A MANUAL

TO FACILITATE CONVERSATIONS

ON RELIGIOUS PEACEBUILDING

AND RECONCILIATION

By

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INTRODUCTION

This manual has been developed for the specific purpose of providing material for use in discussion groups, facilitated by people with or without religious peacebuilding backgrounds, to gain greater familiarity with faith-based peacebuilding. More specifically, it has been designed to be used following the showing of two films that document the work of the Interfaith Mediation Centre in Nigeria and the experience of its two founders, Imam Muhammad Ashafa and Pastor James Wuye. *The Imam and the Pastor* is an inspiring story that describes the transformation that took place in each of their lives, moving them from armed militia members to co-workers on reconciliation efforts. *An African Answer* describes the methodology that they use, in this case in Kenya following post-election violence in 2007. The main content of the manual offers guidance in preparation for, during, and after the viewing of the films. The preparation material includes brief description of both films and the methodology of Ashafa and James, as well as information regarding the purpose of a gathering to view and discuss, how one might integrate the showing of the films into larger projects and who to target. This is followed by material to use in introducing the films, questions that facilitators might ask, and possible activities that could be generated as a result of viewing and discussing the films. There is more material, here, than facilitators can use in any one showing of the films. Therefore, facilitators are encouraged to select those questions that are most appropriate for a given audience. It is hoped that the list of possible activities will stimulate both facilitators and participants to come up with their own ideas to promote creative interfaith peacebuilding and reconciliation. In addition, the manual contains, in appendices, background information on the Nigerian and Kenyan conflict contexts as well as an overview of religious peacebuilding and reconciliation. Reading these materials will provide discussion facilitators with important information about both the causes and consequences of the local conflicts and the faith-based resources available to peacebuilders who will work within a variety of conflict contexts and faith orientations around the world.

I wish to acknowledge very valuable contributions that have been made to the development of this manual through feedback from individuals and participants in test showings/discussions held at Brandeis University and at the United States Institute of Peace. In particular, I would like to thank David Smock and Susan Hayward from the Religion and Peacemaking Program of the United States Institute of Peace. In addition, I acknowledge, with appreciation the comments of Muhammad Ashafa, James Wuye, Alan Channer, Qamar Al-Huda, Nina Sughrue, Linda Bishai, Mari Fitzduff, Theodore Johnson, Andrea Bartoli, David Little, Lisa Schirch, Marc Gopin, Mohammed Abu-Nimer, Darren Kew, Ray Helmick, Judith Oleson, Rajesh Sampath, Susan Hackley, Jim Tull, Aji Hussein, Ayse Kadayifci-Orellana, John Moore, Rod MacAlister, Charles Aquilina, Dietrich Bilger, Robert Ludwig, Christine Mosher, Matt Levinger, Amandine Weinrob, Ernest Ogbozor, Ellen Cosgrove, Lindsay Smith, and Travis Warrington.

Finally, I wish to extend appreciation to the filmmakers:

The Imam and the Pastor (2006): Director, Alan Channer, Co-Producer, Imad Karam, Executive Producer, David Channer - FLT films, London, UK. For more information, commentary and access to this film go to www.fltfilms.org.uk. *An African Answer* (2010): Director, Alan Channer, Producer, Imad Karam - FLT films, London, UK. For more information, commentary and access to this film go to www.anafricananswer.org or www.fltfilms.org.uk.

PREPARATION FOR VIEWING AND DISCUSSING THE FILMS

DESCRIPTION OF FILMS AND METHODOLOGY

"The Imam and The Pastor"

This film begins by giving some background information, and graphic images, regarding two places, Yelwa Shendam and Kaduna City, where Pastor James and Imam Ashafa have worked in the midst of violent Christian/Muslim conflict in Nigeria. This is followed by a flashback to the personal transformation process that each man experienced as he moved from sectarian militia leader to an inter-faith partnership in peacebuilding and reconciliation. The moving and inspirational story is told in great detail, including the temptations they experienced to revert to previous hostilities and the role that their faith has played throughout the entire drama. The film then moves forward to portray the combined effort they have spawned in which teams of thousands of imams and pastors, inspired by their example, now lead workshops on inter-religious trust building. Both the challenges of this work (external and internal) and the commitment of their families and followers are on display. One sees the mosque in Zangon Kataf, site of terrible violence (see appendix 1) where their mediation work later began and one hears about the Kaduna Peace Agreement which they helped to facilitate between religious leaders and the governor. The film then refocuses on Yelwa Shendam which James and Ashafa visited 17 times – preaching peace, building trust among former enemies, assisting people to make apology, and culminating in a peace affirmation in which the Governor of Plateau State and chief of the Gwari Tribe participated. The film closes with the strong personal statements of commitment both Ashafa and James continue to have to each other.

> *Ashafa:* "I would die for him!"
>
> *James:* "I love him… as [myself]!"

"An African Answer"

This film also begins by depicting the post-election violence in the Rift Valley in Kenya in 2007-2008. Ethnic cleansing, IDP camps and possible genocide in the region around Eldoret are portrayed alongside the mediation efforts of Kofi Annan between Kenya's leading political factions. Ethnic conflict between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities are displayed alongside sanctuary granted by the Catholic Church in Eldoret and the work of the Center for Human Rights and Democracy (CHRD) which invited Ashafa and James to come and lead a workshop on reconciliation. At the beginning of their time in Kenya, in May 2008, the film shows their visit to an IDP camp and spells out some of the tensions between the Kalenjin and Kikuyu communities (see appendix 2). The workshop then begins in the town of Burnt Forest with storytelling, first by the facilitators, then the participants. James and Ashafa then ask each community to list the likes and dislikes they have of each other (see lists below). As reports are given, they focus first on the positive, rather than the negative. Each community is then asked if they agree or disagree with the full depiction made of them by the others. Ashafa sets some ground rules, indicating that this is about perception, not judgment. He also gently challenges them during this process before asking each community to choose representa-

> *Ashafa:* "Nobody's Right; Nobody's wrong!"

tives to respond to the allegations. At the end of the day, a peace commission, consisting of ten people, including tribal chiefs, councilors and CHRD staff, is formed to consider the best way to proceed with reconciliation efforts. The film then jumps to four months later when Ashafa and James are invited to come back for a three-day workshop. The opening scene shows them meeting, first, with the Peace Commission in order to listen to the needs, concerns and challenges as well as their commitment to work together. The challenge the facilitators give to the peace commission is the same one that they give later to the 75 grassroots leaders who attend the workshop – "What solutions can you create to resolve your disputes?" However, the process through which they lead the participants focuses very much around cajoling participants to address their fears and stereotypes and breaking a cycle of violence and revenge (see below), prior to helping them create action plans, participating in rituals of healing and forgiveness, and taking the workshop participants, along with the message of peace, into the center of the town. The film closes

> *James, preaching to the town's people:* "We fight because we don't know how to talk. You kill one another and all of you are Christians? Where is Jesus?

with the participants cutting the ribbon at the new office of the peace commission, writing their apologies in a "Sorry Book," and participating in inter-ethnic song and dance.

Methodology of the Interfaith Mediation Center

Much of the methodology of IMC is depicted in the preceding description of *An African Answer*. In order to fully understand the process, however, some more information is needed. James and Ashafa, themselves, list the stages of their process as follows:[1]

1. Getting the contact persons
2. Doing a case study of the situation
3. Holding an all stakeholders conference to understand the context, using conflict mapping analysis to redefine the issues from positions to core needs of the people, and testing the conflict materials generated from the conference
4. Starting the reconciliation process through the smoke screen of a workshop
5. Having participants state their cases.
6. Debunking stereotypes and misconceptions
7. Reprogramming the people through a mixture of trauma counseling, spiritual empathy and sharing of stories
8. Building trust and confidence through cooking and sharing meals
9. Facilitating a healing process through the act of forgiveness, letting go pains of the past (writing on papers their grievances and burying their hurts)
10. Ending with peace festivals, using traditional songs that depict peace

James and Ashafa also note that sensitivity to gender dynamics is very important when dealing within African society, especially in Islam. Men and women cannot mix within the mosque. Consequently, in *The Imam and the Pastor,* only men are shown in the mosque. On the other hand, in the church, the intervention depicted coincides with Girls Brigade week and, therefore, is attended by many women. Despite this distinction in gender representation, both Ashafa and

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[1] E-mail to this author by Muhammad Ashafa and James Wuye, January 27, 2011.

James have highlighted the need for women's voices to be heard since they are more expressive in their participation in workshops.[2] More details regarding the involvement of women can be found at the end of Appendix 1: Conflict Context in Nigeria, in the section on "Work of the Interfaith Mediation Centre in Nigeria." In a ground-breaking peacebuilding event involving women in the city of Jos, one will still note the gender separation that characterizes the Muslim workshop, in contrast to the gender mixing in its Christian counterpart.

In addition, a few specific parts of their methodology in Burnt Forest need further explanation than can be readily seen in the film.

1. The diagram used to illustrate breaking the cycle of violence and revenge has been adapted from a source elaborated in Appendix 3: Overview of Religious Peacebuilding and Reconciliation. Amplification of many of the steps in the outer cycle is described in the second main section, titled "Faith-based-Practices that Enhance Relationship Building." Below is the version used in the film.[3]
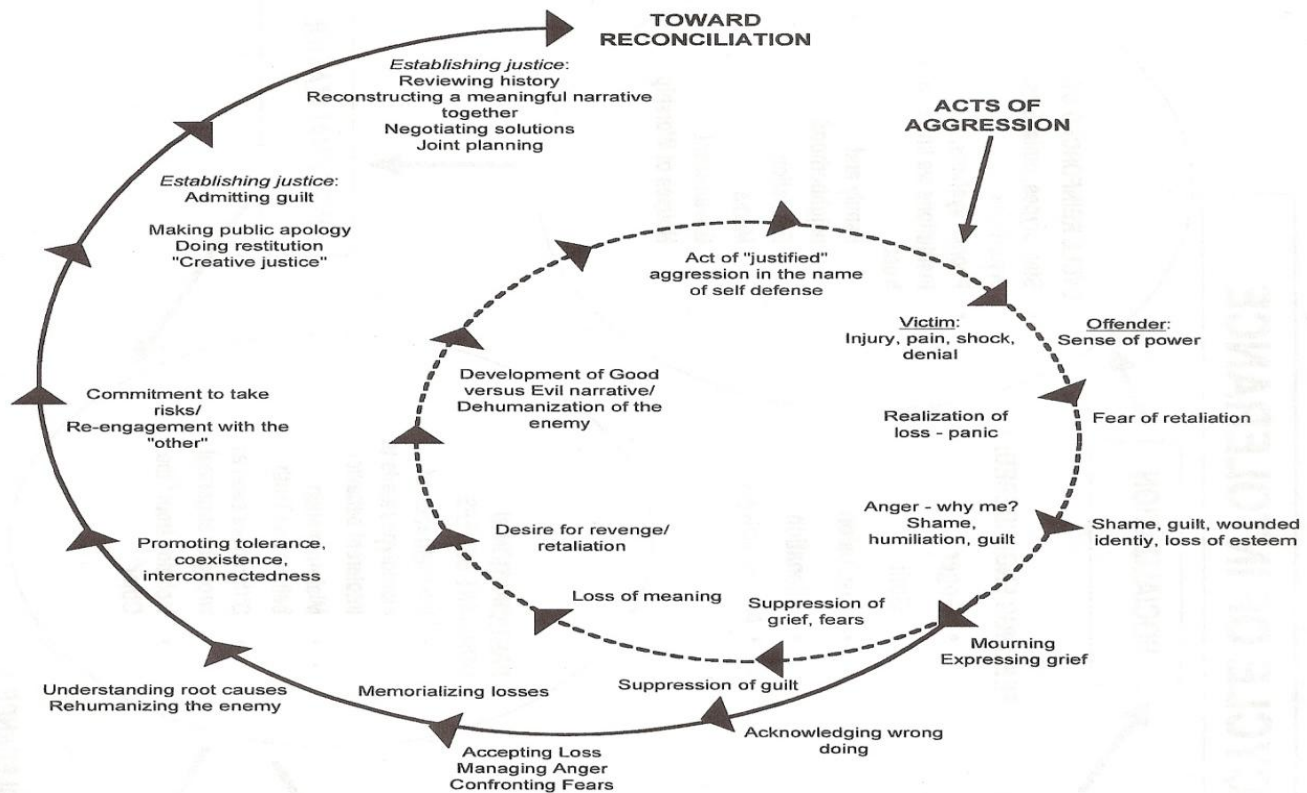
Breaking the Cycle of Violence and Revenge

© 2002 Karuna Center for Peacebuilding
adapted from EMU, Conflict Transformation Program; based on model by Olga Botcharova

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[2] Ibid.

[3] E-mail to this author by Muhammad Ashafa and James Wuye, January 27, 2011.

2. A description of the complete lists of "likes" and "dislikes" made by the Kalenjin and Kikuyu communities about each other can help the facilitator responds to questions about the details. In addition, the process that James and Ashafa used to elicit the lists from each ethnic group provides the facilitator and the viewer with insight into the style and dynamics of their approach. The complete list of "Likes" is in the box at the right. The list of "Dislikes" is on the following page.[4]

When the reports are given, first on the "likes" each group had for the other, Ashafa simply asks: "When did you hear the other say such good things about your group?" Despite the fact that the lists of "dislikes" are far longer and more detailed, he asks them to begin with the positive.

The lists of dislikes reveal a great deal of indiscriminate anger, resentment and judgment. Although, it is noteworthy that participants saved their most negative assessments until the end of their lists. James and Ashafa allow this venting process, though they start with the less hostile list. Toward the end of the reporting of negative comments, they help the groups to laugh, showing an acceptance of the group's anxiety. This provides a level of support and comfort which allows them to then challenge the participants. Ashafa, for example, asks: "Is it true that you attacked places of worship?" and after a somewhat awkward silence, follows

What the Kalenjin Liked about the Kikuyu:

a) Kikuyu have a right to live where they are as they were created by God like any other human being
b) They are generally hardworking
c) They are good schemers
d) They are good in intermarriages as they pay their dowries in time.

What the Kikuyu Liked about the Kalenjin:

a) They are generous
b) They are easy to unite
c) They are honest when involved in business deals

up with "You never attacked a single place of worship?" He doesn't push the participants beyond this point (which might have simply produced denials in order to save face). Previously, however, both he and James have demonstrated that they were capable of doing the very same things. They do move on to speak about stereotyping as generalizations based, perhaps, on interaction with just one member of the other group. They indicated their deep understanding of the feelings and the desire for revenge that these emotions can engender, but they also indicate they will not collude with either group in blaming the other. Instead they challenge the participants to take responsibility for their actions. Even this challenge, however, is set in the context of an inspiring and compelling vision for what could be, rather than judgment over what has been. Ashafa and James move the focus from the historic action, itself, to the decision now facing the participants – whether or not to tell the truth in the interest of reconciliation. They clearly pose the choice by asking the group to consider the consequences of both success and failure in achieving reconciliation. Each person is confronted with the need to make a conscious decision to change both attitude and behavior, pri-

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[4] Report titled, "North Rift Peace Conference: Meeting HELA at Chief's Camp @ Burnt Forest on 24th May 2008," received by this author from Muhammad Ashafa and James Wuye, January 27, 2011

vately within oneself. Yet, recognizing that such a decision is hard to maintain over time, without support from the other side, James and Ashafa begin a process that culminates, by the end of the workshop, in each person finding a partner from the other side, following the model of Ashafa and James themselves.[5]

What the Kalenjin Disliked about the Kikuyu:

a) The Kikuyu are still bitter and we fear revenge
b) They have not gone back to their farms making people in Kenya and other parts of the world believe that Kalenjin are still hostile and are denying Kikuyu the right to erect tents in their individual farms.
c) They accused Kikuyus for registering their kith and kin as IDP's in order to reap material benefits.
d) They raised doubts as to the actual number of people who perished in the infamous church fire in Kiambaa.
e) They also raised questions and doubts as to the true cause of the Kiambaa church fire. Some of them said they had evidence they got from some of the survivors of the burnt church to the effect that the fire was actually caused by the explosion of a gas cooker which was being used to cook food for those running away from their homes in nearby Kimuri village. The Kalenjin group requested that bomb and explosion experts be sent by the government to the scene to collect and analyze the evidence to find out what the cause was.
f) Kikuyus denied that their attacks were planned but were a spontaneously reaction to election results that didn't meet their expectations.
g) They accused the Kikuyu of trading on lies and the government for listening to one side and stated that the Kalenjin were also affected and were not being given a hearing by the state.
h) They alleged that some Kikuyus came back a day after the attack and stole the property and burnt houses belonging to their Kikuyu kinsmen, leaving the blame to the Kalenjin.

What the Kikuyu Disliked about the Kalenjin:

a) The Kalenjin are lazy and encourage idleness among their young, exposing them to manipulations by rich politicians and business people
b) Kalenjins are driven by jealousy against the Kikuyu for their material advancement and aggressive business skills.
c) Kalenjins are secretive, hypocritical and unreliable as team workers.
d) The Kalenjin are arrogant and look down on other communities, treating them with disdain.
e) The Kalenjin are unforgiving and are using people arrested as a scapegoat to avoid reconciliation.
f) They accused the Kalenjin of not practicing gender equality and refusing let women play some roles in community leadership and reconciliation.
g) They accuse the Kalenjin of harboring a natural hatred of the Kikuyu people

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[5] Joseph, Philip, "Notes and Reflections: The Methodology of the Imam and the Pastor: 'Burnt Forest Shall Live'," unpublished report, February 2009.

PURPOSE OF THE GATHERING TO VIEW AND DISCUSS

The films, *The Imam and the Pastor* and *An African Answer,* address all three aspects of the relationship between religion, conflict, and peacebuilding:

1. Religious parties being in conflict,
2. Religious issues at stake in the conflict, and
3. Religious interveners in the conflict.

It is hoped that viewing and discussing these films will lead all viewers (participants in conflict – including policy makers, third-party practitioners, and academics) to question any preconceptions. Although the essence of the films points to the importance of understanding, accepting, respecting and handling religious differences, both films also demonstrate that this is not an easy process. The call to embrace the "other" while affirming one's own spiritual tradition is difficult for many people of faith when they sense that values they hold to be basic are threatened. There is a tension between the call to be custodians of the truth and the call to love the "other" within many faith traditions. How to affirm both calls is frequently at the heart of religious conflict and, therefore, is key to its resolution. Imam Ashafa and Pastor James display a unique ability to value both calls, combining preaching and listening. In so doing, they demonstrate what local faith-based leaders can accomplish. Discussing these two films will provide much to contemplate regarding the handling of these values conflicts. Appendix 3, An Overview of Religious Peacebuilding and Reconciliation, will provide the discussion facilitator with helpful insight into these issues as he/she prepares.

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose for using these films is to:

- Increase knowledge and understanding regarding the nature and dynamics of religious conflict,
- Learn the value of using a specifically religious approach to peacebuilding and reconciliation in various contexts, and
- Build awareness of the potential roles played by faith-based peacebuilders.

The overall objective for a discussion period following the showing of each film, is to think collectively about how best to participate in, or manage, dialogue processes among divergent groups with different religious and cultural backgrounds. In particular, it is hoped that the discussion will shed light on ways to build better relationships and settle disputes between faith communities in conflict. Though addressing social and structural change is necessary, the process portrayed in these films only touches on this factor. Consequently, the specific objectives for these film discussions will center on how to utilize a faith orientation in order to:

- Build trust,
- Examine faith-based identity and values,
- Transform grievances and bias,
- Handle grievances in a way that leads to reconciliation rather than revenge, and

- Encourage attitudinal and behavioral change that can enhance inter-religious relationship building,
- Assist divergent groups to work together, through educational, advocacy, intermediary and other efforts, to settle disputes peacefully, and
- Raise awareness regarding issues of the social and structural change needed to produce sustainable justice and peace.

Adapting to Other Cultural and Religious Contexts[6]

In order to assist participants from other cultures to understand the specific cultural context in which these films were made, the facilitators may chose, depending on the particular audience and setting, to share some of the background information from Appendices 1 and 2 as part of the introduction before viewing, though this should be done in very brief form. One can also consult Appendix 3 for suggestions regarding adaptation to non-Abrahamic religious traditions. Although the films are set in Nigeria and Kenya, where the only religious traditions present are Christianity and Islam, the films and the manual materials can be useful in building awareness and competency regarding faith-based reconciliation in other conflict contexts. Many other societies suffer from similar kinds of identity-based conflicts, both religious and ethnic. Furthermore, the relational issues addressed in the manual are common to a very wide spectrum of conflict situations and the intervention roles described can be applied universally, though may need to be adapted. Yet, the facilitator should also be aware of the need to manage and adjust the discussion process in order to address, effectively, issues that arise within a particular context.

The film, *The Imam and the Pastor,* has already been used in a number of different cultural and religious contexts. In one case, it was shown to a group of Iraqis representing the diverse faith groups in that country. Some of the viewers were moved to tears and many have requested that the film be shown all over Iraq. As a result, 22 additional screenings have already been arranged and 1000 copies of it distributed in Arabic. Some Iraqis, however, questioned whether or not all of the methodology used in Africa was appropriate for their culture. Though cultural and religious differences do certainly exist and some participants may judge the films as not applicable

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[6] It is important to **distinguish between the concepts of culture and religion** as such an inquiry might arise in discussion. First, one must note that there are many similarities. Both culture and religion offer a framework of beliefs, experiences, values, and principles that give meaning to life and shape group identity, consciousness, worldview and understanding of others. Both culture and religion influence perceptions, attitudes, behaviors, practices, and lifestyles that are accepted and expected by an identity group. Both embody a construction of morality and ethics, expressed through laws, moral precepts, or identity group norms that can be either written of orally transmitted. Both involve traditions transmitted from past generations, but adapted by contemporary experience. Both are public and communal, as opposed to individualistic phenomena, giving rise to organizations, institutions and movements.

However, culture and religion are also distinct. One can find different religious expressions within the same culture and different cultural expressions within the same religion. For example, many world religions transcend culture, yet are also affected by it within the specific context. The main distinction between culture and religion has to do with the primary identity marker chosen by the group. In the case of culture, it is an ethnic orientation, often involving a distinct language. In the case of religion, it is a faith orientation, centered on some understanding, acceptance of, and relationship to the sacred or divine -- a "holy other." It includes specific practices such as worship, prayer, meditation and a sense of divine involvement in human life.

to their society, the discussion facilitator can simply ask what kinds of practices will address effectively the conflict dynamics within their given context. For example:

- If African style dancing would not be appropriate to celebrate a transformation in relationships, what kind of ritualistic practice would accomplish that?
- If participants in another cultural or religious context cannot move as quickly to apology and forgiveness as is portrayed in these African contexts, what different understandings of the process need to be explored? The answers to this question (as further explored in Appendix 3) will depend greatly on varying definitions of the concepts, needs for face saving, emphases on private verses collective decision making, and expected timeframes involved in attitudinal change.

The challenge is to develop a methodology for discussion that is effective given the particular cultural and religious context in which the facilitator is operating.

Finally, when organizing the viewing of these films in any context, the facilitator might consider a number of factors identified as important by the Iraqi viewers:[7]

- Coordination with local authorities and security offices, when needed, in order to reduce potential obstacles or interference.
- Use of facilities of non-governmental organizations, especially those affiliated, or working, with the targeted audience.
- Use of places of worship when targeting one particular faith.
- Cooperation with supportive clerics and religious institutions.
- Avoidance of dates or times that conflict with worship or religious ceremonies.
- Avoidance of any political ties by not using any political statements and emphasizing respect for all political parties.
- Offering a special viewing/discussion for religious or political leaders who might resist or reject the idea of inter-faith reconciliation.

"STAND-ALONE" EVENT OR PART OF A LARGER PROJECT

The viewing and discussion of either both films, or only one, can be done as "stand-alone" events or can be used within the context of a larger project. Either approach can be useful. As a "stand-alone" there is the potential of reaching more people. When used within the context of a larger project, care will need to be taken to integrate it into the purpose of the entire endeavor.

Use as a "Stand-Alone Event"

If used as a "stand-alone" event, the facilitator must be especially careful to assess the risks that may accompany a brief encounter with the topic of interfaith or inter-ethnic reconciliation. Such risks include the raising of high expectations, the possibility of emotional re-traumatization, refusal to participate, denial of similar conflicts within one's own country or faith, or blaming of

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[7] Unpublished report on the results of showing the film *The Imam and the Pastor* at a workshop in Erbil, Iraq in June 2010.

others for the problems. When such behaviors surface, either in a "stand alone" event or as part of a larger project, the facilitator might use some of the approaches demonstrated by Ashafa and James, as indicated in the previous section on their methodology. Or one might utilize some of the following approaches:

- Emphasize that the fundamental problem is one of exclusion and rejection,
- Avoid generalizations about any of the parties,
- Point to positive, constructive personalities on all sides,
- Admit the full spectrum of positions within each faith tradition and focus on how to create constructive dialogue between extremists and moderates,
- Highlight the consequences if dialogue fails, and
- Emphasize the need to develop joint inter-group responses to existing problems.

Use as Part of a Larger Project

One of the most common usages of the films will likely be within the context of a longer training **workshop**. The exact use may differ depending on the participants involved and the scope of the workshop. Such workshops could cover a range of topics, including: conflict transformation/ management/resolution, peacebuilding, conflict assessment/prevention, relationship building/ reconciliation, identity formation, problem solving, leadership development, and training of trainers. In each case, *The Imam and the Pastor,* due to its focus on their personal experience and change of heart, could be used early in the training in order to help participants to view experiences of actual transformation, building confidence that such changes can actually happen. The second film, *An African Answer,* which focuses more on their methodology, would be more useful later in the process, at a point when participants have progressed from "if?" to "how?."

Another very common use for the films will be to supplement a **dialogue process**. As in the case of the training workshops, *The Imam and the Pastor,* due to its focus on their personal experience and change of heart, could be used early in the dialogue session and *An African Answer,* which focuses more on their methodology, would be more useful later in the process. There are different kinds of dialogue processes in which the films might add useful insight.

- <u>Civil society dialogues</u> involve sessions in which non-governmental actors attempt to build better relationships between non-governmental conflicted groups and sometimes generate creative options for transforming the conflict. Such dialogues can be as casual as a group of citizens periodically meeting informally, or a more formal structured, facilitated dialogue, in an attempt to break through an impasse in the conflict dynamic.
- <u>Roundtables</u> are a more formal, usually time-specific dialogue process designed to facilitate clear and effective communication between opposing groups over specific topics in dispute. The use of the films could assist such processes to focus on the emotional dynamics, rather than just the substantive content and provide an example of a participatory, elicitive interaction process that could moderate the tendency toward debate as a modus operandi in round table discussions.
- <u>Reconciliation commissions</u> are also a formal truth and reconciliation process designed more to restore relationships than to develop proposed solutions to a problem. These commissions can be organized at any level of society, from local to national. At the local level they can

operate like "neighborhood watch" groups, but with a healing focus added to truth-telling in order to enable a truly restorative justice.

The films can also be used by groups or individuals engaged in **other types of intervention.**

- A <u>mediator or arbitrator</u> might use the first film to introduce the sessions or use either of them help to unblock an impasse among the parties.
- A <u>psycho-social healing process</u> might even devote more time to both films, utilizing both the example of Pastor James and Imam Ashafa in the first film and the methodology in the second film related to dealing with the sharing and healing of traumatic experiences.
- A <u>conflict assessment process</u> could use the films to help attune the team to the dynamics and root causes of conflict present in conflicts with a religious or cultural overlay.
- Humanitarian assistance and development organizations could use the films to help facilitate a <u>community mobilization program</u> in which, many times, participants do not take enough time to identify and respond to the emotional and attitudinal dynamics that stand in the way of effective problem solving.

Finally, the films can also be used in **academic contexts**.

- In a <u>university classroom</u>, they could easily be part of an overall syllabus dealing with peace studies, conflict resolution, cultural sensitization or religious studies.
- In a <u>secondary school</u>, they could be used to augment a peer mediation program or create discussion around the nature of identity conflicts and possible means for their transformation.

TARGET AUDIENCES

Depending on the context, there is a variety of groups of people that could be invited to showings of these films, though one should be mindful that a maximum of 30-35 people is best for creating meaningful dialogue. As already indicated, these audiences can be broken down into three types: (1) participants – in a conflict context, including policy makers (who may be part of one of the conflict venues described above), (2) practitioners – dealing directly as third party interveners in a conflict context (who may be involved in one of the conflict venues described above), and (3) academics – who are either studying or teaching in a related field (who often are not directly involved in the conflict context).

Participants in Conflict Contexts

Whether one is attempting a "stand-alone" showing or a larger project, it is helpful to include people who have some degree of influence within the society or their organizational structures. Frequently, the optimal participants are those at mid-levels within their respective hierarchies (especially religious ones). The mid-level people often can influence both up to the top level of decision making and down to the grassroots. Furthermore, they usually have more time available than the top leadership. Secondly, it will be important to evaluate the value of inviting homogeneous groupings of people verses bringing together all the stakeholders in a heterogeneous gathering. The main questions to ask are:

Will a homogeneous or heterogeneous grouping enhance or diminish the potential for:

- Meaningful sharing?
- Attitudinal or behavioral change?

Value of Homogeneous Groupings	*Value of Heterogeneous Groupings*

Ability to gain a broader picture of the spectrum of sub-units within that party
More likely to hear a wide variety of perspectives within that group:
  • People who will not attend a mixed identity event (including many who have been most affected)
  • Things attendees will not say in the presence of the other identity group
Ability to address the concerns/needs of traumatized and defensive participants
Greater ability to address certain conflict sensitive issues within one identity group
	Opportunity to facilitate greater understanding of the other identity group
	Opportunity to feel understood by the other group
	Opportunity to build bridges between people from opposing groups who can work together
	Ability to move more quickly into a reconciliation process, especially important in situations where there are constraints due to time limits imposed by:
	  • Availability of participants,
	  • External events, or
	  • Program costs

The criteria for participant selection should be different for homogeneous and heterogeneous groupings:

- In homogeneous groups, one should select as broad a spectrum of perspectives as possible within that group.
- In heterogeneous groups, one should set openness to consideration of the reconciliation process as one of the major criteria. It will also be useful to include, if possible, people from mixed families, tribes, religious groups (or whatever identity marker is predominant). Such participants can be very constructive bridge builders.

In either type of grouping, good facilitation is important. However, it is also important to note that many times well-facilitated heterogeneous sessions have been successful even when relating to people within protracted and violent contexts. The skill level of the facilitator can often make a significant difference in addressing the problems faced in a heterogeneous context.

Possible invitees, within either hetero- or homogeneous groups, can be placed within the following categories, though in each case a decision will need to be made regarding the right category(ies) for a given event:

Religious People & Organizations	*Secular Authority Figures*

Specific local places of worship
Denominations/sects within one religion
Organizations that include all sects/ denominations within one religion
	Government officials
	  at all levels: local to national
	  including elected officials
	  and civil servants

Interfaith organizations/associations/
  Movements (re. advocacy, education, etc.)
Clerical leaders
Populist figures
Minority group representation
Prominent laity
	Police & security personnel
	Former government officials
	Representatives of political parties
	Other policy makers
	  Councils of elders/clans
	    including tribal confederations

Members of Other "People Professions"
  Teachers
  Lawyers
  Journalists
  Human rights workers
  Medical professionals (including mental
    health)
  Business people
	Other NGOs/CSOs
	  Community development organizations
	  Economic development organizations
	  Poverty reduction programs
	  Environmental groups
	  Local self-help groups
	  Neighborhood associations

Youth & Women
  Women's organizations
    (including religious)
  Individual women who cross the divides
  Youth organizations
  Livelihood that employ either youth
    or women
    (youth motorcyclists or women traders)
  Sports programs for youth
  Students in trade/vocational schools,
    as well as secondary and university
  Youth/female members of political parties
	Victims & Perpetrators
	  Militia groups
	  Prisoners Release programs
	  IDP programs
	  Trauma victims
	  Organizations working with the disabled

Peace Groups
  Local community peace activists
  National or regional peace groups
  Truth and reconciliation commissions
  Local government peace committees	

Practitioners

Practitioners will inevitably be drawn from some of the same categories as listed above, though the purpose of the viewing of the films will be different, as explained below. Again, for any given event, one must decide from which category(ies) to chose.

Religious People & Organizations	*Government/Pan-Government Organizations*

Faith-based organizations
  working on peace & reconciliation efforts
Individual religious leaders
  working on peace & reconciliation efforts
Other organizations promoting
  interfaith cooperation
	Government agencies involved in post-
	  conflict reconstruction (e.g. USAID,
	  S/CRS, DFID, SIDA, CIDA)
	Pan-governmental organizations (e.g. UN
	  Mediation Support Unit, UN Bureau for Crisis
	  Prevention and Recovery, UN Peacebuilding
	  Commission, as well as regional organizations

	like OSCE, OAS, UAU)
Staff of Peace & Reconciliation Organizations	*Other NGOs/CSOs that Support Peacebuilding*

Conflict prevention organizations
  Transitional justice organizations
  Community dialogue programs
  Trauma healing organizations
  Negotiators, mediators, dialogue facilitators
  Trainers in peacebuilding & conflict
    transformation/management/resolution
	Humanitarian assistance and development
	    agencies
	  Human rights organizations
	  Job creation programs
	  Health care organizations
	  Organizations serving widows and orphans
	  Councils of elders
	  Organizations working on cross-border
	    conflict
	  International professional service &
	    consultant firms

Academics

Academics, whether or not they come from a conflict zone, may also use these films for research and/or teaching purposes. When used in the classroom, the films will obviously be part of a larger curriculum. When used for research purposes, they will likely be stand-alone events. Due to the different objectives, the target audiences will be distinct from the other two categories. They can include the following:

Students in University Courses in:	*Researchers*

Peace & justice studies
  Dispute resolution
  Coexistence
  Conflict transformation/resolution/
    Management
  Security studies
  Religious studies
	Professors in universities
	  Visiting scholars and fellows
	  Graduate students
	  Research institutes

WHAT TO DO DURING AND AFTER VIEWING THE FILMS

INTRODUCING THE FILMS

1. The facilitators should begin with a **welcome** to the participants (unless this has already been done as part of a larger project). The facilitators should introduce the titles of the film(s) (depending on whether 1 or 2 of them will be shown).
2. **Thanks** should be given to the organization/partner sponsoring the event and acknowledgment given to the U. S. Institute of Peace as the developer of this manual. The U.S. Institute of Peace is a non-partisan, independent institution which directly empowers people throughout the world with knowledge and skills to resolve conflict and directly engages in peacebuilding on the ground in many conflict zones.
3. **Facilitators** should then briefly **introduce** themselves and **announce the schedule** that has been determined for the particular showing (including length of films(s) - 40 mins. for each - and time allotted for discussion following each – recommended at least 45 mins). If both films will be shown, indicate that each will be followed by a period of discussion.
4. Then, if not already done, **participants** should be asked to briefly **introduce** themselves, giving name, affiliation and general interest in the topic of religion, conflict and peacebuilding (30 secs. per person).
5. Facilitator should then **introduce the film(s)**. If both are being shown, then an introduction can be made prior to each film. As part of the introduction:
   - State the purpose as a chance to examine faith-based transformation and peacebuilding in the context of religious/ethnic conflict
   - Provide a brief sketch of the conflict context (drawn from Appendix 1 for *The Imam and the* Pastor and from Appendix 2 for *An African Answer*)
   - Let participants know that there will be an opportunity to discuss their response and hear how they might apply any lessons learned to their own context
   - Summarize the main focus of each film in one sentence (taken from the beginning of the introduction for this manual; also inserted into the example of an introduction in the box on the right).
   - Ask a question for participants to consider while viewing the film. (A recommended question for each film is suggested below.)

Suggested Wording that Can be Used in the Introduction of Either Film:

"We are here to view (one or two) film(s) about the nature and dynamics of religious and ethnic conflict and faith-based peacebuilding in Africa. The film(s) raise(s) complicated issues related to conflict over identity and values formed around Christian and Muslim religious traditions in Nigeria [or ethnic/tribal traditions in Kenya]. We will see in the film(s) what happens when basic values are threatened and violence engulfs a whole society. But we will also see the power of faith-base transformation. [Insert some background details from Appendix 1 or Appendix 2.] Situations of religious conflict leading to civil war are occurring around the world. In this (these) film(s) we have the chance to benefit from the experience of two men who have lived through both violence and reconciliation. Undoubtedly the nature of the conflict and the possible modes for reconciliation will differ to some extent in other situations. However, we invite you to watch and listen

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> to their stories and their work, with the understanding that we will then have time to discuss your response and hear how you might apply any lessons learned to your life (work or study).[8] We will now view The Imam and the Pastor which focuses on their personal transformation in Nigeria following devastating sectarian violence in their home town during the market riots in 1992. [or We will now view An African Answer which presents more of the methodology used when the imam and the pastor go to work in Kenya following post-election violence in 2008.] While you watch the film(s), we encourage you to reflect on the following question [selected from the question to ask while viewing each film, as listed below]."

6. During the discussion period for each film, it would be helpful to **write participant comments** on flip chart paper or white/black board.
7. These notations can then be used to **summarize** the main points of the discussion and emphasize lessons learned at the end of the session.

QUESTIONS TO ASK

Below you will find two sets of questions, first the ones for the film, *The Imam and the Pastor,* and second, the film, *An African Answer.* In each case there is one question to ask prior to the showing of the film and a number of questions to ask following the showing. Whether to use small discussion groups following the film or to have one plenary discussion is up to the facilitators.

The questions are designed to be used either by *participants* in a conflict setting (including policy makers), *practitioners* working in a given context, or *academics* studying or teaching about conflict and/or peacebuilding in any number of contexts. The use of the phrase "*your context,*" in the questions to ask after the showing, implies whichever context is relevant for the particular discussion group members - the context in which participants live, facilitators work or academics study. The questions following the showing are also grouped according to topics or tasks that may be relevant to a number of the larger projects mentioned above. A number of the topics are directly related to the faith-based practices that are enumerated in the second half of Appendix 3 and facilitators are encouraged to consult this resource. The facilitator may wish to select certain topics, or develop one's own combination of questions from the entire list, in designing a particular discussion format that would be most relevant to the needs of any given program.

 "The Imam and the Pastor"

To Ask Participants to Consider while Viewing the Film

- How does this film inspire you? To do what?

To Ask after Showing the Film

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[8] Depending on which type of viewing audience (participants in conflict (including policy makers), practitioners, or academics) will watch the film(s).

- What specific experiences of the pastor and the imam enabled them to break free from a mentality of exclusion and revenge?"
- How did they remain faithful to their own religious traditions and still demonstrate acceptance, and even love for the other?
- How did they use these traditions to address grievance and trauma?
- Where in your context are there stories of personal transformation and reconciliation? Where are the mentors? Do they include religious clergy? Laity? Women?

As Part of a Larger Project

Questions that address the following topics or tasks:

Identity:

- In the film, which identity markers are portrayed as defining the divisions in Nigerian society?
- Does your context have religious or ethnic conflicts, involving exclusion and violence based on identity, that are similar to those depicted in the film?
- What disastrous results can occur when communities reject each other's identities?
- How would you deal with the loyalty felt by each group to its own religious or ethnic identity?
- In your context, does politicized religion exist (the use of politics for religious ends) or sectarian politics (the instrumentalization of religion for political ends)? If so, what would you recommend in order to address effectively this often lethal combination of religion and politics?
- Can you identify historical or current figures (including both men and women), from different identity groups in your context, who have advocated for, or exemplified, inter-religious or inter-ethnic dialogue and cooperation?
- What can you learn from the experience of the imam and the pastor that would help your context to overcome similar problems and promote diversity and coexistence among identity groups?
- The pastor and the imam visited each other's places of worship. How important is this? Could it be done in your context? Why or why not?
- Five years from now, how could your story be an example of inter-religious reconciliation?

Handling Grievance and Trauma:

- How did the pastor and the imam utilize religious leaders and religious traditions as resources to address grievances and trauma? How might you utilize religious crisis intervention teams and religious practices to do this in your context?

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[9] For discussions planned for longer than 45 minutes, the facilitator may select from the topics, and related questions, listed for use when viewed as part of a larger project, or simply devise one's own questions, based on the target audience and/or the follow of the discussion

- What attitudes within your context need to be examined in order to break a mentality of exclusion or revenge?
- How could you deal effectively with historical wrongs and crimes in order to remove the hurt and heal the memories so that these blockages can be removed from a path to reconciliation?
- How can reaction to internal events (such as controversy over Sharia law in Nigeria) or external events (from any part of the world) be handled constructively, so as not to enflame local tensions between religious communities?

Apology and Forgiveness:

- How did the imam and the pastor establish working relationships between themselves in the midst of ongoing disagreements, hurts, and temptations to take revenge?
- Does intra-personal transformation, as happened between the imam and the pastor, need to precede interpersonal reconciliation? If so, how can religious conviction assist in this process?
- How was the problem of blame handled by the imam and the pastor in Yelwa-Shendam? What was the role of apology and forgiveness? How would blame directed at other groups best be handled in your context?
- Can you remember the religious scriptures or traditions supporting forgiveness that were mentioned by the imam or the pastor? How did they encourage adoption of interpretations that show respect for other traditions?
- Do the religious traditions in your context instruct believers to take revenge? Do they instruct believers to be tolerant and forgive? If both, how can one reconcile this tension with the desire find peace? How does this impact the prospects for apology and forgiveness?
- If your context is one in which non-Abrahamic religions are present, or even prominent, how would you interpret or apply these concepts of apology and forgiveness? Would you use other language or concepts instead? Which ones?

Handling Attitudes and Emotions:

- What enabled the pastor and the imam to make conscious, cognitive decisions to change despite the presence of strong attitudes and emotions? Would this same approach work in your context?
- What role did the wives of the pastor and imam play in building trust in the midst of negative attitudes and emotions? What role might women play in building trust, despite negative perceptions and feelings, in your context?

Mediation or Negotiation Context:

- How important are written peace declarations such as the one that the imam and pastor facilitated in Yelwa-Shendam?
- In that case, the governor and one of the tribal chiefs attended and spoke. Who would it be important to include in your context?
- What contribution might policymakers be able to give? Who would be the best contact points in your context? How could faith-based peacebuilders work with them most effectively?

Meeting Needs:

- The Interfaith Mediation Centre has a program to support orphans and widows in addition to their dialogue and reconciliation efforts. How important is such humanitarian work as a compliment (or part of) peacebuilding?
- Are there existing humanitarian organizations, including women's associations, in your context which might be interested in incorporating a peacebuilding component into their work? How would you assist in the process of providing support and/or training?

Follow-up Activities:[10]

- In Nigeria, neighborhood peacebuilding associations have been established within some of the conflict zones. How might interfaith peacebuilding organizations, such as the International Mediation Centre in Nigeria, build cooperative efforts with neighborhood groups wherever they exist, in Nigeria or elsewhere?
- Do interfaith organizations already exist in your context? If so, how could they be made more effective? If not, how could they be established? Who could do this? What support would they need?

"An African Answer"

To Ask Participants to Consider while Viewing the Film

- What stages in the reconciliation process that are presented in the film strike you as particularly important? Why?

To Ask after Showing the Film

For Stand-Alone Viewings[11]

- What stages in the reconciliation process, as presented in the film, helped workshop participants to re-perceive their situation and turn reactive relationships into constructive ones? Would any of these work well in your context? Which ones? How modified?
- How do the imam and pastor deal with the intersections between religion and other components of conflict - tribal, political, economic, militant?
- How would you encourage participation in faith-based peacebuilding or reconciliation workshops that address identity conflicts in your context? What groundwork would need to be laid before you could start such a project? What follow-up would need to be done to insure sustainable transformation?

As Part of a Larger Project

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[10] To learn more about the work of IMC, in order provide information relevant to the discussion of follow-up activities, see "The Work of the Interfaith Mediation Centre in Nigeria" at the end of Appendix 1.

[11] For discussions planned for longer than 45 minutes, the facilitator may select from the topics, and related questions, listed for use when viewed as part of a larger project, or simply devise one's own questions, based on the target audience and/or the follow of the discussion

Questions that address the following topics or tasks:

Addressing Security Needs:

- In Burnt Forest, security forces were present when the workshop participants went into the town (though not at the workshops themselves). What role should security forces play in sectarian violence? What role should be left to faith-based actors? What are the determining factors that should affect evaluation of this in your context?
- What if there is opposition among religious or political leadership to any interfaith activity? Would it be unsafe to hold an interfaith workshop on peacebuilding or reconciliation in your community? If this is the case, how would you pursue inter-religious tolerance and understanding? Would be there be any setting in which interfaith dialogue or cooperation could not take place?

Identity:

- How did the pastor and imam handle ethnic differences in Burnt Forest? How would you handle differences among identity groups, especially ethnic and religious ones, in your context?
- How would you recommend that an outside facilitator (like the pastor and imam in Kenya), avoid being linked to one party and its perceptions or proposed solutions to the conflict?
- Even if the facilitators have taken great care to avoid identification with one side, how should they deal with any perception among participants that they are biased?

Handling Grievance:

- During the first workshop in Burnt Forest, the primary agenda item required the participants to name and discuss their "likes" and "dislikes" about each other. How did the imam and the pastor deal with the dislikes and judgments? How did they help participants to accept others' grievances toward one's own group?
- Do you think a one-day workshop on this topic was effective in Burnt Forest? Could this be done in one day in your context? Would the approach taken by the pastor and the imam work well in your context?
- How can a facilitator help workshop participants to set aside whether or not another's perception of them is accurate, assisting people simply to focus on understanding the other's perspective?
- The pastor and imam presented a couple of cycles regarding conflict dynamics: a negative cycle leading to revenge and violence, and a positive cycle indicating ways to break out of this mentality and behavior pattern. Can you remember some of the stages in these cycles? Is there any significance to the fact that two women were the first people to came forward and indicate the point where their communities were on the cycles? Would this methodology for drawing out conflict dynamics work in your context?
- One of their stages involved work on "creative justice," which includes both public apology and restitution – a combination of both restorative and retributive justice. In your context, how might restorative and retributive justice be pursued in order to produce the most "creative justice?" What role could faith-based peacebuilders play in this process? Policymakers?

Conflict Analysis:

- How did the pastor and the imam provide conflict analysis (examining actors and social context and exploring causes and effects) during the workshops in Burnt Forest? How did they help participants uncover root causes and consequences of the conflict?
- How would you answer the primary questions the imam and pastor are asking in this film as they apply to your situation: (1) How do people understand what they are doing? (2) Do they want to change that dynamic?

Apology and Forgiveness:

- At the end of the film, workshop participants write personal messages in a "Sorry Book." How important is the role of acknowledgment (truth telling) and apology (remorse)? How could this be approached in your context? How could people be encouraged to admit both negative attitudes and negative behavior, on the part of both oneself and one's identity group?
- The forgiveness process at Burnt Forest was interactive. Both Kikuyu and Kalenjin admitted wrongs, were sorry, and forgave one another. What made this possible? What is necessary for this to occur in other situations?
- Can you describe the ritual of forgiveness and cleansing in which the Kenyans participated at the end of the film? Do similar rituals exist, or could they be created, in your context? Would the religious practices be the same or similar? Or would different practices be required? How effective do you think these religious resources are, or would be?
- Will telling people that their hurts have been removed, as was done in Burnt Forest, really work? Or will unresolved resentment resurface later? What should be the balance between giving time for individual reflection and encouraging a communal process?
- What about people who are not ready to apologize or forgive? How would you approach them? Can these concepts be used to approach a whole population? In your context? If so, how?

Communication and Perception:

- How were the pastor and imam able to turn reactive relationships into constructive diagnosis?
- How were they able to help participants reframe how they saw information, events and each other? How did they address stereotypes?
- How did they demonstrate active listening – to perceptions? feelings? needs? intentions?
- What methods did they use to educate and persuade the participants?
- Would any of these methodologies work well in your context? Which ones? How modified?

Handling Emotions:

- How did the pastor and the imam handle feelings among the workshop participants? Fear/Anxiety? Anger? Hurt?
- How did they help participants to re-perceive their situation and, thereby bring about a change in emotions?

- How would you effectively handle emotions of fear, hurt or anger during reconciliation efforts in your context? What role do you think women, in particular, might play in dealing with emotions?

Problem Solving:

- How did the imam and the pastor help participants in Burnt Forest to understand the consequences of their current actions, re-perceive their choices, and discover available resources in their midst?
- How could a joint problem solving process be conducted among conflicted ethnic or religious groups in your context? How would you recommend that local people be helped to develop community-based initiatives for reconciliation and peacebuilding?

Follow-up Activities:[12]

- During the second workshop the pastor and imam asked participants to form a peace committee and then asked its members what the villagers would want them to do. How would the locals in your context answer this question?
- Imam Ashafa emphasizes that the solutions need to come from the community. What ongoing resources and support would be needed to help participants to identify, design and implement effective problem solving strategies? How could policymakers assist in this task?
- How best can faith-based peacebuilders work to multiply the effects of their work? Are multiple trainings or regular follow-up required to sustain change? What kinds of trainings would be useful? What topics? For whom?
- How would you address, and possibly engage, potential spoilers, including religious extremists and the communities in which they are embedded? What steps could be taken that could minimize, or transform, their effect?
- What kind of follow-up activities would you recommend in order to meet the interests or needs of (1) religious leaders? (2) religious and secular NGOs, (including women's organizations)? (3) religious and secular youth? or (4) policy makers?
- In Burnt Forest, the minister of land addressed the workshop participants. How could faith-based peacebuilders work effectively with other government officials, secular authority figures like elders, police, politicians, or members of the various "people professions" in order to address the social and structural causes that underlie conflict on either local or national levels?
- How does religion interact with all the other systems involved in deep-rooted conflict – ethnicity, politics, economics, legal and social factors? What can faith-based actors contribute to the resolution of structural issues involving such problems as such as human rights, constitutional reform (a major undertaking in Kenya), government corruption, protection of minorities, the role of media, etc? How can policymakers contribute?
- When Pastor James talks about people in the village "smelling trouble" and then notifying the peace committee, he is suggesting the creation of a very low level "early warning early

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[12] To learn more about the work of IMC, in order provide information relevant to the discussion of follow-up activities, see "The Work of the Interfaith Mediation Centre in Kenya" at the end of Appendix 2.

response" mechanism. How could such a mechanism be established at a village level? What role could ethnic or religious groups play in such an endeavor?

Training of Trainers:

- How important would it be to inform local authorities prior to holding any inter-religious workshop or cooperative project (including viewing these films)? How important is it to invite them to take part, as the pastor and the imam did? Would there be circumstances in which you would not recommend doing this?
- The pastor and the imam went to the IDP camp before starting the workshop. How important is this kind of pre-workshop contact?
- At the beginning of the second visit, the pastor and imam met first with the peace committee in Burnt Forest which had been established at the end of the first workshop. How do you think this influenced the way the workshop was conducted? Before the last day of the second workshop, they went to the homes of both Kikuyu and Kalenjin to eat a meal. How much do these contacts with participants outside the workshop context contribute to its success?
- The second workshop in Burnt Forest included 20 women. In what way do you think this might have influenced the process or the results?
- How did the pastor and the imam create safe space for dialogue?
- How would you characterize the roles that the imam and pastor played in the reconciliation process in Burnt Forest? When were they supportive and reassuring? When were they challenging? When were they visionaries? When was their process very directive? When was it elicitive? How useful would their model be in your context? What adaptations would you recommend in order to facilitate effective reconciliation that context?
- How would you evaluate the pastor and the imam's use of preaching and prayer? Was it effective? In what circumstances would you see value in using these very religious practices?
- At the end of the second workshop the pastor and imam took all the participants to the segregated market places in the town. They carried banners, shared transforming life experiences, and challenged the larger community by preaching peace. How important is such activity? Could it be so overtly religious in your context?

POSSIBLE ACTIVITIES

In addition to providing support necessary to maintain inter-group relations and continue to work through any conflicts in a constructive manner, it is important to make some suggestions regarding possible activities that could be done by participants, either during workshops, or as part of a follow-up effort.

The activities recommended for consideration during workshops are for the purpose of either:

1. Raising awareness and understanding regarding conflict dynamics or developing skills in conflict transformation roles, or
2. Actually beginning to implement, in addition to designing, an action plan for addressing a particular local problem

The activities recommended for consideration following the workshop represent a broader range of possibilities, including efforts to address underlying structural issues, to which participants might commit themselves in an effort to promote sustainable reconciliation and peacebuilding in their communities. These activities can be designed, in initial form, during a workshop, but they are too complex to be fully implemented during such a short time period.

The following lists are only suggestive. It is very important, in fact, that workshop participants select and design their own activities. What follows here are simply lists of *what* might be done. The *"how to"* is described at the end of Appendix 3 in the section titled "Negotiating Solutions and Developing Joint Action Plans." This appendix also includes concrete examples that illustrate the ways in which a few of the most noteworthy activities listed below, those marked with an asterisk (*), have been approached in a given context.

Activities to Consider during a Workshop[13]

1. *Form working groups* to develop action plans through utilizing a problems solving process (explained in detail at the end of Appendix 3) to generate possible options and then select the best ones to be implemented following the workshop. Any of the activities listed in the follow-up section could begin as a result of such a problem solving process that is begun during a workshop.
2. *Develop simulations or role plays*, either hypothetical or taken from participants' experience. This could involve simulating the start of an interfaith organization, bringing the necessary stakeholders together in a dialogue process. Or it could take a particular problem faced by an interfaith organization, assign roles to participants who would create a scenario for dealing with the problem. Debriefing the role play at the end would help those directly involved to gain the most insight into ways in which they might address the problem in the real world after the workshop.
3. *Utilize a tableau* where participants use their bodies to silently make a human sculpture of a situation. The tableau can either be frozen or moving.
   For example, participants could portray what justice means to them by how they place themselves in relationship to each other.
4. *Conduct an exercise that helps develop awareness, understanding and/or skill related to relational dynamics* such as: conflict mapping, identity formation, handling values differences, stereotyping and bias, communication, influence and persuasion, facilitated dialogue, etc. Such processes were used to help bring the Bosnian participants to the point that they were ready to address the difficult topic of corruption.
5. *Present a case study* of a religious conflict from another context in order to create a less threatening environment in which to evaluate the nature of a similar conflict and possible so-

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[13] In addition to the activities listed in this manual, other sources of activities to use during workshops can be found in the following publications: *Peace Manual for Peace Clubs in Nigeria,* (Port Harcourt: Centre for Human Development & Social Transformation, 2007); *Peacebuilding: A Caritas Training Manual*, Caritas International (Vatican City: Palazzo San Calisto), 2002; Ayindo, Babu, David Steele and Mabel Isolio, *Strengthening the Capacities of Non-State Actors in Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation: A Source Book and Training Guide Specifically Designed to Address Post-Election Violence In Nyanza, Rift Valley and Western Regions of Kenya* (Nairobi: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2010); and Tony Karbo, Pamela Machakanja and Babu Ayindo, *Trainers in Conflict Management and Negotiation Skills* (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: UPeace Africa Program. n.d.)

lutions. The International Mediation Centre, for example, could use the model of their work in Nigeria to assist participants from a number of African contexts to evaluate conflict dynamics and modes of intervention.

6. *Use drama and parables* to engage participants with an issue on a different level than is possible with logic. For example, the Nigerian parable of how the monkey saved the fish from flood waters by lining them up on the beach can be used to demonstrate how good intention, without regard to impact, can have devastating effects.[14]

7. *Use rituals* of many kinds: cleansing and forgiving (as demonstrated in Burnt Forest), closing or commissioning, exchanging of objects or symbols, singing, dancing, etc.

8. *Visit places* of worship (perhaps to a religious group that was not willing to send representatives to the workshop). Or visit the town center, a government official, an IDP camp, a hospital where wounded people are being treated, etc.

9. * *Invite external parties* to attend a session, for example bringing the media in to observe, or possibly interview, participants during a workshop

Follow-up Activities to Consider[15]

For Policymakers (who are, or are willing to work with, faith-based actors)

1. *Advocate to set up local government peace committees*
2. *Examine the possibility of creating zones of peace or safe havens* for those at risk, in consultation with security forces
3. *Explore possibility of forming a truth and reconciliation commission* to examine ether local or national crimes
4. **Hold dialogue sessions regarding constitutional and political issues* (such as devolution of power or land rights for minority peoples), for the purpose of creating an atmosphere of listening that can reduce the tendency that these issues might enflame religious or ethnic conflict

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[14] *Peace Manual for Peace Clubs in Nigeria,* (Port Harcourt: Centre for Human Development & Social Transformation, 2007), p. 36.

[15] In addition to the activities listed in this manual, other sources of activities to use following workshops can be found in the following publications: Ayindo, Babu, Sam Gbaydee Doe and Janice Jenner, *When you are the Peacebuilder* (Harrisonburg, VA: Conflict Transformation Program, Eastern Mennonite University, 2001) **[including examples from Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, Sudan, South Africa and Uganda]**; Douglas Johnston and Cynthia Sampson, editors, *Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft* (London: Oxford University Press, 1994) **[examples from East Germany, post-war France and Germany, Nicaragua, Nigerian Civil War, The Philippines, Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, and South Africa]**; Johnston, Douglas, editor, *Faith-Based Diplomacy: Trumping* Realpolitik (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) **[examples from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kashmir, Kosovo, the Middle East, Sri Lanka, and Sudan]**; Steele, David, "An Introductory Overview to Faith-Based Peacebuilding" in *Pursuing Just Peace*, ed. by Mark M. Rogers, et al. (Baltimore: Catholic Relief Services, 2008) [**examples from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Burundi, Chile, East Germany, Kosovo, Mozambique, Northern Ireland, the Philippines, South Africa, Thailand, Uganda, United States, Zambia, and Zimbabwe]**; and Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Peacebuilding, *Peacemakers in Action: Profiles of Religion in Conflict Resolution,* ed. by David Little (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007) **[examples from Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, El Salvador, Eritrea/Ethiopia, Indonesia, Israel and Palestine, Kosovo, Nigeria, Northern Ireland, Sierra Leone, South Africa, and the Sudan]**.

5. *Brainstorm ideas that could be fed into government* circles and help resolve disputes by holding private sessions between religious leaders, elders and people close to government
6. *Utilize religious people as a back channel of communication* between government officials when official communication has broken down.
7. *Utilize trained religious mediators* that could assist government officials to intervene effectively in heated conflicts
8. **Determine whether extremist religion will be taught in public schools*
9. *Check for illegal weapons or plan a demobilization of current militias* by working with civil society actors and government officials to set up a mechanism
10. *Advocate for minority representation in government* positions by identifying policy goals and actors who would support such an endeavor
11. *Encourage the impact of effective government policies* that have had constructive influence on sectarian or ethnic conflict

For Religious Leaders

1. *Sponsor an interfaith dialogue process*, dealing either with religious beliefs, religious practice, life experience, or a concrete problem between communities (such as religious freedom)
2. *Make joint interfaith declarations*, signed by prominent religious leaders, that either call attention to a problem or are a statement of resolution to a problem
3. *Create a protocol for handling differences between faith communities* by calling together a group of religious leaders
4. *Form homogeneous faith groups* that will examine the support for peacebuilding and reconciliation in their own scriptures and respond to any distortions of the scripture message coming from other elements within their own faith community
5. *Create an interfaith journal* that will inform everyone about the beliefs of each religion
6. *Plan for joint peace prayers*
7. *Form an interfaith choir* that will sing the music of each group and perform it within the living areas of each group
8. *Declare a day of forgiveness* in order to promote a spirit of reconciliation
9. *Plan an interfaith peace festival* that will celebrate diversity and tolerance

For NGOs (religious and secular)

1. *Develop a network of interfaith NGOs* (including women's groups), or create new ones devoted to cooperation on peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts
2. *Create an inter-ethnic or inter-religious center* that will house displays of different traditions and offer space for cultural presentations from all communities
3. *Develop very specific justice projects* identified and supported by committed groups of citizens: e.g. a micro-enterprise business, child protection program, refugee or IDP resettlement project, neighborhood watch group, meals program, repair of homes or places of worship, rehabilitation of infrastructure (roads, schools, health clinics, etc.)
4. *Assist an environmental NGO* to resolve conflicts that are preventing environmental protection from being implemented
5. *Mobilize business people*, whose shops are being destroyed due to violence, to join together to support reconciliation efforts

6. **Develop an early warning early response mechanism* that can collect information about security risks from the community and pass it on to security authorities if necessary
7. *Counteract false rumors* by forming an interfaith crisis response team that can speak directly with the people involved, clarifying any communication problems, and defuse the conflict before it reaches the point of violence
8. *Reform the media* so that it reports accurately, without stereotyping groups of people; e.g. develop a documentary to address a particular concern or write editorials for local newspapers

For Those Working with Youth (religious and secular)

1. *Develop school curriculum*, by working with teachers, to determine how religion (including how faith-based peace education and reconciliation) will be taught in the schools,
2. *Hold training workshops in interfaith peacebuilding and reconciliation* for youth from conflicting groups (political, ethnic, religious)
3. *Organize peace dialogue forums* for youth in order to address issues of concern or dispute
4. *Sponsor an interreligious youth camp* for longer-term, intensive interaction
5. *Develop peace teams that seek out violence-prone youth* in order to better understand them, engage them in dialogue, and persuade them to cease violent activity
6. *Initiate advocacy programs to disallow child/youth soldiers*
7. *Provide psycho-social and spiritual healing* for youths who have been either engaged in violence or the victims of violence
8. *Encourage youth gangs to sign a Sorry Book*
9. *Develop job creation programs and provide skills training* in trades or livelihoods where there are employment opportunities
10. *Hold a sports event*, such as a peace run, bringing together mixed teams of youth from across the ethnic, religious or political divide
11. *Form a drama group*, consisting of a mixture of ethnic/religious young people who will write and perform a play that deals with a conflict in a lighter, more humorous way

CONCLUSION

It is hoped that those who view *The Imam and the Pastor* and *An African Answer*, and who use this manual to facilitate discussion, will improve their ability to understand and participate in faith-based peacebuilding and reconciliation. The intended purpose is to increase knowledge, influence attitudes, stimulate personal transformation, and improve skill level in faith-based methodologies. For those interested in further understanding of, and skill development in this field, the United States Institute of Peace offers a free online course in Interfaith Conflict Resolution (See http://www.usip.org/education-training/courses/certificate-course-in-interfaith-conflict-resolution).

In this manual, based on the IMC documentaries, a variety of practical guidelines, in addition to the historical contexts and the overview of faith-based peacebuilding, are offered for planning and facilitating the discussions, as well as envisioning peacebuilding activities involving faith communities. Discussion facilitators are encouraged, however, to select the materials that will be most useful given the context in which the films are shown. The dynamics of the specific conflict setting and the nature of the overall activity (stand-alone or part of a larger project) should influence the choice of participants. The needs of those participants should influence the specific questions posed and their concerns should determine the activities pursued. May the model provided by Pastor James and Imam Ashafa lead to the development of cadres of compassionate people, committed to rebuilding relationships, resolving disputes and addressing needed structural change in many corners of the world.

APPENDIX 1

CONFLICT CONTEXT IN NIGERIA

Nigeria consists of 250 distinct ethnic groups which speak over 100 languages. Three of these groups, however represent about two-thirds of the population: The Muslim Hausa and Fulani who inhabit northern Nigeria, the Yoruba who live in the southwest and include about equal number of Muslim and Protestant Christians, with a minority adhering to traditional African beliefs, and the Igbo who live in the southeast and are primarily Catholic Christian, with a recently growing Protestant Evangelical minority. In between these three predominant groups, there are a large number of minorities. The northern and central minorities live in an extended territorial region known as the Middle Belt. Although historically rooted in the cultural and political world of the Hausa-Fulani, the population is a mixture of Muslim and Christian.[16]

Historical Overview

In the 8th and 9th centuries, Muslim merchants introduced Islam to the northern part of what is today Nigeria, though failed to convert the entire population. British colonialism began in the south in the late 19th century and by the early 20th century both the north and the south were under British rule. In the north, the British allowed the existing authorities and traditional Islamic practices to continue and banned Christian missionary activity. In the south, the British imposed an administrative and military presence, allowed Christian missionary activity, and promoted Western education. This dual approach resulted in a predominantly Christian south and Muslim north which were later consolidated into a single administrative unit, the boundaries of which were to determine the current Nigerian State.[17]

Conflicts between these regions, based on their tribal, religious, cultural and political heritages, have plagued Nigeria ever since. Corrupt politicians then played on regional tensions to consolidate political power and violence soon followed. Two thousand people were killed following parliamentary and regional elections during 1964-65. In 1967, the Nigerian Civil War started, claiming tens of thousands of lives during the next three years. Following the war, a series of military dictators ruled Nigeria until March 1999. During this time, corruption abounded, the economy plummeted, elections were either postponed or annulled, and the transition from one dictator to another was often accompanied by violence. The violence was particularly acute in the north where religious and ethnic divisions persisted due to Christian missionary activity among the minorities. When the elections of 1993 were annulled, violent protests exploded and the last, must brutal, military dictator came to power. When he died of natural causes in 1998, a transition to civilian rule began. The People's Democratic Party (PDP), and its presidential candidate, Olusegun Obasanjo, a Yoruba Christian who also enjoyed support from the northern leaders and military, won an overwhelming victory in the 1999 elections.[18]

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[16] Kew, Darren, *Classrooms for Democracy: Civil Society, Conflict Resolution, and Building Democracy in Nigeria* (unpublished draft of manuscript, 2010), pp. 62-63.

[17] Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peacemakers in Action: Profiles of Religion in Conflict Resolution*, ed. by David Little (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 248-50; and Kew, *Classrooms for Democracy*, pp. 64-65.

[18] Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peacemakers in Action*, pp. 250-54; and Kew, *Classrooms for Democracy*, pp. 65-74.

President Obasanjo consulted with numerous civil society groups on constitutional, military and economic reform. Most of these measures, however, benefited the elite, while the majority of Nigerians struggled to survive. Furthermore, as Obasanjo neared the end of his second term, his rule became increasingly autocratic. His handpicked successor, Umaru Yaradua, was declared the victor in the 2007 election which was marred by bloodshed and massive fraud.   The new president was unable to deliver on a promised reform agenda which included broad social development and electoral reform. Upon his death in May 2010, Vice President Goodluck Jonathan succeeded to the Presidency in the context of growing instability and uncertainty.[19]

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Timeline of Events
(with the activities of Ashafa and James in red)

- 8th-9th centuries: Islam introduced in north
- Late 19th century: British colonialization of south
- Early 20th century: British colonialization of north
- 1904: Muslim Hausa-Fulani tribe settles in Jos in Plateau State
- 1950s: Acceleration of conversion of minority tribes to Christianity in Plateau State
- 1964-65: Violence following 1st election after independence, 2000 killed
- 1967-70: Nigerian Civil War
- 1970s-1980s: Tensions rise in Kaduna City due to:
  - Christian conversions
  - Return of retired military
  - Establishment of Izala movement, a back-to-basics Islamic group
  - Rise of "Kaduna mafia"
- 1970-99: Series of military dictatorships
- 1991: Central government creates new local government in Jos North
- 1992: Violence in Zangon Kataf in Kaduna State over implementation of Sharia Law.
- James and Ashafa establish the Muslim-Christian Youth Dialogue Forum to work with leaders of sectarian youth militias
- 1999: Transition to civilian rule
- 2000: Ashafa and James change name to Interfaith Mediation Centre (IMC)
- 2000: Northern states, including Kaduna, extend jurisdiction of Sharia Law
  - Jan. 2000: Violence in Zangon Kataf, 2000 killed
  - Feb. 2000: Christian Association of Nigeria leads protest against Sharia Law
  - Feb. 2000: Kaduna City economy collapses
  - May 2000: violence in Zangon Kataf, 2000 killed
- 2001: Violence in Plateau State, 1000 killed

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[19] Kew, *Classrooms for Democracy*, pp. 243-48; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Goodluck_Jonathan [accessed September 30, 2010]; Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2010 – Nigeria*, May 3, 2010, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4c0ceaddc.html [accessed August 11, 2010]; Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2010 – Nigeria,* January 20, 2010, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4b586ce741.html [accessed August 11, 2010]; and LeVan, A. Carl and Patrick Ukata, "Country Report - Nigeria," in *Countries at the Crossroads 2010* (Washington: Freedom House, 2010), available at www.freedomhouse.org [accessed August 11, 2010].

- Aug. 2002: Signing of Kaduna Peace Declaration by religious leaders, facilitated by IMC (See box below)
- Oct. 2002: Adoption of "Kaduna Compromise" by state government, limiting the jurisdiction of Sharia Courts and establishing parallel secular courts
- 2003: IMC workshop, held in Kaduna, for religious leaders from all over Nigeria to provide training that would help prevent violence after the April elections
- 2003: Inter-religious/ethnic coalitions formed at the national level to help prevent violence after April elections
- 2004: Violence in Plateau State, 1000 killed
- 2004: "Miss World" riots in Kaduna State, 250 killed
- 2004-05: IMC successfully mediated acceptance of Peace Affirmation in Yelwa-Nshar in Plateau State (see box below)
- 2007: Election fraud and violence, but Sharia Law not deemed the cause
- 2008: Violence in Plateau State, 1000 killed
- 2009: Public hearings on violence in Jos (in Plateau State) by the Nigerian House of Representatives
- 2009: IMC holds series of workshops in Jos, resulting in establishment of an early warning/early response mechanism and trauma counseling
  - Dec. 2009: Restrictions on freedom of assembly still enforced in Kaduna and Plateau States
- Jan. – Mar. 2010: Violence in Jos (Plateau State), over 500 killed
  - Feb. 2010: 8500 flee from Jos to Bauchi State; 6900 placed in IDP camps around Jos.
  - Feb. 2010: Recently drafted legislation to end ethnic exclusion by local governments has still made no progress in parliament
  - Mar. – April 2010: Presidential advisory committee to investigate the violence in Jos gives interim report in March, but report still not made public by April
  - April 2010: Tense truce in Jos, but with total of 15,400 people displaced
  - May 2010: Christian vice president officially succeeds to presidency after illness and death of Muslim president

Current Flash Points of Conflict

Two of the regions of the country that have recently been at the center of conflict and violence, Plateau State and Kaduna State, are of particular interest due to the fact that Pastor James Wuye and Imam Muhammad Ashafa have been involved in reconciliation work in these states. These states can be found near the middle of the map of Nigeria on the next page.[20]

Plateau State

Plateau State is one of the poorest states in Nigeria and its capital city, Jos, sits astride the Christian/Muslim fault line that divides the country. The state's majority population is Christian, but control over Jos, situated in its northern tip, is fiercely contested. When the Muslim Hausa-

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[20] Modified from Nigerian map made by Compare Infobase limited, available at
http://www.mapsofworld.com/nigeria/nigeria-political-map.html [accessed on January 23, 2011].

Fulani first migrated into the region in 1904, the Muslim newcomers pushed the native Berom, Afizere and Anaguta tribes to the outskirts of the city. Fifty years later, evangelistic missions

Nigeria Political Map
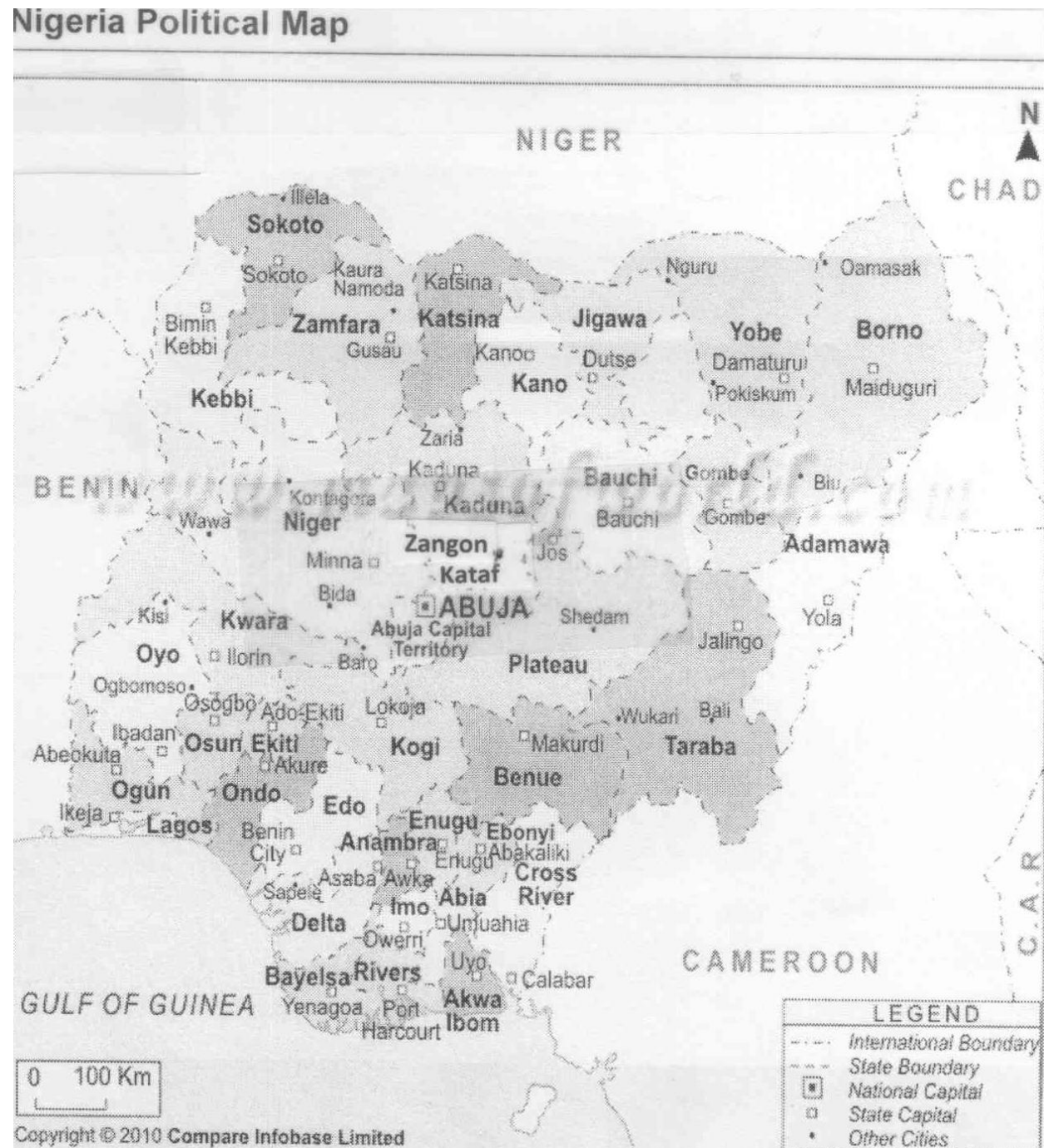
began to convert the minorities to Christianity. Disagreement is fueled also by class differences. The Muslim population is generally better off economically, having pursued livelihoods as traders and pastoralists. The farmers that constitute the Christian population are generally poorer. Consequently, the Christian ethnic groups, though a majority in the Plateau State, view the Hausa-Fulani as more affluent "settlers" who could easily return to any one of the seven or more

states in which they are a majority. These Christians view Plateau State as their only state, giving them the right to be the indigenous population.[21]

Issues surrounding unequal rights and balance of power have repeatedly led to violence between Muslim and Christian communities in the Plateau State. Even since the end of military rule, violence has exploded, killing at least one thousand people each year in 2001, 2004 and 2008. As a result, violence spread to other regions of the country as people fled to their ancestral homelands with stories of atrocities. An investigative report on the 2008 violence concluded that political parties, local government and religious leaders were all involved in perpetrating the violence in Jos North. Due to impunity, however, violence returned in January and March of 2010 when over 500 people were killed in Jos. As of April 2010 there was a tense truce. Many people on both sides, however, refuse to accept the accounts of the other, each side inflating the figures of their own suffering in order to justify revenge.[22]

Kaduna State

The state capital, also named Kaduna, includes a population representing a wide variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds. Christians and Muslims live there in approximately equal numbers, Muslims in the north and Christians in the south. During the 1970s and 1980s tensions increased due to a number of factors. Many minorities had begun to convert to Christianity. One of these tribes, the ethnic Kataf who had made their careers in the Nigerian military, began to return home, intent on ending the oppression of their people. Within the Muslim community, a new Izala movement was established, based in Kaduna, which challenged the predominant Sufi traditions in West Africa with a "return to the basics." Finally, a network of powerful, well-educated northern leaders, called the "Kaduna mafia," began to replace the former traditional leadership.

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[21] Kew, *Classrooms for Democracy*, pp. 243-48; Kwaja, Chris and Darren Kew, "Analysis: Nigeria's smoldering crisis in Jos," available at http://www.globalpost.com [Accessed August 19, 2010]; Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), *Nigeria: Inaction paves way for more bloodshed, observers say,* February 1, 2010, available at http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4b6aba4ac.html [accessed August 12, 2010]; and Smock, David, "Mediating between Christians and Muslims in Plateau State, Nigeria," in *Religious Contributions to Peacemaking: When Religion Brings Peace, Not War*, ed. by David Smock, Peaceworks No. 55 (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, January 2006), p. 17.

[22] Marshall, Paul, "Nigeria: Shari'a in a Fragmented Country, " in *Radical Islam's Rules: The Worldwide Spread of Extreme Shari's* Law, ed. by Paul Marshall (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2005), p. 117; Kwaja, Chris and Darren Kew, "Analysis: Nigeria's smoldering crisis in Jos," United States Commission on International Religious freedom, *USCIRF Annual Report 2010 – Countries of Particular Concern: Nigeria,* April 29, 2010, available at http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4b7ba8d81e.html [accessed August 11, 2020]; Smock, "Mediating between Christians and Muslims in Plateau State," p. 17; Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), *Nigeria: Inaction paves way for more bloodshed, observers say,"* United States Department of State, *2009 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Nigeria,* March 11, *2010,* available at http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4b9e52d0c.html [accessed August 12, 2020] *;* Schwartz, Stephanie, "Is Nigeria a Hotbed of Islamic extremism?;" and Refugee Documentation Centre, Legal Aid Board, "Information on recent ethno-religious rioting in Plateau State in March 2010," (Refugee Documentation Centre of Ireland, 8 June 2010), available at http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,,,NGA,,4c1885e12,0.html [accessed on October 2, 2010].

This intelligentsia gained great influence over both military and political spheres, controlling state agencies in Kaduna, as well as local news media and financial institutions.[23]

Violence erupted in the town of Zangon Kataf in 1992 between the Muslim Hausa-Fulani who inhabit the town center and the Kataf Christians who live in the outskirts. The Kataf viewed themselves as the indigenous people and the Hausa-Fulani as newcomers. Yet the Hausa-Fulani had traditionally controlled the town market and stores. In 1992, however, local government boundaries were redrawn, giving the Kataf people a majority, emboldening them to move the town market to the outskirts. When Christian women began taking their goods to the relocated market, violence broke out precipitating a Muslim flight from Zangon Kataf to Kaduna City, enflaming tensions among its equally divided population.[24]

The violence in Zangon Kataf increased incrementally when the State of Kaduna became the center of the controversy over the implementation of Sharia law. Within three days in January 2000, Christian and Muslim youth gangs, already mobilized, killed 2000 people, dislocated many others, and destroyed much property. Accusations and rumors abounded regarding who was responsible for manipulating the people, prolonging the riots, and creating a crisis. The simmering, latent conflict erupted again in May when rioting killed over 2000 persons, again resulting in revenge killings in other parts of the country. Eventually, however, a stalemate was reached in Kaduna and violence diminished, ending in September.[25]

By 2002 Kaduna City was composed only of homogeneous religious neighborhoods. The governor of Kaduna State attempted to resolve the sectarian crisis by letting each local government decide if Sharia law would be adopted and how strict a version would be implemented. He also changed some of the life style laws so that Christians would not be compelled to live by them. This "Kaduna compromise" included the establishment of parallel customary courts, primarily for use by non-Muslims, but available to anyone who did not wish to be subject to a Sharia court. Despite the fact that the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) then reversed its earlier opposition to any form of Sharia law, these changes resulted in an increase in tension. Two years later, violent riots restarted after a newspaper article implied that the Prophet Mohammed would have wanted a Miss World contestant for a wife. 250 people died during retaliatory attacks within a few days. Since, 2002, despite the fact that extremists on both sides have continued to spread alarmist messages, inciting fear and calling for violent response, the compromise has gradually gained acceptance and become a model for other states.[26]

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[23] Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peacemakers in Action*, pp. 254-56; Paden, John N., *Faith and Politics in Nigeria: Nigeria as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2008), pp. 29-30; and Aborisade, Oladimeji, and Robert J. Mundt, *Politics in Nigeria*, Second ed., Longman series in comparative politics (New York: Addison-Wesley Educational Publishers Inc., 2002), pp. 150-51.

[24] Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peacemakers in Action*, pp. 256-57.
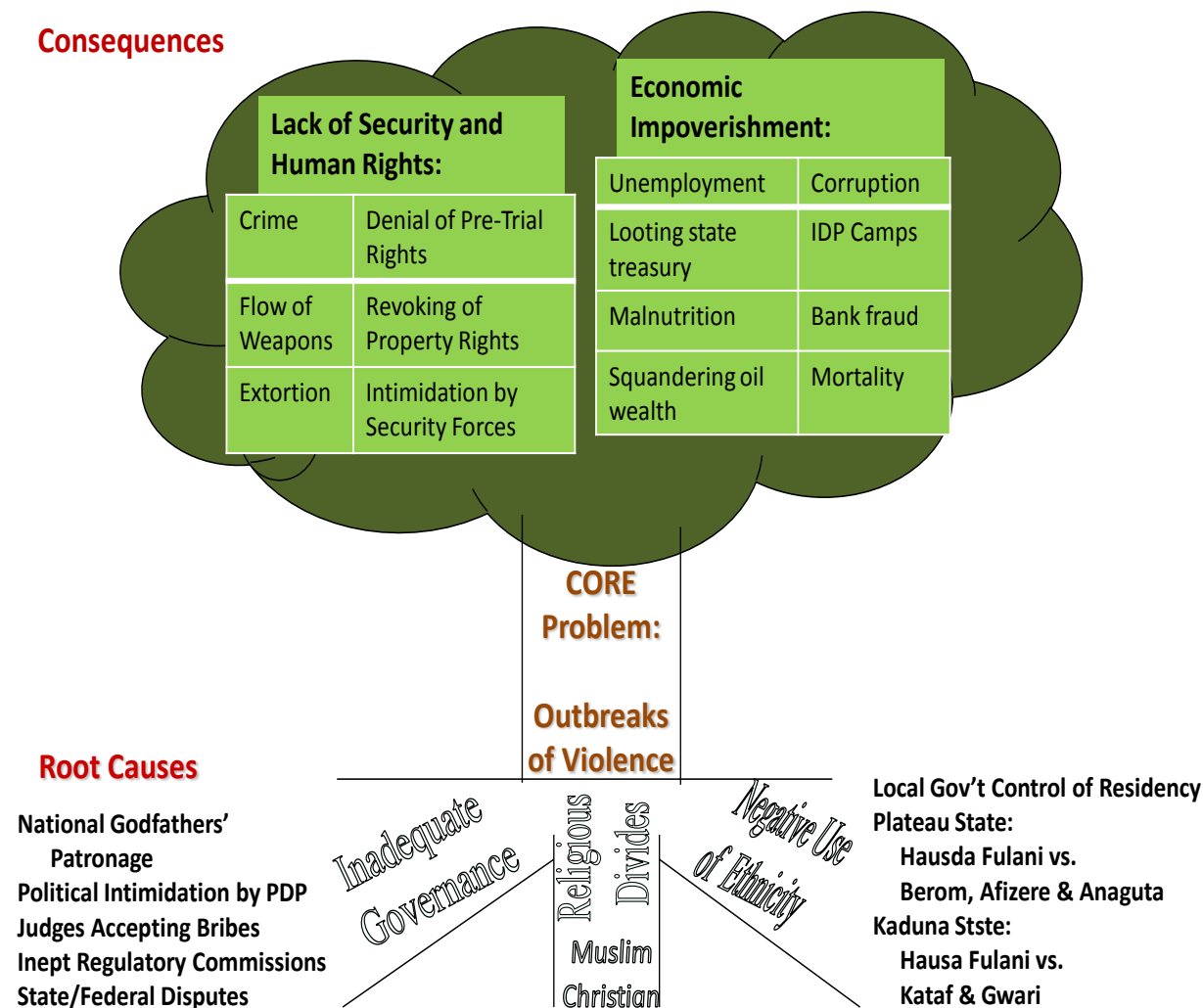
[25] Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peacemakers in Action*, pp. 257-58; Kew, Darren, *Politics by Other Means: Nigeria Conflict Assessment*, United States Agency for International Development, Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation, August 2010, pp. 24-25; and Akinwuni, Olayemi, *Crises and Conflicts in Nigeria* (Muenster: Lit Verlag [distributed in North America by Transaction Publishers, Rutgers university, Piscataway, New Jersey], 2004), p. 145.

[26] Kew, *Politics by Other Means,* pp. 25-26; Marshall, *Radical Islam's* Rules, pp. 124-25; and United States Department of State, *"2009 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Nigeria,* March 11, 2010, available at http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4b9e52d0c.html [accessed August 12, 2010].

Causes and Consequences of Conflict in Nigeria

One method used to portray the causes and consequences of conflict is to depict a tree in which the roots are the causes, the trunk is the core problem as presented, and the branches are the consequences. In the following conflict map of Nigeria, only the primary issues and parties are identified among both the causes and consequences. As with any pedagogical tool, the reality is even more complex than what is depicted here. For example, the consequences can, themselves, become drivers of further conflict and the power dynamics and alliances among the parties, if fully revealed, would indicate layers of influence, deference and antagonism.

Conflict Analysis Tree: Nigeria

Consequences

Lack of Security and Human Rights:

Crime	Denial of Pre-Trial Rights
Flow of Weapons	Revoking of Property Rights
Extortion	Intimidation by Security Forces

Economic Impoverishment:

Unemployment	Corruption
Looting state treasury	IDP Camps
Malnutrition	Bank fraud
Squandering oil wealth	Mortality

CORE Problem:

Outbreaks of Violence

Root Causes

National Godfathers' Patronage
Political Intimidation by PDP
Judges Accepting Bribes
Inept Regulatory Commissions
State/Federal Disputes

Inadequate Governance

Religious Divides
Muslim
Christian

Negative Use of Ethnicity

Local Gov't Control of Residency
Plateau State:
    Hausda Fulani vs.
    Berom, Afizere & Anaguta
Kaduna Stste:
    Hausa Fulani vs.
    Kataf & Gwari

Some of the important **root causes**, as described above, include issues related to:

Inadequate Governance

Nigerian governance is controlled by an elite patronage system in which influential "Godfathers" from various ethnic, religious and political communities work together in order to maintain

"peace" and cooperation at the national level. For example, the political elites have established an informal agreement that executive power would alternate between the Christian south and the Muslim north. At the same time, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) still maintains a dominant, though not exclusive, role in controlling political processes such as selecting candidates, employing violence and intimidation. The participation of all the elites in patronage system, however, has great influence on many aspects of the democratic process.[27]

Corruption has remained massive and widespread at all levels of government, making Nigeria one of the most corrupt nations in the world. In fact, the 2007 elections were the most poorly organized and heavily rigged in the country's history. Because judges can easily be bribed, decisions on election fraud and allegations of corruption against elites are frequently overturned by higher courts. In addition, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), established in 2003, has been largely ineffective. The commission has pursued numerous offenders, but failed to bring many of the most serious investigations to closure. One of the fundamental problems is that there are no laws that provide for access to government information.[28]

Similar problems of elite patronage also affect the processes for investigating and prosecuting those responsible for violence. Committees have repeatedly been created and public hearings held to develop recommendations following the outbreak of sectarian violence. However, most of the recommendations are never implemented and violence returns. In March 2009 there were public hearings on the violence in Jos by the Nigerian House of Representatives. After the violence in 2010, President Jonathan again formed a presidential advisory committee, but no report was made public by late April. The central government arraigned 200 people on charges of violence and transported them to the capital, Abuja, to be tried. However, federal-state jurisdiction disputes have hampered the prosecution process and there was no clear resolution by the end of April. In fact, neither state nor federal officials have prosecuted people for such acts of violence, except during General Babangida's tenure when some people were prosecuted following the Zangon Kataf crisis. Government leaders have repeatedly failed to heed the warning signs of impending violence and consistently failed to respond effectively, if at all, when it occurs.[29]

The end result of this patronage system is that it pushes the conflict down from the national level into the state and local levels. Less money and power is available at these lower levels of government, thereby heating up competition in regions of the country, like Plateau and Kaduna States, where the temptation to play the ethnic and religious cards fuels power struggles.[30]

Negative Use of Ethnicity

The impact of a negative use of ethnicity is felt most severely in those regions, like the Middle Belt, where many of the minority ethnic groups, such as the Kataf in Kaduna state, live in close proximity to large ethnic majorities such as the Hausa-Fulani.[31] Despite their presence in this

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[27] Kew, *Classrooms for Democracy*, p. 247; and Kew, *Politics by Other Means,* pp. 22-23.

[28] Freedom house, *Freedom in the World 2010 – Nigeria,* United States Department of state, *2009 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Nigeria*; and LeVan and Ukata, "Country Report – Nigeria," pp. 14-17.

[29] United States Commission on International Religious freedom, *USCIRF Annual Report 2010 – Countries of Particular Concern: Nigeria;* United States Commission on International Religious freedom, *USCIRF Annual Report 2010 – Countries of Particular Concern: Nigeria.*

[30] Kew, *Politics by Other Means,* p. 23.

[31] Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peacemakers in Action,* p. 255.

region for over three centuries, however, the Kataf and Gwari tribes (like the native Berom, Afi-zere and Anaguta tribes in Plateau state) considered the Hausa Fulani to be settlers rather than an indigenous people.

The distinction between "settler" and "indigenous" is a major legal problem. Nigerian law allows local governments to determine residency qualification, giving local administrators the ability to decide such matters on the basis of ethnic heritage and ancestral control of land. As a result, many Nigerians are considered "residents" of ethnic homelands from which their forebears had migrated and where they may never have even visited. On this basis, people can be denied residency even in locations where they were born. In response, the Hausa-Fulani have demanded indigenous status, for example, in Jos and pushed for political inclusion and acceptance of their own traditional institutions. Tensions rose in 1991 when the Muslim-dominated military central government created a new local government in Jos North where the Hausa-Fulani were predominant. Hausa Fulani Muslim leaders then excluded ethnic minorities, who happened to be Christians, from residency benefits in this part of the city, creating an environment of resistance and competition within the city for all political appointments and during each election.[32]

In order to address these issues related to rights and distribution of power among ethnic groups, the Nigerian parliament recently drafted a bill to end favoritism for indigenous groups. However, as of February 2010 the bill has not been enacted into law. On the local level, though, there is at least one instance of movement on this issue. The Barnawa neighborhood in the Kaduna South Local Government has begun giving indigenous status to all children born within their jurisdiction.[33] Such a decision emphasizes that the identity of all ethnic groups should be seen as a positive part of the cultural mosaic of neighborhood, city/town, region and nation.

Religious Divides

At the heart of the religious conflict was debate over the status of Sharia law. After independence, a dual legal structure was established in which Sharia courts were allowed in the north, but not the south. The "back to basics" Izala movement, however, emphasized stricter adherence to the Qur'an and made the text available in the local languages. Many Christians, especially among the increasingly politicized evangelical community, feared that this development represented a turn toward Islamic radicalization, though the Izala leadership never viewed itself as fundamentalist. By the late 1980s, positions on each side had hardened as Christians opposed all Sharia courts and Muslims insisted they be allowed throughout the country. By the time of the market place violence in Zangon Kataf in 1992, the major dividing lines were religious more than ethnic. All Muslims, not just the Hausa-Fulani, formed a block which began to talk about

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[32] Kwaja, Chris and Darren Kew, "Analysis: Nigeria's smoldering crisis in Jos;" Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), *Nigeria: Inaction paves way for more bloodshed, observers say;"* Schwartz, Stephanie, "Is Nigeria a Hotbed of Islamic extremism?," *Peace Brief* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, May 4, 2010), available at http://www.usip.org; and United States Department of State, *2009 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Nigeria,* March 11, 2010, available at http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4b9e52d0c.html [accessed August 12, 2010].

[33] Kew, *Politics by Other Means,* p. 26; and Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), *Nigeria: Inaction paves way for more bloodshed, observers say."*

jihad. All Christians, not just the Kataf, formed another block. Yoruba Christians fought Yoruba Muslims.[34]

Before 1999, Sharia had been applied only to Muslims and only regarding issues such as inheritance and divorce which were governed by civil law. In 2000, however, twelve northern states, including Kaduna, extended Sharia law to govern their criminal justice systems. As of January 2010, these courts still continued to apply extreme court sentences, including the death penalty, amputation and floggings. In 2000, many other areas of the country, including Plateau State, allowed the adoption of appellate courts based on Islamic Sharia law, a measure still seen as a threat to many Christians. When stricter adherence to Sharia law was implemented in the northern states in 2000, the first clashes occurred in Kaduna State where it affected large numbers of indigenous people, not just migrants and recent settlers. In February 2000, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) organized a protest against the proposed Sharia law that led to rioting. Despite the initial implementation of the "Kaduna compromise" in 2002, Muslims were even more insistent on a full enforcement of Sharia law and Christians became more upset, fearing Muslim hegemony.[35]

During the 2003 elections, however, pressure was placed on candidates to form inter-religious and inter-ethnic national coalitions making it more difficult for candidates to use Sharia law to incite radical sentiments. By the 2007 elections, there was no longer a national debate over the issue. Despite the fact that Sharia law does not meet many of the international human rights standards and despite the continuing existence of religious militias, sectarian tension seems to be lessening even on the state and local level. Though Muslims and Christians still tend to live in isolated, faith-based ghettos, Muslim rulers in many predominantly Christian neighborhoods of Kaduna city, for example, do not impose Sharia law on the Christians. Furthermore, the Kaduna State government has now created chiefdoms that include a mixture of religious traditions and has created separate bureaus for Muslim and Christian affairs, assisting the bureaus to hold regular joint meetings.[36]

Some of the **consequences** of the conflict, which in turn fuel further conflict, include:

Lack of Security and Human Rights

Crime statistics in Nigeria remain high despite the transition to democracy. In 2006, 72.6 % of the population reported that they were afraid of crime and 23.1% indicated they had been victims. There were 353 kidnappings in 2008 and 512 during the first half of 2009. This high level

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[34] Tanenbaum, Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peacemakers in Action*, p.253-57; Paden, John N., *Muslim Civic Cultures and Conflict Resolution: The Challenge of Democratic Federalism in Nigeria* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), pp. 60-61; and Paden, *Faith and Politics in Nigeria,* pp. 29-30.

[35] [Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2010 – Nigeria,* January 20, 2010; United States Department of State, *2009 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Nigeria;* Tanenbaum, Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peacemakers in Action, pp. 254-58*; and Kew, *Politics by Other Means*, p. 24-25.

[36] Kew, *Politics by Other Means*, pp. 25-26; Berwind-Dart, Chloe, "Two Among Us: Theography and the Practice of Interfaith Peace: A Case Study of Pastor James Wuye and Imam Muhammed Ashafa's Narrative-Workshop Model of Conflict Intervention," Unpublished thesis, University of Massachusetts, Boston, 2009, p. 16; LeVan and Ukata, "Country Report – Nigeria," p. 9; and Schwartz, "Is Nigeria a Hotbed of Islamic extremism?"

of violence is exacerbated by the flow of weapons across international borders and potential contacts with anti-state actors throughout the region.[37]

Despite civilian control, and attempts at professionalization, of security forces during the last decade, human rights have frequently been violated by police and military. Weak federal and state institutions have been unable to police the patronage networks and security forces effectively. In fact, the political leadership frequently uses the police and military to intimidate political opposition and media through denial of permits to demonstrate and through the threat or use of violence, especially when attempts are made to focus public attention on corruption and violence. Consequently, security forces are not only unable to provide protection during intercommunal violence; they actually exacerbate the abuse through the use of torture, extrajudicial killings and widespread extortion for which they are often not held accountable. Furthermore, the court system adds to the human rights abuse by denying rights to many pre-trial detainees who are not wealthy, bringing many poor people to trial without representation, and housing detainees in deplorable conditions.[38]

Many local and state governments also participate in discriminatory actions that undermine the human rights of residents. Because state governments are given the power to grant licenses of land ownership, government officials often prolong the process for years, seize land and revoke property rights without due process. The non-indigenous populations, without certificates of residency, are particularly vulnerable to violations of property rights and other problems. For example, the Hausa-Fulani are routinely denied access to state privileges in Plateau State, including discrimination in buying land, finding employment, receiving educational opportunities, lack of access to certain kinds of public services and constraints on representation in government where there has been a succession of Christian governors. In order to prevent further violence, Plateau State continued restrictions on assembly, as of the end of 2009, prohibiting political, cultural and religious meetings on a case-by-case basis. Likewise, the Kaduna State Government, in the name of security, continues to restrict freedom of assembly in some cases by banning processions, rallies, demonstrations and meetings in public places.[39]

Economic Impoverishment

The conflict drivers have led to economic impoverishment by contributing to population displacement, unemployment and corruption. For example, massive population displacement in Kaduna resulted from the violence over the Sharia controversy in 2000 and the Miss World riots in 2002. Both Muslims and Christians fled into other parts of the country, leaving widespread poverty in both Kaduna and elsewhere. Within a month of the start of violence in 2000, the Kaduna State economy had withered. More recently, 8,500 people fled from Jos to neighboring Bauchi State, and 6,900 IDPs were placed in camps around Jos in 2010. Three weeks following

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[37] LeVan and Ukata, "Country Report – Nigeria," p. 9; and Kew, *Politics by Other Means*, p. 21.

[38] Kew, *Classrooms for Democracy*, p. 243; Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2010 – Nigeria;" Internal Displacement monitoring Centre (IDMC), *Internal displacement: Global Overview of Trends and Developments in 2009 – Nigeria,* May 17, 2010, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4bf252680.html [accessed August 12, 2010]; Kew, *Politics by Other Means,* p. 21; Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2010 – Nigeria,* January 20, 2010; and LeVan and Ukata, "Country Report – Nigeria," pp. 8-14.

[39] [Kew, *Politics by Other Means,* p. 26; United States Department of State, *2009 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Nigeria;* Kwaja and Kew, "Analysis: Nigeria's smoldering crisis in Jos; and United States Department of State, *2009 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Nigeria*."

the violence, there were still 15,400 displaced people, many of whom vowed never to return having witnessed the burning of homes, churches and mosques as well as the attacks on human beings. Youth unemployment, exacerbated by the population displacement has simply added to the potential pool of violent actors who can be manipulated by politicians. Finally, the ineffectiveness of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), detailed above, has resulted in economic as well as political fraud. Corruption related to financial mismanagement and fraud in the banking system, the looting of the state treasury, and the squandering of oil wealth has all contributed to a declining economy. Poverty, malnutrition and mortality rates are, consequently, among the worst in the world.[40]

Community-Based Conflict Transformation Initiatives

The Nigerian Government has sponsored a few initiatives designed to manage conflict more effectively. At various times in various regions it has established development commissions, master plans and peace and security strategies; though it is questionable how much effect many of these have had on the resolution of conflict. One of the more significant government initiatives was the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, established by President Obasanjo, which was given the responsibility for conflict research and peacebuilding. IPCR has intervened in several conflicts around the country and provided helpful conflict analysis regarding various disputes; though it could benefit from reorganization and could provide needed linkage among peacebuilding organizations if more funding were made available. In addition, some state governments, based on the example of Kaduna, have set up special advisors for peace and conflict resolution, security councils and peace committees.[41]

Various NGOs have also instituted peacebuilding initiatives. For example, the Constitutional Rights Project (CRP) in Kaduna began during the period of military rule and continues to provide a number of activities designed to eliminate human rights violations, hatred and violence and to advance dialogue, understanding and collaboration. In March of 2000, CRP organized a seminar, "The peace of Women under Sharia" at the time when many northern states were adopting the Islamic legal code. In 2003, they organized a training session for Alkhali court judges in order to encourage consideration of interpretations of Sharia law that would uphold internationally accepted standards of human rights.[42] Secondly, Conflict Abatement through Local Mediation (CALM) in Jos has helped to create peace zones and provide training in conflict resolution that was used by participants to persuade some youths not to engage in fighting during the January 2010 violence in Jos. CALM also has developed peace clubs for unemployed youth, both men and women, to participate in sports and social activities. Members of these peace clubs utilized an early warning system which provided important information regarding impending violence to

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[40] Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), "Nigeria: Jos displaced dread return," February 12, 2010, available at http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4b7ba8d81e.html [accessed August 12, 2010]; Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peacemakers in Action*, p. 258; Kew, *Politics by Other Means*, pp. 21-25; and Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2010 – Nigeria,* January 20, 2010.

[41] Schwartz, "Is Nigeria a Hotbed of Islamic extremism?;" Kew, *Politics by Other Means,* pp. 24 and 52-54; and Wee, Paul, "Responding to Crisis in Nigeria," *Peace Brief* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, April 2006), available at http://www.usip.org

[42] Bradley, Matthew Todd, *Nigeria Since Independence and the Impact of Non-Governmental Organizations on Democratization,* Studies in African Economic and Social Development, Vol. 20 (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2003), pp. 113-15; and Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peacemakers in Action*, p. 264.

local authorities. Third, various neighborhood associations have begun to develop their own institutions within some of the conflict zones throughout the country[43]

Finally, there have also been a variety of efforts by religious groups in Nigeria to promote interfaith dialogue and prevent sectarian violence. On a national level, the National Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs and the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) have committed themselves to interfaith peacebuilding and tolerance. The Federal Initiative Nigerian Inter-Religious Council has also assisted in networking and strategy building for peace work, especially in the Middle Belt. In Kaduna, the CAN and the Jama'tul Nasril Islam (JNI), along with the International Mediation Center, have worked to create cooperation and dialogue. Plus there are efforts by individual authority figures, such as a new peace initiative begun by the Sultan of Sokoto and the Archbishop of Abuja, as well as the ongoing inter-faith peace teams, organized by the Emir of Wase and the Archbishop of Jos, to report violence or threats in that city.[44]

Work of the Interfaith Mediation Center in Nigeria

Pastor James Wuye and Imam Muhammad Ashafa founded the Muslim-Christian Youth Dialogue Forum in 1995. The early focus of their work was primarily with the Christian and Muslim youth militias among whom they had many relationships, though more recently they have faced pressure from the current radicals who now view them as traitors. With time, their efforts expanded beyond work with youth and in 1999 they eliminated the word "youth" from the organization's name, though they retained a special department for work with that age group.   Beginning their work in their native Kaduna State they succeeded in de-escalating the crisis in Zangon Kataf by establishing dialogue between youth leaders from the two religious communities. They also began offering skills training to the at-risk youth, not only in faith-based conflict resolution, but also skills needed to gain employment. After the Sharia riots in 2000, they began a campaign for peace using local media and helped to repair destroyed mosques and churches.[45]

With the initial success in their home town, they began to expand their work to other regions of the country where they were not viewed as "insiders," but still carried the status and authority of religious leaders. They also changed the name, again, to the Interfaith Mediation Center (IMC) in order to reflect the full spectrum of their work. By 2000, IMC had at least two trained youth leaders in each of Nigeria's 36 states, had trained a total of almost 10,000 people, and maintained a membership of over 10,000 youth and clergy. As of 2010, they have provided over 100 faith-based trainings in conflict prevention and resolution for youth, women, tribal and religious leaders, political parties, government officials and others throughout Nigeria.[46] In 2003, they led a workshop in Kaduna for influential participants from Nigeria's six geo-political zones in an attempt to prevent an electoral crisis. Some believe that this effort helped significantly to reduce

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[43] Integrated regional Information Networks (IRIN), *Nigeria: Building the peace*, May 25, 2010, available at http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4c0367ca1e.html [accessed August 12, 2010]; and Kew, *Politics by Other Means,* pp. 52-53

[44] Schwartz, "Is Nigeria a Hotbed of Islamic extremism?;" and Kew, *Politics by Other Means,* pp. 26 and 53-54.

[45] Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peacemakers in Action*, pp. 259-67; Kew, Darren, conversation with this author on November 22, 2010; and Garfinkel, Renee, "What Works? Evaluating Interfaith Dialogue Programs," *Special Report 123* (Washington, United States Institute of Peace, July 2004), p. 4.

[46] Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peacemakers in Action*, pp. 267- 272 and 461; the web page of the Interfaith Mediation Centre, available at www.imcnigeria.org [accessed on September 19, 2010]; and unpublished reports by the Interfaith Mediation Centre.

violence during those elections. Many participants established interfaith centers in their regions. Positive press coverage and government support and involvement also strengthened the impact.[47]

IMC's work now includes a wide range of activities. It has facilitated the signing of some very significant peace accords. In 2002 they convinced the governor and twenty senior religious leaders, ten from each faith community, to sign the Kaduna Peace Declaration. In similar fashion, in 2004-2005 they gathered key leaders in Yelwa-Nshar, in the southern part of Plateau State, and mediated joint acceptance of a Peace Affirmation that continues to be upheld. In addition, they have helped mediate between JNI and CAN (competing religious organizations to which Imam Ashafa and Pastor James belonged). IMC also provides trauma counseling, humanitarian services, election violence management, media advocacy (and growing cooperation), support for neighborhood peace associations, and consultancy for various government agencies. IMC has acted as an in-house advisor for the federal government, assisted a number of state agencies to develop conflict management systems, set up community early warning/early response structures to liaise with government security agencies, established community peace road maps that can facilitate alternative processes to intractable legal litigations, and trained staff from the Office of the Bureau for Religious Affairs in the Kaduna State Government.[48]

> *The Kaduna Peace Declaration*
> called on the whole community to:
>
> - Respect each other's religious heritage,
> - Educate their young people accordingly,
> - Oppose all forms of violence, incitement, hatred, and misrepresentation of one another,
> - Engage in interfaith dialogue, and
> - Work together toward the achievement of justice through:
>   o Freedom of worship,
>   o Judicial reform, and
>   o Economic development
>   Underpinned by spiritual regeneration.
>
> *The Yelwa Nshar Peace Affirmation*
> called on leaders in southern Plateau State to:
>
> - Affirm religious diversity,
> - Affirm ethnic diversity,
> - Condemn provocations based on use of derogatory names,
> - Condemn intimidation and exploitation of youth gangs by politicians,
> - Condemn the confiscation of property,
> - Ensure the return and rehabilitation of missing persons, and
> - Resuscitate the government role in economic development.

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[47] Ashafa, Imam Muhammad Nurayn and Pastor James Movel Wuye, "Training Peacemakers: Religious Youth Leaders in Nigeria," in *Religious Contributions to Peacemaking: When Religion Brings Peace, not War,* Peaceworks No. 55, ed. by David Smock (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 2006), pp. 21-24.

[48] Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding, *Peacemakers in Action*, pp. 267- 72; Smock, David R., "Mediating between Christians and Muslims in Plateau State, Nigeria," in *Religious Contributions to Peacemaking: When Religion Brings Peace, not War,* Peaceworks No. 55, ed. by David Smock (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 2006), pp. 17-20; unpublished reports by the Interfaith Mediation Centre; and the web page of the Interfaith Mediation Centre.

Throughout their programming, they have striven to include women. Some women who have attended their training workshops frame their peacebuilding and reconciling efforts within the traditional nurturing framework of motherhood. One young Muslim woman from Kaduna saw women's role as nurturing their family, bringing up children to be peaceful citizens. A Christian woman also acknowledged that women were primarily caregivers, yet spoke about how women could keep things calm when their men were sparked by sectarian rumors. She also indicated that she and some of the Muslim women travel to the rural areas to offer support and guidance, teaching women how to care for each other and conducting awareness campaigns. Furthermore, as the coordinator of IMCs program for Christian women (a volunteer job) she and her Muslim colleague initiated the first high level women's capacity building workshop, attended by women from 36 states. The attendees went on to form the first women's interfaith network in the country. Other women also view their role beyond the domestic framework. One Muslim woman utilizes her peacebuilding skills through her employment at a non-profit organization promoting women's rights. Dozens of women from across the country have formed an Interreligious Women's forum to discuss issues particularly effecting women.[49]

One project where IMC focused particularly on women included a series of workshops held in Jos following the post-election violence in November 2008. In February 2009, IMC held a first-of-its-kind roundtable workshop for Muslim women in Jos. Thirty women attended representing the religious, political and business communities. After analyzing the conflict and processing the stories of participants, the women were introduced to early warning early response mechanisms. Following the workshop, they agreed to be ambassadors for peace, formed a network and established a committee to further explore and develop early warning early response mechanisms for Jos. At the same time this workshop was being held, IMC organized a workshop for Christians from Jos. In this case, both men and women were invited, including the religious leaders (so that they could preach peace), the youth (who were the foot soldiers during the violence), community leaders (who function as the gatekeepers), and women religious leaders (who were referred to as the "mothers of the church"). The agenda was very similar to the Muslim workshop and another committee to explore early warning early response was established. IMC then followed up by bringing both groups together in a third workshop, assisting the committees on early warning early response, and setting up a structure for trauma counseling.[50] Despite all this activity and the reconciliation that has taken place between individuals, Jos has remained a frustrating place experiencing significant levels of ongoing violence, as already indicated in the presentation of the conflict context in Plateau State.

Ashafa and James are well aware that the peacebuilding process is made more complicated by the presence of hardliners within each of their traditions and other spoilers With religious extremists, they attempt to use persuasive skills and "doubt-creating strategies" behind the scenes in what they call inter-ethnic/sectarian, or sometimes intra-ethnic/religious, deprogramming sessions. During these events, they utilize their faith traditions to help educate others and, if need be, confront them with divine mandates that may, in fact, frighten hard liners to re-examine their faith perspectives. In addition, they hold "spoilers workshops" in which they perform a stake-

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[49] From interviews conducted by Chloe W. Berwind-Dart, in unpublished thesis, "Two Among Us: Theography and the Practice of Interfaith Peace," University of Massachusetts, Boston, 2009, pp. 36-41; and the web page of the Interfaith Mediation Centre.

[50] Unpublished reports by the Interfaith Mediation Centre

holders analysis of people in conflict. During these sessions, they look for possible change agents to attend screenings. They also make individual courtesy calls on some of them to solicit support, use singing of religious music, and working to address the needs, fears and interests of these people.[51]

It should be very clear that the peacebuilding process is never a linear one, requiring many different approaches in differing circumstances, even within the same culture or context. Therefore, an evaluation of any peacebuilding efforts must avoid making final judgments.

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[51] E-mail to this author by Muhammad Ashafa and James Wuye, January 27, 2011.

APPENDIX 2

CONFLICT CONTEXT IN KENYA

Historical Overview

Kenya developed a reputation for relative stability and prosperity following its independence from Britain in 1963. While true in comparison with much of the rest of East Africa, this successful image appears more tarnished under closer scrutiny. The independence movement, itself, was marred by strife when the northeastern third of the country attempted secession to Somalia in 1963. Emergency rule was enforced in this region until 1997, leading to continuous conflicts, violation of human rights, killings and destruction. The subsequent collapse of the Somali Government has left this region rife with banditry and transformed it into a weapons market.[52]

The entire country experienced single-party political rule until the early 1990s. The Kenya Africa National Union (KANU), which ruled the country during this period, became increasingly corrupt, respected few political and civil rights, and on occasion, suppressed opposition movements with violence.[53] Even though KANU was forced to hold multi-party elections in 1992, they continued to win during the 1990s by using political repression, patronage, control of the media, and fraudulent electoral procedures. As a result, corruption and police abuses remained common, a strong presidency continued to dominate the judiciary, and the state acted to undermine independent civil society activity. Political polarization and ethnic violence increased, especially between KANU supporters (dominated by the Kalenjin and Maasai ethnic groups) and the opposition parties (supported by the Kikuyu and Luhya ethnicities). Despite this repression, political space for opposition views and civil society activities began to open. The political opposition united to contest the 2002 elections. The National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) won a majority of seats in the National Assembly and its presidential candidate, Mwai Kibaki, won the presidency. The new government launched a reform program that achieved some success, but fell way short of lasting changes due to the fragility of the governing coalition, a complex effort to overhaul the constitution, fiscal constraints, and the threat of terrorism. An independent anti-corruption commission was established, but by 2006 it was reported by the government's own Office of Governance and Ethics, that corruption had reached the highest levels of the government.[54]

During this period, clashes among various ethnic groups, frequently exacerbated by political elites, have repeatedly led to violence. For example, in 1992, 10,000 people were evicted from their homes in the Trans-Nozia and West Pokot Districts in western Kenya, ethnic Kalenjin youth (at the instigation of government officials) declared war on the Luo community in Kericho District in the Rift Valley and attacked the Luhya community in the Bungoma District (near the Ugandan border; see map at end of this appendix) where 2,000 people were displaced, precipitating retaliatory attacks against the Kalenjin in many areas. Major fighting then erupted pitting the

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[52] Republic of Kenya, Office of the President, "National Policy on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management," first draft (Nairobi: August 2006), pp. 52-53.

[53] Lansner, Thomas R., "Country Report - Kenya," in *Countries at the Crossroads 2010* (Washington: Freedom House, 2010), available online at www.freedomhouse.org [accessed August 11, 2010].

[54] Freedom house, *Freedom in the World 2010 – Kenya,* 3 may 2010, available at: http:/ www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4cOceae9c.html [accessed August 11, 2010]

Kalenjin and Maasai ethnicities against the Kikuyu, Luo, and Kisii peoples throughout the western part of the country. As a result, one million people became homeless and many were killed and houses were burned in dozens of towns throughout the Rift Valley Province between 1991 and 1994. Similar ethnic conflicts over land continued to occur between the Maasai and the Kipsigis in the South Rift Valley in 1996, between the Maasai and Kisii in a suburb of Mombasa where 100,00 people fled their homes in 1997, between the Pokot and the Marakwet in 1997 and 1998, between the Dorobo and the Sabaot in Mt. Elgon (along the Ugandan border, northwest of Eldoret) in 1999 and 2000, between the Maasai and the Kisii in the Gucha/TransMara Districts in 2001, between the Murulle and Garre Clans in Mandera District in 2004, and between the Maasai and Kikuyu in 2005. In many districts the violent peaks coincided with political campaigns. For example, during the constitutional referendum campaign in 2005, eight people were killed and over 44 injured in the western City of Kisumu and the eastern City of Mombasa during campaign rallies.[55]

Ongoing Conflict since the Presidential Election of 2007

The legacy of ongoing conflict culminated in post-election violence that occurred between December 2007 and February 2008. President Kibaki, head of the political coalition known as the Party of National Unity (PNU) was challenged by his former ally, Raila Odinga, head of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). The ODM, with the support of largely the Luo, Luhya, Kalenjin and some smaller ethnic communities in western Kenya ran on a platform of political and socio-economic reform and devolution of state power. The PNU, with the support of primarily the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru communities of Central and Eastern Provinces, ran on a platform of support for Kibaki's economic record. During the campaign itself, there was a considerable amount of hate speech which occasionally deteriorated into violence. As the votes were counted, observers who had been allowed into the tally center charged the Electoral Commission of Kenya with gross fraud, including the adjustment of already announced results in favor of Kibaki and the PNU. Though Kibaki had trailed most of the time, and only started to catch up well into the vote counting process, he was announced the winner and hurriedly sworn in amidst vociferous protests, prompting a news blackout and security clampdown. Widespread ethnic violence, orchestrated by senior political figures, erupted and spread rapidly in Nairobi, western Kenya and the Coast Province. Over 1000 people were killed and 350,000 displaced before an international mediation process, led by Kofi Annan, succeeded in forging the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Accord (NARA)

NARA consisted of four agenda items:

1. Stop violence and restore rights and liberties,
2. Address humanitarian crisis, promote healing and reconciliation,
3. Overcome the political crisis, and
4. Address long-term issues such as: constitutional and institutional reform, land reform, poverty and regional inequalities, youth unemployment, national cohesion, transparency, accountability and impunity.[56]

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[55] Republic of Kenya, Office of the President, pp. 54-57; and Minorities at risk Project, *Chronology for Luhya in Kenya,* 2004, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid469f38aec.html [accessed August 10, 2010].
[56] Available at http://www.dialoguekenya.org/docs/S_of_P_with_Matrix.pdf

The agreement also allowed Kibaki retained the presidency, a new position of prime minister was created for Odinga, cabinet posts were split between the two parties, and agreements were made to address reforms.[57]

However, despite the creation of investigative commissions, this power-sharing government has shown little progress on any reforms as of mid-2010. Instead, the agreement has entrenched key culprits of violence and corruption in high levels of government, perpetuating impunity and inhibiting accountability and transformation. State officials have been accused, for example, of embezzling funds for resettlement of the displaced. Consequently, many families have not returned home and issues of safety and insecurity afflict those who have. Furthermore, displacement caused by both previous and subsequent violence, often involving government security forces, has not been resolved. Secondly, no agreement on a tribunal within Kenya could be reached, prompting the International Criminal Court to investigate the involvement of senior political figures.[58] In September 2010, the ICC announced that it would proceed with indictments against leaders within both political parties accused of instigating post-election violence.[59] Third, the attempt to address many of the injustices through a Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission has also had disappointing results. Although the ruling coalition agreed in March 2008 to give the TJRC broad powers to inquire into human rights violations committed by the state, groups or individuals, and appointed commissioners in July 2009, concerns have remained about the failure of the TJRC to provide for effective protection of victims and witnesses and for adequate reparations for victims.[60]

The one bright spot in Kenya's current political process is the adoption of a new constitution in August 2010. In February 2008 a committee of experts was formed to lead the process of drafting the constitution.[61] The new constitution, which was adopted with 58% of the vote, has brought a number of reforms, at least on paper, including a reduction of the power of the presidency and the institution of land reform – two of the most divisive elements leading to ethnic violence over the past four decades. These reforms have been designed to address Kenya's high stake political game in which it was unacceptable to lose the all-powerful presidency due to the

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[57] United States Department of State, *2009 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Kenya*, 11 march 2010, available at http:/www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4b9e52e6a.html [accessed August 11, 2010];"Kenya: Speedy Reform Needed to Deal with Past Injustices and Prevent Future Displacement" (Geneva: Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, 10 June 2010) available at http://www.internal-displacement.org [accessed August 11, 2010]; and "Report of the Independent Review commission on the General Elections Held in Kenya on 27 December 2007," pp. 1-3, available at http://aceproject.org/regions-en/countries-and-territories/KE/reports/independent-review-commission-on-the-general [accessed August 11, 2010].

[58] Lansner, "Country Report – Kenya;" Klopp, Jacqueline M., "Kenya's unfinished Agendas (National Accord and Reconciliation Act Report)," Journal of international Affairs, March 22, 2009, available at: http://www.accessmylibrary.com/article-1G1-198808668/kenya-unfinished-agendas-national.html [accessed September 24, 2010]; and "Kenya: Speedy Reform Needed to Deal with Past Injustices and Prevent Future Displacement."

[59] "Court will Try Kenyans for Election Violence," *Boston Globe*, September 22, 2010, p. A3.

[60] Goethe-Institute, Nelson Mandela Foundation and Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, "Workshop: Truth, Reconciliation and Transparency in South Africa and Kenya: Lessons Learned," Johannesburg, 4 April 2009, available at: http://www.nelsonmandela.org/images/uploads/Truth,_Reconciliation_and_Transparency_in_SA_and_Kenya.pdf [accessed September 24, 2010], pp. 11-12; and Amnesty International, *Amnesty International Report 2010 – Kenya*, 28 May 2010, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4c03a81ec.html [accessed August 11, 2010].

[61] Amnesty International, *Amnesty International Report 2010 – Kenya*.

perceived (and often real) consequences that meant one's tribe could not secure jobs, land and entitlements.[62] However, the new constitution also introduced two religious issues that have split both religious and secular communities in Kenya. The most serious involved the inclusion of Muslim Kadhis' Courts whose jurisdiction is "limited to the determination of questions of Muslim law relating to the personal status, marriage, divorce or inheritance in proceedings in which all the parties profess the Muslim religion and submit to the jurisdiction of the Kadhis' Courts." Despite the limited jurisdiction, and the fact that Kadhis' Courts had already been established in Kenya, many Christians saw inclusion of these courts in the constitution as evidence that the country was in danger of a creeping Sharia law. Objections were also raised by Christians who feared that women in mixed, inter-faith marriages might be forced against their will to submit to Kadhis' Court decisions. The second religious issue concerned a very limited right to abortion. In the new constitution, abortion would "not be permitted unless, in the opinion of a trained health professional, there is a need for emergency treatment, or the life or health of the mother is in danger…" On this basis, the Catholic Church joined a number of Protestant Churches in opposing the new constitution despite the fact that the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission had strongly supported many of the other social and political reforms written into the draft constitution. Furthermore, many, but not all Christians, expressed concern over a lack of clarity regarding who qualified as a "health professional" in making a decision regarding abortion.[63]

Timeline of Events
*(with the activities of Ashafa and James in red)*

- 1963: Independence from Britain; northeast attempted to secede to Somalia
- 1963: Favored Kikuyu tribe continued to acquire ancestral lands of the Kalenjin and Maasai in the Rift Valley. Luo and Luhya soon followed.
- 1963-1992: Single party rule, mostly by the Kenya Africa National Union (KANU)
- 1963-1997: Emergency rule
- 1980s-1990s: Gross corruption, especially in political power and land acquisition
- 1990s: Creation of ethno-specific districts
- 1992: First multi-party elections; KANU won; post-election violence; Kalenjin and Maasai attempted to rid Rift Valley of "invaders;" Western three provinces are moist affected; 1,000,000 made homeless
- 1992: International report listed Kenya as 3rd most country in the world
- 1992: Catholic Church and National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) developed assistance programs for IDPs
- 1995: Formation of first District Peace and Development Commission in Wajir in northern Kenya
- Late 1990s: District Peace Commissions established in numerous districts
- 1996: Violence erupted in the South Rift Valley

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[62] Dialogue Africa foundation, *Kriegler and Waki Reports: Summarized Version 2009*, printed by Primark Ventures, available at: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_16094-1522-2-30.pdf?090428104720 [accessed 24 September 2010], pp. 48-49.
[63] The new Kenyan Constitution can be found online at http://muigwithania.com/2010/05/05/kenyan-constitution-pdf/. The section on Kadhis' Courts can be found in chapter 10, part 3, article 170 on page 97. The section on abortion can be found in chapter 4, part 1, article 26 (4) on page 23.

- 1997: Central government elections held, accompanied by post election violence; 100,000 fled homes near Mombasa
- 1997-2001: Violence continued in South Rift Valley (1996), Mombasa (1997), North Rift Valley (1997-98), Mt. Elgon (1999-2000), and Rift Valley (2001)
- 2002: Central government elections held; Opposition party, National Rainbow Coalition won; post-election violence again
- 2004-2005: Violence again in the Rift Valley
- 2005: Constitutional reform referendum campaign; Violence in Kisumu and Mombasa
- 2006: Government established Independent Anti-Corruption Commission, but corruption continued
- Dec. 2007: Central government elections held; Election Commission of Kenya charged with fraud by observes; Despite being behind at last count, incumbent President Kibaki, supported by the Kikuyu and the Party of National Unity (PNU), was announced winner and immediately sworn in as president; opposition party, the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), led by Odinga, which was supported by Kalenjin, Luo and Luhya, cried foul
- Dec. 2007 – Feb. 2008: Largest post-election violence in country's history, in western Kenya (especially the Rift Valley), Nairobi and the Coast Province; Over 1000 killed; 350,000 displaced; Great increase in IDPs
- Jan. – Feb. 2008: Kofi Annan led mediation process resulting in National Dialogue and Reconciliation Accord and power sharing government; Kibaki is given presidency; Odinga Prime minister
  - Feb. 2008: Many churches which had a mixture of peoples had become ethnically homogeneous
  - Feb. 2008: Committee of Experts is formed to draft a new constitution
  - Mar. 2008: Creative of commissions to investigate causes of the violence
  - Mar. 2008: Creation of Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission; though commission is seen later to be ineffective
- May 2008: 1st one-day workshop held by James and Ashafa in Burnt Forest in the Rift Valley
- Sept. 2008: 2nd three-day workshop held by James and Ashafa in Burnt Forest
- Mar. – August 2010: Formation of peace networks, especially in the north and central Rift Valley (though also other parts of western Kenya), resulting from trainings in peacebuilding and conflict transformation sponsored by Konrad Adenaeur Stiftung; primary focus to create dialogue regarding referendum on a new constitution
- August 2010: Adoption of new constitution; reducing the political patronage system and the power of the presidency and initiating land reform; Also recognized Khadis Courts for Muslims and a limited right to abortion (both measures opposed by many churches)
- September 2010: Lack of agreement on establishing a national tribunal to try persons for crimes, the International Criminal Court initiates such a tribunal in Kenya.

The map below shows some of the areas that witnessed the worst fighting during the post-election violence of 2007-2008.[64]
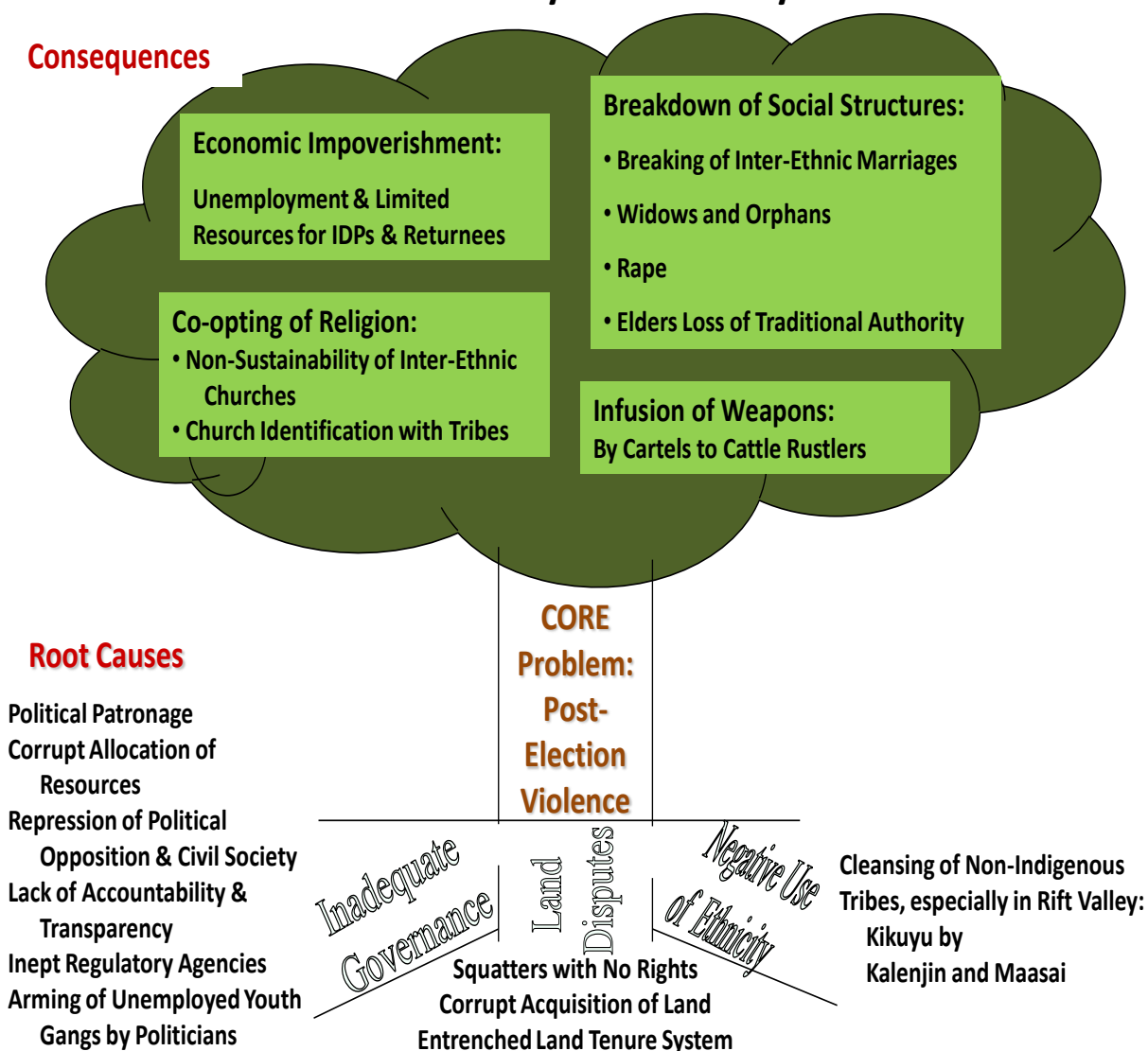

Kenya: Civil unrest

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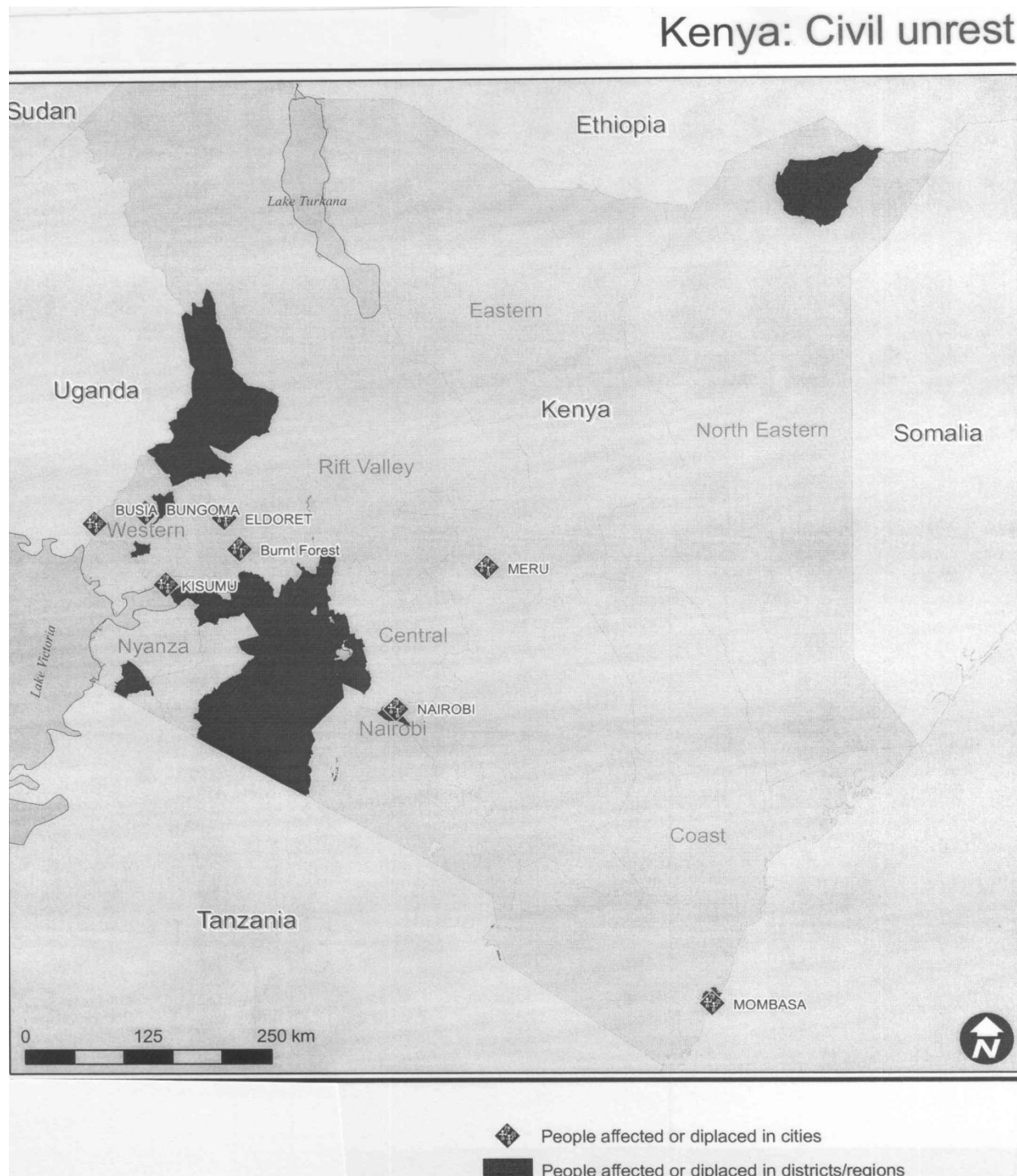
[64] Posted by the International Federation of Red cross and Red Crescent Societies, January 3, 2008, available at

Causes and Consequences of Conflict in Kenya

Throughout Kenyan history, conflict has existed beneath the surface, often invisible even to those living in its midst. Many times, people have only seen the positive inter-ethnic relationships they have worked to cultivate, denying the negative, concealed parts of their reality that are enmeshed in the social and political structures of their society. When activated by trigger points, such as general elections, this latent or hidden conflict has continually become overt, usually accompanied by violence. Once the trigger event has passed, the conflict is, again, frequently devalued, often ignored, and occasionally forgotten. In order to understand the dynamics of the visible violence, one needs to recognize and understand the underlying latent conflict, both the root causes (which are deeper than a stolen election) and the consequences (which extend far beyond the use of weapons).

Conflict Analysis Tree: Kenya

Consequences

Economic Impoverishment:

Unemployment & Limited Resources for IDPs & Returnees

Breakdown of Social Structures:

• Breaking of Inter-Ethnic Marriages

• Widows and Orphans

• Rape

• Elders Loss of Traditional Authority

Co-opting of Religion:
• Non-Sustainability of Inter-Ethnic Churches
• Church Identification with Tribes

Infusion of Weapons:
By Cartels to Cattle Rustlers

CORE Problem: Post-Election Violence

Root Causes

Political Patronage
Corrupt Allocation of Resources
Repression of Political Opposition & Civil Society
Lack of Accountability & Transparency
Inept Regulatory Agencies
Arming of Unemployed Youth Gangs by Politicians

Inadequate Governance

Land Disputes
Squatters with No Rights
Corrupt Acquisition of Land
Entrenched Land Tenure System

Negative Use of Ethnicity

Cleansing of Non-Indigenous Tribes, especially in Rift Valley:
Kikuyu by
Kalenjin and Maasai

Some of the most important **root causes**, as described above, include issues related to:

Negative Use of Ethnicity

Kenya's current ethnic divides were originally an invention of British colonialism. Prior to colonial rule, much smaller, often nomadic groups (more appropriately called clans) regularly traded, exchanged resources, provided each other with assistance during times of famine, and sometimes incorporated another clan identity. When they did fight, they typically resolved these disputes through traditional processes led by councils of elders. During colonial rule, however, different groups respond in a variety of ways: some passively accepted British rule and were provided with better education and social position; others were given and accepted marginal participation; and still others withdrew into isolation. By the time Kenya became independent, these ethnic/tribal identities had become perceived as real by Kenyans, influencing the demarcation of district boundaries and the competition for economic and political power.[65] The location of the greatest ethnic conflict in Kenya has been the Rift Valley Province. The favored Kikuyu tribe acquired ancestral lands previously belonging to the Kalenjin and Maasai. Later, many of the better educated and wealthy from the Luo and Luhya tribes would join them by settling in Kenya's most fertile region. Kikuyu political and social dominance between 1979 and 1992, however, had the unintended consequence of teaching other groups the benefits of ethnocentrism. The advent of multi-party elections in 1992 provided the initial opportunity for the resentment and fear harbored by the predominant tribes in the Rift Valley, the Kalenjin and Maasai, to attempt to cleanse the province of the "invaders."[66] Ever since then, this pattern of perceived ethnic subjugation has continued to afflict not only the Rift Valley, but other regions of the country (especially the western regions and Nairobi). This is true despite the fact that inequality among people within the same ethnic group is sometimes greater than between ethnicities. The fact that police and military all too often have been recruited along ethnic lines, in order to protect the government in power, has resulted in a lack of confidence in the security forces and a proliferation of youth gangs hired by politicians and businessmen to protect their interests.[67] What is needed is a return to the respect, interdependence and reconciliation practice know by pre-colonial clans. A contemporary understanding and practice of positive ethnic relations today, though, will need to reflect the realities of migration that have permanently altered Kenya's landscape. An ethnically inclusive consciousness should be seen as essential to affirmation of the entire cultural mosaic of neighborhood, city/town, district and nation.

Land Disputes

During pre-colonial times, land was communally owned by most clans. After colonialism disrupted this relationship to the earth, land settlement became part of the bargain during negotiations for independence, creating divisions within the nationalist movement. Although, according to the resulting Kenyan law, no part of the country belonged to an ethnic group, land alienation continued to intensify the problems of population density and the plight of landless farm laborers

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[65] Hall, Cheryl Jackson, "Racial and Ethnic Antagonism in Kenya," in *Modern Kenya: Social Issues and Perspectives,* ed. by Mary Ann Watson (Lanham, New York, Oxford: University Press of America, 2000), pp. 297-98.

[66] Oucho, John, *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya* (Leiden, Boston, Koln: Koninklijke Brill, 2002), pp. 13-14, 52, 69, and 85-87.

[67] Dialogue Africa Foundation, *Kriegler and Waki Reports: Summarized Version 2009*, pp. 50-52.

who became squatters with no rights once their labor was terminated. During the 1990s, ethno-specific districts were created, leading to the establishment of unofficial "native reserves" with "insiders" who were native to a place and "outsiders" who had migrated there. However, the Kikuyu, who benefitted more than any other group from land transfers over generations, were seen as unjust beneficiaries of the entrenched land tenure system. Gross corruption in the acquisition of land, including illegal grabbing of public land as political patronage, was rampant during the 1980s and 1990s. Senior public officials, members of local land boards, the courts, and provincial administrations used land allocations to reward "politically correct" parties.[68] The new constitution, passed in August 2010, now provides a legal basis for challenging the patronage system. Yet, local boundary disputes between ethno-specific districts will still have to be negotiated.

Inadequate Governance

As noted already, the political climate in Kenya has added tremendously to the escalation of conflict and onset of violence.

1. Government officials have frequently exercised <u>discrimination in the allocation of state resources</u>. Certain districts have been given preferential treatment, creating mistrust between administrative units and tensions between the privileged and the underprivileged. In 1992, an international report listed Kenya as the third most corrupt country in the world (with Nigeria being the only African nation to outrank Kenya).
2. Government officials have frequently engaged in <u>repression of political opposition and civil society movements</u> – banning rallies and demonstrations, arresting journalists, denying the right to organize, engaging in hate speech that blames others for the plight of certain ethnic groups, and rigging election results.
3. Government officials have taken steps to protect themselves from any accusations with their <u>lack of accountability and transparency</u> and their issuance of impunity among those in power.
4. Government officials (as well as the political opposition) have <u>armed and financed unemployed youth to carry out violence</u> against other political and ethnic entities. State security units have also been involved in government sponsored violence.[69]

Some of the **consequences** of the conflict, which in turn fuel further conflict, include:[70]

Economic Impoverishment

Poverty has increased tremendously as a result of the conflict. It is now estimated that a sizable percentage of the population in the western three provinces can no longer satisfy their basic

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[68] *Ibid.,* p. 50; and Oucho, *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya*, pp. 132-36.

[69] Oucho, *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya*, pp. 102-16; and Thobhani, Akbarali, "Political Developments during the 1990s," in *Modern Kenya: Social Issues and Perspectives,* ed. by Mary Ann Watson (Lanham, New York, Oxford: University Press of America, 2000), pp. 9-17.

[70] Based on observations of the author during the leading of twelve workshops in conflict transformation and peacebuilding in western Kenya, events held under the auspices of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung project titled, "Strengthening non-state actors' capacities to prevent and resolve conflicts in areas affected by post election violence in Kenya," during the spring of 2010.

needs. Many people have become internally displaced as a result of violence, having been force-fully moved from one province or district to another. Both those who have been unable to reset-tle and those who have gone back to their homes find themselves faced with limited resources. Furthermore, many IDPs feel neglected by government agencies who have not always given equal access to IDP status or compensation, further enflaming ethnic and political rivalries. Un-employment, especially among young men has risen to unprecedented levels, leading many to a life of crime as a means of livelihood.

Infusion of Weapons

The increase of crime has produced even higher stakes due to the burgeoning weapons industry. Weapons cartels have turned what used to be cattle rustling as a rite of passage into manhood for pastoralist communities into a much more dangerous operation. Weapons supplies, coming from Kenya's neighbors – Uganda, Sudan and Somalia – now find their way far beyond the northern pastoralist communities into the South Rift Valley and other regions affected by post-election violence. The result is even greater loss of life and injury when violence breaks out.

Breakdown of Social Structures

The conflict has a very negative effect on family life, sometimes forcefully breaking apart inter-ethnic marriages; other times resulting in divorce or separation due to increased stress. The neg-ative effect on families is often felt especially by women due to rape, which leaves a terrible stigma, or due to the killing of husbands which leaves them without income. Other social struc-tures are also negatively affected. Elders frequently lose their traditional authority role to both corrupt government officials and violent youth.

The Co-opting of Religion

In many cases, religious communities ended up on opposite sides of the conflict simply because they are part of different ethnic communities. Because different tribal peoples were converted by missionaries from different Christian denominations, it is not unusual to find the Salvation Army in one community at war with the Seventh Day Adventists in another. Even some churches which previously had mixed ethnic congregations, as well as inter-ethnic staff, could not sustain their mixed identity during post-election violence. Parishioners in the minority left out of fear for their safety, even if there was no mistrust of their fellow church members.

In actual fact, all of these causes and consequences are intertwined. They are all part of the recur-ring network of problems that have contributed to both latent and overt conflict in Kenya. As one identifies the underlying problems and the consequences, however, it will be essential that one also looks to find places of hope where local communities have begun to find creative ap-proaches to conflict transformation and peacebuilding.

Community-Based Conflict Transformation Initiatives

Faced with all of these ongoing conflicts, most of the Kenyan population has been quick to blame the government. Yet in many cases, communities in conflict prone areas have determined to take responsibility themselves for preventing and mitigating conflict within their regions. One

such effort at community level coexistence has been the formation of district peace and development committees. These committees are a hybrid structure which often integrates both traditional tribal and modern Western mechanisms that can transform intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic conflict. These committees first began in the arid, pastoral community of Wajir in northern Kenya in 1995 and continued to expand into the Eastern, Upper Eastern, Coast and North Rift regions in the late 1990s. More recently, the provincial administrations have increasingly recognized the pivotal role played by these community-based peacebuilding initiatives. Today these local peace committees, as well as a growing network of peacebuilding NGOs, have begun facilitating peace dialogues and peace forums in many regions of the country.[71] For example, the Africa Peace Forum has worked to implement the National Accord, conduct research on early warning and response and conduct dialogues between ethnic communities.[72] In addition, during the lead up to the constitutional referendum, 25 civil society organizations in the North Rift Valley formed a Coalition for Peace in the North Rift which facilitated peace meetings in Kiambaa between Kalenjin and Kikuyu tribal leaders who resolved never again to allow violence. These leaders walked "side-by-side" during the referendum, keeping Kiambaa free from violence. In the Kipkelion Region of the Central Rift Valley, civil society organizations also banded together to organize peace meetings with five ethnic groups which had experienced violence following every general election since Kenya's independence. By leading a one-day workshop, they assisted these leaders to evaluate the root causes of the conflicts and find alternative peaceful ways to resolve them.[73]

Faith-based organizations have also played a growing role in conflict transformation and peacebuilding efforts in Kenya. After the 1992 elections, the Catholic Church and the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) were among the first to initiate assistance programs for IDPs through their established institutions and networks. However, they were reluctant, at that time, to address the structural issues that underlay and fed the conflict. In 1995, meetings and workshops were orga-

Efforts of the Catholic Church and the National Council of Churches of Kenya

In addition to their reconciliation efforts in western Kenya, they:
- Restored health care centers,
- Provided aid to IDPs,
- Helped rehabilitate infrastructure (e.g. roads),
- Led community forums,
- Held dialogues with violent youth,
- Conducted trainings in peacebuilding, and
- Organized inter-ethnic cultural activities, including:
  Sports events for youth,
  Drama groups,
  Ethnic museums and
  Cultural centers.

Repatriation of IDPs, however, proved to be a task too difficult in places like the Rift Valley

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[71] Adan, Mohamud and Ruto Pkalya, "The Concept Peace Committee: A Snapshot Analysis of the Concept Peace Committee in Relation to Peacebuilding Initiatives in Kenya" (Nairobi: Practical Action, 2006) available at: http://www.practicalaction.org.uk/energy/east-africa/docs/region_east_africa/peace_committtee_analysis.pdf [accessed on September 24, 2010], pp. vi, 2-3 and 13.

[72] Interview with staff member Baraza Mang'eni by this author, Nairobi, Kenya, December 7, 2009.

[73] Kimisoi, James (Rift Valley provincial coordinator for the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung project, "Strengthening non-state actors' capacities to prevent and resolve conflicts in areas affected by post election violence in Kenya"), e-mail on August 29, 2010 to this author, indicating the results of training provided by this author and Kenyan colleagues during the spring of 2010.

nized for religious leaders, both Christian and Muslim during efforts to resolve the Wajir conflict in 1995, an effort that was led primarily by women mediators.[74] Finally, during and following the post-election violence in 2007-2008, both the Catholic Church and the NCCK engaged in numerous efforts at reconciliation between ethnic groups in the western three provinces of Kenya. Efforts are continuing to further increase the capacity of faith-based organizations to engage in peacebuilding and conflict transformation. One source of evidence is the pivotal role played by Mr. James Kimisoi, a staff member of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission in organizing the peacebuilding networks being established in the Rift Valley and helping to organize the successful peace meeting in Kipkelion (see previous paragraph). Yet, in addition, there are numerous other faith-based Kenyan organizations that have been making significant contributions to peacebuilding: Chemichemi (an organization focused on dialogue from a spiritual perspective), Peace Net Kenya (an umbrella organization of NGOs and religious organizations committed to facilitating and mobilizing local initiatives), Peace Tree Network (focused on conflict transformation and community reconciliation) and Africa Peace Net, Kenya (engaged in training and capacity building, especially in the Mt. Elgon region of the Rift Valley)[75]

Work of the Interfaith Mediation Center in Kenya

The work of IMC in Kenya has stemmed from their initial workshops, held in Burnt Forest, one of the areas greatly affected by post-election violence in 2007-2008. As a result of this project, following the second workshop, plans were made for a youth summit, a peace run, a meeting of Burnt Forest religious leaders, and a retreat for the Peace Committee to draw up a master plan strategy for ongoing peace and reconciliation efforts.[76] The common inter-ethnic marketplace, for which Ashafa and James advocated in *An African Answer*, has in fact happened.[77] More recently, James and Ashafa have partnered with organizations like the Nairobi Peace Initiative and the International Organization for Migration, as well as CHRD, visiting them to discus peacebuilding prospects and challenges, offering advice, and provided training in IMC's methodology.[78]

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[74] Juma, Monica Kathina, "Unveiling Women as Pillars of Peace: Peacebuilding in Communities Fractured by Conflict in Kenya: An Interim Report," Management development and Governance division, Bureau for Development Policy, United Nations Development Program, May 2003

[75] Caritas Australia and Catholic Relief Services/Kenya Program, video titled "Weaving Peace in the Rift Valley," 2009; and interviews conducted by this author with representatives of various Kenyan organizations plus stories told by numerous participants in workshops held in western Kenya under the auspices of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung project, "Strengthening non-state actors' capacities to prevent and resolve conflicts in areas affected by post election violence in Kenya" in the winter-spring of 2009-2010.

[76] Wafula, Ken, Burnt Forest Peace Activities Report," unpublished report (Eldoret, Kenya: Centre for Human Rights and Democracy – Eldoret, n. d.).

[77] Aquilina, Charles, in comment made following viewing of *An African Answer* and during discussion of a draft of this manual, at the United States Institute of Peace, December 14, 2010.

[78] E-mail to this author by Muhammad Ashafa and James Wuye, January 27, 2011.

APPENDIX 3

OVERVIEW OF RELIGIOUS PEACEBUILDING AND RECONCILIATION[79]

An overview of faith-based peacebuilding is important in order to provide background information that will be helpful to understand the motivations and practices of specifically religious actors such as Pastor James and Imam Ashafa from the Interfaith Mediation Centre in Nigeria. In addition, it provides for all peacebuilders vital information regarding the values and potential resources available within indigenous faith-based populations. However, this section is not limited to an examination of only the Christian and Muslim traditions. Its purpose is to enhance the ability of both secular and religious peacebuilders to work effectively within the wide variety of faith traditions found around the world.[80]

Peace and reconciliation are basic to all religious traditions. In fact the root meanings of the terms, in many languages and traditions go back to fundamental religious concepts.

The term "peace":

- In the Abrahamic traditions shalom/salaam connotes wholeness, fulfillment, completion, unity and well-being.
- In Engaged Buddhism inner peace is based on the concept of "interbeing" which affirms the interconnectedness of everything, the interwoven nature of relationships. Inner peace, within this tradition, is connected with outward compassion, tolerance and harmonious living.

The term "reconciliation":

- In the Abrahamic traditions it involves maintaining and restoring right relationships.
- In Engaged Buddhism, reconciliation involves rejection of "us" verses "them," the need to understand all sides to a conflict, de-escalate negative feelings and resistance, remember the whole history of the conflict, avoid stubbornness, and participate in face-to-face interaction.[81]
- In Gandhian Hinduism, which is based on the Jain and Bhakti movements, the goal of non-violent action is reconciliation.

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[79] The contents of this section have been taken from three publications by this author, including: Steele, David "Reconciliation Strategies in Iraq," *Special Report 213* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, September 2008; Steele, David, "An Introductory Overview to Faith-Based Peacebuilding," in *Pursuing Just Peace*, Ed. by Mark M. Rogers, et al. (Baltimore: Catholic Relief Services, 2008); and Steele, David, "Contributions of Interfaith Dialogue to Peace-building in the Former Yugoslavia," in *Interfaith Dialogue and Peace-building*, Ed. by David Smock (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 2002).

[80] In addition to references in other footnotes in this appendix, one can turn to the following sources to gain greater understanding regarding peacebuilding and conflict transformation in non-Abrahamic traditions: Kehoe, Alice, *Shamans and Religion* (Prospect Height, IL: Waveland Press, 2000); Chatterjee, Margaret, *Gandhi's Religious Thought* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983); Bondurant, Joan, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988); Juergensmeyer, Mark, *Gandhi's way: A Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Rouner, Leroy, *Celebrating Peace* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990) [including sections on Hindu, Buddhist and Christian understandings of peace]; and Chappell, David, *Buddhist Peacework* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999).

[81] Hanh, Thich Nhat, *Being Peace, ed. by Arnold Kotler (Berkley: Parallax Press, 1987),* pp. 74-79.

- In the Mayan Shaman tradition, reconciliation is understood as the lack of division, the unity of everything. Therefore, all are called to pray for peace and neither race, nationality, nor religion should stand in its way.[82]

Religious peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts often build on deeply held faith-based beliefs, values and practices. A truly faith-based process is one that internalizes the peace values inherent in one's faith tradition, embodied by someone who can "walk the talk." Sometimes the religious peacebuilder can be effective in helping to reconcile non-religious people or deal with conflicting issues that are not specifically tied to faith orientation. In such cases, the faith-based reconciler may not use explicitly religious terminology or symbolism. However, when the parties to the conflict are, themselves, religious, the use of faith-based practices and resources can help provide legitimacy and moral underpinning to the whole process. Reading scripture, prayer, singing songs of the faith, performing ritual acts of cleansing or healing, and even preaching have been used at times to promote reconciliation.

This overview will not provide an exhaustive examination of religious peacebuilding and reconciliation. Rather, it will offer a window into two aspects of the process: (1) roles that faith-based actors can play and (2) faith-based practices that enhance relationship building, dispute resolution and structural change. Certainly not all that is said will be unique to religious peacebuilding and reconciliation, but each aspect needs to be considered by faith-based interveners.

Roles that Faith-Based Actors Can Play

Transformation of societies into just and harmonious social orders, and the development of an infrastructure capable of maintaining this arrangement, requires a continuum of peacebuilding activity. Religious practices and resources have the potential to assist greatly in this effort. It is critical, therefore, to explore both current and potential capacity for faith-based peacebuilding with respect to the whole range of activities and potential impact. The variety of potential faith-based actors is extensive, including: clergy and laity, indigenous and external players, individuals and institutions, religious communities and ad-hoc commissions, ecumenical and inter-faith organizations, faith-based NGOs working in relief and development, politically motivated religious leaders at all levels and religiously motivated political leaders. There are a number of reasons why these religious actors, especially local ones, can become effective peacebuilders and reconcilers. Some of these faith-based actors have an international reach, including religious NGOs like "Religions for Peace" or the "International Fellowship of Reconciliation" as well as many specific religious denominations. Many of these faith-based actors bring with them a high degree of authority and the local leaders often combine this with longevity within a community that exceeds that of the political establishment. Specifically, these religious peacebuilders have the potential to:

- Cultivate a healthy sense of belonging,
- Legitimize violence-preventing behavior and delegitimize violence promoting behavior, and
- Encourage the processing of information that can dispel distortion and enemy imaging.

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[82] Endredy, James, *Beyond 2012: A Shaman's Call to Personal Change and the Transformation of Personal Consciousness* (Woodbury, MN: Llewellyn Publishers, 2008), pp. 116-18 and 177-80.

The various roles that faith-based peacebuilders and reconcilers can play can be categorized into four types: (1) observation and witness, (2) education and formation, (3) advocacy and empowerment, and (4) conciliation and mediation.[83] Each of these broad roles can be used to facilitate any of the practices outlined in the following section on relationship building.

Observation and Witness

The observer's role is to be a vigilant presence in a conflict situation, one that is designed to prevent, or at least report, violence and other forms of injustice. Far from being a passive role, the observer is frequently called upon to be physically present, at least temporarily, amidst people who face possible or actual danger. Observer activities can include: conflict assessment efforts, fact-finding/truth-telling missions, accompaniment of people in danger, monitoring of conflict related activity such as cease-fires, human rights abuses, and election processes, or artistic expressions that bridge cultural divides. In all of these activities, the hope is to reduce the likelihood of potential violence and transform unjust situations.

Education and Formation

The role of the educator is to lay the foundation for transforming an unjust and violent conflict into a just peace. It is the task of educators to convey to others information about the conflict situation and the skills needed for constructive peace-building. In order to adequately prepare a society for this work, religious leaders can perform the following educational functions: raise the conscience of the population regarding inequities in the system or perceptions of the various parties to the conflict, nourish the growth of values that can provide moral direction for the society, provide mechanisms for early warning and early response to potential violence, develop the skills necessary to perform other conflict intervention roles and train people in peace-building efforts (such as negotiation, mediation, advocacy, nonviolent action or democratic process), or promote healing through proclamations, rituals of worship, prayer, confession, forgiveness, and other community building activities.

Education may be approached through formal or more experiential learning events, including such things as seminars, conferences, schools, information campaigns, discussions, support groups, role plays, displays, posters, brochures, and media coverage. However, true peace education, especially when it involves the transformation of ethical behavior, must go beyond typical educational methodology. It requires internalizing the peace-related values inherent within one's own spiritual tradition. This requires knowledge of the faith tradition as well as reconciliation and consultation methodologies.

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[83] There are numerous examples, in a wide variety of countries, where faith-based peacebuilders have conducted each of the roles examined here. Specific resources include: Steele, David, "An Introductory Overview to Faith-Based Peacebuilding," in *Pursuing Just Peace*, Ed. by Mark M. Rogers, et al. (Baltimore: Catholic Relief Services, 2008); Johnston, Douglas and Cynthia Sampson, eds., *Religion, The Missing Dimension of Statecraft* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Johnston, Douglas, ed., *Faith-Based Diplomacy: Trumping Realpolitik* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Peacebuilding, *Peacemakers in Action: Profiles of Religion in Conflict Resolution,* ed. by David Little (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); and Yarrow, C.H. Mike, *Quaker Experiences in International Conciliation* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978).

Advocacy and Empowerment

The role of the advocate is to promote, support or defend the cause of a just peace in the eyes of the wider community and/or one or more of the parties in conflict. The advocate attempts to empower these groups to achieve a just peace. There are three types of advocacy -- for party, outcome, or process.

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

The methodology used by religious actors for each type of advocacy can include a variety of confrontational activities, such as protests, petitions, marches, demonstrations, boycotts, strikes, and other acts of civil disobedience, as well as less confrontational methods like public statements, speeches, letters, lobbying, fasting, and engaging in personal conversation.

There are also three distinct approaches to nonviolent advocacy:

- *Non-resistance* - where justice is requested, but not demanded;
- *Non-coercive resistance* (used by Gandhi and Martin Luther King among others) - where justice is demanded, but moral persuasion rather than coercion is the approved means; and
- *Coercive resistance* – where power is concentrated on one side of the conflict in order to balance the power relationship before before a just solution can be achieved.

Conciliation and Dialogue

Conciliation involves providing a channel of communication, some kind of dialogue process, which helps parties in conflict to develop a better relationship. Conciliation has been pursued by a great variety of faith-based individuals and groups who have tried to help reconcile parties It is often practiced prior to negotiation or mediation of a conflict, roles that involve working toward an agreement either among just the conflicted parties (negotiation) or with the assistance of a third party (mediation). However, conciliation and dialogue cannot be limited to this preparatory phase, since relational problems exist throughout a conflict. Any examination of conciliation and dialogue reveals a great diversity of methods. Examples include: individuals carrying messages between the parties in conflict, interfaith dialogue sessions that build relationships, off-the-record meetings where adversaries can explore alternatives, inter-religious round tables that produce joint statements, religious leaders functioning as unofficial reconcilers between political of civic leaders, or participation in truth and reconciliation sessions at national, regional or local levels.

Finally, it must be noted that religious actors also engage in mediation activity, designed to bring disputing parties to agreement. A few examples exist in which faith-based actors have carried out mediation efforts at high official levels of government. However, such involvement is normally the work of diplomats or international agencies. The more typical places in which religious actors officially engage in mediation efforts is at a local, civil society level. Here, faith-based intermediaries are frequently successful in facilitating the settlement of ethnic, tribal, religious, organizational, family and other identity-based conflicts.

Faith-Based Approaches to Relationship Building, Dispute Resolution and Structural Change

Faith-based efforts at conflict transformation and peacebuilding need to address three distinct dimensions of conflict – people, problems and systems. Sustainable peacebuilding is like a three-legged stool that needs each of these legs in order to function successfully. Each of these dimensions presents a challenge:

- First, there is the relational challenge of establishing trust, healing grievances, breaking the pattern of revenge, reducing biases and stereotypes, and building ties across divides so that people can begin to work together effectively.
- Second, there is the issue-oriented challenge of imparting the problem solving skills necessary to help people resolve disputes and develop concrete action plans to address the complex issues that divide a given society.
- Third, there is the systemic challenge of identifying changes in the social structure necessary to undergird and sustain the peacebuilding effort. Such systemic changes will include many of the components of post-conflict reconstruction – security, good governance, rule of law, economic development, and provision of basic services.

The primary focus of this manual is on the first of these dimensions – relationship building – though there is some attention given to the other two.[84] One reason for the focus on relationship building is that it is central to the approach taken by Pastor James and Imam Ashafa. As their experience and work demonstrates, the relational focus is particularly important in attempts to transform conflicts, though it must be followed by attention to the other two legs of the stool. Without effective dialogue, it will be impossible to resolve disputes or gain the broad-based input needed to implement successful structural change.

The numerous contemporary conflicts that exist within many societies need interveners who have relationship building skills and who bring the necessary legitimacy and credibility. Faith-based peacebuilders have the ability to provide these prerequisites even among those parts of the population that have become radicalized. In violence prone societies, the followers, as well as the leaders, are frequently motivated by recognition, revenge and reaction. The desire for recognition is rooted in a fundamental need to have one's identity affirmed. The desire for revenge is motivated by a strong compulsion to redress humiliation and achieve one's version of justice. The desire to provoke a reaction requires a change in attitude and behavior that leads to a proac-

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[84] One can find material related to dispute resolution and structural change in the roles described above, at the end of this appendix (in the section on "Negotiating Solutions and Developing Joint Action Plans"), in the accounts of the activities of the Interfaith Mediation Centre at the end of Appendix 1, and in the list of possible activities found at the end of the section, "What to Do During and After Viewing the Films."

tive, constructive response. A faith-based approach needs to address these concerns effectively in order to achieve reconciliation, as is emphasized in numerous religious traditions.

Identity Formation

Identity formation can be a complicated process in any society. When security has been violated, however, the parameters of identity are drawn ever more narrowly. Instead of affirming one's many layers of identity, there is a tendency for identity to become attached exclusively to one marker, be it religion, race, ethnicity, tribe, family, class or another locus of belonging. This exclusive marker is then bounded by increasingly fixed and rigid definition. All members of the in-group are tested for their loyalty, while all those marked with other identity labels are viewed with suspicion and are likely to be targeted for attack. Whichever identity marker becomes the primary definer of belonging, it will be necessary for the peacebuilder to help people broaden their identity formation process so that common bonds can be formed across the social divides. Even when religion is not the primary identity marker involved, one's sense of belonging and one's motivations are profoundly affected by the faith-based beliefs and values one holds. Consequently, faith traditions frequently play a role in the identity formation process for many people. When religion is the primary marker of identity, then the faith-based peacebuilder may, in fact, be key to enabling the reframing of identity. If the peacebuilder is knowledgeable about the faith tradition, or especially if he or she is a member of the same faith, one may be able to help the fellow believer to acknowledge a common secondary identity or to view their primary identity in more flexible, or even more accurate, terms. Assisting a person to see that their current perspective does not truly represent their own most basic interests or values could be crucial to generating a change in how they see themselves and how they view the "other."
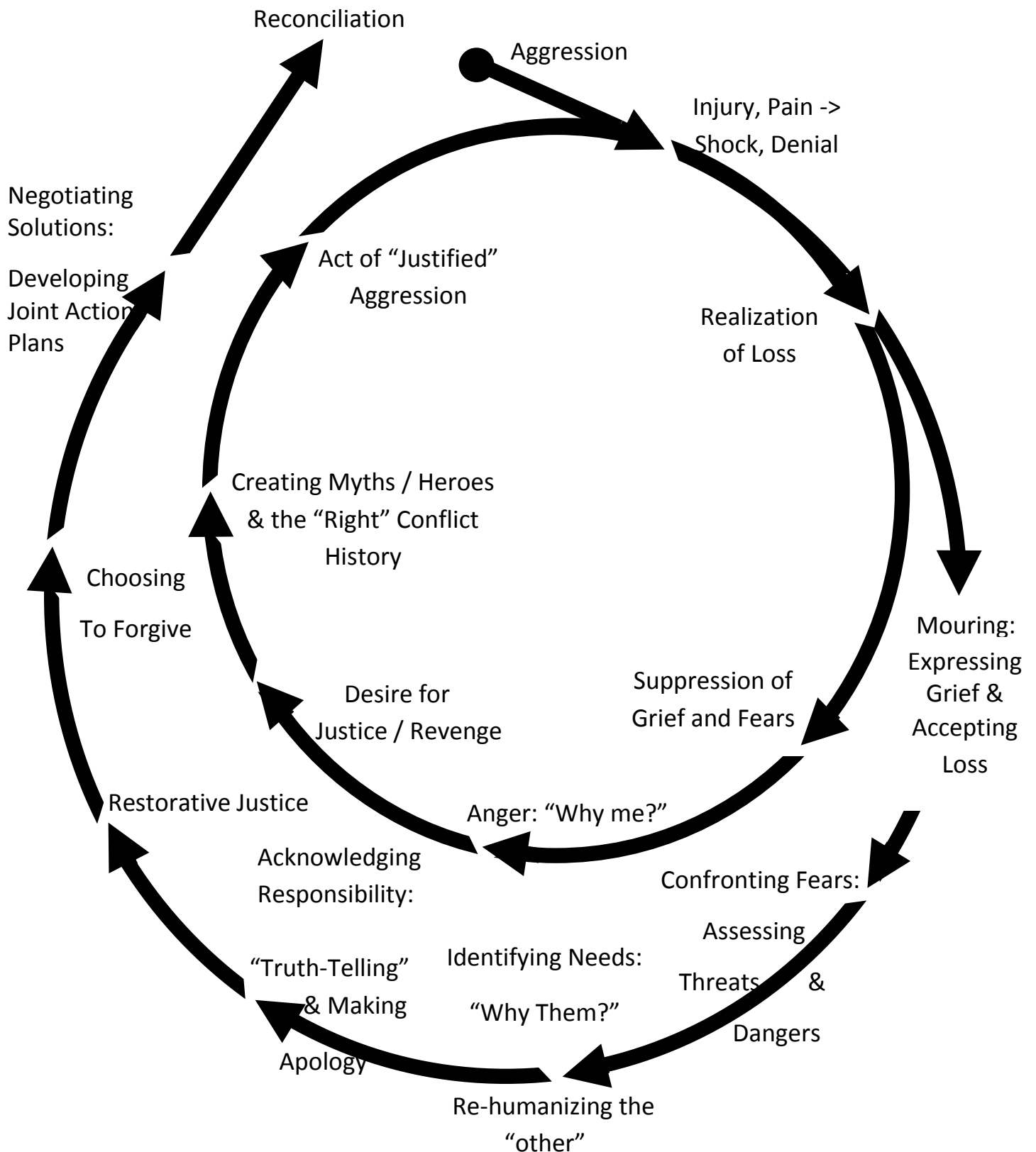
In order to begin to facilitate transformation, the faith-based reconciler must begin with people's own experience, starting where they are, not where we might wish them to be. In the context or aftermath of severe, widespread violence, this necessitates empathizing with people's sense of victimization. Building toward reconciliation in the context of excessive violence requires that special attention be given to the expression and acknowledgment of grievance. The faith-based peacebuilder needs to help people from each community, religious or secular, to address humiliation and injustice in a more constructive way than by resorting to revenge. To facilitate exploration of this dynamic, it is helpful to examine both the typical cyclical pattern of aggression/victimhood (inner cycle in the diagram below) and a series of steps that one can take, or practices one can encourage (represented in the outer cycle), in order to break the negative pattern and transform relationships.[85]

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[85] This diagram is a simplified version of the one used by Imam Ashafa and Pastor Wuye as presented in the first section of this manual. The number of steps in both cycles is fewer, thus focusing this overview on certain parts of the process. This diagram is also closer to the original diagram by Olga Botcharova, who at the time worked as an assistant to the author of this manual in the Program on Preventive Diplomacy at the Center for Strategic & International Studies in Washington. David Steele contributed much to the selection of topics and the description of these steps in the original diagram. The diagram used here represents his slight adaptation of the original as found in Botcharova, Olga, "Implementation of Track Two Diplomacy: Developing a Model of Forgiveness," *Forgiveness and Reconciliation,* ed. By Rodney Petersen and Raymond Helmick (Philadelphia and London: Templeton Foundation Press, 2001), p.298.

CYCLES OF VICTIMHOOD AND TRANSFORMATION:
DESTRUCTIVE VERSUS CONSTRUCTIVE

Reconciliation

Aggression

Injury, Pain ->
Shock, Denial

Negotiating
Solutions:

Act of "Justified"
Aggression

Developing
Joint Action
Plans

Realization
of Loss

Creating Myths / Heroes
& the "Right" Conflict
History

Choosing

To Forgive

Mouring:
Expressing
Grief &
Accepting
Loss

Desire for
Justice / Revenge

Suppression of
Grief and Fears

Restorative Justice

Anger: "Why me?"

Acknowledging
Responsibility:

Confronting Fears:

Assessing

Identifying Needs:

Threats   &

"Truth-Telling"
& Making

"Why Them?"

Dangers

Apology

Re-humanizing the
"other"

The first stage in the victimhood cycle is a state of *injury and pain* due to aggression. The second stage is when the person comes to a *realization of loss* of home, health, loved ones, possessions, identity, job, culture, and so forth. The third stage involves *suppression of grief and fears*. The attempt to avoid pain is a common survival mechanism in the midst of trauma. The fourth stage involves *anger* at anyone associated with the perpetrators. A deep sense of having been violated as a person or a community often carries all the weight of communal shame, dishonor, and humiliation. The fifth stage involves a *desire for justice or revenge.* The perceived need to rectify the group's diminished strength and blemished honor culminates, then, in a conviction to destroy the perpetrators and/or members of their group. In the sixth stage the victim *creates myths, heroes, and the right conflict history* in order to construct a web of understanding that explains all that has happened, convinces him and his identity group that they are absolutely right, and justifies the act of revenge. It is a black-and-white mentality that excludes the possibility of acknowledging any other perceptions that might reflect the complexity of the issues or the interests of other parties. Therefore, the seventh and last stage is *an act of justified aggression.* The previous victim has now also become an aggressor. However, there is no justification for this action from the perspective of the other. The cycle has been completed, the roles are now reversed, and the cycle continues, spiraling to encompass more and more people with each round of retaliation. In order to break this cycle of victimhood and revenge, faith-based reconcilers can encourage those with grievances to employ the following religious practices.

Grief Work and Trauma Healing

Enabling people to experience an effective grief process is an important first step in reconciliation and peacebuilding. Without a sensitive process of mourning, one that encompasses religious ritual as well as empathetic understanding, traumatized individuals and communities cannot prevent their understandable hurt and anger from developing into revenge and counter aggression. The indigenous religious leaders in any society should be the ones to evaluate how their specific traditions of mourning could express, yet transform, the people's rage and lead them away from vindication. Given the stature and authority that religious leaders have in many societies, they could provide the very foundation upon which reconciliation could be built by finding a release for the anguish that can embitter the heart.

Yet, even when religious leaders are not the facilitators of the reconciliation process, there are methods that anyone could use to transform the process of grief and loss. Experience in numerous cultural contexts indicates that storytelling in small groups of six to eight people is one of the most effective ways to address suffering and grievance. If care is taken to design a safe environment in which each group member is able to share his or her personal difficult experience and what helped the person to live through the loss, then participants can be heard by "the other." Cross-cutting bonds begin to develop. People's deep pain, rather than becoming a barrier, becomes a bridge.

This sharing of experience, though, needs to be interspersed with interpretive information on the grief process. Here, it is important to draw on local religious knowledge, for example the healing role of the shaman, as well as professional psychological theories. It is also important to note the central role of ritual in providing space for catharsis and access to divine presence in order to facilitate effective grief work and trauma healing. Attempts to ritualize this process by pulling together elements from all the stories, weaving similar and dissimilar components into a shared catharsis, guarantees everyone's experience has been remembered and grieved. For example,

could former adversaries bury the dead together, honoring and healing each group's memory, in order to build more hopeful and healthy relationships in the present and future? Or could the litany of lament, common in many Abrahamic religious traditions, be used to comfort all sufferers with the sense that God hears the pain, proclaims the suffering to be unjust, and promises that healing and blessing will ultimately prevail? Communal grief processes such as this help to limit vindictive response even though people will still disagree about many of the perceptions, causes, diagnoses, and solutions regarding the conflict.

Confronting Fears

Moving from grievance to fear involves turning one's attention from the past to the future. In many cases, there is, in fact, an intrinsic connection. Victims of atrocities tend to believe that the trauma they have experienced will happen again, that the perpetrator will come back. People in the midst of war are legitimately afraid of many things: threats to personal safety, social transformation, economic crisis, political manipulation, loss of dignity and honor, etc. Yet if reconciliation is to occur, people must not to be controlled by fear. Faith traditions can offer much assistance at this point, helping people to turn to God, or to center themselves, or to focus on positive thoughts and feelings such as love and compassion. The faith-based reconciler can offer these resources by modeling them in oneself, as well as offering encouragement in either explicitly religious or psycho-social terms. Addressing this topic by utilizing the same small groups in which people share their grief and trauma builds on the rapport that has already been established there.

In many cultures, however, one may also observe resistance to acknowledgment of fear, because such acknowledgment would appear to demonstrate weakness and shame. Rather than appear weak, one might deny the fear, and perhaps even express anger over the suggestion. Observing fears in people not closely related and not present, however, is much less likely to prove difficult. Some people may be more forthcoming if they are asked about threats or dangers, rather than fears. This line of questioning allows the person to objectify the fear, focusing on the outside stimulus rather than the internal emotion. As one talks about the fears of the group or the external danger, one's own feelings will be apparent, even if not self-acknowledged. Although acknowledging one's fear, rather than simply blaming others, is valuable, there can still be cathartic value to this process for people who need to distance themselves from direct acknowledgment. People can be helped to explore the degree to which the danger is real, re-perceive the situation and one's response to it in the light of new information received, and experience support from their religious faith as well as the empathy (and perhaps shared apprehension) of others, possibly including people from the feared community.

Re-humanizing the "Other"

Another practice crucial to faith-based reconciliation efforts involves re-humanizing the "other" through the identification of mutual needs, such as recognition, well-being, security, community, and control over one's life. Turning from trauma and fear includes a necessary shift in focus from oneself and one's group to the "other." One must really want to know who the "other" is. When communication has been severed, either because of war or the isolation caused by ethnic or sectarian cleansing, it is difficult for even well intentioned people to understand the needs of the other. It is not easy to accurately identify the "other" due to the existence of persistent stereotypes – distortions functioning as a group survival mechanism and often fueled by anger.

These biases quickly become entrenched, misrepresenting and contaminating one group's perception of another. The media and the political leadership frequently add to this dynamic by using propaganda to create misinformation and false rumor. Yet it is possible to recognize that the actions of one's adversary are motivated by legitimate human needs. It is also important, however, to emphasize that basic needs are distinct from the positions taken on issues in dispute. While a group's demands may be questionable, it is always important to express solidarity with basic interests as well as any legitimate pursuit of them. Identifying common and compatible needs can help to create understanding and openness.

Re-humanizing the "other" is at the heart of all spiritual traditions. Affirming our common humanity, love for neighbor, and hospitality for the stranger are central to the moral codes found in all faiths. In fact, in some religious traditions, calls for love and hospitality are extended to the enemy. If the code of honor, inherent within many concepts of hospitality, requires the granting of sanctuary to save an enemy's life, does it not also require re-humanizing him and offering the simple acts of hospitality can be offered even during situations of intense violent or post-violent conflict? Yet hospitality toward the "other" certainly faces a variety of challenges in different religious and cultural contexts. The social mores found within each setting are of great importance in determining how best to practice hospitality in the particular.

A faith-based reconciler who has modeled this transformation oneself, like Ashafa and James, is particularly effective. The faith-based peacebuilder must be careful, however, to call all parties (not just one side) involved in deep-rooted conflicts to offer this hospitality. It must be a partnership venture, one in which each party is both welcomed and welcomer. This will not be easy. On the one hand, some groups which live in conflict and persecution reject approaches of hospitality from the other side. On the other hand, those willing to reach out in hospitality may face rejection as traitors by others within their own group. Yet, faith-based reconciliation efforts, with their call to give ultimate allegiance to a higher reality, can help many faith-based people to create space to receive the "other," sometimes even before the hospitality is reciprocated.

One way of helping people to identify the needs of others is to invite them to participate in a perception clarification exercise in which they are asked to step into the shoes of another group, an experience where one is asked to identify the "other's" values, concerns, fears or intentions. Meeting face-to-face can help to re-humanize the other, dispel misinformation or false rumor, and identify common or compatible needs.

Acknowledging Wrongs

The call to acknowledge responsibility for wrongdoing is another deeply embedded principle in faith traditions.

- All the Abrahamic traditions require acceptance of responsibility.
- In Engaged Buddhism, one is to be the first to confess wrongs.[86]
- The Mayan tradition of the shaman observes a day of atonement during which everyone is to examine their relationship with others.[87]

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[86] Hanh, *Being Peace,* pp. 75-78.
[87] Endredy, *A Shaman's Call to Personal Change and the Transformation of Personal Consciousness,* p. 128

Different societies and different religious traditions will have their own distinct moral norms, but will also call for truth telling and apology when those norms are violated. The exact practice may differ over whether words, gestures, symbols or ceremonies will be the means of expression, or the degree to which face-saving is required, or whether a third party mediator/arbiter should be utilized. In societies rife with targeted violence, accountability is more difficult to ensure than normally is the case. When approached with sensitivity, however, it is possible. It must be preceded, however, by identification with the suffering experienced by the group. If reconciliation begins with an effective grief process, then one can be prepared to admit that, for each group afflicted, responsibility exists somewhere. This does not mean, however, that all accusations are correct or that all individuals or groups are equally guilty.

The faith-based reconciler will need to be aware of different types of guilt and different levels of acknowledgment.

- There is individual guilt, including *criminal guilt* when an individual has broken the law and *moral guilt* when there has been a violation of conscience or social norms.
- There is collective guilt, including *political guilt* when the whole body politic has instituted unjust laws and policies and *omissive guilt* when there has been collective indifference, neglect and failure to oppose evil.

Although one individual or group may be more responsible than others, there is usually a need for joint accountability, especially in societies where violence has been endemic. The whole society bears some responsibility for injustice done in its name and may have to participate in collective reparation. The primary responsibility, however, lies with those in power who devised and implemented the unjust policy. At the same time, faith traditions have also called upon many civil society actors, both groups and individuals, to at least admit the wrongs done in their name as well as the ones for which they are directly responsible.

In light of the variety of responses to different types of guilt, faith-based reconcilers should distinguish between two levels of acknowledgment.

- *Truth telling* is a process whereby the wrongs that have been committed become known, sometimes in personal conversations, sometimes through public processes like truth and reconciliation commissions.
- *Apology* is the act of taking responsibility for the wrong that has been done, an action that involves contrition, sorrow, remorse, and may lead to repentance – an actual change in behavior.

It must be noted that, even when apology is made, it may not lead to full reconciliation if it is not accepted by the other party.

When encouraging people to acknowledge wrongdoing, it is helpful for the faith-based reconciler to encourage a process of personal sharing, similar to that which has been described in the previous practices. Meeting, first, in homogeneous groups, helps members of the same identity group to examine their own responsibility. When each group knows that they are part of a parallel process, in which other sides are also evaluating themselves, it lessens the potential cost of

losing face. Each group should be given the task of developing lists of times when they or their group have wronged others or held negative attitudes. Mutual acknowledgment of wrongdoing can then be communicated in a joint session during which the lists are shared and discussed.

Restorative Justice

When individuals or groups within a society have begun a mutual process of identifying needs and acknowledging wrongs vis-à-vis all significant stakeholders, then they are ready to examine the question of justice. However, the justice that needs examination is radically different from that emanating out of the revenge mentality. In fact, an adequate definition of justice needs to start from a different reference point than the monitoring and punishment of unjust acts. Although vitally important to the role of accountability in establishing and maintaining a stable and peaceful society, exposure and retribution represent only the negative, retributive side of justice. A fully adequate understanding must begin with an evaluation of the norms and values that form the foundation for restorative justice, a positive vision of right relationships between all units within the society.

Such a vision is, again, at the foundation of many faith traditions. In Islam, for example, the ultimate goal is restoration of relationships, though significant emphasis is placed on retributive justice as well. The Qur'an does allow, but does not require, an "eye for an eye." In fact, it commends one who refrains from retribution and forbids any action in excess of equal retaliation (Surah Al-Ma'ida, 45; Surah Al-Isra', 33; and Surah Al-Baqara, 178). Revenge, however, is not perceived as having any place in justice. "Let not the hatred of others to you make you swerve to wrong and depart from justice (Surah Al-Ma'ida, 8)." In other words, retribution is worth pursuing only to the extent that it leads to acknowledgment of responsibility, then to forgiveness and finally to rehabilitation of the wrongdoer and restitution (exact repayment of what was lost) or reparation (payment in lieu) to the wronged party.

It is also important, though, to acknowledge that there are challenges that remain involving the harmonizing of retributive and restorative justice. In retributive justice, impartial accountability, strict enforcement and protection of human rights are emphasized as an effective way of dealing with past infractions and providing a deterrent against future lawlessness. In restorative justice, past wrongs are more often dealt with through truth telling, apology, and amnesty. The balance needed in different societies may vary. In fact different actors within the same society frequently disagree on the balance required. Was the Truth and Reconciliation process in South Africa a success or a failure? Vastly different opinions exist.

A full exploration of these questions is beyond the scope of this manual. Efforts at restorative justice, however, need not be conceived only as alternatives to retributive justice or the need for an effective criminal justice system. In fact, they should be undertaken in parallel with efforts to promote the rule of law. For example, accountability is not antithetical to communally based tribal processes of reconciliation. When pursuing restorative justice, one must still promote responsibility. On the other hand, a well-functioning criminal justice system should attempt to rehabilitate the wrongdoer. Unfortunately, in many criminal justice systems, there is no rehabilitation, nor is there restitution or reparation to the wronged party. A focus on restoring right relationships can address these issues and concerns about accountability, sometimes through involvement with the legal system and sometime through parallel processes. Many projects, far

beyond the scope of the legal system, have been developed for this purpose: efforts to reintegrate released prisoners into society, facilitate the return of refugees or IDPs, expose corruption, etc.

Though the faith-based peacebuilder must appreciate the complexity of these issues, one must still keep focus on the ultimate restorative purpose of justice as viewed within many faith traditions. Gandhi's efforts to maintain relationships through his use of non-coercive resistance, is a prime example within Hinduism. Programming to promote restorative justice, which does not work against the need for rule of law, can be developed at faith-based workshops on peacebuilding. Interfaith working groups can be established around the justice concerns of participants. Facilitators of these workshops can then assist the working groups to devise action plans as spelled out in the last section of this appendix.

Forgiveness

Forgiveness is a process that comes directly out of many religious traditions and, if properly defined, is consistent with those traditions that avoid the use of this term.

- Although some branches of Buddhism do not use this term, the act of pardon is still called for by some Buddhists in the war-ravaged society of Sri Lanka.[88]
- In Gandhian Hinduism one is called to unending forgiveness.[89]
- In Christianity, Jesus calls for the same.
- In Judaism and Islam, forgiveness is connected with acknowledgment of wrongdoing and a commitment to justice.
- In the Mayan shamanistic tradition, there is a day of conflict and conflict resolution, during which one is called to resolve conflict, change one's attitudes and forgive.[90]

Forgiveness is not absolution, an act that frees others from the consequences of their actions. There are, however, two basic understandings of forgiveness, each suggesting its own approach or methodology:

- *Interactive forgiveness* is seen as a mutual process between parties, one in which they negotiate their way from violation to restoration of relationship.
- *Unilateral forgiveness* is seen offered for one's own sake as well as that of the other. It is an act in which a wronged party decides to set aside its own anger and resentment, neither requiring nor eliminating the need for action on the part of the other party.

These theories are not mutually exclusive. However, it will be helpful to look at them one at a time.

Forgiveness as an *interactive process* is the most common understanding. For example, in many tribal societies, acknowledgment of wrong, concern for justice, and in the end forgiveness, are

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[88] Deegalle, Mahinda, "Norms of war in Theravada Buddhism," in *World Religions and the Norms of War*, ed. by Vesselin Popovski, Gregory M. Reichberg and Nicholas Turner (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2009), p. 75.

[89] Roy, Kaushik, "Norms of ear in Hinduism," in *World Religions and the Norms of War*, ed. by Vesselin Popovski, Gregory M. Reichberg and Nicholas Turner (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2009), p. 44.

[90] Endredy, *A Shaman's Call to Personal Change and the Transformation of Personal Consciousness,* p. 130.

interwoven. Offenders acknowledge their wrongdoing, express remorse, and engage in restitution or reparation as agreed and appropriate. Victims refrain from vengeance, express empathy for offenders as fellow human beings, and may release offenders from all or part of their deserved penalty. As mentioned previously, however, in fragile states the task of separating victims from offenders is by no means easy and all people, at least by extension into tribe and religious sect, are potentially on both sides of this dynamic. If the interactive forgiveness process can be fully implemented, however, it has the greatest chance of restoring full relations.

Forgiveness as a *unilateral practice* need not involve any negotiation at all. It is an approach that has its origins in a therapeutic and/or spiritual understanding of the victim's need to find release from captivity to one's own anger and hatred. Forgiveness, in this case, is not an act that frees others from, or forces them to face, the consequences of their actions. It does not mandate anything for society, though it might model compassionate behavior for others. In fact, a person who has experienced freedom from hatred and resentment may be able to engage in the process of restorative justice with greater openness, honesty, and compassion. This approach to forgiveness can be described as giving up all hope of a better past and investing oneself in the future. A unilateral process like this is undoubtedly more difficult in some cultures where acceptance depends more heavily on social status rather than on individual decision. Yet, a strong desire to recreate harmonious community, common in these cultures, might encourage people to alter their perspective. Many truth and reconciliation commissions have endorsed this understanding of forgiveness.

Storytelling remains an excellent way for faith-based peacebuilders to approach the topic of forgiveness in discussion groups or training workshops. What has been the experience of people in offering or receiving forgiveness? What difficulties have they experienced in being on either end of the process? There are many reasons why people experience forgiveness as difficult: stereotyping, vulnerability, sense of betrayal, lack of apology, group pressure, fear of repetition of the hurtful event, etc. On the other hand, some people have found that understanding others' needs, and reasons for their actions, have helped to nourish a sense of care that can lead to forgiveness. The faith-based reconciler needs to allow each person to approach this sensitive topic at their own pace and to call it whatever they wish. Yet experience frequently shows that openness to consider forgiveness can happen even to very hurt people when they gain a better understanding of what is involved and what the benefits might be.

Negotiating Solutions and Developing Joint Action Plans

When good groundwork has been laid in relationship building, then groups in conflict are better able to engage in constructive negotiation and mutual problem solving that can produce creative action plans with which to address concrete justice concerns within their society. These justice concerns, and the approaches devised to address them, will certainly include any of the factors involved in the conflict context (as described in Appendix 1 on Nigeria and Appendix 2 on Kenya) – negative use of ethnicity, religious divides, poor governance, economic impoverishment, lack of security and human rights, land disputes, infusion of weapons, and breakdown of social structures. One might add other factors when developing action plans in other contexts. In Nigeria and Kenya, where the whole culture is extremely religious, faith-based peacebuilders will often be called into assist with such action planning even when the conflict being addressed is technically not about religion. In such contexts, even "secular" causes of conflict are frequently viewed in religious terms and religious leaders, of any persuasion, carry with them a high de-

gree of authority. Such dynamics can be found in many societies of very different religious and cultural persuasion. Even when this is not the case, faith-based peacebuilders can facilitate such processes as long as they are sensitive to the philosophical and cultural norms of the groups with which they are working. In fact, the basic problem solving approach described here has been used by this author in a wide variety of context, including Kenya.

One can begin such a process within a workshop context. Working groups can be formed around specific justice concerns identified by the participants themselves as basic to the specific context in which they live and as ones which they are interested to address. One might well have a number of different working groups in the same workshop, assessing and developing action plans on different specific problems. After identifying the problem to be addressed, each working group can be helped through the following stages:

- *Draw a relationship map* that identifies all the major stakeholders (individuals and groups) and depicts the historical and current relational dynamics among them. Who is influenced by whom? Who defers to another party? Where is there antagonism?[91]
- *Identify the interests* of each major party. Interests are the specific hopes, concerns and goals that motivate parties to behave the way they do, but are different than the positions they take. A position is the solution a party may propose, often stated as a demand. The interests are what the party actually needs and can often be identified by asking the question "why?" party X proposes or demands a particular solution. Focusing on positions frequently leads to deadlock because the demands are mutually exclusive. Focusing on the interests beneath the positions allows for a wide variety of possible solutions.
- *Brainstorm options* that represent the full range of possibilities on which the parties might conceivably reach agreement. Working groups should be encouraged, initially, to generate a large number of ideas without regard to their feasibility. Don't allow for any judgments to be made. All ideas should be listed. If someone in the group does not like a proposed option, invite them to suggest a different one.
- *Select the best option(s)* by identifying:
  1st those of most value, i.e. those that best meet the basic interests of all parties, and
  2nd those that are most feasible, given the resources available and the obstacles that would be encountered.[92]
- *Identify coalitions*, existing or potential ones, that have the potential to:
  o Help implement the best option(s), i.e. *enablers,* and
  o Hinder or block implementation, i.e. *spoilers*
  These parties can include any groups or individuals within, or outside of, a society. Faith-based peacebuilders will inevitably interact with both secular authorities (government officials, politicians, security personnel, tribal elders) and members of the people professions (teachers, lawyers, human rights workers, journalists, business people, doctors, staff of NGOs, other religious organizations, etc.). In fact, interaction with a particular group may be essential in order to gain the benefit of their perspective and expertise.

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[91] To see one example go to www.peacemakers.ca/education/**Conflict**AnalysisTutorial.ppt and view slide 25.
[92] One methodology for evaluating each option is the SWOT analysis which can be found at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:SWOT_en.svg.

- *Outline concrete next steps*, indicating sequences of actions to take and parties to encounter. Where would the group begin? Why? What problems or hindrances might they meet at this point? How to handle those obstacles?   What alternatives are there if this step is not feasible? At each point in the sequence, it is important to identify who in the group will be responsible to do what, when, where, and how.

When working groups have completed this action planning it is helpful to have the various groups present their plans to receive feedback from the entire workshop as well as the facilitators.

Some examples are included to illustrate how some of the activities mentioned at the end of the main part of the manual have been implemented in a variety of contexts.

Action Plan Implemented during a Workshop

> *Bring the media to an interfaith workshop to interview participants regarding a particular issue of justice, for example corruption, in Bosnia-Herzegovina*[93]

A three-day interfaith workshop, sponsored by the Center for Strategic & International Studies in Washington, was held in Sipovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina in March 2000, four-and-a-half years following the end of the war in that country. Care was taken to invite equal numbers of Serbian Orthodox, Croatian Catholic and Bosnian Muslim participants, as well as one Jewish person. Approximately half the participants came from the Bosnia Serb Republic (where the workshop was held) and half from the Muslim-Croat Federation. During the second day, participants then spent considerable time outlining a number of specific justice concerns facing Bosnia-Herzegovina. They selected the need for creation of jobs and a viable economy as most important. The biggest obstacle to meeting this need was then identified as corruption. After proposing a number of actions that required long-term planning and implementation, they decided that use of the media to raise awareness of the problem with the entire population could be started immediately. On day three, the Bosnian Serb media were invited to interview one participant from each of the three major faith communities represented, one of whom was a Serbian Orthodox bishop. All the participants took part in preparation for this event by meeting with their designated representative to share their concerns. During the interview itself, all three representatives criticized the role played by political and religious leadership of each group and shared the conviction that all citizens in the country shared in responsibility for corruption. Bosnian Serb media produced an hour-long show on corruption that evening. Shorter programs on radio and TV were also broadcast in the Muslim-Croat Federation. During the next couple days, workshop participants reported frequent mention of the program throughout the country. What started as simply a training workshop had ended in an exercise of community mobilization involving a combination of both faith-based reconciliation and advocacy.

Action Plans Implemented following a Workshop

1. _Hold dialogue sessions regarding constitutional and political issues_ (such as devolution of power or land rights for minority peoples) *in Kenya*[94]

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[93] In this case, this author was principally involved in both training the actors and supervising their ongoing activity.
[94] In this case, this author was principally involved in training the actors.

The peace commission in Burnt Forest, for example, committed itself to pressing the government regarding constitutional reform and land policies.[95] Furthermore, participants in numerous peacebuilding and conflict transformation workshops conducted by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in western Kenya in 1010, developed and implemented action plans (exactly as described above) in which they outlined their own efforts, as NGOs, to facilitate dialogue sessions prior to the constitutional referendum conducted in August of that year. For example, in designing such a plan, one such working group from Siaya contrasted the "Yes" and "No" campaigns in the following way. They drew a conflict map that demonstrated complicated relationships, including the ambivalence within many of the stakeholder parties, a tension that mirrored attitudes within the whole population. The working group then carefully distinguished between the positions and interests of each campaign. For example, according to the "Yes" campaign, the constitution could be amended later, while the "No" campaign insisted that it be amended prior to the referendum. The interests of the "Yes" campaign, however, were that reforms be made regarding land, poverty, devolution of power and empowerment of marginalized communities, as specified in agenda 4 of the National Dialogue and Reconciliation Accord. The interests of the "No" campaign included preservation of life (a reference to the proposed legalization of some abortions), protection of current land ownership, the need for equality for all religious groups (a reference to the proposed legalization of Muslim Khadis courts), and a fear of losing power (see Appendix 2, the section titled "Ongoing Conflict since the Presidential Election of 2007," for historical background). The Siaya working group then brainstormed a number of possible options to address the conflict, selecting civic education as the best. They also identified a coalition of support, including the provincial administration, the Interim Independent Electoral Commission and various civil society organizations. Feedback from other participants in the workshop added members of the Committee of Experts to their list. As they began to examine first steps, they recommended starting by involving a variety of neutral civil society organizations which they believed could help facilitate effective, unbiased dialogue. An example of effective implementation of such a dialogue process is recounted in Appendix 2, the section titled "Community-Based Conflict transformation initiatives," where one can find a description of the successful dialogue, and subsequent negotiation, efforts of "The Coalition for Peace in the North Rift," the result of similar working group efforts begun during the workshops conducted by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and coordinated by a staff member of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission.

2. *Determine whether extremist religion will be taught in public schools in Iraq[96]*

Following a workshop held for Iraqi Shi'ites, sponsored by Mercy Corps in 2005, one of the participants utilized a conflict management process, learned in the workshop, to resolve a dispute over the place of radical Shi'ite Islam in the school system. The head of the education committee in the provincial council of Qadissiyah Governorate was confronted with a demand by a radical religious group that they be allowed to teach Islam in a school in the village of Sadeer. Aware of the highly religious orientation of the entire community, he consulted with other religious workshop participants from his province, in developing a conflict assessment and problem solving process. Together, they identified the complicated set of interests represented by multiple parties: the principal of the school, the group that wanted Islam to be taught, students, teachers, an Islamic religious leader, tribal leaders, the Education Department in the Governorate, the Provincial Council, and the Ministry of Education in Baghdad. They also brainstormed numerous options, mapped out the relationships between the stakeholders and set out an action plan, in-

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[95] Report titled, "North Rift Peace Conference: Meeting HELA at Chief's Camp @ Burnt Forest on 24th May 2008."
[96] In this case, this author was principally involved in both training the actors and supervising their ongoing activity.

cluding the sequencing of meetings which the provincial head of education had with each party. In his official role, he then took the initiative to resolve the dispute by demonstrating that venues did exist which provided adequate religious education, thereby meeting the interests of the vast majority of the community. He also questioned the appropriateness of the request by reaffirming a consensus among most of the stakeholders that the school needed to operate on the basis of standard procedures for introducing curriculum and hiring teachers. To the surprise of many Iraqi Sunnis, the decision was made to forbid the teaching of radical Shi'ite Islam in the school. This mediator/arbitrator had led a cooperative problem solving process that resulted in a demonstration of community mobilization involving a combination of both reconciliation and advocacy among a highly faith-based population.

3. *Develop an early warning early response (EWER) mechanism in Nigeria[97]*

At an interfaith workshop in Jos, following an election crisis, IMC focused on training participants to detect early signs of trouble and know what they could do to respond constructively. James and Ashafa began by asking what signs of trouble participants had observed and what had been done. Responses to the trouble included: asking the local government to call a security meeting, mobilizing people to vote and then go home, calling on community leaders to urge their people to be peaceful and law abiding, holding seminars two weeks in advance in order to debunk rumors, and use of the media to discourage violence. By the end of the process, participants had a number of recommendations, including: set up a youth wing of IMC's EWER program, include youth in security meetings at all levels, promote inter-religious youth visits, and form councils of elders in wards of the city. The specific action plan that emerged included: set up an anti-segregation and peace committee, constitute a liaison between IMC's EWER and government security agencies, set up local community structures that would identify and monitor strangers and strange movements, build further capacity by providing additional training, and liaise with state government by enlisting the support of international NGOs or CSOs. Finally, they listed specific actors with whom they intended to make contact, including: office of the governor, traditional leaders, state security services, state commissioner of police, commandant of joint task force on peacekeeping, and the state inter-religious leaders council.

Conclusion

The practices and resources brought by a wide variety of faith-based peacebuilders have much to contribute, especially to the numerous internal, and many sectarian, conflicts that exist within many societies. These religiously motivated actors lend their unique moral legitimacy, healing rituals and relationship building skills to the roles of observation, education, advocacy and mediation/conciliation that are performed by both religious and secular interveners. Yet the ultimate success of religious peacebuilders and reconcilers, like efforts by any actors, rests on the long-term commitment to the process. Follow-up of participants in any conflict transformation event is essential. The peacebuilding team must continue to meet with these people and with any organizations they represent, promote attitudinal and behavioral change, foster better communication and perception, reframe understandings of identity and justice, encourage apology and forgiveness, support brainstorming processes, provide resources needed for implementation of inter-communal projects, and build networks that can increase the impact of peacebuilding efforts.

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[97] Unpublished report by the Interfaith Mediation Center.