Survey of the German Language Literature on Conflict

Barbara Müller
Summary Findings

Theoretical frameworks, approaches and concepts in the non-English language literature on conflict may differ substantially from those developed in English, yet are only occasionally taken into account in the conflict-related work of international development agencies. This survey identifies German-language theoretical frameworks, concepts and findings in the study of conflict. It follows a very broad approach with regard to phases, levels, causes of conflict and overlap with related areas. The research included literature from Germany, Switzerland and Austria.

Due to the complexity of the issue, and the limited time frame, no comprehensive overview was attempted but rather a compilation of interesting concepts, as well as practical experiences, as food for thought and inspiration. Emphasis was given to practice-oriented concepts and to approaches that may be little known and that have potential for wider applicability.

The main focus is on post-Cold War literature, as the end of this conflict pattern marks a clear turning point in the writing on conflict. Additionally, globalization emerged as a new, structuring force in the 1990s. Since then, different subject areas have emerged, and more attention has been given to conflicts on a regional or local level. Much writing centers on approaches that are considering suitable structures for global or regional problem solving. Much of this relates to the global governance discourse. Others use the European idea and its visions as reference point. Two other themes are related to the causes of war on the one hand and the conditions for and the meaning of peace, on the other. Much of this literature is not primarily meant for practical application.

Since most of the concepts of this survey have been developed independently, they do not relate to each other. As a comprehensive framework, the concept of "prevention" and its application to different phases of conflict was used to organize the review of concepts. In a systematic attempt, the concepts are presented according to the level they are aiming at, starting with the global arena and ending at the micro-project level. In all, 58 concepts have been identified and described.

To gain a proper understanding of the delicate nature of conflict intervention, the Contingency Model provides some key insights and serves to select appropriate interventions according to the stage of conflict. It therefore seems to provide the most significant additional benefit by being the only comprehensive conflict management model that has not been completely translated into English. A proper frame to shape actors and issues might be offered by the Systemic Conflict Transformation approach.

Development organizations generate their own instruments for conflict analysis or needs assessments; monitoring indicators; and conflict impact and risk analysis. This survey suggests that there are a number of concepts and approaches that might deserve a closer look.

Several concepts from the economic area can be employed in conflict prevention. Ideas for integrating peacebuilding and preventive objectives into economic development are offered by concepts such as the Civilizing Hexagon, Systemic Competitiveness, Welfare Politics or the World Economy Triangle.

Development organizations need in-depth analytical capacity to properly address the violent patterns and dynamics with which they are confronted at the local level. While a systematic overview is still lacking, case studies deserve special attention. They cover the emergence of networks around Ethnicity, Violence, and Fear, and the Shifting Dynamics of Violence. Others describe male cultures of violence in the context of transitional countries as Male Adolescents' Cultures of Violence; and in Africa as Shifting Patterns of Male Roles in Violence.
Survey of the German Language Literature on Conflict

Barbara Müller
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E-mail: cpr@worldbank.org

Conflict Prevention & Reconstruction
Social Development Department
The World Bank
1818 H Street, NW
Washington, DC 20433
Fax: 202-522-3247

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Foreword

This survey identifies German-language theoretical frameworks, concepts and findings in the study of conflict. Its main objective is to highlight work that has potential to make innovative contributions to academic research and operational approaches, but has not so far been accessible to a wider international audience. The paper also goes some way toward explaining the key conceptual frameworks and discourses which shape the approach of German development actors involved in assisting conflict-affected countries.

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Ian Bannon
Manager
Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit
Social Development Department
Christine Toetzke
Head
Crisis Prevention and Peace Building Unit
BMZ
SURVEY OF THE GERMAN LITERATURE ON CONFLICT

1. Introduction

Theoretical frameworks, approaches and concepts in the non-English language literature on conflict may differ substantially from those developed in English, yet are only occasionally taken into account in the conflict-related work of international development agencies (planning for projects in countries in transition, conflict analysis, peace and conflict impact analysis, etc.). Even if they are translated, they may not receive the same attention by academics and policy-makers more grounded in the predominantly English-language literature. On the other hand, these different approaches likely affect the way other practitioners and policy makers approach the conflict-development nexus.

This survey identifies and describes key analytical concepts that emerge from German-language peace and conflict research and practice. Its scope includes academic and operational research from a variety of disciplines, as well as reports from practitioners. This broad approach encompassed literature on the different phases of conflict, as well as their levels, causes and linkages. Literature covering the relations among development, resources, humanitarian aid and conflict was also consulted.

The focus of this survey is on conflict that is or can become violent, with particular, but not exclusive, emphasis on concepts and ideas that have not received much attention in the English-language academic discourse. These are concepts that can potentially enrich the conflict-related analysis and instruments of development organizations. The main focus is on post-Cold War literature. Moreover, the paper highlights some differences in German and English-language thinking on conflict-related issues that may influence the way development agencies and policy makers approach the links between development and conflict.

The survey focuses on conflict-related instruments that have been developed or are applied within the World Bank. Emphasis was given to practical-oriented concepts and to approaches that may be little known and that have potential for wider applicability. The guiding questions used in the review were: What is innovative and has potential? What has worked? What specific experience can German-language literature contribute? The last question in particular led beyond academic research to concepts and approaches derived from practical experience and applications.

The research included literature from Germany, Switzerland and Austria. With regard to Germany, the broad issues dealt with included the crimes during the Third Reich, the reconciliation after World War II, experience with the politics of détente during the Cold War, and the nonviolent 1989 revolution in the German Democratic Republic. The research shows that these experiences have generally not been conceptualized, adapted or applied to conflict resolution and conflict management, but their potential should not be ignored.

Given the complexity of the research field covered, as well as the relatively short time frame in which the research was conducted, this survey does not claim to provide a comprehensive overview of German-language literature on conflict. The main approach of the research was to consider promising titles and themes; a review of relevant series that collect professional articles; and a detailed study of selected texts regarding concepts that appeared relevant. Recent inventories, prepared by experts in different academic disciplines, provided an overview of German-language research on international relations, social anthropology, gender, and sociology (Antweiler 2003; Calließ 2004a; Eckert 2004b; Hellmann, Wolf and...

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1 A simple keyword search for “conflict” at the German national library in Frankfurt, which has collected German-language literature since 1913, yielded 6,000 matches, excluding articles in periodicals.
Zürn 2003; Kievelitz and Poeschke 2003a; Nedelmann 1997; Stanley 2002; Trotha 1997a,b). At several points during the research, colleagues from different academic and practical fields were included in brainstorming, and asked for feedback and advice. They provided very helpful suggestions on where to focus the research as well as pointing out interesting approaches.

This survey also includes references to English-language literature, as some German research institutes publish mainly in English and many research projects in German universities are carried out in English. At times, it is difficult to assess the extent to which the results of such English-language research have already found their way into the mainstream of the international conflict-related literature. For this reason, some interesting concepts have been included, even if they were written in English. By contrast, German writers who publish predominantly in English have been excluded. One example is the current discourse on the role of transnational organizations and businesses in conflict and world politics (Ballentine and Nitzschke 2004; Bexell 2004; Brühl, Feldt, Hamm, Hummel and Martens 2004; Ganser 2004; Nowrot 2004; Rieth and Zimmer 2004; Rittberger 2004; Zimmer 2004). Other examples are discourses that are both in German and in English, such as the International Handbook of Violence Research (Heitmeyer and Hagan 2002).

2. Key Concepts: Scope and Content

In this survey, the term “concept” is used to include practical and theoretical approaches, research results, models, analytical frameworks, as well as emerging impetus for further research and thinking. The scope ranges from operational guidance to theoretical frameworks. Comprehensive models for conflict transformation can be found in some academic fields, while others emphasize theoretical approaches that appear difficult to apply in practice. At times, practical concepts describe promising projects or approaches but lack a clear theoretical basis. Project and program evaluations sometimes offer interesting suggestions to improve future-project design. Some case studies have been included in this survey because they provide insights into relevant features and patterns of conflict. More theoretical-oriented approaches try to explain the global causes and driving forces of war. Others try to explain how violence-prone networks emerge along ethnic lines at the micro level. A last group of concepts elaborates on the specific German-language contributions to relevant international discourses.

It should be kept in mind that there are broad variations in the scientific soundness and scope of the concepts presented. The common denominator is their potential—proven or assumed—to improve instruments and strategies of conflict management. The specific potential contribution of each concept to conflict prevention, mitigation or resolution is outlined in Chapter 5, based solely on the author’s view. The concept of "prevention" and its application to different phases of conflict will serve to organize the review of concepts. Each concept has been labeled with key words and with a number for easy reference in Chapter 6. It is important to note that most of the concepts have been developed independently and therefore do not always relate to each other. This survey attempts to consolidate these various concepts into one consistent framework.

Conflict researchers from Scandinavia, especially Johan Galtung, have strongly influenced the German-language peace and conflict research since its beginnings in the 1970s. Concepts primarily from U.S. researchers and practitioners were adopted when the more practical oriented literature on conflict resolution emerged in the 1990s. Among them were the multi-track approach (Diamond and McDonald); the concepts of mediation, negotiation, and conflict resolution workshops; and the concepts of peace constituencies (Lederach 1995, 1997), based on the actors' pyramid as an analytical instrument. German-language researchers and practitioners advanced these concepts and integrated them into models and approaches for early warning, conflict analysis and intervention, all closely related to the practice of conflict management. In the field of aid and conflict, Mary Anderson's “Do No Harm” approach is widely known and has been the subject of a lively debate on its advantages and disadvantages. This approach has
been mainstreamed in some German organizations, while others refrained due to criticism of some aspects of the approach.

An interesting finding from the survey's research is that authors from very different disciplines refer to a number of key theorists, as if they provided a kind of anchor for thoughts. These authors include Elias (1976, 1987), Habermas (1973, 1981, 1983, 1984, 1998), Luhmann (1969, 1988, 1989, 1997, 2000), and, to a lesser extent, Beck (1997, 2002).

In some academic disciplines, very little attention is paid to practical action and operational approaches. A number of experts call to fill this gap, especially by providing more concrete advice for practitioners and decision makers (Betz 2003; Faath and Matthes 2001; Kievelitz and Poeschke 2003b).

### 3. Disciplines, Multi-Disciplinary Approaches and Forums for Discourse

Traditionally, research on inter-state conflict has been part of the realm of international relations theory. In this field, there is no longer a rather passive reception and acceptance of English-language discourses (see for example the recent inventory by Zürn, 2003). Since the 1970s, peace and conflict has developed as a self-standing interdisciplinary research theme. In this regard, several institutes have been established, with an emphasis on practical application and policy advice. Single academic disciplines have also "discovered" conflict as an important issue, including: history, economics, law, psychology, communications theory, cultural and social anthropology (Antweiler 2003; Bollig 1992; Heinrich 1998), sociology, and development research and theory (Nedelmann 1997). Some scientific institutes conduct their conflict-related research from a regional perspective, focusing on specific regions such as Eastern Europe, Asia, Latin America or Africa. Research on conflict-related issues has also been taken up by political party-affiliated and scientific foundations such as the Development and Peace Foundation and the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, among others.

The German Research Foundation has launched a number of interdisciplinary research projects on conflict-related issues that fostered cooperation and exchange among various disciplines. In this area, programs on European integration are of special interest. Other research programs revolve around governance. Several foundations, universities, institutions and working groups have also built platforms for interdisciplinary research, with relevant output on conflict-related issues (Faath and Matthes 2001; Jachtenfuchs 2003; Zürn 2003). These include: foundations such as the German Research Foundation and the Volkswagen Foundation; institutes such as the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies; the Max-Planck-working group Common Goods; and Bremen University's collaborative research center Transformations of the State.

Since 1994, the Research Group World Society has been connecting researchers of three universities (Darmstadt, Frankfurt and Bielefeld) around the topic of state- and governance-related conditions for global change (Albert 2004b with regards to different concepts of world society). As described in greater detail below, some useful concepts are emerging from this research. In political science, the research program of the Frankfurt Peace Research Institute, Antinomies of the Democratic Peace, initiated a lively discussion that generated a number of new insights and suggestions for further work (Geis 2001; Hasenclever 2002; Müller 2002a, 2003; Oneal and Russett 2001).

Some discussions and exchanges have been spurred by institutionalized gatherings or working groups, rather than collaborative research projects. One regular occasion for interdisciplinary exchange and discussion is the Annual Conference of the German Association for Peace and Conflict Research, which is the professional institution of German peace and conflict researchers. Other forums include the German Political Science Association's ad hoc unit Social Orders of Violence, and the workshop project The
Regular publications provide another interface between different disciplines of conflict research and practice. One is the regular conference report of the State of Peace Conference, held by the Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution. During the 1990s, the Austrian Center, the Swiss Peace Foundation (Swisspeace), and the German Association issued joint reports on peace and conflict research. This linkage facilitated international and interdisciplinary exchanges at a time when conflict resolution was emerging as a new issue. In addition, the annual Peace Report (Friedensgutachten) has been issued in Germany since 1987, and is now produced jointly by five institutes of peace and conflict research. They cover and disseminate research outcomes and practical experiences from various academic disciplines and practical fields. In these volumes, current challenges regarding conflict and conflict management are discussed from a variety of different perspectives, including development, human rights, disarmament, peacework, environment and, to a lesser extent, humanitarian aid.

Other important platforms that serve the same purpose are the two series One World and Global Trends, issued by the Development and Peace Foundation. In the 1990s, the Loccum Protestant Academy played an important role in laying the groundwork for the development and expansion of the conflict resolution field. Detailed conference reports, some of them in German and English, document the state of the discussion and are widely used as a frame of reference. New networks such as the German Platform for Peaceful Management of Conflict emerged from this effort.

The Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution has played a leading role in initiating, integrating and publishing conflict-related research in Austria. Founded in 1982, it serves as interface between education, training, and research. Since 1996, it has been conducting a large interdisciplinary, international and applications-oriented research program on Europe as a Peaceful Power. The program has published eight volumes each covering a specific aspect of the subject. The Swiss Peace Foundation was founded in Switzerland in 1988. It initially aimed at promoting independent peace research within Switzerland, but has now become an internationally renowned institute with special emphasis on action research, conflict analysis, and peacebuilding.

4. Major Themes in the German Literature on Conflict

Global conflicts, especially the Cold War, have been a central point of reference for German literature on conflict. Since 1989 marks the end of the Cold War, it is appropriate to divide the literature into “pre-1989” and “post-1989.” Until 1989, violent conflicts worldwide were analyzed primarily as regional conflicts within the overall constellation of East-West superpower confrontation. The structural relations between the countries of the Southern and the Northern Hemisphere and their potential conflict implications were also an issue (Gantzel 1988; Matthies 1997b, 2003b; Senghaas 1982, 1989; Senghaas and Menzel 1986). It was essential to find ways of cooperation between the superpowers and their respective allies, and to avoid escalation into nuclear war. One way to improve the relations was to question depictions and images of “the enemy” (Weller 2001). Another, more structurally oriented approach was to develop new structures of cooperation and regional security, such as the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). During the late 1960s, politicians in the Federal Republic of Germany translated new ideas into public policy when they tried to actively find a modus vivendi with the German Democratic Republic, which gave rise to the policy concept of Change through Rapprochement. Another central aspect of the period of détente was the German policy of reconciliation, especially with Poland.

In the late 1980s, nonviolent revolutions in Eastern Europe initiated the end of the Cold War with far-reaching consequences. Not only did the enemy disappear, but also the conflict itself. Entire world views
fell apart, among them the concept of the Third World, which with the disappearance of the Second World lost its meaning, but which had also been questioned in terms of substance (Betz 2003). The post-1989 era, therefore, required new explanations for conflict, its causes and dynamics. This became clear when Yugoslavia broke apart and war in its most brutal forms returned to the seemingly peaceful Europe.

Since the early 1990s different subject areas have emerged, which try to make sense of a global environment that, in the absence of the global ideological contest of the Cold War, has become considerably more complex and unclear. Some of the new key subjects, concepts and approaches include:

**Conflicts on a regional or local level**, which requires more complex explanations than before. A related area centers around the issue of governance beyond the state (Chojnacki 2003b; Czempiel 1999a,b; Jachtenfuchs 2003).


A noticeable shift in the perception of conflict is suggested by the emergence of the **privatization of violence** concept and the term “entrepreneur of violence.” Much clearer than in the past, the economic dimensions of conflict have become subjects of critical analysis, which in turn has led to interest in related factors and concepts. The concept of “markets of violence,” for example, which comes from social anthropology, has become analytically useful (Schönhuth 2003).

Another group of researchers is concerned with the **conditions, causes and meaning of peace** (Koppe 1992, 1995; Löffelholz 1993; Mendler and Schwegler-Rohmeis 1989; Rudolf 1995; Senghaas 1995a; Senghaas and Senghaas-Knobloch 1992; Wagner 1994, 1996). Many researchers in this field have been interested in explaining the historically unique long period of peace between the European democracies (Debiel 1995; Nielebock 1996). An equally important concern has been to understand the factors that can ensure peaceful development and conflict management within states (Brock 1990; Czempiel 1997; Müller 2003; Zielinski 1995). Other researchers have been interested in the conditions under which “islands of peace” can persist within a context of regional violent conflict (Booth 1989; Claus 1993; Fanger and Thibaut 1992; Schlichte 1996; Toit 1995).

The idea of a European Union (EU) and the visions associated with it are used by many authors as a reference point to conceptualize the conditions under which **structures and processes can foster peace**. This has different aspects. First, the EU represents a large geographic area, where war among the members is inconceivable. This alone is quite an achievement. Second, the EU is a politically important actor on the regional and global scene, which has generated interest in exploring the concept of a Peaceful Power (Schlotter 2003; Vogt 1996). Third, especially for countries in Southeast Europe, the possibility of joining the EU can transform the perceptions and potential for conflict. For the conflicting parties in those countries, it seems more acceptable to agree to peace accords when they can envision their future within a broader regional context than alone with potentially hostile neighbors (Zürn 2003). Fourth, the EU presents itself as the standard setter toward neighboring regions. The peace-promoting effects of this claim have yet to be proven, but the idea of Europe serves as a visionary and practical template for regional-integration concepts, with the Stability Pact of South Eastern Europe as most recent project. The Stability Pact, initiated by the EU, provides a long-term strategy to stabilize the countries in the Balkans region. It entails international support for those countries in three areas: secure environment, sustainable
democratic systems, and economic and social well being. Part of that project is the concept of Euro-
Atlantic integration, which means membership in the EU and NATO.

During the 1990s, globalization became a new, structuring force. The growing number of global
challenges and threats, which require concerted international action from political and economic powers,
make the theme of globalization relevant for conflict-related literature.

An emerging theme relates to the rules and mechanisms of governance. The focus is on the impact the
rules, mechanisms and institutions of governance have on conflict (some of the older literature includes
within the field of international relations include Jachtenfuchs (2003) and Chojnacki (2003b); related to
the governance capacity of the EU Scharpf (1999). Within the concept of “make law, not war” some
authors explore the potential of the rule of law and legal systems as an instrument to manage and regulate
conflict (Rittberger, Mogler and Zangl 1997; Zangl and Zürn 2004). From a normative perspective, some
work has focused on what a “good political order” can look like beyond the nation state (Zürn 2003).

The topic of conflict prevention links many of the aforementioned discourses with the practical needs of
policy makers, practitioners, and activists on the ground. This became more prominent in the early 1990s,
when the international community seemed unable to handle crises in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia.
Now, over a decade later, the concept has developed into a more comprehensive approach, with a broad
themistic scope. Failing states are an issue, as well as the potential for conflict due to resource scarcity and
environmental problems. The roles of different actors receive attention, including the media and
diasporas. The guiding question is: Who could do what with whom in order to minimize risks of violent
escalation and to ensure a constructive solution to the conflict? (Bächler 1998, 1999; Bächler and
Spillmann 1996a,b; Bächler, Spillmann, Böge, Klotzli, Libiszewski 1996; Barandat 1997; Böge 1998;
Böge, Bächler, Klötzli, Libiszewski 1993; Böge, Bächler, Klötzli, Spillmann, Libiszewski 1996; Büttner,
Gottberg and Metze-Mangold 2004; Calließ 2004b; Chojnacki and Eberwein 2001; Daase 1992;
Eberwein and Chojnacki 2001; Müller 1980, 1992, 2003; Projektgruppe Friedensforschung der

Terrorism became a prominent issue with the attacks of September 11, 2001. Although the use of terror
was not new (cf. Waldmann 1998 for an early analysis), it caught the attention of researchers and
reshaped the perspective of the discourse. It strengthened already existing trends to converge political
spheres that were previously dealt with separately (domestic, foreign, social, environment, and
development). These spheres are now viewed as “components of possible threat” (Zitelmann 2004). As
general yardsticks for dealing with terrorism and its enabling environment, authors suggest long-term
support for states at risk and cooperative approaches to address emerging challenges (Czempiel 2002;
Calließ 2003; Bächler 2003; Paffenholz 2002a,b).

Finally, fundamental terms such as conflict, violence, force, and power are understood differently in
English and German. Regarding conflict, the German understanding of the term has a wider scope,
whereas in the English discourse it seems to focus more on its violent aspects. The term “conflict
prevention” therefore requires a somewhat different formulation in German. Native German speakers tend
to find the term “preventing violent conflict” more appropriate and precise.

The distinction among violence, force, and power is delicate as well. In English, the terms force and
power tend to imply or be used when there is no doubt about the legitimacy of the authority that exerts the
violence. In German, the focus seems to be on the receiving end of the violence. From this perspective, it
is the threat or the application of violence that makes power and force assertive. The violence that results
from the exertion of power and the use of force is important. This is why the German term,
“Gewaltmonopol,” which is a central term in the conflict-related literature, is difficult to translate
accurately. The English term "monopoly of violence" appears misleading in German, as the preference in German is not to focus on the violence itself but on its threat. The German term could be more accurately described as “legitimized use of force.” In German, “violence” means much more than an eruption of physical damage, injuries and atrocities, as it seems to be commonly understood in English. In German, the term violence can be more subtly constructed and take on low-key forms. For example, it encompasses “social orders of violence,” which may not necessarily involve direct physical damage and injuries.

Another practical difference must be mentioned. Practitioners feel that the principle of subsidiarity may have a slightly different connotation in continental Europe than in English speaking countries. It has a long tradition in German social politics, with its origins in the Catholic social doctrine. It plays a relevant role in developmental politics that shape the division of work between the state and societal actors. The basic principle is to determine the level of decision making as close as possible to those who are affected by the decision. Regarding developmental politics, the state is responsible for the effective performance of the task, but societal actors have their own share of responsibility and autonomy. They are much more than mere implementing agents. Some authors recommend subsidiarity as a guiding principle for regional and global governance structures (Brieskorn 2003; Leisinger 2003; Nell-Breuning 1952, 1955/56, 1957a,b, 1962, 1976, 1981, 1983; Yang 2004), and German institutions might be in a good position to implement this recommendation in their conflict work.

5. Results: The Concepts Within the Framework of Conflict Prevention

What are the results of the research? What is the possible benefit for development organizations? How can they strengthen and sharpen their conflict-related instruments? The findings of this literature survey can best be presented within a prevention framework. The key elements of the concept are briefly outlined in line with a recent summary provided by Matthies (2003a).

Prevention can be understood as a dynamic concept. As “primary prevention,” it covers measures that are applied in the pre-violent phase of a conflict. Other activities are envisioned as "secondary prevention" in the violent phase. Measures of “tertiary prevention” deal with the challenges after violence has stopped and war has ended. Tertiary prevention aims to prevent the reoccurrence of violence and to sustain peacebuilding.

Two different but complementary strategies are used for prevention. The first is process-oriented and tries to influence relevant actors. The second is structure-oriented and aims at developing feasible mechanisms and structures that enhance the political or the system's problem-solving and conflict-resolution capacity. Such structure-oriented strategies can be applied on a global level to improve general conditions for peacebuilding. Existing strategies include developmental support, regional security, and cooperation structures. International regimes serve as treaty-based regulatory agencies around conflictive issues that require management, such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in the economic area and the Treaty on the Non-proliferation on Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in the security sector. Within conflict areas new societal or political structures can emerge, and both strategies are applied in the different phases of a conflict.

While prevention describes the entire transformation process from war to peace, there are some key areas of special relevance. The concept of security is of primary importance. Aspects of security cover the demobilization of combatants; disarmament; reintegration; reform of the security sector; the re-definition of the role of the military within a civilized state; and the reinforcement of the state’s ability to use force. The second key area is the political system. Its main role is to ensure mechanisms for peaceful conflict management, the delivery of public services, establishment of the rule of law, and the need to address war
crimes. The third key area is the economy. Overall objectives are to rebuild infrastructure and to transform the war economy to improve welfare and sustain long-term development. The fourth key area deals with the psychological dimensions of the transition from war to peace and the psycho-social effects in affected populations. The goals are to rehabilitate and reintegrate war victims; refugees, and displaced persons; care for traumatized people; and restore social networks and develop trust among communities.

In what follows, the chapter presents concepts that provide models and instruments for conflict analysis, diagnosis, and strategy development. It then discusses concepts along the different phases of conflict. The concepts are arranged according to their scope and complexity. Concepts with a global perspective come first, and a micro level single-case study last. The chapter highlights concepts that—from the authors' perspective—seem particularly promising for development organizations. The list of themes in Chapter 6 may serve as a gateway into the findings for specialists and practitioners.

Analysis, Strategy Development, Implementation, Monitoring, and Impact Assessment

The concept of Systemic Conflict Transformation, (5) developed by the Berghof Foundation for Peace Support, represents a comprehensive and integrative approach to conflict analysis and transformation. It aims at enabling different and diverse actors to act cohesively on all tracks and on all relevant issues, linking a multi-track with a multi-issue approach. It then becomes possible to strategically support peace processes and accompany those actors that promote peace from within (BFPS 2005; Zunzer 2004). The empirical basis underpinning this approach is the practical and conceptual experience accumulated during field work in conflict regions by the Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management (Ropers 1996, 2000, 2002). At the conceptual level, the approaches of peace constituencies and multi-track diplomacy are picked up and expanded by issue-related work.

At present, the Systemic Conflict Transformation approach has been only partially operationalized and is still in the process of being developed. One of the advantages of this approach is its capacity to systematically address the relevant internal and external actors, and to activate and strengthen those actors willing to promote peaceful change. As a process-oriented approach, it can potentially influence conflict dynamics by establishing viable working relations with conflict actors. But it can foster structural change as well. One current field of application is the work of the Berghof Foundation for Peace Support in Sri Lanka.

The Contingency Model: Stages of Escalation and Conflict Management (6) serves two purposes. First, it explains the inherent momentum of escalation processes that traps conflict parties in a vicious cycle as soon as certain stages of escalation have been reached. This tendency then requires external intervention. Second, it provides a comprehensive approach for practitioners to diagnose the state of conflict, to identify appropriate entry points, and to develop and implement adequate intervention strategies.

The model has three important advantages. First, it can trace and help understand the behavior of conflict parties that otherwise would appear irrational. Psychological processes become accessible for process-oriented interventions that may underpin peace processes. Second, it can help to understand how quickly conflict parties need external support when negative conflict dynamics undermine their normal social and emotional capabilities. Third, it provides instruments for diagnosis, planning, strategy formulation and intervention in various conflict stages (Glasl 2004a).

The concept was developed to provide a theoretical framework for practitioners in conflict resolution, and to give an orientation when to apply certain conflict interventions and why. It draws on literature and conflict-related concepts from various disciplines, particularly from communications theory, psychology, sociology, and social psychology (Glasl 1998, 1999, 2004a,b, 2001, 2003). With regard to inter-group, violent social conflict, this approach has been applied in post-war societies, as for example in the organization of roundtable talks at the grassroots level in Bosnia on behalf of the OSCE. On the
conceptual level, this model has recently been used for the analysis of the conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia (Link 2004), where it yielded new insights. Generally, it was used to develop de-escalating strategies for larger social violent conflicts (Fisher 1990, 1993a,b; Müller and Büttner 1996). Further research would be helpful to test the approach's full analytical potential. One step could be to compare the findings of the concept with the results of macro-quantitative research on escalation processes (Billing 1991; Chojnacki 1999; Vasquez 1993, 2000). The predictive capacity could be tested through simulations (Bacciarini, Blatter and Blatter 2002; Ruloff 1975).

The following instruments center on the role of gender in conflict analysis and intervention planning. One instrument that helps to integrate gender immediately from the outset is the Conflict-sensitive Program Management (CPM) (7) tool developed by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (KSPM 2004). It builds on the Do No Harm approach and is based on the gender analysis frameworks of International Alert (Piza-Lopez and Schmeidl 2002), CIDA (N.d.) and UNIFEM (Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf 2002). Methodologically, it connects tools of Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment with gender aspects.

The Gender-Triangle (8) serves as an analytical tool, aiming to understand gender-specific roles and their shifts during conflict. It reflects the results of the mainly English language feminist research (Reimann 2002). It is difficult to assess whether this approach has been taken up in the analytical literature. It could be utilized as an instrument to monitor positive changes of gender roles during conflict. What is still lacking is the development of this approach into tools for conflict monitoring.

Two databases providing surveys on conflicts throughout the world are widely referred to in the German-language countries. One is the Conflict Barometer (13) of the Heidelberg Institute of International Conflict Research. The other is the Annual Survey on Ongoing Wars (14) from the Working Group on the Causes of Conflict (AKUF) at the University of Hamburg. Both define war and conflict differently from other international databases, such as the Correlates of War Project or the Conflict Data Project. The Conflict Barometer differentiates stages of conflict according to the intensity of open violence, instead of the number of casualties. In the Annual Survey, war is defined as “violent mass conflict.” This survey has developed a comparative typology of various conflicts. One of its advantages is the detailed information about the trajectory of conflicts (Daase 2003). Both databases track conflicts in the early stages, with the advantage that they can provide early warning on imminent threats of escalation. It would be useful to increase the comparability of international and German databases.

Early action is impossible without early diagnosis and early warning. The German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development commissioned a set of criteria to identify the need for preventive action in partner countries. This resulted in the Spelten-Criteria (25), an analytical tool detailing an internal monitoring routine for German countries of cooperation. Each country is regularly assessed with regards to its structural disparities and potential conflict triggering factors (Spelten 1999, 2000). This procedure allows relatively quick identification of countries with the most urgent need for conflict prevention.

FAST International is the early warning program of Swisspeace, which provides a comprehensive methodology to observe and report on early warning issues. FAST was implemented by the Swiss development cooperation to monitor situations in 15 countries (Krummenacher 2001). In other countries, FAST responds to specific early-warning needs and supports the establishment of new structures for early warning (such as CEWARN).

On the European level, the Conflict Prevention Network provides an infrastructure for early warning. It promotes a culture of early warning that has found its way into the internal procedures and structures of the EU. Both FAST and the Conflict Prevention Network publish in English.
The concept Aid for Peace: Planning and Assessment for Conflict Zones (26) is designed for operational interventions in conflict zones. It reflects prevailing planning and evaluation standards from various fields. The authors benefit from their first-hand experience in peacebuilding missions (Paffenholz 2005a,b). Not surprisingly, the approach is highly practice-oriented, resulting from a series of consultations with organizations during their intervention-planning phase. Due to new insights during this process, the tool underwent several refinements during the last years. Another benefit is the fact that this tool designs a strategy for the whole project cycle from planning to monitoring and evaluation.

The Country-Related Strategic Conflict Analysis (27) is a tool of more limited scope. It is helpful for organizations that are already actively engaged in a region and intend to reassess either specific activities or the whole portfolio. Scenarios are used as a tool for strategy development, which strengthens predictive capabilities and facilitates flexible operational responses. The approach was developed by the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ), where it is used to mainstream conflict analysis capacity. Elements of peace and conflict assessment form an integral part of their approach, which has been applied to Afghanistan and a number of other countries (Glatzer and Kievelitz 2003).

Increasingly, the unintended effects of operational activities are becoming the object of analysis. Such a Risk Analysis (30) has been conducted by Wolf (2002). His case study critically assesses an EU program that aims at stabilizing fragile states on the Mediterranean (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt). The author highlights the side effects of that program and its adverse effects on these countries, concluding that mistakes had been made at the level of strategy development. This concept is the outcome of research done by the working group Risk Politics at the Free University of Berlin (Daase 2002b; Daase, Feske and Peters 2002; Waldmann 2004).

Peace processes can be sustained by broad participation of affected populations. But how to establish the effective interaction between actors at the local, regional/national, and international/global level when it comes to governing and monitoring specific measures or processes? For this purpose, the concept of the World Economy Triangle (29) could be applied beyond its original global governance context. The Institute for Development and Peace at the University Duisburg-Essen (INEF) and the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex (IDS) are conducting a research project on regions and industrial development in the world economy, and the interaction of local and global governance. Their empirical analysis shows that social and environmental standards play a growing role in the developing countries examined. How do those standards come into existence? The research sheds light on the complex multi-level interactions between private networks with non-governmental organizations, trade unions, and business companies as actors that lead to those achievements. Increasingly, governments are also taking an active role in the formulation of new standards (Messner 2003).

The potential for peacebuilding appears obvious. Multi-level networks of diverse actors concerned with peace processes might provide an opportunity to establish effective monitoring capacity based on strong local participation and accountability. These processes could address both economic development and reconciliation. On the practical side, it would be necessary to carefully deal with the frictions among war-torn local communities in order to avoid setbacks or deepening existing divisions.

The implementation of conflict interventions in conflict-affected countries is a difficult challenge. External pressure is sometimes needed to foster institutional and behavioral changes within the state. But what are the prerequisites for change? What has to be done from within? And what roles can external actors play? These questions are the subject of new research on international socialization. Two recent research projects on democratic and human rights socialization of countries in the Southern Hemisphere and Eastern Europe have yielded results that can potentially be applied to conflict prevention. The first project at the University of Konstanz dealt with ideas, international institutions, and socio-political
changes with special emphasis on human rights. In comparative case studies a Spiral Model (28) emerged and proved to be applicable in various settings. The Spiral Model illustrates how a successful adaptation of standards runs through several critical phases. Its empirical basis is well established, and the applicability to various settings proven. The second project, at the University of Darmstadt, centered on the enlargement of the western community of states. More conceptual work is required to adapt the spiral model to the needs of monitoring and implementing peacebuilding or preventive measures (Forschungsgruppe Menschenrechte 1998; Risse, Jetschke and Schmitz 2002; Risse and Ropp 1999; Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 1999; Risse and Sikkink 1999; Schimmelfennig 2000, 2002; Schimmelfennig, Engert and Knobel 2003a,b).

Strengthening the Infrastructure of Conflict Prevention

What general conditions on the global level are required to sustain successful peace processes? How should existing sets of rules for international cooperation be modified? What structures need to be created and at which levels? What are the relevant norms for those structural or procedural regulations? Well-known peace and conflict researchers (Müller 2003; Nuscheler 2000; Senghaas 1998) stress the peace-promoting relevance of shared values with regard to intercultural dialogue and inter-governmental discourse. These considerations draw attention to the concept of the World Ethos (31). Initiated by the theologian Hans Küng in 1990, this approach tries to outline a set of universal, commonly shared ethical values and norms. Starting from the world religions, this standard-setting approach has branched out to other fields, such as politics, economy, and education. (Küng 1990, 1997, 2002; Küng and Kuschel 2001; Küng and Senghaas 2003). Following the economist Assmann (2001), the norms can be applied to economic activities and serve as a normative framework that can be easily adopted and integrated into an organization’s own set of rules.

Only specific aspects of the theoretical literature on global governance are relevant for this literature review. In this vein, a recent research project, Global Governance as Democracy Promoting Paradigm, (39) focused on the democratizing impact on the local level. A comparative research project of the World Society Research Group concluded that the model of sustainable development served as impetus for governance changes at the local and community levels (Brozus, Take and Wolf 2003). Councils for sustainable development, for example, were formed in Brazil and in the Philippines as a result of the Agenda 21. In the succeeding dialogue, these councils were able to provide considerable space for societal actors (Wolf, Take and Brozus 2004). Such experiences need more attention and a systematic evaluation (Rechkemmer 2004), especially with regard to their potential for conflict prevention.

In many countries, locally based and bottom-up projects aim to develop and support democratic structures. They constitute an integral part of peacebuilding and development activities of non-governmental and international organizations. These Democracy Promoting Projects (42) yield substantial operational experiences, although the underlying concepts are often not described explicitly. Evaluations of these projects are not conducted on a systematic basis and remain, if done at all, internal to the organizations that commission them.

On an international or regional level international regimes contribute to peace by providing procedures that enable conflict parties to deal with each other in a structured and controlled manner. The parties concerned become part of a system of mutual obligations. The findings of the Contingency Model (6) mentioned above point to the need for a clear framework for the interaction of parties in conflict. Without support and clear rules of engagement, conflict parties may not be able to do deal constructively with issues or each other. Establishing international regimes around sensitive and conflictual issues can be an integral part of a preventive infrastructure, and in the long run, feed into structures of international cooperation. In the German-language literature on Regime Research (32), special emphasis is placed on the opportunities and probabilities for cooperative approaches to problem solving. Other findings on
regime research are discussed below.

In terms of **regional cooperation structures**, Regional Structures of Cooperation, Integration, and Security (33) can be seen as one element of a structural infrastructure for security and prevention. One fundamental experience in German-language countries was the development of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which emerged from the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe in the 1970s. An in-depth regime-analysis by Schlotter (1999) highlighted its contribution to the transition process in the former Soviet Union. Since then, the OSCE has become an integral part of the security infrastructure in Europe, with a potential for supporting peace processes that has not been fully utilized. Regarding central Asia, Gumppenberg (2002) analyses potentialities and limitations. Her findings show that the OSCE suffers from a lack of will by its members to act, whereas it could be a potentially suitable implementing partner for crisis prevention measures in that region.

Regional structures for cooperation also exist in other parts of the world and have been reviewed with regard to their capacity for conflict prevention. These include the League of Arab States (Schmolinsky 2000); the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe (Bohnet 2004; Calic 2003); and the Mercosur countries in Latin America (Flemes 2004a,b). The idea of a regional security infrastructure guides practical projects in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia (Bohnet 2004; FES 2002); in Afghanistan (Wilke 2004); and in Israel-Palestine (FES 2002). Although these analyses do not follow one coherent concept, one model is that of the “security community,” a concept developed in the late 1950s in regard to the emerging European Community (Deutsch et al. 1957; Zielinski 2000).

On the **national level**, several aspects of political systems and institutional structures are relevant for the capacity to manage potential violent conflict. Often an **unequal distribution of power** works as a triggering factor for conflict between different communities or between majorities and minorities.

Which Democracy Model (40) might be the most suitable, or what concepts of Power Sharing (41) between minorities and majorities can be referred to in such cases? The Swiss scholars Thomas and Lidjia Fleiner systematically deal with existing models of democracy. In their voluminous scholarly piece *The General Theory of State*, they discuss assets and drawbacks of different democratic models. Their central argument is that democracy has to stand the test vis-à-vis its minorities (Fleiner and Fleiner 2004). They favor a multi-cultural federal system—not unsurprisingly considering their location at the Institute of Federalism at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. For Linder, another Swiss author, the model of a consensus-oriented democracy, such as Switzerland, stands in sharp contrast to the majoritarian Anglo-Saxon model (Linder 1997, 2005). He points out the conflict-mitigating advantages of the Swiss model. These theoretical considerations are backed by the outcomes of a recent comparative case study. Gromes, Moltmann and Schoch (2004) assessed the externally-driven democratization processes in post-conflict societies in Northern Ireland, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Kosovo. Their results demonstrate the advantages of a concordance-democratic system in post war societies. Above all, it effectively protects minorities from majorities and breaks open monopolized power structures. The authors put forth conditions for success, including the persistent engagement of external powers to provide guarantees.

Throughout European history, numerous power-sharing models and procedures have been developed. Schneckener's (2000, 2002a) case study compares these experiences in a systematic manner. The findings highlight specific advantages and disadvantages of the different models, depending on the circumstances. With respect to conflict-resolution, the work can be used as a reference for policy makers and negotiators on how to select and to mix appropriate models.

In order to secure a **peaceful internal development**, the political process must meet several objectives on the national level. During the last 50 years, Europe has achieved a high standard of internal stability and consensus. Senghaas traced this historic process and derived six political areas, which he called the
Civilizing Hexagon (43). When each area is well developed and vital, conflicts can be managed without resorting to violence (Senghaas 1994). The author provides a systematic and empirical elaboration of the conditions for peace within societies. His findings are not limited to Europe as similar challenges are encountered by developing societies. However, critics have questioned the selection, number, and emphasis of the political areas proposed. They doubt whether this concept can be used to shape international relations (Betz 2003; Müller 2003). In any case, the approach serves as an analytical tool (Matthies 1997a) with operational potential if used as template for development and conflict prevention strategies.

The conceptual framework of Systemic Competitiveness (44) serves to design viable economic structures under market conditions. The German Development Institute developed it in the late 1980s with special emphasis on Latin America (Eßer, Hillebrand, Messner and Meyer-Stamer 1992, 1999; Messner 1995). The main objective is to create a favorable climate for innovative and competitive enterprise on the basis of a broad societal consensus for this process (Hein 1999). This requires solidarity within society, welfare policies to adjust social disparities, and state modernization to create the conditions for innovation and competitiveness on the world market. The specific contribution of this framework is the link between social issues and economic transformation, and the resulting interface between development and conflict prevention and transformation. Further research would be required on how to modify this framework for conflict-prevention or post-conflict reconstruction strategies.

Georg Vobruba, a sociologist at the University of Leipzig, deals with Welfare Politics (45) as a means to sustain or promote societal peace (Vobruba 1988, 1989, 1994, 1997, 1998a,b). From his extensive writings, only two approaches shall be reviewed here. One is a tool to analyze the strategies of disadvantaged groups at the micro level. He uses the terms inclusion-exclusion instead of poor-rich (Vobruba 2000a,b). This approach could be utilized to avoid paternalistic strategies at the micro level, particularly when it comes to empowering local communities. In addition, Vobruba regards welfare policy at the macro level as a form of resource management (Vobruba 2003). He elaborates on the additional value of welfare policy for modernizing and transforming societies (Vobruba 1998b). Questions of inclusion and exclusion are at the heart of peace processes in highly polarized societies. Further research is needed to clarify the linkages between welfare, participation, and sustainable peacebuilding.

Several concepts on different levels address ways to improve the management of natural resources. At the analytical level the Syndrome Approach (34) sharpens the risk-analysis capacity (WBGU 1999, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2001). Syndromes are patterns of problematic interaction between human beings and nature. Mostly, the overexploitation or use of limited natural resources result in syndromes. Thus soil degradation due to the overuse of land for survival is referred to as Sahel Syndrome. Degradation of soil that results from massive logging operations causes the Robber Syndrome. A transfer into conflict research has already taken place, and possible linkages have been explored showing significant correlations between conflict and two specific syndromes (Biermann, Petschel-Held and Rohloff 1998a,b). Further research is needed to clarify the exact linkages and causality (WBGU 1999).

Natural resources may present conflict-related opportunities and risks. Project experience shows how water shortages can provide an opportunity to foster cooperation over conflict lines. Examples from practice and research can be found in Palestine, Israel, and Jordan; and in Southern Africa (Böge and Wirkus 2004). The authors try to find examples and to develop good practice of Cross-border and Locally Based Water Management (35). A more general conceptualization of these experiences is still needed.

The concept of Political Ecology (36) has been developed by the English-language authors Blaikie and Brookfield (1987), and has been applied to assess a forestry project in India. The use of resources is analyzed at the local level and connected with overlapping global processes of economic transformation.
The analysis reviews the political-economy context at the local level, the behavior of relevant actors, and means and strategies to negotiate environmental issues (Büttner 1997). It can also be used to review locally-based but internationally-funded programs.

The exploitation of natural resources, and especially extractive industries, may trigger conflict. While the concepts of war economies and markets of violence tackle many aspects of this issue, other facets deserve further attention. Two concepts highlight the impact of extractive industries on the local and indigenous population. One social anthropology approach tracks changes in the local population’s Rights of Use (37) when common goods become subject to private use (Benda-Beckmann, K. and F. 1998). As shown in numerous case studies, the rights of local communities to the use of natural resource often deteriorate substantially, especially in countries with extractive industries. This leads to worsened economic conditions which greatly impact disadvantaged groups. Among the cases investigated were development projects aiming to replace traditional rights of use with modern property rights (Benda-Beckmann 1996; Benda-Beckmann, de Bruijn, van Dijk, Hesseling, Koppen, and Res 1997). These projects, however, failed to assess the possible impact on different population groups. The backing of programs by accompanying research on a local level could be one answer to monitor complex social processes, in terms of development as well as conflict-resolution effects.

A comparative case study has studied how indigenous peoples struggle to have voice in the Exploitation of Natural Resources (38) on their territory. The researchers, ethnologists and environmental scientists of the Institute for Ecology and Action Anthropology (Infoe) explored the strategies employed by 18 indigenous groups and analyzed their shortcomings (Haller, Blöchlinger, John, Marthaler and Ziegler 2000). They discovered that the groups’ difficulties stemmed from a failure to organize collectively and act on the international level vis-à-vis their counterparts from the transnational extractive industry corporations. The findings of this study could be integrated in locally based concepts for empowerment as well as monitoring and impact assessment.

**Primary Prevention: Constructive Conflict Management in Early Stages**

How early can prevention be applied and with what strategies? Specific developmental opportunities and risks were identified by authors of a current study on the countries of the “Andes Region” (2). They concluded that it was time for crisis prevention and presented a thorough analysis of structural problems and conflict-triggering elements (Kurtenbach, Minkner-Bünjer and Steinhauf 2004). The study was conducted at the Institute for Ibero-American Studies in Hamburg (IIK). Areas of research were democracy (Kurtenbach 2004a); economic development and drug trafficking (Minkner-Bünjer 2004a; Thoumi 2004); human rights (Huhle 2004); and participation (Steinhauf 2004a, Ströbele-Gregor 2004). A country-oriented analysis highlights the special characteristics in Bolivia (Röder and Rōsch 2004); Peru (Steinhauf 2004b); Ecuador (Minkner-Bünjer 2004b); Colombia (Kurtenbach 2004b); and Venezuela (Goedeking 2004). The authors conclude that a coherent and comprehensive strategy that incorporates multi-level actions of different actors is required. Analyses like these could be used as a point of departure for a Systemic Conflict Transformation (5) approach.

The Conflict-Syndrome Kaliningrad (3) centers on the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad (surrounded by EU members since the May 2004 EU enlargement). Although on the surface the situation appears calm, there are a number of conflict risks (Kusnezow 2000). Since the 1990s, staff of the SHIP (Schleswig-Holsteinisch Institute for Peace Research at the University of Kiel) has regularly reviewed and analyzed the changing patterns of latent conflict (Birckenbach and Wellmann 2000; Wellmann 2000). A forthcoming publication will reflect and conceptualize these practical experiences as concepts of early prevention.

Another starting point for conflict prevention is a case study of Costa Rica. This work traces the
Development Path to Peace (4) (Kurtenbach 2000). The author elaborates how structural and contextual characteristics led to specific decisions in critical moments of the country’s development. Over time, Costa Rica developed a remarkable degree of internal consensus and has remained at peace for the past six decades. A **historical longitudinal analysis** of a development path to peace, such as in Costa Rica, could enrich the instruments of conflict analysis.

**Secondary Prevention: Avoiding Violence Escalation, Expediting an End to Violence**

Change Through Rapprochement (47) was a policy of the German Federal Republic's political elite in the late 1960s and 1970s that was successfully applied to **de-escalate tensions** between the two German states (Niedhart 2005). In the current conflict-related discourse, this approach is referred to as a means to overcome blockages in communication and dialogue. It is recommended, for example, as a way to facilitate the democratization process of Middle East countries (Krech 2003). The term is often used as synonym for "critical dialogue" (Woltersdorf 2003), and is understood as a trust-building mechanism that works by first reaching agreement in non-conflictive areas. Agreement in non-controversial areas helps to build trust before attempting to negotiate more contentious issues (Olnhausen 2003).

The concept of Active Non-violence (48) is a practical, grassroots approach for a **disciplined, non-violent mass protest**, and played a part in the fall of the Berlin Wall. One of the most prominent theorists and organizers of peaceful mass protest is the Austrian Hildegard Goss-Mayr. She experienced and developed campaigns of social mobilization in many countries. From this practical experience, she derived her concept for analysis and non-violent struggle, which was first published in 1976 at the Catholic Social Academy of Austria (Goss-Mayr 1981). Amongst others, it became relevant in the Philippines in 1986, when President Marcos was overthrown (Gewaltfreiheit 1986; Goss-Mayr, H. and J.G. 1989). The concept involves the ability to mobilize for a common objective while controlling the escalating factors that lead to violence. Although it can obviously bring down unpopular or undemocratic regimes, its key weakness is that it cannot induce and sustain reform processes (Diokno 1991).

The concepts mentioned above are meant as guidelines for conflict parties. What follows below are case studies that reflect the perspective of **intermediary third parties**. A number of development organizations and local NGOs act at the local level as conflict mediators and negotiators. Even during violent phases, they explore options to encourage direct talks between conflict parties. Dialogue Forums and Roundtables (49) open space for direct contact and can help reduce the risk of escalation (FES 2002). Some development organizations are especially well suited for such a task, given their links to local structures and their access to conflict actors and their leaders. But a careful understanding of local conflict dynamics is necessary to avoid negative side effects. The Contingency Model (6) can help in gaining a better understanding of the conflict.

**Understanding (Civil) Wars and Patterns of Violence**

What are the root **causes of war**? This question continues to be the subject of academic debate. The research generated by the Hamburg Working Group on the Causes of Conflict does not try to extract single determining factors. Its key elements are causal mechanisms, a theoretical framework, and comparative and in-depth case studies (EuS 1997; Gantzel 1988; Gantzel and Schwinghammer 1994). The theoretical framework, War as the Process of Global Modernization and Transformation (15), emphasizes the links between state building and state failure, and internal wars (Siegelberg 1995). Points of departure for analysis are the intrastate actors and their societal positioning. Following a set of country case studies, structural causes of conflict, dynamics, and subjective factors are integrated on different levels. One disadvantage of the theoretical framework is the somewhat simplistic blame placed on capitalism as cause of war.
The Small Wars approach (16) reflects another perspective on the changing forms of wars (Daase 1999). It looks at the power balance among conflict parties, and elaborates on the consequences of asymmetric warfare on the warring parties and the international community. The author concludes that in war, a state’s internal cohesion, legitimacy, and the civil sector (in the case of a military stalemate) will inevitably be weakened. The Small Wars approach points to the erosion of the principles of sovereignty, but also the effects on the international community. A number of comparative case studies underpinned this approach, but additional cases are needed to broaden its empirical basis. The findings draw attention to the motivations of weaker conflict parties to agree to peace accords, and the possibility they may act as spoilers even if they have no prospects of succeeding. How peace accords can be reached under the condition of Small Wars is a challenging question for further research. A starting point would be looking into the findings of authors who have analyzed the conditions for ending civil wars (Krumwiede and Waldmann 1998).

How to put an end to war in Colombia, the most protracted conflict in Latin America? Identifying entry points for Violence-reducing Involvement of External Actors (17) was the aim of a study that reviewed history, causes, dynamics, and actors in that conflict. The German Ministry for Foreign Affairs financed this study, which was conducted at the Institute for Ibero-American Studies in Hamburg. It recommends an integrative strategy that coherently links activities from international, state, and non-governmental actors in development cooperation and politics (Kurtenbach 2004c). Such analyses could be part of a holistic transformative strategy, as provided by the Systemic Conflict Transformation (5) approach.

Only after September 11, 2001, and the war in Afghanistan, did the German-language discourse revisit the debate on Failing States (18) and their repercussions for development and security (Debiel 2002). Spanger (2002) critically reviewed the US discourse and the State Failure Project from a political-science perspective. State failure does not appear as a new phenomenon from this perspective, and it can be shaped differently according to the underlying concept of a state. The social anthropological literature has also highlighted the process of state failure. Different stages have been identified, starting with the failure of institutions, followed by the inability of the legitimized authorities to control violence. State authority over the legal use of force is threatened when small weapons are easily accessible and enterprising young men are at hand to defy their family or elders (Elwert 2003b; Zürcher 2004). Case studies revealed a close connection between the failure of legal institutions and subsequent eruptions of violence (Weilenmann 1997).

Based on comparative case studies, the German Institute for International and Security Affairs recommended comprehensive strategies in countries that are at risk of state failure (Asseburg, Glosemeyer, Gratius, Halbach, Mair, Schmitz, Schneekener, Wagner, and Wilke 2004). Mair (2002) suggested focusing on a few key areas, especially on a legitimized use of force by state authorities. Other case studies consider supporting transitional structures as a functional equivalent for government institutions yet to be created, and discuss what criteria for cooperation should be applied (Tull 2005). The approach still lacks more practical and policy-relevant advice.

The appearance of warlords and widespread crime in ongoing civil wars in Africa, Central Asia and Latin America gave rise to the concept of Markets of Violence (19) (Elwert 1997). The “lords” of the markets of violence exert violence in a strategic way and use people as instruments for their purpose. Economic profit tends to be their driving motivation for violence, rather than tradition or loyalties. Free markets and a space without the rule of law that can limit the use of force and violence are prerequisites for the emergence of markets of violence. When these two conditions are met, they tend to become mutually reinforcing. This concept has proven useful in many case studies, after being developed and continuously refined by Elwert (Elwert 2001, 2003a; Elwert, Feuchtwang, and Neubert 1999) and others. It has linked with other disciplines and policy advice groups, such as the Working Group on Development and Peace (Gewaltökonomie 2004). Politically oriented conflict analyses gain new dimensions—especially those
that focus on economic motives, dependency relations, and opportunities for entrepreneurs of violence—and suggest new entry points for conflict-related interventions (Grosse-Kettler 2004; Human Rights Watch 2001; Kreuzer 2005; Lewis 2004; Paes 2001b; Seidel 2001).

A number of approaches focus on addressing the challenges posed by new forms of transnational terrorism. One strategic approach is to identify potential terrorists as enemies of processes of change and to isolate them from their social environment. One application is the Force Field Matrix (20), derived from organizational theory. International development is understood as the management of change (Maag 2003), and this tool can be applied to design the management of change by focusing on good governance in terror-prone countries. The author refers to the cases of the Red Army Faction in Germany and the Red Brigades in Italy in the 1970s. In-depth studies would be required to verify this hypothesis (Kunath 2004; www.rafinfo.de), especially to assess its applicability to terror in the Basque Country and to determine whether the general conditions of the “old” terrorism are still valid for its "new" forms (Daase 2001).

The prognostic capacity could be strengthened by the Growing Incidence of Violence Due to Strategic Terror approach (21) which presents a set of indicators. It can be seen as an extension of Elwert’s conflict-theoretical work and it aims to assess country situations in terms of their vulnerability to terrorism (Eckert 2004b; Elwert 2003a, 2004; Zitelmann 2004). It does not have an operational or policy focus and must therefore be used in conjunction with other instruments.

Practical recommendations for decision-makers regarding States at Risk (22) emerged from the approach developed in the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Schneckener 2004), linking theoretical analysis with practical recommendations. The author recommends focusing on those states that have not yet failed. Relevant areas for support would include fostering the legitimized use of force by state authorities, rule of law, welfare, and democratic capacities. It could be combined with the Growing Incidence (21) approach to monitor at-risk countries.

The protracted conflict in Sri Lanka is addressed by Practical Conflict-management Projects (51). They aim at enhancing the capacity of civil society actors for conflict resolution (FES 2002) by conducting seminars on causes of conflict, the trajectory of conflict, and methods and tools for conflict transformation. They also try to broaden the societal basis to sustain the peace process. As a training concept or approach, it works under the assumption that cognitive knowledge improves the options to act and leads to increased activity in pursuit of peace. It appears to be a useful component but needs to be integrated in a framework that is able to address the relevant conflict parties, as attempted in the Systemic Conflict Transformation (5) approach. The role of civil society in peacebuilding would be insufficient if it is perceived as the only agent for change. The Contingency Model (6) could be a useful complement to address the workshop participants' own involvement and suffering due to the conflict.

How is violence organized at the micro level? How does it work and why can ethnicity be so easily manipulated? The typological model of Ethnicity, Violence, and Fear (23) tries to answer these complex questions (Bogner 2004). The main argument is that the ethnic and language group is looked at as a supportive and protective factor when the use of force is not monopolized by a legitimized authority. Actors disposed to violence are well aware of this fact and can play on peoples’ fear. They establish networks within which violence is exerted and controlled. Language in particular shapes the lines of inclusion and exclusion. Once established, violence organized around language and ethnicity networks gains momentum and becomes self-reinforcing. At the same time, the affiliation of members with other networks of friendship, material exchange, or productive activity, weaken.

The security concerns of the local population need to be addressed, as well as strengthening approaches that seek to develop multi-ethnic identities in local communities. This approach allows for a more dynamic and nuanced analysis of how networks organize for violence. Further research and analysis are
required to adapt the model to different contexts and specific circumstances, and draw implications for program design.

Another social anthropology case study describes the Shifting Dynamics of Violence (24) at the micro level (Krämer 2003). The research revealed unexpected, shifting patterns of communal violence in the periurban community of KwaZulu, in Natal, South Africa. Violent groups were defined spatially, not politically. Because the spatial distribution did not cover all sectors involved, infrastructure development was confronted with unintended conflict-triggering side effects. The initial analysis had been blind to this potential.

Violent conflict cannot always be avoided by development interventions situated at the local level. As practical examples show, the Violence Reduction as Part of Urban Development (50) approach can be integrated at the project level (Bohnet 2004). In this case, the population of marginalized urban districts improved infrastructure through self-help activities. Municipal authorities could negotiate settlements and reach de-escalation in cases when violence occurred between youth gangs. These experiences, however, still need to be systematically conceptualized.

Men and women are affected differently by cultures of violence. A case study from Georgia has shown how adolescent men are socialized into male cultures of violence in conflict-prone countries (Köhler 1999). The young men developed a “social multilingualism” by learning the “language of violence” and the rules of personal networks. Violence appears as an inevitable feature of life that requires knowledge of its rules and application. The same applies to navigating the institutions of the parallel, or shadow, economy. This social anthropological case study allows a deeper understanding of the relevance of Male Adolescents’ Cultures of Violence (9). To overcome these deeply rooted structures, approaches tackling markets of violence and shadow economies have to develop alternatives on very different levels. Such in-depth studies could help to guide baseline studies in the intervention-planning phase.

Easy access to small arms plays a devastating role in the Shifting Patterns of Male Roles in Violence (10) approach. The social anthropologists Österle and Bollig (2003) elaborate this approach in a case study from East and Northeast Africa. It was not their supposed psychological dispositions—the brave and proud African warrior—that explained why pastoralists were ready to resort to violence. Instead, the driving force toward escalating violence was the deterioration of overall local conditions, aggravated by the massive influx of light weapons. The abundance of guns undermined existing rules and norms for the use of force in the face of increasing scarcity of resources, demographic features, and growing tension within the social system of the pastoralists. The authors maintain that the availability of small arms was the decisive factor. The case study analyses how forced demobilization attempts did not address traumatic memories and feelings of helplessness and insecurity. These findings could be useful in the design of demobilization programs.

What is the role of women in conflict? Much research has centered on Women’s Contribution to War (11), with Seifert (2003) leading the discourse. The role of men and women in the armed forces has been a special focus (Eifler and Seifert 1999; Seifert 1998; Seifert, Eifler and Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung 2003). A number of researchers have investigated how gender relations affect violent conflict and increase readiness to resort to violence (Enloe 1996; Wasmuth 2001), especially in the case of the former Yugoslavia (Seifert 2004b). Others highlight women’s role in the home front in Germany during World War I (Guttmann 1989), or female participation during World War II (Zipfel 1997).

Feminist researchers point to the historic tendency to ignore women’s active role in violent conflict. For example, the Women’s Role as Offenders During the Nazi Era (12) approach analyzed court cases against female wardens in Nazi concentration camps. They conclude that women were generally not held fully responsible for their deeds and that they successfully relied on gender stereotypes—such as the image of
the powerless woman—to escape prosecution. As a result, male judges and prosecutors did not apply the rules regarding responsibility according to rank and function equally between women and men. These experiences could be useful in contemporary efforts to deal with war crimes (Kretzer 2002; Reese 1990; Reese and Sachse 1991; Stahl 1995; Thürmer-Rohr 1987).

**Tertiary Prevention: Sustainable Peacebuilding**

Successful Demobilization, Reintegration and Return of Refugees (53) is essential for a sustainable post-war security architecture. Pauwels (2000) examines global perspectives on demobilization and reintegration. She distinguishes three types of countries in her comparative study: market economies; countries in transition; and post-war countries.

The Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) assessed the TAE-approach for demobilization applied in Mozambique, which involved a high degree of civil society involvement. In 1995, the Council of Churches took the lead by overseeing the exchange of weapons for productive goods, subsequently destroying the weapons. The analysis by Faltas and Pases (2004) suggests the need for modifications in the approach before application to other countries.

The World Bank's demobilization program in Bosnia-Herzegovina was evaluated by BICC. Based on their findings, the authors derive a four-stage model for the planning, implementation and evaluation of demobilization projects (Heinemann-Grüder, Pietz and Duffy 2003). Comparative case studies have also analyzed demobilization projects in the aftermath of peace accords in West Africa, Southeastern Europe, and Central America (Faltas and Di Chiario 2001). Biel (2004) tracked the fate of street children in Sudan, Uganda, Zambia, and Kenya, who eke out a living among warlords, militias, and various forms of street violence (Mabe 2004).

The willingness to see an issue from the opponent's perspective can be an important element for positive change in conflict situations. How conflictive groups can develop this capacity in direct encounters was the subject of psychological research at the University of Trier in the early 1990s (Eckert and Willems 1992). If reconciliation is to be achieved, conflict parties need to develop this central conflict-management skill, a point that is also developed by other authors (Müller-Fohrbrodt and Hangarter 2004). This ability to Change Perspective and Develop Empathy (52) appears to many authors as a key element for productive social conflict-management. In practical terms, it requires developing this capacity and providing training at all levels, from schoolchildren to the foreign policy establishment (Fuchs 2004). Various instruments in the Contingency Model (6) reflect this concept.

The responsibility for war crimes is a prominent feature of German history. Important lessons can be drawn, particularly on how to deal with a traumatic past. The issue of Dealing with Nazi Past (54) has several facets, among them the prosecution of criminals, the reconciliation of victims and offenders, treatment of victims, and collective remembrance (Hoppe 2004). Many sites of Nazi crimes have become memorials that serve as points for information, exchange, and encounter on the issue of dealing with the past, which may be of relevance for other conflict settings.

International experiences with Processes of Reconciliation (46) were reviewed in a conference at the Protestant Academy Loccum (Calließ 1999). A number of features emerge from the German experiences. An important experience was the reconciliation process between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland that took place in the 1960s and 1970s. This process shows the interplay between elements of civil society, especially the churches and intellectuals, with governmental politics (Bensberger Kreis 1968). Symbolic gestures played a major part, while bilateral treaties between the two states fixed the borders and appeased Polish fear of future German expansionism. Nossol (2002) notes a number of initiatives that prepared the groundwork for this process. This experience has not been analyzed to draw lessons for other
reconciliation processes.

The German Democratic Republic exerted Systematic State Repression (55) on its citizens. This issue has been analyzed since German reunification in 1990 (Behnke and Fuchs 1995, 1998; Graessner, Gurris and Pross 1996), focusing on a number of specific aspects such as access to police files, and balancing the rights to information and privacy. Another important issue is the rehabilitation of victims, ranging from government managed rehabilitation programs to compensation for lost educational and career opportunities. While offenders often prosper in a new society, victims with inadequate skills remain stigmatized and marginalized. Victims also suffer psychological trauma and a loss of basic trust in society, which are difficult to address (Hoppe 2004). Dealing with this legacy of suppression and injustice, is difficult in any society, but to the author’s knowledge there has been no systematic transfer of these experiences into conflict-resolution skills and instruments in post-conflict settings.

One instrument for dealing with the past are Truth Commissions (56), which have been deployed and refined in various conflict settings. While the Guatemalan Truth Commission has not attracted much international attention, it has been carefully followed in Germany (Hoppe 2004; Oettler 2004). Its potential for the design of a forward looking political and social agenda is seen as a great benefit.

The term Social Work (57) covers a variety of community-based approaches. Post-war tasks in the social field are mostly addressed by micro level projects (Seifert 2004a). They provide spaces for encounter and focus mostly on education and youth issues. They attempt to identify and strengthen capacities for peace in the style of the Do No Harm approach, work closely with local NGOs and aim to support them in their peace and reconciliation work (Bohnet 2004; Fischer and Tumler 2000; Heeb 2004; Klotz 2004; Komitee für Grundrechte und Demokratie 2003; Staub-Berlasconi 2004).

One idea is to gradually merge ethnically polarized identities into a Plurality of Collective and Individual Identities (58). Kurschat (1998, 2004) describes a concept of multi-collective social work developed in Bosnia by a German NGO. He points out that besides ethnicity, there were other important conflict-relevant collective identities, such as urban versus rural groups, and long-established versus immigrant people. This suggested the need to speak of multi-collective rather than multi-ethnic identities. A pedagogical approach (Prengel 1993) served as the conceptual framework for the project design, which aimed to encourage a positive attitude and respect for multiple identities within the local population.

Possible Benefits for Development Organizations

The concepts presented in this paper clearly go beyond the mandate and operational focus of the World Bank and most development organizations. While the broad range of concepts presented is, therefore, intended to provide food for thought, some operationally relevant concepts have also been highlighted. Among these, primary and tertiary prevention appear to be the main area for development organizations. In other conflict phases, coalitions with other actors might provide new operational opportunities.

There are frequent complaints about lack of action during the primary prevention phase, but perhaps the reasons for this reluctance are still not well understood. The engagement of development organizations, however, tends to precede the eruption of violent conflict. They are therefore often familiar with local contexts in conflict settings and their local development partners are often involved and/or affected by rising tensions and the eruption of violent conflict. This involvement in local contexts may offer entry points which can be pursued in collaboration with other local or international actors, who may have more flexible mandates to intervene in conflict settings. However, while development actors are invariably part of the external environment within which conflict plays out, they should avoid becoming direct actors in the conflict process.
The concept of Prevention (1) sets the frame in which points of departure for operational engagement can be identified according to specific conflict phases and levels. To gain a proper understanding of the delicate nature of conflict intervention, the Contingency Model (6) provides some key insights and serves to select appropriate interventions according to the stage of conflict. It therefore seems to provide the most significant additional benefit by being the only comprehensive conflict management model that has not been completely translated into English.

Finally, conflict interventions require coalitions within and outside the conflict context. A proper frame to shape actors and issues is offered by the Systemic Conflict Transformation approach (5), which helps to sustain peace processes in a coherent manner.

Development organizations generate their own instruments for conflict analysis or needs assessments; monitoring indicators; and conflict impact and risk analysis. This survey suggests there are a number of concepts and approaches in the German-language literature that may be useful for development agencies not familiar with this work. These instruments cover a broad range: Gender with the Conflict-sensitive Program Management CPM (7) and the Gender-Triangle (8); early warning indicators, such as the Spelten-Criteria (25); impact monitoring with the Country Related Strategic Conflict Analysis (27); intervention planning with the Aid for Peace: Planning and Assessment for Conflict Zones (26); and Risk Analysis (30). The interesting aspect of the Spelten criteria is the intention to use them on a continuous basis in German development cooperation countries.

Development organizations are operating at the interface of the economy and conflict, which provides specific entry points and opportunities. Emphasizing economic motives and strategies behind patterns of violence is an important achievement of the concept of Markets of Violence (19). This has deepened analytic capacities and creates opportunities for improving political and economic interventions in various fields. Moreover, development organizations can devise new operational approaches within their own mandates.

Several concepts from the economic area can be employed in conflict prevention. If mistrust and polarization are to be overcome and sustained peace achieved, social and economic development have to be closely intertwined at the national level. Ideas for integrating peacebuilding and preventive objectives into economic development are offered by concepts such as the Civilizing Hexagon (43), Systemic Competitiveness (44) or Welfare Politics (45).

To help facilitate genuine participation, this survey discussed the World Economy Triangle (29) as a monitoring tool. The valuable feature of this tool is that it covers all levels from the grassroots to the global. It might provide a linkage between human capital-promotion, economic development, the inclusion-justice nexus, and reconciliation at the local level.

Development organizations need in-depth analytical capacity to properly address the violent patterns and dynamics with which they are confronted at the local level. Many case studies from sociology and social anthropology provide excellent insights, which also help raise awareness. While a systematic overview is still lacking, only a few could be presented in this review. They cover the emergence of networks around Ethnicity, Violence, and Fear (23), and the Shifting Dynamics of Violence (24). Others describe male cultures of violence in the context of transitional countries as Male Adolescents’ Cultures of Violence (9); and in Africa as Shifting Patterns of Male Roles in Violence (10).
6. The Concepts According to Issues

Prevention


Transformation/ management


Gender


**Quantitative data on conflicts**


**War**


**Failing states**


**Markets of violence**

Terrorism


(22) **States at Risk.** *Key document:* Schneckener (2004). *Further reading:* Hirschmann and Gerhard (2000); Paffenholz and Brede (2004); Schneckener (2002b).

**Social patterns of violence, dynamics of violence**


(24) **Shifting Dynamics of Violence.** *Key document:* Krämer (2003).

Early warning


Planning and evaluation

(26) **Aid for Peace: Planning and Assessment for Conflict Zones.** *Key document:* Paffenholz (2005a, b).


Implementation


Monitoring

Impact assessment and risk analysis


Ethical norms


Regime research


Regional cooperation and integration

(33) **Regional Structures of Co-operation, Integration, and Security.** *Key literature:* Bohnet (2004); Bonvicini, Greco, von Plate and Rummel (1998); Calic (2003); Czempiel (1998); Deutsch et al. (1957); Flemes (2003, 2004a,b); FES (2002); Gumppenberg (2002); Schlotter (1999); Schmolinsky (2000); Wilke (2004); Zielinski (2000).

Environment and resources


(35) **Cross-border and Locally Based Water Management.** *Key documents:* Böge and Wirkus (2004); Bohnet (2004).


(38) **Exploitation of Natural Resources.** *Key document:* Haller, Blöchlinger, John, Marthaler and Ziegler (2000).

Democracy

(40) **Democracy Model.** *Key document:* Linder (1997, 2005); Fleiner and Fleiner (2004).


(42) **Democracy Promoting Projects.** *Key document:* Bohnet (2004).

**Peace-promoting structures and procedures within a state**


**Practical experiences, and strategies of dealing with conflict**


**Conflict resolution in practice**

(49) **Dialogue forums and Round Tables.** *Key document:* FES (2002).


(51) **Practical Conflict-management Projects.** *Key document:* FES (2002).


**Demobilization, reintegration, return of refugees**


**Dealing with the past**


**Restoration of relations between communities at the grassroots level**


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Berlin.


Wenn es in der Heimat um Krieg und Frieden geht. Die Rolle der Diaspora in Krisenentwicklung und ziviler Konfliktbearbeitung [When it is a Matter of War and Peace at Home... The Role of Diaspora in the Development of Crisis and civil conflict management]. Rehburg-Loccum.


Projektgruppe Friedensforschung der Universität Konstanz N.d. (Papers on media and conflict are available at: http://www.uni-konstanz.de/FuF/SozWiss/fasto/psy-ag-meth/diskdt.html, many of them in English).


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