



**Conflict prevention and resolution through language
exchange**

MANUAL

Fourth version May 2019

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We would like to thank you for contact information, background information, support in literature research and/or comments:

Oscar Sanz, Carmen Symalla, Petra Zimmermann and many others who would like to remain unnamed; the intermediators team of [alpha beta picadilly](#) South Tyrol / Alto Adige, the [Adult Education Association of Latvia](#), [Gernika Gogoratuz](#), the Library of the [Hessian Foundation for Peace and Conflict Research](#) Frankfurt/Main and the Chair Board of Tandem Foundation.

The opinions expressed in the chapters are of course the responsibility of the authors.

The project 'Dialog-Tandem' is supported by:

[Tandem Escuela Internacional Madrid](#), [Tandem International](#) and private Persons

**This book (pdf) is published as No. 68 of the 'Tandem News'.
(Número 68 de las 'Tandem-Neuigkeiten', periodicidad variable):**

ISSN 1137-2257

Depósito Legal SS-1279/96

Publishing licence of the Spanish Ministry of Culture (permiso editorial del Ministerio de Cultura) 16-06-87

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Castellano / Español

Es la cuarta versión de la ayuda inicial para grupos que prueban el DT en 2019. Estaba inicialmente escrita en alemán. Luego se tradujo mediante www.deepl.com al Inglés y se revisó por un no-nativo. Agradecemos cualquier mejora.

El manual (que cubre casi todas formas de tándem) está pensado no sólo para personas que intermedian parejas de tándem, sino también para las que organizan el programa, hacen publicidad etc. El primer grupo puede concentrarse en los capítulos sobre tándem marcados en **verde** en el índice, para el segundo son también necesarios los conocimientos de fondo sobre resolución de conflictos en los capítulos restantes.

Deutsch

Das ist die vierte Version der Starthilfe für Gruppen, die DT 2019 erproben. Sie wurde zunächst auf Deutsch geschrieben. Dann wurde sie mit www.deepl.com ins Englische übersetzt und von einem nicht-'Native' revidiert. Für jede Verbesserung sind wir dankbar.

Das Handbuch, das fast alle Tandem-Formen behandelt, ist sowohl für Personen gedacht, die Tandempaare vermitteln, als auch für die, die das gesamte Programm organisieren, dafür werben usw. Die erste Gruppe kann sich auf die Kapitel über Tandem konzentrieren, die im Inhaltsverzeichnis **grün** markiert sind, für die zweite ist das Hintergrundwissen über Konfliktaustragung in den übrigen Kapiteln auch notwendig.

English

This is the fourth version of the jump-start for groups testing DT 2019. It was first written in German. Then it was translated into English with www.deepl.com and revised by a non-native. We are grateful for every improvement.

The manual that deals with almost all types of tandem is intended for people who are arranging tandem pairs as well as for those who are organizing, promoting, etc. the whole program. The first group can concentrate on the chapters about tandem, which are marked **green** in the table of contents, for the second group the background knowledge about conflict resolution in the other chapters is also necessary.

Statement

**In case
that the state
where I work
declared war
on a second state
where other people work**

**I declare
on these people
already today
the PEACE**

(source unknown)

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Laura Gebhardt¹

„The planet is the nation of all.“ (Rita Wahlström)

¹ From: <https://prezi.com/1okcsjh-coq0/fluchtursachen/>

0.2 Project description



In 1888 a Catholic woman was not allowed to be buried next to her husband in the Protestant cemetery (Het Oude Kerkhof in Roermond/NL). That was her solution.²

² <http://unusualplaces.org/graves-of-a-catholic-woman-and-her-protestant-husband-2/>

Castellano / Español



Después del fin (?) de la 'Guerra fría' esperábamos 'los dividendos de la paz' que debían ir orientados hacia los presupuestos sociales, de educación y de sanidad. En lugar de esto surgen cada vez más conflictos 'de motivación étnica o religiosa' que son atizados por grandes potencias.

La Fundación TANDEM, con sus actividades para el intercambio internacional de idiomas y culturas, trataba siempre de reaccionar a necesidades actuales (trabajadores/as migrantes, refugiad@s) y de adaptar el sistema de aprendizaje 'tándem' para ello. Por este motivo la Fundación lanzó en el 2017 el proyecto 'Peace-Tandem', ahora 'Dialog-T'. Éste tándem quiere apoyar procesos de encuentro y diálogo en regiones en las que conviven grupos de población de diferentes idiomas. Se han fijado dos objetivos:

- a) La prevención de conflictos en regiones como los países bálticos
- b) Apoyo a los procesos de reconciliación como en el caso de Chipre (La aplicación en regiones con conflictos violentos como en Israel / Palestina o Ucrania es más difícil.)

En este proyecto se enfocarán y ampliarán los trabajos anteriores para el tándem lingüístico y el tándem intercultural, hacia estas situaciones. Se ofertará a los diferentes grupos de población para mejorar sus conocimientos de la lengua de los otros mediante el intercambio. Como 'beneficio colateral' esperamos desmontar la imagen del otro como enemigo.

Fases del proyecto (versión 5/2019):

Hasta el fin de de 2018	Investigación bibliográfica
Enero 2019 – verano de 2020	Grupos-piloto en países diferentes
A partir de 2020	evaluación de la literatura y de las experiencias, el material será puesto a disposición de grupos interesados en todo el mundo

El proyecto es financiado por la Fundación TANDEM, trabajo voluntario y patrocinadores/as (actualmente [Tandem International](#), [Tandem Madrid](#) y personas privadas).

Contacto para patrocinadoras/es (gastos de viaje y traducción):

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Deutsch



Nach dem Ende (?) des ‚Kalten Krieges‘ hofften wir auf die ‚Friedensdividende‘, die in die Sozial-, Bildungs- und Gesundheitshaushalte fließen sollte.

Stattdessen kam es immer öfter zu ‚ethnisch oder religiös motivierten‘ Konflikten, die von Großmächten geschürt werden.

Die TANDEM-Stiftung versuchte bei ihren Aktivitäten für den internationalen Sprach- und Kulturaustausch immer, auf aktuelle Bedürfnisse zu reagieren (ArbeitsmigrantInnen, Geflohene) und den Sprachlernansatz ‚Tandem‘ dafür zuzuschneiden. Daher startete sie 2017 das Projekt ‚Peace-Tandem‘, jetzt ‚Dialog-Tandem‘.

Es ist geeignet für Gebiete, wo verschiedensprachige Bevölkerungsgruppen zusammenleben:

a) Konfliktprävention in Regionen wie dem Baltikum

b) Versöhnungsprozesse wie auf Zypern

(Die Umsetzung in Gebieten mit gewaltsamen Konflikten wie in Israel/Palästina oder der Ukraine ist schwieriger.)

Durch das Projekt sollen die bisherigen Vorarbeiten zum Sprach- und Interkulturtandem für diese Situationen angepasst und erweitert werden. Den verschiedenen Bevölkerungsgruppen wird ein Angebot gemacht, die Kenntnisse der Sprache der anderen im Austausch zu verbessern. Als ‚Neben‘effekt erwarten wir den Abbau von Feindbildern.

Projektphasen (Version 5/2019):

Bis Ende 2018	Literaturrecherche
Januar 2019 – Sommer 2020	Pilotgruppen in verschiedenen Ländern
Ab 2020	Aufbereitung der Literatur und Erfahrungen, das Material wird interessierten Gruppen weltweit zur Verfügung gestellt

Das Projekt wird durch die TANDEM-Stiftung, freiwillige Arbeit und SponsorInnen (gegenwärtig [Tandem International](#) , [Tandem Madrid](#) und Privatpersonen) finanziert.

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English



After the end (?) of the 'Cold War' we hoped for the 'peace dividend' which should have flowed into the welfare, educational and health budgets. Instead more and more 'ethnically or religiously motivated' conflicts arose, which are stoked by the superpowers.

The TANDEM Foundation always tried through its activities in the international linguistic and cultural exchange to react to present needs (migrant workers, refugees) and to adapt the language learning approach 'tandem'. Hence, the project 'Peace-Tandem', now 'Dialog-Tandem' was started in 2017.

It is suited for areas where different-speaking groups of the population live together:

a) Conflict prevention in regions like the Baltic States

b) Reconciliation processes such as the one on Cyprus

(The implementation in areas with violent conflicts for instance in Israel / Palestine or the Ukraine is more difficult.)

Through the project, the already existing material for the language tandem and the intercultural tandem shall be adapted and extended for these situations. An offer will be made to the different groups of the population to improve their knowledge of the language of others in the exchange. As 'collateral benefit' we expect the dismantling of 'enemy' stereotypes.

Project phases (version 2019/5):

Till the end of 2018	literature research
January of 2019 – summer 2020	pilot groups in different countries
From 2020 on	processing of the literature and experiences, the material is made available to interested groups worldwide

The project is financed by the TANDEM Foundation, voluntary work and sponsors (at this stage [Tandem International](#), [Tandem Madrid](#) and private persons).

Contact for sponsors (travel and translation costs):

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1. What is the background for the Dialog-Tandem ? Are there really 'ethnic conflicts' ?

Besides the 'traditional wars' of states against each other (example: World Wars) there are more and more wars of neighbours against each other (example: Yugoslavia, Congo).

These are often presented as 'ethnic conflicts'. Scepticism towards this explanation is appropriate: "A large number of violent intra-state conflicts in recent years have an ethnic background. This applies to Kosovo and the Basque Country as well as to Chechenya, southern Thailand, Sudan/Darfur, Ivory Coast and Iraq. This suggests that competition and enmity between different ethnic groups is inevitable. Here one can first off give the all-clear. The fact that a peaceful coexistence of different nations and ethnic groups is quite possible, indeed the rule, is proven by the number of worldwide more than 10,000 peoples and ethnic groups. UNESCO counts about 6,000 different languages. Should there actually be a fundamental incompatibility between different peoples and cultures, the number of ethnic conflicts and wars would have to be many times higher." (*Web Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung (BPB), Ethnopolitische Konflikte*)

The term 'religious conflicts' should also be used with caution. For example, closer examination of the Northern Ireland conflict reveals a number of social factors linked to religious affiliation (cf. *Web Wikipedia, Wikipedia, Nordirlandkonflikt*).

However, the question of the causes is important in order to decide whether tandem can at all make a contribution to defusing conflicts.

Sadako Ogata, UN High Commissioner for Refugee Affairs 1999, gives an indication: "Whoever works in the humanitarian field knows that the worst conflicts of the present are triggered, at least in part, by companies that want to have natural resources at their disposal". (ACNUR 2004 vol 1, p.11)

³ That is, in crises like the Congo, there is an economic background, and therefore existing cracks between population groups are increased (cf. *ACNUR 2004 vol 1, S.19*). The names of these companies and their actions have been known and analysed in detail (cf. *Kabunda Mbuyi, p. 109 ff*). On the other hand, it is recommended: "If states do not fulfil the minimum criteria for human rights, NGOs must continue to monitor the activities of multinationals and raise public awareness by

³ "Quienes trabajan en el campo humanitario saben que los peores conflictos de la actualidad están, al menos en parte, motivados por compañías interesadas en controlar recursos naturales."

mobilising ever wider sectors of society. We should punish the multinationals that exploit this situation, directly or indirectly violate human rights or contribute to triggering or prolonging the conflict." (*ACNUR 2004 vol 1, p.28*) ⁴

In addition, there are the corporations, which make atypically high profits from weapons production, and the banks, which finance them (cf. Web *centredelas.org*). In addition to this interest of many corporations in violent conflicts in certain regions, it is also assumed that the entire current economic system (not the population!) needs armaments and wars in order to reduce its susceptibility to crisis through secured orders (cf. Web *Lunapark21, Rüstungsproduktion*).

After all, it is often political 'elites' who deliberately intensify conflicts (cf. Web *BPB, Ethnopolitische Konflikte*). These are therefore not 'slip-ups', but conscious strategies.

Now one may object that violent conflicts were already proven with non-European peoples, e.g. on New Guinea, before the Europeans came, and that there were neither large corporations nor armaments industry nor capitalism, even if there were 'political elites' like tribal elders (cf. *Diamond, Jared, p.150 + 152*). This is true, but leads to the counter-question: why are 'witches' burnings largely abolished, while wars are continued with increasing effort? Because someone has an interest in it, and the power to enforce it.

If we take the four explanatory approaches 'plundering of raw materials + armaments industry + economic system + political elites' together, it becomes clear that tandem programmes cannot eliminate these underlying causes of conflicts between population groups. They can only be sand in the wheel of conflict provocation and slow down the emergence of violent attacks. But that, too, is worth the effort.

2. Previous use of 'Tandem' for peace

There have already been many situations where tandem or in general exchange has been used to promote peace: "The term "Tandem" for a pair of learners of the same language first appeared to my knowledge in 1971 in connection with the Audiovisual Method of Wambach, from where it was transferred to the bi-national courses organized since 1968 at German-French youth meetings. In

⁴ "Cuando los estados incumplen los criterios mínimos de derechos humanos, las ONG deben continuar vigilando las actividades de las multinacionales y sensibilizar a la opinión pública, movilizandose cada vez mayores de la sociedad civil. Se debería penalizar a las multinacionales que se aprovechan de dicha situación, violan los derechos humanos directa o indirectamente o contribuyen a iniciar o prolongar el conflicto."

<https://tandemcity.info/free-tandem-downloads/> > Dialog-Tandem

this context, the names Bazin, Göbel, Robert Jean, Leupold, Gaston Schott, Raasch, Scherfer, Wambach, Wessling, Zindler and Zamzow and the institutions Deutsch-Französisches Jugendwerk, Arbeitsgruppe Angewandte Linguistik Französisch, Bureau International de Liaison et Documentation and Sprachinstitut Tübingen are to be mentioned in particular.” (Web <https://tandemcity.info/history-tandem/>)

More detailed information on the story can be found at <https://www.fgyo.org/resources-publications/fgyo-self-portrayal-long-version.html> , an overview of its current offerings on the websites <https://www.dfjw.org>, <https://www.ofaj.org> and <https://www.fgyo.org> .

The worldwide project Linguapax (www.linguapax.org) does not work with exchange programs, but also with the approach of using language learning for peace.

In the meantime, many meetings have been carried out by various institutions all over the world, some of which are mentioned in tabular form on the following pages in order to show how different and imaginative they can be:

Exchange programmes, alphabetical by country

Country	Activities and comment	Reference
Egypt + Israel a.o. Arab countries	'Middle East Regional Cooperation Program', started through US mediation, parallel research and multinational companies with international funding, success dependent on government support, from time to time only meetings of coordinators, therefore low broad impact	Kumar, Krishna, p. 10+17+19
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Creation of the Inter-religious Council of BiH, although work with religious authorities was considered impossible.	Bolling, Landrum, p.34
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Music festival with young people on reconstructed bridge	Vinyamata Camp, Eduardo, p.107
Germany	Descendants of Nazis and Jews work together for 6 years according to the method 'To reflect and trust'	Bar-On, Dan, p.51
Estonia	With abandoned women of Soviet military	Birkenbach, Hanne-Margret, p.293
Estonia	Children's camps organised by	Birkenbach, Hanne-Margret, p.293

	NGOs on Lake Peipsi/Peipus on the Estonian-Russian border	
Israel + Palestine	Teachers developed a common textbook, pupils wanted to meet each other directly	Adwan, Sadi + Bar-On, Dan, p.245
Yugoslavia	Youth groups maintained contact during the wars, some met in Austria (e.g. 'J@K 2000').	Peuraca, Branka, p.43
Yugoslavia	Peace NGOs kept contact during the wars ('ZaMirNet')	Laubacher-Kubat, Erika, p.47
Kosovo	Contacts between Albanian and Serbian trade unions	Bloomfield, David + Barnes, Teresa + Huyse, Luc, p.21
Crimea	Returned refugees and residents build multicultural museums	Kumar Subba, Basant + Leschenko, Oksana, p.31
Lebanon	Numerous interfaith groups	Picard, Elizabeth + Ramsbotham, Alexander + Abi Yaghi, Mari-Noelle, p.16+20
Macedonia	Multicultural teacher training at state universities	https://www.ziviler-friedensdienst.org/de/20-jahre-zfd-mazedonien-0
Northern Ireland	Football tournaments of Catholic and Protestant children ('Football 4 Peace')	Cardenas, Alexander, Web
Israel	Football training camps for Jewish and Muslim children ('Football 4 Peace')	Schulendorf, Nico + Sugden, John, Web
Israel	'Hand-in-Hand Schools' of Jewish and Muslim Children	https://www.sueddeutsche.de/bildung/israel-schule-juden-muslime-1.4262627 , 2018/12/29
Palestine ? + Israel	Cooking, climbing and camping together with Palestinians and Jews	Kuriansky, Judy + Elisha, Tali, p.1
Palestine + Lebanon	Joint youth clubs of pal. refugees and Lebanese people	Buescher, Gabriella, p.25
South Africa	Former members of hostile paramilitary groups shooting a film together	Vinyamata Camp, Eduardo, p.110
South Africa	'Piece of peace' puzzle	Sugden, John, Web
USA	Discussion group of 'whites' and 'blacks' prevents 'racial' unrest in Oakland	Mindell, Arnold, p.156
Cyprus	An association for mediation propagates the procedure only for conflicts in the Turkish part, then it is transferred into the Greek part and partner associations develop	Vasilara, Marina, p.38+39

Cyprus	Joint performances of the Turkish Cypriot band 'Grup Net' and the Greek Cypriot band 'Klironomia'	Cohen, Cynthia, p.50
Cyprus	Citizens' groups for peace	Economidou, Kathie + Wolleh, Oliver, p.1 ff
Cyprus	Greek and Turkish courses for children	Economidou, Kathie + Wolleh, Oliver, p.337

Without location	Telephone to the other side of the front line	PCCF, p.100 ff
W. L.	Common Web for Posts	PCCF, p.100 ff
W. L.	Radio with two moderators from both conflict parties	PCCF, S.100 ff
W. L.	Language tandems between indirect war victims (i.e. probably non-combatants) are possible	Kurianski, Judy, S.235
W. L.	'Living libraries', the narrators are members of minorities / 'opponents'	Ohana, Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine , p.118

Further 'peace makers' programmes are reported from Brazil, Japan, Colombia, Mali, (North) Macedonia, the Philippines and Sri Lanka (cf. *Gerster, Petra + Gleich, Michael*). Martina Fischer (Berghof Foundation) comments: "There are sometimes "islands of success" whose impact on the conflict as a whole is difficult to judge." (*IFA, p.5*)

In view of such a diversity of countries, situations and participants, the possible applications of tandem partnerships and tandem courses are also very different. Chapter 5.9 deals with this in more detail. Here is just a brief preview:

Both the social form

in pairs	in groups	change of meetings in pairs and groups
----------	-----------	--

as well as the contact path can be chosen:

face to face	on the internet	change of personal and virtual meetings
--------------	-----------------	---



3- Definitions of 'conflict'

Many authors agree that conflicts are not bad in themselves, only if they are violent: "Especially the term conflict prevention proved to be of limited use. Numerous critics rightly pointed out that politics can hardly focus on avoiding conflicts because they are constitutive for human coexistence and social development. Politics can at best endeavour to prevent conflicts between individuals, groups or states from being carried out by force. It is not a question of designing a harmonious world, but strategies for constructive conflict management. ... The concept of crisis prevention seems less misleading." (*Fischer, Martina, p.49*) The same goes for "... "conflict prevention" means the prevention of violent disputes, controversies and conflict. It includes the notion of long-term engagement, not only short-term response. Non-violent conflict is a normal part of society. What has to be prevented is the use of large-scale violence to address or resolve conflict as well as activities that can destabilise and lead to collective violence." (*OECD, p. 22*)

The German term 'zivile Konfliktbearbeitung' (civil conflict management) is better suited: "An essential element of this differentiation of peace policy discourse is the distinction between a conflict and its form of resolution. Incompatible interests and conflicting values do not necessarily have to lead to a violent conflict between the conflict parties. Social institutions for conflict transformation offer a variety of possibilities for resolving conflicts in a regulated manner. The differences in interests between the parties to collective wage agreements, for example, cannot be

⁵ The green-purple spiral was developed by Benno Simma for alphabeta.

eliminated and the corresponding conflicts cannot be resolved. But the conflict parties have established rules and institutions with the help of which they can prevent a conflict escalating into a violent conflict. Such forms of continuous handling of social conflicts can be described as "civil conflict management".“ (*Weller, Christoph, p.9*)

Berthold Meyer (*Meyer, Berthold, p.11*) and Johan Galtung (*Galtung, Johan, p.14*) express similar opinions. Arnold Mindell notes aptly: "Belfast and Beirut are not the only conflictual areas in the world. Almost every household is conflictive." (*Mindell, Arnold, p.96*)⁶

Since conflicts can therefore be negative, neutral or positive (cf. *Ohana, Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine, p.12*), here is a list of the positive consequences:

1. motor for personal and social changes, evolutionary or revolutionary
 2. in the initial phase, it stimulates interest, curiosity and the need for communication between the parties into conflict
 3. strengthens the inner cohesion of each group
 4. promoting creativity for conflict resolution
 5. communication becomes more open
 6. differences facilitate recognition of each other's legitimate interests
 7. trust in one's own group grows, trust in the other group decreases.
- (cf. *Redorta, Josep, 2018, p.24*)

The same author mentions in another passage the advantage that those involved must establish more relationships with one another (cf. *Redorta, Josep, 2018, p.23*).

He calls negative consequences :

1. reduction and distortion of communication
 2. linking the solution with questions of power
 3. hostile and distrustful attitude, commonalities are no longer seen
 4. misjudgments, stress, tension, stereotypes, polarization.
- (cf. *Redorta, Josep, 2018, p.25*)

At the latest then comes the moment when it becomes dangerous: "I am an anthropologist, a concerned anthropologist. I'm worried because the tribe I'm investigating is in danger. Although it often happens that an anthropologist examines tribes in danger, it is not a foreign tribe. It is mine. It is not about a small gang. It is the tribe of mankind. The danger does not come from outside. It comes from within: from the habit of falling into destructive, often fatal conflicts as soon as there is

⁶ "Belfast y Beirut no son las únicas zonas conflictivas en el mundo. Casi cualquier hogar es conflictivo."

a serious difference of opinion between two people, two groups or two nations." ⁷ (Ury, William R., *Alcanzar la paz, 2000, p.17*, quoted in *Redorta, Josep, 2018, p.20*)

To avoid this, there are various instruments. A distinction must be made between 'conflict prevention', 'conflict resolution', 'conflict management' and 'conflict transformation' (cf. *Ohana, Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine, p.100*). These are defined more precisely: „Conflict management is a limited approach to reduce the negative effects of conflict by lessening its negative impact.

Conflict resolution is an approach that resolves or settles the underlying issues that cause conflict.

Conflict transformation focuses on changing violent conflict into nonviolent conflict where individuals use political and legal channels to address their interests.

Conflict prevention refers to efforts to prevent violent conflict. Conflict prevention efforts such as diplomacy and negotiation attempt to stop violence from breaking out, since it is more difficult to stop violence once it has started.

Peacebuilding is an umbrella term used to describe all efforts to transform conflict into nonviolent forms of political negotiation and dialogue that can address the root causes of conflict.” (*Schirch, Lisa, S.193*)

“Conflict prevention and peacebuilding communication skills and processes such as dialogue, negotiation, and mediation enable women and men in civil society and the security sector to do the following:

- to communicate with each other,
- to defuse tense situations,
- to understand each other’s interest and
- to identify potential common ground enabling coordination to support human security.”

(*Schirch, Lisa, S.194*)

For the concrete implementation, hints are given: "Conflicts should be averted early on if major conflict is to be avoided." (*Wallensteen, Peter + Möller, Frida, p.3, cf. p.5ff*) There is a tendency to look at short-term successes, which means conflict management rather than conflict resolution. It is often regarded as a preliminary stage to military intervention. The question of the point in time

⁷ “Soy antropólogo, un antropólogo preocupado. Estoy preocupado porque la tribu que estudio se encuentra en peligro. Si bien es frecuente que un antropólogo estudie tribus en peligro, esta no es una tribu extranjera. Es la mía. No se trata de una pequeña banda. Es la tribu humana. El peligro no proviene del mundo exterior. Viene desde el interior: de la costumbre de caer en conflictos destructivos a menudo mortales, cada vez que aparece una diferencia grave entre dos personas, dos grupos o dos naciones.”

always arises, they recommend: "... early, not too little, to late" (*Wallensteen, Peter + Möller, Frida, p.14*).

It is possible to predict which conflicts are riskier: "The elements in the definition of a 'serious dispute' do include, for instance, situations with a verbally high hostility level of interaction between the parties (ultimatum, one side complaining that the other is threatening with military action), a clear political incompatibility (government, territory), organized actors with military capacity (available or quickly mobilizable) and actions which are confidence-reducing (unilateral breaks of agreements, not ratifying agreements, slow implementation of what is agreed, production of biased history books, cancelled top level visits, friendly reception of actors hostile to opposing side, etc, typical events data)." (*Wallensteen, Peter + Möller, Frida, p.14*)

Lawrence Wocher of the USA's Peace Institute, which is close to the state, comments on the political reality: "The first step toward meeting the challenges is to make prevention a "must do" priority— on equal par with resolving active conflicts and rebuilding post-conflict states." (*Wocher, Lawrence, S.1*) "There is no shortage of adages about the merits of prevention. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. A stitch in time saves nine. Prevention is the best medicine. Perhaps the unimpeachable logic of these aphorisms should suffice to move governments and international organizations to develop robust capacities to prevent violent conflict and to deploy them strategically. History, unfortunately, suggests otherwise. Too many wars have erupted without significant effort undertaken by parties that might have been able to prevent them. Others broke out—at least partly—because efforts to prevent them were inadequate or misguided. ... Moreover, the international security environment has evolved in ways that raise the importance of prevention but simultaneously militate against its effectiveness." (*ibid., S.2*)

He sees the greatest risk in 'anocracies', which lie between democracies and autocracies, and the causes in global economic crises, climate change and changes in the global distribution of power (cf. *ibid., p. 4*). He also discusses the integration of prevention into 'development aid' and military operations of 'peacemaking' (cf. *ibid., p.8 + 9 + 12*), but does not analyse the repercussions this has for the credibility of NGOs that work non-violently on peaceful solutions. This is examined in more detail in 4.3.9.

3.1. What types of conflicts exist?

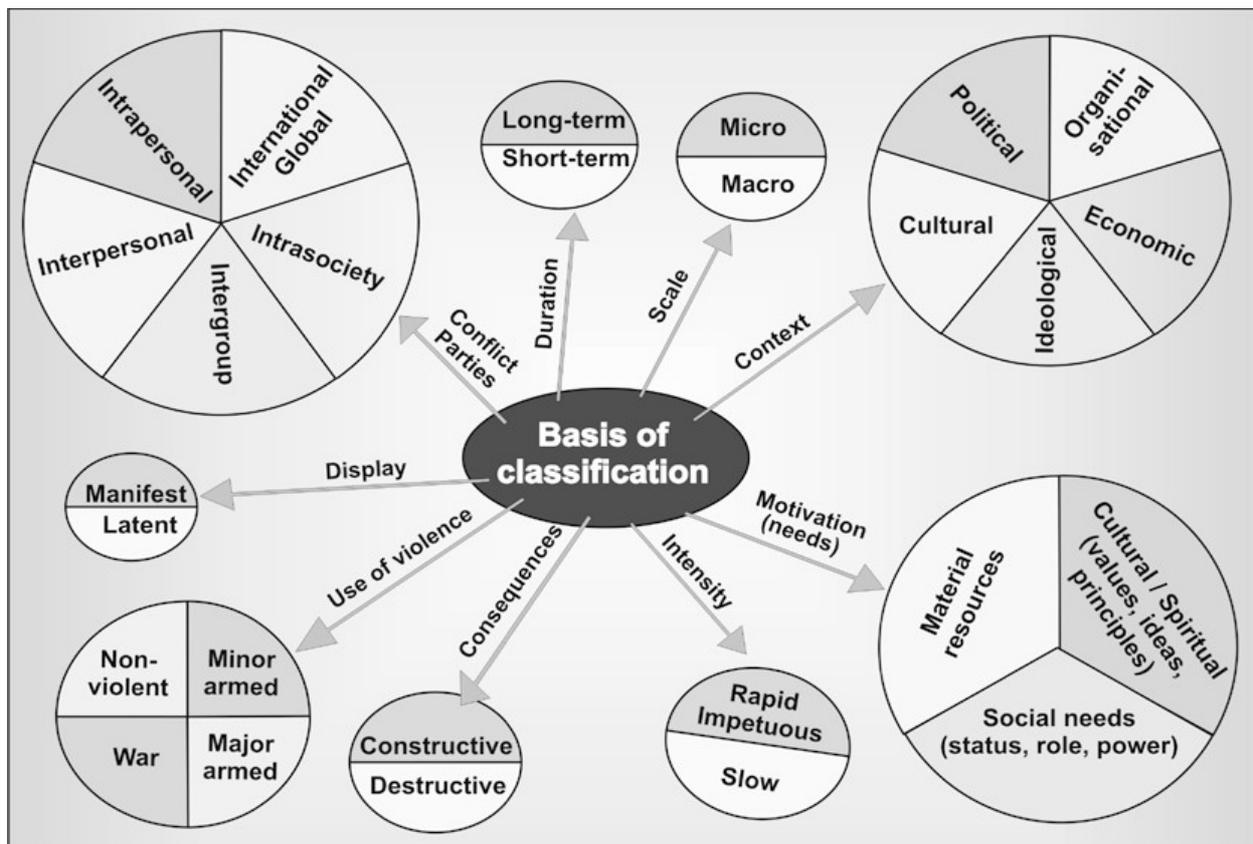
The organisations implementing tandem programmes are in most cases not prepared and geared to resolving serious conflicts. However, it can be useful to know something about types and analytical procedures, because the stage of development of a conflict also determines which form of tandem is most appropriate.

The Council of Europe's 'T-Kit Youth transforming conflict' distinguishes between :

“The criteria used for classification vary. Among others, they include:

- the conflict parties;
- the context of the conflict or the areas of social life in which the conflict takes place (for example, political, economic, cultural, etc.);
- the motivations or needs behind the conflict;
- the consequences of the conflict;
- the duration of the conflict;
- the intensity of the conflict;
- the absence or presence of violence in the conflict.

In Figure 1, you can see how these different aspects can be used to break down conflicts:”



(Ohana, Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine , S.57)

It also shows different approaches (cf. *ibid.*, p.49) and presents older and newer perspectives (*ibid.*, p.99). The procedure based on the interests of the parties, ie the transformation of conflict parties into partners, is considered more promising than the assumption of rights (*ibid.*, p.101) . The different procedures in a table (*ibid.*, p.103):

Prevention, resolution, management and transformation: a brief comparison of perspectives

	Conflict prevention	Conflict resolution	Conflict management	Conflict transformation
Key question	How do we prevent something not desired?	How do we end something not desired?	How do we deal with conflicts?	How do we end something destructive and build something desired?
Focus	The issue(s)	The issue(s)	The issue(s) and the relationship(s)	The issue(s) and the relationship(s)
Purpose	To prevent armed conflicts from taking place	To achieve an agreement and solution to the conflict	To deal with conflicts based on active choices	To promote constructive change processes
Time frame	Short term	Short term	Short to long term	Mid to long term
View of conflict	Conflicts are negative	Conflicts are negative	Conflicts are neutral	Conflicts are neutral

There are different approaches to the reasons:

Mari Fitzduff distinguishes between structural ones, which refer to rights, and psycho-cultural ones, which refer to contacts (cf. *Fitzduff, Mari, p.41*). It considers both to be complementary (*ibid.*, p. 43) and recommends not concentrating solely on political and armed conflicts (*ibid.*, p. 45). According to Lederach, conflict levels can affect governments and armed organizations or other organizations or communities (*ibid.*, p.47).

Jovan Patrnogic sees possible reasons (cf. *Patrnogic, Jovan, p.143ff*):

- Violations of human rights
- Discrimination against minorities
- Political reasons
- Violence
- Economic reasons

Johan Galtung stresses that behind the visible violence there is a 'cultural' and a 'structural' violence (cf. *Galtung, Johan, p.15*). It is therefore too short, for example, to treat the actions of Latin American guerrillas without examining the land ownership situation in the respective countries.

The 'DAC Guidelines' refer to the fact that there is often a relationship between intra-state and inter-state conflicts (cf. *OECD*, p.150), whereby conflicts between groups have a higher risk of degenerating into outbreaks of violence than those between states (cf. *Ohana, Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine*, p.62). The 'T-Kit' also very vividly traces the individual stages of an escalation (*ibid.*, p.82+83, cited only in headings):

1. **Hardening of standpoints**
2. **Debate and polemics**
3. **Action – not words**
4. **Preserving image and the creation of coalitions**
5. **Loss of face**
6. **Strategies of threat**
7. **Limited destructive blows**
8. **Nerve centre attacks, fragmentation of the enemy**
9. **Total extermination, together into the abyss**

The two world wars and the danger of a nuclear war are sad examples of step 9.

Ramón Alzate tries to find out how interdependence can reduce the risk of 9. and distinguishes (cf. *Alzate, Ramón*, p.166):

- negative interdependence (one wins what the other loses)
- positive interdependence (both gain when working together)
- distribution negotiations (one wins what the other loses)
- integrative negotiations (both win if they work together).

Other authors, on the other hand, criticize both the term 'culture' (cf. *II Congreso*, p.80 ff) and the bonds with game theory, which assume that conflict parties become willing to negotiate if the costs become unacceptable for both (*ibid.*, p.86).

Josep Redorta pursues an original approach, he wants to determine general processes or basic patterns⁸ of conflicts (cf. *Redorta, Josep*, 2018, p.62). He thinks that the causes are difficult to find out (cf. *ibid.*, p.34), conflicts are partly caused by genetically predetermined temperament (cf. *ibid.*, p.43) and "some societies tend more than others to certain forms of conflict" (*ibid.*, p.48).⁹ The logic of the conflicts is therefore imprecise and determined by many factors (cf. *ibid.*, p. 107).

Accordingly, his conflict model includes them (*ibid.*, p. 57):

⁸ 'patrones'

⁹ "unas sociedades son más proclives que otras a ciertas formas de conflicto"

- Inaccuracy and chance
- Approach and tools
- Biological and cultural fundamentals
- History and expectations

It distinguishes 16 basic types of conflict (*ibid.*, p.80, more precisely explained p.90):

1. scarce resources
2. power
3. self-confidence
4. values
5. structural
6. identity
7. standards
8. expectations
9. non-conformity
10. information
11. interests
12. assignments ¹⁰
13. persistent incompatibility of personalities
14. inaction
15. legitimation
16. inequality

and also describes how to intervene in each of these situations (*ibid.*, p.93-97, but in a different order). For example, in the case of identity conflicts, he warns against making concessions too quickly because they exacerbate the conflict, and advises a precise investigation of the causes that may be rooted in structures (*ibid.*, p.93). In case of 'scapegoat theories' he suggests to pay more attention to the future than to the past, more to solutions than to guilt (*ibid.*, p.94). In case of persistent incompatibility of personalities, which he considers difficult to solve, he recommends separation of the parties, or reduction of interaction to a minimum. However, this contradicts the contact theory (*ibid.*, p.95). When resources are scarce, he refers to the analysis of the distribution criteria and the relative needs of both sides (*ibid.*, p.96).

3.2 Are there intractable conflicts?

The most unpleasant case are the conflicts where any intervention is considered meaningless and unsuccessful, the intractable conflicts. One speaks of them when they are "protracted (... continue for long periods)" and "deep rooted (... resistant to solution, ... able to re-emerge, ... passed on from

¹⁰ "atributivo = asumir/desplazar"

generation to generation, therefore becoming centrally connected with people's ethnicity and (often) identity". (*Mitchell, Christopher R., p.4*). After reviewing Ted Gurr's data from the University of Maryland 'Minorities at Risk' project, he comes to the conclusion: "... that the world is full of former Yugoslavias" (*ibid., p.5*).

Diamond + Mc Donald propose among other things a "pacification through learning".¹¹ In their view, in deeply rooted conflicts one must ask the representations of the population concerned and take their "social memory"¹² into account in order to understand them (*II Congreso, p.87+89+90*). Conflicts of interest and values mix (cf. *Meyer, Berthold, p.31*).

The process is traditionally viewed from two perspectives, either as an analysis of the structure (situation + attitudes + behaviour) or as a process (between opponents, mediators and participants) (cf. *Mitchell, Christopher R., p.8*).

So far, the following approaches have been used to solve such conflicts (cf. *Mitchell, Christopher R., p.7*):

on the part of the dissatisfied

- exit (e.g. withdrawal of colonial powers)
- autonomy
- power sharing
- takeover

on the part of the rulers

- damming
- assimilation
- pluralism
- power sharing .

To achieve lasting change, Marc Howard Ross considers it necessary:

- to treat the underlying interests
- legislative changes
- institutional changes
- another cultural interpretation

(cf. *Redorta, Josep, 2018, p.49*).

¹¹ "pacificación mediante aprendizaje"

¹² "memoria social"

3.3. What role do group identities play in 'ethnic conflicts'?

Intra-state conflicts are often declared as 'ethnic': "But why is it that ethnic groups and peoples clash? There are three scientific approaches to explaining this. *Primordialist* theory assumes that ethnic characteristics shape social groups from the outset and determine their collective self-understanding and actions more than other influences and interests. Ethnic characteristics include origin, ancestry, language, customs, traditions, religion and settlement area. For the representatives of the primordialist approach, the dominance of a non-ethnic identity (e.g. political ideology, economic reasons or alliance solidarity) appears artificial and therefore temporary.

The *constructivist* approach regards ethnic identities as social constructs that are formed, changed, upgraded or pushed into the background under the influence of dominant elites and the coexistence inside the respective group. The constructivist perspective makes it clear that the identity of each individual and each group is by no means determined solely by ethnic characteristics. In addition, there is a multitude of other influences: Status, dynasty, religion, ideology, class, gender, age, income, education, etc. In the process of "ethnicization" these characteristics are pushed back, devalued or filled with ethnic content. Ethnic identity becomes the core of the group context.

The *instrumentalistic* approach focuses on the political purpose and goal of ethnicization processes. According to this approach, ethnic characteristics only acquire their special significance through propaganda and the staging of political, religious and intellectual leaders in contrast to other social, ideological and political imprints. Their own followers are to be incited and mobilized against other groups. The aim is to devalue rival communities and their leaders, to cut them off from access to economic resources and to displace them from political power. Usual means are to challenge and combat their ethnic and cultural symbols, rituals and beliefs." (Web *Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung*)

Some authors consider it proven that this group formation **must** have negative consequences: "Human societies thus have an omnipresent tendency to distinguish between good and bad people, between we-groups and you-groups. This tendency to categorize is very widespread, very readily learned and accessible to rough interpretations that justify violence. As a rule, hostility between human groups occurs when the groups perceive a conflict of vital interest, an unacceptable

difference in status, or a difference in faith that calls self-esteem into question. Many different political, social, economic and pseudoscientific ideologies were used to support such hostile positions. The content of this hostility between groups varies greatly from time to time and place to place, but the forms are surprisingly similar.” (*Hamburg, David, S.119*)

Others are not quite so pessimistic and think that one cannot suppress egoism, but bring it to the surface and work on it (cf. *Mindell, Arnold, p. 174*).

The psychological mechanism associated with the formation of group identities is the stereotype :

- "A stereotype is a frequently repeated representation that transforms something complex into something simple (causing a distortion because in this process some characteristics of the group are emphasized while others are ignored).
- The stereotype is a way of categorizing the real world, of giving meaning to one particular aspect of that world rather than another. The stereotype allows us to order information about the world.
- ...
- The stereotypes tend to be descriptions based on the subjective, not the objective. ...” (*Quin, Robyn, p.8*) ¹³

This results in the prejudice: "... The prejudices are stereotyped and exaggerated representations of a social group constructed from an abusive exaggeration.

Prejudice values one's own group and devalues the foreign group: blacks, Jews, Mohammedans, Sinti, immigrants in general, some immigrants (from the Maghreb, Latin Americans, Romanians...). One could say that prejudice is the most fundamental and first form of the logic of the exclusion of the 'other'.

Some anthropologists believe that there is a *hard core of xenophobia* that occurs in all cultures, that mistrust, fear, rejection and hatred of others are everywhere. Even if it were, it is also true that we

¹³ "Un estereotipo es una representación repetida frecuentemente que convierte algo complejo en algo simple (causando distorsión en dicho proceso porque se hace más énfasis en algunos aspectos del grupo mientras que se ignoran otro).

El estereotipo es un modo de categorizar el mundo real, de darle significado a un aspecto específico de este mundo en vez de otro. El estereotipo nos permite organizar información sobre el mundo.

...

Los estereotipos suelen ser descripciones basadas en lo subjetivo, no lo objetivo."

find people everywhere who attract the other and the relationship with the other. That would be the breeding ground for the friendliness towards strangers.

Others believe that the source of prejudices is in the personality structure, which Adorno called the authoritarian personality, characterized by the fact that it is anti-democratic, conservative, politically oriented to the right, with a strongly ethnocentric ideology. ...

The fact that there are people who have prejudices about one or the other group of people does not mean that they will move from prejudice to aggressive action. ...

Prejudice can be an expression of an offensive attitude: wanting to rule or wanting to consolidate the rule one already exercises.

And it can express a defensive attitude: when the situation changes in favour of the previously controlled group, or when, for various reasons, the quarter in which someone has lived all his life changes and the composition changes." (*Unzurrunzaga, Agustín, p.4*)¹⁴

Sometimes there is the paradox that peoples are very similar and some of them develop an even stronger interest in finding differences (cf. *Srdan Gligorijevic, p.308*), as was also shown in the differentiation from Serbo-Croatian to 'Serbian' and 'Croatian'.

Conflicts thus have to do with identity problems, but these are not the main cause (cf. *Ohana, Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine, p.146*). However, ethnicity is a "construct that creates reality" (*Meyer, Berthold, p.340*) and the ethnicization of conflicts intensifies it (*ibid., p.341*).

¹⁴ "Los prejuicios son representaciones estereotipadas, exageradas de un grupo social construidas a partir de una generalización abusiva.

En los prejuicios se valora al endogrupo y se desvaloriza al exogrupo: los negros, los judíos, los musulmanes, los gitanos, los inmigrantes en general, una parte de los inmigrantes (los magrebíes, los latinos, los rumanos ...). Se podría decir que el prejuicio es la forma más elemental y primera de la lógica de exclusión del "otro".

Algunos antropólogos consideran que hay un *núcleo duro de xenofobia* que se manifiesta en todas las culturas, que la desconfianza, el miedo, el rechazo y el odio al diferente se encuentra en todas partes. Aunque fuese así, también es cierto que en todas partes nos encontramos con personas a las que les atrae lo diferente, la relación con lo diferente. Sería el terreno de la xenofilia.

Otros consideran que la fuente de prejuicios se encuentra en la *estructura de la personalidad*, lo que Adorno denominaba personalidad autoritaria, caracterizada por ser antidemocrática, conservadora, orientada políticamente hacia la derecha, con una ideología fuertemente etnocéntrica. ...

Que haya personas que tienen prejuicios sobre tal o cual grupo humano, *no quiere decir que vayan a pasar del prejuicio al acto agresivo*. ...

El prejuicio puede ser expresión de una actitud *ofensiva*: buscar dominar o reforzar la dominación que ya se ejerce.

Y puede ser expresar una actitud *defensiva*: cuando las cosas van cambiando a favor del grupo antes dominado, o cuando por motivos diversos, el barrio en el que uno ha vivido toda su vida se va transformando y cambia de composición, etc."

Not only stereotypes are transferred from generation to generation, but also "chosen traumas" (*Klein, Eduard + Pavic, Ladislav, p.127*) such as the Treaty of Versailles after the First World War in Germany, the bombing of Gernika in the Basque Country, the Ustascha massacres in Serbia. Even such unpleasant memories as 'Post Traumatic Stress Syndromes' can be passed on into the third generation (cf. *Braithwaite, Dick + Lee, Yun Lok, p.13*).

However, and this gives cause for hope, such traditions never cover 100% of a population. In oppressed groups there are usually differences between "over-adapted" and "separatists" (*Mindell, Arnold, p.116*) and in violent conflicts there is always a large group of pacifists (*ibid., p.127*) in addition to the opposing parties. It is thanks to them that there was also direct cooperation between the peace NGOs in Serbia and Croatia during the wars in Yugoslavia (cf. *Golic, Vesna, p.311ff*). For them, belonging to humanity was more important than belonging to the 'nation'.

Resistance against 'ethnic encasement' can already come from children: "Several examples from BiH reflect these difficulties and the reluctance of some citizens to define their ethnic identity. There are, for example, people who define themselves primarily as citizens of a specific town, and then only as a member of an ethnic group. Some mention their religion first, while others refer to a supra-ethnic category such as "Yugoslav" or "European". Many feel closely attached to multiple social groups, which makes it difficult for them to declare themselves as belonging to one ethnicity only (Pickering 2007, 54ff). Some citizens prefer to define themselves as Bosnian and Herzegovinian, which in the official forms, ironically, falls into the category of "other" (Stavrevska 2012a, 20). For children with parents from different ethnic groups, the declaration of their ethnicity causes practical difficulties as well. In interviews, children of inter-ethnic couples explained how they have resisted declaring their ethnicity. Instead of choosing one ethnic group and neglecting the other, or choosing the category "other" and expecting to be marginalised in class or society, many choose to enter another ethnic group such as Chinese, Japanese, Indian, American, etc. Some even choose a fake ethnic group such as Martian or Jedi. Although the fake and other ethnic groups will be placed in the category "other" by the officials, these people prefer it that way instead of having someone else force them to "fit" into a category as narrow as ethnicity, says a son of an inter-ethnic couple (*ibid.*)." (Web *Bernhard, Anna, p.74*)

3.4 How does the distraction by 'images of the enemy' work?

'Enemy images' are a special form of stereotypes and prejudices that are always extremely negative (cf. Flohr, Anne Kathrin, p.24+25). First we follow the analysis of Anne Kathrin Flohr.

"Enemy images fulfil important functions for the individual and society. This often suppressed fact has important consequences for strategies for the reduction of enemy images which, if they are to be successful, must offer more than well-meant appeals for the reduction of enemy images."(*ibid.*, p.16)

"Enemy images are such schemes for the mental structuring of the environment; they relieve the individual of laborious self-information, offer savings in thinking and thus "intellectual relief" (*Bergler/Six, p.1372*, quoted *ibid.*, p.115) An enemy image brings an appreciation of one's own person by following the majority opinion (cf. *ibid.*, p.119).

Since they are extreme, they are particularly stable, supported by selective perception and contact avoidance, supported by a threat perception. Like all prejudices, they have a real and an unreal part (cf. *ibid.*, p. 30). Cognitive consistency is to be maintained, dissonance is suppressed, contacts with negatively evaluated people, e.g. on holiday, can reinforce enemy images (cf. *ibid.*, p. 49). Projections (cf. *ibid.*, p. 70), worst-case thinking (cf. *ibid.*, p. 55), black-and-white thinking (cf. *ibid.*, p.58), and ironically the mirror image of the ideas of both conflict parties (cf. *ibid.*, p. 43) occur.

The opponent is assessed monolithically (cf. *ibid.*, p.71), a halo effect unifies the picture into negative or positive, sources of information of one's own group are taken more seriously (cf. *ibid.*, p.52). One's own good behaviour is due to the 'good nature' of one's own group, that of the opponent to situation-related coercion (cf. *ibid.*, p.67). Hostility is confirmed by a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' (cf. *ibid.*, p.75) and the dehumanization of the enemy facilitates maltreatment or killing (cf. *ibid.*, p.40+42).

At the social level, enemy images increase tensions and overreactions (cf. *ibid.*, p.8), increase group cohesion and serve to channel aggression (cf. *ibid.*, p.121ff), and are thus an ideal model for war provocateurs.

Riita Wahlström describes the political consequences: "The enemy image is the collective, stereotyped, dehumanized image of the 'out-group'. The image of the enemy provides a pole for shifting fears and threats to the outside world. In addition, a lot of unwanted perceptions and

emotions are projected onto the enemy." (*Wahlström, Riita, p.38*)¹⁵

Failures of one's own policies are explained by the common enemy (cf. *ibid.*, p.40). An image of the enemy that refers to entire states is a prerequisite for starting a war (cf. *ibid.*, p.37).

It wonders whether the scheme 'you/we' belongs to human nature or has been culturally created (cf. *ibid.*, p.41). Some authors believe that it is possible to identify with humanity as a whole, with which there would be no 'out-groups' (cf. *ibid.*, p.42). For example, in Finland there has been a change in mentality and there were (at the time of the article, 1986) few enemy images (cf. *ibid.*, p.44).

By giving common goals and leaving the differences aside, one can transform enemies into friends (cf. *ibid.*, p.46). Here it is important to show both what is common and what is different and to value both (cf. *ibid.*, p.47). "By individualising the members of an 'out-group' we can reduce prejudices. The categorization of the group can intensify the conflict, while the individual interaction can weaken it. (*ibid.*, p.47)¹⁶. Finland, which had many exchange programmes with the former Soviet Union and is neither a member of NATO nor of the Warsaw Pact, is another example of this (cf. *ibid.*, p.47). It concludes with the statement: "... the planet is the nation of all." (cf. *ibid.*, p.47)¹⁷

Now we complement these findings with the statements of other authors. In 'ethnopolitical' conflicts, the majority aims to avoid 'alienation' and the minority to avoid 'assimilation' (cf. *Laubacher-Kubat, Erika, p.42*). However, there are many other reasons for conflict than 'ethnic' ones (cf. *Kurschat, Ruben, p.60*). Ivana Franovic explains why certain politicians have a tendency to focus on 'ethnic' ones: „By invoking the idea of ‘the nation’, nationalists are able to mobilize, unify, and legitimate the goals of different sub-elites in their quest for power. [...] Politics is about capturing and holding power in the state – and nationalism is an argument for doing so. Nationalism is therefore a political movement, not a question of culture and identity.“ (*Franovic, Ivana, p.15*) For her, ethnonationalism is a tool of certain politicians (*ibid.*, p.16): „Ethnonationalist leaders make people suffer, then they boast that they were right when they were telling us that we cannot feel safe with *others*, and people still support them, because they are the ones who talk about ‘our’ interests,

¹⁵ "La imagen del enemigo es la imagen colectiva, estereotipada, deshumanizada del exogrupo (out-group). La imagen del enemigo proporciona un polo para exteriorizar los temores y amenazas. Además de eso, un montón de percepciones y emociones indeseables se proyecta sobre el enemigo."

¹⁶ Individualizando los miembros de un exogrupo, podemos reducir los prejuicios. La categorización del grupo puede aumentar el conflicto, mientras que la interacción uno a uno puede reducirlo."

¹⁷ "... el planeta es la nación de todos"

they address 'our' fears (that they created), and at the end they turn out to be 'our' guardians. This seems to be the reason why ethnonationalists still go on winning so many elections in the region." (*ibid.*, p.36) The results are known (*ibid.*, p.13): „Thus, what we have now in the region is a lack of 'human beings', and a flood of 'Serbs', 'Croats' and 'Bosniaks'." She cites Charles King as support: „As King notes, reasons why people hate each other ought to concern psychologists and marriage counsellors, but why they kill *en mass* has to do with statesmen (*King*, p.168). King rightly raises the question of “whether a thing called 'ethnic war' even exists.”(*King*, p.167) He argues that myths and fears “might be a good recipe for a pogrom, but they rarely lead to large-scale, sustained violence. For that, you need the same kinds of forces that sustain any war, whether 'ethnic' or otherwise: entrepreneurs who benefit from the violence, arms supplied, by foreign powers, charismatic leadership, and plenty of bored young men. (*King*, p.169-170)“ (*King, Charles, The Myth of Ethnic Warfare; in: Foreign Affairs 80/6, New York 2001, quoted in: Franovic, Ivana, S.16*) By the way, she considers not only the 'ethnic war' a myth, but also the 'unity' of Yugoslavia before the wars (cf. *ibid.*, p.15, just like *Zajovic, Stana, p.143*).

The 'T-Kit' argues in the same direction: „However, in the view of some, the “clash of civilisations” has become a smokescreen for political elites to avoid taking responsibility for their lack of effectiveness in catering for the basic needs of their citizens and the non-citizens under their care. The deep sense of alienation and discrimination such communities experience is seen as the fundamental cause of conflict and violence, rather than the presence of the so-called other culture per se.“ (*Ohana Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine, S.52*)

Let us finally still see how enemy images harden in the course of the escalation of a conflict and form the basis for psychological security in one's own group (cf. *Galtung, Johan, p.33+34*).

Friedrich Glasl distinguishes the following stages (quotes only the headings, explanations by the author):

1. "Increasing Projection with Growing Selffrustration": Problems and everything negative belong completely to the opposite side
2. “Extension of contentious issues with simultaneous cognitive reduction of complexity”:
3. there are more and more points of contention, and argumentation is simplified more and more
4. "Interdependence of causes and effects with simultaneous simplification of causality relationships": subjective and objective are mixed and simplified

5. "Expansion of the social dimension while at the same time tending to personify the conflict": more and more participants feel deeply affected personally
6. "Acceleration by braking" means increasing the threat of force to brake the opponent, with the opposite effect → Escalation

(Glasl, Friedrich: *Konfliktmanagement: Ein Handbuch für Führungskräfte, BeraterInnen und Berater*; Stuttgart 1997, quoted in: *Laubacher-Kubat, Erika, p.52*)

This gives us an overview of disturbing settings that can come to the surface during a tandem partnership. In a couple that works without the support of counsellors/facilitators or the opportunity to ask questions, they could possibly have a damaging or disruptive effect on the relationship.

This is a task for group meetings and their moderators.

3.5. What is 'ethnic distance'?

A phenomenon that on the one hand facilitates the emergence of enemy images and on the other is caused by enemy images is 'ethnic distance'. Some examples: the 'ethnic distance' is measured among other things by the number of mixed marriages, in Yugoslavia it was close to zero before the wars (cf. *Biro, Miklos + Milin, Petar, p.2*), because the percentage of mixed marriages was 46 % (cf. *Bar, Dan, p.48*).

At first glance this contradicts the results for young people: "The analysis of the results of research in Serbia (*Biro et al., 2000; 2002*) shows that ethnic distance correlates highly with (low) education level, authoritarianism and age - which is in concordance with theory and earlier results. New and unexpected data is that young people exhibit high ethnic distance towards nationalities with which there had been a conflict. One possible explanation of these data is that these young people grew up during war and were educated in the spirit of hatred. Another explanation of these results is in line with "Contact hypothesis" (*Allport, G. W.: The Nature of Prejudice. Cambridge 1954*): these adolescents had no chance to meet their peers - member of "enemy" people, so their perception of these nationalities is purely abstract." (*Biro, Miklos + Milin, Petar, p.2*) Here it must not be forgotten that children at the age of 8, at the latest at the age of 11, can already determine the different group membership, in this case Catholics or Protestants in Northern Ireland. (cf. *Fitzduff, Mari, p.51+121*)

It is also reported from there that the individual behaviour of Catholics and Protestants at meetings is subtle and respectful (cf. *ibid.*, p.112). But the two communities spend their leisure time practically separately (cf. *ibid.*, p.26), and even joint peace marches do little to change this division (cf. *ibid.*, p.40).

In Lebanon this goes so far that even the taxi unions are oriented towards religions or parties (cf. *Abi Yaghi, Marie-Noëlle, p.21*). The situation in the Basque Country is similar (cf. Web *Wikipedia, Sindicatos, 15.1.2019*).

Even more absurd is the observation at a seminar on the reconciliation of psychiatrists in Croatia that the participants, who see themselves as 'humanitarians' and not responsible for the war, separate according to ethnic group during breaks (cf. *Arye, Lane + Audergon, Arlene, p.4*). Thus it comes to the conclusion that "people who are really sympathetic find themselves in different camps at the end and find strange bedfellows in these camps with whom they have little in common". (*Galtung, Johan, p.33*)¹⁸

3.6. Do individual psychological explanations suffice ?

It follows from what has been said so far that overcoming enemy stereotypes and intercultural learning in general must not be seen only as an individual task: „However, this approach implicitly assumes that intercultural relations are a problem that can be solved through individual learning and change. Rarely are the structural origins of the ghetto, or the disadvantage and discrimination that young people from minorities living in the ghetto experience, mentioned as the cause of violence. It is because of their difference that such young people rise up and destroy public and private property. The responsibility for the difficulties is conveniently moved from the state to the individual. Education is the way of dealing with such individuals. However, this often boils down to integration being demanded on majority terms, with critical counter voices being branded subversive, or worse still, as terrorists.

Neither dialogue nor change is possible if working from the above assumptions. To meet the challenge of living intercultural relations as an opportunity rather than as a problem, intercultural dialogue must go beyond an individual and even a collective learning experience, in order to encompass the transformation of social structures, taking into account all the possible levels of hierarchy and power relations that may exist, so that different communities can, firstly, develop

¹⁸ "personas que realmente se caen bien se encuentran finalmente situadas en campos diferentes, y en esos campos encuentran extraños compañeros de cama con quienes tienen poco más en común"

individually in full equality, and, secondly, develop together for the betterment of the whole society on the basis of clearly identified common interests. If the state does not recognise its part in the process and acknowledge its key role in creating structural opportunities for real dialogue, NGOs and educationalists will not be able to do their job either, no matter how many programmes promoting European citizenship are put in place.“ (*Ohana, Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine, S.41*)

Similar the 'DAC Guidelines': “Ethnic, religious and cultural differences, in themselves, seldom cause conflict. In an atmosphere of heightened tensions resulting from socio-political conflicts, however, they can offer fertile ground for political exploitation. Factors which may contribute to the polarisation of ethnic and cultural differences include: economic, social and political dislocation resulting from imbalanced development itself; the legacy of colonial boundaries; illegitimate or weak state institutions; the forced assimilation of minorities; and aspirations of increased autonomy by territorially-concentrated ethnic groups.“(*OECD, S.88*) Carlos Martin Beristain therefore also recommends that, in the case of disasters and repressive measures, attention should not be focused on the personality structure of those affected but on the situation (cf. *Beristain, Carlos Martín, 1999, p.15*).

3.7 How is conflict intensification used as a political tool?

We had already seen that for the course of a conflict the political 'elites' are very influential. The 'quality' of the politicians is therefore important (cf. *Fitzduff, Mari, p.131*). They tend to speak to their voters, i.e. to their own community (cf. *ibid., p.122*). Accordingly, they appeal to the 'interests of this community', but this is often a pretext, as Stasa Zajovic describes in the example of Yugoslavia: "When Tito died in 1980 and the economic crisis came, the successors mainly worried about saving their legitimacy, preserving their power. Since they had already lost all interest and concern for the interests of the working class at that time, it was not difficult for them to move on to pursue ethnic interests, to revive the ethnic grudge of the past that lay centuries back. And so they poisoned the people with the support of the intellectual elite. ... My experience as a person who never expresses himself in ethnic categories is that those who claim to care about them are really only interested in the tax havens. That's what matters most to them. For the fathers of the nation the altar of the fatherland is always a shopping mall, a shopping mall; that is their great passion. But the problem is that they poison in a very dangerous way an entire people, with a created and invented hatred, a resentment from the laboratory. Even if the code of the fatherland and the code of money seem to be far apart, they are not. The business with the fatherland is very lucrative. The hatred

between the peoples is very profitable." (Zajovic, Stasa, p.136) ¹⁹ Ethnicization is thus a strategy for mobilization and self-relief (cf. Wehrhöfer, Birgit, p.20). An escalation shifts the discussion from the level of content to the level of relationships (cf. Meyer, Berthold, p.37).

Finally it comes to the awareness that fits to the war:

1. *"The enemies are desperate.* All those involved in war have the feeling that they have done everything possible. They have lost hope that the problems can be solved. They can no longer suppress their instincts to avoid the hostilities.
2. *Opponents are enemies.* They have decided to treat themselves as enemies. They have nothing good to say about each other. They speak like enemies, act like enemies, are enemies.
3. *Each opponent seeks more power.* Each side feels threatened in something where it considers itself inferior. They do not have as much psychological, social and physical power as their adversaries. They do not have enough love, respect, land or money. They insist that the other side is responsible for what they lack. They leave the negotiations, give an ultimatum, bunker at the expense of their opponents. Each side feels that everything has conspired against them and is looking for more power to resist its opponent.
4. *There is nothing to learn.* The fighters have given up hope of learning from each other through friendship. Each side rejects any indication that it may project points of view of itself onto the other. They believe that the "bad guys" are outside and not inside. The atmosphere is charged as the conflict approaches.
5. *The violence is possible.* Communication becomes turbulent, then chaotic, later violent. This is the last critical point. Everyone speaks at the same time, and since nobody listens, the feelings become more intense. Both sides conspire in secret, later they openly affirm that the time has come to move from threats to actions. Violence is the alternative chosen instead of friendship. The time

¹⁹ "Cuando murió Tito en 1980 y llegó la crisis económica, los que le sucedieron estaban preocupados principalmente en salvar su legitimidad, en conservar su poder. Como para entonces ya habían perdido todo interés y toda preocupación por los intereses de la clase obrera, no les fue difícil pasar a defender los intereses étnicos, a revivir los rencores étnicos del pasado, de siglos atrás. Y así, apoyados por la élite intelectual, envenenaron al pueblo. ... Mi experiencia como persona que no se pronuncia nunca en términos étnicos es que los que dicen preocuparse por ellos solo les interesan de verdad los paraísos fiscales. Eso es lo que más les importa. Para los padres de la nación el altar de la patria es siempre un centro comercial, un *shopping mall*; esa es su gran pasión. Pero el problema es que están envenenando de una manera muy peligrosa a todo un pueblo, con unos odios creados e inventados, un resentimiento de diseño. Aunque el código de la patria y del dinero parezcan alejados, no lo están. El de la patria es un negocio muy lucrativo. El odio entre los pueblos es muy lucrativo."

has come to leave the barricades of security. Everyone is ready to risk and lose their lives and personal history." (*Mindell, Arnold, p.208*)²⁰

In this phase, provocative incidents that initiate ethnic cleansing occur more frequently (cf. *Ferón, Bernard, p.88*). And then it can go on until there are so many deaths that the conflict is called 'war', more than 1000 per year (cf. *Ohana, Yael + Lyamoury-Bajja, Nadine*).

3.8. Are there psychological structures that favour this?

For the understanding of the psychology of nationalism, the psychology of racism is very helpful, especially the 'racism of resentment' (*Unzurrunzaga, Agustín, p.3*): "... he expresses a defensive attitude, bitter, as a complaint that he suffers a personal injustice that no one alleviates:

It is the person who is bitter about his or her abandonment. Things have changed, s/he is unemployed, outside the employment cycle and the social benefits derived from work; the neighbourhood where s/he lives is no longer what it was; the same in the block of flats where s/he has lived for thirty years. Before s/he knew all or almost all his/her neighbours, now s/he does not. His/her life in the community gets cracked. His/her environment has changed. Some of the neighbours have died and new ones have come which s/he does not know and which are different

²⁰ "1. *Los oponentes se sienten desesperados.* Todos los involucrados en una guerra sienten que han hecho todo lo posible. Han perdido la esperanza de que los problemas se pueden resolver. Ya no pueden reprimir más sus instintos para evitar las hostilidades.

2. *Los oponentes son enemigos.* Han decidido tratarse unos a otros como enemigos. No tienen nada bueno que decir uno del otro. Hablan como enemigos, actúan como enemigos, son enemigos.

3. *Cada oponente busca más poder.* Cada parte se siente amenazada por algo en lo que se considera inferior. No tienen tanto poder psicológico, social y físico como sus oponentes. No tienen suficiente amor, respeto, tierra o dinero. Insisten en que la otra parte es la responsable de sus carencias. Se salen de las negociaciones, lanzan un ultimátum y se hacen fuertes a expensas de sus oponentes. Cada parte siente que todo se pone en su contra y busca más poder para hacer frente a su oponente.

4. *No hay nada que aprender.* Los combatientes han abandonado la esperanza de poder aprender unos de los otros a través de la amistad. Cada parte rechaza toda sugerencia de que tal vez están proyectando en la otra aspectos de sí mismos. Piensan que los "malos" están afuera y no dentro. La atmósfera se carga cuando el conflicto se acerca.

5. *La violencia es posible.* La comunicación se hace turbulenta, luego caótica, más tarde violenta. Es el último punto álgido. Todo el mundo habla a la vez, y puesto que nadie escucha, los sentimientos se intensifican. Ambas partes conspiran en secreto, más tarde afirman abiertamente que ha llegado el momento de pasar de las amenazas a la acción. La violencia es la alternativa elegida a la amistad. Ha llegado el momento de abandonar las barricadas de la seguridad. Todo el mundo está dispuesto a arriesgar y perder su vida e historia personal."

and which do not even speak his/her language. Instead of entering into relationships, s/he withdraws and isolates him/herself.

S/he accuses the lack of attention of the state, the county or the city administration. S/he reflects the feeling that the institutions, the traditional political parties, the trade unions are doing nothing for him/her or the people who are like him/her. They have written him/her off.

Immigrants, on the other hand, are seen as someone who is likely to get support. From there, there is a leap, and one begins to think that they are not only getting support, but monopolizing them. And to the extent that they monopolize them, there is no aid left for him/her, for his/her own, for those who are like him/her or who live like him/her.

From this feeling of abandonment, that s/he has been left on the sidelines, to reject the 'forgetting' of which s/he is the object, s/he falls back on his biological capital, that s/he has spent his whole life here, that s/he was born here, or that s/he came earlier. s/he goes back to his origin, to his/her nationality, and demands that things be regulated differently: on the basis of a clear hierarchy, on the basis of priority or preference for nationality. First I, first mine, we first". (*Unzurrunzaga, Agustín, p.3*)²¹ Amin Maalouf sees it similarly, it comes to black-and-white thinking, the feeling of being attacked and pessimism (cf. *Maalouf, Amin, without p.*). When the feeling of being or becoming a minority is added, the traditional characteristics become stronger and a permanent defensive attitude develops. Galtung also says: "... violence makes people pessimistic ...". (*Galtung, Johan, p.112*)²²

²¹ "... racismo de resentimiento ... expresa una posición defensiva, amarga, de queja, de sufrir una injusticia personal que nadie palía:

- Es la persona que se resiente por su abandono. Las cosas han cambiado, está en el paro, fuera del circuito del empleo y de las prestaciones derivadas de la actividad laboral; el barrio en el que vive ya no es lo que era, ha venido gente nueva que no conoce y con la que no tiene relación; lo mismo en el bloque de viviendas en el que vive desde hace treinta años. Antes conocía a todos o casi todos los vecinos, ahora no.

- Se resiente su vida social. Su entorno ha cambiado. Parte de los vecinos han muerto y han venido unos nuevos que no conoce y son diferentes e incluso ni siquiera hablan su lengua. En lugar de relacionarse se retrae, se encierra.

- Denuncia la falta de ayuda del Estado, de la Diputación o del Ayuntamiento. Refleja un sentimiento de que las instituciones, los partidos políticos tradicionales, los sindicatos no hacen nada por él o por los que están como él. Le han dejado de lado.

- Por contra, los inmigrantes son vistos como alguien que sí recibe ayudas. De ahí se da un salto, y se empieza a considerar que no solamente reciben ayudas, sino que las acaparan. Y que en la medida en que las acaparan, no quedan ayudas para él, para los suyos, para quienes son o están como él.

- A partir de este sentimiento de abandono, de que se le ha dejado de lado, para rechazar el "olvido" del que es objeto, echa mano de su capital biológico, de que él es de aquí de toda la vida, de que ha nacido aquí, o de que vino antes. Echa mano de la autoctonidad, de su nacionalidad, y reivindica que las cosas se tienen que hacer de otra manera: en base a establecer una clara jerarquía, en base a la prioridad o preferencia nacional. Yo primero, los míos primero, nosotros primero."

²² "... la violencia vuelve pesimista a la gente ..."

If the pessimism also refers to one's own forces, helpless sentient persons in crisis situations project on narcissistic leaders (cf. *Laubacher-Kubat, Erika, p.48*), according to the motto " 'Führer', command, we follow you!".

In order to come out of this vicious circle again, "human images" from the other side must still be present (cf. *Müller, Barbara + Schweitzer, Christina, p.115*), otherwise it is hopeless.

3.9. How to intensify / defuse conflicts ?

But it would be wrong to assume an automatism of conflict escalation: "The idea that structural causes of conflict are mechanically translated into violence by catalysts, triggers and external incentives is untenable. Most conflicts are endemic and have a dynamic that is difficult to predict. Escalation of violence is not structurally overdetermined; extreme poverty or "unjust" conditions do not necessarily entail violent behaviour. Objective differences between groups are by no means a good indicator: linguistically and culturally close groups can also be selected as a target group for ethnic violence. An extreme heterogeneity of groups can even be a factor for stability, because fragmentation is encouraged and collective action is restricted. The most likely scenario is that poor countries with declining economies are at risk. In countries with extremely low incomes, the export of mineral resources, illegal drugs or weapons can also increase the risk of conflict by generating revenues for paramilitaries or warlords, promoting corruption and stimulating secession, while increasing dependence on external shocks. Times of transformation are also susceptible to maximalist and violent behavior due to de-institutionalization. Violence follows its own rationales. To prevent violence, either the goals of violence must be made unattractive, the mode of violence interrupted, or more attractive modes of goal attainment offered." (*Heinemann-Grüder, Andreas, p.124*)

First, the factors mentioned in the literature as promoting violence:

according to the 'Handbook on Human Security': insecurity, lack of choice, asymmetrical distribution of power, conspicuous display of power symbols, disrespectful behaviour (cf. *Schirch, Lisa, p.194*).

According to Johan Galtung, there are 5 phases in development:

1. articulation (two opponents appear)

2. becoming conscious (they become aware of the situation)
 3. simplification (the number of conflict parties is decreasing)
 4. polarization (good/bad)
 5. escalation
- (cf. *Galtung, Johan, p.32*).

The escalation takes place in steps:

- “triggering and provoking
- proliferation of issues
- form adversarial alliances
- triangle victim-aggressor-protector/savior
- distortion of communication
- rigid and extreme positions
- focus on hurting each other

(*Shushania, Nino, p.8*, only highlights are quoted)"

The phases and various types and models of conflicts (*ibid.*, p.6+9+10) can also be found there.

"The preparation of violence includes the social construction of prejudices, the forced homogenisation of one's own group, the enlargement of differences to the object of aggression and an antagonism of the masses. The preparatory rituals of violence include the de-individualization of the victims, the consent of moral authorities, the "massing" of the perpetrators, and the spread of rumors to create a feeling of indiscriminate threat. Preparing for violence involves selecting victims, creating opportunities for violence, and organizing participants." (*Heinemann-Grüder, Andreas, p.125*).

Despite the justified warning against experts who pass on conflict resolution mechanisms as if they were business recipes (cf. *II Congreso Internacional de Derechos Humanos, p.84*), the following is a list of examples

Recipes' for creating and exacerbating conflicts

- reduce the social security system for the entire population
- Trigger panic over scarcity of social benefits
- Build threat scenarios
- give the population a feeling of helplessness and powerlessness
- ignore the problems of ordinary people and do not listen to their protests
- weaken the organisations that could represent the interests of the population as a whole
- initiate major economic changes (structural reforms, immigration) without the assistance of social workers, psychologists, etc.

- use the organs of state power (police) more violently and show symbols of power (weapons) more often
- Reinforcing cracks between different population groups
- emphasize differences in the population, emphasize the divisive
- introduce categorisation, especially in the case of 'misuse of social benefits
- start rumours
- reduce political education in schools
- also spatially separate certain groups (large refugee camps in inaccessible areas, financial immigrant ghettoisation in residential areas)

Similarities with the programmes and practices of certain politicians are not accidental.

And now the factors that can reduce violence:

First, certain manners, again according to the 'Handbook on Human Security': respect; non-verbal rather than verbal to reassure a hostile person; listening and rewriting; diplomatic speaking; showing interest in solving the problem and acknowledging its importance (cf. *Schirch, Lisa, p.195*). More precisely, active listening helps, while defensive listening to find opportunities for responses increases tension (cf. *ibid., p.198+199*). Diplomatic speaking is characterized by the use of 'I/we' and focuses on common goals. In short: "Disagree with ideas, not with people. Be hard on the problem, soft on the people." (*ibid., p.201*)

These methods are used by bridge building organizations: "In countries divided by inter-group conflict, certain elements of civil society may be able to play an important role in building bridges between polarised groups, promoting dialogue and reconciliation. Conditions of insecurity, sometimes aggravated by the exploitation of ethnic, religious and cultural differences, contribute to a climate of social distrust. However, socio-political conflict itself can also provide a stimulus for the emergence of new actors and institutions specifically dedicated to the cause of peace. These can include human rights networks, peace activist groups, and independent media organizations. Other stabilisation points or "voices of peace" can be found among community and religious leaders, traditional forms of authority, in trade unions and professional associations." (*OECD, P.113*)

Norbert Ropers names nine points to strengthen these bridge builders:

1. promotion of an ethical model (e.g. abolition of the link between 'masculinity' and violence)
2. creating a positive political framework and promoting human rights NGOs
3. multiethnicity

4. social spaces for conflict transformation
5. mobilising education, media and culture
6. rehabilitation and reconciliation programmes
7. needs-based civilian infrastructures
8. joint development projects, also to "rehumanise" the images of the other side
9. peace alliances

(*Ziviles Konfliktmanagement*, quoted in: *Truger, Arno, p.130*)

Common prosperity should also contribute to maintaining conflicts at a civilized level, as the situation in South Tyrol/Alto Adige and Switzerland shows. This is reminiscent of reports from traditional societies that stopped raiding as soon as the opportunity arose to establish trade relations (cf. *Diamond, Jared, p.287*).

Let's take a closer look at the example of South Tyrol / Alto Adige:

South Tyrol was a part of the Austrian country Tyrol and accordingly German-speaking. After the First World War it was incorporated into Italy, the Italian governments, especially the fascist ones, promoted the immigration from Italy, mainly to the capital Bolzano/Bozen, where Italian-speaking quarters developed. After the Second World War Austria became a 'guarantee power' and the German speakers were represented by the 'Südtiroler Volkspartei' (SVP), which tried to implement the Statute of Autonomy (cf. *Web Austria-Forum*).

Accordingly, a German- and an Italian-speaking school system was set up, which had no contact with each other, but in some cases schoolyards separated by fences. This was in line with the SVP's fear that contacts would assimilate the German-speaking majority, which was a minority in Italy as a whole. In both school systems, the language of the other group was taught with a high number of hours, but due to a lack of personal contacts, fluency was often not achieved.

The prerequisite for filling public offices was bilingualism, which is proven by an examination ('patentino'). The aim is to achieve a percentage for which everyone must declare to which language group s/he belongs.

In the fifties, an underground movement emerged which attempted to break away from Italy by means of attacks. In contrast to other groups of this kind, it claimed that it wanted to avoid fatalities,

but this was not respected in the long run. At the same time, Italian police and military units and secret services, accused of using torture, increased their presence. The violent clashes ended in 1969 (cf. Web *Wikipedia*, *Befreiungsausschuss*).

At the social level, three important phenomena can be identified:

- a) the SVP's policy has been successful in that South Tyrol had and has the highest standard of living in Italy (cf. Web *tt*).
- b) A movement against the separation of language groups was formed, mainly by Greens and Leftists from both groups. Within this framework it was logical to organise language courses and meeting programmes (see chapter 5.5.).
- c) Parts of the Italians who were minority in South Tyrol and majority in Italy turned to the Italian fascist parties. This seems illogical at first sight, as they were migrant workers, but for them the question of identity became the most important, and they felt to be best represented by right-wing parties (see the overview from the opposite perspective: Web *Brennerbasisdemokratie*).

In the context of b), the cultural cooperative [alphabet](#) introduced tandem in 1998, both as couple matching and as courses, especially in schools and universities. Later, the trilingual University of Bolzano/Bozen also included tandem in its offer.

The number of participants is not so high that the majority of the population would have profited from it. In addition, the program began long after the end of the troubles, so it cannot be equated with the Dialog-Tandem . But the idea of the tandem has a widespread signal effect by propagating contact instead of isolation.

The program at alpha&beta was scientifically accompanied by the Tandem Foundation, so some research results were produced that are revealing for our questions (cf. *Tandem-VermittlerInnenteam von alphabet + Jürgen Wolff*). They were collected with tandem partnerships that remained together for more than a year. First the transcriptions of the questionnaires: (Questionnaire development: Sonia Insam/alphabet + Jürgen Wolff / Tandem Fundazioa 2004, after reviewing questionnaires by Marion Dauch, Silvia Kübler, Corinna Lühring, Barbara Makovec, Uni-Tandem Freiburg/Fribourg and consulting by Silke Holstein and Mónica Sánchez; Questionnaire and interview transcription: Jürgen Wolff / Tandem Fundazioa 2004)

30- What have you learned in the cultural field (e.g. have previous opinions about the other language group been reduced or have they been confirmed? What differences in everyday behaviour did you discover ?)

- *little / little*
- *I never had preconceived opinions about the South Tyrolean culture, on the contrary ! But I have discovered new interesting aspects of Austrian culture (like my partner), very good recipes, and have had the opportunity to meet interesting people*²³
- *I have expressly asked my interlocutor to dedicate some meetings in local language to the description of some Tyrolean traditions related to religious festivals and other events that take place every year*²⁴
- *since it was a person from Germany, some cultural aspects which are new and different from those of South Tyrol*²⁵
- *I tolerate better certain ways of thinking and behaviour and support more strongly the living together between the two language groups*²⁶
- *it is very interesting to see one or the other political point of view from an "Italian point of view" (especially in South Tyrol)*
- *I had no prejudices about the other language group before, because I never spent more than two weeks in Italy; my tandem partner is definitely more punctual than me and therefore in our case this German/Italian cliché is not correct; otherwise there is a difference that in my family we eat cold and relatively 'simple' in the evening, whereas in Italian families we eat much more richly; furthermore I noticed in my everyday behaviour that Italians very often use their mobile phone*
- *There are differences in mentality, which I find great and exciting; otherwise my partner and I are very similar character types.*
- *I have understood that even people from the German language group can have blockades, fears, difficulties in dealing with Italian*²⁷

31- Have you discussed questions in relation to language groups that you would not have raised in a large group?

O No: 9

O Yes, e.g.: 4, namely

Victory/Peaceplace – discussion about name change : 3

Professional advantages and disadvantages due to belonging to a language group: 1

²³non ho mai avuto preconcetti verso la cultura sudtirolese, anzi ! Ma ho scoperto nuovi, interessanti aspetti della cultura austriaca (come la mia partner), ottime ricette, ed ho avuto occasione di conoscere persone interessanti

²⁴ho chiesto espressamente al mio interlocutore di dedicare alcuni incontri a descrivere nell'idioma locale alcune tradizioni tirolesi legate a festività religiose o ad altre manifestazioni ricorrenti nel corso dell'anno

²⁵trattandosi di una persona germanica alcuni aspetti culturali nuovi e diversi da quelli sudtirolesi

²⁶tolero di più determinati pensieri i modi e sostengo di più la convivenza tra i due gruppi linguistici

²⁷ho capito che anche persone del gruppo linguistico tedesco possono avere dei blocchi, delle paure, delle difficoltà nell'affrontare l'italiano

School system: 1

Politics: 1

Regional elections: 1

Houses and villages with double names: 1 (Attempts to delete some Italian second names)

- *little, because the tandem partner comes from Germany*²⁸
- *since I am not from South Tyrol, I have a different point of view than many locals anyway.*
- *not yet, but I expect to deal with the topic in the future*²⁹ (Note: Italian immigrant with Austrian)

The language group topic was thus 'only' addressed by 24% in tandem, which may be related to the fact that 29% of the participants in the tandem did not come from South Tyrol, but from the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria or other parts of Italy. Given the importance of the question, it was taken up again in the oral interviews.

The following are statements from the interviews:

6 Relations between the language groups

B+C: a good way to contrast problems, there was no fear of certain topics (one is German citizen)

E: conflicting issues are good new issues; it helps to understand others; tandem interested parties are more open anyway

F: (German citizen) gets to know the situation by listening to it

G: Tandem is important because it is the only access to the other language group and the only opportunity to hear something from a different perspective; however, success does not depend so much on the tandem as on the character.

H: it is better to deal with important topics because the higher emotional content makes it easier to retain; we are in the 3rd millennium, mobility is increasing, the mass media are everywhere = we have to understand that not all are equal; the ability to deal with conflicts depends strongly on the character; the Italian language group (she is Sardinian) is too afraid to speak German because of the history and the difference dialect/High German

I: (is Austrian) there were no topics of this kind

J: neither political nor social issues treated (for lack of time, not fear)

K: character is important; in a tandem, people interact and are ready to get to know the other culture.

L: partner is very open-minded towards the South Tyrolean population group, everything can be discussed without problems; however, this is not possible with everyone.

M+N: political issues have not been addressed

O: (is German citizen) regarding to the 'victory place' there were almost conflicts, they became surprisingly very serious, young people of both language groups are also emotional about the topic; but s/he does not feel like a "burned child"; otherwise there were no problems, e.g. with day-to-day politics

²⁸poco perché la tandem è germanica

²⁹non ancora, ma conto di affrontare l'argomento piu avanti

Tandem is seen as a good way to get direct access to the other language group. It is also considered useful from a didactic point of view to talk about interesting topics because the vocabulary is better memorised. This, however, requires the ability to deal with conflicts, whereby tandem partners are assumed to be more willing to listen. One participant was surprised to find that emotional and serious reactions can also occur in young people. This was the only critical incident reported. Many couples did not deal with this topic because it "did not interest them".

Against the background of the Dialog-Tandem , a few more remarks:

In the interview questions on "5 Significance of Character and Common "Chemistry"", F expressed more or less in the following way: "certain types of character (open, tolerant, eager to learn languages) tend more to make tandem". Conversely, this means that the extremists of both language groups have not made use of tandem and are therefore not affected by the resulting broadening of perspective. Since the political attitudes were not inquired, there are only speculations. "Nevertheless, one can always say that it is possible ! to develop perspectives through cooperation in tandem even with people who are neutral or reserved towards the other group ...". (The percentage of participants who do tandem because of exams etc. is between one third and one half).

30

It is also difficult to say whether the majority of participants who did not deal with the subject of 'language groups' deliberately excluded it because it is conflictual or taboo, or simply did not care.

The assumption that direct contact with the 'opponents' leads to increased scepticism towards the 'leaders' of one's own group is confirmed in the following definition of 'good tandem':

34- How would you define a 'good tandem pair' ?

...

with foresight and little influenced by our "leaders" ³¹

Finally, there is a question for advertising tandem programmes: is 'understanding' and 'better coexistence' a powerful argument for 'tandem'? Or is it more useful to argue utilitarian-instrumentally, for example by passing exams like the 'patentino' ?

After reviewing the statements in the questionnaires and interviews, a mix of arguments seems most appropriate in view of the different opinions of the participants, i.e. 'better understanding', both as

³⁰ Quote and information from a mediator

³¹ „di larghe vedute e poco condizionata dai nostri "capi"“

simple listening comprehension and as intercultural understanding, and 'speaking to each other', both as higher fluency and as dialogue between the groups.

A similar programme has been running since 2014 with Estonian and Russian speaking students at Narva College of Tartu University in Narva, Estonia. A description (in Estonian) can be found at <https://www.uttv.ee/naita?id=19683&keel=eng> , there is also an Estonian manual (see *Rannut, Ülle + Rannut, Mart, Web*). With immigrants in the capital Tallinn it is used in the 'Immischool' (see *Immischool, Web*).

In summary, the

Recipes' for the prevention and mitigation of conflicts

- secure and develop the welfare state
- give the population a feeling of security for the future
- promote their own initiative and the possibility of co-determination
- Strengthening NGOs and other interest groups
- accompany major changes with social workers and psychologists
- acknowledge problems
- listen actively in case of dissatisfaction
- restraint in demonstrations of state power, control of police brutality and use of weapons
- Highlighting commonalities between different population groups
- publish 'human images' of minorities in the mass media
- promote independent thinking in schools
- maintain links between different population groups
- Maintain basic cooperation also in conflicts
- make sure that the right mix is used in residential areas
- create common spaces for informal contacts
- in the case of conflicts, start from common interests and goals
- launch joint projects to improve the situation of all stakeholders
- promote individual contacts between foreign groups
- Offer mentoring programs (an old resident, a newcomer) and language exchange programs.

4. Phases of a conflict

Galtung logically distinguishes three phases before, during and after violence (cf. *Galtung, Johan, p.24*). If the conflict is not resolved in the first phase, the efforts in the third are all the greater:

1	beforehand	prevention
2	meanwhile	building bridges, often only possible via the Internet
3	after	reconciliation

The Carnegie Commission sets out the objectives for the three phases:

1. prevention of the emergence of the Carnegie
 2. prevention of escalation
 3. to prevent the reoccurrence of violence that has already ended
- (cf. *Matthies, Volker, p.155*)

and distinguishes in phase 1 between structural prevention to deal with the causes and operational prevention to prevent escalation (cf. *ibid., p.157*).

Kofi Annan notes that successful prevention is not conspicuous and therefore not praised, but if it fails, it is criticised (cf. *ACNUR, volumen I, p.20*).

The 'DAC Guidelines' also stress the importance of preventing the outbreak of conflict after phase 3 (cf. *OECD, p.51*).

As far as the classification of phase 3 into other peacebuilding measures is concerned, Riskin says that foreign aid, human rights and the rule of law and reconciliation are their three dimensions (cf. *Riskin, Steven, p.2*). Galtung demands to combine reconstruction, reconciliation and resolution of the conflict, otherwise none of them can be achieved (cf. *Galtung, Johan, p.17*). He also notes that conflict resolution does not begin after the first acts of violence, but is ALWAYS necessary and NEVER ends (cf. *ibid., p.103*).

Redorta advocates the setting of priorities according to

- significance
- urgency
- ways of intervening

(cf. *Redorta, Josep, 2014, p.22*)

We will now discuss the three phases one after the other in more detail.

4.1. Prevention

4.1.1. What helps contact between the parties in conflict ?

The best way to prevent conflicts from sliding into violent conflicts is to establish contact between the parties involved: “Contact is an essential component in addressing prejudice, resolving conflict and improving intergroup attitudes and relations. War encourages prejudice, stereotyping and dehumanization between military combatants. In order to reduce these negative affects within a post-war context, intergroup contact serves as a mechanism which re-humanizes the enemy, facilitates reconciliation and generates peace. Intergroup contact plays a prominent role in psycho social healing and the reconciliation process with self and others in post-war environments. This thesis assesses the impact of contact on reconciliatory processes at home and abroad. In particular it looks at the ways in which New Zealand Vietnam veteran visits to Vietnam after the war assisted a range of self-other reconciliation processes with the Vietnamese and with self.” (*Dorsey, Maria, S.iii*)

“The ethos of most intergroup encounter initiatives reflects the theoretical premise of the social contact hypothesis, outlined in Gordon Allports celebrated book *The nature of prejudice*. It states that bringing hostile groups together, under specific conditions, can be an effective means of reducing prejudice and improving intergroup relations (*Allport, 1954*).” (*Doubilet, Karen, S.50*)

“**Inter-ethnic community dialogue** is a useful tool for conflict prevention and peace building. Experience in several fragile settings has shown that empowering and strengthening the capacities of individuals, communities, and institutions to manage conflicts is essential to peace building.” (*Buescher, Gabriella S., S.5*)

"Contact theory, one of the main research areas in Marburg social psychology, is based on the assumption that contact between groups reduces hostility, prejudice and discrimination. ... For example she could show that in residential districts with a high proportion of migrants prejudices are lower than in residential districts where few people with a migration background live.

The authors show that it is not only personal contact that triggers this effect. Prejudices are also demonstrably reduced if contacts between ethnic groups are maintained in the living environment in which the interviewees live, irrespective of whether the interviewees themselves have contact. According to the results of the study, these contact habits in the neighbourhood lead to the

establishment of a social norm according to which interaction with one another is regarded as normal and enriching. Such a climate contributes to the reduction of mutual prejudices". (Web *Wagner, Ulrich*)

This applies not only to competing groups but also to competitors within a group (cf. *Vinyamata, Eduardo, p.106*).

However, this only works if the 'specific conditions' are given. These are: "The conditions, which have since been elaborated by numerous scholars (*Amir, 1969; Cook, 1963, 1978; Pettigrew, 1998; and Sherif, 1966*) include the following:

- (1) there must be equal status between groups, at least within the contact situation;
- (2) there must be institutional support (the presence of egalitarian social norms);
- (3) there must be "acquaintance/friendship potential", which means that contact must be "intimate" in nature and must be of sufficient frequency and duration for intergroup friendships to develop; and
- (4) contact must involve the mutual pursuit of a superordinate goal (a goal whose attainment requires the effort of both groups)." (*Kuriansky, Judy, S.50*)

Similar Ana Planet: "For a contact between groups to be effective and change a stereotype, it is necessary that a number of optimal conditions are present. In the first place, the individuals participating in the contact situation that is supposed to facilitate the change of stereotyped perception must have a similar status in the contact situation; in the second place, the contact situation must require or at least facilitate cooperation between individuals; in the third place, it is necessary that the situation in question allows a personal acquaintance of the persons and, which in our opinion is fundamental, that there are social norms in the groups and in the context that favour equal rights. (*Planet, Ana, p.40*) ³²

Fitzduff also stresses the 'quality of the contact', which is reflected in the

³² "Para que un contacto intergrupual sea efectivo y modifique un estereotipo es necesario que se den una serie de condiciones óptimas. En primer lugar, es preciso que los individuos que participen en una situación de contacto que facilite el cambio en la percepción estereotipada tengan un estatus semejante dentro de la situación de contacto; en segundo lugar, la situación de contacto ha de exigir o al menos facilitar la cooperación entre individuos; en tercer lugar, es necesario que la situación en cuestión permita un conocimiento personal de las personas y, lo que a nuestro juicio resulta fundamental, que existan normas sociales en los grupos y en el contexto que favorezcan el igualitarismo."

- ◆ outstanding identity³³
- ◆ Expression of differences/differences of opinion
- ◆ overarching objectives for cooperation
- ◆ Possibility to maintain it in the long term

(cf. *Fitzduff, Mari, p.53*).

A neutral place is important (cf. *Kurschat, Ruben, p.58*). It encourages us to read that even if this neutral place is violated, contacts can continue: "After all, local violence ultimately hinders any attempt to awaken a spirit of peace and cooperation. Nevertheless, organizations like the Peres Center for Peace continue their P2P efforts, even after setbacks like Kassam missiles that fall on a football field shortly before a tournament as part of the Palestinian-Israeli Twinned Peace Sports Schools programme. Just recently, a young Palestinian basketball enthusiast who participated in the program was shot and injured in an Israeli attack on a Palestinian prison in Jericho - but the boy continues to meet with his teammates from the Israeli partner community." (*Doubilet, Karen, p.50*)

4.1.2. What should be done with sections of the population that are more prone to violent solutions?

This raises the question of which parts of the hostile groups are reached by such contact programmes. The assumption suggests itself that the radicalised factions will participate least, and it is precisely these factions that aggravate the conflict. Jovan Patrnogic therefore proposes an early warning system (cf. *ACNUR, volumen I, p.145*).

There are some results about that: adolescence and early youth are the time when people are most likely to join armed organizations (cf. *Fitzduff, Mari, p.59*). In Northern Ireland the young people who tended towards militancy were more likely to belong to the working class or were unemployed and had a slightly above-average intelligence quotient (cf. *ibid., p.103*).

Elsewhere, a connection is assumed between a low level of education → stronger prejudices → a greater tendency towards violent solutions (cf. Flohr, Anne Kathrin, p.90). "Lower social strata" can take identification with their own people as a surrogate for their discrimination (*ibid., p. 120*, based on: *Leder, Karl Bruno: Why do we hate each other ? 1985, p. 59ff*).

This also applies to peoples under bad conditions overall who tend towards stronger nationalism (*ibid., p. 93*).

³³ "identidad sobresaliente", meaning and translation in context unclear

However, I would warn against a simple automatism "belonging to the working class → violent conflict resolution". Here it must be taken into account how the political situation is and whether the organizations of the workers are able to effectively represent their interests in a non-violent way.

In any case, it is an important unresolved question how to implement the contact theory for the already radicalized part of the opponents: "... the problem of selection bias has been partially implicated for the lack of success of contact programs in Northern Ireland. Church, Visser, and Johnson (2004) note that by virtue of self-selection, these initiatives exclude the more extreme members of society, who are, perhaps, the people who could most benefit from participation." (*Doubilet, Karen, p.52*) It is often underestimated what catastrophic consequences it can have if the extreme part is well organized and manages to set the whole group in motion against the other. A historical example are the pogroms after the independence of India and the division into India and Pakistan (cf. *Lapierre, Dominique + Collins, Larry, p.293 + 307 ff*).

Once it has been possible to put the opponents at one table, as Gandhi achieved in Calcutta (cf. *ibid., p.280 + 295 ff*), even role plays with 'dictators, terrorists, the hungry' can be used to deal with the former hostility (cf. *Mindell, Arnold, p.73*).

Irrespective of whether one assumes that the more easily radicalizable sections of the population are less well educated and disadvantaged, all authors agree that the self-esteem of each group should first be increased in separate meetings before contact programs, so that the demarcation and devaluation of the others become superfluous (cf. *Kurschat, Ruben, p.62*). The identity of each group is best strengthened IN the group (cf. *Fitzduff, Mari, p.54*). The separate phase can last one year or longer, depending on the rhythm of the groups (cf. *Tauber, David, p.391*).

4.1.3. How can the willingness to open himself to discussions be encouraged?

Let us now see how the willingness to open himself to contacts can be strengthened. It is not about abstract tolerance, but about difficult situations like the following: a Serbian family flees from ethnic cleansing, a Croatian family moves into the house, the Serbian family returns after the war. Finally each family takes one floor (cf. *Meyer, Carsten, p.314*).

With peacebuilding programs it used to be customary to create contacts that talked about general topics in order to discover similarities. It was avoided to talk about the conflict (cf. *Abu Nimer,*

Mohammed + Lazarus, Ned, p.26). This might be difficult in such situations, and recent publications recommend that negative judgments about others be brought to the surface and dealt with (cf. *Mindell, Arnold, p.56*). The feeling of helplessness and defencelessness learned by minorities in long years can block that (cf. *Redorta, Josep, 2014, p.118*).

In the following, some of Arnold Mindell's reflections on how this treatment takes place are reproduced:

he calls his approach 'global work' (*ibid., p.3*)³⁴. He also wants to deal with large groups, of which many are afraid (cf. *ibid., p.19*) and to get a grip on the resulting chaos (cf. *ibid., p.4*). First he deals with feelings and reveals hidden messages (cf *ibid., p.6*), under the influence of Carl Gustav Jung and Taoism (cf *ibid, p.8*).

He pays special attention to the question of form: 'calm forms'³⁵ are often sought (cf *ibid, p.12*), the linear interaction with change of speaker is more pleasant, but restricts feelings (cf *ibid, p.198*). This in turn pushes oppressed groups to the margins (cf *ibid, p.12*), in some cultures people prefer to speak all at the same time (cf *ibid, p.17*). The anger of the oppressed should not be avoided (cf *ibid, p.23*). He refers to Hinduism, in which creative and destructive spirits appear together (cf *ibid, p.198*), and also shows how this can bring a conflict closer to war (cf *ibid, p.208/9*).

This process can be led by internal 'leaders' (cf. *ibid., p.14*). "In the near future our most capable leaders will not be regarded as such because of their education, rank or money, but will be chosen from among the survivors of oppressed cultures." (*ibid, p.22*)³⁶

In all this the enemy is to be accepted (cf. *ibid., p.196*), the self-confidence of the opponent must be saved (cf. *Redorta, Josep, 2014, p.26*). Responsibility' and 'guilt' are not the same (cf. *Redorta, Josep, 2014, p.28*).

In order to treat each other respectfully, the following behaviors are necessary:

- “1) Appreciating each other’s humanity and respecting each other’s culture;
- 2) Telling and listening to each other’s stories, and developing more complex narratives and more nuanced understandings of identity
- 3) Acknowledging harms, telling truths and mourning losses

³⁴ “trabajo global”

³⁵ “formas tranquilas”

³⁶ “En un futuro cercano, nuestros líderes más capaces no serán considerados así por su educación, rango o dinero, sino que serán elegidos entre los supervivientes de las culturas oprimidas.”

- 4) Empathizing with each other's suffering
- 5) Acknowledging and redressing injustices
- 6) Expressing remorse, repenting, apologizing; letting go of bitterness, forgiving
- 7) Imagining and substantiating a new future, including agreements about how future conflicts will be engaged constructively.

All of these processes involve learning about one's own community and the other." (Cohen, Cynthia, S.10)

Friedrich Glasl also gives hints on the psychological factors that are important for mediators in conflicts and shows strategies for examining one's own perception and for de-escalation (cf. *Glasl, Friedrich, p.132 - 144*, cf. also *Web Glasl, Friedrich*). Mark Hofmann recommends problem-solving workshops with a preliminary phase in which only the form of the workshop is clarified, but people are already talking to each other (cf. *Hofmann, Mark, p.154*).

There are some results on the question of when mediating intervention is most useful:

- A stalemate, or an imminent intensification of the conflict with high costs for both sides (cf. *Zunzer, Wolfram, p.170*).
- the opponents are easier to convince if the 'negotiating mass' is increased and there is a gain for both (cf. *Meyer, Berthold, p.59*)
- in the presence of rules, in the occurrence of third parties dangerous to both, and in the event of prolonged spatial separation (cf. *ibid., p.68*)

From him it is regarded as clumsy and worthless to make concessions and to expect something similar from the other (cf. *ibid., p.71*). In contrast, the GRIT strategy for de-escalation does just that (cf. *Web Wikipedia, GRIT*).

The mediators should ask themselves the following questions before intervening:

- Is it the right time to intervene ?
- Have you checked the expectations of both sides?
- Do you think the expectations of both sides are realistic?
- Can one objectively grasp what both aspire to ?
- What is the degree of compatibility between the objectives of the parties ?
- Are you aware of the cost of not resolving the conflict ?
- Can you assess the level of distrust between the parties somehow ?
- Do you have the emotional tension between the parties more or less under control ?
- Are the parties interested in a particular means of conflict resolution ?
- Can someone who has nothing to do with the process influence his solution ?
- Do the decisions require consultation ?

- Have you checked who is authorized to make decisions ?
- Are the parties willing to get involved in the solution process ?
- Can you divide the problems ?
- Can you negotiate a timetable ?
- Do you have a plan that is independent of the opinions of the parties ?
- Are the costs of your intervention clear ?

(Redorta, Josep, 2018, p.141) ³⁷

Also after answering these questions there will be many obstacles to talk, especially at the beginning (cf. *Abu Nimer, Mohammed + Lazarus, Ned, p.24*), because in conflicts the good self-image depends on the bad image of the other and presupposes it (cf. *ibid., p.23*). It can happen that all participants first of all defend their own position and revive collective traumas (cf. *ibid., p.28*).

Here a very vivid description : “[Before the program] I didn't know and wasn't willing to hear that the other side was also in pain. I didn't want to listen to that, I didn't want to understand or imagine that. At first I felt like I was being forced to listen to them ... I said I didn't want to listen and nothing could make me. I only wanted to be there just to show the world who I was ... They insisted that they wanted to talk about their pain and what was hurting them. At last I gave in, not because I wanted to listen but because I became curious. If they wanted to talk, so be it, I didn't have to understand or feel their pain ... When they started talking, I realized that they were saying the same things I say, only from a different perspective. The way they talked was different; they were saying the same things I would say.” (*ibid., S.24*)

In this way, the participants create a third culture with common meanings: “Though beginning with contrasting perceptions and behaviours, two individuals, through their interaction, create an unique

³⁷ “ ¿ El momento es oportuno para iniciar una intervención ?
¿ Ha verificado Ud. las expectativas de cada parte ?
¿ Considera realistas las expectativas de cada cual ?
¿ Es objetivable lo que pretende cada uno ?
¿Cuál es el grado de compatibilidad de objetivos entre las partes ?
¿ Son conscientes de los costes de no resolución del conflicto ?
¿ Puede evaluar de algún modo el nivel de desconfianza entre las partes ?
¿ Tiene más o menos controlada la tensión emocional entre las partes ?
¿ Las partes están interesadas en algún medio específico de resolución del conflicto ?
¿ Alguien ajeno al proceso puede influir en su solución ?
¿ La toma de decisiones requiere consultas ?
¿ Ha verificado quienes están legitimados para la toma de decisiones ?
¿ Están las partes dispuestas a implicarse en el proceso de solución ?
¿ Puede Ud. dividir los problemas por partes ?
¿ Puede Ud. pactar una agenda ?
¿ Tiene Ud. un plan establecido al margen de lo que digan las partes ?
¿ Están claros los costes de su intervención ?”

setting for their interaction. In the conjoining of their separate cultures, a third culture, more inclusive than the original ones, is created, which both of them now share. Within that third culture, the two can communicate with each other more effectively ... The emergence of this third culture is the essence of relational empathy and is essential for successful conflict resolution.” (Broome, Benjamin, probably: *Overview of Conflict Resolution Activities in Cyprus: Their Contribution to the Peace Process; Nikosia 1998*, quoted in: Kuriansky, Judy, S.24)

This path full of stumbling blocks, progress and regression leads over various stages (*ibid.*, p.141):

Typology for Identifying Categories of Discourse

1. “*Ethnocentric talk*”: The participants use argumentation, do not share their feelings. Each party seems to be talking to itself, not to the other. The two groups conduct two monologues, which do not meet.
2. “*Attack*”: The participants accuse each other, use labels such as “racists”, “terrorists”. As opposed to the first category, here one side actively relates to the other, but the talking is ethnocentric.
3. “*Opening a window*”: One side expresses feelings and tries to share their experience with the other, but the other side does not want, or is not capable of, understanding reality from the other's perspective. The term given to this category is based on the concept of the “double wall” that was used by Bar-On (1999). At times, one side opens a window in his or her wall, but is confronted by the other's wall.
4. “*Recognition of differences*”: The sides discover that their perceptions of the other may be wrong. Furthermore, they recognize the differences between them, and how much they do not understand each other. This recognition is a turning point of abandoning the illusion of understanding the other, which is based on stereotypic perceptions. It enables a switch to a conversation based on recognition of the distance between the participants as separate and unique entities. The participants become conscious of the fact that the only way to reach understanding is by listening and making an effort to see reality from the others perspective.
5. “*Intellectual discussion*”: The participants use argumentation, do not tell personal stories, and do not express feelings. However, they listen to each other, and react to the others arguments. The conversation may lead to cognitive understanding of the other.
6. “*Inclusion of differences*”: A discussion between equals, characterized by sharing feelings with the others, differentiation among individuals, listening, reacting in a nonjudgemental way, and trying to understand the other's point of view.
7. “*Dialogic moment*”: A kind of empathy to the other that seems to exemplify concepts such as a moment of cognitive and affective understanding, of “real meeting” as defined by Buber (1965), of participating in the other's experience without losing the “self”.”

In the end it can come to common works, like the peace song “Shalom Salaam” (cf. Steinberg, Shoshana + Bar-On, Dan, p.178).

In all this it must not be forgotten that this kind of mediation in discussion processes goes beyond what tandem mediators learn for the intermediation of language exchange. It is discussed here to

highlight the background and environment in which tandem programmes can be embedded. The same applies to the next chapter.

4.1.4. What is important for negotiations ?

Tandem facilitators are mediators to find suitable language partners and to help with difficulties. It is not their job to mediate in conflicts between population groups. But it does not hurt if they are also informed about negotiation techniques.

Damien Helly warns against replacing real negotiations with a simple understanding of cultural differences: "Helly also warned against over-estimating the potential of cultural activities: "We should not try to replace negotiation with culture. " (*Helly, Damien, p.5*)

The negotiations must address the real underlying causes of the conflict: "... a prerequisite for prevention was attention to underlying causes for conflict (through measures such as peace and human rights education, job creation for youth and improved governance with the active participation of civil society). They underscored the critical role of civil society, especially of communities with local knowledge.¹ As noted by Sunila Abeysekera, "Voices of sanity and tolerance emerge from civil society, sometimes the only ones with integrity, and can act as catalysts for mobilization against conflict." " (*UNDP 2005, S.5*)

Arnold Mitchell recommends that all participants be represented and that the conflict be taken as a teacher (cf. *Mitchell, Arnold, p.178*). And if one does not make progress, one should wait until the next day ... (cf *ibid., p.182*).

So that negotiations are possible at all, there are certain conditions:

- Identifiable partners
 - independence
 - will
 - means of exerting influence or pressure (not negative)
 - common interests
 - willingness to come to an agreement, not to continue the conflict
 - the result if one does not negotiate (court decision) is unpredictable
 - sense of urgency
 - few psychological obstacles
 - impression that the subject can be negotiated
 - authority to decide
 - realizable
 - favorable external conditions
 - sufficient resources
- (*Alzate, Ramón, p.166+167*)

The 'Handbook on Human Security' devotes four chapters to the topic, from which comes the following information (cf. *Schirch, Lisa*): A distinction must be made between dialogue, debate and mediation (cf. *ibid.*, p.203). Here it is important to agree on basic rules (cf. *ibid.*, p.205) and not to give up: "Stay through the hard times. Make a commitment to stay in the dialogue despite the tensions."(*ibid.*, p.205). The role of the mediators is stronger than that of the tandem intermediators and they need certain skills for this (cf. *ibid.*, p.206+207). In addition, they must be aware of their own bias (mostly towards powerful persons); teachers want to spread wisdom, mediators want the group to draw its own conclusions (cf. *ibid.*, p.208). "A mediator plays a role that is more of a facilitator than a judge." (*ibid.*, p.220)

There will also be conflicts between the various cooperating actors, e.g. NGOs and the military, which must be resolved according to the 'win-to-win' principle; among the 'positions' there are 'needs' and 'interests' (cf. *ibid.*, p. 212).

The 'soft negotiation' places the relationship in the foreground against the interests and does not solve the problems, the 'hard / position-related negotiation' creates enemies, the 'interest-based negotiation' is proposed (cf. *ibid.*, p.213). One must know what is the best alternative to a negotiated solution, the focus is on problems, not persons (cf. *ibid.*, p. 214). In addition, one must adapt to the local negotiation styles.

The progress of negotiations can be jeopardised by many factors:

- Definition of the problem
 - not all affected parties are involved
 - there is little time to determine what is the best alternative to negotiation
 - identity or security at risk
 - exposure must be avoided
- (cf. *ibid.*, p.215+216)

Often there is a 'track I' for the official diplomats, and a 'track II' for the NGOs. First, a few "low hanging fruits" should be clarified (cf. *ibid.*, p.216).

The steps are:

- "premediation caucus
- introduction
- identifying issues and options
- making agreements“

(*ibid.*, p.220)

The mediators must paraphrase, summarise and reclassify (*ibid.*, p.222). They must be able to manage conflicts, deal with strong emotions, handle silence and spoilsports and overcome dead points (*ibid.*, p.223). A team of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' is better suited for this (*ibid.*, p.225).

The mediators must bring the 'pigeons' of both camps together so that they can influence their 'falcons' internally (cf. *Laubacher-Kubat, Erika*, p.48). For this they must understand how to deal with angry people, even if this destroys the dream, "the people are good".³⁸ (*Mindell, Arnold*, p.193).

They remain committed to non-violence, whereby this is more than just the absence of violence, but also non-violent communication and active listening. (cf. *Ohana, Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine*, p.123+137)

Josep Redorta refers on research (by *Thomas, Kenneth + Kilmann, Ralph*) on approaches to conflicts that found five styles, depending on the degree of competition and cooperation, orientation towards one's own and others' interests:

1. when things have to go quickly: Competition
 2. when mutual acceptance is important: Cooperation
 3. when something is not important and others can do it: Avoidance
 4. if it is important for the other, but not for oneself: Adaptation
 5. when there are conflicting goals and time pressure: Negotiation with compromise.
- (cf. *Redorta, Josep*, 2018, p.148+149)

For the fifth approach he recommends:

1. Not break pacts that have been negotiated with the parties without renegotiating them beforehand.
2. Create the best possible conditions for the physical well-being of the parties and adapt to their conditions in terms of time, space, etc.
3. Allow criticism of the process, if reasonably justified, as feedback if it contributes to the cause.
4. Prohibit threats, very unrealistic or untrustworthy proposals.
5. Strengthen partial agreements between the parties to the conflict and value their efforts.
6. Adjust the intervention to the rhythm of the parties.
7. Try to dispel the fears and concerns of the parties in an appropriate manner.
8. Instruct the parties to obtain relevant information.
9. Express recognition, if it is possible and meaningful.
10. Listen, listen, listen".³⁹

³⁸ "la gente es buena"

³⁹ "1- No contravenir pactos acordados con las partes sin una previa renegociación de los mismos.

2- Facilitar las mejores condiciones de comodidad física para las partes y adaptación a sus condiciones de horarios, espacios, etc.

3- Admitir, si están mínimamente justificadas, críticas en cuanto al proceso a nivel de *feedback*, si las mismas son pertinentes.

4- Pactar la prohibición de situaciones de amenazas, propuestas muy irreales o muy increíbles.

(Redorta, Josep, 2018, S.145)

There is also a collection of 50 of his "effective criteria for conflict resolution"⁴⁰ The last one is somewhat sobering: "50. Every solution creates its own problem in the future". (*ibid.*, p.119)⁴¹ He also thinks that if there is no solution, one should change the mental framework (*ibid.*, p.48), i.e. use 'reframing'. He also advocates a neutral evaluation by external conflict experts (cf. Redorta, Josep, 2018, p.132). However, this is a difficult undertaking because the impact of individual measures on a process is difficult to determine. (cf. Körppen, Daniela, p.28)⁴²

From the experience in Colombia is contributed:

the courses on demobilisation of former guerriller@s included parts on conflict resolution negotiations must combine confidential and public phases

High public visibility and the search for protagonism complicate the agreement (cf. lecture *Collaborating with the enemy 2018*).

4.1.5. Should unequal power relations be ignored ?

In all negotiations one must be clear about power differences (cf. UNDP, p.5 and Redorta, Josep, 2014, p.24), because these make mediation efforts more difficult (cf. Redorta, Josep, 2018, p.180). By the way, it can be connected with the fact that Palestinians sometimes do not like to speak Hebrew at meetings with Israelis (cf. Doubilet, Karen, p.51).

Who has a social rank does not tend to see the effects for the others (cf. Mindell, Arnold, p.36). Therefore those "in power"⁴³ are also confused and need the mediators (cf. *ibid.*, p.38). These in

5- Reforzar acuerdos parciales entre las partes en conflicto y valorar su esfuerzo.

6- Acompasar la intervención al ritmo de las partes.

7- Tratar de deshacer temores e inquietudes de manera adecuada.

8- Encargar a las partes la búsqueda de informaciones pertinentes.

9- Otorgar reconocimiento siempre que sea posible y oportuno.

10- Escuchar, escuchar, escuchar."

⁴⁰ "criterios efectivos para resolver conflictos"

⁴¹ "50. Toda solución, genera su propio problema en el futuro."

⁴² She quotes: Fischer, Martina: Friedensarbeit zwischen Kurzzeit-Evaluierung, Prozessbegleitung und Aktionsforschung (Berghof Working Papers No. 3), Berlin.)

http://www.berghof-center.org/uploads/download/wp3dt_loccum.pdf (9.1.2007)

⁴³ "con poder"

turn should "value the rank and use it constructively" ⁴⁴ (*ibid.*, p.41). He also gives a list of factors that confer power (*ibid.*, p.49/50) and a list of self-controls on privileges (*ibid.*, p.60-62).

Ignoring power differences leads to the failure of the attempt to solve the conflict: "any solution "ignoring power relations" will fail to achieve its goals. Therefore, it is necessary to create safe spaces in the first place. " (*Kramer, Gudrun, S.4*)

In practice it looks like this:

"3. Let's take a few examples for illustration. Anyone involved in civil conflict transformation in conflict countries such as Iraq or Palestine will first have to recognise that peace or conflict policy may be key factors of an external nature: for example, in the policies of the US or Israeli governments. Or there are very real power or distribution conflicts (such as over land, resources or the like), over which small projects such as civil peace services have hardly any influence. They can try, for example, to influence the perspective of sections of the population on the conflict, they can help to come to terms with earlier traumas or other factors, but they can rarely end an occupation situation - for example - or redistribute resources more equitably. ... If in Pakistan a lasting stabilization and a peaceful development of the country depends to a large extent on the implementation of a thorough land reform in some parts of the country - how should the (naturally meaningful) attempt to improve the relationship between Muslims and Christian or Hindu minorities be evaluated? ...

4. Civil conflict management is useful, but operates within certain limits. What should it do if, in some conflicts, the state is not part of the solution but the source of the problem? ...

5. While these difficulties should lead to a certain humility and sensitivity, ... they should not lead to discouragement or paralysis. It must be remembered that other instruments of peace policy or conflict transformation also face the same problems, but often even avoid the problems that have been raised. Military personnel are increasingly being sent to crisis and conflict areas, for example to the Balkans or Afghanistan. However, no serious evaluation of their effectiveness in relation to the policy objectives of "peacekeeping", "prevention of violence" or "peace-building" has been heard so far. As a rule, the usefulness of sending military personnel is simply assumed or "proven" by the plausibility of specific examples. An evaluation of foreign trade, agricultural or arms export policy from the point of view of its impact on violent dynamics would also certainly make sense". (*Hipler, Jochen, p.134+135*)

In light of this last quote, we can assess what Tandem can do to prevent violent conflict: a small project that can influence the views of sections of the population and help overcome trauma. But

⁴⁴ "apreciar el rango y usarlo constructivamente"

this is no reason for "discouragement or paralysis", better than nothing, and constant dripping wears the stone.

4.2. Bridge building

4.2.1. What can be done about the danger of being treated as a 'traitor'?

The implementation of tandem projects during ongoing combat operations becomes more difficult. Here there are psychological as well as technical obstacles:

The psychological ones arise from the pressure of one's own community on those who maintain or seek contact with the 'opposing' group:

"Building up trust between the young people from one of the groups is the necessary first step for bringing them into contact with the "others". Entering into communication with young people from the "other side" can be seen as going over to the other side, as "betrayal". In the worst case, this can lead to the stigmatisation of the young people who take the initiative to communicate with the other side or even deliberate intimidation to stop them from developing real relationships." (*Ohana, Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine, p.35*)

From Northern Ireland, the Glencree Centre reports that in the dialogue between former combatants and their victims, all participants feared to be seen as traitors to their own community (cf. *Bloomfield, David + Barnes, Teresa + Huyse, Luc, p.93*).

In Palestine and Israel contacts with the other country are considered impossible or bad (cf. *Abu Nimer, Mohammed + Lazarus, Ned, p.22*).

The local NGO 'Muungaso' from Goma in North Kivu in the Congo organised meetings at which anyone could accuse past incidents without taking sides. The participants in the meetings were beaten by their own community (cf. *Mubawa Muhiirwa, Jocelyn, p.131*).

This hostility is also transferred to the NGOs that want to organize such contacts: "CSOs (= *Civil Society Organizations*) often face harassment from both parties to the conflict. Those with in-depth knowledge on human rights and legal issues are more effective in defending themselves and in continuing to work in conflict zones." (*Sharad, Neupane + Anil, K.C + Thakur, Dhakal, p.25*)

The technical obstacles are obvious: even if it were possible to cross the front lines (be it in a positional war like in Ukraine, be it between walled in 'enemy' districts like in Northern Ireland in

the past), the tandem partners could be targeted by 'certain services' of both sides and become suspected of espionage.

4.2.2. Are distance contacts a solution ?

The only solution might be Internet contacts and the use of language exchange apps. For this purpose, we will be happy to give you more information. However, it is safer and more promising to have made personal acquaintances before Internet contacts, and this is difficult under war conditions. If that is impossible, the question arises of a mutually trustworthy organization that acts as a guarantor. Otherwise, one must assume that the services mentioned in the previous paragraph will infiltrate false identities in order to gain information.

4.2.3. What about meetings in third countries?

Another, but very costly solution used by diplomats in peace negotiations is to meet in third countries. What is for diplomats Geneva would be for the tandem partners the neutral zone of Cyprus, but only easily accessible for capital city residents (cf Web *Wolleh, Oliver, 2001*). But in many countries there are no such neutral areas. There are some examples of trips to a third country, especially for youth exchanges. However, this requires travel organisation and financing, and limits the contact to a few days or weeks. Oliver Wolleh describes the advantages and disadvantages in more detail (cf. Web *Wolleh, Oliver, 2006, p.84*).

4.3. Reconciliation

4.3.1. What is meant by this ?

If contacts are made more difficult by open violence during disputes, this does not mean that the time afterwards is a piece of cake. Reconciliation is a long process and a distant goal (cf. *Segovia, Alexander, p.190*). "Reconciliation is a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behaviour into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace. (*Brounéus, Karen, p.3*) "... so we reach our basic definition of reconciliation: it is a process through which a society moves from a divided past to a shared future." (*Bloomfield, David + Barnes, Teresa + Huyse, Luc, p.12*) "Reconciliation is defined by its Hebrew

root word 'Tikuum Olam' which means a three-part process of HEAL, REPAIR AND TRANSFORM." (*Aliff, Seeni Mohamed, p.10*)

Slightly more detailed:

Box 1.1: The Reconciliation Process

The process of reconciliation is not:

- an excuse for impunity;
- only an individual process;
- in opposition to / an alternative to truth or justice;
- a quick answer;
- a religious concept;
- perfect peace;
- an excuse to forget; nor
- a matter of merely forgiving.

The process of reconciliation is:

- finding a way to live that permits a vision of the future;
- the (re)building of relationships;
- coming to terms with past acts and enemies;
- a society-wide, long-term process of deep change;
- a process of acknowledging, remembering, and learning from the past; and
- voluntary and cannot be imposed.

(*Bloomfield, David + Barnes, Teresa + Huyse, Luc, p.14*)

The example of Guatemala:

- "Building and rebuilding relationships (social, political and personal) based on values and manners of mutual respect: dialogue, equality, justice, transparency, trust and solidarity.
- The healing of the wounds caused by armed conflict, especially in areas related to truth and justice.
- The overcoming of the great historical exacerbations, which are particularly expressed in the disadvantage of the indigenous population and in the extreme poverty and abandonment in which large sections of both the indigenous and the mixed population live."

(*ACNUR, volumen III, p.131*)⁴⁵

⁴⁵ "- La construcción y reconstrucción de relaciones (sociales, políticas y personales) basadas en valores y prácticas de respeto mutuo: el diálogo, la igualdad, la justicia, la transparencia, la confianza y la solidaridad.
- La sanación de las heridas provocadas por el enfrentamiento armado, especialmente en los aspectos que tienen que ver con verdad y justicia.
- La superación de las grandes exclusiones históricas, que se expresan especialmente en la discriminación de la población indígena y en la extrema pobreza y abandono en que viven amplios sectores de la población tanto indígena como ladina."

Unfortunately, there is a very high 'relapse rate': "Statistics tell us that around 50% of armed conflicts that have ended will re-emerge within a ten-year period." (*Brounéus, Karen, S.1*)

First, are presented the reflections of Karen Brounéus on reconciliation:

Forgiveness and reconciliation are to be separated, the first should not be a prerequisite for the second (cf. *ibid.*, p.3, cf. also p.17). This is a very controversial question (cf. *Mersky, Marcie, p.26*).

"... for legitimacy and sustainability, local and national initiatives for reconciliation should be supported - not imported;..." (*Brounéus, Karen, p.4*) "A successful process of reconciliation in one country can never be imported as a magic formula to another." (*ibid.*, p.7), because reconciliation is based on an analysis of the conflict (cf. *ibid.*, p.6). "Furthermore, if the first casualty of war is truth, as it has been said, the second is perhaps complexity, suggests Marie Smyth." (*ibid.*, p.11) ⁴⁶

It is also disputed whether it makes more sense to forget the past or to come to terms with it in conversations (cf. *ibid.*, p. 12). Here there are religious, cultural, economic, political, psychological and legal aspects. It seems, however, that countries in which regrets about the past were expressed publicly rarely fall back into violent conflicts again (cf. *ibid.*, p. 25).

An example of a country in which 'ethnic separation' could be 'brought under control' again after a few conflicts is the former Yugoslav Republic of (Northern) Macedonia, among other things with the help of a television programme for children (cf. *ibid.*, p.44).

It also assumes a very broad time horizon (cf. *ibid.*, p.49), such as 'decades of years' (*ibid.*, p.50), and only for the first step, the recognition of suffering on both sides, does it estimate "2-3 years if well managed" (*ibid.*, p.51). "The "healing" of a country, of large parts of the population, of whole regions, is something that involves a long-term process. Nevertheless, the activities of a political nature, both national and international, do not take this type of process into account, but rather the short or, at best, medium-term ones. This also applies to initiatives related to education, which also need resources and regularity". (*ACNUR, volumen III, p.21*) ⁴⁷ And unfortunately this is often lacking: "... the sad reality is that most post-conflict societies are precisely those who have fewest

⁴⁶ She quotes: Smyth, Marie: Remembering in Northern Ireland: Victims, Perpetrators and Hierarchies of Pain and Responsibility; in: Hamber, Brandon (de): Past Imperfect: Dealing with the Past in Northern Ireland and Societies in Transition, INCORE Derry/Londonderry 1998

⁴⁷ "La "curación" de un país, de grandes sectores poblacionales, de regiones enteras, es algo que conlleva un proceso de largo plazo. No obstante, las actuaciones de índole política, sean nacionales o internacionales, no contemplan este tipo de proceso sino más bien los de corto o, en el mejor de los casos, mediano plazo. Esto afecta también a iniciativas relacionadas con la educación, que exigen también recursos y regularidad."

resources to spare. Yet a reconciliation process is not necessarily a cheap option.” (*Bloomfield, David + Barnes, Teresa + Huyse, Luc, S.16*)

4.3.2. Who reconciles with whom and when ?

Galtung also wants 'after violence' not to become 'before violence' (cf. Galtung, Johan, p.13). The question WHO reconciles himself with WHOM is of great importance (cf. *Šmidling, Tamara, quoted in: Franovic, Ivana, p.23*):

A distinction must be made between three levels: top / middle level / grass roots. The middle level is very important (cf. *Brounéus, Karen, p.4*). From ex-Yugoslavia comes the objection: "We have learned many lessons. Desire, longing for reconciliation. We don't like the word reconciliation; we prefer to say *trasbuilding*. We like to talk about trust and affection, and they have to come from the bottom up, exclusively, because they don't have to come and reconcile us. It is we who have the greatest responsibility to reconcile. And also the participation of the victims in the reparations processes is indispensable, and not so many hands from outside and so many NGOs and all that.

It is a commandment for us, together with the community of victims and other close forces, to develop new models of justice where the survivors (feminine in Spanish) play the leading role in the whole process, ... There has been a great non-violent rebellion. In the first place, 800,000 men refused to go to war." (*Zajovic, Stasa, p.143*)⁴⁸

Volker Matthies instead thinks of the 'highest' and the 'lowest' level and demands "an expansion of the "peace process from above" ... to promote "peace processes from below". "(*Matthies, Volker, p.35*) He justifies this with the research of Hampson (1996) and Kühne (1996), which show that the "opening of development opportunities for civil society forces and structures through which the peace process can be sustainably rooted in the population" is a factor for consolidation. (*Matthies, Volker, p.36*)

⁴⁸ "Lecciones hemos aprendido muchas. Demandas, anhelos de reconciliación. No nos gusta la palabra reconciliación; preferimos *trasbuilding*. Nos gusta hablar de confianza y cariño, y deben ser protagonizados por la base, exclusivamente, porque no tienen por qué venir a reconciliarnos. Somos nosotros los que tenemos mayor responsabilidad en reconciliarnos. Y también la participación de las víctimas en procesos de reparación es indispensable, y no tantas manos que vienen de fuera y tantas ONG's y todo esto.

Es un imperativo nuestro desarrollar, junto con la comunidad de víctimas y otros agentes cercanos, nuevos modelos de justicia, donde las supervivientes sean actoras de todo el proceso, ... Ha existido una gran rebelión, no violenta. En primer lugar, 800.000 hombres se negaron a ir a la guerra."

In contrast, Stasa Zajovic points out: "The communities of the victims, and we with them, believe that the nationalist elites do not have the slightest will and moral or political capacity to engage in reconciliation. This means that the reconciliation proposed by the political elites and supported by the European centres of power does not lead to a rapprochement between the victims, but, on the contrary, it is a rapprochement between the military leaders, between some representatives of the victims and the war criminals and the political elite". (*Zajovic, Stasa, p.142*)⁴⁹

In this kind of 'reconciliation from above' there are self-interests of those who originally provoked the violent conflict: "The responsibility of the international community in this kind of institutionalization and instrumentalization of remembrance is enormous. It is subordinated to interests that have nothing to do with you, citizens of the European Union, and even less with us. The diplomats and ambassadors of the powerful countries of the West are sticking to the idea of imposing reconciliation from above and are delighted to direct these famous gestures of forgiveness, etc., etc. And I have already said who benefits from it and to what ends it is subordinated." (*ibid., p.142*)⁵⁰

For example, there are reports of reconciliation processes that brought impunity for war criminals (cf. *Lira, Elizabeth, p.113*).

The question of those involved in reconciliation is connected with its intensity:

Levels of Reconciliation	Type of coexistence	Nature of cross-community interaction	Typical initiatives to deepen relationships	Key actors in initiatives
<i>Surface reconciliation</i> of non-lethal coexistence	Separate lives. Live apart. Kind of apartheid	Minimal social interaction – mainly by arrangement	Dialogue of words	Third parties. Top and middle level leaders
<i>Shallow reconciliation</i> of civil association	Live alongside each other as fellow citizens.	Role-specific interaction	Dialogue of projects	Third parties. Middle- & grass-roots level opinion-leaders

⁴⁹ "Las comunidades de las víctimas, y nosotras con ellas, consideran que las élites nacionalistas no tienen la más mínima voluntad y capacidad moral o política para implicarse en la reconciliación. O sea, la reconciliación propuestas por las élites políticas y apoyada por los centros de poder europeos no llevan (*sic*) a un acercamiento a las víctimas, sino, todo lo contrario, son acercamientos entre las cúpulas militares, entre algunos representantes de las víctimas con los criminales de guerra y con la élite política."

⁵⁰ La responsabilidad de la comunidad internacional es enorme en esta suerte de institucionalización e instrumentalización de la memoria. Esta se supedita a intereses que no tienen nada que ver con vosotros, ciudadanos de la Unión Europea, y menos aún con nosotros. Diplomáticos y embajadores de los países de Occidente se empeñan en imponer la reconciliación desde arriba y les encanta orquestar estos famosos gestos de pedir perdón, etcétera. Y ya he dicho quién saca el provecho y también a qué está supeditado; ..."

	Parallel lives. Benign apartheid.			
<i>Deep reconciliation of community – ubuntu/ rainbow kingdom</i>	People from different communities live with and amongst each other	Rich and multi-textured	Dialogue of living	Grassroots everyday people

(Andrew Rigby. "Twenty Observations on 'Post-settlement' Reconciliation." (Paper presented at the Reconciliation Expert Network seminar, Stockholm, 15-17 March 2006, 13), quoted in Franovic, Ivana, p.57)

Because of these different degrees of intensity, Johan Galtung emphasizes that 'peace' is nothing punctual, but can be stronger or weaker depending on the degree of cooperation and interaction (cf. *Galtung, Johan, p.23*). And from Lebanon it is reported that maintaining irreconcilability is the breeding ground for new struggles: "By neglecting 'demobilisation of the mind', sectarian leaders have kept new and former fighters ready to mobilise at any time: ...". (*De Clerck, Dima, p.26*).

Tandem as 'social interaction by arrangement' could already be used on the first level 'surface reconciliation' to proceed to the second and third level.

If we now come to the question of the appropriate time, Dan Bar-On distinguishes between 'ascending' and 'descending' processes (cf. *Bar-On, Dan, p.48*).

The 'descending' ⁵¹ are those decided by politicians, they should start when

- a first political solution has been found
- legal action has been taken against the perpetrators of inhumanity
- economic compensation for the victims has been initiated.

(cf. *ibid., p.48*)

The 'ascending' ⁵² are the psychological and social measures based on certain preconditions:

- a) "The parties involved have reached a new stage in which the motives for maintaining the conflict have become much weaker or even insignificant.
- b) Before the outbreak of the violent conflict, there was a first stage of reconciliation, of trust between the two parties, which could be restored.
- c) An economic, legal, social and political symmetry has developed between the parties involved in the conflict, enabling them to participate in the reconciliation process as equal partners.
- d) The terms conflict resolution, forgiveness and reconciliation have a similar meaning in the cultures of the two parties to the conflict.

⁵¹ "descendentas"

⁵² "ascendentas"

e) The conflict is defined as a polarized and one-dimensional conflict situation between two clearly defined groups. “

(*ibid.*, p.48) ⁵³

The mass media play an important role in both types of measures:

"The mass media tend to act reactively, to be one-sided and to express the majority of private interest groups. They often place the emphasis on information that is not always true and appropriate.

It is therefore pointed out that it is important for citizens to acquire them together and recreate them from the perspective of rebuilding democracy".

(*ACNUR, volumen III, p.22*) ⁵⁴

As far as the educational system is concerned, we recommend

“Education for reconciliation should therefore:

- Promote an understanding of the causes, consequences and possible resolutions of conflict and estrangement on the personal, social, institutional and global levels.
- Introduce and develop the skills necessary to rebuild relationships torn apart by violent conflict.
- Develop an understanding and accommodation for the differences that may exist in experience, ethnicity, religion, political beliefs and so on. It must be rooted in fundamental values such as respect, dignity and equality, be concerned with issues of pluralism in general, and address specific issues of culture, identity, class and gender.” (*Bloomfield, David + Barnes, Teresa + Huyse, Luc, p.29*)

Finally, comments by various authors on the relationship between victims and aggressors and on psychological issues in general:

⁵³ “a- Las partes involucradas han alcanzado una nueva etapa en la que los motivos para mantener el conflicto se han debilitado considerablemente o son ya irrelevantes.
b- Antes del estallido del conflicto violento hubo una primera etapa de conciliación, de confianza, entre las dos partes, que se podría restablecer.
c- Se ha desarrollado una simetría económica, legal, social y política entre las partes involucradas en el conflicto, que las capacita para participar en el proceso de reconciliación como asociados con los mismos derechos.
d- Los conceptos de resolución de conflicto, perdón y reconciliación tienen un significado parecido en las culturas de las dos partes del conflicto.
e- El conflicto se define como una situación polarizada y unidimensional de disputa entre dos grupos bien definidos.”

⁵⁴ “- Los medios de comunicación suelen ser reactivos, parcializados y, en general, expresan mayoritariamente los intereses privados. Con frecuencia ponen acento en información no siempre veraz y oportuna.
- Se señala por ello la importancia de la apropiación colectiva y recreación de los mismos por los ciudadanos desde la perspectiva de reconstrucción democrática.”

Reconciliation (partially) restores dignity to victims and oppressors (cf. *Mersky, Marcie, p.130*).

This is done through the 'four D'⁵⁵, namely

1. return of dignity
2. the pain is brought out of the private area
3. the victims are no longer regarded as criminals
4. the survivors are no longer regarded as victims

(cf. *ibid.*, p. 132).

If the victims agree, the aggressors with their experiences should also be involved in coming to terms with the past (cf. *ACNUR, volumen I, p.X*). In doing so, all should be released from their ethnic patterns of thought: “Peace activists should not focus primarily on ethnicity, but on structures, cultures and ideologies that are the basis for violent conflict. They should offer people space for taking a rest from the overwhelming and pressing ethnic label, and they should offer them other ways to perceive reality and to act.” (*Franovic, Ivana, S.24*).

For Dan Bar-On the following factors are important, although not necessarily in this order:

- Restoring trust
- Thinking
- (Turning away from) the monolithic construction of one's own identity against others
- It takes much longer than peace-making.
- Subjective language, asymmetry of benefit and status quo
- (Important) target groups: Women and children
- Coordination between 'ascending' and 'descending' measures.

(cf. *Bar-On, Dan, volumen II, p.257*)

If the process is successful, it will also have positive effects on the psychological well-being of all those involved: “On the individual level, reconciliation is important for the preservation of one’s mental health. The mutual bitterness of enemies works like a mental poison. The desire for revenge, the desire to do harm to another person, even if that person is the enemy, drains us of energy and prevents our mental wounds from healing. Above all, our feelings are within us. The person we hate may not even know that we exist while that negative feeling is poisoning us and taking away our energy, the energy we need for approaching life in a constructive way, the energy we need for accomplishing our goals that might bring us wellbeing.” (*Petrović, Nebojša, S.1*)

⁵⁵ Weil im Spanischen die Substantive mit 'd' beginnen: dignificación, desprivatización, descriminalización, desvictimización

4.3.3. How can this be facilitated?

This chapter describes how reconciliation processes can be facilitated. Galtung defines "reconciliation = conclusion + healing" (*Galtung, Johan, p.77*). There are many approaches, all of which contribute to treating the trauma and overcoming the sense of guilt. Normally there is a third person as guarantor (cf. *ibid.*, p.77). The approaches in detail:

1. apologetic with reference to character / structure / culture - the first is more difficult; it is easier to agree that the structures or the culture were deficient
2. reparation/return: attempt to restore the previous situation by the aggressor returning under contract what he has destroyed
3. apology / forgiveness: forgiveness is more than accepting apologies, the doubt remains what the person concerned achieves
4. theological / with repentance: only for believers, the absolution gives God
5. legal / in the penal system: Galtung comments: "How do the international courts function with regard to collective violence? As might be expected, the defendants are usually the authors of violence from person to person, those who kill with machetes and gas chambers, not those who kill with rockets and atomic bombs, and they are usually the executors of the violence, rather than the civilians who give the order or plan the scenario;" (*ibid.*, p.85) ⁵⁶ It's too tight.
6. interdependence / 'Karma': Buddhist approach, not only looking for reasons, but for the future a history or truth commission, or many in many places.
7. theatrical performance, or narrative, or video
8. common regret / healing: instead of celebrating victories, people from both countries gather to consider how to avoid it
9. joint reconstruction: best the same who did it, otherwise someone from their people
10. joint conflict resolution: collective debate about reasons or how to avoid it in the future
11. ho'o pono pono': from Hawaii, aggressor and victim analyse in the presence of a mediator why it happened and the aggressor does something to make up for the damage
(cf *ibid.*, p.77ff)

⁵⁶ "¿ Cómo funcionan los tribunales internacionales por lo que respecta a la violencia colectiva ? Como cabría esperar: los acusados tienden a ser los autores de la violencia de persona a persona, los que matan con machetes y cámaras de gas, no los que matan con misiles y bombas atómicas, y tienden a ser los ejecutores de la violencia, más que los civiles que dan la orden o diseñan el escenario;"

You have to show "cultural eclecticism."⁵⁷ and combine approaches, none is sufficient for itself alone.

A table of 'social reconciliation strategies' lists them:

1. Uncovering the past

- a. Truth commissions
- b. Indigenous mechanisms of acknowledging the past

2. Promoting dialog

- a. Problem-solving workshops
- b. High-profile conferences
- c. Conflict management training
- d. Sustained dialog

3. Promoting understanding through media

- a. Documentaries and films promoting mutual understanding
- b. Peace radio and television
- c. Professionalization of media, both print and electronic
- d. Institutional infrastructure for independent media

4. Developing grass-roots structures for peace

- a. Peace committees and commissions
- b. Peace research and training organizations

5. Collaborative activities

- a. Scientific and technical collaboration
- b. Collaborative development interventions

(Kumar, Krishna, S.3)

Kofi Annan reaffirms as essential requirements:

- Reconciliation not through amnesia, but through joint reappraisal
- a framework for dialogue between victims and perpetrators needs to be established
- the victims are not only individual patients undergoing medical treatment, but also necessarily involved in the restoration of coexistence
- the causes must be understood
- the views of victims, perpetrators and those who knew and tolerated the facts must be taken into account
- more resources and personnel are needed
- Coordination between political negotiations and reconciliation at the social level.

(cf. Annan, Kofi, p.28)

The demands on the negotiators/intermediaries are:

- You need visions AND they have to jump over to others, plan for the long term.
- Optimism, Perseverance, Management Skills
- Analyse causes, know backgrounds, avoid provocative symbols

⁵⁷ "eclecticismo cultural"

- Networking with different partners, Internet, world public as security
- Peace is a process, small steps are the only possible way.
- Unconventional solutions, from zero-sum thinking to Win-to-win, playful encounters
- Peace dividend / economic development must be planned for
- Empathy, talking with everyone, training in asking questions / listening
- Neutrality, making your own motives and steps transparent
- To know oneself, to critically question one's own role, not to fall for 'victims',
- Negotiating motives instead of demands

(cf. *Gerster, Petra + Gleich, Michael, p.197ff*)

Institutions located in the conflict area may contribute their part against sectarianism:

- (a) have a staff and management made up of both communities
 - (b) try to ensure that clients/users come from both communities
 - (c) combating negative attitudes
 - (d) ensure that the office is accessible to all
 - (e) carry out activities against sectarian intimidation with trade unions, management and the workforce
 - (f) train the workforce to work in every possible community
 - (g) Respect the culture of all communities at festivals, symbols, flags and sponsor selection.
- (cf. *Logue (1993)*, summarized in: *Fitzduff, Mari, p.55*)

In addition, there are many points to consider that are listed below:

Reconstruction programmes must take into account the impact of violence on society. Disarmament does not only mean the surrender of weapons and the economic preconditions for reintegration, but also the consideration of relationship models during the war, the reconstruction of one's own identity and relations with the environment. It is necessary to work with the population of areas that receive returning refugees who have been branded as 'subversive' by the army (cf. *Beristain, Carlos Martín, 2004, p.72*).

They proved to be particularly suitable:

"2) cooperation based on common objectives (e.g. services, social activities, etc.); ...

5) the relationship between ethnic and social groups that have elements of identifying each other as equal and that can overcome stereotypes about the other group (for example, young people)". (ibid., p.72).⁵⁸

According to the experience in Sri Lanka, the improvement of the situation will occur in three steps:

a) fears are replaced by non-violent coexistence

⁵⁸ "2) la colaboración en base a objetivos comunes (por ejemplo, servicios, actividades sociales, etc.) ...

5) la relación entre grupos étnicos o sociales que tengan elementos de autoidentificación mutua, y que puedan contribuir a superar los estereotipos sobre el otro grupo (por ejemplo, jóvenes)."

b) when fear is no longer dominant, trust can be built up

c) the mood continues in the direction of empathy.

(cf. *Aliff, Seeni Mohamed, p.2*)

An improvement in the economic situation in the settlement area of both communities greatly facilitates this (cf. *ibid., p. 6*).

Some recommendations can be made to increase the probability of success:

- The population in conflict areas is not only a victim, but can become active and develop resilience (cf. *Picard, Elizabeth + Ramsbotham, Alexander , p.7*).
- With their help 'early warning systems' can be established (cf. *Buescher, Gabriella S., p.17, and Kumar Subba, Basant + Leschenko, Oksana, p.41*).
- But there is no sense in promoting contacts as long as the memory of the violent conflicts is still very fresh, which often led to failure in Mostar/Bosnia-Herzegovina (cf. *Vinyamata Camp, Eduardo, p.107*).
- Shared areas such as parks and playgrounds are well suited for cross-community encounters (cf. *Buescher, Gabriella S., p.17*).
- "The promotion of tolerance through schools has proven effective and efficient if a school administration creates an environment that allows the participation of parents in decisionmaking processes that affect the future of their children. Therefore, tolerance promotion activities should be implemented together with social cohesion activities, to allow parents and children of different ethnic groups to work together." (*Kumar Subba, Basant + Leschenko, Oksana, p.31*)
- When children play together it has a ripple effect on parents, schools and politicians (cf. *Sugden, John*).
- In very different living conditions children can react with crying (cf. *Hanafi, Sari, p.78*).
- Sometimes it may be necessary to use a third 'neutral' language first (cf. *Economidou, Kathie + Wolleh, Oliver, p.334*).

4.3.4. What are the difficulties?

Marita Eastmond observes very negative experiences in Bosnia-Herzegovina. There is an increasing interventionism to rebuild states and reconcile the population (cf. *Eastmond, Marita, p.4*), so that

one must speak of a "global reconciliation industry" (*Wilson, Richard Ashby: Anthropological studies of national reconciliation processes*; in: *Anthropological Theory* 3 (3): 367-87, 2003; cited in *ibid.*, p.4). The progress made is not appropriate.

Even the 'trick' of linking the allocation of compensation for the former residential building or its reconstruction with the signature of a 'declaration of willingness to reconcile' is questionable and, in the long run, rather counterproductive (cf. *Kanafani-Zahar, Aida*, p.47).

It is always necessary to distinguish between 'thick' (complete) reconciliation and 'peaceful co-existence', and also between official statements and the reality of people's lives (cf. *ibid.*, p.5).

It does not see it as proven that punishment promotes reconciliation (cf *ibid.*, p.7). Even when former Khmer Rouge soldiers returned to their villages, their reintegration depended more on their repentance than on their conviction (cf. *ibid.*, p.8). "... telling the truth does not necessarily heal, and many victims suffer after public testimony." (*ibid.*, p.8)

According to other authors, frictional losses can also occur due to the conflict between peace/reconciliation and justice for past crimes (cf. *OECD*, p.57).

Otherwise, the views on the returnees are often romantic (cf. *Eastmond, Marita*, p.9). "... since interaction is so rare, one could hardly speak of social reintegration and certainly not of reconciliation" (*ibid.*, p.10)⁵⁹.

After all, it also mentions cases of cooperation between formerly 'hostile' minorities.

Also from ex-Yugoslavia, Charles David Tauber reports on the factors that make real reconciliation difficult:

- Lack of communication skills between persons and groups
- Lack of knowledge of non-violent conflict resolution techniques
- Lack of democratic culture
- Lack of initiative, critical thinking and personal responsibility awareness
- Economy and social structure (high unemployment)
- Return ("a complete disaster")⁶⁰ (*ibid.*, p.388) , in Croatia, according to unofficial sources, 25% of returnees return to the place to which they had fled, or go abroad, in Bosnia even more, because importance was attached to the quickest possible return).

(cf. *Tauber, Charles David*, p.388)

This coincides with other findings:

Confidence/reconciliation is more difficult:

⁵⁹ She quotes: Çukur, Melita + Kjell Magnusson + Joakim Molander+ Hans Skotte: Returning Home: An Evaluation of SIDA's Integrated Area Programmes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, S.125; SIDA Evaluation Report 05/18, Stockholm 2005

⁶⁰ "un completo desastre"

- **in societies with severe polarization with a view to the past**
- **if there's no new social consensus after the war**
- **if the new framework for coexistence is determined by the previous actors or new forces which exclude the others**
- **when the existing communities cling very strongly to their truth**
- **when the identity of one group is strengthened by the fear of the other.**

(Beristain, Carlos Martín, S.65)

After a war, the identity characteristics of the victims can be strengthened. In many areas, for example now in Kosovo, fear becomes a factor of cohesion because some groups believe that they can only survive together. This group pressure not only leads to clashes with the other group, but also has an internal effect (*cf. ibid., p. 65*).

Christopher R. Mitchell recommends especially for 'unsolvable conflicts':

+ there is a tendency to consider only direct opponents or to exclude extremists; but it is important to include groups without a voice in order to increase later acceptance (*cf. Mitchell, Christopher R., p.9*)

+ one must not only include 'elites', but also intermediaries/opinion makers and grassroots people, and make differentiated offers to everyone (*ibid., p.10*)

+ it makes sense to exploit changes in the overall panorama (*ibid., p.11*)

+ one must not wait for the opponent to move and give evidence of honesty, but should facilitate his steps (*ibid., p.12*)

+ one must acknowledge and heal psychological injuries (*ibid., p.12*)

+ You have to give up the principle of revenge and the search for the culprits, stages: Taking responsibility, acknowledging mistakes, apology, reparation, reconciliation (*ibid., p.13*)

+ one must also take seriously the fears of those in power, because they can bring the whole process to failure (*ibid., p.14*)

+ all this is not a state, but a continuous process (*ibid., p.14*)

Three mistakes must be avoided at all costs:

+ Discussions about 'older rights', instead one should talk about the dilemma of how both parties can exercise them without infringement (*ibid., p.15*)

+ It makes little sense to fall into 'labels', the contents are more important (*ibid., p.16*)

+ You should not copy turnkey solutions (*ibid., p.16*).

Now we come to the question of the time for an intervention, according to the 'IDEA manual'. Economic reconstruction and reconciliation should take place simultaneously through the phases "healing, justice, truth, reparation" (cf. *Bloomfield, David + Barnes, Teresa + Huyse, p.167*). The starting time is a difficult decision and must not be postponed in favour of the economic measures (*ibid., p.27*). However, one cannot begin immediately after the end of the war: "Experience suggests that a rushed approach, as regularly advocated by national and international peacemakers and facilitators, will almost certainly be counterproductive.

In the immediate aftermath of a civil war or of an inhuman regime, victims are too preoccupied with their own distress to develop trust and empathy in a hurry." (*ibid., p.31*)

That's the recommendation:

- Begin early, when attitudes are most receptive to change and challenge.
- Stick to the commitment, and deal with the hard issues: they will only get harder with time.
- Give it sufficient time: it cannot be rushed.
- Be transparent about the goals, the difficulties, the time span and the resources." (*ibid., S.17*)

Here, too, psychological aspects have to be taken into account, and there is already a lot of experience with suitable forms and methods:

Johan Galtung suspects that in the conversation about reconciliation the same already occurs a little bit (cf. *Galtung, Johan, p.100*).

Dan Bar-On developed the method "To Reflect and Trust" (TRT) for the dialogue of descendants of Nazis and Holocaust survivors and transferred it to other crisis areas (cf. *Bar-On, Dan, p.50*).

In Bosnia-Herzegovina it turned out during negotiations that the delegation of tricky political questions to a multi-ethnic group of persons from legal professions led to a more technical, result-oriented and tension-free discussion (cf. *Bromley, Mark K. + Sali-Terzic, Sevima, p.25*).

Role plays with changing roles (cf. *Vinyamata Camp, Eduardo, p.117*), telling stories to increase the ability to listen (cf. *Cohen, Cynthia, p.15+17*), 'Playback Theatre' after telling one's own story (*ibid., p.17*) and writing poems (*ibid., p.45*) also proved helpful.

It is obvious that in this way a long time is spent presenting personal stories of suffering (cf. *Riskin, Steven M., p.30*). But this remembrance should not create new suffering (cf. *Cohen, Cynthia, p.52*).

It becomes particularly unpleasant when refugees return home and their surroundings have not changed (cf. *Riskin, Steven M., p.45*). Especially when they have to live together with perpetrators who have received material goods through their crimes (cf. *Beristain, Carlos Martín, 2004, p.63*).

In such situations they need a "safe haven" to share their depressions with someone (cf. *Riskin, Steven M., p.44*).

Presumably tourism can also contribute to dealing better with past conflicts (cf. *Dorsey, Maria, p.4*). Travel can provide a new experience with the environment and at the same time strengthen the inner cohesion of the travel group (cf. *Vinyamata Camp, Eduardo, p.111+112*). The change of house also changes the 'interior of the house' (cf. *ibid., p.112ff.*).

4.3.5. Is there a relationship between democracy and reconciliation?

The literature discusses to what extent the democratization of a country facilitates reconciliation and what comes first (cf. *Dilek, Esra, p.1*). In Greece, for example, the end of the military dictatorship paved the way for reconciliation, while in Bosnia-Herzegovina this did not happen. It is a question of the legitimacy of the state (cf. *ibid., p.6*), in Bosnia-Herzegovina democratization was guided from outside, the population is not the 'owner' of the process (cf. *ibid., p.19*).

But a formal democracy is not enough for this (cf. *Mindell, Arnold, p.26*), and here we face decisive questions:

Can we speak of 'democracy' if

- elections take place, but in these elections it is not possible to decide on the economic system, which determines the essential political decisions ?
- there is a formal separation of powers, but the parties are dependent on company donations, the parliament cannot pass laws to which large companies would react with emigration, and the government is in the hands of lobbyists, former or future company bosses ?
- there are clearly anti-democratic forces involved in the government ?
- in everyday life not even a minimum standard of human rights is guaranteed for the entire population ?

No matter how these questions are answered, democratization must encompass all, not only the politicians: „While democratic compromise produces the solutions regarding the issues in conflict, then, reconciliation addresses the relationships between those who will have to implement those solutions. It is important to point out, though, that this applies not simply to the politicians and the

deal-makers who are engaged in the compromise. It applies to the entire population. The relationship which must be addressed is not simply that between parliamentarians or leaders, but between whole communities." (*Bloomfield, David + Barnes, Teresa + Huyse, Luc, p.11*)

By the way, peace NGOs are recommended to remain neutral in conflicts between majority and minority, because sometimes the minority is right (cf. *Mindell, Arnold, p.27*). And the 'T-Kit' warns that democracy reduces the risk of war, but in combination with 'ethnicity'⁶¹ can hide oppression of minorities (cf. *Ohana, Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine, p.87*).

4.3.6 What are the factors for willingness to reconcile?

The veterans of the Vietnam War from New Zealand then had to reconcile three times, namely with the former 'enemy', with those who were against the war in their own country, and with themselves (cf. *Dorsey, Maria, p.7*). Reconciliation is more than the readiness to forgive, it takes up the relationships again and enters into a discussion about it (cf. *ibid., p.9*).

'Reconciliation' is often divided into two stages according to the degree of depth: "On the other hand, Bhargava (2012) divides reconciliation into two forms in which one is seen as thin and likened to resignation, a lowering of expectations. She states that this thin form is the weaker reconciliation which often occurs when groups in conflict come to the realization that neither group can claim victory. Additionally, reconciliation is done in such a way that those involved in the conflict are able to move on even though the conflict and the wrongdoing by the other is not forgotten. The second form is referred to as strong reconciliation and is seen as an achievement process that involves those in the conflict taking collective responsibility for wrong-doing followed by forgiveness which cancels the estrangement with the other. Strong reconciliation includes the elimination of held prejudices towards the other by transforming their own identities through a difficult process. The result of this form of reconciliation is that there is a shared sense of morality, balance restored, the dissolution of alienation and fear, creation of new values that are shared, and amiable relationships (*Bhargava, 2012*). Weak reconciliation is believed to be the only form which can be realistically attained because strong reconciliation relies too heavily on the ability of those involved to forget and requires more than what is necessary or feasible (*Bhargava, 2012*)." (*Dorsey, Maria, S.11/12*)⁶²

⁶¹ Also in the original

⁶² She quotes: Bhargava, R. The difficulty of reconciliation. *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, 38(4-5), 369-377, 2012,

In reconciliation programmes there are three parties, victims, aggressors and 'uninvolved'. The 'IDEA Handbook' contains very detailed and sometimes surprising information on the first two groups.

With regard to victims, the following should be considered: various types, e.g. direct and indirect, first and second generation, specifically women and children; external definitions and one's own point of view; being brought back into the victim role; strengthening and competition of victims; from victim to perpetrator (cf. *Bloomfield, David + Barnes, Teresa + Huyse, Luc, Chapter 4, p.54ff*).

The role of perpetrators is also complex: 'primary' and 'indirect' as well as individual and collective perpetrators; hierarchy of cruelty; motivations; psychological barriers to reconciliation; reintegration. (cf. *ibid., chapter 5, p.67ff*)

Self-help groups make sense for both parties (cf. *ibid., p.84*).

In addition, in every conflict there are people who fight against violence (cf. *Franovic, Ivana, p.35*), or at least who have not participated in it. Probably it is these persons who see themselves as 'humanitarians' who will first participate in reconciliation programmes (cf. *Arye, Lane + Audergon, Arlene, p.4*).

Let us now look for the factors that facilitate reconciliation processes:

One should not be surprised if at the beginning of meetings of the two parties only the naming of name and origin is sufficient, so that everyone suspects in which way the person was involved in the war, as reported from Osijek (Croatia) (cf. *Bolling, Landrum, p.1*). Arnold Mindell stresses, however, that all experiences, including those of minorities, are important for 'process-oriented psychology' (cf. *ibid., p.2*). In workshops it can even be shown that the former victims can become perpetrators (*ibid., p.39*). The willingness to forgive comes more often from the victims than from the perpetrators (cf. *ibid, p.41*) and the task is not so much to change the perpetrators as to heal the victims (cf. *ibid, p.39*). Much had already been achieved when those involved (in Northern Ireland) no longer had any inhibitions about showing their identity and at the same time making jokes about it (cf. *Fitzduff, Mari, p.154*).

Economic improvements for all involved are certainly helpful: "The improvement of socio-economic conditions in a post-conflict society is accepted as a key step on the road to reconciliation (*IDEA 2003, 27*) while it is generally acknowledged that economic disparities form a barrier for

reconciliation (*Sarkin, 2008; Pankhurst, 1999*). Economic considerations are the main engine for the willingness of opposing parties or individuals to reconcile with other members of the society. In societies where there is a sense of economic inequality in the aftermath of conflict, it is expected that reconciliation initiatives will be ineffective.” (*Dilek, Esra, S.8*)

There have been many attempts to associate the willingness to reconcile with character, experience and other psychological factors. Only one study was able to find a connection between post-traumatic stress disorder and low willingness to reconcile, the decisive factor being one's own point of view (cf. *Biro, Miklos + Milin, Petar, p.5*). Also the intensity of traumatizing experiences was not as important as the characteristics of the person (cf. *ibid., p.12*, cf. also *Petrović, Nebojša, p.4*). Thus factors were found which predict the strength of the willingness to reconcile (ordered from 'strong' to 'weaker'):

- Lack of nationalism and xenophobia
- Willingness to admit the existence of war crimes among one's own nationality
- Feeling of being (not) discriminated by members of the "opposing" nationality
- (Positive) stereotypes about the "opposing" nationality
- Friends among the members of the "opposing" nationality
- Positive experiences with the members of the "opposing" nationality
- (Lack of) ethnocentrism
- Feeling safe in the neighborhood. (cf. *ibid., p.9*).

The results of another study, also from Yugoslavia, point in the same direction. The correlation with willingness to reconcile is:

- Nationalism, blind patriotism, the belonging to a nation is attributed importance - extremely negative
- smaller distance to other nations - high
- fewer stereotypes about himself, softer stereotypes about others - high
- less hate and anger - high
- Religiousness - negative (this result surprises the researchers, they interpret it as 'non-explanation')
- social, liberal and humanitarian political attitude - higher / conservatives and traditional - less

(cf. *Petrović, Nebojša, p.4*)

The personal attitude is more important than nationality:

„ ... people who are prone to reconciliation are very close to each other in terms of the values that they stand up for, their beliefs and stands, and their view of life in general, so we might say that they form a homogenic group among each other rather than as members of their nations. What is

more interesting, is that those who are opposed to reconciliation, even though they see the other side as their biggest opponents and eternal enemies, are very much alike to the similar group on the other side.

In any case, they have much more in common with similar groups on the opposite side than with their own fellow countrymen who have different views of the world. Even though they insist that they are for equality of all members of their nation, that is not true. As much as they are intolerant towards members of other nations, they are also intolerant towards members of their own nation who do not share their values and goals. They also send threats to the officials of their national group that have been chosen by the majority of the votes of that nation, when they promote politics which the »monopolists of the rights to patriotism« do not find appealing. Thus they prove that they are opposed even to their own nation when that nation does not accept their values.“ (*ibid.*, p.5)

Interesting also the results from Northern Ireland: “Several of the empirical findings on inter-group forgiveness are based on studies of Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland. There, researchers have found that identity with one’s own group (in-group identity), trust in members of other ethnic groups (out-group trust), and contact with members from other ethnic communities (the contact hypothesis) are key determinants for inter-group forgiveness.” (*Bakke, Kristian M., p.4*)⁶³

In the Caucasus, similar studies were carried out, these were the hypotheses and results (cf. *ibid.*, p.5+6):

- Persons who are very proud of their group forgive less <- not significant
- poor discriminated persons forgive less <- no data found
- Persons who trust easily tend to forgive <- confirmed
- Persons personally affected by the violence forgive less <- confirmed
- People who live close to acts of violence forgive less <- the opposite is true (!!).

So there are certain differences between the results from Northern Ireland and ex-Yugoslavia and the Caucasus. For the former Soviet Union, Hale showed that the cognitive process of using ethnicity as an "uncertainty-reducing" process is associated with peaceful and cooperative ethnic

⁶³ She quotes: Hewstone, M., E. Cairns, A. Voci, J. Hamberger, and U. Niens: Intergroup contact, forgiveness, and experience of the “Troubles” in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Social Issues* 62 (1): 99-120. 2006; and Noor, M., R. Brown, and G. Prentice: Prospects for intergroup reconciliation: Social-psychological predictors of intergroup forgiveness and reparation in Northern Ireland and Chile. In: *The social psychology of intergroup reconciliation: From violent conflict to peaceful coexistence*, ed. A. Nadler, T. E. Malloy, and J. D. Fisher, 97-114. New York: Oxford University Press 2008

relations in some regions but activated in movements for secession and conflict in others. (*ibid.*, p.12)⁶⁴

Once it has been clarified on which factors the willingness to reconcile depends, various observations follow, which can also be important in this context:

The psychological barriers to maintaining one's own identity can hinder reconciliation, because during a war takes place a dehumanization process against the 'enemy', which must be reversed before reconciliation can take place. One step in this process is the discovery of similarities (*ibid.*, p.17).⁶⁵

Therefore the spiritual reconciliation requires a preliminary work (cf. *Lira, Elizabeth*, p.115).

The making of accusations can lead to accusations, but it can also facilitate the open handling of the conflict (cf. *Arye, Lane + Audergon, Arlene*, p.6). "... conflict need not lead to war, but rather can be a doorway to intimacy and community." (*ibid.*, S.9)

Acknowledging a responsibility is not to be equated with a sense of guilt (cf. *ibid.* p. 9). The excuse of the perpetrator can also be harmful if it comes at the wrong time (cf. *Dorsey, Maria*, p.14).

In such a process one will encounter numerous traumas, such as negation of what happened and shifting of responsibility; inability to express feelings; inappropriate processing of past traumas; inappropriate processing mechanisms; addiction; violence in the family; transfer of trauma to children and adolescents; collective traumas and mental exhaustion. Former fighters often try to solve this by retreating to ex-combatant groups where they feel 'superior' (cf. *Tauber, David*, p.383ff). This corresponds in a certain way and although the circles of persons cannot be compared, to the experiences of concentration camp prisoners, for whom it was a help to be able to talk with persons with the same experience about it and about themselves (cf. *Beristain, Carlos Martin*, 1999, p.124). The traumas of ex-combatants are often underestimated (cf. *Korac Mandic, Danijela*, p.338).

There will be steps forward and back during the workup, the quote refers to a multinational discussion group of psychiatrists in Croatia for whom before the war the 'ethnicity' was completely meaningless: "In bringing together two large groups one must not ask them to give up their

⁶⁴ She quotes: Hale, H.E.: 2008. The foundations of ethnic politics: Separatism of states and nations in Eurasia and the world. New York: Cambridge University Press 2008

⁶⁵ She refers to: Halpern, J., & Weinstein, H. M.: Rehumanizing the Other: Empathy and Reconciliation. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 26(3), 561-583, 2004

differences. The group identities have to be preserved and what needs to be built up is a mutual empathy and understanding. When in conflict, ethnic groups develop large group cohesion and a matrix filled with fear, distrust, hatred and lust for revenge. The growth of such matrix is supported by the mass media and leaders who profit from national homogenization on the basis of paranoid projections against the other nations.

When empathic communication starts the opposing groups begin to become close. This closeness, however, is followed by a sudden withdrawal from one another and then again by closeness. The pattern repeats itself many times. This could be compared to an accordion – squeezing together and then pulling apart.” (*Klain, Eduard + Pavic, Ladislav, p.134/5*).

Despite all this, the effort is worth it: “Research has indicated that individuals subjected to political violence can regain power over their lives and reintegrate back into society if they develop an understanding of the connection between their individual problems and the sociopolitical context within which it originated (Sveaass + Castillo). Laplante has indicated that healing after being exposed to political violence can be an outcome of becoming politically active.” (*Dorsey, Maria, S.180*)⁶⁶

For success, the local leaders are of great importance (cf. *Lippmann, Peter, p.355* with a list of cities with success stories). It is also not necessary to look always for 'neutrals' as mediators, because they often come from outside and do not know the situation (cf. *Fitzduff, Mari, p.134*). It is often enough for someone to promise to make an effort and to want to understand both sides (cf. *ibid.*, p. 136), for example former prisoners are often well suited (cf. *ibid.*, p. 137). As evidence that every human being can be good or malicious, she states that the Protestant 'Orange Order' first changed the routes of its parades in rural areas in order to avoid them being interpreted by Catholics as provocation (cf. *ibid.*, p. 134).

For the 'pioneers of good will' to become active, they must see certain prospects of success: “Another important experience that stems from our work: people will only be won over to relationship-building initiatives if they feel they can personally benefit from them. It is important that those who want to talk to people from the other side actually have rewarding experiences and

⁶⁶ She quotes: Sveaass, N. C., Marcia: From War Hero to Cripple: An Interview Study on Psychosocial Intervention and Social Reconstruction in Nicaragua. *Peace & Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 6(2), 113–133, 2000 und Laplante, L. J.: Women as Political Participants: Psychosocial Postconflict Recovery in Peru. *Peace & Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 13(3), 313–331, 2007

can afterwards report positively on these encounters. Even in reluctant groups in society there are always individuals who are curious and want to know more about the thoughts and perspectives of people on the other side. If these open-minded individuals can be persuaded to share their memories, impressions and reservations with their own peer group, more reluctant people may become involved in discussions and create openings for bridge-building across the conflict divide. Processes of reconciliation need to be pluralistic and to integrate critical voices in order to become rooted in society. Reservations are not only acceptable but necessary for building trust in the long run.” (Web *Zemskov-Züge, Andrea, p.5*)

4.3.7. Can it be 'necessary' to maintain hatred?

However, there may be situations where strong hatred persists: “Hate is an individualised emotional rejection which leads to group hatred (Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1972). Further, in war, leaders have found hate to be useful in persuading soldiers to do the unthinkable, legitimised murder. In these days of a globalising world, most people realise that the enemy’s soldiers are not so dissimilar to themselves. Nonetheless, fanaticism generated by poverty, ignorance, and purported religious doctrine, can still inspire the hatred that facilitates the capability in a considerable number of people to behave in extraordinary ways. “ (*Braithwaite, Dick + Lee, Yun Lok, S.14*).

“In addition there is an underlying element of residual hate. While hate may be adaptive in helping people survive extreme situations, it is maladaptive outside those narrow circumstances. Many people do not realise they still have it. Others see its maintenance as a duty to the dead and wounded. Still others do not know how to get rid of it.” (vgl *Braithwaite, Dick + Lee, Yun Lok, S.2*)

If the following questions are unresolved, it may be 'fuel' for the persistence of hate:

- Should one forgive someone who does not admit his crime? (cf. Basic, Goran, p.111)
- Who has the right to forgive, those affected or any institution ? (cf. *ibid.*, p.111)
- What is it like when victims and perpetrators live next to each other ? (cf *ibid.*, p.115)
- Is punishment a prerequisite for reconciliation ? Or should victims and perpetrators speak directly to each other ? (cf. *ibid.*, p. 116)
- Does forgiveness depend on crime? Robberies can be forgiven, but murder ? (cf *ibid.*, p.117)

In the statements of survivors on both sides can be determined the components 'reconciliation' and 'inexorability' : “Stories on implacability, reconciliation, and conditions for reconciliation are not shaped only in relation to the war as a whole but also in relation to an individual’s wartime actions

and those of others. In these stories, implacability is the predominant feature, but reconciliation is said to be possible if certain conditions are met. Examples of these conditions are justice for war victims, perpetrator recognition of crimes, and emotional commitment from the perpetrator (by showing remorse and shame, for example).” (ibid., p.107) But even with persistent hatred there is hope that it can be overcome bit by bit. For example, a study at theatres of war in Malaysia on the attempt to make tourism fruitful for reconciliation between occupying troops and the population mentions all extremes from 'intense hatred' to 'willingness to forgive in practice':

Table 1. Hate-forgiveness scale.

INTENSE HATE	Violent
HATE	Frequent angry thoughts
REPRESSED HATE	Anger elicited by strong stimuli
HOSTILE HATELESS	Uncomfortable around target group
NEUTRAL HATELESS	No feelings either way
UNDERSTANDING	Have good and impartial understanding of the factors which caused conflict
EMPATHETIC	Empathise with the position of the target group
THEORETICAL FORGIVENESS	Have stated position of forgiveness without practical implications
PRACTICAL FORGIVENESS	Show forgiveness by actions

(Braithwaite, Dick + Lee, Yun Lok, S.15)

4.3.8. Does contact also help in this phase?

As with prevention, contact theory is a central tool in reconciliation: “Their findings became the foundation of contact theory which is based on the belief that in-group members by learning new information about the out-group through direct contact will be less prejudiced towards members of the out-group.” (Dorsey, Maria, S.25) ⁶⁷

“Increased intergroup contact can be an effective means to reduce the negative effects that result from stereotyping if the contact provides in-group members with the opportunity to learn that there is variability among the out-group members.” (ibid., S.29) ⁶⁸

⁶⁷ She quotes: Williams Jr., R. M.: The reduction of intergroup tensions. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947; Allport, G. W.: The Nature of Prejudice. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1954 + Allport, G. W.: The Nature of Prejudice (6 ed.). Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.; 1979

⁶⁸ She quotes: Islam, M. R., & Hewstone, M.: Dimensions of Contact as Predictors of Intergroup

However, this is most likely to be the case under ideal conditions: “Allport designated the optimal conditions supportive of contact’s potential to reduce intergroup prejudice and promote positive intergroup outcomes (*Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000*). The optimal conditions that support intergroup contact in reducing prejudice are as follows; intimate and voluntary actions between individuals with equal status who share common goals in a supportive environment whose intergroup attitudes are not extremely negative (*Allport, 1954*).” (*Dorsey, Maria, S.26*).

In addition, there is the 'extended contact theory', which states that information provided by a member of one's own group also has a positive influence on the other group (cf. *ibid.*, p. 26), similar to information provided by someone who has a friend in the other group (cf. *ibid.*, p. 27).

Not all contacts proceed as desired: “There is a paradoxical nature to contact because prejudice can stem from a lack of contact as well as negative intergroup contact between in-group and out-group members.” (*ibid.*, S.28).⁶⁹

Fear⁷⁰ can intensify prejudices and negative feelings in contacts between groups, also and especially at the beginning (cf. *ibid.*, p.29). Personal prejudices can be stronger after interaction or when one's own status is regarded as threatened (cf. *ibid.*, p. 31). The more prejudices there are, the more negative experiences they confirm, and these in turn strengthen the awareness of one's own group membership.⁷¹ (vgl *ibid.*, S.32).

Repeated contacts reduce fear, structuring the course of events helps. Coordination is better than competition; common goals are also useful, even if the desire to achieve them initially triggers nervousness again (cf. *ibid.*, p. 30).

Pre-war contacts also have positive effects: “Pre-war contacts with members of other nationality contribute to individualization of perception of nationality, and, thus, contribute to absence of ethnic prejudices and stereotypes.” (*Biro, Miklos + Milin, Petar, S.13*)

The only critical note is that positive contact between disadvantaged minorities and majorities can weaken the minority struggle for equality (cf. *Dorsey, Maria, p.33*).

Anxiety, Perceived Out-Group Variability, and Out-Group Attitude: An Integrative Model. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 19(6), 700-710, 1993

⁶⁹ She quotes: Simpson, G., Yinger, E., & Milton, J.: *Racial and cultural minorities: an analysis of prejudice and discrimination*; New York: Harper, 1953

⁷⁰ “anxiety”

⁷¹ “ethnicity”

4.3.9. What role do the peace NGOs play in this?

So far it should have become clear that many of the necessary processes go beyond a simple language partnership, such as Tandem can organise. Here is necessary the intervention of organisations experienced in peace consolidation:

"The social and psychosocial dimensions of peace consolidation and the corresponding "soft" programmes and projects for (re-)establishing social solidarity and networks of neighbourly trust and for mobilising social capital and cultural resources in broken and traumatised post-war societies are often neglected (*Rothstein 1999*). Although such potentials are of inestimable value for the sustainability and embedding of a peace process in civil society, they are unfortunately less presentable and evaluable than visible, verifiable "hard" programmes and projects of material reconstruction that can be well communicated by the media.

The presence and influence of the international community was and is massive in some cases. In different forms, an "internationalization of rule" has taken place, in approaches and forms of bureaucratizing trustee, guardianship and protectorate models as well as militarily supported interventionist, transitory violence (*Chopra 1998*), such as in Cambodia, Somalia, the Balkans, East Timor or - even in the form of an occupying regime - in Iraq. Such forms of external authority and conflict control, however, do not always find acceptance in the respective societies in crisis (*Adibe 1998; Bratt 1998; Perthes 2000:446*). Despite the "good intentions" of the international donor community, a lot of money, personnel and inappropriate concepts have not necessarily encouraged initiative and self-help on the ground (*Boyce 2002*). On the contrary. For not infrequently even the "wrong" social and political forces that are not really interested in peace become beneficiaries of aid (*Miall et al. 1999; Forman/Patrick 2000*). The project-centred donor hierarchy often implicitly favours an asymmetrical domination and bureaucratisation of the entire peacebuilding process by power politics at the expense of the actual recipients of external aid. ... Similarly, the postulated division of labour and coordination between different actors hardly takes place in practice. This leads to a waste of scarce resources, inefficiency and mutually obstructive peacebuilding measures for which there is no international "regime" (*Moore 1996; Forman/Patrick 2000*). In addition, the prioritization of certain states and groups of states has led to problematic approaches to "peace consolidation in spheres of interest" (*Ferdowski/Matthies 2003:354ff*). Moreover, if the political nature of the peace-building process is ignored and the local population is insufficiently involved in this process, there is no guarantee of success, despite often "good intentions" and extensive help

from the donor community (*Forman/Patrick 2000:15/16*).” (*Matthies, Volker, p.166*) Ken Bush aptly speaks of “disempowerment” (*Web Bush, Ken, p. 5*)

An example of counterproductive support: "Experiences such as those in Somalia at the beginning of the 1990s showed that international aid organisations can contribute to the prolongation and financing of conflicts by supporting needy groups on the ground. Note 3: They paid protection money to individual clans to gain access to vulnerable sections of the population and tolerated the taxation of relief items by the militias.” (*Körppen, Daniela, p. 29*)⁷²

In (northern) Macedonia, external intervention even led to smouldering tensions taking the form of armed conflicts (cf. *Web Woodward, Susan L, p.49*).

Against this background, cases like the one in which an ambassador of the greatest Western power founded a women's group on a military base at the instruction of a commander of the Western military alliance and then organized workshops for grassroots initiatives (cf. *Bolling, Landrum, p.28*) makes you sit up and take notice. Also in this context, the recommendation is appropriate: "It seems necessary to enforce the parliamentary oversight over military forces ...". (*OECD, p.19*).

Apart from that, there are problems with patching up: “Too often, one NGO would go into a community, implement a particular project , and go away. Later, another NGO would arrive to do another, at times related, project and soon depart , to be followed by still another organization with another project . The measure of progress should not be the completion of a number of separate projects , but the reviving of the overall life of a livable ‚self-sustainable community‘. “ (*Bolling, Landrum, p.33*)

In contrast, it is required: “Speed and “efficiency” in development operations may sometimes need to be sacrificed to some degree for greater stability and peace, as well as local “ownership.” (*OECD, S.24*)

The priorities are also often set incorrectly, the funds for civilian movements are reduced as soon as the armed conflict is over and they are put into the state apparatus, although maintaining communication is important for reconciliation (cf. *OECD, p.20*).

⁷² She quotes: Leonhardt, Manuela 2001, S.10ff : Konfliktbezogene Wirkungsbeobachtung von Entwicklungsvorhaben.Eine praktische Handreichung, Eschborn.
<http://www.gtz.de/de/dokumente/de-wirkungsbeobachtung.pdf> (9.1.2007)

"We wonder if there is anyone who takes the problems of the region seriously. There are many programs to work with mental trauma and/or reconciliation that can only be described as superficial or listless, many programs that have been transferred from other areas without adaptation, many programs that have no meaning in terms of duration, and just as little in terms of the issues dealt with or the methodology. We have witnessed many short seminars that bring people together for a short time: people attend seminars to please those who finance them and, literally, to get free food." (Tauber, Charles David, p.388/9) ⁷³

"A lot of nonsense has been written about reconciliation. Much of it comes from theoretical writings without any empirical verification. Many programs based on it have come into the area as if they were parachuted." (*ibid.*, p.381) ⁷⁴

It becomes alarming when, for the reasons mentioned, the peace NGOs on the ground are put at risk:

"(i) Peace alliances as fields of learning - The establishment of sustainably effective peace alliances requires long-term material support for the NGOs with the development of a well-connected, learning-intensive and self-reflexive field of work and occupation.

Non-state actors in the conflict region and those actors who want to help them from outside are, however, confronted with the following problems when performing the tasks mentioned above:

1. For the non-state actors in the conflict region, cooperation with actors from >>outside<< can lead to the following:
2. relations with the state organizations in the country deteriorate - to the point of political, police and military persecution and oppression;
3. relations with other non-governmental organizations in the country deteriorate due to envy and competition;
4. the relationship with partners abroad leads to dependence and to an unintended and possibly even harmful change in their goals and activities.

⁷³ "Nos preguntamos si existe alguien que se tome en serio los problemas de la región. Hay muchas iniciativas para trabajar con el trauma psicológico y/o la reconciliación que sólo se pueden calificar como superficiales y desgastadas, muchos programas trasladados sin reajuste alguno desde otras áreas, muchos programas que no tienen sentido en términos de duración, ni tampoco en los temas que tratan o en su metodología. Hemos sido testigos de un gran número de seminarios cortos que reúnen a la gente por poco tiempo: la gente asiste a los seminarios para complacer a los que los financian y, literalmente, para conseguir una comida gratis."

⁷⁴ "Se han escrito muchas tonterías sobre la reconciliación. Gran parte de ellas proviene de escritos teóricos sin ninguna verificación empírica. Muchas programas basados en ellas han llegado al terreno como si cayeran en paracaídas."

5. For those actors who want to help from outside, cooperation with non-state actors in the conflict region can lead to their aid being misused for goals that they do not aspire to.” (Truger, Arno, p.131)

A practical example is the 'civil-military cooperation' of various German institutions in Kunduz, where friction between foreign soldiers and peace NGOs is also at issue (cf. *Hofmann, Birgit, p.62 ff*).

The question of external experts is related to this: “Often, and unfortunately, it is assumed that the others have neither the ability nor the means to achieve peace without the advice of an "expert", a view that largely corresponds to colonialism- paternalism and a past that evokes negative associations for the peoples of the developing countries.” (*II Congreso Internacional de Derechos Humanos, p.84*) ⁷⁵

In contrast, Mari Fitzduff insists on the importance of further training and professional support (cf. Fitzduff, Mari, p.141/2).

This can lead to a "NGO market" (*Ropers, Norbert, p.72*), with the danger of competition for local experts (cf. *Zunzer, Wolfram, p.190*). Similarly, 'brain drain' was observed; more than a third of young participants in reconciliation programmes in Bosnia left the country to study abroad (cf. *Bolling, Landrum, p.46*).

Two questions remain unanswered: the danger of the 'psychiatrisation of society' and how to deal with former combatants.

If one considers that in Yugoslavia about 800,000 men made the intelligent decision to refuse the war (cf. *Zajovic, Stasa, p.143*), it becomes clear that the traumas after a violent conflict affect hundreds of thousands of people. It is not only soldiers who are affected, but the whole of society; it follows from this that the therapeutic approach refers to the whole of society (cf. *Moon, Clare, p.72*). The healing of traumas is intended to prevent new cycles of violence (*ibid.*, p. 76), but this can lead to a "therapeutic state" (*ibid.*, p. 77).

And this has its light and shadow sides:

⁷⁵ “A menudo, y desgraciadamente, se asume que los demás no tienen capacidad ni medios para lograr la paz sin el asesoramiento de un <<experto>>, una perspectiva que en gran medida equivale al colonialismo-paternalismo y a un pasado de asociaciones negativas para los pueblos de los países en vías de desarrollo.”

“Taken together, these studies help to advance a fascinating theory about the work of the TRC and other reconciliation processes where amnesty is a feature. They imply that

- (1) the failure to forgive denotes psychiatric ill health,
- (2) psychiatric ill health signifies a persistence of trauma,
- (3) the persistence of trauma leads to calls for revenge, and
- (4) revenge leads to the resurgence of violence.” (*ibid.*, S.84)

“Four features of the therapeutic ethos can be drawn out of this body of work that are of particular relevance here:

- (1) the therapeutic ethos displaces traditional moral orders;
- (2) therapy individualizes social problems;
- (3) therapy emphasizes the emotions; and
- (4) therapy pathologizes human behavior.” (*ibid.*, S.78)

As far as working with 'former murderers' is concerned, opinions are contradictory:

“Peace groups in our region are usually so deeply opposed to nationalism that they lack any understanding and empathy for the reasons that make many ‘ordinary people’ maintain ethnonationalist feelings and attitudes. This distances NGO activists fundamentally from a large percentage of the population. Thus they find themselves in strong opposition or confrontation to those who they would like to address or invite to be their allies. Moreover, space for constructive action is constricted. In Serbia, for instance, peace activists who decided to work with war veterans, were strongly criticised by some others for working with so-called “ethnonazis” and “killers”. The problem is that such rigid behaviour by peace NGOs pushes away many ‘ordinary’ people who could be allies and might have a strong potential to contribute to sustainable peace. Shifting that “self-righteous style” a bit would, I believe, open many doors.” (*Franovic, Ivana, S.40*)

Ivana Franovic therefore advocates involving war veterans from both sides (*ibid.*, p. 44). Véronique Dudouet and others describe how this can work (cf. Web *Dudouet, Véronique + Giessmann, Hans J. + Planta, Katrin*), and also Oliver Wils (cf. Web *Wils, Oliver*).

4.3.10. Where to find starting points for contact ?

"According to the observations of Barbara Harr and Robert Gurr, a targeted ethnopolitical mobilization meets fertile ground when there is considerable potential for frustration in the

respective ethnic group or community. On the other hand, less dissatisfied groups, which in addition have only a weakly developed awareness of their own identity, are, according to experience, hardly susceptible to the efforts of political elites and violent entrepreneurs to mobilize them against a real or supposed threat from other groups, communities or states.[2]

This insight offers starting points for dealing with and overcoming ethno-political conflicts. Ethnicity is not merely "false consciousness" and an arbitrarily available instrument of power in the hands of power-hungry and irresponsible elites. Deeply rooted social and political conflicts, which also include ethno-political disputes, result fundamentally from the fact that basic human needs for survival, well-being, security, identity, freedom and participation have not been satisfied, or not sufficiently satisfied, over a long period of time.[3] Political elites often use ethno-political mobilization campaigns to distract from home-grown economic and social grievances.

A way out of ethno-political conflicts becomes possible when frustrated basic human needs are recognized behind the fixation on ethnic differences and nationalistic resentments. The election processing strategy must therefore focus both on overcoming social and cultural frustrations and traumas, and on implementing socio-economic reforms." ⁷⁶ (Web *Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung*)

The best way to overcome this is through cooperation: "The last strategy promotes collaborative activities for members of conflicting groups on the assumption that such activities help foster positive attitudes among the participants. Once they start working together, members of antagonistic groups gradually move beyond bitterness, anger, and resentment. Through collaboration, they eventually come to see each other as human beings, not as old enemies." (Kumar Subba, Basant + Leschenko, Oksana, S.5)

"Basic assumption: reconciliation is best achieved when the parties work together to resolve and rebuild." (Galtung, Johan, p.18, cf. also Shushania, Nino, p.14).

In doing so, one must select suitable areas for cooperation and avoid threats (cf. Fitzduff, Mari, p.157). Conflict resolution has much to do with future perspectives, sometimes more than with 'reasons' (cf. Vinyamata Camp, Eduardo, p.115). Even if agreements do not solve the conflict, they can lead to a situation that permits its solution (cf *ibid.*, p.116), whereby one should begin with the

⁷⁶Footnotes referring to 'Auswege aus ethno-politischen Konflikten'

[2] Harff, Barbara /Gurr, Ted Robert (2004): Ethnic Conflict in World Politics...

[3] Rubenstein, Richard E. (2001): Basic Human Needs. Next Steps in Theory Development...

Literature:

Harff, Barbara /Gurr, Ted Robert (2004): Ethnic Conflict in World Politics. Dilemmas in World Politics, Boulder, Oxford: Westview Press.

Rubenstein, Richard E. (2001): Basic Human Needs. Next Steps in Theory Development, in: International Journal of Peace Studies, Vol. 6, No. http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol6_1/Rubenstein.htm

simplest (cf *ibid.*, p.117).

"What is much more typical of divided societies, and can be very effectively utilized in facilitating a reconciliation process, is the existence of the same self-interests among sub-groups on each side of the divide. Such interests can be developed, with care, into a basis for cross-community cooperation. Women from both sides in a war may have very good reason to join together the better to pursue their demands for an equal share of social power with men. Labour groupings may find it much more effective to pursue their interests in combination, so forming a more significant pressure group in society, than to do so as two divided camps. Business and industrial interests may be better served by a larger, combined market, by complementing each other's human, financial and natural resources. Where poverty affects people on both sides of the conflict, the poor can increase their resources by joining together to fight for more equitable resource sharing." (*Bloomfield, David + Barnes, Teresa + Huyse, Luc, p.44*)

"Experience has shown that ethnic and nationalistic "tales" (narratives) have a greater potential for mobilization than other ideologies due to the deep roots of common ancestry and history in individual and collective consciousness[1] However, by strengthening alternative identities (e.g. class, gender, civil society, historical experiences, economic interests), the omnipresence of ethnicity can be balanced and repressed. Finally, the instrumentalist approach points to the fact that the political, intellectual and media elites bear the main responsibility for ethnic conflicts and their consequences. This is where the reversal must begin." (*Volkan, Vamik D.: Blind Trust. Großgruppen und ihre Führer in Krisenzeiten, Gießen: Psychosozial-Verlag 2006; quoted in: Web Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung*)

One of these 'alternative identities' is the social situation: "...when they came from the South, attracted by the world of cities and industry, especially from 1910 or 1915, the American blacks, despite the rejection they received from the white trade unions, could regard themselves as a proletariat part of the working class. They were able to exert some social pressure, to make themselves heard by some trade unionists, to call for the formation of a labor movement, to demand that their fate not be separated from that of the rest of the workers. Even if they lived in miserable conditions, they were not sidelined and could give their demands social value ... As long as the labor movement existed, the conditions for the expansion of anti-black racism were limited by the project of an action unit of all workers without distinction because of their 'race'. After the dissolution of the workers movement, millions of blacks, and not only blacks, were marked by misery, underemployment and unemployment ... For several decades the social movement was able to maintain hope, and to some extent reality, for socio-economic integration stronger than racism; ...".

(Wieviorka, Michel, quoted in: *Unzurrunzaga, Agustin, p.7*) ⁷⁷

The interest in "normal life" and therefore a certain coexistence arises first in those places that promote interaction, such as the workplace, leisure clubs for men (sic), an 'ethnically' mixed police force (cf. *Eastmond, Marita, p.11*). The last idea may surprise, but it must not be forgotten that the opposing underground organizations in Northern Ireland had a (common ?) "code of ethics" (cf. *Fitzduff, Mari, p.111*) and also had direct conversations with each other (cf. *ibid., p.117*). Not to mention the tens of thousands of soldiers forced into war, who temporarily stopped fighting in the First World War (cf. Web *Wikipedia, Weihnachtsfrieden*).

Cultural activities in the broader sense are also seen as meaningful, e.g.

- Environmental protection, sports, dance (cf. *Ohana, Yael + Lyamoury-Bajja, Nadine, p.31*)
- Supporting multilingualism and cultural representations of minorities, identifying common values (cf. *OECD, p. 121*).
- Art and exchange are not priorities, but emotional factors can be important for reconciliation. (cf. *Cohen, Cynthia, p.2*)

In Lebanon, a group of people that is seldom thought of has become one of the main forces in the movement against sectarian aberrations: the most severely affected, the war-disabled (cf. *Kabbara, Nawaf, p.32*).

In any case, the movement should be broad, not only of former fighters, but of the whole communities, and must take into account the gender perspective both for women ALSO for men (cf. *Bloomfield, David + Barnes, Teresa + Huyse, Luc, p.13*). Women have great potential as bridge-builders and peacemakers (cf. *OECD, 25*).

Finally, a look at an interesting approach: tourism as a means of reconciliation. There are attempts in Northern Ireland (cf. *Dorsey, Maria, p.52*), South Africa (cf. *ibid., p.53*) and Israel/Jordan and Egypt (cf. *ibid., p.54ff*). In Cyprus, a Turkish project did not find any Greek partners (cf. *ibid., p.48*).

⁷⁷ "... cuando llegaron del sur, atraídos por el mundo de la ciudad y de la industria, sobre todo a partir de 1910 o 1915, los negros americanos, no obstante el rechazo de que les hizo objeto el sindicalismo blanco, pudieron considerarse un proletariado, parte integrante de la clase obrera. Estuvieron en condiciones de ejercer una cierta presión social, hacerse escuchar por algunos sindicalistas, llamar a la formación de un movimiento obrero, exigir que no se disociase su suerte de la del resto de los trabajadores. Aunque miserables, no quedaron marginados, y pudieron dar un sentido social a sus exigencias ... Mientras existió el movimiento obrero, las condiciones de expansión del racismo dirigido contra los negros se vieron limitadas por el proyecto de una acción colectiva que agrupaba a todos los trabajadores, sin distinción de raza. Una vez disuelto el movimiento obrero, millones de negros, y no solo ellos, se vieron definidos por la miseria, el subempleo, el paro ... Durante varias décadas, el movimiento social fue capaz de mantener viva la esperanza, e incluso hasta cierto punto la realidad, de una integración socio económica más fuerte que el racismo; ..."

The experiences from Malaysia and New Zealand/Vietnam are reproduced here:

In Malaysia there are parallel memories in Sandakan of Chinese, English, Australians, Japanese and Bumiputera who were used against each other during the Second World War. Many Englishmen, Australians and Japanese return to the theatres of war (cf. *Dick Braithwaite, Dick + Lee, Yun Lok, p.2 + 12*). This kind of 'dark tourism' or historical tourism must be distinguished from simple 'transit' tourism (cf. *Dorsey, Maria, p.38*), about which authors suppose: "If done well, historical tourism is broadly and importantly therapeutic". (*Dick Braithwaite, Dick + Lee, Yun Lok, p.2*). They hope that intercultural understanding and empathy will grow, but there is no research evidence for it. After all, it is a good sign that the local administration first expanded the infrastructure (museums, etc.) in Sandakan for economic reasons, but then saw the necessity of making it a place of reconciliation (cf. *ibid., p.7*).

In Vietnam there are frequent visits by former New Zealand soldiers. The reports are more detailed. The author states restrictively:

- the 'tourist bubble' separates tourists and locals (cf. *Dorsey, Maria, p.44*).
- Large travel groups make direct contact more difficult (cf. *ibid., p.152*).
- The status of employees and guests in the tourism industry is not equal, the contact is not close, therefore there are less positive effects (cf. *ibid., p.50*).
- A host-guest relationship is not genuine reconciliation (cf. *ibid., p.151*).
- The contact between soldiers and natives in an occupied country is different than during a later visit in peace (cf. *ibid., p.107*).
- There were very few contacts with former Vietnamese soldiers or members of the NLF (cf. *ibid., p.189*).
- The veterans mainly seek that their own compatriots, especially the anti-war movement, recognize the behavior of the former soldiers, i.e. an inner-New Zealand reconciliation (cf. *ibid., p.137*).

The following results were found in surveys:

- Confidence in the former opponents was higher after the visit (cf. *ibid., p.158*).
- Some of the veterans had to reconcile with themselves (cf. *ibid., p.164*).
- „By recognizing the commonality of their war experience, former combatants may be able to recognize the humanity of one another that can be used to help build post-war relations with one another. For example, Ken explained that “the experience of meeting a former protagonist has been for me like meeting a long lost brother” (personal communication, 2012).“ (*ibid., S.153*).

4.3.11. Is 'tandem as a language activity in Dialog-Tandem' equal to 'talking about the past' ?

In all these programmes dialogue is important in the sense of "learning, not just talking" (*UNDP 2009, p.1*). It must include all sides, recognise the humanity of the other side and be long-term (cf. *ibid., p.1*). Then it can both prevent a conflict from sliding into violence and facilitate a solution (cf. *ibid., p.4*).

Talking about the past is always difficult (cf. *Arye, Lane + Audergon, Arlene, p.3*). Unpleasant memories can come to light (cf. *Ohana, Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine, p.163*) and political discussions are unavoidable, one must try to deal with them (*ibid., p.163*). The 'T-Kit' gives a list of conflict-related linguistic activities (*ibid., p.165*).

By the way, some authors think that for 'truth-telling' a commission is more suitable than talking in pairs (cf. *Bloomfield, David + Barnes, Teresa + Huyse, Luc, p.122*).

Here must be made a clear distinction: Tandem language exchange is also a language activity, and personal biographies are told during the getting to know phase. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the past can or should be systematically dealt with in tandem. The tandem partners must decide, depending on their personal mood and available support possibilities, whether they want to practice speaking on 'harmless' topics or whether their tandem should also become a reconciliation dialogue.



⁷⁸ Photo from the former Web of tsururadio

5. 'Dialog-Tandem'

5.1. How does Tandem fit into these phases, processes and levels?

Now that the background has been outlined in the previous chapters, we (finally) come to the question of what and how Tandem can contribute to the prevention or resolution of violent conflicts.

First of all, let us remember: Tandem is an exchange between two persons or groups with different first languages who already know the language of their partner(s) at level A 1 (simple past tense). It can take place both personally ('face to face') and on the Internet.

As a result, the Dialog-Tandem is not suitable for countries where the conflict parties speak the same language, such as Northern Ireland or Colombia. (Exception: intercultural tandem, cf. 5.7.)

The following picture emerges with regard to the phases of conflict and the appropriate forms in each case:

Phase	'face to face'	Internet
Before violence (prevention)	+	+
During violence (bridge building)	-	+
After violence (reconciliation)	+	+

There are no age limits, the younger the participants are, the more must be done in groups and with pedagogical accompaniment.

When should be worked in pairs, groups or in combination is explained in 5.9.

The following are articles on the concrete procedure (taken from: Web *Wolff, Jürgen: Tandem intermediator handbook*), therefore they are didactically prepared. The original titles are reproduced in brackets with a grey background), namely for

1. formation of couples and exchange in couples
2. formation of couples with large numbers of participants
3. exchange in groups / courses
4. different fields of application
5. tandems with advanced knowledge of working with technical languages
6. the intercultural tandem variant
7. tandem across borders
8. tandem with three or more languages.

5.2. How are tandem partnerships formed and managed ?

Translated by Monika Zatylny/Krakow, revised by Ron Schmitz/Budapest

(This text is an edited version of: *Manuela Estevez, Begoña Llovet (Madrid), Jürgen Wolff (Donostia / San Sebastian)*,
The 'TANDEM' model and the intercultural communication in multinational language schools)

The Tandem partner Intermediation* (Standard Procedure)

* This word, which is used as a translation of a German word 'Vermittlung', was coined in order to facilitate the understanding of the idea.

Helpful questions before reading the text

- Have you or one of your friends already experienced a language exchange?
- If yes, was your partner intermediated or did you find him/her on your own?
- What do you associate with a 'tandem' ?

Learning aims

In this chapter you will learn:

- What are the benefits of tandem partners intermediation
- Who can take part in it
- What the organisational requirements are
- What you have to consider to do a good intermediation
- How you introduce the partners to each other and how you advise them

5.2.1. Where does the idea come from ?

In 1979, a German language teacher at the Cultural Institute Madrid (a branch of Goethe- Institute) was in a dilemma, which practically all foreign language teachers face from time to time: The Spanish course participants complained that they were 'saturated' with knowledge about the German language, but had no possibility to use this knowledge. At the same time, he often met German students who wanted to learn Spanish in Madrid, but were angry about overcrowded courses that reminded them more of lectures.

His reaction was the only logical one: Any time it was possible, he brought the 'real' Germans to class increasing the possibility for the course participants to use 'Where are you from' and 'What do you do here' in real life situations with a personal interest.

However, in the long run it was not enough. The packed programme left no space for such

‘excursions for reality’ and, what is more, it shortly became apparent that the Germans had more prior knowledge of the foreign language than the Spaniards; and therefore, ‘Castellano’ (Spanish) was soon imposed as the lingua franca. This short experience posed some questions that were going around in his mind:

- To what extent can a language course prepare a person for the use of a language in reality? Apart from the often criticised fact that a great part of the utterances come only from the mouth of a teacher, is it a problem that all the corrections are only made by one person? Despite his/her good intentions, is this person, not hopelessly over challenged when he/she tries to establish genuine communication in a target language with all the participants who are so different from each other?
- Isn’t a lesson, of necessity, always a simulation; can a foreign language lesson with all its resources ever be more than a presentation and consumption of ‘slices cut out of the linguistic reality, deeply-frozen and defrosted on occasion’?
- Isn’t it nothing more than an absurdity that each year, hundreds of German students toddle speechlessly around Madrid, while at the same time hundreds of inhabitants of Madrid try to snatch ‘a smattering of authentic German’ in language laboratories by practicing more or less artificial dialogues, listening comprehension exercises and tests?
- Why are we constantly looking for ways to bring the in-class conditions closer to reality by all possible means? Why don’t we, at least once, try to change the reality in such a way that it facilitates language learning?
- In the last years, some solutions in many fields were taken from the experts and were passed down to the concerned. If it is possible even in psychiatry (self-help groups) why not in language teaching?

Exercise

Go through the questions once again, please.

Do any of them apply to your teaching establishment?

And so the teacher of German started matching Spaniards learning German and Germans learning Spanish in exchange pairs. After conducting detailed interviews with the first pairs, the dependent elements for success were revealed. With the help of the former course participants and the first tandem pairs, various didactic materials were developed. That is how the tandem intermediation came into being.

Since it was operating for three years and the enrolment was constantly increasing, the time for the next step had come: parallel tandem courses for Spaniards and Germans that started in 1982, hosted in the Cultural Institute's rooms. As far as previous experience was concerned, there was only one article known (by Nükhet Cimilli and Klaus Liebe-Harkort). It was in regards to a course in 1973, with Turkish workers and interested Germans in Munich. None of the pioneering projects of the Deutsch-Französisches Jugendwerk (German-French Youth Association) had reached Madrid. Nevertheless, the principles were approved and after some time an informal group of German and Spanish teachers with tandem experience was established. Then, in the summer of 1983, they tried to apply the same procedure working with youth at a youth meeting in Sigüenza. The majority of these teachers were present when the 'Centro Cultural Hispano-Alemán TANDEM' (Hispanic-German Cultural Centre TANDEM) was established. Now there is a wide net of cooperating initiatives in many continents that use the brand 'TANDEM®' as a common recognition sign.

However, after this historical outline, we come back to the question of what a foreign language teacher can do on the spot with this model of learning.

First, the tandem intermediation will be discussed since it constitutes an essence and a precondition for the courses. It does not matter if they take place with youth, students or foreign workers. Namely, this article is about the standard version of the pair intermediation, the 'Tandem-Cocktail' for the simultaneous intermediation of bigger groups is described in another chapter, available upon request.

5.2.2. How does the individual matching of tandem partners work ?

The contribution of TANDEM to finding a partner is as follows: a person who looks for a partner for learning and practicing fills in a "Personal Data" questionnaire which can be downloaded from <https://tandemcity.info/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/CuestionarioMarcoCDE2008-1.doc> . They give their information such as residential area, age, sex, education and profession, hobbies and interests, reasons and motivation for learning, level of knowledge, planned time and intensity of participation, requirements for a tandem partner, learning experience and available time.

The application questionnaires of both national groups are compared by a specialist. Possible partners are at first asked separately if they are interested in a meeting, whereby certain alternatives exist for them. After that, the chosen partners are introduced to each other. The intermediary initiates a short chat in both languages and then he gives a few hints based on his general experience

and his knowledge of the interests of both candidates. Both get the questionnaires back (which are known only to the intermediary and not by the other partner) and they receive the supporting didactic materials. From then on, they prepare their own schedule with the intermediary as an advisor in the background, but who is not present during the following meetings.

When many tandems are matched simultaneously and this 'craft-like' procedure is too time consuming and too slow, e.g. at the universities at the beginning of a semester or in a language school at the beginning of courses, there is a 'Tandem-Cocktail'. In this way many 'candidates' are given an introduction to criteria for choosing a partner and the tandem methodology; they choose a partner on their own.

For those who want a tandem without the intermediary's intervention, there is also Blackboard or Internet intermediation. However, tandem pairs created in such a way are more dependent on coincidence and are not as long-lasting as those described here.

Exercise

What advantages does intermediation have over searching on one's own using notice boards/ the Web?

5.2.3. For whom does participation in tandems make sense?

Tandem participation is sensible for everybody who learns a foreign language and is interested in a country, in which citizens of both countries are in the same city. That means that German/Spanish tandems can be carried out in all of the cities of Germany, Austria and Switzerland where one can find Spanish speaking foreigners and in all of the big cities of the Spanish speaking countries where one can find Germans, Austrians or Swiss.

The participants of tandems that work without the assistance of a language course should already know the past forms of the verbs and be able to build sentences with a direct and an indirect object.

In social movements or similar groups, where the participants come from various nations, the building of an 'inner network' through building many tandems can positively influence the work effectiveness.

Exercise

Why is it impossible for the beginners to take part in a tandem?
What language combinations do you think would be possible in your city?

5.2.4. Who can set up an intermediation centre?

People who work in a language-teaching establishment and/or have many connections in the area

where potential participants live, would be the best. It is also more sensible to have a small collective of people belonging to all language groups concerned, who have teaching experience or have graduated from some language-related studies. Each of the intermediators has to be bilingual. A clear division of responsibilities and a low labor turnover among the intermediators is important.

5.2.5. What is important in the intermediation?

The basis for a good tandem is a genuine interest and mutual understanding between the partners, which prompts them to speak, making it easier for them. This is why a careful choice and a personal knowledge of the participants before an intermediation are the most important steps of the intermediation centre. This possibility of making a choice is what distinguishes tandem from a haphazardly made conversation.

Now we will go through the meaning of the criteria, which appears in the same order as on the 'Personal Data' list.

Residency/workplace

Hopefully, this is not far away from each other, according to the time of day when the meetings are to take place.

Studies/profession

The same occupation is important only for people who do tandem for professional reasons. A comparable level of education is more important.

Age

Normally, the difference of 5 years is acceptable, but 10 years are too much. However, the meaning of age loses its importance from a certain point; a difference between a 40 and a 50-year old is not as significant as between a 16 and a 26-year old.

Interests

Asking about their interests rather serves the purpose of giving the intermediary an impression of the future tandem partners when he/she does not know them personally. As experience shows, it is enough to have one common interest to have something to talk about while getting to know each other. There are good tandems not only with identical, but also with completely different or opposite

interests; mutual understanding is more important than concrete interests.

Motivation for learning

Here, some specific professional interests should be required. Otherwise, the answers most often give little meaningful information.

Language proficiency level

Including a learning biography is important for two reasons:

1. It is possible to tell if a participant needs organised classes outside tandem
2. It is necessary that the participants are at a comparable level. If they are not, a great deal of patience is required by the advanced participant when explaining to the partner. Thus, this undermines the participants' interest after some time. Moreover, the language of the spontaneous communication shifts for the benefit of the advanced participant's language ('the language of the effortless communication'), which causes the gap to grow.

Also in the case of a temporary lack of people of a certain nationality interested in tandem, the rule of equal proficiency levels should not be ignored. It is better not to intermediate any tandem than to do one, which condemns its participants to failure or continuous frustration. Small inequalities are possible only out of consideration for some culture specific peculiarities of learning or the country where a tandem takes place. For example, the Spanish tend to think that they will make fools of themselves if they make a mistake. In addition to that, the Germans in Madrid normally learn faster during the same time, because staying in a target-language environment offers additional possibilities to practice. This is why in Madrid the Germans are principally matched with Spaniards who are at a more advanced level.

Duration

Tandems, which last for less than two weeks, do not seem to make much sense, unless the meetings take place almost every day and in this way, the beginning phase is shortened.

An average duration of a tandem is between three and six months, but there are also some perennial ones.

Time

Usually the one who comes to another country to learn a language needs significantly more hours than the one who works in the country while learning the language as an aside to daily living.

Regulate this by enabling the former to work with many independent partners.

The minimum time is more meaningful for the intermediation than the maximum limit; however, it is often exceeded if there is mutual liking between the partners.

Additional learning

The knowledge of where the participants learn a language and what contact they have with it helps to determine which proficiency areas tandem can include or exclude, while appropriate hints are given during the interview.

Interests and other characteristics

The answers provided in this field help the intermediary to get a more refined idea of the future partners. What is more, they may provide some clues about possible incompatibility or aversion.

Political interests

Generally, the conservative participants have no interest in such information and want to perceive learning languages as something detached from it. Liberal participants tend to consider it as a part of a lesson. If no agreement can be achieved, the intermediary can sometimes help with hints about other information sources.

Gender

The statements under this heading should be interpreted carefully. For instance, it can happen that somebody would find a partner of the opposite sex more interesting, but he/she does not indicate it for fear that the intermediary would misinterpret their intent. Also during work in a tandem, some difficulties resulting from the ambiguities in communication between men and women may arise. According to the experience in Madrid and Bielefeld, tandems between two women are the most productive if those women have similar cultural backgrounds.

Teaching experience

If one of the participants is a beginner, it is almost necessary that the other has teaching experience so that systematic and even learning is possible.

Schedule

Referring to a schedule makes the intermediation considerably easier; availability is often named as

one of more important factors for a successful tandem.

Miscellanies

A concern about the possibility of breaking off an inappropriate partnership and finding a new partner is often expressed here. According to the surveys, the mutual liking or openness comes before the common interests. The relationship between the future partners is difficult to foresee having only a questionnaire, but this question can give us some hints.

Exercise

Make a list of the 7 most important factors:

- a-
- b-
- c-
- d-
- e-
- f-
- g-

Then specify in what order you would put them.

When intermediating, it is easier not to compare all the answers one by one, but to analyse them in this order: schedule, knowledge, age and interests.

The questionnaires of the interim pairs matched in that way are put together and checked according to the following factors: sex, other characteristics, and political interests. At the end the 'blocking factors' like smoking and particularities are checked.

At this point, the pre-selection is completed, but there can be other possible combinations. Now one of the candidates is called and a meeting is arranged to shortly describe to him/her the possible partner/s (without showing him/her the questionnaires). Line them up according to his/her wishes. Two or three proposals of appointments are made. Then the intermediary calls the other partner/s, lets them chose a final meeting date and informs the other person about it. Then the actual introduction follows.

Exercise

Write down all the phone calls/mail necessary to intermediate a tandem pair and their content in points.

Think how you could reduce this number.

5.2.6. What is the purpose of the interview?

Introduction

As experience shows, the names are not remembered after the first introduction so they should be

repeated once again, later during the conversation, or on the telephone, before the introduction takes place.

Relaxation

The situation is sometimes embarrassing for both participants. The intermediary should absolutely avoid a situation in which the introduced partners have to wait for him/her or even sit together at the meeting point waiting and exchanging shy looks. It means coming on time or a bit early so that there is already somebody to talk with. Leaving both partners alone for 5 minutes after the introduction so that they can chat in private and then coming back to continue with the exact hints has also proven to be successful.

Informal test

In case the intermediary does not know the foreign language proficiency level of the involved or the questionnaires do not evidently state it, the conversation provides a possibility for a better overview. That is why the intermediary moderates the conversation sometimes in one language then the other. As an exception, he/she begins in the language of the participant who is probably less relaxed and more inhibited. The language has to be changed inconspicuously so that the situation does not seem like an exam.

Establishing direct communication between the partners

The aim of the introduction is to establish direct communication between the partners and to initiate the gradual withdrawal of the intermediary. That is why the partners trying to ask each other questions through the intermediary have to be gradually redirected. Good reasons for direct conversation are arranging the place, time and frequency of the meetings, etc.

Organisational clarification

At the end of the conversation, each of the participants needs to have:

- Name, address, phone number of the partner
- Phone number of the intermediating organisation
- Time and place of, at least, the first meeting

Attention should be given to the fact that the partners have the same travel distance to their meeting

point. In the beginning, there should not be more than 3 meetings a week. The intermediary writes the charged fee and the name of the partner with a date, down on the questionnaires, and gives them back to the partners. He/she keeps a sheet with all the data. Then he/she explains the procedure for getting an extra tandem or a subsequent one in case any of the partners would like to do so.

Introduction into materials

Introduction to the existing supporting materials can be given at the beginning as an ice-breaker. As experience shows, these materials are only partially used. They should be nonetheless given as placebo for fright of 'anxiety during the first meeting'.

Tips on course of a tandem

According to his observations during the meeting and his prior knowledge, the intermediary can give hints about possible topics, peculiarities and risks of a TANDEM. In any case, he/she should emphatically point out the necessity of separating both languages and show a few examples as to how things can be explained monolingually. He should also offer his help in case of any difficulties or questions that may possibly arise. If he has a feeling that either of the partners is not satisfied with the other, he can suggest that tandem begins less intensively and offers the partners on an individual basis, a different partner.

Exercise

Draw a possible sitting arrangement for the three during a meeting.

Write how you would 'give an opening for change' for partners who do not suit each other.

5.2.7. Should we continue to take care of the tandems?

Basically, a tandem is a device for the participants and after a successful matching, the intermediary should be available in the background or disappear. However, it would not be disadvantageous to ask the participants occasionally about their satisfaction. In chapter 'Tandem Cocktail' we describe various forms of individual guidance, group meetings and e-mail / Internet support that were intensively tested and researched at alphabeta in Alto Adige/South Tyrol. In general, the offers for telephone guidance are almost never taken seriously. The need for feedback is especially high in the first weeks immediately after starting; later it declines and can be satisfied by the group meetings where experiences are compared.

At least in the first year of intermediation activity, it is strongly advised for the intermediary to

organise an appraisal session with both partners together or separately at the end of each tandem. It broadens his experience and makes the future intermediations better.

Exercise

After what period of time would you:

- offer individual guidance?
- organise a group meeting?

5.2.8. What does the organisation need?

- a telephone or Whats App
- a post office box or a postal address
- a place where the introduction can be held. It should be quiet, but not too stiff

A place for the ‘classes’ is not necessarily needed since the partners take turns at their homes or in a third place.

5.2.9. What are the costs?

- Printing advertisements and supporting materials
- May be envelopes and postage
- Phone or Whats App (about 5 calls to intermediate a pair)

Exercise

Who would you willingly work with as an intermediation team?

What prerequisites do you still need?

5.2.10. What difficulties and problems can there be in the couple matching?

Rush

The central office can be inundated with a torrent of enquiries, a minority of which will later actually be intermediated. This is inevitable and answering such enquiries should be planned for in advance. It can also happen that there are many enquiries from a certain nation and there are not enough interested people from other countries, which leads to a long waiting time for when a potential partner can finally be introduced; people cancel their enquiries. That is why a guarantee for an immediate intermediation cannot be given.

Time

It is related to the problem of a 'season'. Depending on holidays, accumulation of exams, summer courses at the university, etc., a concentration of enquiries occur from various nationals at various times. The intermediation centre gets to know these periods over time and needs to balance them as much as possible. For instance, more advertising can be directed at the sparse group and less at the 'majority' group.

Job of intermediary

Intermediators are basically rejected when they increase the price of a product, but do not contribute anything positive for it. That is why, apart from an intermediation centre, there has to be a possibility of an independent choice through a blackboard or Internet system to let the interested choose if they want to call in an intermediary. However, experience has shown that when intermediation utilizes all of the fundamental elements of practice, tandems have been found to be more fruitful and long lasting. That is why the intervention of an intermediary or a 'Tandem-Cocktail' has a factual justification.

Exercise

Who should take over the role of an intermediary-
a teacher/ a secretary/ somebody responsible for the cultural programme/ a manager?

The intermediators' advantage over the participants is in what they know about the partners, but is also, what remains problematic. For instance, in Madrid the participants do not see the questionnaires of their partners before the first meeting in order not to hinder their curiosity about the other person and openness when answering. Such procedures sometimes cause difficulties when choosing among many possible partners who are only briefly described by the intermediary (their approximate age, residence, occupation, some interests, skills). Of course, after the introduction, the participants are free to exchange the questionnaires (if they were not collected by the intermediation centre).

A good solution would surely be an intercultural centre where not only tandem-partner notice boards are hanging, but also materials were sold along with the descriptions of the fundamentals of doing a successful tandem, which are displayed in a clear manner.

When the intermediators team gains enough experience in this field, they can start organising entire courses.

If the procedure with all points which must be considered is too laborious for you, there is also the possibility to automate the couple matching to a large extent. The suitable program can be found on <https://www.matorix.com/matorixmatch4tandem/> and can be rented. From about 20 couples per year the investment can be reasonable.

5.3. How to form couples with large numbers of participants?

*Carmen Symalla + Jürgen Wolff, with comments by Sina Braun,
translated by Monika Zatylny / Krakow, revised by Mateusz Samulewski / Krakow*

The Tandempartner-Intermediation (Cocktail)

Preliminary considerations

How many tandem pairs can be intermediated in your organisation per year?

Is the procedure described in the previous paragraph feasible with a greater number of participants?

Is it not enough to simply bring the people together and let them do the rest themselves?

Learning aims

In this paragraph you will come to understand answers to the following questions:

What possibilities exist when a large number of intermediations makes the application of the questionnaires method impossible?

How does a practical introduction, sensible for both small and large number of Tandem pairs, look like?

Whould the Cocktail produce more negative results than the questionnaires?

What forms are preferred by the participants ?

5.3.1. Why was the 'cocktail' developed ?

The experience of intermediation shows that the selected, intermediated, and supervised tandem pairs are more successful than 'the blackboard acquaintances.' The 'craft' of intermediation (see paragraph 2.1) is, indeed, very time consuming. Thus some alternative forms of intermediation, which would be cheaper, but would also maintain the pedagogical quality standard, are sought. One such alternative method is the 'Tandem-Cocktail' which guarantees the same successful results in the field of learning languages as intermediation. This has been proven by the investigations carried out in Sevilla (The University Institute of Languages, the results taken from the courses conducted by Carmen Symalla in 2004).

5.3.2. How does it work?

0- Invitations to Cocktail are distributed among the locals and the native speakers of a language (posters, leaflets, advertisements in the courses and websites);

1- All interested in the chosen language combination (e.g. Spaniards who learn German and the German Erasmus students) meet in a bar, refectory, etc.;

2a – All participants should wear a singular A4-sized sheet of paper on their chests with the following information: name/ foreign language proficiency level/ hobbies/available free time/motto *or*;

2b – The native speakers of one of the languages sit at tables in groups of 5-10 and are divided according to their foreign language proficiency levels. Native speakers of the other language sit or stand in a separate group which is not divided according to the foreign language proficiency levels;

3 – The intermediators make a short introduction in both languages regarding the criteria for beneficial partnerships and they ensure that the persons who do not find partners will have the possibility to fill in a questionnaire (this should be mentioned at the beginning of the meeting in order to lower the levels of feelings of stress and exclusion);

4 – Both language groups mix and the search for partners begins - in the case of 2a, by running around and speaking with each other. In the case of 2b, by interviews at the tables where people with the suitable language proficiency level sit. A change follows after a given time ('Powerdate');

5 – The so-created pairs sit together, the others sit scattered, everybody listens further;

6 – The intermediators make a practical introduction to inform all present of the most important rules (see 5.2.6. and 5.3.2.1.);

7 – The pairs arrange their first meeting and are supplied with material outlining the most important tips regarding their endeavours. Those who are left without a partner hand their questionnaires in.

Exercise

How many people can be paired simultaneously?

Why are the people sitting at the tables divided into groups according to their language proficiency levels?

How should the participants be informed about the eventual possibility of handing in the questionnaires?

5.3.2.1. What is the content? *(with the ideas of the alphabeta-Intermediators-Team)*

It is assumed that the pairs created before the practical introduction in the abovementioned 6th point will become tandem partners.

The opening

In order to create a relaxed atmosphere, 5-10 minute long interviews in both languages without an intermediary are sufficient. It is adequate if the intermediators go to the other side of the room during the interviews.

Intermediators undertake the explanation of the meaning of the 'fifty-fifty' rule of fairness and elucidate the tendency to simplify the language and explain through translation. Advanced students learn more in this case, hence:

The emphasis is placed on being monolingual (except for translation training or preparation for bilingual examinations, etc.)

In order to make it possible to maintain being monolingual, the explanation techniques are practiced. The procedure is always the same:

- 1- Assigning an exercise in one language. From experience, this will be carried out spontaneously and predominantly through a specific technique (e.g. most people would explain the word 'big' by spreading their arms wide apart and the word 'small' by making a movement with a thumb and a forefinger);
- 2- Listing and outlining what technique was used;
- 3- Providing a similar task for the other language with the use of the same explanation technique.

Technique	Example in English	Example in other language
Facial Expression	big	
Contrast	big <-> small	
Synonym	speak = chat	
Subordination	a bird > a parrot	
In ascending order	an apple < a fruit	
A list	orange - mandarin	
Derivation	air > airport	
Decomposition	mailbox = mail + box	
Showing/Drawing	cage	
Personal reference	laughter	

A short introduction follows:

Error correction techniques:

A short sketch: intermediary A corrects what intermediary B says 'lock, stock and barrel, B 'jumps out of the window crying';

Conclusion: it is all about reasonable correction without hindering the fluency which is the main objective of a tandem. Grammar - why? - questions should be eliminated. The main aims are: vocabulary + fluency + intercultural experience;

The following techniques are recommended: recording with a small walkman/ producing a list of mistakes that the learners should write down and repeat (Rost- Roth)/ subliminal input which means the use of the correct form in the answer without disturbing the stream of thoughts. Afterwards, some advice about the tandem-tips or tandem-diary follows (see material for Tandem Foundation members) and a 'find-it-yourself' game concerning one part so that the partners can start practicing them.

5.3.2.2. What else is important?

Below are some other handy tips on organising one of the possible kinds of 'Tandem-Cocktail in Bars' supplied by Carmen Symalla. This variant is particularly suitable for the exchange partners with some previous experience since there is less information about the way of carrying out a tandem.

About two or three weeks after the beginning of the courses in October, as soon as the approximate number of students is known, start looking for a suitable *meeting point*. A non-binding survey in the courses can give some clues for the possible number of participants so that enough space is available in any case. An ideal meeting would take place in the early afternoon (after the classes) in a students' bar near the language institute. Another important requirement is a lot of standing space around the bar to enable the students to make acquaintances freely.

Factors such as intimacy of the meeting place, e.g., subdued light, not too loud background music, and a possibility of holding a glass of beer or a cigarette (however objectionable this might be) contribute to keeping the *level of inhibition* low during the first meeting.

The *date* has to be agreed on with the owner of the premise, who usually shows readiness for collaboration because of the expected sales. There should not be a large audience, the noise level should enable a pleasant talk, and the bar service should be prepared for the expected liveliness at a certain point.

About two weeks before the meeting, posters in the language classrooms, on the information board, in the refectory and cafeteria of the university should be made visible. It is also useful to remind students about the meeting in class one or two days earlier.

On the evening of the meeting at least two of the organisers should act as intermediators. The only necessary things to be deposited at the entrance to the bar are the badges by means of which the

participants will be identified as the native speakers of German or Spanish. 2-3 rolls of sellotape on a firm holder should also be present in order to fix the badges comfortably and fast them to participants' chests. The people looking for an exchange partner can be recognised relatively easily by their confused look; they have to be intuitively and directly approached by the organisers. Later the badges and sellotape can be deposited behind the bar and the bar service often takes the role of the advisors.

Simultaneously with attaching the badges, organisers invite the participants to establish contact with the maximum number of people whose language they learn and to determine in open and personal discussions if someone is a suitable exchange partner. It requires self-initiative which surely gives advantage to those who are determined or have previous experience.

By their discreet presence, the organisers can only try to diplomatically and empathetically introduce the uncertain and active participants to each other and withdraw discreetly as soon as the talk comes about.

Exercise
 How long does the practical introduction last?
 How many pairs can be made?
 How high is the expenditure per pair?
 Are the explanation techniques different from those used by the teachers?
 Why should the first meeting be arranged before leaving the room?

5.3.3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of ‘hand intermediation’ and cocktail parties?

Some considerations of Carmen Symalla will be presented regarding the advantages and the disadvantages of different intermediation forms based on the situation in the University Language Institute in Sevilla where each term 50-80 Spaniards interested in language exchange are matched with vast numbers of 80-150 German Erasmus students.

Model I: Controlled intermediation with questionnaires for big groups (>Standard)	
Advantages:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All the participants (including the shy and introvert) certainly become partnered with at least one of the desired characteristics; - Guaranteed common free time for the exchange by matching

	<p>the timetables/schedules;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partners can also be contacted outside the meeting due to the available phone numbers list.
Disadvantages:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A great amount of work for the intermediary/s; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rigorous matching of the partners 'on paper', personal preferences at first sight are not considered, there is no chance for a change; - Uncertainty in what way the most suitable person of the great number of possibilities will be found; - There can always be some questionnaires left that haven't been matched clearly: either no or deficient matching. 2. Uneven number of Spaniards and Germans thus often matching in a proportion of 1:2 . 3. Irregular participation in meetings (problems with time, forgetting); spontaneous participation of students without questionnaires (i.e. persons not on the list). Consequence: a large number of participants without partners; spontaneous matching of 'alternative' partners, who are not always suitable, is necessary; Lack of order and silence during the meetings.
Model II: Free intermediation by "Cocktail- Party"	
Advantages:	<p>Small amount of work Autonomous choice of a partner by liking and first impression. Possibility of a greater choice and/or finding more partners.</p>
Disadvantages:	<p>The number of participants cannot be foreseen and controlled; a risk of having a disproportion between the numbers of Germans and Spaniards. Discrimination against less outgoing, shy and introvert participants. Dissatisfaction and frustration of the participants who are left 'free' at the end.</p>

5.3.4. Are there other possibilities ?

<p><i>Exercise</i></p> <p>What models have you learned about so far:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Standard intermediation with questionnaires ● Standard intermediation with questionnaires for big groups ● Cocktail in a bar ● Cocktail at a table ● Cocktail on a terrace ?

Given the role of the intermediators as something between a 'party organiser' and an

‘intermediation organisation’, Carmen Symalla asked herself: “Does an optimal solution exist that is somewhere between quasi-matchmaking and a far too open relaxed and easy-going party?” This is how the idea of a *half-controlled meeting (III)* was born: as an attempt in mixing the positive aspects of *model I* and *model II*. But what should still be made clear is what happens if the preliminary choice is not made on the basis of the schedule and the decisions about what time is left to the small groups.

Model III: The half-controlled intermediation in small groups

Preliminary considerations:

1. Spanish and German students fill in questionnaires with information concerning their interests and hobbies as well as indicating their preferences with alluding to age/sex/common interests.
2. The intermediary forms small tandem groups of approximately 4-7 people after having taken into consideration the following criteria: the same age group (maximum 12 years of difference in age), the preferences indicated in the questionnaire, same-sex or mixed participants with the greatest possible variety of interests and hobbies.
3. All the participants meet at a given time in front of the entrance to a room. At the entranceway are the lists of the small groups with their descriptions and names of their members. Each group is given its own number.
4. The tables in the room are numbered; all the participants take a seat with the other members of the group at the tables corresponding to the group number. Displayed on the table are characteristics of the group (age, interests, etc.).
5. All participants receive a sheet of paper with terms of reference for interviews; each person partakes in a short interview with other members of their group, whereby the number of possible partners becomes limited due to their unsuitable schedules.

An important hint: A partner should not be sought only within the small groups, but among all the participants and thus permanent small tandem groups of 3-4 can be created. After a short introduction to the function of a tandem, the small tandem groups begin their first trial: in two 20 minute phases all the group members get to know each other in pair or group discussions in both languages. They make the first appointment and plan their first undertakings.

The students appear to be exceptionally grateful for the simulation of the language exchange with given topics in both languages offered in 2.2.2. For most, this is their first experience with an

exchange partner, hence all the theoretical explanations, instructions and possible problems can be experienced and understood in a compressed form. The trial run is a point of reference for the later meetings and saves the participants from a great deal of uncertainty during the first meeting.

At the exit there are take-away information materials about tandem activities and leaflets with consultation time, etc. In Sevilla they are called “*10 Rules of a Successful Language Exchange*” and tips on “*Choosing Topics*” and “*Correcting Errors*”.

Time: Up to 1-2 weeks before the deadline for interview sheets and the group meeting (in that way the questionnaires that were given back later can be taken into consideration). Anticipated considerably small expenditure on classifying the questionnaires, like in Model I, because only creating small groups is necessary and the time planning factor doesn't apply- Duration of the meeting: 1.5h

Premises: A big room with flexible, island-like arranged seating arrangements for small groups. A possibility to eat and drink encourages a relaxed atmosphere.

Advantages: In small groups the participants have a chance to find at least one partner in their age group who suits their interests. In small groups the participants can decide for themselves to make one or more contacts according to their preferences during or, eventually, after the meeting. Small groups can easily make up for those who did not come to the event or integrate with participants who appear spontaneously. The lists of small groups' participants with the specific group characteristics on the tables enable fast and smooth integration and if necessary even a possibility of changing the group.

Disadvantages: There could be some discrimination against the less outgoing and less integrative participants.

Exercise

What is an important difference between Model III and Cocktail in 2.2.2 ?

How does your model look like:

assignment / looking on one's own

with/without practical exercises

Blackboard

In the case of this approach everything is left to the potential tandem partners. To increase the quality of creating pairs and team work, tandem tips should be outlined on the blackboard. These should also be prepared in the form of leaflets that can be provided for at the event.

Database

The databases on the Internet are a time-saver in regards to both searching for an e-mail tandem partner in a different country (e.g. Bochum which, however, doesn't consider any criteria) and a tandem partner for face-to-face meetings in the same city (e.g. Romance Studies in Munich). A link to websites that delineate the criteria for choosing a partner and forms of common work should be given.

5.3.5. What do the results of the accompanying research show ?

The effectiveness of the various forms of mediation has been proven over many years through interviews with running tandem pairs in Alto Adige / South Tyrol 2004, looked after by alphabeta, and by tandem pairs in Giessen and Seville.

In a nutshell, it can be said that questionnaire-intermediation is more suitable for small organisations with constantly small numbers of intermediation, whereas other forms are advisable for e.g. universities with an accumulation of people at certain times. Regardless of the intermediation form, the possibility of having a 'second or third chance' has to be maintained and moreover, in case of finding a partner on one's own a form with binding rules/ personal commitment made in the presence of a witness/ third party should be available.

'Cocktail' is considered to be better for big groups of people of the same age, blackboard-intermediation awakes some reservations and the Internet database, with an email preliminary phase, is advised more for young people who use computers.

Considering different target groups it seems to be the best combine various intermediation forms, e.g. questionnaire-intermediation as a standard and 'Cocktail' at the beginning of big projects or in case of big number of participants applying different models one after another.

Exercise

What changes would you implement in your organisation after reading this article?

5.4. How does the exchange take place in groups/courses ?

For this please read the pdf (only German) on <https://tandemcity.info/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/3-Tandem-Kurse.pdf>

Numerous examples can be found on the DFJW / OFAJ websites.

5.5. How many different fields of application exist ?

Tandem for every occasion? Learning foreign languages in different meeting environments ⁷⁹⁾

Translated by Theresa Essers

5.5.0. “Not for school, but for life we learn.”

If one follows the publications in professional journals dealing with language teaching in schools , one can see an interesting development in the last years. In the past the above cited sentence was used as a warning for students in order for them to pay attention and not to miss anything in class, while language teachers rather wearily interpreted the sentence in the following way: We don't learn anything in school, we only learn in life (here in the target country). However, today one can witness more efforts to integrate real life situation into schools and to open schools for real life, e.g. through integrating native speakers into schools.

This article provides an overview of possible application of the basic modules. This way the reader can create a menu for his/her specific situation. The article is structured into the following categories:

- Age
- Institution
- Place
- Language
- Goal
- Content
- Form

5.5.1. Age

Different forms of learning through dialogue have been tested with schoolchildren.

For example: The Project “Schüler als Lehrer und Schule heißt Okul“ (Schmink Gustavus 1976) with German and Turkish children; 'Zweierschaftslernen' (learners at different levels) according to Steinig [1] with German, Turkish and Greek children; At a bigger scale in the border region

⁷⁹⁾ Updated version of an article from 'Die Neueren Sprachen' 93:4, p. 374-385, 1994

Alsace/Baden with 20.000 schoolchildren within the project “Learn the language of your neighbor”; In the German-Polish border region within the project “Spotkanie heißt Begegnung”. However, overall there are only a few institutions that work with this age group. More institutions work with teenagers. The Franco-German Youth Office, its partner-organizations in Germany and France as well as the Polish and Czech equivalents are especially important here. Also, Tandem Madrid organized German-Spanish summer schools in Sigüenza and Segovia and the Bayerische Jugendring (a Bavarian youth organizations coordination) organized exchange programs with their partners in Asturias in 1993.[2]

It is impossible to describe the amount of activities for adults in this field. For adults especially important are individual tandems as an independent form of encounter. Therefore an overview is difficult. Certainly, only within the tandem network over 1000 couples find each other every year. Additionally, there are hundreds of couples, who meet spontaneously through Internet platforms.

As a sub-group of adults, one has to name retirees, since they might have more time for exchange programs, if they are still able to travel. For instance, the adult-education centre in Essen and a similar organization in Grenoble organized a tandem exchange for pensioners.

Women can be seen as another sub-group of adults. In fact there are no reports on tandem classes especially for women, but there are binational meetings organized by Caritas in Aachen, which can be considered a first step.[3]

Make a list of age groups, where a Tandem pair and/or a Tandem class makes sense.

5.5.2. Institution

The list of possible age groups is already quite long. However, the list of possible institutions is even longer:

2.1 Pre-schools

Certainly in pre-schools intercultural learning takes place rather on the level of experiencing. Learning of a language will be conducted in the sense of awareness raising and through playful motivation.

2.2 Elementary schools

Learning in a team takes place through intercultural meetings and should not lead to a performance-oriented language teaching too early.

2.3 High schools

Here one has to name all types of schools, especially bilingual schools (e.g. College St. Michel in Freiburg/Switzerland) and so-called “Europeschools”

2.4. Schools for vocational training and institutions for apprenticeships

Within these institutions tandem projects can be connected to internships in foreign countries.

2.5. Youth organizations

Within organizations, who offer services to young persons, e.g. the Franco-German Youth Office (FGYO); the German-American Exchange Program GAPP as well as organizations, which organize stays in host families.

2.6. Universities and universities of applied sciences

Usually the Faculties, which educate language teachers, the language centers at universities or the international offices organize language tandems. The European program Erasmus provides a good framework for such projects.

2.7. Teacher training

Here one has to name individual partnerships (for example as suggested by Bliesener/Fachverband Moderne Fremdsprachen in the German-American context) as well as tandem classes organized for the education of language teachers in Germany and foreign teachers of German (organized e.g. by Bemmerlein/Deutscher Spanischlehrerverband, Edelhoff/Hessisches Institut für Lehrerfortbildung, SIL Boppard, WISS Bremen, Goethe-Institute). Additionally one can name the training program “Cultures in contact” organized by Alpha & Beta in South Tyrol.

2.8. Adult education

Adult-education centers and equivalent institutions abroad, different Goethe-Institutes and the international Tandem-Network consisting of cultural organizations, cooperation between teachers and companies. Classes are often integrated into City-Partnerships.

If we look at the field of education in a wider sense, there are:

2.9. Companies

There have not been many initiatives thus far. (Not taking into account the approach “Lernstatt”, which is similar to the Tandem approach). Hopefully it will stay this way in order to preserve the non-hierarchical character of a tandem. Also learning in a tandem should not be used as a way to rationalize costs of education through passing on the task of education unto employees.

Similar doubts exist for the programs within the binational and bilingual German-French Army Brigade, which shall be a model for other international brigades.

Less problematical are partnerships based on the same profession, but not directly organized by companies. Therefore critical examination of contents and cross-border working conditions can still take place . For example such partnerships were organized by the Language Institute Tübingen SIT und the Eurocenter Cologne for employees of the post, farmers and book-sellers in Germany and France.

2.10. Education within trade unions

It is a different picture, if a Tandem within vocational training is self-organized. Information can be taken from German-Turkish projects, organized by the Anatolian Solidarity Organization in Munich and by the Turkish “Volkshaus” in Frankfurt.

These unfortunately scattered and old experiences show, that this procedure can contribute a lot to mutual understanding in the face of a multinational business environment. However, the procedure needs to be adapted to the learning preconditions of the participants. The same considerations apply for tandem projects in prisons.[4]

Is there an area of education which has not been included?
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5.5.3. Location

For a project including participants with two different languages, there are basically five possibilities:

a) in the country of the first group

- b) in the country of the second group (First A and then B is also possible)
- c) together in a third country (e.g. Germans and French in Poland)
- d) cross-border (e.g. through weekend-visits in Alsace and Baden as it is done by the Regional partnership Müllheim)
- e) through the Internet

For three or more partners, like for example Belgium-Germany-Netherlands or Italy-Austria-Slovenia the list is correspondingly longer.

For the types a and b one has to consider that the group, which visits the foreign country, makes progress faster, because they are surrounded by the foreign language. Therefore a change in place makes sense, for example through a return visit in the following year or through a program that is split into two parts.

The visit in a third country has the advantage, that both groups have to deal with the new environment, which can improve the team spirit. An argument against a visit in a third country is the fact, that the surrounding environment cannot be used as a demonstration of culture or for research about the target language and culture. Especially good conditions exist in border regions (e.g. the German-Polish border) or regions with two language groups, which are equally strong and have the same rights (e.g. South Tyrol). In these environments exchange between languages and cultures is possible without a lot of effort and travelling costs.

5.5.4. Language

Albanian
Arabic
Basque
Bulgarian
Catalonian
Chinese
Czech
Danish
English
French
Galician
German
Greek
Hungarian
Italian
Japanese

Latvian
Polish
Portuguese
Russian
Slovenian
Spanish
Turkish

The fact that these languages are almost exclusively European as well as the dominance of the French-German literature can be explained through historical reasons. In principal a tandem is possible for all languages and all combinations are possible.

Make a list of nations which are 'enemies', live next to each other, speak different languages and where a Tandem project could contribute to better understanding on all levels.

5.5.5. Goal

One advantage of learning in tandem is the fact that different goals can serve as motivation, like e.g. the interest in learning a foreign language, getting to know other people and cultures or receiving job-related information. Since these motivations intermingle with each other, the following separation of goals is somehow artificial.

1 General Language Tandem

Typical for a general language Tandem are class offers by the TANDEM-Network. Here the emphasis is put on refreshing and the development of communication skills through conversation. Often the Tandem is connected a language course taught by a teacher.

2 Tandem with emphasis on cultural exchange

Outstanding examples are the exchange programs organized by the German-French Youth Office. Here the emphasis is put on expanding the understanding for the other culture. Language teaching is understood as language animation and is always connected to intercultural experience. In practice, the two types mentioned above always mix for one-to-one tandems.

3 “Interkultur Tandem”

The above named goals have in common that the participants are equal, because both sides can offer

their knowledge of a certain language. However, there is a big group of people, whose job-related knowledge and language skills are not demanded on the “Tandem market” (Rosanelli). This group includes foreigners from non-European countries as well as refugees.

In the face of growing xenophobia, strictly organized right-wing extremists groups and a very restricted Asylum policy, TANDEM, as an organization with the goal of enhancing understanding between nations, wants to improve this situation. Therefore the TANDEM-Foundation decided to promote the program “TANDEM Deutsch – International”^[5], which was developed by Barbara von Breitenbach within the Adult-education center Wiesbaden. In the “Interkultur Tandem” natives and foreigners as well as one or two teamers meet in order to talk about different topics (Cooking, Travelling etc.) in the language of the respective country. Here the exchange takes place through practicing the language of the respective country as well as through ending the isolation of foreigners. Natives on the other hand expand their knowledge about foreign cultures.

This project, organized by the TANDEM-Foundation, started simultaneously in different European countries in May 1994.

The Tandem between Policemen and Migrants organized by the IKZS in Vienna and the more job-related Tandem project organized by SFC Vienna follow a similar approach.

Could the “Interkultur-Tandem” be launched at universities, public schools or language schools ?
With which aim and for whom ?

4 Professional Tandem

Besides the professional tandems for jurists organized by the universities of Fribourg, Berlin/St. Etienne, another good example is the professional tandem in Donostia – Karlsruhe-Lyon-Merano. Here working persons with specific job-related interests are grouped into pairs in order to fill knowledge gaps and improve language skills. In this case tandem is used as an instrument, even though mutual sympathy is beneficial.

5.5.6. Content

Since Tandem is a form of autonomous learning, the content can vary. In a one-to one Tandem the two participants can negotiate the contents themselves or the content develops spontaneously. In a

tandem class a common list of contents should be negotiated beforehand.

Theoretically all contents are possible. However some distinctions can be made:

1 Conversation

Tandems focused on enhancing conversation between persons are probably the most common.

2 Tell stories

This special type has been described by Apfelbaum 1993.

3 Reading

The reading itself takes place during free time. Within the Tandem the partners focus on understanding and discussion, as Martin Müller 1990 showed.

4 Professional requirements

- Reading correspondence
- Reading specialist literature
- Visit other companies/inspect machines
- Speaking on the telephone
- Negotiate
- Write letters
- Write vocabulary lists
- Translate
- Interpreting
- Revise articles

5 Leisure time activities

Often combined with conversation

6 “Interkultur Tandem”

Here the emphasis is on comparing cultures.

If we take a look at transcripts or course diaries from the last years, about half of the discussed topics repeat themselves. These topics are the following:

- Education system and universities
- Unemployment among young people
- Family structures

- Customs and festivities
- Situation of women in a society
- Differences between the cultures of the participants of the course
- and other topics, which vary according to the political situation

If we take a look at the skills, which can be developed through tandem, one can say that it is possible to develop reading skills in a tandem focused on reading and literature and it is possible to develop writing skills in a professional tandem. Nevertheless, the tandem, where the participants are present and which is focused on improving speaking and listening comprehension still dominates. Therefore tandem can be considered as a supplement of or even counterbalance to traditional language classes. This fits to the fact, that most activities take place outside a classroom. However, these constraints may disappear, once speaking and listening through the Internet improves.

Create a 'Tandem Menu', with which all skills can be developed.

5.5.7. Form

The term one-on-one tandem (working in a pair) and Tandemclass (binational class) have already been mentioned a few times. Basically three types are possible:

1 One-on-one Tandem

If there are only a few potential partners, a one-on-one Tandem is the only possibility. This is the case for rare languages or for off-season travel. Due to its flexibility it is especially appropriate for advanced learners and can also be adapted to unusual interests. If cleverly planned, it can also be an alternative to language classes in school, if there are not enough participants for an entire class.

However, the participants need to be able to determine goals and find ways of achieving these goals. Therefore it can only be applied in high school. At the moment the one-on-one tandem is the most common type. Often it is spontaneously planned (e.g. through bulletin-boards in universities) or applied together with a traditional language course.

2 Tandem-class

If there are two groups at equal size from two different countries at the same time in the same place

with a similar knowledge of the respective language, a binational class is possible. This type is also appropriate for a lower level than advanced learners (no absolute beginners) and students with short biographies of studying (Immigrants or vocational training), since there is still more input and it can be combined with coordinated learning steps. Therefore this type is ideal for class trips and youth exchange programs.

3 Combination of one-to-one tandem and a tandem class

This type leads to “Tandemisation” of the entire visit. The guided learning takes place within the tandem-class and the self-determined learning takes place within one-on-one tandems. However, enough time needs to be reserved for real “free time” within the national groups.

This type is ideal, but it requires a lot of experience and good coordination between all participants. Therefore one can only recommend this type, if there is some level of experience with one-on-one tandems among the participants.

Additionally there is the distinction between face-to-face tandem and a tandem at distance through the Internet.

Make a study plan for a colleague who is new in your institution and is interested in tandem.

5.5.8. “All beginnings are” (specially in schools)

In order to start learning in a tandem, one does not need a lot. Almost everything that is needed exists in a school anyhow or can easily be made.

8.1. In order to arrange tandem partners, one needs:

- a) a telephone and a postal address
- b) consultation hours in a small room without a lot of interruption
- c) may be money for stamps, envelopes, questionnaires and leaflets
- d) a few hours a week to read questionnaires and provide support for the tandem pairs
- e) an introduction to the methodology of grouping pairs and to existing material

8.1. Additional necessities for tandem classes

- f) a contact person within the partner group
- g) two preparation meetings
- h) a room, in which both groups can study together

In the organization of class trips, student and youth exchange additionally everything is important, which applies for the general organization of such events.

In the face of the small effort needed and the cheap infrastructure, it is striking, that many see the prospects of implantation of such an approach rather pessimistically, as for example Legutke (p.308) "... I feel inclined to report the a striking discrepancy between what is proposed and written by academics, between what is claimed be experts speaking at FL conferences - and what actually happens in L2 classrooms". Rattunde (p.398) thinks, that " the learning atmosphere in schools rather looks like the following: During the course of the school year the students work more or less intensively with the textbook, which the school bought at some point in time. Existing School – and Class Partnerships are put into practice once a year at the most, often only once in two years due to financial restrictions. Also, the introduction of the topic of meeting other nationalities into the textbook does not solve the problems of a certain distance to the learning matters."

One cannot solve this problem nor through ignoring and embellishing the situation neither through moral reasoning. It is more helpful to list all stumbling blocks. Here we summarize the stumbling blocks listed by Alix/Lacher on page 354/355.

- Too much effort not due to the project itself, but due to other necessities such as judicial matters
- Position of the school administration
- Teamwork of colleagues
- Work load during the time of preparation of the project
- Double burden during the time of hosting a partner group, if a teacher has to follow his normal duties during the time of visit.
- Financial restrictions

Since in this article we only give an overview of all activities of tandem within schools and other institutions, we cannot give concrete examples of how to remove these stumbling blocks. However, the witnessed stimulus for motivation due to a tandem project, is worth making the effort. After all, swimming lessons take place in the swimming pool and not in the gym, even though they are more difficult to organize. Learning a language in real life situations is equally important.

Which problems, which usually occur at the first meeting between student exchange groups, can be solved through using tandem elements from the beginning?

Annotations

- [1] The different tandem approaches, which are named, but not explicitly cited are described in: H.E. Herfurth, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des Fremdsprachenerwerbs in Begegnungssituationen. This is the most comprehensive and thorough literature known to the TANDEM Foundation.
- [2] Unpublished final report of Naturlengua-Tandem. Oviedo: 1994
- [3] Oral information by the social worker for Spanish employees. Aachen: 1994
- [4] Oral information by the prison social worker of Zentrum-Tandem. Frankfurt: 1993
- [5] Cp.: Barbara von Breitenbach: Wir sind die UNO von Wiesbaden in: Wolff/Zimmermann (Eds.): Sprachenlernen und soziale Wirklichkeit

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5.6. How can tandems with advanced knowledge work with technical languages ?

Tandem for special purposes - Tailor-made language exchange for advanced learners?

Translated into English by Kristin Hogk; revised by Cirsten Carlson

Taking into account the increasing share of professional language in the demand for foreign languages as well as the unsatisfying situation existing in many classes for learners that "face the task of becoming bilingual" (*Paul Portmann during the inauguration of the CILA conference in*

Zurich, 1993), it makes sense to find out if the method of Tandem could offer a solution to this group of participants. By 'Tandem' we do not only mean the bicycle on which both persons pedal to make a progress together, but also a social form by which two students of languages with two different native languages get to know the language and the culture of the other with his/her help. There are two ways of applying the method: Individual Tandem, i.e. in pairs, and as Tandem in classes, i.e. in two classes brought together in binational phases. Special trained intermediators, who often are teachers of the classes as well, take care of the intermediation between partners. Institutes applying the method normally in intensive summer classes, on language trips, vacations or youth exchanges, generally cooperate in the Tandem-Net.

Accordingly, in 1992 four members of the Tandem-Net, namely the 'Centro InterCultural Tandem' Donostia/San Sebastián (=Intercultural Centre of Tandem in Donostia/San Sebastián, Spain) in collaboration with the local CDE (=Centre of Further Job Training), Alpha&Beta in Meran, Initial in Karlsruhe, and CLIC in Lyon, started the LINGUA-project 'Tandem for special purposes'. It differed from other previous experiences like the ones discribed by *Ehnert* (2), *Wertenschlag* (3), and *Zamzow* (4) and, among other things, by the fact that the participants were working instead of studying.

From these circumstances some fixed conditions arose: on the one hand the participants did the Tandem in addition to their working day which made it impossible to form large homogeneous groups. This again restricted the setting of binational classes and intensive phases to a large extent. On the other hand the degree of specialization and the orientation on its utilization were so high that the pairs were supposed to be of participants already being specialists in their fields, which raised the accuracy of intermediation needed.

Having such a defined group of participants, we presumed (and turned out to be right) that certain changes would arise in comparison with the Individual Tandem for general language having been put into practice up to that point (5):

- "- On the questionnaires "windows" need to be added so that the professional interest in special purposes can become clearer than on the original questionnaires, on which there were only one or two questions regarding this matter.
- The intermediators need to be trained to recognize and distinguish between professional and general interest and to intermediate accordingly. It still is unclear which professional qualification they will need. On the one hand one assumes that for the teacher-focused professional language classes it would be enough to have the participants as experts and that the teacher therefore does not

have to be an expert and would not be able to be. On the other hand the intermediators at least need to be able to evaluate which professional branches are that similar that an intermediation still is reasonable, since the participants can draw on common vocabulary and/or working procedures.

- Because of these doubts about the adequate competence of the intermediators, in the beginning it is advisable to reduce the intermediation to a few test fields and to extend it step by step.

- A more intensive organization and consultation as well as gathering supportive materials are likely to be inevitable. But the search of technical texts will be left to the participants, who know best themselves what they need. ... One of the most important activities of such Tandems of special purposes (possibly) is the composing of personal "encyclopaedia" for the common professional field.

We do not necessarily assume difficulties with explanations, which particularly needed to be practiced in particular for the Tandem for general language, because for the Tandem for special purposes one can apply standardized terms. Instead, problems with decoding the syntax as well as with countless "words with no meaning" may occur for some professional languages, where professional and general language are hard to distinguish. The learning of reading understanding strategies and of strategies of helping the partner with decoding will gain importance. "Hints" will have to be written for that, if necessary (6).

- So far mainly students of humanities or of educational sciences have applied the Tandem method. With the occurrence of more and more engineers, businessmen, scientists of nature the learning style will change. Therefore, other kinds of didactical materials than the ones given to the Tandem partners at the beginning will be needed."

In addition to that, during the first attempts other essential differences, but also common aspects with the general Tandem became visible:

* For both the personal sympathy is of importance, one can even notice its influence in topics such "aseptic" as economics. That means that while intermediating attention has to be paid not only to the harmony of professional factors and profiles, but also to the personal ones.

* A "new start" of the people meeting after work to do a Tandem for special purposes requests a certain effort. Therefore, there is a tendency to turn over to 'more pleasant' topics than the professional ones, even if initially professional motives were stated.

* The language level should be higher (at least 300 units of lessons) than that of a general Tandem (sentences with two objects, one past form, which is equivalent to 100-120 units,

depending on the progression), but also, if possible, the knowledgement of the institutions of the country the partner comes from as a fact to refer to or from own experience.

* Special difficulties occur with abbreviations and terms that are related to institutions that in the other country do not exist in that form.

* If one of the partners arrives from abroad it makes sense to tell him/her in advance to bring literature/ papers about the topic. It is easier to find foreign magazines for a general Tandem than specialized books written in the foreign language, that may be necessary for the Tandem for special purposes.

In the following I would like to take a closer look at three aspects:

- 1) Analysis of standards and needs
- 2) Contents
- 3) Settings of organization

5.6.1. How are the situation and needs assessed?

We offer the Tandem for special purposes to people having obtained the 'Zertifikat DaF' (=Certificate of German as a foreign language), i.e. for the intermediate and advanced level. If this level is achieved, there won't be any other standardized tests before the beginning of the Tandem. But it is recommended to the participants to tape-record themselves on cassette during the first days and to evaluate frequent mistakes, at least if they work in the field of humanities.

The needs are described more in detail. Tandem partners at first are chosen with the help of a questionnaire which also allows the answer 'professional'. If 'professional motives' are marked, an additional questionnaire will be applied which represents the so-called 'entry window' to Tandem for special purposes and states the following:

- = Branch of the firm
- = Professional qualification, typical course of work
- = Academic titles
- = Size of the firm
- = Planned place for the Tandem meetings
- = Profile of knowledgement
of listening comprehension, reading comprehension, grammar, syntax, vocabulary, written style, free conversation and translation, according to self-rating of deficits and self-set desired focuses
- = Focuses
like reading trade correspondence, technical texts, inspecting firms/machines, making

phone calls, negotiating, writing letters, making vocabulary lists, translating, interpreting, revising articles

= Social form of applying the foreign language

alone, in pairs, in groups, in meetings

= concrete aims and other wishes

= distribution of general and professional interest

= own suggestions.

Next comes a personal conversation between intermediary and the interested person, which is very similar to an analysis of the work place, and no sooner than that the presentation of the partners takes place.

5.6.2. What are the contents ?

As an illustration of the contents being discussed, some examples from Donostia chosen during the project 'Tandem for special purposes' in the years 1992/3 follow:

Tourism accountant and consultant for youth groups:

Simulation of the work at the hotel reception and translation of statutes of youth groups.

Lawyers:

Law of town planning in Germany, structure of courts in the Basque Country.

Psychologist, philosopher:

Technical vocabulary.

Engineer of electrical engineering, engineer of auto mechanics:

Reading comprehension of technical texts, comparison of working conditions.

Language teachers/translators:

Mutual revision of translations and articles for technical magazines.

The focusses were on vocabulary work as well as on giving an insight into the corresponding working conditions. It became evident that a 'product orientation', such as solving important and even useful tasks for the job, was of importance and benefit.

As supportive material, the intermediating institution or any other being accessible for both partners

should provide them with a well equipped library (not necessarily with books for learners of a language, but with modern presentations, illustrated encyclopaedia etc.) as well as with dictionaries. Also visiting the other's company often is a useful supplement.

5.6.3. How it is organised ?

Now we are getting to the question of the organisational setting for the Tandem for special purposes. First there were four different organisational settings to be tested in the project of the Tandem-Net:

- a) Donostia: intermediation of individuals within the institutions
- b) Meran(o): affiliation of equal professional groups in a bilingual region
- c) Karlsruhe: international partnerships
- d) Lyon: relationships between companies

a) Donostia:

Since the interests in demand are very specific and profession-related, carrying out the intermediation in an efficient way is only possible if the profession and the actual work are on the computer. During a summer class, for instance, a paediatrician who wants to learn more about the health service for children in the Basque Country may participate. Therefore, within two days at the beginning of the class, the intermediary needs to find a Basque paediatrician or 'at least' a children's nurse with a high German level who is also interested in participating in a Tandem for special purposes at the same time ... Similar problems occur with employees of the "free"-enterprise economy: because of the lacking time of many working people and because of their very frequent travelling after having gained a certain position within the company, it is almost impossible to realize Tandems for special purposes in courses of less than a month, e.g. summer classes, that satisfy both of the participants. It turns out to be much easier to pair parallel courses.

b) Meran(o):

Initially one had presumed that it may be sufficient to pair Germans and Italians that work in the same field, e.g. two rangers. But with pairing two interested parties in binational regions one has to consider that curiosity (the desire to learn about new things) is an essential motivation for a Specialized Tandem, and therefore it does not make any sense to intermediate between two people who already have been working together for the same company for a long time. On the contrary, it has proved to be useful working together on a topic other than language itself, like e.g. operating a computer programme. However, this may result in rationalization, which is unintended from the viewpoint of the language teachers: Doctors who had to write reports in Italian or German for the

transferences of patients to Austria or the closest Italian-speaking province, tended to write the reports for each other instead of learning the corresponding structures and terms from their partner.

c) Karlsruhe:

With international projects the greatest difficulty to get started is finding the right people to consult, ways of advertisement and a target audience 'on the other side', which requires a lot of extra work. In our case two railroad companies from both sides of the border were concerned. Both were divided into several levels, of which each indicated towards the next higher level when projects like the 'Tandem for special purposes' appeared, which were not definable by the existing guidelines.

d) Lyon:

Also when working with companies one has to consider losses due to other causes than the Tandem itself: The intermediation between employees of different companies of the same branch often is blocked by the corresponding hierarchy because of fear that they may reveal business-related secrets to the competition. Intermediations between working people and students, on the contrary, fail because usually the interests of the working ones are more concrete than what the students can offer. This limits the possible range of applying the 'Tandem for special purposes' in companies to specific constellations, which do not show these problems.

Returning to our initial question now, we can say that the 'Tandem for special purposes' certainly can achieve a hand-made language exchange and therefore offers a successful addition or a nice change for the advanced learner's classes. However, one has to bear in mind, that

+ measuring needs to be learned as well (7)

+ a qualified consultant is necessary

+ not always all the desired sizes, materials etc. are available 'in stock' as tailor-made products.

Literature references

For some of the forms of knowledge exchange described here there is almost no scientific accompaniment and therefore no literature, so we refer to <https://tandemcity.info/free-tandem-downloads/> > Special purpose language tandem .

(1) A literature list on the topic 'Tandem' can be found at <https://tandemcity.info/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/tandem-methode-20-11-2018.pdf>

(2) cf. Jürgen Wolff, Fachsprachentandem; in: tandem Berlin e.V.(ed), Sprachenlernen im interkulturellen Austausch. Documentation of the 2nd European Tandem Days 1990; Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, Frankfurt 1991.

und Jürgen Wolff, Fachtandem: Sprachenaustausch für Fortgeschrittene nach Maß ?; in: Silvia Kübler, Paul R. Portmann (ed), An der Schwelle zur Zweisprachigkeit. Bulletin Suisse de Linguistique Appliquée 60; Institut de Linguistique de l'Université de Neuchâtel, 1994

<https://tandemcity.info/free-tandem-downloads/> > Dialog-Tandem

(3) These 'Tips for Reading Understanding' can be downloaded free of charge from <https://tandemcity.info/free-tandem-downloads/tips-2/> .

(4) The material for mediator training is available free of charge at <https://tandemcity.info/free-tandem-downloads/> > Language tandem ... > Intermediators guidebook

5.7. What is special about the intercultural tandem ?

Note of the editor: This form is somewhat out of the ordinary, because it is not 'language against language' that is exchanged, but 'language against culture'. It can also be used in areas or situations where the 'real' language tandem is not possible, for example between refugees and locals.

Oscar Sanz + Petra Zimmermann

This article is more detailed than the German version.

Translated by Kristin Hogk and Pia-Melanie Musil, revised by Cirsten Carlson and by Pia-Melanie Musil

5.7.1. General introduction to the present work

The idea of an intercultural society represents a project yet to be defined and maybe a utopia impossible to reach. But meanwhile the nations, which are homogeneous from the cultural, the linguistic and the identification point of view, constitute a minority among the actual nations. Homogeneity, in a certain way, is the exception; The rule is the existence of cultural heterogeneity to a certain - higher or lower - degree, which will extend as far as the actual and inevitable migration process from the South toward the developed North will continue.

One could regard this diversity as something simply inevitable, to be defended like a right and can even valuable as a source of enrichment. However, it is advisable to show a rather cautious and realistic view regarding the problems that undoubtedly are involved in the growing cultural heterogeneity as a result of immigration or of the conflicts arising from the multinational character of a state:

"Even in societies without a basic hostile attitude towards a possible rise of diversity a fast increase of cultural heterogeneity joined by growing difficulties in the social and economic integration of the group of original immigrants can open new areas of conflict." (Ignasi Alvarez, Cultural diversity and national conflict. 1993, pp.102-103)

"The multicultural society will remain a vague idea while the difficulties caused by the idea will still be considered a taboo instead of being illuminated." (H. M. Enzensberger. *The Great Migration*, 1992).

In this context the Intercultural Tandem Group represents one more strategy for establishing contacts between people of different cultures and status living in the same environment. The Tandem Group offers a place for bringing in harmony information and experience by working according to values like empathy, solidarity and tolerance. However, we must not forget the importance of how one deals with these values. Therefore we have chosen the method of topic-centred interaction (TCI), which was developed and founded by Ruth C. Cohn after having experienced the indiscriminate persecution of the Jews and the Gipsies in her home country Germany. Her aim was to avoid a development of the society that would allow another historical experience of that kind.

The result of a one year cooperation with the German psychologist Petra Zimmermann within the Intercultural Tandem Group is the experience presented in the following report.

5.7.2. The situation and its context

The European dream, the progress, the unequal development in the different countries and the migration all over the world lead to a more and more multicultural society. 9.473 people from foreign countries live in the Basque Country, 3.976 of them in Gipuzkoa (Count of population and households, 1991. Eustat).

This situation requires a process of sensibilization and mutual understanding between the native citizens of the country and the immigrants. The necessity for this becomes more and more evident in areas like education, administration, the neighbourhood etc.

But speaking of integrating the immigrants, this obviously means an integration that offers two possibilities to the immigrant: Either to completely adapt oneself to the Spanish culture and give up one's own identity to a large extent, or to lock oneself up in a "ghetto" with other immigrants of one's country and take on the status of a guest. The legal situation granted to the immigrant

according to his official status (first-, second- or third-class citizen) plays an important role.

Regardless of whether the number of foreigners in our environment is high or low, it seems to be the way **Mathes** explains it:

"... that in the West they generally obtain a very restricted status, like the one of foreign workers, restaurant owners, refugees, asylum-seekers, guests or even tourists. In the concrete experience, day after day, we keep up a distance and therefore avoid the occurrence of any daily intercultural meeting or exchange. Maybe at work or within smaller groups we make more use of the possibility to get in touch." (Presentation paper for the German University Council, Nov. 27, 1992).

According to the opinion poll done by the Centre of Investigation on the Social Reality, only 35% of the asked people have ever had a long conversation with one of the more than 500 Gipsies who have spent their whole life among us. 30% of them spoke to people born in Latin America, 19% to people of North-African origin and 16% to people of the Subsaharian area of Africa.

Certainly the contact with those minorities living among us is essential for any perspective on intercultural work.

Moreover, more and more racist and/or xenophobic phenomena and attitudes are arising these days, although they are not new.

"Due to the massive population movements of the last 40 years xenophobia has become an important political phenomenon. Xenophobia comes with ethnic nationalism, and both are characterized by hostility towards the others. (Hobsbawn 1991,8)

Nowadays by those 'others' we clearly understand the 'foreign'. As **Wiesel** says:

"To the stable and more or less peaceful society it generally suggests the unknown, the forbidden, the outlawed; who knows what they do secretly, maybe they are up to conspiracies and intrigues, without a doubt they are about to spread any suspicion and misfortune and leave without a trace. The foreign represent to us what we are not. The foreign is the other. It is an emissary of unknown,

hostile powers. It is a vagabond in search of a bed, the noisy gipsy that drags along a bunch of ragged children, the refugee unjustly pursued by the law, the oppressed crazy, the starving beggar, the foreigner that nobody likes" (as also quoted by the compiler **Jesús Contreras** in *Los Retos de la Inmigración* , pp.11-12).

This fear of the unknown, of the *foreign*, which is supported by prejudiced, stereotype arguments, leads to isolation and to the systematic and occasionally violent rejection.

All of this makes it more and more necessary to create room such as the one of the Intercultural Tandem Group, in which, through exchange and reconciliation, we will break with those prejudices and fears, which are just the fruits of ignorance of the other.

According to Leon Mann in his book *Elements of the Social Psychology*: "*Of all the categories that stereotypes are based on, belonging to a racial group is the most important one ... But if the stereotypes are applied in a national sense and in an indiscriminate way toward a particular individual, they can cause a lot of confusion and uneasiness, because only a few individuals correspond perfectly to the stereotype.*"

Still it is advisable to take into account the criticism saying that, from the intercultural point of view, one has gotten used to the insufficiency of contacting strategies. It is not enough to know a lot about a region of the so-called third world, because this does not automatically presuppose the change of the personal attitude towards its habitants.

With the Intercultural Tandem Groups one intends to go much further:

"it is about combining the transmission of the information with the personal experiences to achieve an affective attitude." (Social-affective focus, David Wolsk I Rachel Cohen)

Or according to a proverb of the Lakota Indians:

"One has reached the age of an adult once one is capable to walk in the moccasins of the other."

It is about learning, beginning with sensitivity, while enforcing the presence of social behavior,

social signifying the behaviors that encourage the cooperation, the desire to share, to sympathize etc. *The empathy*, the sensation of correspondence and harmony with the other, presupposes self-assurance and self-confidence as well as the capability of verbal or nonverbal communication. To achieve this, one creates a climate in which everybody, as an individual that is part of a group, experiences, analyses and describes an empiric situation and is able to tell the others about the experience made.

5.7.3. Intercultural Tandem

5.7.3.1. Formation of the First Intercultural Tandem Group

Actually, the conventional teaching methods are necessarily one-way systems. The student receives but can only contribute little of his own experiences. Nobody asks for all the vocabulary he has learned before. In the long run, this can result in frustration, which might affect the motivation for learning the new language. At this point the courses **German-international TANDEM TDI**, established by Barbara von Breitenbach in Wiesbaden in 1989, came into being.

When this class model emerged, some participants were German students of a short course at the Open University, who, in a number of classes under the direction of Barbara von Breitenbach, had talked about their opinions about prejudices, xenophobia, racism, its origin, how it arises etc. The participants of that course often expressed their wish to have the opportunity to discuss their opinions and prejudices through direct contact with foreign people. On the other hand there was a "German for foreign students" class with participants who had already reached a rather high German level, which they wanted to test with Germans. They also were looking for new acquaintances. Connecting both groups TDI came into being, with German as the language of communication and intercultural exchange being the centre of interest.

The name **TANDEM** expressing dynamics, rapidity and applied effort, characterizes the cooperation of German and foreign participants. In a process of giving and taking between equals, the native speakers "giving" the German language and the foreign students returning their cultural background. Therefore, it is neither a traditional TANDEM bilingual class nor a conventional German conversation course.

5.7.3.2. The Intercultural Tandem Net

Since about two years the members of **the Tandem Foundation** have devoted themselves to spread the idea of *Intercultural Tandem* all over Europe. During this time many personal relationships have emerged with organizations working with immigrants and possibly being interested in forming an Intercultural Tandem group. These relationships are stretched out through Spain, Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, Austria, and Switzerland.

The first seminars took place in 1992 in Donostia and in 1993 in Madrid, with Barbara von Breitenbach participating, a sociologist who formed the first group in Wiesbaden.

In May 1994 in Frankfurt and in September in Madrid the Tandem Foundation organized the first training courses for future consultants of those Tandem groups. Other speakers also took part in this. This list concludes with the last course in Vienna in April 1995.

There the participants wanted to apply the methodology to multicultural groups already existing then, of children as well as of adults.

At the moment, thanks to the initiative of Barbara von Breitenbach and her colleagues, there are five groups working in different areas of Wiesbaden supported by the Open University and clerical institutions working in the field of adult education. In Madrid, as part of *Karibu*, exists a group of participants of African origins and in Donostia, in cooperation with *S.O.S. Racism*, they are developing the group, which I will present in this report.

At the moment the interchange of experiences between the consultants of different groups is carried out in the informal way of personal relationships - something that in the future will need more structure, especially with having a growing net.

As one easily can imagine, one of the problems arising with the formation and development is the way of financing. Here, the first idea was to cover the costs and fees for the consultants of the local groups through local sources (city councils, deputation, private organizations etc.). In every country the national cooperation is financed by central and/or federal resources (INSERSO (Institute for

Social Services), Ministry of Social Matters ...). The coordination services and the connections within the Tandem net are paid by the foundation: for the collection and development of material and for the information for the entire net as well as its extension one would look for financial support by European programmes (HORIZONT).

Reality has shown that it is very difficult to receive funds for programmes of this type and that the only subventions (at least concerning the European funds) are given for programmes promoting the integration of immigrants in their work. Therefore, at the moment the central coordination is made voluntarily and financed partly through education courses.

The core aim is to offer this project to interested centres and organizations objecting to extend the idea as far as possible and to gain a maximum of intercultural groups in different cities and countries.

5.7.4. Development of the Intercultural Group of Tandem Donostia

As explained in chapter III, the first intercultural Tandem group came into being in Germany by connecting of two groups, one of them being Germans that were interested in the causes of the increasing racism and xenophobia in the country and the other being foreign participants of a German course.

However, the Intercultural Tandem Group of Donostia starts with some more concrete objectives:

- * To make the native population alert for taking up a stance against racist and/or xenophobic situations taking place in their environment.
- * To create space for relationships, exchanges and closer contact between the native population and the immigrants living in the same environment.
- * To promote personal interchange as well as intercultural activities between all different cultural and ethnic groups living within the same area .

Therefore, the Tandem Foundation and S.O.S. Racism co-operate in order to form groups in Donostia that promote and support these aims mentioned before. Another aim is to extend this project to nearby communities like villages, districts etc. in the very near future.

The Intercultural Tandem Group of Donostia has been meeting since the end of November 1994 until the beginning of June, every Wednesday from 19:45h - 21:45h o'clock. In the following I a'm going to write about its participants, contents, methodology ...

5.7.4.1. Participants

Thus, the Intercultural Tandem Group defines itself as a kind of related groups of a compendium of native and foreign participants living in the same environment.

When we come up with the idea to form the group in Donostia, we wanted to have a balance of native and foreign participants and the greatest diversity possible referring to the different components that shape someone's social status in our society (e.g., age, sex, profession, political or economic immigrant, whether one comes from the European Union or other countries ...). Therefore, after the October convocation by means of using some of the communication media and handing out flyers in different colours and languages, we finished the initial list of a total of 13 participants: six foreigners, six natives and one person that returned to Spain after shaving lived for 56 years in the Ukraine.

At that very beginning, most of the *native participants* were students or specialists in the field of human or social sciences. Some of them had lived abroad or had close foreign relatives. Among the *foreign participants* was also a student of the Erasmus programme, but the majority were immigrants settled in Spain for years.

Throughout the course the attendance during the meetings as well as the number of participants was varying a lot. People who only attended some of the sessions, new incorporations and some abandonments. The basic group from the beginning has been maintained though.

All in all, during that year (Nov. 1994 - Jun. 1995) about 20 participants visited this group:

- three Moroccans
- one Egyptian
- one Chinese
- one Ukrainian
- one Italian
- two Germans
- one Finnish

The rest of the 20 participants were natives.

We missed the participation of people from other cultures who also live in our city: Gipsy, Guinea, Senegalese, Latin-American ... Or those who live under different circumstances because they asked for asylum or had no identifying documents etc. ... These and others absences will be considered when preparing the convocation for the next course.

5.7.4.2. Contents

As far as possible the topics discussed during the weekly meetings were chosen according to the interests shown by the participants. We devoted the first two meetings to contrasting and introducing the aims to establish the International Tandem Group. In these two meetings we also played some games to get to know each other, which we had adapted to this group being so heterogeneous as far as its culture was concerned. After that, we devoted a third session to compiling a list of the topics that the participants wanted to learn more about.

The list is very long, but I would like to pick up some of the topics that had been most agreed on in the group and that had been discussed in the meetings that followed:

- The role of women in the Arabian countries.
- Religions in Egypt.
- What is the Islam (about).
- Living conditions in the communist countries: Ukraine and China.
- Influences of the American culture on the other cultures.
- Holidays and customs of the different cultures.
- What Spanish people were thought of and what their situation was like in the represented countries.
- Law on aliens.
- 'Anti-army movement' in the Basque Country.
- Basque nationalism.
- Social and/or economic racism.
- Ethnocentrism.

We tried to tackle every topic from different cultural points of view, since all of them are personal attitudes and therefore subjective. For this reason we asked every participant to talk about his/her culture, as a kind of "ambassador of his/her country"; the importance of the topic in that country, also in myths, tales, idioms, in everyday life, and in family life etc. All this was meant to be without defending any attitude as the only true one or as unquestionable.

As the consultants we also introduced other topics, always with games, to show distinctive aspects

one is little aware of: symbols, stereotypes, prejudices etc.

Difficulties concerning the language itself were also subject alongside the course. Right from the start and to prevent language based inhibitions, misunderstandings or a lack of understanding native participants were encouraged to offer their support when certain words or phrases were missing.

In this way foreign participants could also improve and increase their knowledge in Spanish during the meetings.

5.7.4.3. Methodology

The atmosphere in which the meetings are meant to develop in the most positive way, are comparable with a „coffee house atmosphere”, where people meet up like friends, sitting around the table, enjoying themselves. In fact, many meetings were happening while drinking tea, enjoying a cake or some biscuits, often brought along by the participants themselves.

This is trying to create a climate in which people involved feel comfortable; a climate in which everyone's well being is just as important as the interlocutor or the topic that is being talked about.

In some meetings the topics were discussed within a small group first. In smaller settings it is easier to ensure that conversations develop in a more personal style, whereas in big groups some of those topics would probably have been too specific. Additionally, in small groups it is more likely that participants can overcome inhibitions and fears that may occur when talking in front of a larger group. It ensures that there is enough space to exchange ideas, opinions, comments and memories more freely. Also, it allows to break with possible prejudice about one each other.

To tackle appropriate topics of conversation, different audiovisual media (videos, music, ...) and/or written materials (books, newspapers, magazines, intercultural calendars...) have been used occasionally, supporting this process.

For every meeting two people in charge with group dynamics are prepared to support the group through applying different group dynamic and animation techniques. These techniques of “speeding up” the group are used when:

- Searching and selecting appropriate material for usage (participants themselves are involved in this process)

- Suggesting and promoting the topic for the coming up meeting according to the results and outcomes from the meeting before (always regarding those topics that were suggested from the group originally.)
- Structuring dynamics of the meetings, including
 - organizing small group work, ensuring a favorable mixture of people from different cultural origins.
 - encouraging activities with all group members.
- Moderating of discussions.

The way in which an International Tandem Group is moderated is very much influenced by the so-called “Topic Centered Interaction” (Interacción Centrada en el Tema/ICT) from Ruth C. Cohn, who developed this specific method for moderating oneself and a group. This method is considered most useful and was therefore chosen, as it creates several attitudes and values within group leaders and participants for a desirable and positive development of a group and within group works.

5.7.4.3.1. Topic Centered Interaction (Interacción Centrada en el Tema/ICT)

To describe and explain this method in the most sufficient way, I relied on the works of Löhmer and Standhart (1992).

The development of the TCI is strongly related with the personal biography of its inventor Ruth C. Cohn, who was born in Berlin in 1912. Cohn closely experienced the persecution that the Jewish population had to endure after the National Socialists had come into power in Germany. Consequently her main objective was to avoid probable evolution or developments that would allow a repetition of a similar regrettable historic episode within any society.

Ruth C. Cohn, who was an active psychoanalyst also treating individuals, was looking for a method that helped big groups to direct and sharpen their awareness in terms of individual as well as systemic structures.

Based on a humanistic orientation, the TCI was developed in the middle of the 1960ies.

During the last twenty years, this method has continually become more well known, first in the

United States and later in other European States, whereas hardly in Spain.

Nowadays this method is also frequently applied and used outside the field of psychology; in areas such as business, politics, economy, administration etc.

Among other demands and objectives, this method also focuses on the so-called “Learning to Live in a Community” (aprendizaje vivo en común). Its declared objectives are to:

- Stimulate and promote the development of positive attitudes and tendencies in others instead of stagnation or negativity (like tendencies of a society where mainly competitive attitudes dominate).
- Encourage disposition and willingness in people to cooperate, instead of working against each other.
- Foster a sense and a clear picture of reality, replacing personal and social myths.
- Promote the disposition to take over responsibilities and to act accordingly, instead of acting in a quick and unconsidered way.

The general goal of TCI is to foster the awareness of possibilities that exist to initiate a change in the present, in the so called “here and now”, as well as help to “be connected” with one selves’ individual processes, That form a person’s live and needs. Therefore, it is meant to help people to realize and act according to the guidelines listed now:

- Be your own leader and act as responsibly as you would expect and demand it from others, which includes taking over responsibility for missing out an appropriate action when required.
- Interferences, irritations and disturbances always have priority.

To provide clear orientation for all members of a group, Cohn offered some helpful rules, aiming to deal carefully and respectfully with individual needs and needs that occur within a group.

The core principles for working with TCI are based on the idea of balancing dynamics; not only dynamics that develop in a group due to the topic that is being discussed, but equally those dynamics that happen inside every person, within the whole group, joining individuals, and dynamics caused by the surrounding.

Consequently, every group interaction can be structured in four categories, which are equally important (see the scheme below):

- The “I”, meaning every individual within the group.

- The “WE”, meaning the interaction taking place in the whole group.

- The “IT”, referring to the topic or the task of the group.

- The “WHOLE” or the “GLOBE”, which is the circle around the triangle formed by the other three categories, symbolizing the closer or further surrounding of the group.

The “globe” or the “whole” consists of factors of the environment and also describes aspects of people's' origin, which both influence the norms, the political reality, the thinking and the expectations of each person. All these things describe people's background and determine what they can contribute towards the group. Concerning the TANDEM Intercultural Group the “globe” plays a very important role as this particular group is characterized through its great ethnic diversity, a fact that also very strongly influences the election of the topics.

The function of the facilitator mainly consists in emphasizing the part of the triangle (meaning the “I”, the “WE” and the “IT”), which is less consciously visible or regarded by the participants. Consequently, the facilitator is continually concerned with balancing the dynamics of this triangle, ensuring equality among these three categories.

The three most important elements for working with TCI in a group are described with the terms “*structure*”, “*process*” and “*confidence*”. These three elements interact permanently and are present in every group, as the process is always connected with participants' confidence towards the group and among each other as well as with the structure of the topic. The equality and the interaction between these three elements are, as mentioned before, symbolized through a triangle (see the scheme).

The “*structure*” refers to all activities, interactions, decisions and organizational settings of the

group, ensuring that each participant can be involved to the same extent during any task or exercise. The most important part of the structure is the *topic*. The topic itself demands a clear structure in terms of the content, the time frame (defining how much time will be dedicated towards the topic), the discussion set up (e.g., whether the topic is discussed in small groups or dealt with in front of the entire group), the kind of perception exercises being performed etc.

The “*process*” contains everything that happens within the group. It describes all content based developments taking place, as well as the relations between the individuals and the way in which the entire group develops. The process of a group can never be entirely foreseen or planned. Therefore, a flexible handling of the preplanned structures is required.

In fact, the structure is of minor importance in comparison to the process in case the structure does not support the current process and/or does not correlate with the needs and necessities of the group.

The term “*confidence*” describes the crucial importance of the participants’ well being. Every participant has to feel welcomed, protected and secure within the group. The confidence characterizes a group environment in which everyone listens to each other, where people can be sure of discretion and good sense; a group environment in which people can open up themselves, where it is allowed to make mistakes and new experiences.

Although regarding all these aspects and factors may at times result in a more chaotic and less structured way of working, we feel that it is worth to accept this possibility and to deal with it competently, instead of allowing distrust and stagnation to gain ground within the group.

5.7.4.4. Some concrete experiences

In this part I intend to display some dynamics that took place in different meetings.

30th Nov. 1994 - First Meeting/First Contact

Number of participants: 12

Objectives:

- Present the idea of INTERCULTURAL TANDEM.
- Introduce ourselves to the participants, and facilitate that the participants get to know each other.
- Find out about the participants expectations and motives to take part in this

- group.
· Create a relaxed environment in which free interchange can take place.

The participants were sitting in a circle around a small table, on which some cakes, biscuits and tea were placed. After a brief presentation from our side in terms of who we are and the associations and co-operations we work in, we explained the general idea and objectives of forming a TANDEM Intercultural Group.

After that, we facilitated a warmup exercise to become more familiar with each other. In this exercise cartons of different colors were provided. Everyone chose a color. The cartons were cut into pieces and handed out to the participants. Now everyone wrote his/her name on the carton as well as drew a symbol upon it, representing where the participants came from (town, country...). Now were walking around with our cartons and symbols clearly visible, asking each other about the meanings of the symbols that had been drawn.

After a while, with a partner we had chosen before, we all sat down in pairs. We started interviewing each other about our names. We exchanged things like the names' proper meaning, whether there was a tradition of the name within the family, why and how it was chosen, what we thought of our names now, whether we had or have a nick name etc.

Then, in front of the whole group, every person was presenting his or her partner, informing the others about what he or she had heard.

The same procedure was repeated concerning the colors that were chosen at the beginning. People exchanged their personal associations with each color, how the colors were used, what cultural meanings they had etc.

Finally participants were asked to express their expectations concerning this meeting and to talk about their motives to take part in this group.

Some of the participants answers are listed below:

- “I came from Vitoria to study here in San Sebastián and I thought that this was an interesting way to get acquainted to new people.
- “I always felt a need to talk to people here concerning the Islam as well as talk to them about my country (Egypt) as I believe that people have a wrong idea about it all.”

- “I want to know how foreigners lead their lives here.”
- “I a’m one of the children of the war that were sent to Russia. I returned a month ago with my wife (Ukrainian), after having lived there for 54 years.”
- “ I study Ottoman Culture of the 17th century and I just though it would be interesting to participate in a group like that.”

22nd Feb. 1995

Number of participants: 10

Topic: The Islam is more than a religious phenomenon.

It was near the period of Ramadan, which some Islamic participants actively practiced. In former meetings different aspects of the Islamic life and religion had already been discussed; such as the role women play, different norms and values, customs etc. Then, one of the participants suggested watching a film called “The message of God” and to analyze it afterwards. So we did, using the video, stopping the film various times at different scenes, commenting on what we had been seeing.

The Islamic participants were asked to explain and tell the others about their way of life, how their families and friends actively live the Islam. They also commented on fundamentalism and the attitudes that go along with it, pointing out that they were the first ones to suffer.

During this lively exchange of thoughts, a very broad view was developed. There were also many everyday live examples, such as: ”I remember that my sister at the age of 16 one day came up to my parents, telling them that she wanted to wear make up and put off her head scarf. My parents answered that she only had to follow God’s word. Within the same year she herself started wearing her head scarf again.”

We all got aware and agreed upon the fact that we had many prejudice and fears concerning this practically unknown culture.

22nd Feb. 1995

Number of participants: 10

Topic: Non-verbal communication.

Objective: Finding out about the possibilities to communicate without being able to speak a language.

In some meetings we already had the chance to learn more about symbols, signs, customs, various practices etc..... and their often very different cultural meanings and interpretations. Here are some listed:

- “In my country (Morocco) is it frequently seen that men go hand in hand along the street, something that in Spain would definitely be interpreted as being homosexual.”
- In China it is of crucial importance how you act towards and treat the person invited. The guest is seated at a special place, is always served first and you never place a knife on the table, as this is a sign of aggression.”
- “...If you mean to suggest that someone else is prostituting his or her self, you hang up two shoes on the person's' door.”
- “In Germany women don't' depilate their legs that much.”

This time we were fostering and promoting communication through drawings, representing a frequent situation: joining up two people that were not able to speak each other's language.

The binational pairs that were formed, received a big piece of paper and each person chose a marking pen or a wax pen in his or her preferred color.

By drawing symbols, lines or anything else that seemed adequate to them, the participants started to convey messages to each other, without saying a single word.

After approximately 15 to 20 minutes, people exchanged what they had experienced, supported by questions like:

- Were you able to understand each other?
- How much space was used by each one?
- How did you feel?
- Would you like add something through verbal communication?
- What was your perception of the relation being developed to each other during this exercise?

5.7.5. Conclusions

Due to the intensive experiences that were made within the TANDEM International Group, everyone involved had the opportunity to really approach each other during that year. It was understood that, although natives and foreigners were living together so closely, often had very little real contact.

“It feels strange to have believed that Chinese people would pronounce “l” instead of “r”, like it is shown in the movies. In fact, I had never talked to a Chinese person”. However, more than 150 Chinese people live permanently in San Sebastián / Donostia only.

“Here I had the chance to learn a lot about my own culture that I practically used to ignore, I think. I only had a holiday image of Morocco and only knew what my parents had told me about it. It was the first time that I talked in this way with a Moroccan guy in front of me.” This was stated by Zida, a young Moroccan woman who had lived in the Basque land since she was very little.

Without consciously realizing, the foreigners that before had nearly been nonexistent, now seemed to be a part of everyone's' daily life. When the participants arrived at the reunion that was organized, it was frequently commented that some of them had stayed in touch, had been meeting up or going out for drinks together, to communicate and exchange ideas.

During the reunion we also had the opportunity to step into each others shoes: *“After so many years you been living here, I just don't understand why you still have to apply for a working permit, neither I can understand why the police would look for you in your own house.”*

Obviously, some also got rid of one or another stereotype: *“...I actually thought that all Arabs were machos.”*, although some stereotypes seemed to have more persistence: Well *“..., in any case, you aren't any more 'macho like' than Spanish guys.”*

However, the most delighting and important thing is that those people had could break down barriers as well as had managed to over come fears and rejections towards foreigners. They had personally experienced the richness of living in diversity.

We believe that from that time onwards, when ever they would read in the news papers that a Moroccan was deported in fulfilment of the law of foreigners, they would remember Mustafa, and surly, they would not stay unmoved.

“We don't know yet whom we ought to appreciate and respect. In this way, we behave like Barbarians among each other. Nevertheless, no matter whether we are Greeks or Barbarians, we are all the same as we all derive from nature and so it is very important to be human: we all breath through mouth and nose and we all eat with our hands.”

ANTIFONES, About the truth, 5th century

<https://tandemcity.info/free-tandem-downloads/> > Dialog-Tandem

Postscript: Questionnaires for self-assessment of intercultural competence can be found among others with CRTL (*CRTL, Web*) and for young people with Crossculturetoolkit (*Crossculturetoolkit, Web*).

An internet search should be carried out with the terms 'questionnaire + intercultural learning' and 'questionnaire + transcultural learning' as the second term and approach is more up to date.

5.8. Is a combination with the cross-border 'Mugaz Gain' tandem useful in border areas?

Conflict areas often lie near the border, because after wars the 'winners' annex part of the loser's territory. This makes the population a minority in the 'winning state'. Or the relations between the two countries and the inhabitants close to the border due to history are bad or non-existent. In this case the cross-border 'Mugaz Gain' can be used. The manual can be downloaded free of charge from <https://tandemcity.info/free-tandem-downloads/> , 'Mugaz Gain-Tandem'.

5.9. What to do if several language groups live in the area ?

There is also a solution called 'Babylonia-Tandem', i.e. a tandem in three or more languages. The manual can be downloaded free of charge from <https://tandemcity.info/free-tandem-downloads/> , 'Babylonia-Tandem'.

Particularly interesting is the 'receptive multilingualism', i.e. the participants do not need to learn the language of the other person perfectly, but only to understand it. Everyone continues to speak his/her language and reacts to the other person's remarks. This enables communication to be achieved quickly where there is no time for language learning at a high level.

5.10. What other details need to be considered ?

It can't hurt to check the program design resulting from all these forms according to the following criteria before implementing it:

Intervention impact checklist

1. Is there ongoing consultation and involvement with all affected groups and fractions in the area, using indigenous structures wherever possible?
2. Does the programme meet the needs of a range of interests, not just those of powerful groups? Are you monitoring your programme at first hand to avoid the possibility of resources going to support a political faction?
3. Do you take every opportunity to demonstrate your impartiality in the conflict, and your commitment to peace and reconciliation?
4. Is your programme building in long-term sustainability and development?
5. Are you co-ordinating your work with other agencies in the area?
6. Do you have an effective policy for the security both of your staff and others involved in the programme?
7. Does your programme offer opportunities for dialogue between groups in the area, and the identification of common needs, including security?
8. Does the programme encourage an accountable style of leadership?
9. Do you encourage and make use of processes for handling disagreements peacefully, both within organisations and in the wider community?
10. Does your programming foster hope and the vision of a better future, for example through active involvement in the reconstruction process?
11. Are you assisting people, as necessary, in coping with the trauma of violence, injury and psychological damage caused by experiences such as loss of relatives, witnessing atrocities and intimidation?
12. Are you doing anything to assist victims of war? In particular widows, children and people with disabilities?
13. Are you keeping donors fully informed of the progress of work as well as the continuing needs?
14. Have you made a serious enough long-term commitment to work in such areas to justify the outlay and the hopes you raise?

(following www.donoharm.info , quoted in : *Ohana, Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine, p.109*)

Now some details are to be clarified, namely

- better tandem pairs or tandem courses ?
- Use with women
- Use with adolescents or seniors

Various authors take the view that peace work in groups makes more sense than in couples. Reconciliation only works if it is global, not from individual to individual (cf. *Rodriguez Casasbuenas, Roberto, p. 153*). "Inter-group dialogue is to be preferred, rather than one-to-one

dialogue. It is less threatening for all and also allows a diversity of life-experience to be shared, rather than just that of a victim/survivor and a combatant." (*Bloomfield, David + Barnes, Teresa + Huyse, Luc, p.95*).

It may be that this assessment has arisen from the specific situations. Tandem courses are also more difficult to conduct than tandem pairs. If you choose tandem couples, it makes sense to offer regular moderated group meetings.

Kofi Annan demands (cf. *ACNUR + globalitaria.net, volumen I, p.24*) that the groups that suffer most in wars also have the greatest protagonism in overcoming conflict. (The discussion about who these groups are is macabre in view of dead soldiers, raped women and traumatised child soldiers. It should be clear, however, that the shareholders of the arms factories and the politicians they finance through party donations are not among them.)

It is also undisputed that the role of women is important, and they must not be seen only as (passive) victims (cf. *OECD, p.54*). "Women play important roles in the process of peace building, first as activists and advocates for peace, women wage conflict nonviolently by pursuing democracy and human rights. Secondly, as peacekeepers and relief aid workers, women contribute to reducing direct violence. Thirdly, as mediators, trauma healing counselors, and policymakers, women work to 'transform relationships' and address the root of violence. Lastly, as educators and participants in the development process, women contribute to building the capacity of their communities and nations to prevent violent conflict. This is made possible as a result of socialization processes and the historical experience of unequal relations and values that women bring to the process of peace building (*Lisa & Manjrika, 2005*)." (*Agbalajobi, Tayie Damilola, S.12*) In Burundi, the Hutu and Tutsi women began to meet because both groups were excluded from the peace negotiations by their husbands (*ibid., p.13*). But these self-help groups can also be social spaces for meetings and personal growth that do not always focus on traumatic experiences. For example, 'Marie Stopes International' set up a network of self-help centres and groups, where the main reason for looking after the women is not to treat their mental health problems, but to enjoy regular meetings in a pleasant place to discuss some issues suggested by the women, such as...: Is the man the boss ? Do you have to get married to have a child ? This shows, as in other wars, that one of the most important psychosocial effects is the change in the way women think about themselves (*Jones, 1995*). (*Beristain, Carlos Martín 2004, p.72*)⁸⁰

⁸⁰ "Sin embargo, estos grupos de apoyo mutuo también pueden constituir espacios sociales

The difficulties were:

- Lack of political education,
- Lack of experience and techniques,
- Lack of a political platform,
- Lack of visibility,
- Lack of sustainability in political participation
(cf. *Agbalajobi, Tayie Damilola, p.15*).

Finally, the young people: „Youth work may not be the place for high-level negotiations, for ceasefires to be made or for peace deals to be forged. Nevertheless, it makes a contribution to conflict transformation, notably through its educational effects. Working through non formal education can have a strong impact on participants’ attitudes and values and, given the right conditions, that impact can be multiplied through wider communities of young people and their elders.“ (*Ohana, Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine, S.11/12*). There is a very vivid and exact description of a project in East Bosnia (cf. web *Fischer, Martina*).

Unfortunately, there are no reports about working with seniors, although that could do a lot in countries where the older generations have a great influence on society.

5.11. What are the complementary offers and tools ?

In countries where a conflict exists at a low level, it may be sufficient to use tandem language exchange as a preventive measure. If the conflict is virulent, it will not be enough, tandem is then only a measure in a wide range. The people who carry out the other measures need the appropriate training. In Northern Ireland, one-day or two-day modules with social workers, trade unionists, city councillors, youth workers, etc. were carried out (cf. *Fitzduff, Mari, p.141*).

They worked on the following priorities:

deencuentro y crecimiento personal que no siempre se centran en las experiencias traumáticas. Porejemplo, en Bosnia, Marie Stopes International estableció una red basada en centros y grupos de autoayuda, en los que la razón más importante para atender a las mujeres no parece ser la atención a sus problemas de salud mental sino disfrutar de encuentros regulares en un sitio agradable para discutir algunos asuntos propuestos por las mujeres, como: ¿ Es el marido el jefe ?, ¿ tienes que casarte para tener un hijo ? Esto muestra, como en otras guerras, que uno de los efectos psicosociales más notables es el cambio de la forma de pensar de las mujeres sobre ellas mismas (Jones, 1995)."

- Techniques to facilitate contacts, as two parallel societies live side by side in Northern Ireland
- Reduction of prejudices in order to create overarching alliances
- Techniques for political dialogue and cooperation, in particular encouragement to address conflicts openly and constructively; these programmes have been extended to policy-makers and police units
- Work on cultural traditions so that they are no longer sectarian and perceived as a threat. (cf. *ibid.*, p.141)

In addition, roundtable discussions moderated by 'neutrals' with a fixed duration for each contribution and standards for the (non-infringing) way of expression were held (cf. *ibid.*, p.129). 'Neutral' meeting points are also necessary for this (cf. *ibid.*, p. 65).

The importance of facilitators is also emphasised in youth work (cf. *Ohana, Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine, p.158*), which must not be confused with 'intermediators / advisers' in Tandem.

In the event that someone would like to take on further functions in addition to the role as a tandem intermediary, i.e. would like to go from the language partner intermediation into negotiation and conflict resolution, here is a

List of recommended basic literature available on the Internet:

Bloomfield, David + Barnes, Teresa + Huyse, Luc: Reconciliation After Violent Conflict, A Handbook; International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance IDEA , Stockholm 2003; <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/reconciliation-after-violent-conflict-handbook.pdf>

OECD: The DAC Guidelines, Helping Prevent Violent Conflict; Paris 2001; https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/helping-prevent-violent-conflict_9789264194786-en#page1

Ohana, Yael + Lyamouri-Bajja, Nadine (ed): T-Kit, Youth transforming conflict; Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg 2012; https://pjp-eu.coe.int/documents/1017981/7110680/T-Kit12_EN.pdf/9791dece-4a27-45e5-b2f1-b7443cb2125b

Schirch, Lisa (ed): Handbook on Human Security: A Civil-Military-Police Curriculum; Den Haag, Alliance for Peacebuilding, GPPAC, Kroc Institute, March 2016;

<https://protectionofcivilians.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Human-Security-handbook.pdf>

Shushania, Nino: Building Bridges in Conflict Areas; salto-youth.net 2000; <https://www.salto-youth.net/downloads/4-17-1841/Booklet%20Building%20Bridges%20in%20Conflict%20Areas.pdf>

Tandem-Material; <https://tandemcity.info/de/tandem-material-gratis/>

5.12. How is the Dialog-Tandem organised?

5.12.1. What do experiences with attempts to reduce violent conflicts show?

If we now see tandem as a possible instrument of 'peacebuilding' (not of partial military 'peacemaking'), we must take into account the experiences of many peace NGOs so far:

Kofi Annan, then Secretary-General of the UN, stated in a speech to the World Bank in 1999: "...convincing politicians to invest in prevention is like convincing an adolescent to start saving for his pension". (*ACNUR 2004 vol 1, p.9*)⁸¹ This is confirmed by Alejandro Bendaña of the Centro de Estudios Internacionales in Managua: "There is no political will to prevent conflicts created or deepened by the tax reform policies imposed by powerful countries and international financial institutions." (*ACNUR 2004 vol 1, p.59*)⁸² This policy of reducing funding for social tasks naturally also has an impact on the working conditions of peace NGOs: "The situation in the area where we work is bad and getting worse. This is due to the lack of attention (and funding) that local governments and the international community give to the programmes they want to make more bearable, because they see them as "marginal problems". ... The majority of those of us who work on the ground feel frustration and exhaustion..." (*Charles David Tauber, p.380*)⁸³

⁸¹ "... convencer a los políticos para que inviertan en prevención es como pedir a un adolescente que empiece a ahorrar para la pensión."

⁸² "No hay voluntad política para prevenir conflictos creados o profundizados por las políticas de ajuste fiscal impuestos por los países poderosos y las instituciones financieras internacionales."

⁸³ "La situación en el área en la que trabajamos es mala y empeora. Esto se debe a la falta de atención (y de financiación) que prestan los Gobiernos locales y la comunidad internacional a los programas que pretenden aliviarla, puesto que la consideran "marginal". ... La mayoría de los que trabajamos en el terreno sentimos la frustración y el agotamiento al que me he referido antes."

This is particularly bad when you consider that peacebuilding takes a lot of time. In Colombia, 9 years is estimated for a peace process and several generations for 'symbolic reconciliation' (cf. lecture *Collaborating with the enemy*). The CWWPP in Vukovar/YU assumes at least 5 years (cf. *Charles David Tauber, p.382*).

The final result is depressing: "The international community seems to have a fixed time and methodological framework for psychological interventions and is not able to change or adapt it. It also makes promises that it neither can nor wants to fulfil. It withholds information and manipulates it according to its needs. ... The same mistakes are made again and again." (*Charles David Tauber, p.389*)⁸⁴

The chances of weak local NGOs to improve this are slim: "The majority of local organizations are forced to carry out the wishes of the international community, because it is they who ultimately provide the money. Moreover, most local organizations lack the knowledge and skills that could be made available to them from outside. It is those on the ground who know their own situation best and know what is needed to achieve the objectives. On the other hand, due to scarce resources, many local organisations are competitive and act on their own initiative rather than combining their resources and experience" (*Charles David Tauber, p.389, see also Web Borski, Sonja + Hess, Holger, p.77*).⁸⁵

"Even though donor organisations describe their approach as participatory, in most cases this type of participation merely implies the involvement of local actors as informants. They hardly play a role in planning, monitoring or evaluation processes. It becomes clear here that it is not only impossible to construct a uniform method for peace- and conflict-related impact reflection, but also that power-political interests can be associated with generalisation." (*Körppers, Daniela, p.30*) Similar: „International organisations took a very Westernised perspective, especially in the Balkans, with the grants and the programmes that they structured. But when you have civil society organisations that rely on grants and look actively for donors, they write project proposals that actually fit what the

⁸⁴ "La comunidad internacional parece tener un marco temporal y metodológico fijo para las intervenciones psicológicas y no es capaz de cambiarlo o adaptarlo. Además, hace promesas que no puede ni tiene intención de cumplir. Retiene información y la manipula según sus necesidades. ... Se cometen los mismos errores una y otra vez."

⁸⁵ "La mayor parte de las organizaciones locales se ven obligadas a acatar los deseos de la comunidad internacional ya que es quien, en definitiva, proporciona el dinero. Además, muchas organizaciones locales carecen del conocimiento y de la capacidad que se les podría proporcionar desde el exterior. Sin embargo los locales son quienes mejor conocen sus propias situaciones y saben lo que se necesita para conseguir los objetivos. Por otra parte, muchas organizaciones locales son competitivas debido a la escasez de recursos y, en lugar de combinar sus recursos y experiencia, actúan en solitario."

international organisation is looking for. So even the projects implemented by the local CSOs don't necessarily fit the local context and the needs of the communities." (Web *Jakupi, Rudine, S.71*)

Such an imbalance can also lead to the misuse of the intercultural approach: "Let's take the Spaniards' confrontation with the indigenous peoples of South and Central America: the Spaniards also gained their superiority over the indigenous peoples by researching their motives and developing strategies for their subjugation on this basis. A Chinese war tactician proverb says that only those who know the enemy and themselves well can win a thousand battles. "Knowing" and "understanding" become the means to exercise dominion. Thus intercultural competence can also be abused operationally." (*Andreas Berns + Roland Wöhrle-Chon, p.132*)

5.12.2. Why not import unchanged central models ?

Tandem was developed in Germany/France and Spain, initially a European approach, which was then disseminated throughout the world. Therefore, the warnings against Eurocentric experts apply: "The widespread assumption among conflict mediators and peace-building experts that people need to be taught how to act after a conflict has ended or even when a conflict arises and that it is necessary to show what the conflicts are, in abstract terms of intensity or non-intensity, is at least insufficient and offensive". (*II Congreso, p.92*)⁸⁶

Instead, the 'expert syndrome' and 'rapid solutions'⁸⁷ should be avoided by active listening (cf. *Redorta, Josep, 2014, p.61*).

Aid programmes must take into account how the population and the helpers interpret current events on the basis of their previous experience and traditions (cf. *Beristain, Carlos Martín 1999, p.16*), otherwise superficial needs may be met, but dignity is violated (*ibid., p.17*).

Arnold Mindell points out that prejudices are also widespread in social work professions, that Eurocentric values prevail in psychology and that communication styles can also be racist. He concludes that it is easier to deal with racists than with liberals who are convinced that they are free of prejudice (cf. *Mindell, Arnold, p. 132+134+146+138*).

Johan Galtung concludes: "Central message: the conflict parties must enter these processes on their own. The Third, God, the State, the International Community or mediators of all kinds must be

⁸⁶ "La noción, extendida entre mediadores de paz y expertos en pacificación, de que hay que enseñar a la gente cómo actuar cuando acaba un conflicto o incluso cuando surge un conflicto y es necesario mostrar qué son los conflictos, en términos abstractos de intensidad o no intensidad es, cuanto menos, insuficiente e insultante."

⁸⁷ "síndrome de experto" + "soluciones rápidas"

moderators of the conflict, not administrators of the conflict, or, even worse, thieves of the conflict. (*Galtung, Johan, p.113*)⁸⁸

5.12.3. Why strengthen local groups?

To put it positively: "We must facilitate and not import our will and desires. We have to offer support and not help". (*Tauber, Charles David, p.390*)⁸⁹

For this one needs to deal sensitively with conflicts and must observe the "Do no harm" principle (cf. *Major, Claudia, p.10*) Only in this way can local ownership be achieved (cf. *ibid., p.11*). For example, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is a protectorate, the international presence lasts longer and longer (cf. *Bolling, Landrum, p.9*).

In this context it is also advisable not to act in a sensational manner but to pay attention to a "low public profile" (*Kumar, Krishna, p.21*).

When providing external support for NGOs on the ground, it must also be borne in mind that support may be given to groups that are fighting against each other (cf. *OECD, p.120*). "It is important to: Promote multiculturalism and pluralism by rewarding projects and partners that have a high degree of cross-ethnic group involvement; help build or reinforce interdependency in communities; and guard against polarisation between perceived "winners" and "losers"." (*ibid., p.32*)

To be fair, the local team must therefore consist of members of both/all communities, perhaps with a part from outside (cf. *Kumar, Krishna, p.20*). Of course, this means that documents are not only available in English, but also in the local languages (cf. *Web Bush, Ken, p.16*).

Last but not least, it is important to plan one's own exit from the project right from the start and to strengthen the local partners in such a way that they are not affected by it (cf. *Zunzer, Wolfram, p.175*).

The programmes must not see the population as aid recipients, nor as instruments, but as protagonists who improve their social network through empowerment (cf. *Beristain, Carlos Martín*

⁸⁸ "Mensaje básico: las partes en conflicto tienen que entrar en esos procesos por sí mismas.... La Tercera Parte, Dios, el Estado, la Comunidad Internacional o mediadores de todo tipo, deben ser facilitadores del conflicto, no administradores del conflicto, o, peor aún, ladrones del conflicto."

⁸⁹ "Tenemos que facilitar y no importar nuestras voluntades y deseos. Tenemos que brindar asistencia y no ayuda."

1999, p.244). This also means that contributions come from the country itself and that people who need support can also help elsewhere (cf. *ibid.*, p.19).

5.12.4. With whom can alliances be formed ?

Even if you take all this into account, the work will not be easy and you have to look for allies: "You have to take into account that such initiatives, in their first phases, usually meet at least resistance from many organisations and groups, and in many cases open hostility from those who fear that they will help to deepen the dividing lines or those who see them as counterproductive to their own political intentions. Careful entry strategies are needed which imply ensuring the consent and assistance of those responsible for policy formulation and resource allocation so that the work can be carried out effectively". (*Fitzduff, Mari, p.140*)⁹⁰

It is therefore necessary to support everyone who is willing to cooperate (cf. *OECD, p. 133*) and the entire population must benefit from it (cf. *ibid.*, p. 136). It is also helpful to form „South-South linkages“, i.e. links between groups in similar conflict situations in different countries (*Web Bush, Ken, p.17*).

In this context it is proposed to examine more closely the significance of religious organizations not only for the intensification of conflicts but also for their solution: "Religion-based actors are neither the only ones nor in any case the better peacemakers. But it is time to perceive much more strongly that also religions can contribute decisively to the avoidance of violence and pacification, i.e. that religions have not only a conflict potential but also a considerable peace potential. A potential for peace that has proven and proven itself many times in the reality of violent political conflicts and is still far from exhausted". (*Weingardt, Markus A., p.50*) However, they must not be used like puppets at will (cf. *Web, Abu-Nimer, Mohammed*).

There is also the idea of using companies more as allies, mainly in the post-war reconstruction phase. As a positive example, a company in Sierra Leone is cited that took into consideration conflict avoidance between tribes when setting up the telephone network (cf. *Engert, Stefan, p.53*

⁹⁰ "Debe tenerse en cuenta que tales iniciativas, en sus primeras fases, suelen encontrar como mínimo resistencia por parte de muchas organizaciones y grupos, y en muchos casos abierta hostilidad por parte de quienes temen que contribuyen a incrementar las divisiones o quienes las ven como contraproducentes para sus propias inclinaciones políticas. Hacen falta cuidadosas estrategias de entrada, que implican asegurarse el consentimiento y apoyo de los responsables de la elaboración de políticas y asignación de recursos, para que el trabajo se realice con eficacia."

ff). This idea may be tempting, especially financially, but one should not ignore the many years of experience with the behaviour of private companies in 'development aid' (see Chapter 1).

An example of the analysis of various peace NGOs in Germany and the contribution they can make to the peace movement can be found in Heinz Wagner (cf. *Wagner, Heinz, p.317*).

5.12.5. What are the practical steps now?

If we now look back at everything that has been said and ask what Tandem can do in practice, the answer is probably:

- the escalation of conflicts can perhaps be slowed down if it is used in time and on a massive scale. However, if one or more superpowers want to start a war, tandem programmes are not enough to prevent it.
- Once 'the child has fallen into the well', an eTandem via the Internet can help to prevent existing contacts from being broken off, so that the war opponents on both sides receive genuine information. However, there are still some technical problems to be solved.
- Tandem can play an important role in the reconciliation phase, but this is only possible in conjunction with other measures and organisations with the appropriate qualifications.

Four countries were selected for the first project year (2019). For practical reasons, for the first time only in Europe, namely

1. Belgium (Flemish/Walloons, phase 1)
2. Estonia (Estonian speakers / Russian speakers, phase 1)
3. Latvia (Latvian speakers / Russian speakers, phase 1)
4. Cyprus (Greek / Turkish speakers, phase 3).

True to 5.11.2, many schools, universities, adult education institutions and cultural initiatives in these countries working in areas where both language groups live together were contacted. They were offered free material, introduction and advice by mail, letter and/or phone. The experiences from the partner search phase can be instructive for similar projects, therefore they are described here.

In **Belgium**, contact zones between Flemish and Walloon people were first identified. Brussels/Bruxelles, where Dutch speakers are a minority, and the 'Facilities Communities' (cf. *Web Wikipedia, Fazilitäten-Gemeinde*) around Brussels/Bruxelles, where Francophones move into the

Dutch-speaking area, were found. Then potentially interested organisations were contacted, with the following results:

Institution	Reaction
Adult Education Centre of the Walloon Trade Union	No interest due to reorganization
Flemish AEC with numerous intercultural tandem meetings in the 'facilities communities'	No interest, because considered too language-oriented and binding
Flemish AEC in Brussels	No interest, as they do not organize activities in the language area
Independent cultural centre	No answer
Cercle Polyglott	No answer
School in a 'facilities community'	No answer except acknowledgements of reception
1 Flemish and 1 Walloon peace group	Flemish people see no need, Walloons no answer

No mixed-language cultural associations were found to which the project could have been proposed.

In **Estonia**, an area called Lasnamäe in the capital Tallinn was selected, where many Russian speakers are concentrated. The results:

Institution	Reaction
Adult Education Centre Tallinn	No response to several offers
2 Libraries	No answer
3 High schools	One sees no need, two did not answer
1 University of Applied Sciences	No answer
1 Cultural centre	No answer
1 Youth centre	No answer

In **Latvia**, the corresponding residential area was called Maskavas forštate:

Institution	Reaction
Adult Education Association	Passed the offer twice to all members, no interest

of Latvia	
1 University	No interest
1 High school	No answer
3 Universities of Applied Sciences	1 no interest, 2 no answer

In **Cyprus**, a more political and a more project-oriented Greek-Turkish organisation were written to. The more political one did not react, the other one found the project extremely interesting, but saw no possibility to include it in the current annual planning.

There are two things you can learn from the partner search process:

1) In some cultures it is a sign of politeness to answer letters (A). Others, on the other hand, are about avoiding rejection through diplomatic silence (B). If, in addition, (B) does not make use of acknowledgements of receipt, this means for (A) that he cannot plan for weeks. The most effective (and costly) method of getting an answer was the combination of letter, email (preferably with the names of the addressees) and phone call ...

2) It is understandable when small peace organisations, mostly working with volunteers, have little time for correspondence or new programmes. However, it will be noticeable when large well-funded semi-public institutions in bilingual areas get bogged down in spreading only the 'own language', i.e. the language of the institution.

The reason is probably the assumption that one's own language is threatened and/or that one's territory needs to be defended. For 'language nationalism' it is good if the 'others' learn their own language, but not if their own group learns the language of the 'others'. In the end, the group misses the chance to learn foreign languages, except perhaps English. And that means: "Monolingualism makes blind ..." (*Weber, Ma Gyan Sevanti, S.247*).



"Two mice are chased by a cat. Suddenly one mouse stops and barks at the cat. The cat is scared and runs away. Then one mouse says to the other: "There you can see how good it is to know foreign languages.."⁹¹

⁹¹ <https://www.hca-ma.de/kinderseite/witze/>

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In view of this experience, the question naturally arises:

is the Dialog-Tandem something that has been developed far away and that fails to meet the needs of the selected countries? Or are educational institutions the wrong interlocutors? Or is the lack of interest in relations with the other language group just proof that the Dialog-Tandem is desperately needed?

The question cannot yet be answered with certainty due to lack of experience.

Therefore we will continue to propagate the Dialog-Tandem, and you are welcome to distribute this book further. Please send comments and interesting contacts in all countries to:

Jürgen Wolff, contact@tandemcity.info

(Our training and advice is free of charge, you may request the FAQ for interested groups and institutions. Please ask for precautions before transmitting contacts from war zones.)



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If you can't find the title here, please look in the next paragraph for 'Web Sources' and finally in the last, 'Presentations'.

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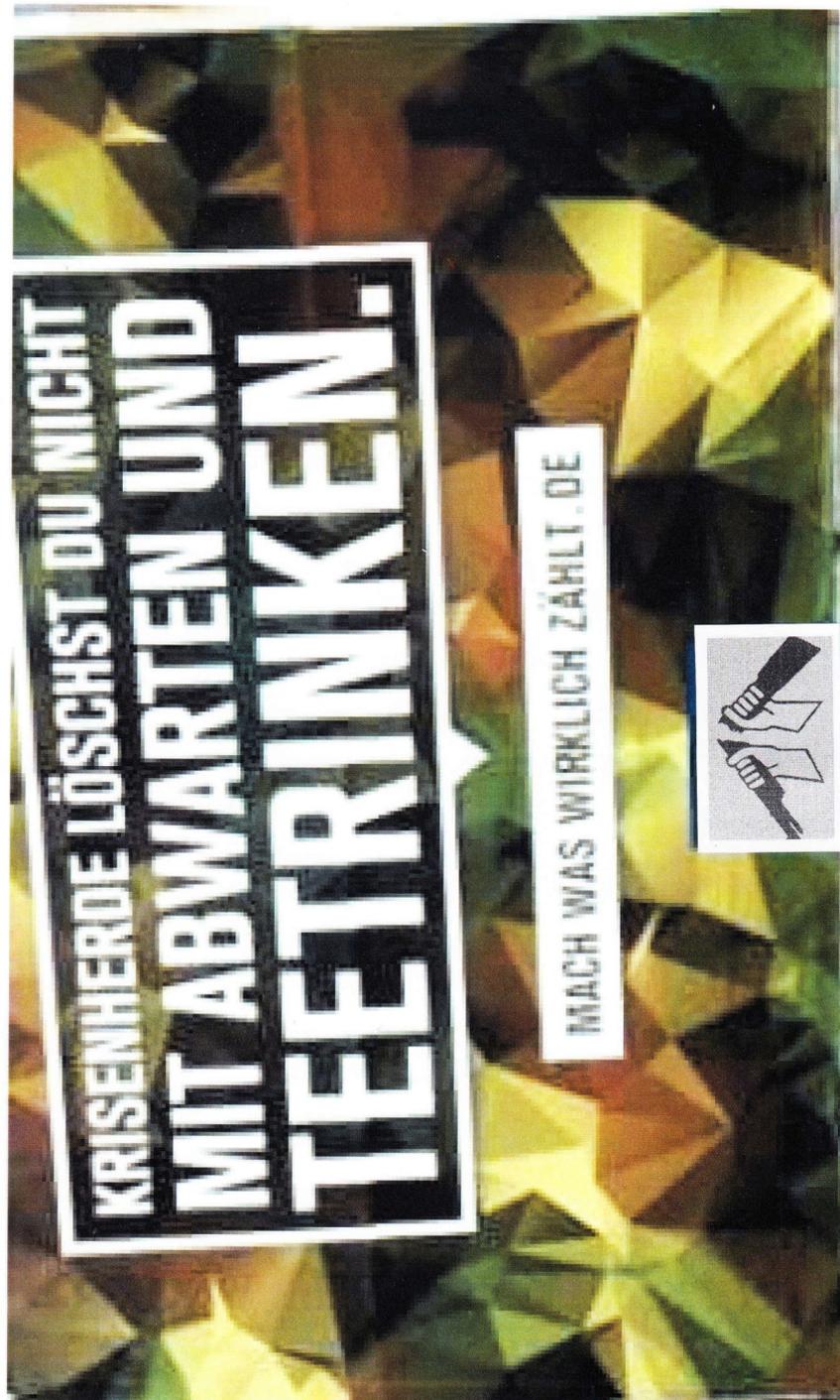
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⁹² Text of the ad: "You don't delete trouble spots with waiting and drinking tea. Do what really matters." Thanks to the German Army for the suggestion. Now all that is missing is the transfer of the military budget to the [Civil Peace Service](#).