

HUMAN SYSTEMS DYNAMICS *Institute*

April 4, 2008

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Dear Diana,

Thanks, again, for sharing your stories with us and inviting us to think about Kosovo and your *Has Peacebuilding Made a Difference in Kosovo? A Study of the Effectiveness of Peacebuilding in Preventing Violence: Lessons Learned from the March 2004 Riots in Kosovo*.

Lois Yellowthunder, Pat Seppanen, and I have reviewed your report, analyzed it from the perspective of human systems dynamics, and discussed applications and implications both for your work and for the on-the-ground peacemaking efforts described in the report.

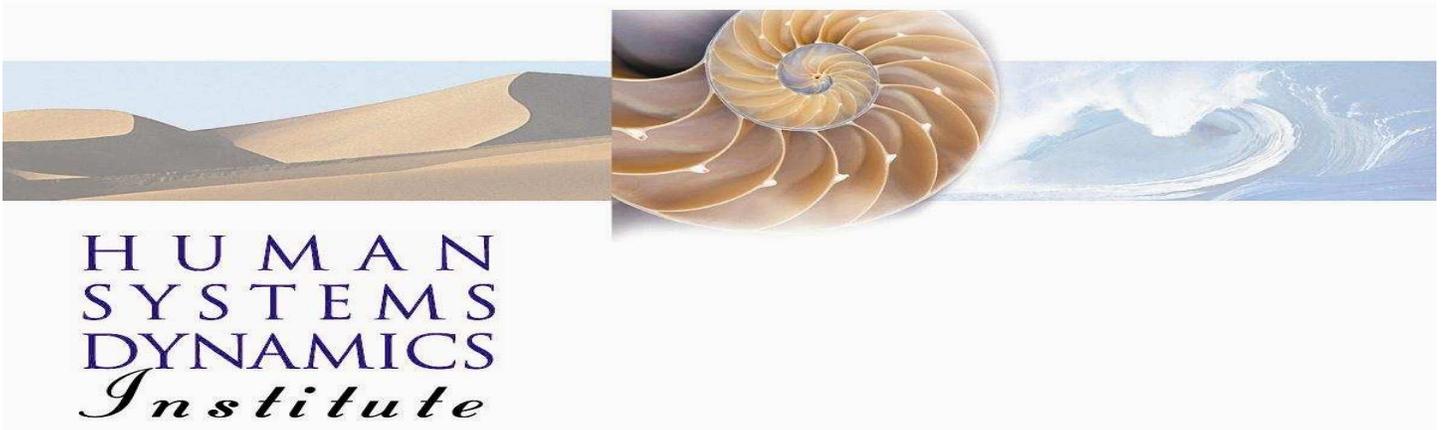
Attached, you will find an overview of our conversations and findings along with questions we have for you and your team as you move forward. We hope you find this helpful and that we will have future opportunities to talk with you about the wonderful work you do around the world. Thank you for your patience as we have coordinated all of our busy schedules!

We look forward to your comments and an on-going conversation. Please feel free to share this document in any way you choose. We do ask, however, that you share with us your feedback and any you may receive from others.

Sincerely,

Glenda H. Eoyang, Ph.D.
Executive Director

cc : Lois Yellowthunder
Pat Seppanen



Has Peacebuilding Made a Difference in Kosovo?

Reflections from Human Systems Dynamics

April 4, 2008

**Glenda H. Eoyang, Ph.D.
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Has Peacebuilding Made a Difference in Kosovo?

Reflections from Human Systems Dynamics

In July of 2006, CDA completed a collaborative learning project to explore the patterns of peace and violence in Kosovo and to determine what lessons might be learned from the March 2004 riots in there. Diana Chigas, of CDA, shared the report with a team of associates from the Human Systems Dynamics Institute that included Glenda Eoyang, Lois Yellowthunder, and Pat Seppanen. This document summarizes our HSD-inspired conversations about the data included in the report. It includes the following parts:

- Assumptions
- Observations
- Questions
- Next Steps

Assumptions

Our analysis and conversations were influenced by the following assumptions:

- The published report is our only source of data regarding the situation in Kosovo as well as the peacebuilding activities in the region. As a result, our insights will be incomplete and influenced by the perspectives and methods of those involved in the original study.
- Some of our team members have extensive experience in formal methods of qualitative evaluation that is substantially different than the Collaborative Learning methods. Though we have heard and read descriptions of the CDA's Collaborative Learning methods, we have not personally worked with the process. For this reason, some of our observations and questions may not be directly relevant.
- Our work is shaped by our practical and theoretical roots in human systems dynamics, which is grounded in assumptions about the dynamics of individual and group behavior in complex systems. Those assumptions include:
 - Social, political, cultural, and economic systems are self-organizing, complex adaptive systems in which agents (individuals and groups) are free to act in unpredictable ways and their interactions generate system-wide patterns.
 - Patterns are defined as “similarities, differences, and relationships that have meaning across space and/or time.”
 - Patterns of interaction can be controlled (predictable), emergent (coherent, but not predictable), or random (neither coherent nor predictable), depending on the levels of constraint on the system.
 - Conditions that establish the levels of constraint are defined by the CDE Model, and comprise containers (C—hold the agents together until patterns can form), differences (D—establish the potential for change and articulate the patterns), and exchanges (E—connect agents together in transforming

relationships). These conditions form the CDE Model, and they are the necessary and sufficient conditions that shape the pace, path, and outcomes of self-organizing processes.

- We followed an informal method in our analysis of the data. Steps included:
 1. Read the report, including the narratives.
 2. Discuss initial responses to the method and content of the study.
 3. Complete individual analyses of parts of the study, including CDE analysis of the Introduction and Summary. We also completed a thematic analysis of narrative *XIII: No Violence, No Returns in Gjilan/Gnjilane Municipality* using categories identified in the study as well as a CDE analysis of the same narrative.
 4. Compare and contrast efficacy and findings of each of the analyses.
 5. Identify shared observations and questions.
 6. Draft the current report.
 7. Review and revise for clarity, relevance, completeness, and accuracy.

Observations

This section includes observations the HSD team made as we reviewed and analyzed the narrative and report from the CDA Collaborative Learning projects report of July 2006. Our observations include:

- Temporal Analysis
- Self-organized Criticality
- Narrative Detail
- Patterns of Patterns
- The Conditions Make a Difference
- Simple Rules
- Order and Control Parameters

Temporal Analysis

The issue of time emerged as a critical factor in the analysis. The study deals with time in macroscopic categories—Before the war, after the war but before March 2004, after March 2004. Though these gross categories may be helpful for seeing system-wide patterns, they are not always meaningful with regard to local phenomena. At the local level, specific events were more informative about the dynamics of peace and violence. For example, patterns of interaction were described quite differently before and after the attack on Fushe/Livadje by Serb paramilitaries on 27 March 1999 (p73); the burning of the church and the graveyard in July 1999 (p74); the closing and subsequent opening of the road between Fushe/Livadje and Gilan/Gnjilane, which passes through Drvar/Druror (p72).

In addition to the time markers that were relevant for the villages, individuals on all sides of the conflict also experienced critical points of transition, including decisions to send their children away during the paramilitary attacks, to flee or return (p76), to participate in peacemaking activities (p77), to allow youth to participate in peacemaking activities (p77).

Individual and collective analysis of change requires some explicit framing of time because change is only perceptible over time. No single time scale, however, is appropriate for all the various levels of interaction that shape the stability of self-organizing dynamics. Focus on key transition points helps articulate a scale of time that is relevant and meaningful with regard to a specific, local event. Understanding that event in its own context can frame the limits of generalizability to other situations in other settings.

An articulation of different time scales and changes within each also set a context to analyze relationships between and among various dynamics that emerge at different levels of system structuration. So, it would be possible to develop a timeline of individual, village, national, and international decision points to explore the sensitivity of dependence across dynamical scales. In short: How do large-scale actions influence change at individual scales? How do individual actions influence large-scale change over time?

Critical points that appear at the part, whole, and greater whole can also provide insight into the dynamics of peace and violence and the dynamics of the transitions between peace and violence, because they demonstrate instances of self-organized criticality.

Self-Organized Criticality

Self-organized criticality (SOC) explains the tendency of a complex system to go long periods without apparent change, then burst forth quickly into quite new patterns of behavior. Closely related to “tipping point” and “punctuated equilibrium,” SOC is a result of accumulation and release of tensions within and between levels of a complex system (Bak, 1996). SOC patterns are well known in situations of violent conflict. Examples include:

- The straw that broke the camel’s back
- Match in a tinderbox
- Mob behavior

When dealing with a transition point of self-organized criticality, it is meaningful to ask about the CDE conditions before, during and after the triggering event. What were the conditions (CDE) that were pertinent before the event? What conditions existed after the event? What was the critical change in condition(s) that shifted the observable system pattern from one dynamic to another?

Though detailed evidence is not available about SOC points described in the case studies, one situation might serve as an example of how the CDE Model can provide information about critical shifts in patterns of peace to violence. Prior to the attack by Serb paramilitary on 27 March, 1999, Fushe/Livadje peacefully supported a mixed population of approximately 16% Serbs and 84% Albanians (D) (p 72). This difference was mediated by multiple interactions (E) described in the report. Serbs and Albanians served as godparents to each others’ children, and many Serbs spoke Albanian. Arrival of the paramilitary, however, amplified the ethnic difference by aligning Serbs in the village with the attackers (p 73). Rather than pointing out the fundamental distinction between frightened resident (both Serb and Albanian) and violent paramilitary, exchanges during and after the attack identified Serb civilians and paramilitary personnel as part of the same group (C). This shift in identity continued to shape relevant differences and patterns of exchange throughout the remainder of the study period. The pattern is quite distinct, for example, when the “village leadership produced a list of Serb war criminals” that was later proved to be spurious (p76).

Considering the relevant conditions before, after, and during key pattern shifts can provide insights into the mechanisms of change as well as indicating possible options for action. If the Serbs and Albanians shared their fears and efforts at survival with each other during the paramilitary raids, the shared identities of residency might have counteracted the split identities of ethnicity.

Narrative Detail

The level of detail in the narratives is overwhelming to one who is not intimately familiar with the situation. As Chigas described the Collaborative Learning Project methodology, it becomes clear that this level of detail is generated by those participating in the events and that it is central to the community-based collaborative dialogue. The reduction of the data into analytic categories, which is central to most qualitative research and evaluation methods, occurs for individual participants in the context of their own experiences and options for action. The purpose of the narratives is not to capture or coerce shared meaning, but to spark individual reflection and insight, so that meaning is made and action can be taken by individuals and small, local groups.

The clear benefit of this method is that it retains the authentic character of the incidents and perceptions of reporters to inspire new insights for participants. The risk of this method is that shared mental models, based on common ground, include only the most high-level and general statements. At the same time, the method may perpetuate biases and reaffirm existing mental models regarding the differences that make a difference in the on-going dynamics of peace and violence.

In HSD we expect to find diverse and often contradictory, though equivalent, mental models among participants. The purpose of the analysis and subsequent conversation is to articulate the differences in perspective and to explore possible relationships among them without using external absolutes to question the validity of any. We use the CDE Model to help participants focus on the most important facets of their own experiences, so they see the patterns of their own thought. They can then compare and contrast this simpler model of reality against the likewise simplified models of their colleagues.

This process provides a data reduction method that is not pre-determined by expert-based categories. Rather it is inspired by distinctions made by participants as they come to understand their own narratives.

Patterns of Patterns

The CDA analysis of the narratives focused on six patterns that emerged from the data:

- Community context
- Incidents of violence
- Demographics of community members
- Connectors
- Dividers
- Peacebuilding activities

Each of these facets of the phenomena can provide insights regarding change over time. It would even be possible to track the change in each facet over time and see how changes in one correlated in time with changes in the others. What this analysis will not do is to show how the mechanics of one facet influences the mechanics of another facet. Each of these emergent patterns influences peace and violence, but how do they affect each other?

Considering these facets of narrative XIII, we observed that each of these facets correlated either with differences in the system or exchanges among agents in the system. Differences were captured in the community context and demographics of community members. Exchanges were described as incidents of violence and peacebuilding activities, while connectors and dividers influence other kinds of exchange.

The missing condition from this analysis is the container, which would account for the massively entangled and multi-layered nature of the dynamics. Throughout the narratives, multiple levels of interaction are described. While the K-Serb and K-Albanian containers were assumed to be the most relevant to patterns of peace, other powerful containers were described including individual, family, neighborhood, village, municipality, organization. Global organizational, military, political, and economic containers are not mentioned extensively in the narratives, though it is made clear that they also influence the dynamics.

Because it shows relationships among the CDE conditions, the CDE Model can describe the influences among the two difference categories and four exchange categories of the original analysis as well as the multiple containers implied by the narratives. The CDE Model establishes not just the distinction among the three types of conditions for self-organizing, it also articulates their interactions. The table below summarizes the nonlinear interactions between and among the three conditions.

Container	Difference	Exchange
Smaller/tighter	More tension More coherence	More frequent More controlling
Larger/weaker	Less tension Less coherence	Less frequent Less controlling

Exchange	Difference	Container
Tighter	More tension	Contracting
Looser	More diversity	Expanding
None	No limit	No boundary

Difference	Container	Exchange
Greater number	Expanding	More ambiguous
Lesser number	Contracting	Less ambiguous
Greater Magnitude	More tension	Less reliable
Lesser Magnitude	More stability	More reliable

A complete analysis of the narratives and the interactions of the conditions is beyond the scope of the current work, but an example can demonstrate how the CDE can lead to insights about the relationships between and among the categories identified. Patterns of interaction were most peaceful under two circumstances. First, homogeneous ethnic communities were peaceful because

smaller differences encourage more reliable exchanges, and more stable containers. Second, when interactions were infrequent (no exchanges), differences became irrelevant, and no boundary conditions were instigated.

These tables also indicate how the dynamics of violence feed on each other. A tighter container based on geographical boundaries, leads to more frequent exchange. More frequent exchange is tighter and tends to increase tension around differences. Larger differences make exchanges less reliable, which encourage more diversity, which increases pressure in the tight container. The process amplifies tension and instability until the system splits in two (bifurcates).

The Conditions Make the Difference

The peacebuilding efforts described in the report make sense and are, in some cases, quite innovative. Some of them work in explicit and visible ways. Some of them do not work, or work in ways that are not immediately discernible. HSD and the CDE Model posit that the success of a peacebuilding effort has little to do with the effort itself. Success of an intervention depends more on the conditions of self-organizing that exist prior to the intervention and the ways in which the intervention amplify or damp the existing conditions. Our limited and cursory analysis of the narratives and the analysis of the study support this view.

In this context, we might pursue a study that would:

- Identify a single intervention that was used in a variety of contexts.
- Describe patterns (in terms of the CDE) before, during, and after the intervention in each locale.
- Identify the program implementations to determine which conditions were changed and how.
- Explore the conditions under which the intervention was successful and those under which it was not.

In this way, we would pursue the question, “What conditions (including peacemaking efforts) contribute to peace?”

Simple Rules

One of the underlying principles of complex adaptive systems is that coherent system-wide patterns emerge when agents in the system all follow a short list of simple rules. A classic example is BOIDS computer simulation model in which agents exhibit flocking behavior when each one 1) flies toward the middle, 2) matches the speed of its neighbor, 3) avoids bumping into any other.

The simple rules set the conditions (relevant container, significant differences, allowed exchanges) that shape the pattern-forming behavior of the self-organizing process. Because the rules set the conditions, they establish system-wide patterns that will appear as well as constraining individual actions of agents within the system.

We have seen simple rules at work in a variety of human systems in which emergent patterns are recognized as commitment, high performance, alignment, or their opposites. We anticipated seeing

signs of simple rules in the narratives, None was explicit, but coherence of patterns imply underlying simple rules. Other data collection methods or interview questions could have made the active rules clearer. Given our analysis of the current data, however, we see some evidence of these simple rules at work in the Gijalan/Gnijilane municipality:

- Protect my family (white cloths and sending children away during the attack) (exchange and container)
- Treat the friend of my enemy as an enemy (identification of Serbs with paramilitary) (difference)
- Protect my property (houses, robbery, burning, wealth, mafia reference, prepare for assault) (exchange and difference)
- Avoid public interaction to avoid violence (interrupted riot, visit with stonings; French KFOR not interacting and successful) (exchange)

Acknowledging the tentative nature of this list of simple rules, we have the following observations and questions:

- An effective set of simple rules includes at least one rule for each condition. Are these the most effective containers, differences, and exchanges for sustainable future?
- The only container that is clear in these rules is the family. What interventions strengthened the family container?
- The D rule is convoluted and potentially based on imperfect evidence and hearsay. Can there be another difference that makes a difference?
- The distinction between public and private exchange seems critical. Can this distinction be used to strengthen connection across individuals and groups?
- The exchanges described here are all damping exchanges—used to stop interaction. In this context, how can peacebuilding interventions based on exchanges be effective?
- It would appear that the shorts and simples are the same for both the Serbs and the Albanians. What does that tell you about the possibilities for peaceful future?

When a group recognizes that it wants to change its simple rules, it has a variety of options, including:

- Become conscious of the current rules and decide which ones to keep, change, or drop.
- Imagine a world as you would have it. Name the rules that would be in effect to create that pattern?
- Discuss what the world would look like if each one of the rules was suspended or changed.
- Explore different sets of rules that emerge from religious, political, cultural, biological systems and compare and contrast them with observed phenomena.

Order and Control Parameters

Hermann Haken, one of the pioneers in nonlinear dynamics, founded a field called synergetics. Based on the mechanics of lasers, synergetics focuses on inter-level influences. As local agents interact, order parameters emerge that shape system-wide patterns. At the same time, the system-wide patterns impose control parameters on the agents to influence their individual and collective action. The complex, inter-level dependencies in the narratives suggest a similar relationship of

dynamic order and control parameters. Because upward and downward causality were not apparent and/or consistent in the data, however, it is not possible to confirm or deny the presence of synergetic effects.

Questions

As we worked with the data and considered applications and implications of traditional qualitative methods and HSD, we would like to consider the following questions with you.

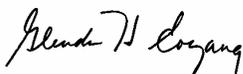
- Could a structured data reduction and/or group facilitation process based on the conditions for self-organizing add to the ease of generalizing, analyzing, and taking action on your findings without compromising the authenticity of local, personal interpretation?
- What evidence of inter-level influence appears in your source data, and would synergetic analysis of that data reveal meaningful and actionable patterns?
- How, if at all, would a CDE-inspired analysis affect the political dynamics of the peacebuilding conversation in Kosovo?
- How did the peacebuilding efforts in Kosovo influence the CDE conditions for self-organizing and how did those effects influence peace?
- Could local co-researchers learn to apply the CDE Model to clarify and simplify their own observations and storytelling without reducing the precision or accuracy of the process or the findings?
- How do you collect and/or analyze longitudinal data to discern patterns in dynamical change over time in a region? Might the CDE Model help track pattern formation and transformation?
- What is currently happening in Kosovo? In what ways might this analysis inform meaning making with regard to current dynamics?

Next Steps

Thank you for this opportunity to support the important work you do in Kosovo and around the world! We look forward to hearing your questions, concerns, and insights regarding these initial thoughts of ours. We anticipate the following steps to continue our conversation:

- When you have reviewed the report, please contact us with immediate questions and concerns.
- We will arrange a phone conference for us to discuss our findings and questions with you.
- This document will be revised to incorporate emerging insights and knowledge.
- Lois and Glenda will prepare a paper to present at the Conference on Conflict and Complexity at the University of Kent, Canterbury, UK in September 2008.
- Together, we will discuss other opportunities for shared inquiry into the future.

Respectfully submitted,



Glenda H. Eoyang, Ph.D.

References

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Eoyang, G. (2001). *Conditions for Self-Organizing in Human Systems. An unpublished doctoral dissertation*. Cincinnati, Ohio: Union Institute and University.

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Appendices

The appendices include a brief overview of the methodology used with the CDE model and CDE Portraits derived from the Gijalan/Gnijilane narrative and from the study analysis as a whole.

CDE Model and Methodological Considerations

The CDE Model provides an additional conceptual framework and associated tools for the sensitive and astute observer and practitioner.

General considerations in the use of the CDE Model:

- Identify the time horizon(s) for the CDE analysis
- Scales/levels at which the data is collected
- Position/perspective of the data collector(s)
- Method of data collection (written documents, participant-observation, interviews, etc.)
- Degree of consensus among data providers and collectors
- Data analysis tools

CDE Description

1. Identify containers; then differences and exchanges within the container (see template in Appendices) using actual words/phrases that are spoken or written. Containers generally involve nouns, differences involve adjectives and exchanges involve verbs.
2. Differences and exchanges identified between containers – in addition to within a container – imply the existence of another container.
3. In examining the data, only one or two conditions may be stated explicitly, the additional conditions can be inferred from context, left blank, or identified in follow-up data collection events.

Scale/Level

4. Look for the nature of scale-to-scale relationship –tightly coupled, e.g., consistent from one level to the next or loosely coupled.
5. Look for changes in the conditions at different levels – e.g., containers at one level become differences at a higher level.

CDE Dynamics

6. Containers constrain differences and exchanges.
7. Differences influence exchanges (type, quality, frequency) and containers (stability, size, coherence)
8. Exchanges increase, sustain, or reduce differences as well as influencing stability, size, and coherence of containers. .

CDE Analysis

9. Use searching tools – coding search and text search to analyze data.
10. Use coding search tools to find relationships and patterns in the coding.
11. Use text search tools to locate certain words or phrases in the data.

Potential Modeling Techniques

12. Agent-based modeling techniques which combine both mathematics and computation -- “agents interacting with one another over well-defined networks of connection” – which represents a point between two extremes, e.g. an agent interacting with only a few other agents or an agent facing an infinity of other agents. (Miller and Page)
13. Pattern-based computer modeling derived from the CDE Model that will simulate the characteristic patterns in chaotic and Complex Adaptive Systems and help practitioners learn about and find productive options for action in the self-organizing processes of complex change.

No Violence, No Returns in Gjilan/Gnjilane Municipality
 CDE Analysis
 Glenda Eoyang (2/16/08)

	Before the war	
Container	Difference	Exchange
Fushe/Livadje	Mixed (630 Albanian/121 Serb) 12 K from G/G center 5K to DD 5,000 residents 4 neighborhoods 3 near village center Good neighbor relations	Godparents to each other's children Serbs spoke Albanian
Drvar/Druror	Monoethnic Serb 5K to FL	
Gijalan/Gnjilane municipality	F/L and D/D Distances from town to villages Size of villages	Road from GG to FL passes through DD Back roads from FL to GG through PP (another village not otherwise mentioned)

	During the war	
Container	Difference	Exchange
Fushe/Livadje	Police, armed civilians paramilitaries PDK local leader "Fascist genocide"	Albanians felt betrayed by Serbs Buses with Serb paramilitaries arrived Albanians forced out Houses of Albanians destroyed Some killed (pdk leader) Alb believe Serbs helped paramilitaries. Serbs marked their houses to avoid attach. Serb story is that some were "killed in course of robbery"
Drvar/Druror	Monoethnic Serb	
Gijalan/Gnjilane municipality	F/L and D/D Distance High proportion of Serbs (10-30%) Many monoethnic Serb villages FL, EV, and MP fared poorly FL became more tense	Flee from FL to DD Road from GG to FL passes through DD Back roads from FL to GG through PP KLA had difficulties penetrating using rural areas as base here as opposed to other places. "delicate system of mutual economic dependence had been developed" Attacked on 27/3/99
	Municipality Village Neighborhood House	
Kosovo	GG calm in deployment and pre-deployment periods. GG wealthy GG criminal mafia character	Bombing ended

Houses	White markers/not	Attacked/not Robbery
Serb	Afraid of paramilitaries Adults/children	Not talk about marking or supporting paramilitaries “Not know what happened” Not protect neighbors Sent children to other villages

	After the war	
Container	Difference	Exchange
Fushe/Livadje	No Serbs Leadership of Albanian Support/oppose return Leadership/youth Needs of residents/votes Needs (school, returns, street lights, water distribution, sewage, infrastructure for youth, etc.)	Of 121 households 35 in Kosovo and rest IDPs in Serbia. Albanians came back Opposed to return of Serbs Public opposition to leadership Believed and stated
Drvar/Druror	Monoethnic Serb	
Gijalan/Gnijilane	F/L and D/D Less suffering than most of Kosovo 5 K between FL and DD FL largest, most strategically located villages in GG In city/in village	Intermittent violence after July Serbs die Serbian Orth church and graveyard destroyed Little violence after destruction of church/graveyard No relations between FL and DD Commercial dealings between FL and DD Organized peace activities between FL and DD Verbal abuse and harassment Not escalate further Shake hands in town/pass by without greeting in village
F/L area	3 of 9 villages in area are mono-ethnic Serb villages P/P and S/S and D/D	
French KFOR		Came to FL No communication No violence
American KFOR	Can they or do they want to defend Serbs?	Physical violence Attacks Not guarantee security to Serbs Houses burning Translation unreliable
Houses	Disbursed and unevenly distribution	Burning Unable to stop it
Serbs	Left village—all 1/3 to DD and 2/3 to Serbia	Left FL 23-24/6/99 KFOR escort to DD Left FL 2/7/99 when Serb houses were burned
Road	Through DD Blocked/open Use by Serbs or Albanians	B locked by Serbs KFOR intervened to force opening

Go and see visit—same as one below?	To FL	Stoned (A stoned S) Serbs visit graveyard
Commerce	Serb and Albanian Discrete Public/Private	Dealings Intimidation by extremist Albanians
Perspective of commercial dealings	Serb and Albanian	Fear Inter-ethnic dealings Changed from beginning to now
Police Station	Multi-ethnic	Safe working in village
Peacebuilding efforts KFOR INGO-supported dialogue on returns UNMIK OSCE	Sincere/insincere Visible/invisible Many/few DD/FL Contractors from inside/outside Municipality and community	Rebuild school Dialogue “No problems between DD and Albanians in FL”
KFOR	Mandate not to initiate inter-ethnic activities Tense situations Continuity of meetings and contacts Serb/Albanian perspectives of positive for KFOR	Support within mandate Sporting event Honor of access to base Intervene Unblock road in 2002 Full respect of Albanians not of Serbs
Dialogue for returns	Many International orgs and INGOS Sustainable Success/failure Early/late Communities FL and DD	Facilitation Prepare ground for return Return Accusations Non-acceptance of guilt
Albanian Leaders in FL	Votes Support/opposition to return Engagement with Serbs before the war	Return
Serbs leaders	Permanent housing in DD or old homes	Work the land Return
New dialogue process	2003 Initial failure FL Alb residents and IDPs in DD Agriculture/access to land	Prepare the ground for returns to FL Work with local NGOs Promote inter-ethnic cooperation Usurpation by Alb residents of FL Dialogue Agreements on land use Gave access to land Cultivate land
	Increased confidence	Build on early success
Go and see visit	July 2004 9 displaced serbs Serb/Albanian Occupy house Friendly women and children	Visit FL Escorted by KFOR, KPS, UNHCR Offer coffee
Leadership	Potential returnees listed (35) Serb war criminals listed (32) Justification in claims	Balked Informal investigation Indict 94 Serbs for war crimes Stymied conversation

Indictment	13 deaths	Serbs prepared lists Took part in fighting Shoot in air to scare villagers Stole cattle
Focus Group	Favorable to returns Accepted dialogue Youth This group/council in village Good will Two village meetings to push village to accept the returns	Alternative forum to discuss returns Youth “allowed” by leaders to participate Leaders “participate” without doing so directly
Small group of youth	Continue to meet Social activities Sport activities Worked for GG municipality Knew each other	Relax relations Played as children Outing to see movie Sports tournament Training in conflict resolution Kosovo-wide peace project
	INGO/local NGOs Projects benefitting both Alb and Serb	Financial support
Internet café	Youth	Funding given Training offered Training rejected for safety sake Buy computer Sell coffee
Youth meetings	Inside and outside meetings Closed/open Leaders/youth	Reduce tensions Change views of each other Extend beyond 30 participants? Influence elders?
March 2004 Riots	No violence: Little movement in or out of FL Serbs in DD prepared for an assault with unarmed guards. Serbs did not block road Village already “fighting” Serb return Road open—no problem March events/negotiations re returns Belgrade or UNMIK pushing for return	Participate in demonstrations Traveled to GG to participate Staged demonstration in FL but were easily dispersed. Gave up when threat of armed conflict between the communities. Message to Serbs to leave Kosovo
Peacebuilding	Help or not?	No direct connection Support for local actors Within community, political parties and war veterans facilitated restraint
Dialogues	Severe arguments Serbs and Albanians Key issues/politics The “others’ argument” Extreme-not participate /Alternative and open minded did participate Invited/not resented not	Discussion INGO organizes Address key issues Mental blockage

Church and graveyard	Dead/living	Fence Vandalized by “extremists” Alb Strong response from Serbs Accept/not
	Waste of time No conditions for return	No problem jointly solved Serbs not go back Vandals (of church) caught and punished first
Houses	Neighborhoods with largest number of Serbs Balancing benefits (street lights and ag mechanization for welfare of villagers.	Rebuilding Youth advocates supported

Has Peacebuilding made a difference in Kosovo?

CDE Analysis (Broad Overview)

Lois Yellowthunder (2/29/08)

Containers	Differences Within	Exchanges Within
Communities (villages? Towns?)	Ethnic composition (Serbs, Albanians – which in majority/minority) or mono-ethnic Demographics (leadership older, some more conservative; youth some more open to inter-ethnic contact) Leadership – relative degree of power – formal, informal Newcomers Long time residents Employment/unemployment Political parties NGOs,INGOs (local, non-local) External governmental Population	Inter-ethnic: Economic Not social or political Intra-community IEV Media coverage Telephone network Community gatherings
Municipalities (governance – may or may not be totally congruent with community) villages? Towns?	Formal political structures Informal political structures	
Serbia, Belgrade	National Institutions (Universities, etc.)	Economic support for K-Serbs Paramilitary forces Media
Kosovo	Ethnicity – Albanians, Serbs (Albanian majority) Geographic distribution of ethnic groups – mixed, mono-ethnic Political parties	Economic Road system (major highways, secondary roads)
Political Parties/groups: SNC (Serbian National Council) PDK (Democratic Party of Kosovo) LDK (Democratic League of Kosovo)	Ethnicity Positions (inter-ethnic relations, etc.)	Communication, mobilization of members
KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army) Yugoslav Army KPS (Kosovo Police Service)	Ethnicity Status (official, unofficial)	Violence Preventing violence
NGOs,INGOs – programs, activities	Types of programs, activities Dialogues (topical areas) Degree of participation, by whom	Activities – sports, construction, inter-ethnic dialogues
Quasi-governmental: UNHCR UNMIK (United Nations Mission in Kosovo) OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) KFOR (Kosovo Force –	International (UN) National (US, France, etc.) Status – mandate, etc.	Preventing violence Creating, enforcing standards, mandates Participating in NGO, INGO's –like functions – visits to base, inter-ethnic activities

Containers	Differences Within	Exchanges Within
American, French)		
Policies – “Standards before Status Policy – 2002”	External (international, etc.) Internal	Applied to potential actions
Returns	Ethnic Internal governmental, external quasi-governmental	
Unaddressed issues	War crimes Missing persons Justice Impunity (tolerance for violence, no prosecutions /enforcement/legal judicial) Security Property titles	Not addressed by peacebuilding activities Discouraged in inter-ethnic dialogue Discussed unofficially
Serbian Orthodox Church		Inter-ethnic godparents (some) before 1998-99 war Not included in dialogue, other activities
K-Serbs	Moderate to hardline politically Geography Ethnic composition of residence Displaced, not displaced	
K-Albanians	Moderate to hard line politically Geography Ethnic composition of residence Displaced, not displaced	
Media	Kosovo Belgrade Ethnicity	