Peace Building Initiatives: Examples Outside Northern Ireland

1 Introduction

This paper has been written in relation to an inquiry by the Committee for the Office of the First Minister and deputy First Minister (OFMdFM) into the current strategy for good relations and reconciliation in Northern Ireland, Together: Building a United Community (TBUC). The ‘Shared Future’ strategy was published in 2005, following an extensive consultation process, to set out a framework for good relations in Northern Ireland. A successor strategy, ‘Cohesion, Sharing and Integration’, was launched for public consultation in July 2010. The consultation closed in October 2010.

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OFMdFM response stated that a revised strategy would be published\(^4\). The TBUC strategy was published on 23 May 2013.

At the most recent Departmental briefing to the Committee for OFMdFM on 5 February 2014, the strategy was summarised as follows\(^5\):

\[T\]he strategy sets out a range of actions and commitments for Departments, communities and individuals, who will work together to build a united community and achieve change against four key strategic priorities: our children and young people, our shared community, our safe community and our cultural expression. The headline actions range across the fields of education, housing, regeneration, sports, community interaction and interfaces. However, the range of commitments and actions extends well beyond the seven headline actions.

A range of models for peacebuilding projects have been developed in Northern Ireland. This paper looks at examples of good relations and reconciliation projects outside Northern Ireland.

2 Good Relations and Reconciliation in Europe

This section summarises some examples of projects in Europe which seek to bring together diverse communities, particularly in contexts of inter-communal conflict.

**United Nations Development Programme**

The United Nations has supported a range of projects aimed at promoting social cohesion. A recent report by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) summarises some of these initiatives\(^6\). The following are examples of such projects in Europe\(^7\).

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\(^7\) Ibid., pp.26, 39.
**Employment for Young Former Combatants**

**Providing rapid employment for young men in post-conflict Serbia**

Following the conflict, UNDP established a programme in South Serbia designed to provide rapid employment to ex-combatants and youth. South Serbia is the poorest part of the country with the highest level of unemployment. Six thousand temporary jobs were created, many of them working to repair and improve public infrastructure in the community. This helped to prevent key risk groups from re-engaging in violence and demonstrated a peace dividend to them and to the wider community.

**Shared Spaces for Young People**

**Developing public spaces in Croatia**

One of the pilot communities in the Safer Communities Project in Croatia identified the lack of recreational facilities for youth as a factor contributing to insecurity. An old playground was refurbished as a meeting place for youth, including a skateboard park and activity ground. In a highly divided post-conflict community of Croatians and Serbs, this has become a meeting place for youth from both sides.

**Monitoring Progress**

**Participatory monitoring and evaluation in Macedonia**

The Safer Community Development Project in Macedonia has used assessments both to measure progress and to increase participation. An initial perception survey and focus group assessment was used to create community profiles and establish a baseline for the project. Follow-on assessments were then undertaken every six months to assess progress. Smaller assessments were also carried out at the end of each activity – both to measure if the desired output had been achieved and to see how the different stakeholders and community members perceived progress. The project developed an M&E booklet and a manual to facilitate this process. An end of term review was then undertaken by a consultant as the project was completed. According to Macedonian Government figures, armed violence dropped by 70 percent during the project period and a project survey found that 90 percent of community members were aware of the project. The heavy emphasis on assessment contributed to the project’s success by ensuring regular engagement with stakeholders and communities.

**Council of Europe**

An influential document on intercultural dialogue was produced by the Council of Europe in 2008. This states that social cohesion:

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...denotes the capacity of a society to ensure the welfare of all its members, minimising disparities and avoiding polarisation. A cohesive society is a mutually supportive community of free individuals pursuing these goals by democratic means.

Building on this:

Integration is understood as a two-sided process and as the capacity of people to live together with full respect for the dignity of each individual, the common good, pluralism and diversity, non-violence and solidarity, as well as their ability to participate in social, cultural, economic and political life.

The Intercultural Cities project showcases a range of models aimed at building community cohesion⁹. The following are examples of good practice from the project¹⁰.

**Education**

- **Rainbow school, Tilburg, Netherlands**¹¹: This is an example of a school with a majority minority ethnic school which maintains a high standard of education through a high teacher-pupil ratio (sustained through a subsidy), but also strong leadership and staff commitment. Plans were developed to incorporate a Muslim school with shared curricular activity, but, this not being agreed, the intention is to have two schools side by side with shared facilities.

- **Whole family approach, Geneva, Switzerland**¹²: This places an emphasis on teachers building closer links with families in order to form a better understanding of influences on learning from the home environment. Swiss federal law requires schools to make their facilities available to the community, which provides opportunities for activities for minority ethnic cultural development.

- **Breaking down sectarian divides, Subotica, Serbia**¹³: Schools in Subotica are being encouraged to use a common history curriculum which brings together Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian perspectives, on which historians from all three communities have collaborated. Other initiatives include an inter-school quiz competition in which teams have to answer questions on cultures other than their own.

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**Public Space**

- **Meeting places, Tilburg, Netherlands:** Addressing a lack of public spaces where people can meet, a variety of local initiatives have been developed to encourage cross-cultural engagement, for example:
  - House of the World, an experimental garden for multi-cultural meetings, education, exhibitions and creative activities\(^{14}\)
  - Round Table House, which is an inter-religious centre for meetings of all faiths\(^{15}\)
  - Social Sofas, to encourage residents to sit down and talk to each other, planned to number 1000 (around 200 in place in 2013\(^{16}\))

- **City centre redesign, Neukölln Berlin, Germany:** This urban regeneration programme for the main street of Neukölln, Karl Marx Straße, is to be transformed in a way that acknowledges cultural diversity\(^{17}\).

**Projects in Areas of Conflict**

**Youth Initiative for Human Rights**

Youth Initiative for Human Rights (YIHR) was formed in 2003 to bring together young people across the former Yugoslavia. The foundation of the Initiative is explained in the following terms\(^{18}\):

> The Initiative was formed by young people from these countries in order to enhance youth participation in the democratization of the society and empowerment of the rule of law through the process of facing the past and establishing new, progressive connections in the post-conflict region of former Yugoslavia.

The Initiative has facilitated a number of projects, including the ‘Visiting Programme’, which consisted of structured encounters between young people from Serbia and Kosovo to explore perceptions and experiences of young people of the recent conflict\(^{19}\).

**Žene Ženama**

The empowerment of women is a key area of post-conflict peacebuilding. Žene Ženama (Women to Women) is a cross-community women’s centre in Sarajevo, which

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\(^{14}\) Huis van de Wereld: [http://www.huisvandewereld.nl/](http://www.huisvandewereld.nl/).
\(^{15}\) Ronde Tafelhuis: [http://www.rondetafelhuistilburg.nl/](http://www.rondetafelhuistilburg.nl/).
has run a number of specific programmes for developing the capacity of women and women’s groups in and beyond the city, including the following:

- **Capacity building - Žene i ženske organizacije u BiH**[^20]: Funded through a Swedish NGO, this project has used seminars, workshops and roundtables to develop the capacity of women’s organisations in the areas of:
  - Raising awareness in local communities about discrimination
  - Improving knowledge in local communities about women’s organisations
  - Improving communication channels between women’s organisations and political institutions
  - Developing knowledge and capacity within organisations

- **Women and peacebuilding - Žene u Izgradnji Mira – Pomirenje u Lokalnoj Zajednici**[^21]: This project consists of a series of workshops through which women explore the development of myths and ideology associated with national identity and a building of civic awareness. Engagement and dialogue between women of different identities creates a context for mutual understanding of conflict forces which affect them collectively as women.

- **Labour market participation - Percepcija rodne (ne)jednakosti na tržištu rada u Bosni i Hercegovini**[^22]: Recognising societal assumptions that women will revert to ‘traditional’ roles following conflict, this research study examines the situation of women in employment and how women have been integrated into new patterns of employment in the post-conflict context.

- **Dealing with the past - Ženski sud Balkana**[^23]: This project creates a network across the Balkans as a space for women to discuss the violent past, exploring aspects such as justice, truth, the rule of law, guilt and humiliation.

3 **Community Cohesion**

Much of the momentum for action and theorising around community cohesion in the UK has been driven by the legacy of racial tensions in northern England[^24]:

[^20]: Žene i ženske organizacije u BiH [Women and women’s organisations in BiH]: http://www.zenezenama.org/ze/izgradnji-mira-pomirenje-u-lokalnoj-zajednici/
[^22]: Percepcija rodne (ne)jednakosti na tržištu rada u Bosni i Hercegovini [Perceptions of labour (in)equality in the labour market in BiH]: http://www.zenezenama.org/ze/izgradnji-mira-pomirenje-u-lokalnoj-zajednici/
[^24]: Community Cohesion [Community Cohesion]:
The community cohesion agenda that emerged in the immediate aftermath of the street disturbances in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham in 2001 represents the most unequivocal application of the new policy agenda that seeks to address social problems through the idea of community.

While interest in cohesion has been a constant in mixed societies, this policy direction has given added impetus to defining social and community cohesion and identifying measures to encourage it.

Social cohesion is a psychological state of a sense of belonging. According to Wilkinson, social cohesion is:

- A sense of community – people feel connected
- Neighbouring – people help each other and have relationships
- Attraction – people feel a preference for a place

Looking deeper, the picture of social cohesion is complex and fluctuates, but has been said to have the following features, or ‘domains’:

- Common values and a civic culture
- Social order and social control
- Social solidarity and a reduction in wealth disparities
- Social networks and social capital
- Place attachment and identity

This view does not consider ethnicity in isolation as a cause of a breakdown in community cohesion, but looks in the abstract at what underpins community, of which identity may be only one facet.

Ted Cantle also pursues this point in his independent review of the 2001 disturbances in Britain, that integration and segregation are often posed as alternatives, which hinders the debate that should be identifying the many different layers of community cohesion that need to be separated and considered. Differences are more apparent when they are multi-faceted, which “appears to allow ignorance about each community to develop into fear”.

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Projects have been developed throughout the UK in response to these concerns around integration and community cohesion, leading to a variety of models that may have some applicability to other contexts. For example, the Pathfinder Programme was established in 2002 to fund fourteen partnerships to develop community cohesion initiatives in their local areas. Examples of projects supported under this programme are as follows:

- Reaching out to groups that are not engaged or represented in mainstream structures (Charnwood Borough Council)
- Development of a charter for all local agencies to sign up to community cohesion principles (Stoke on Trent City Council)
- Commission of research to discover what works at community level (West London Alliance)
- Healing History project to explore the local area’s lost culture (in this case, mining), intergenerational conflict and the effect of a predominantly white, male culture on race relations (Mansfield District Council)
- Development of mechanism to involve young people in policy and practice (Southwark Borough Council)

Community cohesion projects have been developed at the local level at a range of locations in the UK, each developing models of practice that suit their own localities. Indeed, at the time of writing, for example, the Centre for Social Relations at Coventry University has a database of 311 case studies of good practice for community cohesion projects.

4 Summary of Approaches

This brief and very general overview illustrates a variety of approaches to working with diversity and conflict across Europe. It is acknowledged that conflating peacebuilding and community cohesion brings together two areas of social and political development, but, without prejudice to the significant differences, certain common attributes can be of use in both areas.

In broad terms, good practice in peacebuilding has been the subject of guidance at the United Nations and the Council of Europe, and also there are Europe-based peace...
organisations\textsuperscript{33} and networks of organisations\textsuperscript{34} that have developed expertise in the area.

Some themes have that can be discerned from this brief survey of projects that may be of relevance to the Together: Building a United Community are as follows:

- **Scoping of existing expertise:**
  - Research to determine what is already taking place in the community (W London, GB)

- **Ensuring everyone is involved:**
  - Mapping ‘under the radar’ groups (Charnwood, GB)

- **Establishing common principles:**
  - Community charter (Stoke on Trent, GB)

- **Working with children:**
  - Shared schools (Netherlands)
  - Shared curriculum (Serbia)
  - Community engagement in schools (Switzerland)

- **Working with young people:**
  - Recreational spaces for young people (Croatia)
  - Cross-community engagement for young people (Kosovo-Serbia)
  - Employment programmes for young people involved in conflict (Serbia)
  - Young people’s involvement in decision-making (Southwark, GB)

- **Community involvement:**
  - Exploring local histories (Mansfield, GB)
  - Shared public spaces (Netherlands; Germany)

- **Gender dimensions:**
  - Women and peacebuilding projects (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

- **Measuring success:**
  - Monitoring and evaluation models (Macedonia)

\textsuperscript{33} For example, the Burghof Foundation in Berlin and Tübingen: \url{http://www.berghof-foundation.org/en/}.

\textsuperscript{34} For example, the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office in Brussels: \url{http://www.eplo.org/}.
5 Case Studies: Serbia and Croatia

Rather than looking at general models, this section looks specifically at two locations: Vukovar in Croatia and Subotica in Serbia. Vukovar was extensively destroyed during the war of 1991 primarily between Serbs and Croats after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, has a Serb minority in a Croat majority town and deals with extensive legacies of the conflict. Subotica in Serbia was largely unaffected by the war, but has been working to accommodate significant minorities, primarily Hungarians and Croats.

Participants on the Leadership and Learning Programme, funded through the CAN Peace Partnership\(^\text{35}\), visited Vukovar and Subotica in March 2013, where they noted the contrasts in approaches to reconciliation and community cohesion in both locations\(^\text{36}\). An example from Subotica, referred to in Section 2 above, is cited as a model of good practice by the Council Europe. This section draws briefly on some of the reconciliation and community cohesion processes in both Vukovar and Subotica.

### Vukovar

Vukovar is a town and municipality in Croatia\(^\text{37}\), separated from adjacent Serbia by the Danube. The declaration of independence by Croatia in July 1991 led to Yugoslav Army and Serb paramilitary intervention in Eastern Slavonia, including Vukovar, where there was a significant Serb population. The town was devastated during a three month siege, but following the capture of the town, some 300 individuals sheltering in a hospital were removed to nearby Ovčara farm and most of them executed\(^\text{38}\). Sentences of five to twenty years were handed down in 2009 to individuals accused of killing 200 Croats in the incident\(^\text{39}\), although further cases continue to emerge\(^\text{40}\).

A memorial centre to the Ovčara massacre was opened in 2006\(^\text{41}\). Vukovar was used by the Croatian government as a symbol of suffering during the war, as a ‘victim-hero’ image, due to its resistance before the town was captured and the atrocities carried out there after its fall\(^\text{42}\). Since the war, studies have indicated that the town still struggles to

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\(^{35}\) The CAN Partnership was supported in the Carrickfergus, Antrim and Newtownabbey borough areas through the Peace III Programme: [http://www.canpeace3.org/](http://www.canpeace3.org/).


\(^{37}\) Vukovar municipal website: [http://www.vukovar.hr/](http://www.vukovar.hr/).


\(^{41}\) Spomen Dom Ovčara: [http://www.hdlskl.hr/spomendom/](http://www.hdlskl.hr/spomendom/).

overcome multiple dimensions of trauma\textsuperscript{43} and recovery is seriously hampered by demographic loss\textsuperscript{44}.

A number of NGOs have been operating in Vukovar to foster reconciliation and promote recovery. For example, the Centre for Peace, Legal Advice and Psychosocial Assistance with aims to\textsuperscript{45}:

1. development of human freedoms,
2. protection and development of human rights,
3. building a culture of peace and nonviolence as a life’s quality,
4. development of interethnic, inter-religious and inter-cultural tolerance and cooperation,
5. development of feeling of safety and feeling of membership, self-esteem and respect of others

The Coalition for Work with Psychotrauma and Peace (CWWPP), with its headquarters in Vukovar, works for ‘the empowerment of people during or after armed conflict or with the potential for such conflict to take control of their own lives, particularly at grassroots level’.\textsuperscript{46} However, an assessment of learning from the organisation’s work found that provision for the extent of trauma in the region has been under-resourced\textsuperscript{47}.

While certain progress – not without its challenges – has taken place in the reintegration of essential services, such as Vukovar General Hospital\textsuperscript{48}, there are still significant areas where division is still pronounced. Serb and Croat pupils attend different classes at school\textsuperscript{49}, ex-combatants have not entered into any process of reconciliation\textsuperscript{50} and the re-introduction of Cyrillic on public buildings alongside the Latin script, in accordance with Croatian equality laws, was met with violent resistance from

\textsuperscript{43}Dinka Čorcalo-Biruški and Dean Ajduković (2009), ‘Od dekonstrukcije do rekonstrukcije traumatizirane zajednice: primjer Vukovara’ in Revija za Socijalnu Politiku, 16(1), 1-24.
\textsuperscript{44}Dražen živić (2012), ‘Izazovi i mogućnosti poslijeratne revitalizacije Grada Vukovara’ in Croatian Geographical Bulletin 74(1), 75-90.
\textsuperscript{46}Coalition for Work With Psychotrauma and Peace website, accessed 31 March 2014: https://sites.google.com/site/cfwwpap/.
\textsuperscript{48}Joshua Bloom and Egbert Sondorp (2006), ‘Relations Between Ethnic Croats and Ethnic Serbs at Vukovar General Hospital in Wartime and Peacetime’ in Medicine, Conflict and Survival 22(2), 110-131.
Croats in the town\textsuperscript{51}. Consequently, Vukovar has been described by observers as remaining very divided\textsuperscript{52}.

**Subotica**

Subotica is a city in Serbia on the border with Hungary and has a mixed ethnic population, with Hungarians, Serbs, Croats and the largest concentration of the minority Bunjevci\textsuperscript{53}. In addition, there are significant numbers of other minorities, such as Roma, many of whom have gravitated to Subotica from other parts of Serbia, but also there are significant numbers displaced by the war in Kosovo\textsuperscript{54}.

In contrast to Vukovar, Subotica did not suffer wholesale destruction during the conflict or bear witness to any notorious atrocities. The key focus has been the accommodation of a diverse population, rather than a traumatised one divided by conflict.

Examples of initiatives in Subotica to manage community diversity are as follows:

- The city has developed the capacity for the development of all three official languages - Serbian, Hungarian and Croatian - which are used on official documents and regulations, Serbian and Hungarian are spoken in the courts and municipal translators are employed\textsuperscript{55}. Bunjevac is not an official language, but there are radio and television programmes and newspapers in the language\textsuperscript{56}.
- The National Theatre was constructed in 2007-11 as a shared intercultural space in the city. The Theatre is home to two ensembles, one Serbian and one Hungarian\textsuperscript{57}.
- Moonlight Clubs were established to provide alternatives for young people (aged 14-18) gathering on the streets at night and operate from 8pm to midnight, with structured activities and supportive supervision. There are currently eight operating in the city\textsuperscript{58}.
- The Interetno Festival hosts folk dance performances from the three main communities in Subotica – Serbian, Hungarian and Croatian – as well as from

\textsuperscript{51}‘Vukovar: divided by an alphabet’, Euronews 8 November 2013: \url{http://www.euronews.com/2013/11/08/vukovar-divided-by-an-alphabet/}.
\textsuperscript{53}Subotica municipal website: \url{http://www.subotica.rs/}.
\textsuperscript{54}‘Subotica: 12,000 Roma citizens to arrive after readmission’, Roma Transitions 2 August 2011: \url{http://www.romatransitions.org/subotica-12-000-roma-citizens-to-arrive-after-readmission/}.
\textsuperscript{56}Ibid., p.30.
\textsuperscript{57}National Theatre Subotica website: \url{http://www.suteatar.org/}.
\textsuperscript{58}Moonlight Programme web page: \url{http://www.mesecina.subotica.net/program/01eng.htm}.
elsewhere in Vojvodina and from Hungary59. Similarly, Etnofest draws artistes from all over the world in a world culture festival held annually60, as do the International Festival of Children’s Theatres61 and the Palić European Film Festival62.

In addition, there are NGOs working to provide services for minority groups in Subotica, for example:

- Local Democracy Agency – founded in 1993 to promote democracy and human rights development63 affiliated to a network of similar agencies in Europe, the Association of Local Democracy Agencies (ALDA)64.

Cultural diversity work in Subotica does not exist in a vacuum. The city is the second largest in the autonomous region of Vojvodina, which has a significant Hungarian minority. The National Council for the Hungarian Ethnic Minority (Magyar Nemzeti Tanács) is located in Subotica (Szabadka in Hungarian)66, as is the The Scientific Association for Hungarology Research (Magyarságkutató Tudományos Társaság)67.

The regional government of Vojvodina, located in Novi Sad, runs a programme called ‘Promotion of Multiculturalism and Tolerance in Vojvodina’, begun in 2005. Projects include68:

- “Cup of Tolerance” sport competition for young people
- Television quiz “How Well Do We Know Each Other” for secondary school students
- Museum exhibition “Homeland on the Danube – cohabitation of Germans and Serbs in Vojvodina”
- Museum exhibition “Living together” on coexistence of Serbs and Hungarians
- “Richness of Diversity” competition for the best amateur photography on the topics of multiculturalism of Vojvodina

• “Together” documentary series that, in an original manner, analyses and represents Vojvodina’s diversity, as well as the common living and customs of its inhabitants.

• Media Campaign – “Multiculturalism in Vojvodina”

• “Ethno Day” series of presentations of the national communities that live in Vojvodina, with their folklore, cultural, historical, culinary and other characteristics, facilitated by Vojvodina primary school pupils.

Efforts towards building community cohesion in Subotica are therefore located in a context of a diverse city with strong intercultural traditions within a wider region that is engaged in working with diversity.