Religion in the Context of Violence

Challenges for Peace Building Work of Religious Actors in Violent Conflicts: Outcomes of a Partner Workshop
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Foreword

Following the end of the Cold War and the East-West confrontation the use of people’s religious identities for political struggles has increased. With growth in strength of Al-Qaida, IS and Boko Haram religious convictions are often linked to terror, radicalism and violence in the public perception. This makes religion appear to be an extraordinarily important source of violent conflict. Growing social inequality and the accompanying destruction of social cohesion in many societies, lead to increasing conflicts over power and resources within and among states. The role of religion and religious actors in these conflicts is ambivalent, as it may have a peace building influence as well as a conflict aggravating one.

The majority of our partner organisations are churches, church based or church related development institutions or other faith based organisations. They are faced with the challenge of working with and within a religiously “charged” environment. Many of these partners work in countries and contexts that are characterised by violence and question themselves about the impact of their own peace work. It is therefore highly relevant for the development work of the churches to look thoroughly and systematically into the escalating and deescalating effects of religions and religious actors before, during and after violent conflicts.

What is the impact of the religious actors’ engagement for peace in those increasingly religiously “charged” conflicts? What do these challenges mean for the cooperation between local partners and church based Development Agencies? How can peacebuilder roles be strengthened and how can we, as Development Agency of the churches, better support faith-based organisations in their peace building efforts? In order to discuss these and similar questions together with our church-related partner organisations and to promote joint learning, a one-week workshop on “Building Peace in Societal Conflicts-Exploring the Peace Building Potential of Faith Based Organisations” took place in Nairobi, Kenya in May/June 2014. The participants were representatives of nine partner organisations from India, Liberia, Kenya, Nigeria and Nepal who are actively committed to and engaged in peace building and conflict transformation. The discussions and results of the workshop formed the basis for further reflection and conclusions which we are publishing in this document as a discussion paper and food for thought.

In its peace work Bread for the World aims to offer continuous support to its partners for building capacities in constructive conflict transformation and prevention of violence even beyond current crises. It is in that sense that we view the specific dialogue with our church and faith-based partners on the impact of their peace work and about our possibilities of supporting them as especially important. Through this paper we intend to contribute to the further discourse about the role of religious actors in violent conflicts and thus the development of a differentiated point of view.

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1. Development Policy in a Context of Religiously Charged Social Upheaval

Around the world religious differences or tensions are repeatedly used as arguments to justify and organise violence – especially between Christian and Muslim parts of the population. Within this context the development work takes place in a tense environment and the various possibilities for interpretation by different religions of the conflict in addition to the existing complex political, social, economic and cultural situation in the respective country have to be taken into account. Generalisations on the links between religion and conflict as well as on their violent or peaceful settlement are just as inadequate and intolerable as assumptions on the “inherent predisposition to violence” of individual religions. The root causes of a violent conflict are simply too many and cannot be reduced to one factor alone.

It is therefore important to differentiate between and analyse inner- and inter-religious differences in the respective concrete social, economic and political context.

In this way, the diversity of faiths and beliefs play a role as much as the peoples’ specific historical experiences with religion and/or with the relationship of religions on the one hand and culture, politics and economics on the other hand. Religion – as our own European history shows – often plays an important role in political conflicts, but their importance cannot be understood without a precise look into the context. Thus the characterisation of inner-societal violent conflicts as “religious conflicts” often constitutes a reduction and limits the perspective, which is not helpful. Without a deepened and differentiated understanding of the overall situation, adequate strategies for a peaceful conflict transformation cannot be found. This includes the capacity by Christian communities and churches to critically reflect on their own roles. Neither development work per se is peace building, nor are religious actors or communities peace builders.

Within this paper we highlight specific aspects for dialogue with partners and reflections about roles in development and religious practice. We take up discussions and experiences from our long-lasting cooperation with our partners. In addition to that we also collect insights gained from the discussions during the workshop “Building Peace in Societal Conflict-Exploring in Peace Building Potential of Faith Based Organisations” that took place in Nairobi from May 26th to June 2nd, 2014. This workshop was initiated by Bread for the World-Protestant Development Service and jointly coorganised by CORAT Africa and the Nairobi Peace Initiative (NPI). Peacebuilders from nine, mostly Christian, partner organisations participated in the workshop, coming from Nigeria, Liberia, Kenya, Nepal and India. Depending on the country of origin, the context in which those organisations work varies considerably. Kenya and Liberia are influenced by Christian faith, but there are also large Muslim groups in their populations. In India and Nepal the societal environment is dominated by Hindus, with Christians forming a minority. Nigeria is basically divided into two parts. The north of the country is particularly dominated by Islam, and Christians are a minority there. Here, the peace work of organisations with a Christian background and motivation brings a special challenge. This is especially the case when actors in the conflicts use religious arguments to justify their violent activities.

Each morning’s theological reflection – here with a participant from Nigeria played an important role during the Kenya workshop.
2. “Religion” as a Conflict Factor? Religion as Seen by Partner Organisations

When taking a closer look at the link between religion and conflict, the following obvious question comes up: “Is the violent conflict a religious one or is religion misused for other purposes?” The answer to that question is clear. The crucial point here is not “religion” as such. In reality Biblical, Koranic and Hindu teachings have never fought each other. The actors in concrete cases are the believers and their constituted organisations. They interpret and incorporate in their attitudes, discourse and actions what constitutes “religion” in a specific situation or conflict.

Surprisingly, this is not obvious at first glance. It may happen that partner organisations make quite a pointed observation on the other faith community at the first direct contact. In order to understand this, it is important to know more about the partners’ working and living conditions. They operate as actors, albeit in most cases unwillingly and reactively, in conflicts which are, to some extent, played out violently. Their work sometimes brings extremely high personal risks. They have had traumatic experiences. External supporters are, in this role, first required to accompany partners with supervision, if necessary enabling them to take time off, and to support them in dealing with their trauma.

The protected space of the Nairobi workshop provided a good opportunity for reflection discussion of the topic “Religious Actors in the context of violence”. Detailed interviews conducted in line with the principle of “Empathic Listening” provided insights into the working practices of the organisations and made clear their efforts to improve the living conditions of the communities to whom they feel they have a duty. During the interviews the personality of the speakers revealed themselves, as well as their motivations and the impact of the violence that they had experienced on their self-image. The interviewees described their perceptions and how they deal with conflict situations at a local level in their everyday life. It also became clear to what extent partners are affected by direct violence both as individuals and as institutions. The following questions made the “religious factor” more concrete: How do partners handle the situation? Which role do their religious convictions play in their actions? What does it mean to be a target on the basis of belonging to a religious community?

Partners from predominantly Christian countries often had a clearly extreme perception of Islam as the “other” religion, coupled with the subjective perception of a threat and the feeling of being challenged. Here it is necessary to differentiate between Kenya and Liberia on the one hand and Nigeria’s north on the other. In Nigeria the distribution of religions varies from south to north. The more one moves towards the north, the less Christians one will find. As a minority they are harassed and attacked by radicalised Muslim groups. Such experiences relate to the Nigerian context and cannot be applied to other world regions. Partner organisations from India and Nepal, whose societies are also not predominantly Christian, interpret the experience of violence totally differently. In their narratives, religion was hardly mentioned as a “factor”. Their emphasis was laid on social injustice and negative developments as well as on efforts to counteract these – for instance through strategic networks and coalitions or the mobilisation and organisation of people on different levels. The crucial point here was the consideration of how state laws or the norms of human rights law and international law offer a starting point for improving of the living conditions of the most disadvantaged, regardless of their membership of a particular religious community.
3. Dimensions of the Link between “Conflict” and “Religion”

In reports on experiences of conflict in which “religion” played a role as a factor, the following pattern consistently became clear: the conflict was sparked by other causes. Religion came along later as an “argument”. When the story of the escalation is reviewed, the following further factors which are specific to the situation emerge: unjust power distribution, decision makers’ control of access to economic opportunities or goods, advantages afforded to and disadvantages imposed upon certain identity groups; and the playing off of different social groups, e.g. indigenous people against new settlers.

In this way the elements through which the link between conflict and religion manifests become clear: power, access to and control of vital resources, identities, possibilities of participation in society and its control and/or restriction on the part of decision makers. This creates a tense relationship between society and state on one side and the positioning of the Church and faith communities on the other side. The questions which emerge leave aside the area of religion, and focus on the role and the positioning of institutionalized religious communities in the state and in society. The question presents itself of how close to or distanced from the government religious bodies and authorities stand. Reverend Canon Grace Kaiso, the General Secretary of the Council of Anglican Provinces of Africa once named it the “ambivalence of embracement”, meaning that the proximity of state and religion to each other and their commonalities can quickly turn into an “overwhelming containment”. For churches and church based organisations, this natural tension means that they have to develop their capacity to address changes in society, to accept and also shape them. The tensions caused by the preservation of (among others) religious traditions on the one hand and the modernisation of societies on the other constitutes a real challenge for churches, especially in societies that tend towards violent conflict resolution.

As an entry point for further discussion, the focus on several basic points is helpful. These basic points range between the extremes of inclusion and exclusion, power and powerlessness, self-affirmation and self-questioning. Such framework helps to prevent getting trapped in hasty prejudices and helps to understand the self-positioning of actors in their respective contexts in a differentiated way. The results of such a reflection indicate to what extent the institutionalised religious communities or churches are at risk of becoming conflict parties for other than mere doctrinal purposes and how much they are at risk of being instrumentalised for these other purposes.

The following section sets out four of these basic points for which a differentiated reflection could be considered:

Between Majority and Minority

Religious identity expresses itself through religious norms and values which are recognisable in daily individual and societal life. It comprises, among other things, national holidays and religious laws but also daily rituals and rules. To analyse the meaning and relevance of this formative visibility, so to say the “footprint”, it is important to find out in which societal contexts the faith-based actors actually operate. On the one hand the majority and/or minority issues and relationships play a role. Through the use of religious language and religious arguments, a society can quickly be polarised, people can be manipulated and violence be incited. However, the real or perceived position of religious actors in the respective society can differ significantly.

If the majority of the population belongs to one’s own religious community, the self-perception is often linked to a feeling of superiority and representing the entire society. Here, this perception is often also well developed within the population. In some contexts such a self-image is ultimately and closely linked to a claim to merits such as safeguarding the culture or the national identity. The access to political decision makers and the influence on them often increases that “footprint”. In such contexts religious leaders sometimes “give their blessing” to political actions, claim the existence of their own traditions or, for example, define the roles of men and women in society. Under such conditions the potential to mobilise large parts of the population through religious arguments and questions of identity are enormous.

If the religious community forms a minority in its society, however, other questions need to be addressed. One’s own security is at much greater risk. The threat for faith-based actors of being discredited in their human rights and development work is high, as connection to religious concerns and motivation (such as missionary work) can be drawn in a discrediting way. This risk increases the more the faith-based actors take action against inequality and advocate for justice in societies against powerful elites or other actors who make use of the religious argument and aggravate the divide between the religious groups and actors.
Religious actors can be attacked more easily if they are in a minority situation. As a consequence they have to protect themselves and to consider the following aspects: What is one’s relationship to the other religious community in this situation? What are appropriate messages to operate with? Can religious identity, values and norms be communicated directly? How and why are they accepted? How much adaptation to other values and norms is expected or required? To what extent is the practice of one’s own religion interpreted as provoking or challenging the status of other religions or identities? How far is discrimination based on religious affiliation and a factor of exclusion from power and influential roles in society?

Perhaps a surprising insight from the workshop was the extent to which religious norms are also present in the daily life of so-called secular societies. One example of this is Sunday as a public holiday in the so-called “Christian occident” – which can be traced back to the Bible: “on the seventh day you shall rest...”. This shows to what extent identity is associated with religious norms and values even in secular societies. The abolition of Sunday as a holiday would certainly provoke a strong reaction even among people who do not lean towards Christianity.

One does not have to focus on Islamic countries to realise that there are many occasions on which members of other religions have to show consideration for a faith that is not their own but which nevertheless regulates their lives in the form of legal rules. Even a look at European history may serve as an example. During the French Revolution the role of religion in society changed radically. The division of the week into six days and with a free Sunday was replaced by a “rational” division of the month into three sets of ten days with the tenth day being a public holiday. That republican calendar was valid for twelve years in France and the areas of Europe conquered during that period up to Napoleon’s first Empire, which reintroduced the Gregorian calendar.

The interplay and fusion of state, society and religion make it clear why it is so appealing to ‘infect’ conflicts over domination and access to power with religious argu-
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ments. Someone who belongs to a religious community that does not make a formative “footprint” on their society can justifiably agree when allegations of domination by “another religion” are made. Members of a religion whose norms visibly shape the society may, on the other hand, perceive demands by other (religious) communities for equal treatment as unreasonable. The loss of a collective identity which has existed unquestioned and as a matter of course would suddenly be at issue.

Proximity to and Distance from Power

The significance of the aforementioned “footprint” of a religion within the society is not always immediately obvious. In the workshop, it was revealed through the difference in the self-assessments of Christian organisations, depending on whether they belonged to the majority or the minority.

Interestingly the organisations that felt they belonged to the minority in their societies saw themselves as powerful even though their “footprint” in the society and their ability to influence decision makers were limited. Churches and Christian organisations in societies with a Christian majority, however, felt quite under pressure despite their impressive sources of power and access to power. This feeling can be caused by a changing political environment but can also be traced back to religious arguments used in conflicts in neighbouring countries, changes in government and debates on constitutional changes or similar issues.

Therefore it is important for actors to reflect on their perception of themselves in order to get away from the fixation with the traditional “footprint” in society. Continuing to stick to it often leads to an anxious, defensive insistence which prevents the actors from using their capacity to promote peace.

In conflictive contexts religious arguments often aim to activate certain identities. If causes or triggers of violence are linked to aspects of religious identity, such arguments are difficult to negotiate and have a great potential to mobilise. They always relate to questions of power, powerlessness and dominance. They therefore have to be examined meticulously and the different elements of them must be dismantled and taken into pieces.

In this context churches also come into play as societal institutions. They potentially have great influence and without any doubt they have power at their disposal. In societies where Christians represent the majority, they derive that power firstly from the number of members according to the motto “Numbers matter” but also from their spiritual link to the almighty and divine. On the other hand the status of a majority religion can also imply a great proximity to the actors of state power. If Christians and churches form a minority in a society they cannot play that trump card. In those situations often the nature of the state including rights and values and its orientation towards human rights and legal procedures become important points of reference for their work and lives.

To belong to the majority in a society represents a great opportunity for churches, especially if they are in a position to not identify themselves with a particular form of state and society and if they choose not to depreciate other ways of believing or living. If they are successful in this, secular value systems such as human rights can also find their appropriate place in the church. The church can become a learning ground for diversity in society, ideally starting with its own internal structures and ways of working. If seen this way, letting go of old ways of looking at things can become a model for successful co-existence at the level of society. And this could bring the church’s mission as propagator of God’s word and therefore as peacemaker a bit further into the world.

Dealing with Direct Violence

In situations of direct violence, religious communities, their institutions, their clergy as well as their employees working in humanitarian programmes and development projects can themselves become targets of violence. Christian but also Muslim actors in the North of Nigeria for example who reject the rude interpretation of Islam by Boko Haram repeatedly find themselves between the frontlines.

Disputes between ethnic groups or between herders and farmers mainly over limited natural resources and territories have intensified there in the past few years. Against the background of increasingly scarce fertile land and the miserable socio-economic conditions, livelihood is under pressure and traditional systems are no longer practicable or are collapsing. In addition to that, the violence through radicalized parts of Muslim religious communities and also other actors is increasing. This affects not only Christians but also Muslims.
The emergence of the terror group Boko Haram meaning “(western) education is a sin” is the result of multiple problems and injustices such as poverty and hunger, neglect by the state, violent conflicts among different ethnic groups or between cattle breeders and other farmers, lack of jobs and prospects, inequality and marginalisation and the availability of arms. A radicalisation against Western values and the perceived Western or American imperialism happens here through the misuse of religious-traditional values. The religious connotations of the violent conflict which are thus achieved are exacerbated by targeted attacks on Christian communities, their places of worship and their representatives.

Muslim organisations and their clergy who are oriented towards reconciliation and peace and who reject that particular interpretation of Islam also become targets. Insecurity and despair shape the daily life of those who show their religious values publicly and are committed to compromise, religious tolerance and peaceful coexistence.

The constant violence constitutes a great burden for the religious communities and the staff working in their programmes. They witness the daily suffering of the communities who they serve. At the same time, they themselves and their families are threatened and become victims of terror. Fear and trauma caused by the unpredictable and constantly recurring violence as well as the heavy workload leave little space to deal with these experiences and to reflect. The workshop made clear the extent of traumatisation and how much fear, sorrow and anger needs to be dealt with in order to recover and to revive the capacity to analyse and reflect.

In Nigeria people live with a daily threat. What makes it more difficult is that friends and enemies are no longer identifiable. Everyone could be a Boko Haram fighter. This insecurity and the frustration of now experiencing such violence after years of collaborative work and co-existence reduce the capacity to promote peace. Nevertheless the clergy and the employees of Christian and Mus-
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Leading clergy of Nigerian churches such as the Church of the Brethren (Ekklesiayar Yan’uwa a Nigeria, EYN) and the Church of Christ in Nations (COCIN), for example, continue to foster contacts with Muslim clergy and undertake joint efforts to secure peace and counter violence. Rural development programmes support Christian and Muslim village communities in their efforts to achieve sustainable improvements together, to open up prospects for their lives, and thus to contribute to reducing frustration and inclination towards violence.

The workshop in Nairobi has shown that a lot of time and energy will be needed to step away from immediate shock and trauma, which has an impact on people’s ability to judge and can lead to rough generalisations. Stepping out of this is important for the identification of constructive approaches for peace work again. Spiritual reflection, as well as talking about what one has experienced, one’s own possibilities to act and the limits encountered are important building blocks. The exchange of experiences and critical reflection with others led during the workshop to a noticeable change in the participants’ capacity to judge and gave them encouragement.

Potential to Influence on Authorities and Potential as Opinion Leaders

The possibilities for the church or religious community as an institution, for its religious leaders and the mainstream of the believers to exert influence are further factors that affect the positioning of the church in a society. The potential for power of churches – both as advocates for peace and conflict transformation and as a driver of escalation – is based on the close interconnectedness between the political, economic and religious elites. This interconnectedness to some extent arose in colonial times and is linked to the dominance of ethnical groups which arose in those times. If these connections are not meticulously reflected upon within the church and by those who speak for it, thoughtless statements, as unwitting as they may be, can contribute to escalation in conflict situations.

Especially those religious communities whose norms have left a visible “footprint” in the society are at risk of having to fight supposedly defensive battles. The members quickly get the sense that they have to defend their societal role, especially if that one is perceived as being “God given”. If churches do not know how to distinguish between their position of power and their identity, through self-reflection, they run the risk of being drawn into a spiral of escalation.

It also has to be taken into account that religious communities do not exhibit homogeneous structures. Different trends also exist within Christian communities so that the efforts towards reflection and peaceful coexistence must also be applied inwardly.

If church actors or faith-based organisations succeed in carefully reflecting on their roles and their influence on political, economic and societal elites, they can contribute to make questions of participation in society and justice subjects for discussion – subjects that are often obscured by the use of religious arguments or even willingly hidden. By doing so church actors can become advocates for justice and fulfill their mission as churches of God’s peace (“church is an organ of peace in line with God”).
4. Framework for Peace Building

Communication Based on Ethical Foundations

Those church based actors living and working in a minority context have acquired a lot of “translation capacity”. They cannot refer to a self-explanatory set of societal values and behaviour. The choice of words and concepts requires explanation and must be interpreted. In networks comprising extremely different actors it is therefore necessary to continuously agree on joint objectives, means and strategies.

An exchange on basic points of reference for peace promotion can facilitate the communication between secular and religiously motivated actors in conflicts. The commandment “Thou shalt not kill”, for example, is not only part of the Christian teaching but also a humanistic or moral rule with which secular people agree. The exchange on basic points of reference can also form the basis of a mutual “translation” which makes peaceful coexistence possible. This requires the capacity and the willingness on the part of the religious actors to refrain from mission work and imposing their own dogma onto others; on the other hand secular actors must also be ready to accept that there are ways of looking at the world that are beyond rational decisions. An open approach and a sensitive exploration of the backgrounds and motivations of the actions of the other side are necessary in order not to get stuck in blanket prejudices.

Religious Practice Strengthens Resistance

The content of the Christian religion provide the believer with orientation and strength thus creating his/her resistance to hopelessness. This also became evident during the workshop in Nairobi even though not all participants were Christians. The Christian message had a concrete relevance for self-reflection during theological reflections each morning. Here the workshop content of the day to come was related to selected bible passages and interpreted in this sense.

In this way the biblical message was used as a source of orientation and/or critical self-reflection. The partici-
pants’ injuries which resulted from the violent conflicts in their home countries as well as their previous experiences could, in this way, be integrated into their own as well as the joint view. Thus the participants experienced the power that religion can develop for believers. This is not only the case for Christians. Religion generally means a source of hope and allows people to carry on even in situations that seem hopeless.

Alongside hope, religious people’s knowledge about the finite nature of human action constitutes an important factor for strengthening their mental power of resistance. The question on how the power of resistance is established is also interesting with regard to other actors who are not religiously motivated and whose commitment to constructive conflict solutions has a secular basis. It is worth analysing where they get their energy, orientation and resilience from. What are their points of reference? Is it the value of human rights? Or the good in human beings?

The Power of Resistance has Limits when Religion Becomes a Target

In certain contexts religious communities and churches are targets of violent actions and are therefore exposed to direct violence and danger. Church leaders or members of the congregation are threatened, murdered or kidnapped. Protection against these assaults as well as the prevention of further escalation is not in the hands of those affected. They have to rely on state security structures. If those are not available, only self-organisation remains. Here there is the risk that partners’ power of resistance reaches its limit.

Someone who is forced by need to organise the security of their own community tend to think in categories of “friend” and “enemy”. This makes the necessary differentiation difficult. Roles of victims and perpetrators become blurred. Someone who wants to play the role of a promoter of peace in this situation must simultaneously take care of his own protection whilst facilitating peace work and building trust across conflict lines as well as working against stereotypes and behaviour that enhances conflict within his own community. (Religious) actors who continue to cooperate with the supposed “enemy” in such contexts of danger and violence run the risk of being seen as a traitor by their own (faith) community.

During the intensive engagement with different tools of conflict analysis at the workshop one’s own mandate and actions could be examined against the background of well-meant objectives and undesired side effects. That revealed that the capacity of communities to resist with respect to violence has its limits where arms are available and where violent systems are supported by external actors and their interests.

Trauma Healing, Retreat, Recuperation and Strengthening Need Space and Time

In contexts of conflict, trauma healing and psycho-social counselling are important for those affected at all levels. In addition to the immediate effects, staff members from partner organisations often feel responsible morally or ethically for the community as a whole, for population groups that they work with, for people affected by violence, their colleagues and their families. The burden is enormous.

Support, supervision and time out for partners’ staff can provide the space and the time needed to overcome their trauma. The creation of protected space and the exchange with other people from external contexts can make new insights into one’s own situation possible. A way of doing this is workshops such as the one in Nairobi, but also exchanges on experiences during conferences or visits are also a way.

Support by External Actors and Partners is Important

The intensive exchange with affected partners opens new perspectives and possibilities for action for a fostering organisation such as Bread for the World. Its staff members learn from the continuous question regarding the meaning of religion and identity, as well as of the specific role of church actors, their possibility to actively provide peace work for those affected and others and to visibly and credibly perform this work. It is important for outsiders to understand the context in which partners live and work in order to react appropriately. Maintaining contact and showing solidarity is of great importance. It is possible and helpful when outsiders, on the basis of a reliable rela-
tionship, put critical questions to partners, as they often lack a constructive counterpart in conflict situations.

From external actors, partners expect continuous support which keeps peace promotion beyond crisis in mind. It is crucial that those supporters are sensitive to conflict with regard to their own interventions and are attentive to discriminating statements on other religions made out of concern. In such cases the causes need to be carefully analysed. The capacity for a critical dialogue on peace and conflict with church-based organisations also needs to be further developed on both sides.

The building up and fostering of knowledge and structures within faith-based communities, churches and networks in order to constructively handle conflict, is part of the support to partners. In addition, there is a need for training and support on how to apply peace building methods as well as on how to use international structures and instruments of peace building.

The training of both sides - international aid institution and partners - can build up a capacity to analyse that is consciously self-reflecting regarding context, conflict dynamic and one’s own role, and that can be used to develop action strategies and careful impact monitoring.