D.4.1 CORE Workshop on Theme A

Deliverable submitted July 2011(M7) in fulfillment of requirements of the FP7 project, Cultures of Governance and Conflict Resolution in Europe and India (CORE)

Type of Document	Workshop Proceedings
Workshop Theme	Theme A: The Socio-Cultural and Political Premises of European and Indian Initiatives in Areas of Conflict Transition/Resolution
Host	Berghof Conflict Research
Place	Berghof Conflict Research premises Berlin, Germany
Date	Tuesday, 28 June 2011

Agenda

9:00 am – 9:15 am	**Introduction and Welcome** by Hans-Joachim Giessmann
9:15 am – 10:00 am	**Presentation and Discussion of Mapping Document for Topic 1:** *What are the premises of European and Indian initiatives in the areas of conflict transition/resolution, and how do these initiatives resonate with – or are informed/determined by – the socio-cultural background of either Europe or India?*
	Presenter: BCR
10:00 am – 10:45 am	**Presentations and Discussion of Topic 2**: *How, if at all, are specific socio-cultural and political premises reflected/ incorporated or neglected/ ignored in those peacebuilding and conflict transition/resolution initiatives in Europe and India?*
	Presenters: BHU, DU
10:45 am – 11:15 am	Coffee Break
11:15 am – 12:30 pm	**Presentations and Discussion of Topic 2** (*Continued)*
	Presenters: IAI, MCRG, USTAN
12:30 pm – 1:00 pm	**Presentations and Discussion of Topic 3**: *If and to what extent do societal or elite discourses of socio-cultural and political issues underpin the principles, goals and strategies conceptualized and applied for peacebuilding in each context?*
	Presenter: PRIA
1:00 pm – 2:00 pm	Lunch
2:00 pm – 2:30 pm	**Presentations and Discussion of Topic 4**: *How do internal and external governance initiatives interact and how do conceptualized norms of peacebuilding either merge with or compete with one another against the background of political conflict and socio-economic diversity?*
	Presenter: CEU
2:30 pm – 3:30 pm	**Presentations and Discussion of Topic 5**: *What are the methodological and theoretical challenges for analyzing and assessing the socio-cultural sensitivity and political appropriateness of governance initiatives in peacebuilding and conflict transition/resolution, and the results thereof?*
	Presenters: BCR, JNU, PRIO
3:30 pm – 4:00 pm	Wrap-up Discussion

Participants List

Jonas Gräns Elida Jacobsen	**Peace Research Institute Oslo**	**PRIO**
Roger Mac Ginty Birte Vogel Sandra Pogodda	**University of St. Andrews**	**USTAN**
Hans-Joachim Giessmann Anna Bernhard Daniela Körppen Janel B. Galvanek Mir Mubashir Rachel Brulé	**Berghof Conflict Research**	**BCR**
Nona Mikhelidze	**Istituto Affari Internazionali**	**IAI**
Michael Merlingen Elena Stavrevska	**Central European University**	**CEU**
Navnita Chadha Behera	**University of Delhi**	**DU**
Amit Prakash	**Jawaharlal Nehru University**	**JNU**
Anjoo Sharan Upadhyaya	**Banaras Hindu University / Malaviya Centre for Peace Research**	**BHU / MCPR**
Ranabir Samaddar	**Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group**	**MCRG**
Sumona DasGupta Priyanka Singh	**Society for Participatory Research in Asia**	**PRIA**

Introduction and Welcome by the Host

BCR Director Hans-Joachim Giessmann (Hajo) briefly presented BCR – its structure, focus, interests and modes of work. He expressed hope that the workshop would be a constructive brainstorming exercise to generate ideas of how to conduct local peacebuilding against the backdrop of global norms.

Topic 1

"What are the premises of European and Indian initiatives in the areas of conflict transition/ resolution, and how do these initiatives resonate with – or are informed/ determined by – the socio-cultural background of either Europe or India?"

Presentation by BCR

Rachel and **Anna** presented a *Mapping Document* (attached) that was based on all CORE partners' contributions on this topic. The document is a visual representation (in the form of two maps) of the different initiatives in connection with the socio-cultural background classified as dominant global norms, local norms and hybrid norms. Its purpose was to link Topic 1 to Theme A.

After explaining the dynamics and interactions in the two maps, **Rachel** pointed out these crucial observations:

- Dominant global norms affect conflict transformation *most directly* and local norms affect resource distribution *most directly.*
- There is a certain vocabulary that people use to write grants, for instance, the vocabulary of "liberal peace" and this vocabulary is influenced by global norms.
- Hybrid horms are especially powerful (because they resonate with global *and* local) in enabling people to acquire resources.
- Norms vary considerable between Europe and India; therefore, hybrid norms also vary

She then proposed a working vocabulary (included in the attached Mapping Document) which could be used as a consensual basis for defining the different norms, and asked the participants if they agreed that the mentioned norms should be looked at as described.

Discussion

Navnita cautioned against the usefulness of using a global vocabulary for the purpose of such a mapping as it excludes local norms which can also be a basis for governance initiatives and conflict transformation. She argued that the mapping approach as it stands tends to be Euro-centric while resolving conflicts in India is rarely a formalized practice. She also noted that Map 2 excluded the possibility that local norms can provide the basis for governance initiatives.

Rachel responded by saying that regardless of the type, an initiative always depends on certain local norms which already play a central role and that no single norm determines processes. She clarified that no hierarchical structure was indicated and that global norms are not more important than local norms.

Roger pointed out that between formal initiatives (e.g. by states, INGOs) and local ones lie everyday civility – which are really "transformations" although not termed as such. Revenge, tolerance, etc. are also "initiatives" in that aspect. **Rachel** agreed to this point and clarified that the components of the map may look exaggerated, but she intends to say that important resources are available, which do not necessarily come from the state, but from the streets as well. **Roger** pointed out another important aspect of initiatives in that they create their own political economy, e.g. N. Ireland, where artificial economies of peace result from certain initiatives.

Ranabir critically noted that the maps do not include political processes of norm formulation. From the Indian perspective, it is difficult to distinguish "local" and "global"; "hybrid" is a vague word that could essentially include everything. More important are the fundamental notions of justice, dignity (which really is a "norm") and the claims of the collective, which need to be factored from an anthropological standpoint. Given that there are global networks, any spatial representation should be based on interacting economic forces.

Rachel recognized that "political norms" (which are not necessarily global or local) are not included on the graph and thus asked us to look at the mapping as a *living document* ☺ which could be further enriched. She also wondered how the implicit concepts of autonomy and dignity could be appropriately visualized in the map.

Amit recognized the contestation regarding global norms, in the sense of what it really means, and how the span of local/global differs depending on location. He noted that the map privileges global norms as a positive influence on conflict resolution, although they can also be negative. He pointed out that what is global in Europe may not be global in India; thus local and global should be considered as more of a *continuum* rather than as two families.

Sandra was pleased to see how the maps created the impulse in revealing the contrast between eastern/western assumptions. Her pressing question was "who *evaluates* changing norms?".

Roger suggested perceiving hybridity not as a third, standalone concept referring to "global meeting local", but rather using the action verb of "hybridization" which essentially conveys the complex *interactions* of global and local.

Finally, **Rachel** summed up the discussion by construing norms as *networks* and *conventions* in communities and substituting global norms with o*verarching* norms. **Hajo** made the final roundup comment that *global* is not a geographical category and that it not meant to be western-dominated but is rather a recognition of the fact that there is a normative power that – whether we like it or not – we have to deal with.

Topic 2

 "How, if at all, are specific socio-cultural and political premises reflected/ incorporated or neglected/ ignored in those peacebuilding and conflict transition/resolution initiatives in Europe and India?"

Presentation by BHU / MCPR

Anjoo put strong emphasis on the socio-cultural ethos of a country, where norms are very rich and diverse – thus also resulting in diverse governance initiatives. Looking at India´s rich political history, she pointed out that India has been very involved since colonial times in global peace, (although not always following them 1 to 1), esp. in the norms of peace and non-violence (e.g. Gandhi´s non-violence and Nehru´s foreign policy). She found two major challenges: i)

maintenance of the territorial states and ii) addressing regions experiencing underdevelopment and discrimination. In line with Ranabir´s earlier comments, she stated that there is a mix of local, regional, national and global norms – related to identity, dignity and justice (*Haq*) and not just resources. These had given birth to initiatives, but not necessarily in a proactive way. As initiatives, she particularly mentioned the *Panscheel* (the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence), *Panch Parmeshwar* (respecting village elders), *Panchayat Raj*, as well as the more recent women´s empowerment initiatives (around 1975) which were actually introduced by men.

Presentation by DU

Navnita focused on the internal dimensions of conflicts in India and pointed to an interesting paradox that often the government adopts the policy of a benign neglect towards nonviolent movements until they turn violent and then asks the movement to give up arms in order to negotiate – thus essentially not redressing grievances in a purposeful manner until the conflict turns bloody. The government has a much better experience and track record of dealing with armed insurgent/secessionist movements and displays the resolve to fight the insurgencies for years, if needed, decades , but the same is not true for its handling of the ‚peaceful mass movements. She noted how the Indian constitution is also like a flexible *living document*, accommodating space for different actions: national territorial integrity is non-negotiable but the division of territory internally is (e.g. new states, linguistic reorganization, districts, divisions of villages) – used to both consolidate and share power (depending on the situation). Apparently, there is a *willingness* to experiment with intermediary layers of governance, although not all have been successful, for example, the Hill Council experiment worked in case of Ladakh but not in Gorkhaland).

Detailing on India's response to violent conflict, Navnita explained that it is always a combination of political and military strategies:

- Political strategies include co-opting the elites and marginalizing the radicals; mainstreaming the moderates (reliable fallback policy) while taking aim at the extremists.
- Conflict resolution is never a linear process, but rather cyclical.
- Negotiation style: always keep talking! The door is always open for talks though sometimes, it carries the risk of discrediting the process of dialogue itself.
- Some methods are certainly absent in fighting conflicts in India, e.g. targeted killings.
- Due to the deeply embedded diversity of the country, a precondition of almost any conflict resolution strategy is inclusiveness – of demand, political mobilization and the way the state chooses to (or not to) respond: if demand/political mobilization aren't inclusive they won't work; how/whether the Govt. is reacting to it (or not) is crucial (for its peaceful resolution)!
- Elections are regarded not as instrumentalization but both a strategy and evidence of democratization (though this remains a bone of contestation).

Discussion

Amit asserted that the Indian state would never use violence against a peaceful movement – it wouldn't be accepted in India because "some things can't be done".

Anjoo commented that the state is gaining tolerance for people killed in mass, peaceful protests.

Hajo noted that the order of giving up weapons and then talk is a common strategy by governments in India and Europe with militant groups/parties. This strategy doesn't work because the weapons are the only power the militant groups have in their hand. In democracy it is

difficult to deal with mass movements and that a paradox exists here as well: armed groups contest the power of a government; mass movements contest the legitimacy of the power of the government.

Presentation by IAI

Nona reflected on the Georgian case, reflecting on local (Georgia, Abkhazia, South Ossetia) and global (the EU and/or international) initiatives. The Georgian government policy of non-recognition and non-engagement with de-facto states is supported by the EU. Around the conflict escalation/ de-escalation during pre/post 2003 *Vardebis Revolutsia* (Revolution of Roses), Nona mentioned the following governance initiatives and developments:

- The government offered "managed democracy" through its own state building programs, neglecting norms of western democracy; post-revolution needed reforms in economic and social structures on the short run.
- The EU wanted to pursue soft power, while Georgia saw an opportunity to use their hard power.
- There was a consolidation of governance/military power, with large military spending.
- The EU doesn't offer conflict resolution approaches per se; their economic integration approaches are counted as conflict resolution.
- The militaristic aspects of conflict resolution have decreased since 2008, since it was no longer possible by military means.
- Georgia´s increased willingness to integrate with Euro-Atlantic structures.
- The EU tries to use multilateralism and mediation for long-term conflict resolution approaches to the conflict in Georgia – this is not always welcomed by Georgia. The EU´s strategy is conflict "management", in contrast with "resolution", focusing on Georgia-Russia and not Georgia-Abkhazia/South Ossetia. Although the fulfillment of the 6-point plan is important to Georgia, the EU is not really pressuring Russia to keep their part of the agreement.
- Georgia does not consider Turkey a legitimate actor in conflict resolution within the region and would prefer to continue with bilateral agreements with such countries, giving importance to free trade zones and liberalization.

Presentation by MCRG

Ranabir further contributed to the Indian story with the following key observations:

- The various premises of peacebuiliding in India are listed, i.e. the state is strong, conflicts may be allowed to linger, peace accords work, limited grant of autonomy is the best solution.
- Colonial methods of keeping the peace have influenced the post-colonial period. India has inherited such methods, which does not mitigate conflict or encourage dialogue.
- The processes of governance carry a logic of their own, which exacerbates the division between those who rule and those who are ruled.
- One casualty of such conflict resolution methods is the dialogic aspects of traditional Indian society.
- The ways of managing conflicts (violently) have simply given rise to the next round of conflicts.
- North East India is the laboratory where counter-insurgency or pacification measures are first conceived, tested, and shaped.
- The science of governing conflicts is still developing in India and there is a mix of global trends and local particularities. Governance policies today carry the mark of globalization of politics. Civil society networks learn from each other.

- There is a diversity of conflicts and a diversity of conflict resolution approaches – there is no Indian and no European archetype.
- Conflicts are alien to the spirit of democracy; the logic: resistance to the representative system must be ill-intentioned.
-   The "template" for Conflict Resolution both in India and Europe is democracy. What are the assumptions by which democracy sees conflict? Conflict and violence are not "allowed" in democracies- thus democracy is always "yet to come".
- India uses inclusionary and exclusionary strategies for conflict resolution. Indian democracy is marked by a theme "no war, no peace".

Presentation by USTAN

Roger presented a theoretical investigation revolving around *technocracy* and the *technocratic turn* in the field of peacebuilding, which he feels is understudied. The technocrats in the field of conflict resolution suggest technical approaches to conflict resolution (various international organizations, e.g. World Bank, IMF, use the term "technical assistance"). This bureaucratic ascendancy plays a large role and obviously some conflicts lend themselves better to technocratic approaches, but technocrats often get it wrong, despite their claim of efficiency and neutrality! Roger delved deeper into the reasons behind the technocratic turn:

- Structural (overarching, meta-contextual conditions): modernist worldview, prioritizing technical solutions in the expense of practices and norms; language like 'benchmarking', and 'quality management'; performance indicators are mainstreamed; geopolitical power relations are important, as is coercion.
- Proximate (accelerators): professionalization of the peace industry, standardization of best-practice regimes, and increased opportunity for peace support interventions in the post-cold war era.

The pro argument for technocracy is that such scientific and rational approaches are superior because they are not influenced by local politics/historical bias. However, an important aspect of conflict resolution – participation – is uncomfortable for technocrats ("people give the wrong answer"!), who suggest that participation should be limited in order to make it more efficient.

Discussion

Daniela, in the technocracy topic, agreed that at the beginning, peacebuilding approaches were technocratic, but things have changed in the last ten years in the field, i.e. what many NGOs are doing is much more participatory and innovative than before. She suggested not to generalize technocracy but rather to see how to differentiate between initiatives (NGOs, etc.). Her recommendation was to focus on the reflective approach in peacebuilding.

Roger was rather skeptical about this, mentioning that even new approaches are being developed within the language and framework of the technocrats and that technocracy certainly doesn't exclude creativity, but everything is already within the framework. He noted how the language of technocracy (e.g. as found in their websites) is very business-oriented, e.g. standardization term like ISO!

Amit expressed that donors find it uneasy to dictate political processes thus resulting in technocratic processes that don´t work.

Rachel, looking at all the previous presentations, wondered if there is a "tyranny of inclusion" in the sense of "too much participation" and expressed concern that, in the end, we end up with something that is neither inclusive nor democratic!

Elida mentioned biometrics in relation with technocracy, as is used in Afghanistan or in the Indian welfare scheme. Wondering who is pushing the agenda, she doubted that it is the governments, but rather lobbies and networks which use technocratic tools.

Priyanka, regarding inclusivity, asked Nona about youth engagement in the Georgian case. **Nona**, in response to this and to the question of inclusivity, remarked that some of the multilateral conflict resolution formats in the Baltic/Black Sea region do not include Russia, which is essentially pointless, and thus perhaps bilateral approaches would be better.

Navnita, regarding inclusivity, said that it all boils down to where to draw the line – which is very difficult indeed. There are also diverse linguistic and religious factors. She agreed with Roger in that elements of coercion play a role in the processes of reaching peace accords, and this needs more investigation; accords are written which can be both implicit and explicit in nature; however they are not only state-directed.

Ranabir, commenting on violence, noted that the quantum of violence have interacting ratios. There are real struggles at the state/local level and direction is centralized; there are cases of banishment, etc. Federalization, in his opinion, is both a strength and a weakness.

Sumona picked up another interesting notion with respect to the issue of inclusion and participation. Speaking with specific reference to the huge civil society mobilisation in India over the issue of corruption in 2011 she pointed out that some sections of the Indian government were now talking about the tyranny of the *unelected* shifting the discourse towards procedural issues of who is entitled to make laws and where rather than addressing the broader question of how the process of law making and policy making itself can become more representative and inclusive.

Roger, responding to Elida, recollected how Sri Lanka has been used as a laboratory for technocracy (e.g. the Tamils given barcodes), which apparently are supposed to offer clean solutions to conflict-centred bureaucracy.

Sumona, pointed out that from Nona's presentation it was clear that Georgia's need for internal reconciliation appeared to have received lower priority because it was superimposed by the EU priority of mediation to secure long term management of the larger interstate conflict between Georgia and Russia. This tension of balancing externally imposed priorities and internal compulsions can be seen in the other conflicts under study as well and she wondered if it could actually end up accentuating the internal faultlines of a conflict most of which have an internal-external nexus.

Topic 3

"If and to what extent do societal or elite discourses of socio-cultural and political issues underpin the principles, goals and strategies conceptualized and applied for peacebuilding in each context?"

Presentation by PRIA

Sumona pointed to the disjuncture between the elite perception of 'national security' and the people's perception of 'what makes them feel safe' particularly in conflict areas. The elite discourse in Indian politics appears to look at jobs and economic development as a panacea to all

forms of conflicts. This discourse disregards the cyclical functioning/processes of conflicts and most importantly the political grievances and claims for justice. Typically in conflict zones such as the India's north-east or Kashmir, "special economic packages" designed to ameliorate rather than transform the conflict are introduced and the privilege of distributing this largesse is given to a chosen few subverting local democratic channels and creating new fiefdoms , new hierarchies and new vested interests that finally feed into a political economy of violence. The manner of distribution invariably ensures that the packages never reach the people for whom it was meant. She suggested that the research agenda take on board the negative unintended consequences when the elite impose a development agenda in militarised zones that is conflict blind or at least not adequately conflict sensitive.

Apart from the market economy the other guiding principles around which liberal peace building has converged are rule of law and democracy (largely adherence to procedural democracy). In India the elite translation of these principles has sometimes come in the form of a near obsession with 'law and order'in conflict zones rather than a concern with issues of justice, dignity and rights that is causing the unrest. In areas of overt militarisation within India such as the north-east and Kashmir, the rule of law has sometimes been paradoxically turned on its head to create a justification for illiberal governance where democratic rights of dissent and protest (available to people residing in other parts of India) are suspended through enactment of 'special laws.' It is almost as if to protect the big liberal governance project in India , the little pictures of illiberal governance and politics in localised "disturbed" pockets have to be legitimised.

Discussion

Navnita also pointed out that J&K state unlike other states in India does not get loans from the central government for meeting its financial needs but these come in the form of grants-in-aid, which can paradoxically, can result in further entrenching the political economy of conflict. She also mentioned that there are few attempts by the government to understand the social basis for violence in Kashmir.

Sumona further added that one of the earliest land reform movements in independent India happened in Jammu & Kashmir and the impact of this as well as the social and class character of the militant movement remains largely under-researched.

Elida wondered if there is a synchronized, common or conflictual discourse. **Sumona**´s response was that there are alternative discourses along with the main elitist mainstream ones and both are reflected in the media and research outputs.

Rachel raised the question of what happens when dialogue is just used as a political tool and people are tired of talking because it is not leading anywhere.

Amit emphasized that it might be worth revisiting the premise of the "ethnoculturally neutral", state- because we do not have the tools to understand the complexity. He further argued that it is not that the state is not interested, it just does not have the tools to understand the conflict - therefore groups take on the discourse of the state- eg. "we are poor, we are different".

Sumona commented that what was important to understand were the *unintended consequences* of superimposing a macro all India development thinking and vision that tends to flatten out special needs and context specific aspirations in conflict areas. She agreed that governments may not have the tools to understand the conflict which is why the problem is accentuated. For instance there is no doubt that the elite policy makers in the government of India may well believe in all sincerity that a lakh of jobs in Kashmir will change the "mental make-up or the mindset of the

people" (referring specifically to the Prime Minister's speech in parliament on February 2011), but it is precisely this kind of a reductionist approach that unintentionally sidelines larger issues of justice and dignity that may become part of the problem rather than a part of the solution. Addressing the issue of dialogue and talks raised by Rachel, Sumona pointed out that there were multi stakeholders involved and perhaps 'multilogues' rather than dialogues would be one way to go so that the feeling of exclusion and marginalization could be taken care of.

Topic 4

"How do internal and external governance initiatives interact and how do conceptualized norms of peacebuilding either merge with or compete with one another against the background of political conflict and socio-economic diversity?"

Presentation by CEU

Elena, focusing on Bosnia, noted that it is important to know that Bosnia has an international administration (High Representative) which is the best example of an external governance initiative. Under the umbrella of EU integration approaches lies the option of EU membership – the biggest carrot of all!

Internal/external initiatives and state/non-state actors do not have a clear demarcation:

- Striving for EU membership – once an external initiative promoted by the EU – has now become the ambition of the Bosnian elite, so is this external or internal?
- NGOs and foundations in Bosnia promote issue of liberal peace, good governance, rule of law, etc. (external norms) and these organizations need funding, so they streamline their activities within this context - is this external or internal?

There are clashes on the political level between various international actors, for instance between the EU (which thinks the High Representative should be eliminated before EU succession talks) and the USA/Turkey (which believe the High Representative should stay). There are fewer clashes on the local level about the implementation of peacebuilding strategies. If it is in the interest of both sides, there is a converging agenda of NGO initiatives and governance initiatives.

On the local level, implementations of governance initiatives differ between the state and the municipalities: the former in the political level being in agreement on where Bosnia should be heading and the latter working on hybridization, getting adjusted with earlier practices – civil society functions, police reform. Interestingly, democracy and nationalism are mutually inclusive, but perceived as clashing.

Discussion

Roger argued that many people believe that the Bosnian conflict is "resolved" since, despite tensions, political problems and identity issues, there is a lack of violent conflict. He wondered if the international peacebuilding initiatives are sort of disconnected from the reality of the conflict.

Hajo wondered if the conflict is "resolved" or rather just put on hold. His opinion is that such "resolving" is just a number of quick fixes, which are not sufficient, and strong interveners do these for their self-interest for the sake of stability, but disregard the complexity of the conflict.

Ranabir wondered if Bosnia is essentially a protectorate of the international community/EU. He also wondered whether we, by investigating what is external and what is internal governance, we fall back into an old system of thought when talking about conflict.

Elena´s reply was that Bosnia is not a protectorate, because the international community *wants* to withdraw but can't decide *how*. Responding to Roger, she said that there are different perspectives, but in her opinion, the Bosnian conflict has been institutionalized, not resolved. There are no more peacebuilding initiatives, the EU is present on ground, but the international community is not that strong anymore – they departed too early; the transfer of authority back to local authority is caught in a vicious cycle.

Michael delved further into the topic, pointing out that geopolitics plays a big role in such conflicts, as is also the case with the EU's limited role in the Georgian conflict. In Bosnia, the US wants the High Representative to stay due to geopolitics – if the HR is eliminated and the EU moves in, the influence of the US would be sidelined.

Topic 5

"What are the methodological and theoretical challenges for analyzing and assessing the socio-cultural sensitivity and political appropriateness of governance initiatives in peacebuilding and conflict transition/resolution, and the results thereof?"

Presentation by BCR

Daniela´s presentation on methodology raised the question as to which methodologies for analyzing conflict resolution strategies are conflict-sensitive and which are not. The interpretation of what peace means is controlled by applying peacebuilding concepts and tools based on liberal assumptions. For example, holding elections – if they go ahead, it is considered a success. This is a political assumption. Linear, mono-casual reasoning is a very western way of thinking; the whole world does not think this way – thinking in terms of relationships or networks (or a more circular understanding of social processes) is rooted in other cultures. In the Zulu culture there is a concept of "I am because you are and you are because I am"; "I am only sitting here because you are also here and my actions are determined by your actions". This leads to creating a completely different conflict resolution approach – more participatory and circular. So we must ask ourselves if our conflict resolution approaches are really culturally-sensitive. Beyond hybridity, differences between cultures do exist with respect to different ways of thinking and reasoning.

Presentation by JNU

Amit pondered on the question of what "governance" really means and how the term has been used over time. He stressed that not the output, but the process, the black box between input and output, is of interest: who does what, when and how? He pointed out two broad traits of governance, with the starting point of the World Bank report in 1989:

- Steering of public affairs – shorthand version of government as 'less government' or 'limits of government'. This stream has been picked up by every donor agencies by having a 'governance and democracy' program.
- Performance and processes – an analysis of governance from these two perspectives. The outputs are ok in and of themselves but how have these outputs been achieved? What are the processes and contestations?

Of interest is: what happens when the two traits interact? Recognizing that governance is about the pluralisation of actors and processes.

Presentation by PRIO

Elida drew attention to the core deliverable D.2.2 and what the CORE project intends to do: i) "bridge the current gap" in relation to cultural sensitivity and political appropriateness by bringing in the role of the local actors and ii) offer a comparative element of India and the EU. With the question what 'local' is exactly, she referred to Ranabir´s quote – "A mix of global trends and local particularities". Then there is hybridized external and local: traditions, histories, culture, religion, and local conflict resolution dynamics. She remarked that we need to be careful not to romanticize the local. CORE should go beyond looking at the external and local as closed entities, but see them in a complexity, which involves their history and their interaction. Culture is part of all actors and processes. Hence, we should problematize and reflect on "internal" as well as "external". The Subaltern Studies Collective have written about the local in a variety of relevant ways: Are we seeking to represent or re-present or translate socio-cultural identities and practices in relation to governance and conflict resolution?

The challenges of the topic question are:

- What are the implications of our understanding of "local ownership" and "participation"? We should perhaps always try to define the term "local" when we use it.
- Which methodologies are most useful for addressing these (local) complexities?
- How is the post-colonial relationship between Europe and India relevant for socio-cultural sensitivity and political appropriateness? Here, we should keep in mind that the historical component of colonialism has influenced the self-perception of both India and Europe.

Discussion and Wrap-up

Roger put forth the more important question of "whose local" / "who owns the local". He critiqued that liberalism wants to make a project out of the local.

Elida emphasized that we need to look at the idea of representation – who are we speaking for, speaking about, or speaking through.

Hajo put emphasis on deaggregation: although local is not confined geographically and is often hybridized, it is still important not to make it too complex; otherwise it will just confuse people.

Anjoo commented that if we all now think we understand what local means, the question remains – do we all understand what "Western" means?

Elida remarked that "local" can´t speak, but when they do, it´s a translation of the elites that matters.

Ranabir further commented that the polarity between local and global is often misplaced; what is more important is to figure out what the dominant norms are.

Michael, on Daniela's presentation, mentioned that the traditional form of governance is linear and the modern form of technocratic governance uses the vocabulary of good governance principles (like e.g. ownership) (but only uses the vocabulary and doesn't necessarily implement it in that way!).

Daniela suggested that "process-oriented" should mean developing peacebuilding strategies together with those people on the ground who will benefit, not creating a strategy at your desk in some city of the western world and then implementing it. Real process-oriented strategies are rare.

Michael added that "process-oriented" also means that the end goal is not decided at the beginning but rather along the way.

Output from the Workshop on Theme A

Deliverable

- **Official**: Minutes of workshop **D.4.1**

Report

- **Unofficial**: Short papers (2,500 to 4,000 words ~ 8-10 pages including graphs and footnotes) from the presentations, to be sent by the end of August to BCR, who will compile a summary report for circulation by the end of September.

Attachment

- Mapping Document

Theme A, Topic 1

Mapping Document

Mapping Theme A

This Presentation's Purpose: *How do we link Topic 1 to Theme A?*

Theme A: *How do global norms, rules & policies of governance affect/ transform conflicts locally?*

Topic 1: What are the premises of European and Indian initiatives in the areas of conflict transition/resolution, and how do these initiatives resonate with – or are informed/determined by – the socio-cultural background of either Europe or India?

Introduction

- **Method**: *Visual Summary*
  - Map 1: Synthesis
  - Map 2: Dynamic processes of norm (re)formulation

- **Conclusion**: *Significant variation in hybrid norms of conflict transformation & governance exists in India and Europe, thanks to varied local norms.*

- **Key Question**: *Can we isolate the effect of norms (symbolic competition) vs. economic forces (material competition) vs. information on local conflict transformation?*

Map 1: Reading Instructions

- Local, global, and hybrid norms : Outer circle – the borders of our cognition.
  - Purpose 1: norms are the premises of conflict transformation & governance initiatives.
  - Purpose 2: diagram allows comparison of overlap and divergence between and within norm categories.

- Conflict resolution, governance & joint initiatives: Inner circle – concrete action.
  - Purpose: comparison of the overlap and divergence between substantive categories of initiatives.

- Norms: rules or conventions sustained by internalized values & social sanctions.
  - Local norms: govern relationships within a geographically-bounded community.
  - Global norms: govern relationships across national borders & determine premises of global policies.
  - Hybrid norms: dynamic conventions based on the interaction between local & global actors & norms.

- Divergence:
  - Local norms: incongruence between traditional, ascriptive identities (India) & socialist traditions(Europe)
  - Hybrid norms: disjuncture between equality and exceptionalism in conflict resolution & governance arenas

Map 1: Synthesis of Theme A, Topic 1 Responses

Interlinked, Dynamic Norms

Dominant Global Norms

Modernity: human development & technological progress (PRIO: Giddens; Robertson, etc.)

Embeddedness: membership in state-based networks (IAI, CEU: EU; Granovetter 1985)

Democracy/Political Liberalism: Democratic governance structures/ Constitution (PRIA, BCR); promotion of democracy (IAI, CEU); rule of law & basic human rights (IAI, CEU: EU)

Economic Liberalism: free markets (IAI, CEU: EU)

Conflict Resolution Initiatives

Conflict Mediation (Georgian State: EU/IAI, Indian State/PRIA; PIPFPD/MCRG)
Peace Accords (EU in the Balkans, Indian State/CEU, PRIA, MCRG)
Reintegration of Ex-Combatants (CEU)
Conflict Transformation (CEU, BCR)

Governance Initiatives

Good Governance (EU/IAI; Indian State/BCR)
Structural Reform (Giddens/PRIO)
Infrastructure (EU/Georgia/IAI, Indian State/ BCR)
Enhanced Regional Cooperation (BSEC, EU/IAI)

Joint Initiatives

Human Development (Indian State/JNU, EU/IAI)
Civil Society Promotion (EU/IAI, CEU)
Democracy-Building (EU/IAI, CEU; Indian State/BCR)
Poverty Reduction (EU/IAI, Indian State/BCR)

Local Norms

Traditional Identities: based on ascriptive categories (class, gender, caste) (BCR: Cohn)

Socialist Traditions: equality, cooperative social management of property, economic production processes & community development (CEU)

Dialogic culture of society: non-institutionalized dialogic aspects of conflict resolution (MCRG)

Compromise: importance of community-wide agreement for conflict resolution, which may involve community elders, village leader(s), aggrieved parties, and/or the entire community (BCR: Cohn)

Hybrid Norms

Group-based Equality: Empowerment via traditional group identities (Chatterjee's ethnographic state/ PRIO, MCRG, BCR)

**Elite-led Development**: Elite-mediated public resource allocation (Mitra/ JNU, BCR)

Hybrid Peace: Conflict management via a combination of global & local norms (USTAN)

"Areas of Exception": Security-based exceptions to democracy (PRIA, JNU)

Map 2: Reading Instructions

- Adjustment and Competition Processes: dynamics of norm (re)formulation.
  - Adjustment: power structures alter due to learning (via new resources/contact with new norms)and/or force.
  - Competition: changing/uncertain conventions create new resources for identity & power.

- Hybrid Norms: Focal point in the feedback loop between local & global norms.
  - Impact: Significantly affect evaluation & symbolic competition by drawing meaning from multiple arenas.

- Initiatives, Resource Distribution & Evaluation: Boxed – concrete outputs w/in dynamic process.
  - Initiatives: distribute material & symbolic resources via dynamic processes of norm (re)formulation.
  - Resource Distribution: distribution of material resources is mediated by & mediates norm (re)formulation

- Feedback loops – input that facilitates adjustment & competition.
  - Information collection processes: based upon the resource distribution that results from given initiatives.
  - Material & Symbolic Competition: based on local & global struggles for control over relevant resources.

- Open Question:
  - Can we isolate the effect of norms (symbolic competition) vs. economic forces (material competition) vs. information on local conflict transformation?

Map 2: Dynamic Processes of Norm (Re)Formulation

Adjustment
(by learning/ force)

Dominant Global Norms

Local Norms

Conflict Transformation & Governance Initiatives

Material | **Competition**

Resource Distribution

Information | **Collection**

Evaluation of normative aims & outcomes

Symbolic | **Competition**

Hybrid Norms

Adjustment

Adjustment
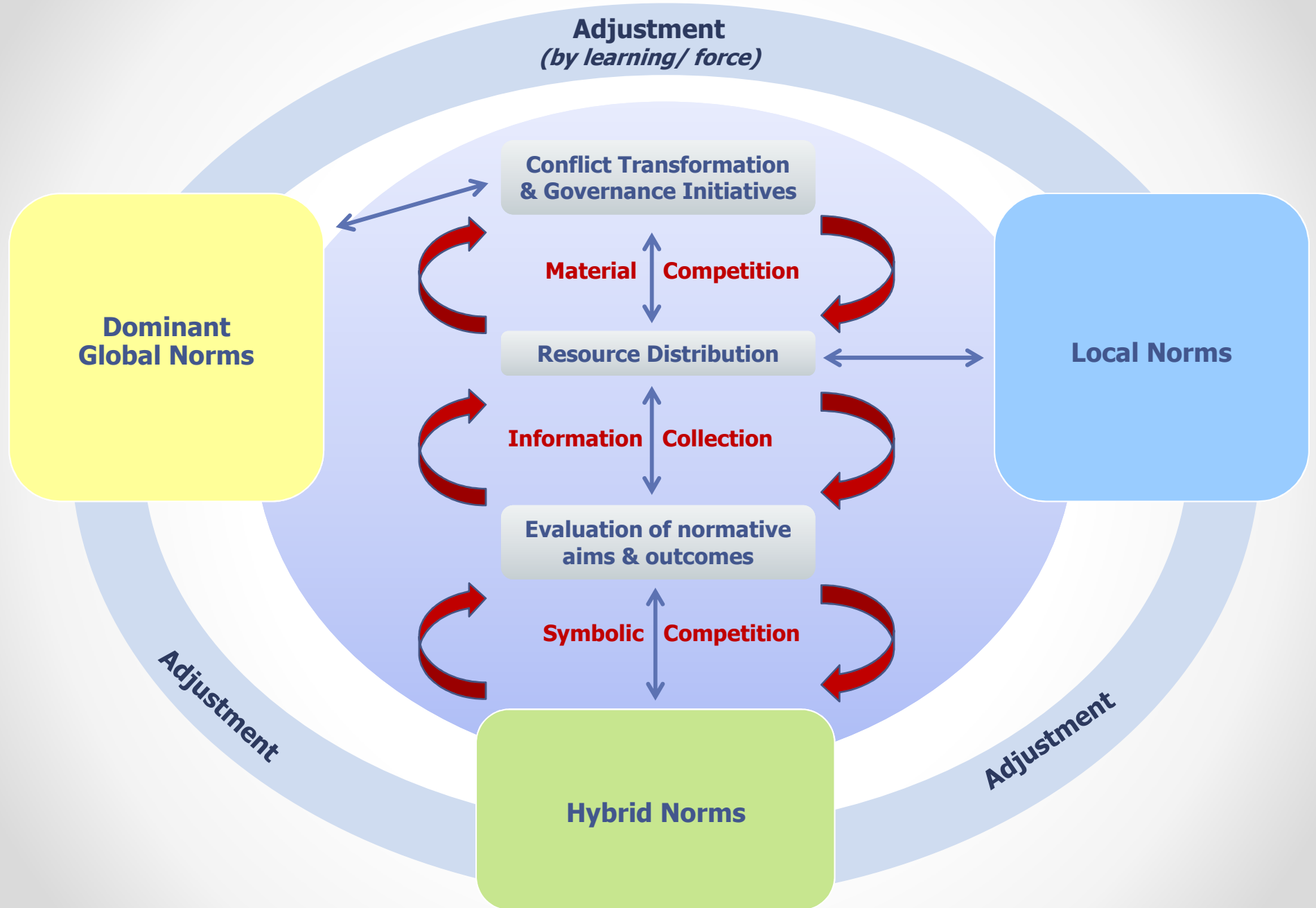
Working Vocabulary

Premises

We define **premises** as comprised of actors' motives and their structural preconditions (Lidén/ PRIO). Premises are based on pre-existing norms.

Norms

We define **norms** as rules or behavioral conventions that are sustained by internalized values and external, social sanctions.[1]

Local norms are the socio-cultural conventions governing relationships within a geographically-bounded community.

Global Norms govern relationships across national borders & determine premises of global policies.[2]

Hybrid Norms are based on the interaction between local & global actors & norms.[3]

Initiatives

Is it possible to classify initiatives using the following three categories: **Conflict Resolution, Governance, and Joint Initiatives?** In the workshop, we hope all partners can agree on an appropriate categorization of relevant initiatives to facilitate a common method of selecting case studies.

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[1] See: Jon Elster (1996: 1391) "Rationality and the Emotions", The Economic Journal, Vol. 106(438): 1386-1397;Avner Greif (2006) Institutions and the path to the modern economy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change" International Organization, Vol. 52(4): 887-917.

[2] For example, discussion of the global norm of modernity follows Anthony Giddens' analysis of modernity according to his theory of structuration in The Consequences of Modernity (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990, pg. 53) along with critical analysis of modernity by Dirlik (1997), Eisenstadt (2002), and Robertson (2006), all cited by Lidén/PRIO. Global norms of embeddedness, economic liberalism, and political liberalism are each based on countries' complex relationship with the European Union (EU), as exemplified by EU involvement in Georgia (IAI/Nona) and in former Yugoslavia (CEU/Elena).

[3] This definition follows literature and concepts cited by Imran/JNU, Lidén/PRIO, and Samaddar/MCRG. Specifically, see: Partha Chatterjee (2004), The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World. NY: Columbia University Press; Subrata Mitra (2002) Power, Politics & Participation. London: Routledge; Anthony Giddens (1990) The Consequences of Modernity. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Open Questions

- Is this working vocabulary appropriate?

- What areas of normative divergence & convergence matter most?

- Can we isolate the effect of norms (symbolic competition) vs. economic forces (material competition) vs. information on local conflict transformation?