apart. Their two young children are not involved in the disagreement. As the festival gets closer, the argument becomes more emotional. Both feel that their idea is best for the family. In a family there is a disagreement about high school. Saw Aung Myo wants to attend high school, but his mother and father want him to work to support the family. Saw Aung Myo's grandfather understands both points of view and wants to keep the peace in the household. The other family members are not involved in the conflict.

Sang Pi wants to marry Thuzar, who is from another ethnic group. His parents are against this and want Sang Pi to marry someone from his own culture. Sang Pi thinks it's most important that he marries the woman he loves, His parents believe that it is more important for the family to follow tradition.

Ko Shwe Ya and Ko Phyo Maung are living together in a boarding house. Ko Shwe Ya is studying for a maths test, and he likes to study in silence. Ko Phyo Maung is practising his guitar because he is performing the next evening in town. Ko Shwe Ya wants Ko Phyo Maung to stop practising, because he can't concentrate. Ko Phyo Maung wants to practise so that he is ready for the big event.

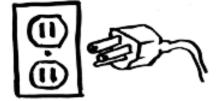
Tsawm San and Seng Zi are sisters. They both want to play with a doll, but there is only one doll. They start to fight for that doll. Seng Zi pulls Tsawm San's hair. Tsawm San kicks Seng Zi. They begin screaming and hitting each other for control of the doll. A teacher allows her class to choose their next project. Aung Aung wants everyone to make a PowerPoint presentation. Nandar would like groups to act out roleplays. Noon Harn does not want to do a project, but to have a test instead. They debate which idea is best. Different students support different ideas.

- 1. Choose one example and think of some other possible supporting actors that are not included in the text.
- 2. What kind of actions do you think the supporting actors might do?

For example, in Example A, some other possible supporting actors could be:

- Nang Hseng Lern's parents. They might ask their daughter to visit them during the festival.
- Sai Kyaw Win's spiritual teacher, who might tell him to make merit.
- Sai Kyaw Win's friends, who might tell him a husband should make decisions for the family.

# **ACTIVITY** Supporting Roles



## **INCOMPATIBILITY OF ACTORS' GOALS**

A *goal* (objective, aim) is what an actor wants in a conflict. Conflict happens when one actor wants one thing and another actor wants another thing. It also happens when two or more actors want the same thing and there is only one of those things available. This incompatibility between the actors' goals is the basis of conflict.

In the six examples on page 7, it is not possible for both of the actors' goals to be achieved. In Example A, either the family spends the festival at the temple or in the home village. They cannot do both at the same time. In Example C, Sang Pi will either marry Thuzar or he won't marry her. What he wants and what his parents want are incompatible.

## **RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ACTORS**

The relationship between actors has a big impact on a conflict. In a good relationship, incompatible goals do not have to lead to a confrontation or a fight. The actors trust each other and think about each other's needs. Instead of seeing the situation as a conflict, they might see it as a problem; a situation or question to solve together.

If the relationship between the actors is already tense or difficult, conflicts occur more easily. They can occur over small differences, or even when there are no differences at all. In this case, the incompatibility between goals is not the cause of the conflict. It is the opposite: people are looking for an incompatibility to start a conflict.

To better understand conflicts, we have to look at two things: the incompatibility of goals and the relationship between the actors.

## **EXERCISE**

- 1. Think of three people you have a good relationship with. Think of three people you have a bad relationship with.
- 2. What actions would harm the positive relationships? What actions would improve these negative relationships?

# Focus on Myanmar: Heritage Group Opposes Footbridge in Yangon Downtown

The Yangon Heritage Trust (YHT) is opposing a plan to build a footbridge in downtown Yangon. They argue that the bridge will stop people from seeing the old buildings in the area and make the area very ugly.

YHT officer Shwe Yinn Mar Oo, said that the footbridge will ruin views of some of Yangon's oldest and most beautiful buildings.

"We discussed with international experts about the footbridge. They said it will not make it safer for people and will not help traffic problems."



She said that traffic lights should be set up, and road rules should be enforced instead.

A representative from the Yangon City Development Committee (YCDC) said that "It should be built because over 150,000 people come every day from Dala, across Yangon River. These people must cross the road next to the ferry port where the footbridge is being built," he said.

A manager from the company building the bridge said "It will not block or ruin the heritage buildings. I think it will add to the beauty of them."

Ma Thandar, a mother of two who lives in Dala Township, said that she supports the footbridge. "I always take my children to school in the downtown. It is busy with trucks, cars, trishaws and hawkers, and many accidents happen," she said. "If there is a footbridge, we can cross the road safely and traffic problems will be solved."

Source: http://www.irrawaddy.org/burma/heritage-group-opposes-footbridge-rangoons-historic-downtown.html

- 1. Who are the main actors in this conflict?
- 2. What are their goals? Are their goals incompatible?
- 3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each solution? Which is the best solution?
- 1. Are you more often a main actor or a supporting actor to conflicts?



- 2. What are some of your goal as a main actor?
- 3. What are some of your goals as a supporting actor?

#### PREVIEW

- 1. Make a list of positive things that come from a conflict.
- 2. Can conflict be a good thing?

## ACTIVITY

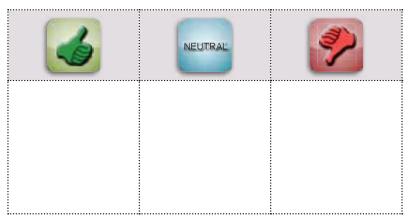
Conflict – Good or Bad?



# 1.3 – ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF CONFLICT

Our beliefs about conflict are important. Do we believe in a world without conflict? Or do we believe that conflict is a part of our lives? If we want a relationship with no conflict, then we will see conflict as a failure of the relationship. If we accept that our relationships will have conflict, then we will look for ways to deal with the conflicts.

- 1. List the words that you think of when you hear "conflict". Write as many as you can.
- 2. Show your list to a partner. Do you have any of the same words?
- 3. In pairs, classify the words on your lists into three categories positive, neutral and negative. Write them in the table.



4. Which type of words are most common? Why do you think this is?

Most people do not like conflict because conflict causes pain to their lives. But conflict has benefits. Conflict happens for a reason. It shows us problems in our relationships, our groups or our society. It encourages us to deal with those problems. It is an opportunity to improve a situation. Whether we make use of this opportunity depends on the way we deal with it. Conflict is neither good nor bad. What *is* good or bad is how we deal with conflict.

# Focus on Myanmar: Resolving conflicts through training

In a rural township, many of the local people were very angry because they did not get jobs at new factories there. They heard rumours that the local government made deals with the factory owners and gave all the jobs to people from other areas. This made them angry. They did not feel confident to speak about their problems to the local government.

A local NGO knew about this problem and organised trainings in villages around their state. They found a gap in understanding between high-level political



leaders and local communities. Local people were often very angry about things that were just rumours, and local politicians often didn't know the problems of the people.

In one training, villagers requested to meet parliament members, and the organization made plans to bring the two groups together in a training.

Parliament members joined a training with local villages. At first some of the local people were afraid to speak to higher-level political leaders. When they found the parliament members were interested to learn from them, the local people began to speak about their problems.

In the end, parliament members found out about local needs and local villagers learned about higherlevel political processes and provided input. This led to more opportunities for training and jobs in the township and a better relationship between local politicians and the people.

Source: Unpublished report

- 1. What were the benefits of this conflict for the parliament members?
- 2. What were the benefits for the local villagers?
- 1. Has conflict ever benefitted you? How?

REFLECTION

2. When have you seen people deal with conflict in a positive way? What did they do?

#### PREVIEW

- Why does conflict happen? Write a list of reasons.
- 2. When you see conflict in your community, what is usually causing the conflict?

Access to clean water will probably be a major source of conflict in the future, as the world's population increases.

# **1.4 – SOURCES OF CONFLICT: NEEDS**

All human beings need certain things to survive. Food, water, and shelter are basic human needs for survival. However people need more than that to succeed and to live a full life. Security, love, participation in community and relaxation are also considered basic human needs. There are two important ideas we must first understand about human needs: first, they are the same for all human beings everywhere. Second, they do not change over time.



There are many different kinds of needs. Here are some examples:

- 1. **SUBSISTENCE:** the need for enough food, water, and shelter. This also includes the need for good physical and mental health.
- 2. **SECURITY:** the need for supportive social groups, physical safety, laws and the protection of rights.
- 3. **AFFECTION:** the need to give and receive love, respect, and acceptance from family, friends, and community members.
- 4.**A**WARENESS: the need for educational opportunities to develop critical thinking abilities. This also includes the need to explore ideas and thoughts, and to communicate about them.
- 5. **PARTICIPATION:** the need to be included in the rights, responsibilities, and decision making of family, communities, groups, and political associations.
- 6.**LEISURE:** the need for time and opportunity to relax, find peace of mind, and have fun.
- 7.**EXPRESSION:** the need to create and invent items, art, and ideas; and show creativity, talent, and personal skills.
- 8. **IDENTITY:** the need to have a sense of belonging and inclusion in a group and the opportunity to be a part of that group openly.
- 9. **AUTONOMY:** the need to act with freedom of choice, to have equal rights and opportunities, to disobey and disagree.

EXERCISE Look at the pictures below. For each picture, choose one of the nine needs that is being filled. **SUBSISTENCE EXPRESSION AWARENESS** 1 4 7 **SECURITY** PARTICIPATION **IDENTITY** 8 2 5 **AFFECTION** 3 **LEISURE** 9 **AUTONOMY** 6 &yrd&ytz aqGaEGyG C B F Ε







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# ACTIVITY

Survey of Human Needs

- 1. Do the human needs community survey. Answer each question with a number, and record your score in the chart.
- 2. Do the survey with nine people from outside your class. Record their responses in the table.
- 3. Average the scores.
- 4. Analyse the results and answer the questions on the opposite page

>		HUMAN NEE	DS	<u>COM</u>	MUN	IITY	SURVEY	
				<u>Scor</u>	ing:			
		1 = always 2 = very frequently		freque rarely	ntly		5 = very rarely 5 = never	
1	I have enough	food and clean wate	er to d	lrink.				
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
2.	I feel physical	ly and mentally safe.						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
	I feel cared fo citizen of my	r and accepted by my country.	/ frien	ıds, far	nily, a	nd coi	mmunity and I feel	accepted as a
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
		to educational mater ions without fear.	ials su	uch as	books	, teacl	hers and the intern	et; I can discuss
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
		in the process of cho s that I think are imp			nunity	leade	rs. I can join organ	izations and
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
6.	I have enough	n time and space to d	o acti	vities t	hat m	ake m	e feel relaxed and	happy.
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
7	I have chance	s to use my skills and	talen	ts.				
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
		ed to a group of peor y connection to that ۽						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
		ne opportunities to n e choices, even if my						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	

HUMAN NEEDS COMMUNITY SURVEY RESULTS											
	Respondents										
Need	You	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Average
1. Subsistence							2				
2. Security											
3. Affection											
4. Awareness											
5. Participation											
6. Leisure											
7. Expression											
8. Identity											
9. Autonomy											

- A score of 1 means that someone is always having their needs met; this is the best score. In which categories of needs are the people in your community getting a score less than 3?
- A score of 6 means that someone is never having their needs met; this is the worst score. In which categories of needs are the people in your community getting a score of 4 or more?
- a. What is the overall trend in your community? Are most people's needs being met or not?
- b. Think of the conflicts in your community. Could any of these conflicts be related to members of the community not having the needs from Question 2 met?
- c. How do your scores compare with the scores of others? Are they similar, or are some of the scores different? Describe some of the similarities and differences.
- d. When you have had conflicts with other people in the past, have any of the conflicts been caused by one of your needs not being met? Is that need met today, according to the survey?
- 5. Explain your results. Choose one:
  - Discuss your results with a group.
  - Write a report about your results.
  - Present your results to the class.

# Focus on Myanmar: Conflicts caused by dam projects

Salween Watch is a Karen organization. It monitors development on the Salween River. On Monday, it said that the recent fighting between the Democratic Karen Benevolent Army (DKBA) and the government were linked to a planned hydropower dam on the Salween River.

The DKBA and government troops reportedly fired at each other on Friday and Saturday. More than 200 villagers in a nearby village fled to Thailand. The Thai military later pushed the villagers back into Myanmar.

Paul Sein Twa is a spokesperson for Salween Watch. He said "the Myanmar Army needs to



push the DKBA out of the area to start building the dam. We understand that the dam project is behind the fighting."

Companies in Thailand need the cheap electric from the dam. It will produce up to 1,300 megawatts of electricity. Much of the electricity will go to Thailand. The Thai and Burmese governments have been trying to build the dam since 2006. But construction has not yet begun because of opposition from Karen armed groups such as the DKBA. Opponents of the dam say the project will lead to human rights abuses and damage to the environment.

The Hat Gyi Dam is one of five hydropower projects planned on the Salween River. The river passes through conflict areas in Karen, Karenni and Shan states.

Electric power is an important issue in Myanmar. The economies of Southeast Asian countries and China are growing, and their populations need more power. Using the Salween for hydropower is as an important part of Myanmar's national energy strategy. However, many people are angry about plans to export much of the electricity to China and Thailand, leaving Myanmar with environmental and social damage.

Many local communities oppose dam projects on the Salween are. The communities are dependent on fishing as a source of food and income. They are worried about the effects of big dams on their livelihoods.

The increasing conflict is not only a problem in Myanmar. "As conflicts have broken out, refugees have fled across the border. I even worry that the conflict will affect the current peace process" Paul Sein Twa said.

Source: http://www.irrawaddy.org/feature/knowledge-vacuum-and-conflict-plague-salween-river.html http://www.irrawaddy.org/burma/controversial-hat-gyi-dam-blamed-karen-conflict.html

- 1. Who are the main actors in this conflict? Who are the supporting actors?
- 2. What are the needs of the local communities and what are the needs of Myanmar and the ethnic armies?
- 3. Why is it better to talk about needs, instead of resources, when talking about this conflict?

1. Have you ever had an experience where one of your needs was not being met? Which need was it and what were the feelings that you had at this time?

## DISCUSSION

- 2. Think of an example where another person's need was not met because you met your own need.
- 3. In this example, was there a way to meet your need differently?
- 4. Are all human needs equally important? Why or why not?



PREVIEW

What is *identity*?

# **1.5 – SOURCES OF CONFLICT: IDENTITY**

Identity gives us a way of understanding the world around us and how we fit into it. Our identity helps us to understand our history, the events around us, and our future.

Some parts of identity can be seen, like skin colour or clothing. Other parts are unseen, like religious or political beliefs.

People have identities that they are born with, and identities they receive from their culture. People also choose their own identities. It is common to have many different identities. Some people have one identity that is most important to them. This might change throughout their lifetime. People choose the identities that give them the strongest feelings of confidence and security.

Denying (or trying to change) a person or group's identity means their needs are not being met. If we deny (or try to change) a person's identity, we stop them from meeting their needs. In a conflict, if one actor refuses to recognise the identity of another actor, the second actor may feel angry. He might see it as a threat who he is. This can lead to violence.

Identity is also something we share with other people. These shared identities are called *collective* or *group* identity. Members of these groups often share a common history, culture, and values. If people have the same collective identity, they often think that they have common interests and shared fates. Draft

If a person feels a threat to their identity, they will try to protect that identity. This can lead to conflict. For example, you and another person share an identity. You may feel hurt if they are hurt.

This can create an "us versus them" mentality. If someone is not part of a person's collective identity, they are an "outsider" and a threat. The "us versus them" mentality is common in identity conflict situations.

Decide which statements are true and which are false. If the statement is false, correct it.

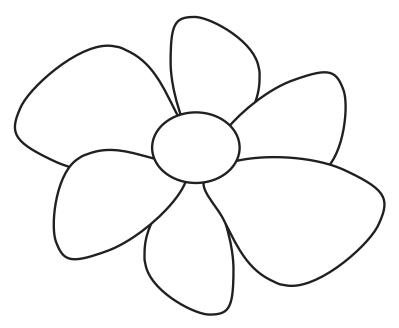
- 1. A political belief is a seen identity.
- 2. A person can choose their own identities.
- 3. A person's identity will never change.
- 4. A collective identity means sharing a common history or culture.
- 5. Collective identities can cause "us versus them" mentalities.

Look at the woman in the picture and:

- 1. in the flower, write the identities that you can see;
- 2. in the flower, write some possible identities that you cannot see.

Draw your own flower and:

- 1. in the flower, write your seen and unseen identities;
- 2. share your flower with a partner or the class and discuss:
  - a. Do your identities ever change? When and why do you think they change?
  - b. Have you ever chosen not to express part of your identity? Why was that?
  - c. In what ways might another person's identity be threatened if you express yours?



## EXERCISE

#### Identity Flower

ACTIVITY

ACTIVITY MyldentityFlower

# Focus on Myanmar: Ethnic Education

In 2012, the Ministry of Education carried out a study to identify strengths and weaknesses of its school system. This information was used to make new education policies. However, ethnic educators say the Ministry of Education has ignored them.

Government researchers studied schools around the country. However, the Karen Education Department (KED) said they ignored the non-government schools in Karen State. "The work that we've been doing over decades does not exist in their knowledge," says the



secretary of the KED. "What they mean by 'ethnic education" is government education in ethnic areas."

The Karen Education Department (KED), manages a school system used by conflict-affected communities and Karen refugees in Thailand. An issue facing the KED is that their curriculum does not prepare students to fit into the government system.

The KED wants to see a decentralised school system. This would allow states some authority to administer their schools. It is important to the KED to maintain Karen language and culture though education. "We are concerned that the identity we have preserved over more than six decades will start to die out."

The KED says it is open to negotiation about merging with the government education system. KED will soon begin teaching Burmese language to its students. Merging with the government system could be useful for Karen students who cannot currently attend Burmese universities because they went to a KED high school.

But the KED secretary says certain issues are not open for discussion. These include ethnic history and mother-tongue language teaching. "We feel like they have their hand over us, and this will limit our ability to continue running our ethnic education".

http://www.irrawaddy.org/feature/burmas-rebel-educators-want-school-reform.html

- 1. In what ways does an education system impact on identity?
- 2. How has the KED used the education system to preserve Karen identity?
- 3. In what ways does the conflict between the KED and the Ministry of Education harm students? In what ways does the conflict help students?

## DISCUSSION

- 1. Think of people you share an identity with. How do you express your identity together as a group?
- 2. What are some of the benefits of a collective identity? Discuss examples of these benefits from your community.
- 3. What are some of the problems with collective identity? Discuss examples of these problems from your community.

# **1.6 – SOURCES OF CONFLICT: VALUES**

Values are like the rules that we have for ourselves and society. We use values to judge the behavior of ourselves and others. The rules that come from values can be simple, For example, "don't lie". They can be more complex, for example, rules about appropriate clothing or about what foods we shouldn't eat.

Values help to create moral codes and ethics. They are developed through religion, family, peers, culture, race and ethnicity, social background, gender, etc. Conflict occurs when the values of different actors are not compatible, or when an actor's values are not respected. Because people consider *their* values to be "the rules", conflict can occur if an actor believes someone else is not following those "rules".

When a person chooses their values, those values are:

- chosen freely and not forced upon that person;
- chosen from many, and chosen because they are important to the individual;
- publicly shared and defended;
- lived, not just talked about;
- applied in both big and small decisions, every day.

Choose the statements (a-e) that help to define values. It is possible to choose more than one statement.

Values are...

- a. rules for individuals.
- b. always learned from parents.
- c. part of daily life.
- d. always incompatible.
- e. chosen based on importance.
- 1. Read the statements on page 22. Which statements do you agree with?
- 2. Choose the five statements that are most important to you.
- 3. Look at the values on page 23. Which values match your five choices in Part A? What five values are most important to you, according to the survey?
- 4. What actions do you take each day that support your values?
- 5. In pairs or groups, discuss:
  - a. What are the similarities and differences in values between you and your group member(s)?
  - b. Can you think of a situation where your values might be in conflict with the values of another person in your group?
  - c. Why is it important to understand your own values, and the values of your community, in situations of conflict?
  - d. Would you be willing to change any of your values? How would you feel if you did? Is it possible to change values?

PREVIEW

What are values?



Do values stay the same or do they change from generation to generation?

EXERCISE

ACTIVITY

Values Survey

# < VALUES SURVEY, PART A. WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU? > )

1. To have a nice physical appearance	2. To graduate with high marks
3. To be an honest person	4. To have political power
<ol> <li>To have strong relationships with family members and other loved ones.</li> </ol>	6. To have personal growth
<ol> <li>To be able to enjoy the natural environment</li> </ol>	<ol> <li>To have a life with meaning, purpose, fulfillment</li> </ol>
<ol> <li>To continue learning and getting new knowledge</li> </ol>	10. To help the disadvantaged
11. To be attractive to others	12. To have a close group of good friends
13. To have a long and healthy life	<ol> <li>To closely follow the rules and requirements of your religion</li> </ol>
15. To have a good marriage	<ol> <li>To have satisfaction or success in your career</li> </ol>
17. For all people to have equal opportunity	18. To be free to live life as you want
19. To have a lot of money	20. To accomplish your goals
21. To have a safe and positive family life	22. To have a life with leisure.
23. To have opportunities to travel, eat good food, and be entertained	24. To change society for the better
<ol> <li>To have a beautiful home in a place of your choice</li> </ol>	26. To have the opportunity to be creative
27. To own expensive things	<ol> <li>To speak up for or share personal beliefs</li> </ol>
29. To have self-confidence	30. To be needed and important to others
31. To become a good parent	<ol> <li>To have a good relationship with your parents</li> </ol>
<ol> <li>For another person to find you physically attractive</li> </ol>	<ol> <li>To be strong, face challenges and push forward</li> </ol>
<ol> <li>To have time for prayer/meditation/ personal reflection</li> </ol>	36. To give my time and energy freely to help others
<ol> <li>To have a safe and secure environment</li> </ol>	38. To be loved by a few special people
39. To be trusted by others	40. To be known as someone who is true in their words and actions

NUMBER	VALUE	DEFINITION	
40	AUTHENTICITY	Being trustworthy and honest.	
3, 39	INTEGRITY	Strictly following what you believe to be right and good. Not doing things that are against your beliefs or values.	
6, 29	Self-Fulfillment	Fulfilling your capacity and reaching your potential as a person	
7	APPRECIATION (OF NATURE)	Seeing the importance of nature and enjoying its beauty.	
2,9	EDUCATION	Increasing your knowledge through learning.	
10, 36	COMPASSION, GENEROSITY	Knowing about the suffering of others and wanting to give help to lessen that suffering	
1, 11, 33	Approval	Having other people like and admire your physical appearance	
17	EQUALITY	Everyone gets the same treatment and opportunities	
5, 12, 30, 38	AFFECTION	Showing your love and appreciation for those close to you, and having those close to you show you love and appreciation too.	
8, 16, 20, 26	AMBITION, ACHIEVEMENT	Being excited to finish something that takes hard work and courage	
18	AUTONOMY	Being independent in your actions, choices, and ideas	
19, 25, 27	STATUS, STABILITY (FINANCIAL)	Feeling powerful from wealth; feeling secure in your financia situation	
13, 37	HEALTH	Having strength in your body and mind; feeling good about your physical and mental abilities	
14, 35	SPIRITUALITY	Feeling a strong in your religious or spiritual beliefs	
15, 21, 31, 32	LOVE, FAMILY	Feeling close and familiar to members of you family and clos friends.	
22, 23	LEISURE, TRAVEL	Enjoying free time and having the opportunity to explore	
4, 24	AGENCY, CITIZENSHIP	Believing you have the ability to create change, and to exercise the rights and responsibilities of a person living as a citizen	
28	COURAGE	Being able to face your fears, danger, and obstacles with confidence	
34	RESILIENCE	Having the ability to overcome challenges and failures and continue working towards your goals.	

<sup>®</sup> Religious minorities sometimes face challenges to building or maintaining their places of worship. This can be more difficult in rural areas. An example of these problems can be seen in the case of the Hindu community in a rural Myanmar township.

Many years ago, there was a fire in the town. It destroyed many buildings. The Hindu community was lucky because their temple was not burned. But, after the fire, the government cleared the whole area to make space for building new houses. The government demolished the Hindu temple as well. The government promised the Hindu community that they would give them land to build a new temple.



However, the community did not get land for a new temple. Government officials told them they had no record of the agreement. So some of the Hindu community members offered to build the temple on their land. However, their petitions to the government for approval have not been accepted.

The community has tried again and again since then to get a new temple. They have failed each time. Many community members feel very angry about the situation. Others feel hopeless and worry about future generations. They are worried that they have no place to pass on the values of their faith.

Source: Unpublished report

- 1. Why is a temple causing values conflict?
- 2. Does the government have different values from the Hindu community? What are the government's values?
- 3. Is this conflict being caused because one group thinks their values are more important than another group?

## REFLECTION

- 1. Think about your values and the values of your closest community. This community could be your school, your village, your family, your band, etc. Are your values ever in conflict with the values of your community? If so, how? If not, why do you think this is?
- 2. Who in your life has been most important in teaching you your values? How did they teach those values to you?

Violent Conflict in Aceh, Indonesia

Read the case study about the conflict in Aceh, Indonesia. Answer the questions.

## CONCLUSION

Case Study

The Aceh Special Territory in Indonesia had 29 years of violent conflict before the *Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding* in August 2005. The conflict left an estimated 15,000 people dead and an estimated 1.6 million people displaced (*World Watch Institute, State of the World*, 2006).



The Acehnese also spent 41 years fighting against Dutch colonialism and kept their independence during the Dutch colonial period. This history is a source of pride for Acehnese people. The Free Aceh Movement (GAM) was the armed group that fought for Aceh's independence. It was created when the central Indonesian government and military tried to control the territory.

Aceh is located in a geographically important area on the western tip of Indonesia. Aceh sits at the entrance of the Malacca Straits. They are the busiest international sea-lane in the world. The Aceh territory also has the Arun natural gas fields. This area produces 40 percent of Indonesia's natural gas and oil. However, for much of the conflict, Aceh and its people got almost no benefits from the sale of natural gas and oil.

Islam is the majority religion in Indonesia. The Acehnese believe that their Islamic practice and community is the origin of Islam in Indonesia. They believe that they were the first Muslims in the country. Before the Dutch arrived in Indonesia, Aceh was part of the first Muslim kingdom in Southeast Asia. During the conflict, the Aceh independence movement was called a religious independence movement, and its leaders were also respected because of their high status within the religious community.

Thousands of male GAM fighters died during the conflict. For their wives and sisters, the death of these men created danger. Widows were considered terrorists because they supported their husbands who fought against the Indonesian government. Widows, sisters, and mothers were tortured, raped, and executed for their connection to GAM fighters.

In 2004 a tsunami (a giant wave) killed over 131,000 people in Aceh, and destroyed much of the region's infrastructure. The GAM and the Indonesian government signed a peace agreement. The majority of the people killed during the tsunami were women and children. The peace agreement ended the conflict and Aceh got regional autonomy and the right to control natural resources in the territory. In 2012, Aceh held elections for local leadership. The territory has been steadily rebuilding after the tsunami.

- 1. What was the level of conflict in Aceh?
- 2. Who were the main actors in the Aceh conflict?
- 3. What were the goals of each actor?
- 4. Based on the case study, what are some of the needs of the Acehnese?
- 5. What do you guess are some of the values of the Acehnese?
- 6. How is Aceh identity different from Indonesian identity?
- 7. Has this conflict been solved? Will peace continue in the future for Aceh?



# Chapter 2: UNDERSTANDING PEACE

#### PREVIEW

- 1. Write a definition of peace.
- 2. In pairs, discuss your definitions. How are they similar? How are they different?

# 2.1 - DEFINING PEACE

## **LEVELS OF PEACE**

We can talk about peace at different levels:

- **INDIVIDUAL:** "Peace" can describe a calm state of mind. When we are in this state of mind, we are not worried or angry or disturbed. Some people call this *inner peace*. This state of mind is helpful in situations of conflict.
- **R**ELATIONSHIPS: We can describe peace at an interpersonal level. Two (or more) people are at peace if they are not fighting each other, and if there is no anger or unfriendliness in their attitudes or actions.
- **SOCIETY:** This describes peace inside a country or between two or more countries.

EXERCISE

Which of these are examples of peace at:

- a. an individual level;
- b. an interpersonal level;
- c. a society level.
- 1. Sandar and Ko Ko Oo live next door to each other. They share a large garden, and help look after each others' children. If there are any problems, they discuss them and sort them out.
- 2. Everyone in Ko Ko Oo's town respects each other. They listen to each other's problems, ideas and opinions, and work for the best outcome for everyone.
- 3. Ko Ko Oo is usually happy. If he has a problem, he either solves it, or stops worrying about it.

# Focus on Myanmar: Peace inside ourselves

I attended a workshop on women as peace builders. I learnt a lot. I did not know how important inner peace is. We just worry and worry and feel that we will never get peace. After the fall of the Karen National Union (KNU) Headquarters, I struggled with the word "peace". I felt we were never going to get it. But during that workshop, the woman said, "First, we have to have peace inside ourselves, and we have to take care of



ourselves." And I thought, "Oh! I have just learnt about taking care of myself." In the past we only worried about other people, we never thought about ourselves. I suddenly felt relaxed and relieved.

Naw Zipporah Sein is the current Karen National Union (KNU) Vice-Chairperson and a former KNU General Secretary. She has also been the Secretary of the Karen Women Organization.

- 1. According to Naw Zipporah Sein, how are individual peace and peace in society connected?
- 2. Can you think of other connections between these two levels?
- 1. On which level is it most important to have peace?

DISCUSSION

2. Is peace at all levels of society possible?

<sup>-</sup> Naw Zipporah Sein

#### PREVIEW

- 1. Is a society peaceful if there is no war?
- 2. What must a society do in order to prevent war and violence?

# 2.2 - COMPLETE vs INCOMPLETE PEACE

What is peace? It is not easy to answer this question. Some people feel that it is much easier to define war than it is to define peace.

Compare peace to health: It is difficult to explain and describe good health. However, someone might say "Being healthy means that *I am not sick*."

In the same way, we can define peace by what it is not. For example, peace is "not war". It is not fighting.

One way to understand peace is the absence of war and direct violence. According to this definition, peace is the time before or after a war. In this understanding, peace is the opposite of war. We define war as fighting that causes death and destruction. Therefore, peace must be the opposite of these things.

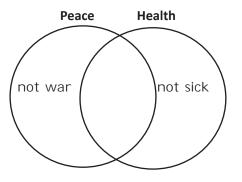
This definition of peace is known as incomplete peace or limited peace.

In Myanmar's history, this would mean that 1826 was the start of a short period of peace between Myanmar and Britain. In February of that year, leaders from the Burmese and British empires signed a peace treaty. The treaty came after a war (1824-26) between the two empires over land.



Complete the Venn diagram, In the circle on the left, write ideas you connect with peace. In the circle on the right, write things that you connect with health.

Where the circles meet, write things that both peace and health have in common.



The Treaty of Peace at Yandabo, in 1826, was the start of a short period of peace in Myanmar.



**ACTIVITY** Peace and Health Diagram

# Focus on Myanmar: Shan Peace Elusive Despite Ceasefire

Many people say Myanmar's political reforms have been an opportunity for peace. However, General Hso Ten from the Shan State Army-North (SSA-N) has said "Everything is survival, we still have to struggle."

According to the Shan Herald Agency for News, attacks on the SSA-N by government troops have continued since a ceasefire was signed in January. In 2011, 30,000 people were displaced by ethnic conflict in northern Shan State.



Some people have questioned January's ceasefire. General Hso Ten says "Nothing came out of it, there is still fighting. It was just a ceasefire, not eternal peace." He says the goal of "eternal peace" will only be reached if there are equal rights for ethnic minorities and if the Shan State government can make decisions for the people of Shan State.

He wants a second Panglong Agreement. The first Panglong Agreement was signed by Shan, Kachin, Chin and Bamar representatives in 1947, just before Burma's independence from Great Britain. It promised ethnic equality and decision making for ethnic state governments.

To General Hso Ten, the Panglong Agreement is still important today, even though it was not followed by the government after the death of Aung San in 1947. Many ethnic people still feel betrayed because of this. He explained "If we leave out the Panglong Agreement, the Union is not meaningful."

Recent reforms have brought more business and economic development. The government has said that there are two steps to getting peace. Step one is to sign a ceasefire. Step two is economic development in conflict areas.

However, some people would like inclusive political talks instead. General Hso Ten says "We feel like we are second-class citizens ... they think if they can solve economic problems, the people will shut up. But we don't have equal rights. How can we go on?"

He also added, "We need time and international support. I want to encourage our young people — especially women — to work hard for the future of Shan State. In the future, there will be women as leaders. We have a long way to go for eternal peace."

 $Source: \ http://www.irrawaddy.org/burma/shan-peace-allusive-despite-ceasefire.html$ 

- 1. Why did the January ceasefire create incomplete peace?
- 2. Why do ceasefires represent an incomplete peace?
- 3. Do you agree with General Hso Ten? Why or why not?

Complete peace is not only defined by the absence of something negative. It is defined by the presence of something positive. In complete peace, there is no violence, and there is social justice. For example, a war ends and it is replaced with healthy relationships and a social system that supports the people's needs.

Complete peace does not mean there are no more conflicts. This is impossible, because conflicts are a fact of life. Complete peace means that conflicts in a society are solved constructively and without violence.

Read the quote. What is the Dalai Lama asking for in addition to the absence of war?

Peace that means "the absence of war", is not helpful to hungry or cold people. It will not remove the pain of torture done to a political prisoner. It does not help those who have lost their loved ones in floods caused by cutting down woods in a neighbouring country. Peace can only last where human rights are respected, where the people are fed, and where individuals and nations are free.

- The Dalai Lama

#### A. Structural Violence

The absence of war and violence is necessary for peace. However, not only war and violence cause suffering. Extreme poverty, starvation, curable disease, discrimination and violations of human rights also harm people. For example, if a child dies, because her parents cannot buy medicine for her treatment, nobody carries out the violence, but the child suffers.

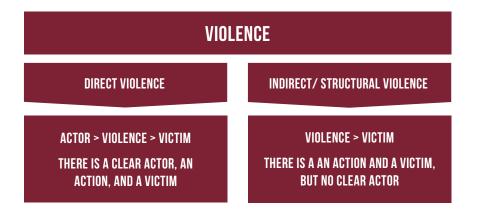
Peace researchers call this kind of violence *structural violence*. It is caused by the social structures and institutions in society. It is also called *indirect violence*, because it is not directly carried out between people, but has the same results as direct violence.

Complete peace cannot exist if there is structural violence.

The diagram on the next page shows how direct violence and structural/indirect violence are similar but different.

## EXERCISE

EXERCISE

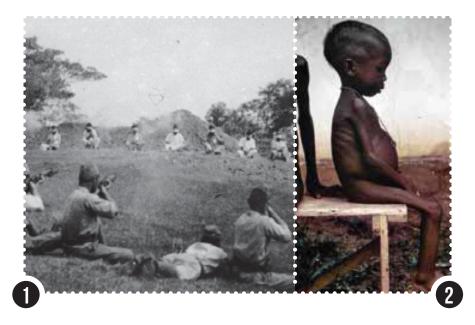


Structural violence causes avoidable or preventable violence. It is pain and suffering from unjust social, economic, political, and cultural systems and institutions.

For example, let's look at tuberculosis (TB). It is a disease. Two hundred years ago, death from TB was unavoidable. There was no medicine for it. It could not be prevented. Now there are medicines to cure TB. Deaths from TB can now be prevented with good healthcare systems in a country. Therefore, today, deaths from TB can be called structural violence.

One of these pictures shows direct violence, and one shows indirect/structural violence. For each picture, answer the questions.

- a. Who is/are the actor(s)?
- b. What violent act is happening?
- c. Who/are is the victim(s)?
- d. Is it direct or indirect violence?





Is child labour in tea shops a form of structural violence?

.....

## ACTIVITY

Types of Violence

1. Are these examples of direct violence or structural violence? Some examples may be both direct and structural violence.

	Direct	Structural
an earthquake		
war		
a boy hitting a dog		
child labour		
HIV/AIDS		
a car accident		
rape		
famine		

- 2. Answer the questions.
  - a. Which type of violence is easier to identify? Why?
  - b. What makes it more difficult to detect structural violence?
  - c. What other examples of structural violence can you think of?

## B. Social Justice

Complete peace has social justice. Social justice refers to equal opportunities and the protection of rights.

Social justice is not about treating everyone in the same way. It is about making sure that people have equal chances, regardless of their gender, ethnic group, sexuality, religion, disability or social status. It ensures that people have a share in the wealth and resources of a society. It makes sure that people's basic needs – shelter, food, education and health care – are met. Finally, social justice ensures that people have a voice in political decisions that affect their lives.

Both of these pictures show something about social justice. For each picture, answer the questions.

- a. What is happening in the photo?
- b. Where do you think this photo was taken?
- c. How do the actions of the people in the photo relate to social justice?



EXERCISE

## Focus on Myanmar: Making peace in their own words

We would like to develop our own language and culture. We want to develop ourselves like other peoples have done. But we cannot get these two things by fighting. Our struggle is not about revenge. I think we, Karen and Burmese, have to learn to live together. For that we have to come together, we have to talk to each other. That's why I am involved in this peace process. To me, peace is based on justice. You cannot reach peace without justice. To me, justice means that you have your rights. For us Karen people, this means, for example, that we have to have the right to decide our own future, succeed as people, learn in our own language.



- Padoh Saw Kwe Htoo Win

Padoh Saw Kwe Htoo Win was elected as the Karen National Union (KNU) General Secretary in 2012. He has held numerous positions within the KNU including Chairman of Karen Youth Organization.

Source: Making Peace in Their Own Words. People of Myanmar's Peace Process.

- 1. How does Padoh Saw Kwe Htoo Win describe justice?
- 2. Do you agree with Padoh Saw Kwe Htoo Win that peace cannot be reached without justice? Why?
- 3. Do you agree that there are things that can't be reached by fighting? What things?



Complete Peace

Imagine a society that has reached complete peace. What are the characteristics of this society?

		Characteristics	Does Not Have
1.	Government	government serves the people, fair elections, rule of law	corruption, military/police violence
2.	Conflicts		
3.	Environment		
4.	Relationships		

## DISCUSSION

- 1. Is it possible to reach complete peace?
- 2. When people talk about "peace in Myanmar" do they mean complete or incomplete peace?



# 2.3 – PEACE AND GENDER EQUALITY

Gender-based violence is a form of direct violence *and* a form of structural violence. Gender inequality is also a form of structural violence. Gender-based violence and gender inequality are often not discussed when people talk about issues of peace and conflict.

Gender is the different cultural expectations and social rules that men and women follow. Equality means that there is equal power between two groups. Gender equality means that power is balanced between men and women.

Equality between men and women requires more than just having the same opportunities. Equal opportunity does not guarantee that power is balanced. For example, men and women may both have equal opportunity to take part in government as elected officials. However, women have barriers to taking part in government that men do not. These barriers come from:

- women being the primary care takers of children and the elderly;
- cultural and social preferences for men as leaders;
- a society not recognising women's skills and expertise as decision-makers.

Having equal opportunity between men and women does not mean that there is gender equality.

#### PREVIEW

Is complete peace possible without gender equality?



It is impossible to have complete peace in a society where there is still direct physical violence between people. Gender-based violence is an example of direct, physical violence and structural violence. The following are a few examples of gender-based violence:

Draft

- **DOMESTIC ABUSE**. Domestic abuse is physical, sexual, emotional and verbal abuse between people living in the same household or family. This abuse is repeated and often uses intimidation to control a spouse or other family member.
- SEX-SELECTIVE ABORTION. Sex selective abortion is the abortion of a foetus based on its sex (typically female) before birth for economic, cultural, and/or religious reasons.
- **RESTRICTING ACCESS TO FOOD AND EDUCATION BASED ON GENDER.** This is typically done for economic reasons. If a family is unable to afford food or educational fees, girls more often than boys are fed less or removed from school.
- **RESTRICTING MOVEMENT**. Girls and women are often discouraged or prevented from being outside the home, especially at night, because of security concerns. Boys and men are less likely to experience this.
- RAPE, SEXUAL OR PHYSICAL ASSAULT, AND MURDER. Men are more likely to murder other men and women than women are. Most sexual assaults and rapes are committed by men towards women. Often women find it impossible to get justice because of cultural and social barriers about reporting and punishing rape.



EXERCISE

Read the following scenarios. Classify them as structural violence (SV), direct violence (DV) or gender equality (GE). Some scenarios can be both structural and direct violence.

- 1. The eldest daughter in the family must quit school to care for her younger siblings. Her brothers remain in school.
- 2. A woman is not promoted in a job when her employer finds out that she is pregnant.
- 3. Men and women are paid the same wages for the same job.
- 4. Soldiers kidnap young women from a village where enemy soldiers are hiding.
- 5. There are the same number of seats reserved for men and women in university degree programmes like medicine and engineering.
- 6. Land is only inherited between father and son.
- 7. There are no laws or government offices to protect victims of domestic violence.
- 8. Female students have after-school tasks such as cleaning classrooms and refilling water pots. Boys do not have these tasks.
- 9. There are equal numbers of men and women in the President's cabinet.
- 10. Boys are not disciplined for bad behavior because "boys will be boys", but girls are disciplined for the same bad behavior because it's "not lady-like".

Gender equality is required for achieving complete peace. It can also help us predict which countries will have sustainable peace. Countries with higher levels of gender equality are less likely to go to war or have violent civil conflict. Countries with higher levels of gender equality are also more democratic, stable, and economically prosperous. Gender equality, democracy, stability, and economic prosperity make sustainable peace much more likely.

Societies with high levels of gender inequality also have higher level of gender-based violence. This type of violence is probably a normal part of the society. A high level of gender inequality shows that violence and exploitation in society is acceptable. Therefore, people will see violence and destructive methods of conflict resolution as acceptable ways to solve conflict in the future. This makes sustainable peace impossible.



# Focus on Myanmar: Maternal Mortality Still a Threat to Myanmar Women

At 200 deaths per 100,000 live births, the maternal mortality rate in Myanmar is one of the worst in the region.

There have been improvements to Myanmar's healthcare system. However, experts say more work is needed in life-saving family planning services.

87% of maternal deaths occur in rural areas, because of poor infrastructure and lack of access to reproductive health care. Many women in Myanmar don't have access to family planning choices, so there is a high rate of maternal mortality.



Ms. Janet Jackson, UNFPA Representative in Myanmar, said "Every four days in Myanmar, ten women die of birth-related causes. Improving access to contraception will prevent one third of these deaths."

Official statistics put use of contraceptives at less than 40%, which Myanmar officials hope to increase to 50%.

However, the national government considers Myanmar under-populated. The authorities continue to support policies that encourages childbearing.

Further challenges to family planning include security concerns in conflict-affected areas along the 1,800km Thai-Burmese border. There are also cultural pressures from conservative community and religious leaders who see large families as a blessing and view family planning as unnatural.

Terminating a pregnancy is illegal. It carries a prison term of up to three years for the provider and seven years for the mother. Without access to family planning, many Burmese women have to have dangerous homemade abortions or suffer medical emergencies because of dangerous pregnancies. This makes unsafe abortions one of the leading causes of maternal death.

Source http://www.unric.org/en/latest-un-buzz/28957-maternal-mortality-remains-a-threat-to-myanmar-mums and http:// countryoffice.unfpa.org/myanmar/2015/05/26/12163/improving\_myanmar\_rsquo\_s\_maternal\_health\_care\_and\_boosting\_ midwifery\_skills\_are\_unfpa\_priorities/ and https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2223rank.html

- 1. What social justice actions are necessary to lower maternal mortality in Myanmar?
- 2. Is denying men and women access to information about contraceptives a form of structural violence?
- 3. Can a country have complete peace if there is a high level of maternal mortality?



- 1. What are people in your community currently doing to reduce structural and direct violence against women?
- 2. How often do community leaders work on issues of gender violence?

# 2.4 – PEACEMAKING

Peacemaking is a process of change which leads *from* a situation of conflict and direct violence *to* a situation of incomplete peace. This process usually refers to the resolution of large-scale conflicts like war or civil war.

Peacemaking is trying to change a violent conflict into non-violent dialogue. The goal of peacemaking is to end violence between actors.

Peacemaking can be done by the people who are involved in a conflict themselves. It can also happen as an *intervention*: a planned action by a third party. Interventions can happen through communication or by force.



Read the peacemaking scenarios and answer the questions about each.

- a. There is a conflict between two young children in a village. It has become a fight. They are screaming and hitting each other. An adult, using her authority (and greater strength), pulls them apart.
- b. Two neighbouring countries are at war. Many people have been killed. A lot of buildings and crops have been destroyed in both countries. They can see this damage, but they cannot see an end to the conflict. The leader of a third country asks the two presidents and their military representatives to come for a meeting about the war. They agree to go and to talk.
- 1. On what level is the conflict happening?
- 2. What peacemaking actions were taken?
- 3. Because of the peacemaking effort, what do you think will happen next?

### PREVIEW

- 1. How is peace made?
- 2. Who is responsible for making peace?

# EXERCISE



Peace negotiations to end the Vitenam-American War, in Paris, in 1973. Many nations were present for the negotiations.

## PEACEMAKING BY COMMUNICATION (NEGOTIATION)

In large-scale conflicts, communication-based peacemaking is done through negotiation. If an agreement is reached, it includes a promise to stop fighting. The agreement can also deal with other issues related to the conflict and the future relations of the opposing actors.

The win-lose mentality is the belief that there must be a winner and a loser in a conflict. If conflict actors have this belief, it is very difficult to compromise or collaborate on finding a solution to conflict.

In large-scale conflicts, negotiations are usually between leaders or representatives of the opposing actors. If negotiations occur during or immediately after a violent conflict, the actors involved can still have win-lose mentalities. If they do, the negotiation is unlikely to lead to a win-win situation. Negotiations often fail because the actors cannot move away from a win-lose mentality. This often results in a return to violence.

Negotiations can also be constructive. Participants can discuss common interests or ideas. They can use negotiation as a chance to solve problems.

Negotiations to end a violent conflict are never simple. Opponents often refuse to discuss issues because they believe that they can win more easily through fighting than through talking. In these cases, negotiation only starts when both sides realise that they cannot get what they want through fighting. It can take many years and the loss of many lives before actors come to this conclusion.

Another serious obstacle to negotiations is the pain experienced by actors in the conflict. This makes it difficult for people to talk to each other. This is often the case in civil wars or communal violence. In these situations, it is likely that the negotiators will have suffered losses themselves. People might be in too much pain to talk to those they hold responsible for their suffering.

EXERCISE

ACTIVITY

Decide which statements are true and which are false. If the statement is false, correct it.

- 1. Negotiation is communication between leaders or representatives after a conflict .
- 2. Win-lose mentalities can cause negotiations to fail.
- 3. When there is a lot of problem-solving, negotiations can be difficult.
- 4. Negotiations are successful when they are used to win a conflict.
- 1. Look at the pictures. What do you think happened in Nepal?
- 2. Read the case study and answer the questions that follow.

### Negotiations in Nepal

Nepal's Peace Negotiations



The Civil War in Nepal started in 1996. It was fought between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal who were also known as the Maoists. The Maoists wanted to change the system of government and end the monarchy. The war lasted for ten years and 15,000 people were killed. In 2006, the government and the Maoists signed a peace accord, which formally ended the civil war.

The *Comprehensive Peace Accord* was signed by leaders on both sides after negotiations. The participants agreed to the following:

- To stop attacks and violent activities on either side;
- To stop recruiting new soldiers into both armies;
- To put limits on transporting weapons, bullets and bombs;
- To establish a National Peace and Rehabilitation Commission;
- To respect human rights laws;
- To end the political power of the Nepalese king;
- To end the Maoists' separate governments throughout the country;
- To return and support people displaced by the civil war;
- To end high-level corruption.
  - 1. Were the negotiations in Nepal successful?
  - 2. Which point in the peace agreement is most interesting? Why?

# Focus on Myanmar: **On sitting at the negotiation table**

#### <sup>IF</sup> People involved in Myanmar's peace process, in their own words.

"Not everybody is ready to compromise. Sometimes I think, 'Now I am talking to the enemy. We are sitting and having lunch together'. But I also think, 'This is strange.' Even if we can create a personal relationship between two enemies, there are many words we have to say. We have to compromise with each other."

#### - U Than Khe

U Than Khe is the All Burma Students' Democratic Front (ABSDF) Chairperson. A former student at the

Mandalay Institute of Medicine he left Myanmar in 1988 to join the armed struggle. He has been the ABSDF Chairman since 2001.

"In negotiations, when you know that what the other side is saying is not fair, it is very hard to listen. But we should overcome these feelings and respond to them with other opinions."

#### - Nai Hong Sar

Nai Hong Sar is the New Mon State Party (NMSP) Vice-Chairman. He joined the NMSP in 1968; he has held different positions at township, district and Headquarters levels. He is also Vice-Chairman of the United Nationalities Federal Council (UNFC).

Source: Making Peace in Their Own Words. People of Myanmar's Peace Process. The Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPCS), 2015

- 1. What is challenging about the communicative peacemaking process in Myanmar?
- 2. What are some of the ways that these peacemakers are overcoming the challenges listed in question 1?





### **PEACEMAKING BY FORCE**

Communicative peacemaking can be done by actors in the conflict. Making peace by force can only be done by a third party which is more powerful than the conflict actors.

This kind of peacemaking happens against the will of (at least) one of the actors. Peacemaking by force may also happen if there have been human rights abuses. The third party does not stay neutral. Instead, the third party uses its power to put pressure on one or all of the actors to end the conflict. These third parties include the United Nations, or countries like the United States, China, or Russia. Peace can be forced through several different methods:

### A. Sanctions

Sanctions are rules or restrictions forced on a government by outside countries. They have been used to pressure governments to end violent conflict or war. Sanctions are usually diplomatic or economic. If there are diplomatic sanctions against a country, other countries stop having a relationship with its government. They close their embassies there and do not allow members of that government to visit their countries.

Economic sanctions on a country mean other countries refuse to trade and exchange goods with it. This is called an embargo. For example, if there is a ban on selling weapons to a country, this is called an arms embargo.

However, sanctions can create problems. Opponents of economic sanctions argue that they affect the country's people more than the government or military. A government affected by economic sanctions might reduce spending on health or education rather than on the military. In this case, sanctions could worsen the living conditions for the people.

### B. Boycotts

Governments or states are not the only parties who can put pressure on an actor in a conflict. A boycott is similar to an embargo. A boycott is when the public refuses to buy something that provides

income to an actor in a conflict. A boycott is not a government policy. It is organised by private citizens and non-governmental organizations. It is used to change the behavior of a person, a business, a group, or a government of a country.

Boycott-Divest-Sanction (BDS) is a world-wide movement. It wants Israel to change its policies and actions towards Palestinians, and to leave the land it illegally occupies. It encourages people to also boycott supporters of Israel.





The use of outside militaries to enforce peace is controversial. People who support military intervention say that other countries should send soldiers if people are suffering from serious human rights violations. This might happen, for example, during a genocide (when one group tries to kill all people of a religious or ethnic group and erase their culture).

People who do not support military intervention say it only leads to more violence. They also claim that outside countries do not become involved in a conflict to stop human rights abuses. Instead, they say, countries do this to support their own economic or political interests. For example, in Syria, the USA and UK have used airstrikes. Many people say that the main reason for airstrikes is to change the government of Syria, not to help the Syrian people.





# EXERCISE



a. boycott



b. economic sanctions

c. diplomatic sanctions

d. arms embargo





e. military intervention

Match the method of peacemaking-by-force to the example.

- 1. In 1977, members of the United Nations decided not to sell guns, submarines, or military aircraft to South Africa because of South Africa's policies of racial discrimination.
- 2. In 2013, the United Nations enforced travel restrictions on members of the North Korean government: They are not allowed to enter most countries.
- In 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait because of a resource conflict. A US-led group of countries attacked Iraq and forced it to withdraw from Kuwait.
- 4. In 1960, a group of Filipino workers in the US went on strike. They worked on grape farms and were paid very low wages. Their organization, the *United Farm Workers*, asked Americans to stop buying the grapes grown on those farms until the workers had better pay. Over the next nine years, 14 million Americans stopped buying grapes from those farms. Finally, the grape farm owners agreed to the workers' demands.
- 5. From 1979 to 2015, the US led international efforts to stop countries from buying oil and gas from Iran. They wanted to prevent Iran from making a nuclear bomb.

Read the statements and choose the response closest to your own opinion. Explain your answer.

- 1. Sometimes peace needs to be enforced by outsiders.
  - a. strongly agree
  - b. agree
  - c. disagree
  - d. strongly disagree
- 2. An arms embargo against a country will decrease violence there.
  - a. strongly agree
  - b. agree
  - c. disagree
  - d. strongly disagree
- 3. Economic sanctions hurt the citizens of a country.
  - a. strongly agree
  - b. agree
  - c. disagree
  - d. strongly disagree

- 4. Boycotts can force a country or organization to change.
  - a. strongly agree
  - b. agree
  - c. disagree
  - d. strongly disagree
- 5. Powerful countries have a responsibility to intervene militarily in order to prevent human rights violations.
  - a. strongly agree
  - b. agree
  - c. disagree
  - d. strongly disagree
- 6. Military interventions can bring about peace.
  - a. strongly agree
  - b. agree
  - c. disagree
  - d. strongly disagree
- 1. Which is more effective: peacemaking by communication or peacemaking by force?
- 2. What types of peacemaking have been used in Myanmar? How were they used?

ACTIVITY

Agree or Disagree?

DISCUSSION



#### PREVIEW

- What are some ways that violence can affect a community and the people living in that community?
- 2. What do people who have experienced violent conflict need after the violence has ended?

# **2.5 – REACHING COMPLETE PEACE**

Many conflicts cannot be resolved. However, they can be changed. When a conflict is violent, it can be changed, through peacebuilding, to become non-violent. This idea is called *conflict transformation*.

Complete peace is reached through a process of peacebuilding. Peacebuilding is actions that are done to get an individual, a group of people, or a country closer to complete peace.

Any action to reduces direct or structural violence is peacebuilding. Peacebuilding means having means having conflicts without violence. Peacebuilding combines meeting needs, having social justice and doing reconciliation. It means working at all levels of society to prevent violence and create equitable communities.

This section will focus on post-conflict peacebuilding (peacebuilding activities after a violent conflict has ended). Reaching complete peace has many challenges, especially when a conflict has caused serious direct violence. It is difficult to build peaceful communities because there has been so much violence, oppression and political instability. Non-violent methods of dealing with conflict often were not part of the political or social culture before.

After direct violence has ended, individuals, groups and states have many needs waiting to be met. Changing a violent conflict into a constructive conflict requires many different actions. These include meeting individual and community needs, rebuilding or reconciling relationships, and justice.

### **MEETING NEEDS AFTER CONFLICT**

At the community level, there are three basic types of needs that we need to address after a destructive conflict has ended. These needs are political and social recognition and participation, economic and livelihoods development, and security and order. Below are some examples of each, as seen in a post-conflict community.

### A. Political and Social Recognition and Participation



This is about being recognised as a participating member of society. During periods of violent conflict or oppression, a person might be unable to vote in elections, or show their disagreement about a new policy or law. Students might not be able to attend school regularly. Whole communities might not be counted during a census, and could end up unregistered as citizens, or even stateless.

### B. Economic and Livelihoods

This includes all the things that people do to support themselves and their community economically. For example, during a period of conflict it might be too dangerous for a person to work in the market selling vegetables and fruit, and they are unable to earn any income for their families. Farmers may have to flee from their land during periods of violence, so they cannot plant crops to support their families. A government may be unable to regulate the imports and exports of the country which causes a shortage of important supplies, and forces people to sell their goods on the black market.

#### C. Security and Order

This includes increasing safety for civilians, and starting basic government services. Often a government cannot or will not provide during a period of violence. Civilians need people to enforce the law and stop direct or structural violence. Other needs may be: to reduce the number of guns and other weapons, to recruit and train new police officers, to rebuild schools and train new teachers, and to find ways to help soldiers return to civilian life.

- 1. Match the community needs to the three types of activity.
- 2. Think of three more needs one for each category.

		Туре
1.	Water wells dug for IDPs.	
2.	Courts of law reopened in areas where they were closed.	
3.	Loans provided for small farmers.	
4.	Electric lines repaired and electricity restored.	
5.	Landmines removed.	
6.	Job training for amputees.	
7.	Leaders elected to manage local police.	
8.	A museum to show the effect of violence on the community and remember those who are gone.	

# EXERCISE Political and a. social recognition and participation Economic and h livelihoods security and order

<sup>P</sup> DDR stands for *disarmament, demobilization, reintegration of soldiers and armed combatants*.

In 2008, I asked an ethnic leader if his group would be interested to learn about DDR. I explained to him what I meant. He looked at me with suspicion and disbelief and said, "Out of the question!"

DDR is an important process in the journey from active military fighting to post-conflict settlement.

DDR is contributes to security and stability. It removes weapons from the hands of combatants, takes the combatants out of armed groups and helps them to return to society and find civilian livelihoods.

DDR is necessary to the peace process. However, in Myanmar, ethnic armed groups are fearful of DDR and DDR is a process that cannot be

carried out without political agreement between all the different groups in a conflict.

I understand their fear. Ethnic armed groups have long relied on "armed struggle" to fight for their rights. They believe that by means of weapons and armed struggle, they have been able to protect their territory and their people.

Once a group is disarmed, it can no longer protect itself. The remaining armed groups in the area will fight over the disarmed group's former territory.

Disarmament without security arrangements or political agreement would be dangerous for most armed groups. In some cases, it may not be the government forces they are concerned about. It might be their neighbours, who are equally well-armed.

For these reasons, we must understand the high value that ethnic armed groups place on weapons and their fight for freedom.

DDR contributes to security and stability, but it alone does not bring them about. For DDR programs to succeed, several conditions must be met. The most important conditions are: a political agreement, the desire for peace, trust in the peace process, a guarantee of security and national recovery programme, and enough funding.

Aung Naing Oo is the associate director of the Peace Dialogue Program, Myanmar Peace Center. Opinions expressed here are his own.

- 1. Why would armed ethnic groups be concerned about DDR?
- 2. Does DDR meet a lot or only a few of the post-conflict needs in conflict areas?



- 1. What is an example of community in Myanmar that has had conflict and not had its needs met afterwards? What were those needs?
- 2. Whose responsibility is it meet the needs of a community after a conflict? Can you identify other people or groups who can also meet those needs?





# **TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE**

Transitional justice is used in communities and countries where violent conflict like a war or a period of oppression has recently ended. During this time, transitional justice tries to meet the following goals:

- To bring justice to people who experienced human rights abuses;
- To develop democratic institutions and civil society so that violent conflict and oppression cannot occur again;
- To identify and understand the root causes of conflict.

The tools used in transitional justice help societies to publicly recognise the abuses people have experienced, and then identify the people, or perpetrators, who caused those abuses. These tools also rebuild relationships throughout society and help people learn about what victims need to heal from their trauma.

Transitional justice is a large category of actions. On the next few pages are a few transitional justice tools. They have been used in post-conflict peacebuilding around the world.

#### Transitional Justice in Cambodia:

Clockwise from top left: a photograph of a missing Cambodian girl, from the time of the Khmer Rouge, a memorial to victims of the Khmer Rouge; the court which was set up to prosecute former Khmer Rouge leaders.

# Some tools used in transitional justice\_



**Prosecutions** – are a legal process against individuals who are accused of human rights abuses.

Formal court cases use national or international law. They punish the people who committed human

rights abuses. When courts follow international laws, prosecutions build trust after a conflict. They support important social values and show communities that their human and civil rights are being respected. Prosecutions happen in local and national courts, and sometimes they at the international level.



**Truth-seeking, Truth-telling and Truth Commissions** – are formal and informal investigations of rights abuses.

These investigations document the stories of victims, and collect and protect evidence of abuses and rights violations.

These activities can include opening government and administrative data and documents to the public. It can include publishing reports of crimes and rights violations.

Truth-telling, truth-seeking and truth commissions happen at local and national levels. Truth commissions have the authority to investigate human rights abuses. They also make recommendations about how to prosecute the guilty.

The purpose of a truth commission is to create a shared description of events during the conflict, and to make recommendations to help victims heal and improve their lives.

These commissions can be separate from formal courts and the government. Courts and governments often commit rights abuses themselves in conflicts. In some cases, truth commissions support the work of prosecutions and courts.



**Reparations** – are payments to victims by the state. They are to repair the harms caused by violent conflict or oppression by the state or individuals.

Reparations can include public apologies for committing rights violations; they can include payment of money to victims of rights violations.

Reparations can also include economic development projects or the creation of memorials for victims of violent conflict.

Reparations are important after violent conflict or oppression because they help to rebuild trust in state institutions. They show the people that new leaders want to address past rights violations.



**Vetting** – means checking government officials and removing corrupt people from positions of power. This is done to build trust and to stop future cases of abuse or corruption from happening.

Exposing the truth about corrupt officials' actions is also a part of vetting. In some cases, officials admit to their actions and make reparations. The sometime stay in their positions.

Vetting shows that those who committed human rights abuses will be held responsible for their actions.



**Memorialising** – is a way of honoring and remembering the victims of violence or oppression.

Memorialisation can be done many different ways and is a very personal process for the group that

is creating the memorial. Common types of memorials include statues, gardens, museums, monuments, days of remembrance, and ceremonial events.

Memorialisation is done for different reasons: it may be done to help reconcile tensions between communities, help victims of conflict to heal, and raise awareness about the events of a conflict. Memorialisation can also be a type of truth-telling and reparations.

#### Fill the gaps with the correct transitional justice tool.

# EXERCISE

.....

prosecutions truth seeking and truth commissions reparations vetting memorialising

- During a \_\_\_\_\_\_ process, any leaders who participated in violating a person's rights are not allowed to have leadership positions in a new government.
- 2. The government builds a new school and provides salaries for teachers in a community that was affected by conflict. The school and salaries are \_\_\_\_\_\_ to a community as a way of repairing harm caused in a conflict.
- A group of international judges work with local judges to create a court and have \_\_\_\_\_\_ of conflict actors who violated human rights.
- 5. A community garden is built for everyone to visit and enjoy. There is a wall that surrounds the garden and each brick in the wall has the names of people who died during the civil war in that country. This community space is \_\_\_\_\_\_ the conflict so that the country can heal from its trauma.

# Focus on Myanmar: The Unofficial Truth Project and the Need for Justice

The Network for Human Rights Documentation-Burma (ND-Burma) has published a report that focuses on the needs of victims after torture, rape, extra-judicial killings, and land confiscation. The report also provides information about the current needs of victims and their hopes for reparations, memorialising, and prosecutions. The report is part of the Network's "Unofficial Truth Project" as it's called because it receives no support from the government.

ND-Burma hopes that the government sees the benefit of acknowledging the truth about past abuses through something like a truth commission. However, they are not waiting for that to happen. The report is called the Unofficial Truth Project because it receives no government backing.



Ma Sentral, a Kachin member ND-Burma, said that transitional justice tries to address the impact of past human rights violations to create a more peaceful, democratic and inclusive future.

"There needs to be accountability and transparency during the transition, provide justice for victims of past human rights abuses, and promote stable and sustainable peace and democracy," she said.

"We consider that some cases of killing or abuse in ethnic areas were committed by the authorities, especially the army. But the government has taken no serious action about those abuses," she said.

ND-Burma recommends that the first thing that the government must do is recognise that these crimes and abuses have been committed. Only then can justice and reconciliation truly begin.

- 1. What tools of transitional justice are ND-Burma using?
- 2. How is ND-Burma supporting the right to truth?
- 3. Why is it important that the government acknowledges the crimes and abuse as the first step?

## DISCUSSION

- 1. What are the main benefits of transitional justice?
- 2. What do you think are the challenges of implementing tools of transitional justice?
- 3. Do you think transitional justice builds peace? Why or why not?

# **REBUILDING AND RECONCILING RELATIONSHIPS**

Peacebuilding is about creating and improving relationships. Relationships between individuals, families, small communities, organizations, businesses, governments, and institutions must be rebuilt or created after a deconstructive conflict.

We all have relationships. We have them with other people, with ourselves, with institutions and other groups, and with states. When we watch a documentary about a group we fear or dislike, our understanding of that group may improve. When a person votes in a free and fair election, their relationship with their state or their government may improve. When a relationship is just and sustainable, it is also peaceful.

Relationships are a form of power. When people have good relationships, they are more likely to work together and to solve problems cooperatively. Constructive relationships increase your individual power and the power of people who you work with.

If you think something is a peacebuilding activity, ask yourself "Is this improving a relationship? Is this making it easier to deal with a conflict constructively?" If the answers are yes, you are probably doing a peacebuilding activity.

- 1. Are the following peacebuilding or not peacebuilding?
  - a. Veterans (retired soldiers) from both sides of a conflict meet and share the challenges that they have had returning to normal life after the violence ended.
  - b. Two families have an argument about whether or not to cut down the tree that grows on both of their properties. After the argument, the parents stop their children from visiting each other's homes.
  - c. Two boys play football together. During the game, they get in a fight about whether or not the football went out of bounds. After the game, they go to the tea shop together to have a snack.
  - d. Youth from different ethnic groups that have had conflict in the past spend their summer building sanitation systems for people in conflict-affected areas.
  - e. A place of worship is destroyed during a period of communal violence. Religious leaders from all religions work with their followers to rebuild the place of worship even though it is not their own. During the rebuilding, the communities all work together.
- 2. Think of another example of peacebuilding.
- 3. Which activity will be the most effective at rebuilding the relationship? Why?
- 4. Which activity will be least effective at rebuilding the relationship? Why?



# EXERCISE



Reconciliation means repairing the relationships between actors in conflict. Their relationship can then be peaceful in the future. It means looking at the past and the present, and finding ways to repair current relationships between actors. Finally, reconciliation is about looking at the future and finding a way for actors to live together peacefully.

The process of reconciliation happens over a long period of time – years, decades or generations. It does not happen quickly because it is a process. People must change their attitudes, goals, emotions and feelings, and beliefs.

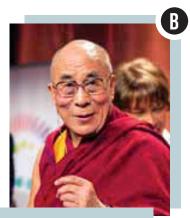
There is no perfect way of working toward reconciliation. Every conflict is different and every process of reconciliation is also different. First, reconciliation must fit the cultures of the community where the conflict took place. The process should use ideas, institutions, and methods that are culturally appropriate and familiar to the conflict-affected community.

Second, reconciliation must come from the conflict-affected community, not from outside or from strangers. The most effective reconciliations are led by members of the conflict-affected communities themselves.

- 1. Read the quotations below. Choose the quotation that you think best describes reconciliation.
- 2. Find a partner in the classroom who chose a different quote. Explain to each other why you think your quote is the best explanation of reconciliation.
- Create a definition of reconciliation with your partner that includes the ideas from the quotations that both of you chose. Write your definition on a piece of paper and put it on the wall.
- 4. Walk around the classroom and read the other definitions. As a class, organise the definitions into categories based on their similarities and differences. What categories did your class choose?

"If there is to be reconciliation, first there must be truth." — Timothy B. Tyson What is Reconciliation?

ACTIVITY





"Many people today agree that we need to reduce violence in our society. If we are serious about this, we must deal with the roots of violence, including the violence within ourselves. We need to embrace "inner disarmament", reducing our emotions of suspicion, hatred and hostility toward others." — Dalai Lama XIV

"Reconciliation is to understand both sides; to go to one side and describe the suffering being endured by the other side, and then go to the other side and describe the suffering being endured by the first side." — Thich Nhat Hanh

"Reconciliation should be accompanied by justice, otherwise it will not last. While we all hope for peace, it shouldn't be peace at any cost but peace based on principle, on justice." — Corazon Aquino



"If you want to make peace with your enemy, you have to work with your enemy. Then he becomes your partner." — Nelson Mandela



### A. Features of Reconciliation

Reconciliation is a meeting, between people with broken relationships. People must be brought together to start rebuilding those relationships. For reconciliation to be successful, it must be designed and started inside the society that experienced violent conflict.

Many successful and unsuccessful reconciliations have shown that there are four generally accepted features of reconciliation. All four features work together to make reconciliation long lasting. The four features of reconciliation are:

Truth: This is the idea that every actor experiences а conflict differently, and there is truth in every actor's experience. Actors on all sides of the conflict must recognise that their truth is not the only truth. For victims of violence, truth means that their pain and suffering is acknowledged by society. This can give victims a feeling of closure and provide emotional healing. For perpetrators of violence, truth means that they cannot deny what has happened, and they cannot hide from taking responsibility for their actions.

**Security:** This is the idea that people need to feel physically, mentally, and emotionally Successful reconciliation means safe. that individuals and groups can plan to live together peacefully in the future. Reconciliation cannot happen when there is still active fighting or physical violence. In order for relationships to be repaired, actors need to know that they have physical security.



Justice: This is the idea that balance must be returned to a community. It is also the idea of "righting a wrong" or taking action to improve the lives of the people who

experienced injustice. Justice looks different in each community, but if a person has been harmed, something must be done to repair harm. Actors must accept responsibility for the way their actions have harmed others and take steps to repair the damage.

Mercy: This is the idea that victims of violence and perpetrators of violence respect each other's common humanity. All human beings equally deserve to have dignity and be treated as human beings.

People may feel anger, fear, guilt, and mistrust after a conflict. However, mercy means agreeing on a shared idea for the future. Mercy can mean forgiveness, but it does not have to. Some people are not able to forgive those who have hurt them. However, they can respect each other's humanity and share a desire for peace.

- 1. Choose a corner of the room according to which feature of reconciliation that you think is the most important: truth, justice, mercy, or security.
- 2. Work with the people in your group to answer this question: Why is your feature of reconciliation the most important? List as many reasons as you can to support your answer.
- 3. Walk around the room meeting people from other groups. Explain the reasons your group chose that feature.
- 4. Answer the questions:
  - a. Which features were most popular?
  - b. Did everyone feel strongly about their feature or were people willing to change their minds? Why?

### B. Stages of Reconciliation

Reconciliation happens to all members of society. Reconciliation must include the people who were harmed during a conflict (victims), and it must include the people who caused the harm (perpetrators). However, reconciliation is for everyone. In violent conflict, there is often an "us vs. them" mentality. Different groups of people dislike each other just because they are a different group. In this way, conflict can impact a whole society.

When whole groups dislike and distrust each other, reconciliation must happen between everyone, not only the individuals who are directly involved in the violence. An important part of reconciliation is changing the social or cultural beliefs that support violent conflict.

Sometimes amnesties or immunity are part of a reconciliation process. Amnesty is when a group of people who took part in violence during a conflict are allowed to continue living their lives without punishment for their actions. Some people believe that amnesty is the only way to end violent conflict and to move forward after a conflict. Other people are very opposed to this.

Immunity is when an individual or group is protected from legal punishment after participating in a violent conflict. Some people believe that immunity is necessary for ending a violent conflict and preventing future conflicts from occurring. Others think it is unjust.

Discuss the following questions in pairs or a group:

- 1. Is it possible to have long-lasting reconciliation when some people have amnesty or immunity?
- 2. What reasons do you think there are for giving people immunity or amnesty if they have participated in a violent conflict?
- 3. Do you know any examples when people have been given amnesty or immunity as part of reconciliation after a violent conflict?

# ACTIVITY



South Africa has a Day of Reconciliation each year.

DISCUSSION

Draft



# • FEAR BECOMES NON-VIOLENT COEXISTENCE ••

People from all conflicting groups are physically safe and secure. Individuals or groups do not try to seek revenge through violence or killing. There is a strong belief that killing will not bring back the dead. Communication between victims and perpetrators starts and increases.

### • NON-VIOLENT COEXISTENCE BECOMES TRUST AND CONFIDENCE

People have confidence that non-violent coexistence will continue. People start to see each other as human and deserving of dignity and respect. People begin to respect the basic rights of their "enemies". People begin to understand that individuals, not whole groups, were mostly responsible for violent actions, and some violent actions were worse than others.

### TRUST AND CONFIDENCE GROW INTO A SHARED IDENTITY

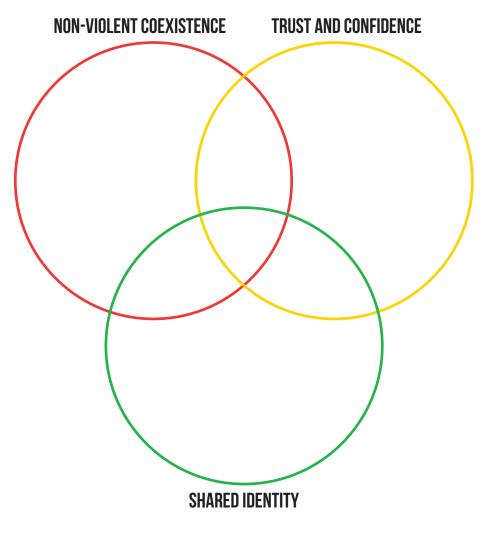
Perpetrators are willing to listen to the pain and suffering they caused their victims. Victims are willing to listen to the reasons that perpetrators had for wanting to harm them. Usually truth-telling happens sometime before stage three. Perpetrators and victims start to see themselves as sharing a common identity. Both perpetrators and victims share the identity of being survivors of violence or conflict. Having a shared identity increases empathy and moves individuals towards reconciliation. However, it does not mean that a person stops being angry or forgets what has happened to them. It also does not mean that victim forgives a perpetrator. This stage is about a willingness to listen and a shared identity.

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1. Put activities a-g into the Venn diagram to show which stage of reconciliation they happen in.

### **EXERCISE**

2. Add two - three activities of your own to the diagram.



- a. Truth and Reconciliation Commissions are held.
- b. Curfew in a conflict area is lifted.
- c. Community leaders have a dialog with each other.
- d. Farmers from opposite sides of the conflict work together to transport their crops to markets.
- e. Some perpetrators are given amnesty and some are sent to jail.
- f. All groups from the conflict have equal opportunity to participate in the selection of leaders.
- g. Groups from opposite sides of the conflict work together to increase economic development.

ACTIVITY Reconciliation for Me	<ol> <li>Think about a conflict. It can be a conflict that is interpersonal or intergroup. Your conflict can be related to violence or civil war, or it can be something smaller from your community. Answer the following questions on individual pieces of paper or sticky notes:         <ul> <li>a. Who do I need to reconcile or rebuild a relationship with?</li> <li>b. What is my biggest challenge to having reconciliation?</li> <li>c. Who do I need to forgive, or who can I forgive, or who do I want to forgive?</li> <li>d. Who do I want forgiveness from, or who do I need forgiveness from?</li> </ul> </li> <li>Put your responses for each question in a corner of the room. Walk around reading the responses from other students. As a class, discuss these questions:         <ul> <li>a. What similarities and differences did you notice when you read other student's responses to the questions?</li> <li>b. What are some challenges to having reconciliation or forgiveness?</li> </ul> </li> </ol>
DISCUSSION	<ol> <li>What are individual actions you could take to support reconciliation in your community or country?</li> <li>What are community actions that members of your community could take to support reconciliation?</li> <li>Are there any people or actions that might prevent reconciliation from happening in your community?</li> </ol>
CONCLUSION	<ol> <li>In a small group, choose a conflict that has recently ended in your community, country, or an Asian country. You should choose a conflict that you know a lot about.</li> <li>Create a mind map that identifies the needs of the community or country. Use a combination of pictures and words on your map.</li> <li>Add reconciliation activities and transitional justice activities to the needs on the mind map.</li> </ol>

4. Explain how each reconciliation or transitional justice activity meets one of the needs.

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