

Predictors of Peace and Violence in Nepal

An empirical study of peace needs and peace services

Pro Public & SeeD

2016

Forum for Protection of Public Interest (Pro Public)
Anamnagar, Kathmandu, Nepal



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Foreword

I am pleased to introduce the research report published by the Forum for Protection of Public Interest (Pro Public) on peace needs and peace services in the framework of Infrastructure for Peace (I4P) in Nepal. This empirical research has been conducted with the main objective of providing suggestions and recommendations to policymakers and stakeholders at different spectrums of Nepalese Society.

The findings on peace needs and peace services presented in this report for sustainable peace and development in the country are worth considering. Specifically, this study inspires us to consider the different levels of peace - i.e. at personal, interpersonal, and inter-communal levels as well as peace between citizens and state- and understand how peace needs and peace services differ at these levels, flagging that we need to target them in a differentiated way.

As the inclusion of Infrastructures for Peace in the 13th Plan by the National Planning Commission in 2013 was an important step towards strengthening sustainable peace in Nepal, the next Three Year Plan is being drafted to carry forward the peace sensitive development programs. In the context of fortifying Infrastructures for Peace in Nepal further, this research, will help to effectively plan, implement and strengthen peace building activities in the country. The peace needs and services identified by the research will support practical activities that will bring lasting peace in our country. This research can also be a model for further research as well as monitoring and evaluation of peace sensitive projects at national and international levels.

I am confident that this report will be helpful to policymakers, field workers, academicians and other stakeholders working in the peace building sector. I congratulate Pro Public for commenting such an important study and wish that this study draws a broad readership and attention of development planners and implementers.

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Foreword

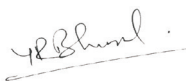
I am delighted to introduce the present research report on 'Infrastructure for Peace' in Nepal. Recalling the initial attempts towards this study, I vividly remember the days of August in 2012 when Mr. Prakash Mani Sharma, Executive Director of Pro Public, and Mrs. Jeannine Suurmond, Peacebuilding Advisor to Pro Public, approached the National Planning Commission (NPC) to introduce the concept of Infrastructure for Peace for the first time in Nepal. Just like we have infrastructures for health and for education, they said, so we need infrastructures to support peace in Nepal.

While peace is innate to our socio-cultural systems and indeed in the land of Lord Buddha, the concept seemed very relevant. We in the NPC readily agreed with their proposal since we already have some infrastructures for peace, such as the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction, the Local Peace Committees, and Community Mediation Committees, in place. In spite of these institutional infrastructures, however, we still suffer from conflict and violence. Violence and conflict consequently hamper the entire socio-economic development efforts.

The NPC therefore decided to make Infrastructure for Peace (I4P) a national priority by including a program to strengthen it in Nepal's 13th Plan (2013-2016). We invited Pro Public to conduct an empirical research on I4P in order to have information on which to base peace policies and programs.

It is an immense pleasure to present the wider readership with Pro Public's contribution in this regard. The report documents the results of a quantitative study carried out by Mr. Prakash Mani Sharma, Mrs. Jeannine Suurmond, and Mr. Alexandros Lordos, Research Director of SeeD, Cyprus. It contains important recommendations for strengthening peacebuilding efforts in Nepal in general and infrastructures for peace in particular.

I hope the research findings will be helpful to formulate plans and programs meant for strengthening peace in Nepal. Since a lot is to be realized in this direction, I hope the readership will find this an inspiring, innovative, and informative document.



Yuba Raj Bhusal
Former Member Secretary
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ICPD

Foreword

Right from the start of human society, conflict within, between and among individuals, groups, communities, nations, regions, came into being and so did peacebuilding tasks to respond to them. In fact the basis of human civilization today is this conflict-peace dynamics--in terms of how they have been manifested in human societies and how human efforts have been made to respond to them. Otherwise human society would have been destroyed long time ago and we would not be what and where we are today. Therefore conflict and peace are the two sides of the same coin that has driven the human society very much as disequilibrium and equilibrium phenomena have done so in the nature. Just difference in perceptions of individuals in relation to the same reality is not a problem, but it becomes so when one enforces one's own perception on the other and dictates to follow it, which eventually emerges as a violent conflict. Depending upon intensity, the conflict becomes cold or hot and so vary reactions toward them. There are factors that cause individuals, communities and nations to behave violently and so are there those that cause them behave peacefully as well. When a conflict is managed in its early latent stage transforming the given reality through constructive conflict management schemes, then a more stable society takes place with durable peace. If it is allowed to brew up and grow, then it eventually emerges in violence. There are many stages between this latent stage and violence manifesting various forms and intensities of conflict requiring different peacebuilding means to respond to them. The only difference is that democratic societies tend to use democratic institutions and means for constructive conflict management while it is in the latent stage whereas the autocratic ones tend to use violent means to suppress it, which eventually explodes later with a much bigger intensity.

As the human society is dynamic, there can be no permanent peace and there is no human society in the world without conflict. Peace is a state of being which can be disturbed by occurrence of a conflict, which can also take place as a road accident any time anywhere. It can also be manifested as individual and societal depression and anxiety, and social distance. Just as war begins in the mind of human beings, peace also can begin from their mind. When confronted with conflict, people use different methods that vary from use of violence as a means of social political change to self-restraint, reflection-action, and external third party support to psycho-social counseling, where as mediated dialogue is used leading towards reconciliation and establish trust between and among parties in conflict. Human history is full of manifestations of such conflict-peace scenarios. Nepal is not an exception to it. Practitioners use research information on peace needs while designing, planning, implementing peacebuilding and conflict prevention/transformation programs including making baseline studies, monitoring and evaluation plans. There are both direct and indirect peace providers whose services range from individual, advice, reconciliation support by individuals and the use of local capacities for peace to the



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application of infrastructures for peace using the more interdependent structures, mechanism and processes.

Although conflict-peace is an old dynamic human phenomenon, academic studies about it are quite new. But they are attracting the attention of many as the world is moving from a win-lose scenario full of inequalities and hatred among human beings to a more of interdependent and equitable win-win one with mutual respect for coexistence. This study carried out by Pro-Public together with Cyprus based Think Tank SeeD is laying a new brick at the foundation in the construction of the huge tower of knowledge on conflict-peace. The study carried out in 11 districts of Terai-Hill belt covering 40 villages and 1177 respondents in Nepal during March-April 2015 has used methodology drawing on academic literature from multiple discipline, policy orientation research and quantitative approach using different drivers of peace and violence reflecting the cultural and geographical diversities including gender sensitivity. The study carried out with an objective to gain greater understanding of how peace and violence are determined and how the peace need and peace services are related in Nepal with identification of their various indicators and indices, has come up with important findings and proposed recommendations accordingly in conflict analysis and direct and indirect peace services. Thus the study is very useful for all peacebuilding professionals and individual practitioners as well as those in governmental, non-governmental and academic institutions around the world.

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PRO PUBLIC

जनहित संरक्षण मञ्च
Forum for Protection of Public Interest

Seeking and obtaining social, economic, environmental and political justice for the disadvantaged and marginalised groups

Our Ref:

Foreword

This study emphasizes the need for searching for new and structural ways out of violence by reforming existing structures that are insufficient or inefficient to address uprising conflict, disharmony, mistrust, and distress in the society. From the beginning, society has been struggling to establish peace, or at minimum reduce violence. We have developed many instruments to do this. However, it is realized that institutions and instruments may become redundant due to lack of proper supporting infrastructure. In the present scenario in Nepal, we are engulfed by external and internal instability.

This study followed a positivist approach with a view to assess the peace needs and peace services in the Nepalese context. Transformational and transcendental pathways are considered to be viable routes to reach the peace destination. Services like Nonviolent Communication (NVC), community mediation, and dialogue facilitation are its basic tools.

Society is becoming more vulnerable to conflict. Chances of violent conflict increase, while the available tools, mechanism, and structures seem meager. The existing social-religious-legal apparatus such as law, policies, and institutions, have not provided a long-term solution. We need to search for alternative pathways, and this study is in line with this.

Many institutions including the government, international agencies, and local civil society organizations have been doing their best to provide peace services. What is realized is that direct and immediate peace services are preferable to indirect and time-consuming services. The capacity of actors involved in providing peace services needs to be strengthened to improve the overall effectiveness of peace efforts.

Covering 11 districts of different ecological regions of Nepal and having 1,177 respondents, this study provides a huge database for policy-makers, practitioners, researchers, and academics to use it their respective fields: A landmark in the peace gallery of Nepal.

I would like to sincerely thank Mr. Prakash Mani Sharma, Executive Director of Pro Public; Mrs. Jeannine Suurmond, Peacebuilding Advisor to Pro Public; and Alexandros Lordos, Research Director of SeeD, for their significant contribution to peacebuilding in Nepal by way of this research. I would also like to thank Dr. Yuba Raj Khatiwada, Vice Chairman of the National Planning Commission (NPC); Mr. Yuba Raj Bhusal, Former Member Secretary of the NPC; and Dr. Poorna Kanta Adhikari, President of the Institute for Conflict Management Peace and Development Studies, for their forewords to this publication.

Prof. Shree Krishna Shrestha
President, Pro Public
January 2016

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To the 1,177 respondents across Nepal. We hope that this report will encourage the changes towards peace you wish to see.

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Kathmandu, February 2016

Cover photo: Community mediators in Dhanusha

Abbreviations

COR	Conservation of Resources Theory
DFID	Department for International Development
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
LPC	Local Peace Committee
MoPR	Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NPC	National Planning Commission
NRs	Nepalese Rupees
NVC	Nonviolent Communication
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
SCORE	Social Cohesion and Reconciliation
SeeD	Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
STTP	Support of Measures to Strengthen the Peace Process
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VDC	Village Development Committee
WHO	World Health Organization

List of Figures

Figure 1: Intrapersonal, interpersonal, intercommunity, and citizen-state dimensions	10
Figure 2: Research stages	12
Figure 3: Number of districts, locations, and interviews	15
Figure 4: Indicators of intrapersonal peace and their loadings	21
Figure 5: Indicators of interpersonal peace and their loadings	21
Figure 6: Indicators of intercommunity peace and their loadings	22
Figure 7: Indicators of citizen-state peace and their loadings	22
Figure 8: Indicators of material peace and their loadings	23
Figure 9: Peace dimensions and indicators	23
Figure 10: Peace dimension scores by district	24
Figure 11: Peace dimension scores by gender	25
Figure 12: Peace dimension scores by class	27
Figure 13: Peace dimension scores by caste	28
Figure 14: Peace dimension scores by region	29
Figure 15: Intercommunity peace between Pahad and Terai	30
Figure 16: Intercommunity peace between Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, and Muslims	30
Figure 17: Frequency of reduced peace experience	32
Figure 18: Parties to personal conflict	32
Figure 19: Violence index and indicators	33
Figure 20: Violence index scores by district	34
Figure 21: Violence index scores by gender	35
Figure 22: Violence index scores by class	35
Figure 23: Violence index scores by caste	36
Figure 24: Violence index scores by region	36
Figure 25: Perceived parties to violence	37
Figure 26: Rings of support ○Primary, secondary, and tertiary intrapersonal peace service providers	39
Figure 27: Types of intrapersonal peace services delivered by preferred providers	39
Figure 28: Rings of support ○Primary, secondary, and tertiary interpersonal peace service providers	40

Figure 29: Types of interpersonal peace services delivered by preferred providers	41
Figure 30: Rings of support ○Primary, secondary, and tertiary intercommunity peace service providers	42
Figure 31: Types of intercommunity peace services delivered by preferred providers	42
Figure 32: Most desired intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intercommunity peace services	44
Figure 33: Willingness to pay for support in challenging situations	45
Figure 34: Amount willing to pay per peace service category	45
Figure 35: Willingness to pay per peace service	46
Figure 36: Indicators of indirect peace services and their loadings	47
Figure 37: Indicators of direct peace services and their loadings	48
Figure 38: Peace service dimension scores by district	49
Figure 39: Peace service dimension scores by gender	50
Figure 40: Peace service dimension scores by class	50
Figure 41: Peace service dimension scores by caste	51
Figure 42: Peace service dimension scores by region	52
Figure 43: Peace dimensions and collective action tendency	53
Figure 44: Predictor indicators and collective action tendency	54
Figure 45: Peace service dimensions and violence	55
Figure 46: Indirect and direct peace service dimensions and peace	56

Contents

Executive summary	I
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Literature review	4
Chapter 2: Approach, definitions, questions	9
Chapter 3: Methodology	12
Design of the questionnaire	12
Sampling	14
Surveying, data tabulation, analysis	16
Chapter 4: Demographic data	17
Highlight: What is peace?	19
Chapter 5: The peace dimensions	20
The construction of the peace dimensions	20
Overall peace score	24
Comparison of peace scores by district	24
Comparison of peace scores by gender	25
Comparison of peace scores by class	26
Comparison of peace scores by caste	27
Comparison of peace scores by region	28
Highlight: Intercommunity peace between Pahad and Terai	29
Highlight: Intercommunity peace between religions	30
Highlight: Intercommunity peace between political parties	31
Highlight: Frequency of reduced peace experience	32
Highlight: Personal conflict experience	32
Chapter 6: The violence index	33
The construction of the violence index	33
Overall violence score	34
Comparison of violence scores by district	34
Comparison of violence scores by gender	35
Comparison of violence scores by class	35
Comparison of violence scores by caste	36
Comparison of violence scores by region	36
Highlight: Perceptions of violence	37
Chapter 7: Peace services, providers, and willingness to pay	38
Intrapersonal peace services and providers	38
Interpersonal peace services and providers	40
Intercommunity peace services and providers	41
Existing peace services, services desired, and willingness to pay	43
Highlight: Perceptions of peace services and providers	46
Chapter 8: The peace service dimensions	47
The construction of peace service dimensions	47
Overall peace services score	48
Comparison of peace service scores by district	48
Comparison of peace service scores by gender	49

Comparison of peace service scores by class	50
Comparison of peace service scores by caste	51
Comparison of peace service scores by region	52
Chapter 9: Predictive results and discussions	53
Hypothesis 1: The more peace there is, the less violence there is	53
Hypothesis 2: The more peace services are used, the less violence there is	55
Hypothesis 3: The more peace services are used, the more peace there is	56
Chapter 10: Discussion and recommendations	58
Finding 1: Peace needs	58
Discussion	58
District-specific recommendations	59
General recommendations	61
Finding 2: Peace services	62
Discussion	62
Group-specific recommendations	64
General recommendations	65
References	74
Annex 1: Theorized peace dimensions, indicators, instruments, components, and example items	79
Annex 2: Research locations	84

Executive summary

This report is prepared to inform and support Pro Public, Forum for the Protection of Public Interest, in its peacebuilding efforts and policy advice to relevant stakeholders. It may, however, also be of interest to other peacebuilding practitioners and donors including the government of Nepal, as well as professionals active in the governance, mental health, legal, and security sectors because of the violence and peace data it provides.

The report presents the findings of a survey conducted in March and April 2015 among 1177 respondents in 40 villages and towns, located across the Terai-Pahad belt. The research took place in the districts of Kanchanpur, Achham, Banke, Rolpa, Kapilvastu/Rupandehi, Kaski, Kathmandu, Dhanusha, Saptari, and Panchthar.

In 2013, the National Planning Commission of Nepal included in its 13th plan (2013-2016) a program to strengthen 'Infrastructures for Peace'. To support the government and other stakeholders in the design and implementation of this program, Pro Public carried out the present study together with the Cyprus-based think tank SeeD.

Inspired by the concept of 'infrastructures for peace', the approach is based on the understanding that (a) when people are caught in painful emotions, disputes, or violence, they have peace needs; and that (b) by servicing peace needs, violence can be prevented or reduced and the experience of peace in different dimensions of life increased. In the current study, these dimensions encompassed intrapersonal peace, interpersonal peace, intercommunity peace, citizen-state peace, and material peace (chapter 2).

The main objectives were to gain a greater understanding of the drivers of peace and violence in Nepal by exploring the existing relations between peace needs and peace services for Nepalese people. In particular, the research focuses on whether the peace needs (or demand) are met by service providers (the offer), and what the impacts are in terms of violence and peace. To assess this we used a violence index, a violent action tendency measure, and peace dimensions.

The methodology draws on academic literature from multiple disciplines and recent policy-oriented research on peacebuilding (chapter 1), as well as quantitative research methods (chapter 3). This allowed us to test assumptions regarding drivers of violence and peace, an option the conflict analysis tools more commonly used, such as the UNDP Conflict and Development Analysis, the USAID Conflict Assessment Framework, or the GIZ Peace and Conflict Assessment, do not offer. The findings relating to peace and violence are presented per district, gender, class, caste, and region (chapters 4-8). Confirming the relevance of the approach, the results allowed for the identification of various drivers of peace and violence in Nepal (chapter 9). General and district/group-specific recommendations, based on the data, are restricted to peacebuilding practices (chapter 10).

We highlight here the two categories of key findings and general recommendations for policy-makers and practitioners in the field of peacebuilding. Recommendations for specific districts and groups in Nepal can be found in chapter 10.

➤ **Finding I: Peace needs:**

This sample scored moderate to high on the overall experience of peace. More specifically, the scores on intrapersonal and intercommunity peace were relatively high, while scores on material and interpersonal peace were moderate. The lowest scores were found for the citizen-state peace dimension. The strongest indicators of the peace dimensions were the following peace needs: Absence of depression and anxiety (for intrapersonal peace); support of village members and members of neighboring villages (for interpersonal peace); absence of intergroup anxiety and social distance (for intercommunity peace); national civic life satisfaction and trust in governmental institutions (for citizen-state peace); and food and economic security (for material peace). Low national civic life satisfaction and low intrapersonal peace predicted higher willingness to use violence as means of social and political change.

General recommendations:

In order to increase the relevance and effectiveness of peacebuilding programs in Nepal, we advise practitioners to take the peace needs identified in this study explicitly into account when designing, planning and implementing peacebuilding programs including baseline studies and monitoring and evaluation plans.

Because reduced intrapersonal peace is associated with violence, mainstreaming intrapersonal peace into peacebuilding interventions seems warranted. More specifically, the pathway from psychopathy to violence can be addressed by building empathy; while the pathway from anxiety to violence can be addressed by reducing the tendency to make hostile attributions regarding the intentions of others. Relevant peace services are therefore Nonviolent Communication (NVC) trainings for teachers, peacemakers, and psychosocial workers, because NVC explicitly teaches the skill of empathizing with ourselves and others. Community mediation and dialogue facilitation services providers are advised to focus on reducing stereotypes and intergroup anxiety between conflicting parties by creating mutual trust and explore ways in which intergroup contact can be beneficial for peace as opposed to detrimental.

Alongside government development efforts, peacebuilding practitioners could help constructively channel the frustrations surrounding national civic life dissatisfaction in Nepal to address the link between reduced national civic life satisfaction and violent action tendency. This could be done by communicating grievances through media and advocacy campaigns in ways that bridge the gap between citizens and state, reduce polarization, and ultimately avert violence. In addition, professionally trained dialogue facilitators, for example those associated with the Nepal Transition to Peace Institute in Kathmandu, could assist conflict parties in reframing polarized discussions to jointly held dilemmas of how to meet the needs of everyone involved. Talks about the new constitution, for instance, could with the support of dialogue facilitators build mutual trust by shifting focus from zero-sum bargaining on issues such as electoral constituencies, provinces, and citizenship; to collaborative problem-solving for meeting the needs of everyone to feel safe and represented.

➤ **Finding II: Peace services:**

Peace services were conceptualized as support for emotionally painful and/or conflict situations from third parties in this study. Direct peace services, i.e. services that directly deal with the issue at hand, predicted nonviolence and increased levels of intrapersonal, interpersonal, citizen-state, and material peace. By contrast, indirect peace services, i.e. services that do not engage with the issue directly, predicted higher violence scores and lower intrapersonal and material peace scores.

The most important peace service providers of both direct and indirect services were spouses, family members, and friends, followed by VDC Secretaries, traditional justice providers, social workers, nurses and doctors, political actors, police officers, community mediators, dialogue facilitators, lawyers, and representatives of community-based organizations.

The peace services most wanted by the respondents were peace education and information for children and adults; rehabilitation services for substance abusers and victims of domestic violence; and mediation and reconciliation support for disputes in the family and community.

The peace services most respondents were willing to pay for are peace education in schools; rehabilitation services; and peace and conflict resources.

General recommendations:

Peacebuilding practitioners, policy-makers, and donors are advised to shift the balance between the use of direct and indirect peace services in favor of the former to allow more people to experience the benefit of direct peace services and bolster peace and nonviolence. This could be aided by establishing referral-systems between indirect and direct peace service providers (i.e. astrologers and mediators), making available more direct peace services; and by lowering the barriers to direct peace service providers through financing and marketing campaigns. We advise the continuation of increasing access to peace services like community mediation and dialogue facilitation based on collaborative principles in the VDCs and municipalities.

To ensure and upscale the quality of direct peace service delivery, training capacities could be enhanced. Non-governmental organizations with relevant training experience, such as the members of the Melmilap Alliance and the Asia Foundation, could establish a professional mediation training institute or training department, for example in conjunction with the Department of Conflict, Peace and Development of the Tribhuvan University and/or the Mediation Council. Bundling expertise and resources in this way, such an institute could set and upscale existing standards for certification, expand outreach, and guarantee high-quality mediation training in Nepal.

Professionally trained mediators, dialogue facilitators, and peace workers are most likely to already deliver direct peace services. Since the most important service providers consist of people's intimate circle, however, we advise country-wide peace education to build capacity in direct peace service delivery, both in schools and communities. This could be promoted by integrating and strengthening peace education programs in Nepal's national education system, for example using UNESCO's guidelines for integrating an Education for Peace curriculum into

education sector plans and policies (2015). Curricula for schools could be based on time-tested programs like those developed by Peaceful Schools, Roots of Empathy, and the Centre for Nonviolent Communication.

Should peacebuilders and donors consider making available services like peace education for children, rehabilitation, and peace and conflict resources, we recommend checking with future users whether they would indeed be willing to pay for them in order to increase ownership, sustainability, and by way of quality control. Given respondents' willingness to offer basic compensation for the use of peace services and their current limited availability, peace service providers like companies specializing in peace education for schools or mediation, could be encouraged to complement the ongoing efforts of the Nepal government and donors.

Peace service enablers and providers are advised to focus on direct peace services when aiming to establish infrastructures for peace in order to address acute peace needs in beneficial ways. Direct peace service delivery could be included as an indicator in monitoring and evaluation plans for infrastructures for peace.

सारसंक्षेप

यस प्रतिवेदनलाई गैरसरकारी संस्था जनहित संरक्षण मञ्च, प्रो पब्लिकले शान्ति स्थापनाका क्रियाकलापमा आवश्यक जानकारी र सहयोग गर्न र सरोकारवालालाई नीति सम्बन्धी सुभाव दिनका लागि तयार पारिएको हो । यस प्रतिवेदनमा समाविष्ट हिंसा र शान्तिसम्बन्धी तथ्याङ्कका कारण अन्य शान्तिकर्मी र दातृ निकाय साथै नेपाल सरकारका लागि पनि यो रोचक हुन सक्छ । त्यस्तै यो अध्ययन सुशासन, मानसिक स्वास्थ्य, कानून र सुरक्षा क्षेत्रमा काम गर्ने पेसाकर्मीहरूका लागि पनि रोचक हुन सक्छ । यस प्रतिवेदनमा नेपालको तराई/पहाड क्षेत्रमा अवस्थित ४० गाउँ र सहरमा बसोबास गर्ने ११७७ उत्तरदातासँग गत मार्च र अप्रिल २०१५ मा गरिएको सर्वेक्षणको परिणामहरू प्रस्तुत गरिएका छन् । यो अध्ययन कञ्चनपुर, अछाम, बाँके रोल्पा, कपिलवस्तु, रूपन्देही, कास्की, काठमाडौं, धनुषा, सप्तरी र पाँचथर जिल्लाहरूमा गरिएको थियो ।

सन् २०१३ मा, नेपालको राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोगले आफ्नो १३औं पद्धतिपत्र २०१३-२०१६ मा "शान्तिका संरचना" सुदृढ गर्नका लागि एक कार्यक्रम समावेश गरेको छ । सरकार र अन्य सरोकारवालालाई यस कार्यक्रमको ढाँचा तयार गर्न र कार्यान्वयन सहयोगार्थ जनहित संरक्षण मञ्च प्रोपब्लिकले साइप्रसको बुद्धिजीवी टोली सिड (SecD) सँगको सहकार्यमा यस अध्ययन सम्पन्न गरेको हो ।

"शान्तिका संरचना" को अवधारणाबाट प्रेरित भएर यस अध्ययनमा प्रयोग गरिएको पद्धति निम्न कुराकोबुभाइमा आधारित छ- (क) जब मानिसहरू पीडादायी संवेग, विवाद, वा हिंसामा गुञ्जिरहेका हुन्छन्, त्यतिबेला उनीहरूको आवश्यकता शान्ति हुन्छ र (ख) शान्तिको आवश्यकतालाई सम्बोधन गर्नका लागि सेवा उपलब्ध गराउँदा, हिंसा रोकथाम वा न्यूनीकरण गर्न सकिन्छ र जीवनका अन्यआयाममा शान्तिको अनुभव बढाउन सकिन्छ । यस अध्ययनमा यी आयामहरूले व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्ति, व्यक्तिहरू बीचको पारस्परिक शान्ति, अन्तरसामुदायिक शान्ति, नागरिक-राज्य शान्ति र भौतिक शान्तिलाई समाहित गरेको छ (खण्ड २) ।

नेपालीहरूको विद्यमान शान्ति आवश्यकता र शान्ति सेवाहरूको आपसी सम्बन्धको अध्ययन गरेर नेपालमा शान्ति र हिंसा निम्त्याउने प्रमुख कारक तत्वहरूको बुभाइ बढाउनु यस अनुसन्धानको मुख्य उद्देश्य थियो । विशेषगरी शान्तिको आवश्यकता (माग)लाई सेवा प्रदायकहरूले परिपूर्ति गरिरहेका छन् वा छैनन्, साथै हिंसा र शान्तिमायिनको कस्तो असर परेको छ भन्ने कुरामा अनुसन्धान केन्द्रित रहेको थियो । यसको लेखाजोखा गर्नका लागि हामीले हिंसाको सुचकांक, हिंसात्मक क्रियाकलाप प्रवृत्ति मापक र शान्ति आयामहरूको प्रयोग गरेका थियौं ।

विधिहरूमा, विभिन्न विधाका प्राज्ञिक लेख र शान्तिस्थापनाका नीतिहरूमा आधारित शोधहरू (खण्ड १), साथै परिमाणात्मक अनुसन्धान विधि (खण्ड ३) पनि प्रयोग भएका छन् । यसले हामीलाई हिंसा र शान्तिका कारक तत्वहरूसँग सम्बन्धित अनुमानहरूको परिक्षण गर्न पनि मद्दत मिल्यो, जुन कुरा युएनडीपीको द्वन्द्व र विकास विश्लेषण, अमेरिकी विकास नियोगको द्वन्द्व लेखाजोखा ढाँचा, जर्मन विकास सहयोगको शान्ति र द्वन्द्व लेखाजोखा जस्ता सामान्यतया प्रयोग गरिने तरिकाहरूमागर्न मिल्दैन । शान्ति र हिंसासम्बन्धी निष्कर्षहरूलाई प्रत्येक जिल्ला, लिंग, वर्ग, जाति र धर्मका आधारमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ (खण्ड ४-८) । परिणामहरूले नेपालमा शान्ति र हिंसाका विभिन्न कारक तत्वहरूको पहिचानमा सहयोग गर्दै पद्धतिको सान्दर्भिकतालाई थप पुष्टि गर्‍यो (खण्ड ९) । तथ्याङ्कमा आधारित सामान्य तथा जिल्ला/समुह विशेष सुभावहरू शान्तिस्थापनाका अभ्यासहरूमा निहित छन् (खण्ड १०) ।

नीति निर्माणकर्ता र शान्तिस्थापनाकर्ताहरूका लागि सामान्य सुभावहरू र महत्वपूर्ण निष्कर्षहरूका रूपमा दुई प्रकारमा वर्गीकरण गरेर प्रकाश पारिएको छ । खण्ड १० मा भने नेपालका जिल्ला र समुह विशेषका सुभावहरू राखिएका छन् ।

निष्कर्ष १ : शान्ति आवश्यकताहरू :

शान्तिको समग्र अनुभवमा यस नमुनाले मध्यमदेखि उच्च प्राप्ति हासिल गरेको छ । विस्तृतस्वमा भन्नुपर्दा व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्ति र अन्तरसामुदायिक शान्तिको प्राप्ति उच्च थियो भने भौतिक शान्ति र व्यक्तिहरूको पारस्परिक शान्तिको प्राप्ति मध्यम थियो । सबैभन्दा कम प्राप्ताङ्क नागरिक-राज्यको शान्तिआयाममा थियो । शान्ति आयामको सबैभन्दा प्रभावशाली सुचाङ्कहरूमा निम्न शान्ति आवश्यकताहरू रहे : दिक्दारीपन र चिन्ताको अनुपस्थिति (व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्तिका लागि) आफ्नो र छिमेकी गाउँका सदस्यहरूको सहयोग (व्यक्तिहरू बीचको पारस्परिक शान्तिका लागि) अन्तरसामुहिक तनाव/चिन्ता र सामाजिक दुरीको अनुपस्थिति (अन्तरसामुदायिक शान्तिका लागि) राष्ट्रिय नागरिक जीवनप्रतिको सन्तुष्टि र सरकारी संस्थाहरूप्रतिको विश्वास (नागरिक-राज्यको शान्तिका लागि) र खाद्य र आर्थिक सुरक्षा (भौतिक शान्तिका लागि) । राष्ट्रिय नागरिक जीवनप्रतिको कम सन्तुष्टि र व्यक्तिको कम आन्तरिक शान्तिका कारण, सामाजिक र राजनैतिक परिवर्तनका लागि मानिसहरूले हिंसाको बाटो अवलम्बन गर्ने तत्परताको पूर्वानुमान गराउँछ ।

सामान्य सुभावहरू :

नेपालका शान्तिसम्बन्धी कार्यक्रमहरूको सान्दर्भिकता र प्रभावकारिता बढाउनका लागि, शान्तिकर्मीहरूलाई हामी यस अध्ययनमा पहिचान गरिएका शान्ति आवश्यकताहरूलाई स्पष्ट रूपमा ध्यानमा राख्नका लागि सुभाव दिन्छौं । शान्ति स्थापनाका कार्यक्रमहरूको रूपरेखा तयार गर्दा, योजना गर्दा र कार्यान्वयन गर्दा साथसाथै आधाररेखा अध्ययनहरू र अनुगमन र मूल्याङ्कन योजनामा पनि यिनलाई ध्यानमा राख्न सुभाव दिन्छौं ।

व्यक्तिको कम आन्तरिक शान्ति हिंसासँग जोडिएको हुनाले कुनै पनि शान्ति स्थापनाका कार्यहरूमा व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्तिलाई मुलधारमा राखिनुपर्ने कुरा अत्यावश्यक देखिन्छ । अफ स्पष्ट रूपमा भन्नुपर्दा मनोविक्षिप्ति हुँदै हिंसासम्म पुग्ने बाटोलाई समानुभुतिद्वारा सम्बोधन गर्न सकिन्छ भने अर्कातिर चिन्ता हुँदै हिंसासम्म पुग्ने बाटोलाई सम्बोधन गर्नका लागि अरुको मनसायप्रति शत्रुवत् तरिकाले प्रस्तुत हुने प्रवृत्तिको न्यूनीकरण गर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ । त्यसैकारण शिक्षक, शान्ति कार्यकर्ता, मनोसामाजिक कार्यकर्ताहरूलाई अहिंसात्मक सञ्चारको प्रशिक्षण एक सान्दर्भिक शान्ति सेवा हो, किनकि अहिंसात्मक सञ्चारले स्पष्ट रूपमा आफैँप्रति र अरुप्रति समानुभुति प्रकट गर्ने सीप सिकाउँछ । सामुदायिक मेलमिलाप र संवाद सहजीकरण सेवा प्रदायकहरूलाई रूढिवादीपना र अन्तरसामुहिक चिन्ता न्यूनीकरणमा केन्द्रित हुन सुभावा गरिन्छ । यसका लागि पारस्परिक विश्वासको सृजना र अन्तरसामुहिक सम्पर्कका तरिकाहरूको खोजी गर्नु शान्तिका लागि फाइदाजनक हुन सक्छ ।

विकासका लागि सरकारी प्रयासका साथसाथै शान्ति स्थापनाकर्ताहरूले नेपालमा नागरिक जीवनप्रतिको असन्तुष्टिले ल्याउने नैराश्र्यतालाई सृजनात्मक तरिकाले निकास दिन सहयोग गर्न सक्छन् । यसो गर्दा नागरिक जीवनप्रतिको सन्तुष्टिको कमी र हिंसात्मक गतिविधिको प्रवृत्तिबीचको सम्बन्धलाई सम्बोधन गर्न मद्दत मिल्छ । यसका लागि गुनासाहरूलाई आम सञ्चारका माध्यमहरूमा फर्कत सञ्चार गर्ने र वकालतका अभियानहरू गरेर नागरिकहरू र राज्यबीच सेतु बनाउने, धुवीकरण कम गर्ने र अन्ततः गत्वा हिंसालाई रोक्ने हो । यसका अतिरिक्त, नेपालको शान्तिमा रूपान्तरण संस्थापन (**Nepal Transition to Peace Institute**)मा आबद्ध भएका जस्ता पेसागत रूपमा नै प्रशिक्षित संवाद सहजकर्ताहरूले द्वन्द्वरत पक्षहरूलाई धुवीकरण भएका विवादलाई संलग्न सबैको आवश्यकता पुरा गर्ने संयुक्त द्विविधाका रूपमा पुनर्विचार गर्नका लागि सहयोग गर्न सक्छन् । उदाहरणका लागि नयाँ संविधानमा निर्वाचन क्षेत्र, प्रदेश र नागरिकताजस्ता विषयवस्तुहरूबारे हुने अफलदायी बहसलाई, संवाद सहजकर्ताको सहयोगमा, सबैजनाले सुरक्षित र प्रतिनिधित्व भएको महसुस गर्ने आवश्यकतालाई परिपूर्तिका लागि समाधानमुलक सहकार्यतर्फ लग्दा आपसी सद्भाव बढ्न सक्छ ।

निर्ष्कर्ष २ : शान्ति सेवाहरू

यस अध्ययनमा शान्ति सेवाको अवधारणा भनेको भावनात्मक रूपमा पीडादायी र/वा द्वन्द्वको अवस्थामा तेस्रो पक्षले गर्ने सहयोग हो । प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाहरू, अर्थात् तात्कालिक अवस्थामै विषयवस्तुको सामना गर्दा, अहिंसाको पूर्वानुमान गर्न सकियो र व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक, पारस्परिक, नागरिक-राज्य र भौतिक शान्तिको तहलाई बढायो । यसका विपरीत विषयवस्तुमा प्रत्यक्ष संलग्न नभइने अप्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाहरूले बढी हिंसाको प्राप्ती र व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक र भौतिक शान्तिको कम प्राप्तीको पूर्वानुमान गरायो ।

प्रत्यक्ष र अप्रत्यक्ष दुवै सेवा प्रदायकमा पति/पत्नी, परिवारका सदस्य र साथीहरू थिए । ती पछि क्रमशः गाविस सचिव, परम्परागत न्यायदाताहरू, सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता, परिचारिका तथा चिकित्सक राजनीतिकर्मी, प्रहरी, सामुदायिक मेलमिलापकर्ता, संवाद सहजकर्ता, वकिल र समुदायमा आधारित संस्थाका प्रतिनिधि थिए ।

उत्तरदाताहरूले सबैभन्दा चाहेको शान्ति सेवामा बालबालिका र वयस्कका लागि शान्तिसम्बन्धी शिक्षा र जानकारी; लागुपदार्थ दुर्व्यसनी र घरेलु हिंसा पीडितका लागि पुनर्स्थापना सेवा र समुदाय र परिवारमा हुने विवादका लागि मेलमिलाप र पुनर्मिलापका सहयोग थिए ।

प्रायजसो उत्तरदाताले शुल्क तिर्नका लागि पनि तयार रहेको शान्ति सेवा भनेको विद्यालय शिक्षा, पुनर्स्थापना सेवा र शान्ति र द्वन्द्वसम्बन्धी स्रोतहरूका लागि थियो ।

सामान्य सुभावहरू :

बढी मानिसहरूले प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाहरूको फाइदा अनुभव गर्न र शान्ति र अहिंसालाई समेटेर लैजानका लागि शान्ति स्थापनाकर्ता, नीति निर्माणकर्ता र दातृ निकायहरूलाई प्रत्यक्ष र अप्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवामध्ये प्रत्यक्षको प्रयोग बढी गरेर सन्तुलन कायम गर्न सुभाव गरिन्छ । यसका लागि प्रत्यक्ष र अप्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा प्रदायकहरू बीचमा सिफारिसको प्रणाली स्थापना गरेर सहयोग गर्न सकिन्छ (जस्तै ज्योतिष र मेलमिलापकर्ता) । यसरी प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाको उपलब्धता बढाउन सकिन्छ भने अभियानहरूका लागि कोषको उपलब्धता र प्रचार गराएर प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाका अवरोधहरू कम गर्न सकिन्छ । यस्तै गरेर गाविस र नगरपालिकाहरूमा सहकार्यको सिद्धान्तमा आधारित, सामुदायिक मेलमिलाप र संवाद जस्ता शान्ति सेवाको पहुँच बढाउने कार्यको निरन्तरता गर्नका लागि पनि हामी सुभाव दिन्छौं ।

प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाको गुणस्तर निश्चित गर्न र वृद्धि गर्नका लागि, क्षमता अभिवृद्धि तालिमहरू पनि बढाउन सकिन्छ । उदाहरणका लागि मेलमिलाप अलाएन्स र द एसिया फाउन्डेसन जस्ता यसै क्षेत्रमा अनुभवप्राप्त गैरसरकारी संस्थाहरूले त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालयको द्वन्द्व, शान्ति तथा विकास विभाग र/वा मेलमिलाप परिषद् जस्ता संस्थाहरूसँग मिलेर पेसागत मेलमिलाप प्रशिक्षण संस्था वा प्रशिक्षण विभाग स्थापना गर्न सक्छन् । यसप्रकारले विज्ञता र स्रोतलाई एकत्रित गरेर स्थापना भएको संस्थाले प्रमाणीकरणका विद्यमान मापदण्डलाई निर्धारण वा बढोत्तरी गर्ने, पहुँच बढाउने र नेपालमा उच्च गुणस्तरको मेलमिलापसम्बन्धी तालिमको सुनिश्चितता गर्न सक्छ ।

पेसागत रूपमा तालिमप्राप्त मेलमिलापकर्ता, संवाद सहजकर्ता र शान्तिकर्मीहरूले सम्भवतः प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा नै प्रदान गर्छन् । तर सबैभन्दा महत्वपूर्ण शान्ति सेवा प्रदायकहरू मानिसको आफ्नै निकटतम व्यक्तिहरू हुने हुनाले, देशव्यापी रूपमा विद्यालय र समुदायस्तरमा शान्ति शिक्षा प्रदान गरेर प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा प्रदान गर्ने क्षमता अभिवृद्धि गर्ने सुभाव दिन्छौं । यसलाई प्रवर्धन गर्नका लागि नेपालको राष्ट्रिय शिक्षा प्रणालीमा शान्ति शिक्षा समाविष्ट र सुदृढ गरेर गर्न सकिन्छ । उदाहरणका लागि, शिक्षा क्षेत्रको योजना र नीतिमा शान्तिका लागि शिक्षालाई पाठ्यक्रममा समाविष्ट गर्नका लागि युनेस्कोको निर्देशिका (२०१५) प्रयोग गर्न सकिन्छ । पिसफुल स्कुल्स, रूट्स अफ इम्प्याथी र अहिंसात्मक सञ्चार केन्द्र जस्ता संस्थाले विकास गरेका र परिष्कृत भैसकेका कार्यक्रमहरूमा विद्यालयका पाठ्यक्रमहरूलाई आधारित गर्न सकिन्छ ।

यदि शान्ति स्थापनाकर्ता र दातृ निकायहरूले बालबालिकाका लागि शान्ति शिक्षा, पुनर्स्थापना र शान्ति र द्वन्द्वसम्बन्धी स्रोत सामग्री जस्ता सेवा उपलब्ध गराउने सोच गर्नुहुन्छ भने भविष्यका प्रयोगकर्ताहरूले ती सेवा बापतको शुल्क तिर्ने इच्छुक छन् वा छैनन् भनेर पनि बुझ्न आवश्यक छ, किनकि तिनको स्वामीत्वबोध, दिगोपना र गुणस्तर वृद्धिका लागि यो कुरा महत्वपूर्ण हुन्छ । शान्ति सेवाका प्रयोगबापत आधारभुत शुल्क प्रस्तावमा उत्तरदाताहरू इच्छुक रहेको तर सिमित उपलब्धता रहेको कुरालाई मध्यनजर गर्दा, विद्यालयमा शान्ति शिक्षा वा मेलमिलाप जस्ता विषयमा विशेषज्ञता भएका कम्पनीहरू जस्ता शान्ति सेवा प्रदायकहरूले नेपाल सरकार र दातृ निकायहरूको हालका प्रयासहरूलाई सम्पूर्ण गर्नका लागि प्रोत्साहित गर्न सकिन्छ । शान्तिका तात्कालिक आवश्यकताहरूलाई फाइदाजनक तरिकाले सम्बोधन गर्नका लागि शान्तिका संरचनाहरू स्थापना क्रममा, शान्ति सेवा प्रवर्धक र प्रदायकहरूलाई प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवामा केन्द्रित हुन सुभाव दिइन्छ । शान्तिका संरचनाहरूको अनुगमन र मुल्याङ्कन योजनामा, प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवालार्इ पनि एक सुचकका रूपमा समावेश गर्न सकिन्छ ।

Introduction

As humans, we spend a substantial portion of our lifetime suffering from conflicts. Very few of us, if any, have not experienced the challenge of attempting to resolve conflicts to the satisfaction of all involved, including ourselves. There are today in Nepal alone more than 28 million people, who at certain moments in their lives, will find themselves in this situation. They will have what we call a 'peace need.' Peace needs refer to the absence of peace in different dimensions, including the intrapersonal, the interpersonal, the intercommunity, the citizen-state, and the material peace dimension. This definition recognizes that peace is a state of being that can be disturbed by the occurrence of a conflict.

Conflicts take many forms depending on the parties involved. People can either experience prolonged bouts of anxiety, depression or frustration (internal conflict, prompting reduced intrapersonal peace); agonizing disputes with members of their intimate circle (reduced interpersonal peace); threats by another social group (reduced intercommunity peace); or violence directed towards, or at the hands of, the state (reduced citizen-state peace).

In order to address such conflicts and their resulting peace needs, many people will make use of peace services. Peace services are here defined as the intervention of a third party, usually external to the conflict, who attempts to contribute to relief and a sustainable resolution without the use of coercion. Examples of peace services include advice from someone trustworthy; mediation services provided by a mediator; or reconciliation support from a truth and reconciliation commission.

In the peacebuilding field, the organizations and processes involved in the delivery of peace services have been termed 'infrastructures for peace'. Recognizing possible overlap, examples of Nepalese infrastructures for peace are the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction (delivering citizen-state peace services); the local peace committees (delivering intercommunity peace services); the community mediation committees (delivering interpersonal peace services); and the dialogue facilitator pools (delivering intrapersonal peace services).

Infrastructures for peace and coercion-based security infrastructures, such as law enforcement and the army, are two strategies to contain violence. However, despite the fact that both strategies claim successes in violence containment, the presence of and funding for infrastructures for peace is marginal compared to coercion-based security infrastructures. Coercion-based approaches to handling conflict tend to remain the strategy by default, even in situations where a peace service, like civilian peacekeeping or mediation, might actually be more effective and efficient in the prevention and containment of violence. For example, historical and experimental data reveal that mediated crises are more likely to end in agreements, are of shorter duration, and lead to long-term tension reduction as well as greater satisfaction with the outcome among the parties.

For this reason, proponents of infrastructures for peace seek to diversify the violence containment sector towards peacebuilding, emphasizing its potential to reduce the vulnerability of countries, societies, and individuals to violent conflict, strengthen their security, and increase citizen well-being. In addition to 'Infrastructure for Peace', the terms 'Global Peace System' and 'Peacebuilding Architecture' speak to the capacities and institutions required for this.

Several factors currently hamper the development of infrastructures for peace. Chief amongst those are that peacebuilding is a relative newcomer to violence containment. It offers a limited variety

of tools to identify entry points and strategies and too little data to demonstrate its full potential effectiveness and impact. As a result, decision-makers lack the necessary information on which to base decisions concerning investments in infrastructures for peace. In addition, there is a lack of a shared understanding of the scope, purpose, tools, and limits of peacebuilding within the field. The absence of a coherent and broadly supported framework tends to create certain confusion and reticence from potential donors and supporters.

Internationally, there is growing recognition of the importance of efforts bolstering peace, reflected for example in the inclusion of peace in the UN Sustainable Development Goals (2015). In Nepal, the National Planning Commission included 'a program to strengthen Nepal's Infrastructure for Peace' in its 13th Plan. This plan lays out the government strategy for the development of the country for the period 2013-2016. The Nepal government, multi- and bilateral partners, and (International) Non-Governmental Organizations are committed to making infrastructures for peace and peace services available. However, the lack of field information and user-centric data lead to top-down and normative interventions, at the risk of being disconnected from ground-level realities. The local peace committees are a case in point.

To support the government and other stakeholders in the design and implementation of peacebuilding programmes, the NGO Pro Public, Forum for the Protection of Public Interest, carried out the present study together with the Cyprus-based think tank SeeD. The survey was conducted over the course of 2014-2015 and included 1177 respondents in 40 villages and towns in 10 districts located across the Terai-Pahad belt.

The main objective of the survey was to gain a greater understanding of how peace and violence are determined by exploring the existing relations between peace needs and peace services for Nepalese people. The research focused on whether the needs (or demand) are met by service providers (the offer) and what the impacts for people are.

Specific objectives are:

- To examine the relationship between peace needs and peace services and peace and violence in the individual, interpersonal, intercommunity, and citizen-state dimensions;
- To statistically identify drivers of violence and peace in Nepal.

This study differs from the conflict analysis methodologies more commonly used in peacebuilding, such as the UNDP Conflict and Development Analysis, the USAID Conflict Assessment Framework, or the GIZ Peace and Conflict Assessment, because of its multidisciplinary and quantitative approach which allows for testing assumptions regarding drivers of violence and peace.

The report is presented in ten chapters. Chapter 1 highlights literature describing factors that either promote or block negative and positive peace. Chapter 2 introduces the approach, providing the definitions of peace needs, peace services, and infrastructures for peace that constitute the framework of analysis, as well as research questions. Chapter 3 describes the methodology used for this study, including the design of the questionnaire and the sampling and data collection processes. Chapter 4 presents various demographic data of the research sample. Chapter 5 describes the construction of the peace dimensions and presents the peace scores per district, gender, class, caste, and region. Chapter 6 explains how the violence index was constructed and presents the violence scores for the same five categories. Chapter 7 describes which peace services respondents have used, who the providers were, and how willing respondents are to pay for peace services.

Chapter 8 presents the construction of the peace service dimensions and the peace service scores per district, gender, class, caste, and region. Chapter 9 proceeds with presenting the results of the predictive analyses, including drivers of peace and violence in Nepal. While the research questions (chapter 2) are answered in chapters 5-9, the final chapter concludes the report with a discussion of selected findings and recommendations for practitioners and policy-makers in the peacebuilding field.

Chapter 1:

Literature review

Theories framing the causes of violence solely in terms of acute economic deprivation cannot fully explain the tendency of certain individuals to engage in violence, while others remain peaceful. Investigating why individuals respond differently to similar challenges, psychology has linked violent behavior to mental health conditions, emotions and cognition, and the ability to cope, among others. Despite the relevance of such findings for peacebuilding practice, the dialogue between (political) peacebuilding scholars and sociopsychological scholars remains limited (Charbonneau & Parent, 2011). This study therefore took a multidisciplinary perspective, including socio-psychological components. In our literature review, we identified factors that lead individuals and communities to behave violently and factors that enable them to behave peacefully despite challenging conditions.

Since a comprehensive theory of the causes of an individual's tendency to engage in acts of violence is lacking (Victoroff, 2005), the review encompassed literature from a variety of academic fields, including international relations, peace and conflict studies, social psychology, and security and terrorism studies. In addition, we examined conflict and peacebuilding materials produced by multilateral organizations and NGOs. Because an exhaustive review is beyond the scope of this report, we just highlight those concepts central to the framework of our methodology in six sections: Defining peace, obstacles to negative peace, obstacles to positive peace, catalysts of negative peace, catalysts of positive peace, and infrastructures for peace.

Defining peace

The definition of peace most commonly used in peace and conflict research was developed by Galtung (1969). He defined peace as the absence of war, violent conflict, or violent crime ('negative peace') as well as a state of wellbeing including justice, harmony, and equality ('positive peace'). As such, negative peace and positive peace are complementary and both desirable. Variations of his theory and subsequent developments of it have been presented by Galtung himself, as well as other peace scholars such as Lederach (1995) and Burton (1988).

Cohrs and Boehnke (2008) further distinguished between social psychological factors that prevent negative or positive peace (obstacles); and factors that promote positive or negative peace (catalysts). As some factors contribute to both, the categories are not mutually exclusive. The next four sections build on, but are not limited to, social psychological obstacles and catalysts of negative and positive peace.

Obstacles to negative peace

According to Vollhardt (2012), social psychological obstacles to negative peace include affective and cognitive processes, ideologies, group dynamics as well as social factors that give rise to violence. For example, the Seville Statement on Violence (UNESCO, 1986) describes mindset as an obstacle to negative peace. It states that: 'Just as wars begin in the minds of men, peace also begins in our minds. 'Indeed, researching the prison of Abu Ghraib, the Stanford Prison Experiment, and the history of Nazi camps, Zimbardo (2007) observed that cognitive processes like dehumanization, prejudice, stereotyping, are central in the transformation of ordinary, normal people into indifferent, even cruel perpetrators of violence.

Another obstacle to negative peace, according to relative deprivation theory, may be lack of resources to sustain the diet, lifestyle, activities and amenities that an individual or group are accustomed to or that are approved in the society to which they belong (Gurr, 1970). In line with this, the UNDP 1994 Human Development Report linked deteriorating human security to increased risk of conflict. The components of human security, as defined in this report, are economic security, food security, health security, personal security, environmental security, community security, and political security. The relation between the components is complex. Looking specifically at poverty and violence, for example, the World Bank (2011) observed that poverty is becoming increasingly concentrated in countries riven by civil war, ethnic conflict, and organized crime. At the same time, violence and bad governance prevent such countries from escaping the violence trap.

Taking a slightly different angle, the conservation of resources theory (COR) suggests that resource loss is the motivation behind the attempts of individuals to cope with stressful situations. The COR theory predicts that when individuals' personal (self-perception, self-value), social (friends, support networks), or economic (job, education, housing) resources are threatened; a response mechanism is activated to defend against this loss of resources (Canetti, Hobfoll, Pedahzur & Zaidise, 2010). The actual and repeated loss of such psychosocial resources has been found to predict Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and depression in individuals, as well as support for political violence and ethnocentrism (Hobfoll, Canetti-Nisim & Johnson, 2006).

Reduced mental health has long been linked to violence. As Gilligan (1996) for example discovered, shame drives violence and vengeance. Since punishment leads to more shame, he concluded, punitive approaches to justice perpetuate violent behavior. Psychopathy, as well as low self-control, lack of social bonds, and low self-esteem have been associated with violent behavior (Anderson & Kiehl, 2014; Coid, Ullrich & Kallis, 2013; Morley, 2015).

Obstacles to positive peace

From a social psychological perspective, obstacles to positive peace include cognitive and affective processes that give rise to the exclusion of members of other groups and legitimize dominance, hierarchies, oppression, and exploitation (Vollhardt, 2012). Ingroup identification, for example, can benefit both the group and the individual. However, in conflict situations it can also be a predictor of negative perceptions of outgroups, as well as negative intentions towards them (Ioannou, Jarraud & Louise, 2015).

Also stereotypes are a determinant of positive peace. Stereotypes are generalizations or assumptions that people make about the characteristics of all members of a group, based on an image about what people in that group are like (Burgess, 2003). Studying stereotypes of Arabs and Israelis, Bar-Tal and Teichman (2009), found that they are simultaneously outcomes of the accumulated hostility between the involved groups, and become increasingly solidified the longer the conflict continues by supplying the cognitive-affective basis for the experienced mistrust by the parties.

The more solidified stereotypes are, the more intergroup anxiety tends to be experienced during encounters with outgroup members (Ioannou, Jarraud & Louise, 2015). Intergroup anxiety, in turn, becomes an obstacle to positive peace as it amplifies individuals' threat appraisal, anger, and offensive action tendencies toward the outgroup (Van Zomeren, Fischer & Spears, 2007).

Catalysts of negative peace

There are a number of factors that allow individuals to halt violence. According to Vollhardt (2012), cognitive processes and affective states that reduce exclusion and conflict and behavioral tendencies that allow people to act in face of danger and halt violence belong to social psychological catalysts of negative peace. Human needs theorists postulate that the ability to recognize that suffering and personal inadequacy are part of our common humanity. This ability helps free up the psychological resources necessary to consider and pursue nonviolent alternatives to meeting needs (Rosenberg, 2003; Suarez, Lee, Rowe, Gomez, Murowchick & Linn, 2014). As such, it can be considered as a catalyst of negative peace.

Another catalyst of negative peace may be self-compassion. Research found that self-compassion is related to self-control, self-esteem, and social connectivity and reduces violence among violent men (Morley, 2015).

In the view of Thomas and Kilman (1974), conflict behavior is a result of personal predisposition, practice, and the requirements of the situation. While some people seem to have a knack for collaboration, for example, the ability to collaborate is also a skill that can be developed with training and practice.

Catalysts of positive peace

Social psychological processes promoting positive peace include those that facilitate inclusive societal structures and fair distribution of resources as well as behavioral tendencies that seek to overcome violence and inequality and redress past harm and injustice (Vollhardt, 2012). The majority of individuals, according to Keltner, Smith, and Marsh (2010), are 'built to be kind', displaying pro-social emotions like compassion and empathy. Evidence suggests that pro-sociality is a catalyst of positive peace, central as it is to the wellbeing of social groups across a range of scales. Empathy, for example, has been linked to long-term intimate relationships and higher social functioning (Bailey, Henry & Von Hippel, 2008). In turn, forgiveness is linked to psychological healing, improved physical and mental health, and reconciliation between the offended and offender (The American Psychological Association, 2006).

Resilience may be another catalyst of positive peace. On the individual-psychological level, resilience refers to the ability of an individual to bounce back from stressful experiences. For instance, individuals who possess a positive mindset, an internal locus of control, problem-solving skills, and a sense of social support will have a greater ability to constructively deal with stress than individuals who do not (Wagnild & Young, 1993).

On the community level, the peacebuilding definition of resilience refers to the ability of groups and communities to address challenges constructively, without resorting to violence. Communities classified as resilient to violence have been associated with legitimate leadership, stable governance, and collective decision-making (e.g. Van Metre, 2014). As proposed by UNDP (2009), one way of strengthening the resilience of communities is by fostering their social cohesion. Practitioners can bolster or elicit social cohesion and in so doing, promote inclusion and strengthen state-society relations in order to reduce conflict vulnerability and create more 'resilient' states (Cox, Orsborn & Sisk, 2014). Countries scoring high on positive peace, like Iceland, are more resilient to violence (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2015). Another key aspect of community resilience to violence

may be reconciliation, in the broadest sense understood as restoring relationships that had been undermined in prior conflict (Bloomfield, Barnes & Huysse, 2003).

External support systems may function as catalysts of both negative and positive peace. When the coping strategies of individuals, communities, or countries are overwhelmed or inappropriate, people do not stay passive. Many turn to external sources or parties for information on and support with problem-solving and coping. For example, countries like El Salvador and Guatemala have called upon the good offices of the UN Secretary-General to mediate their conflicts. Communities like the Tharu in Nepal have sought support from traditional justice mechanisms (i.e. the khyala) to resolve disputes. Individuals have turned to trusted friends or psychosocial counselors for stress relief when struggling with conflicts or painful emotions.

When such third parties employ nonviolent, constructive means of providing support, like the UN Secretary-General, we consider them to be peace service providers. Peace service providers may be supported by structures, resources, and processes we call infrastructures for peace, like the UN good offices (Suurmond & Sharma, 2013). Ideally, infrastructures for peace function as catalysts for negative and positive peace. In reality, they have a mixed track record.

Infrastructures for peace

An emerging concept in peacebuilding, infrastructures for peace refers to the establishment of capacities for peace to complement, or even replace punitive, coercion-based strategies to peace and security. Infrastructures for peace have broadly been described as 'a dynamic network of interdependent structures, mechanisms, resources, values and skills which, through dialogue and consultation, contribute to conflict prevention and peace building in a society' (Kumar & De la Haye, 2011). A narrower definition is: 'Infrastructures for peace are the structures, resources, and processes through which peace services are delivered at any level of a society' (Suurmond & Sharma, 2013). The concept encompasses strategies long pursued by peacebuilding practitioners, including nonviolent direct action campaigns; track I-III dialogues; TV and radio programs; truth and reconciliation commissions; traditional rites and ceremonies; ex-combatant-community engagements; trauma healing practices; and peace education (examples based on Paffenholz, 2009 and OECD, 2008).

At best, infrastructures for peace are catalysts of negative and positive peace. Peace education, for example, has reduced aggression among school children by increasing their emotional and social competencies (Santos, Chartier, Whalen, Chateau & Boyd, 2008). The community mediation programs in Nepal have been credited with restoring relationships between disputants and bridging social divides (Lederach & Thapa, 2012). Dialogue facilitation at central government level in Nepal has been associated with political breakthroughs concerning issues like constitution-drafting and the election system, and at the community level with smoothing the integration of ex-combatants into society (USAID, 2014; STPP/GIZ, 2013). Restorative justice programs have reduced crime victims' PTSD symptoms; provided both victims and offenders with more satisfaction with justice than conventional justice; and been more effective at lowering recidivism rates (Sherman & Strang, 2007). The UN peacekeeping mission in war-torn Sierra Leone has been recognized for helping to bring the country back onto its feet, by monitoring the ceasefire, supporting a transition to

democratic governance, integrating ex-combatants, rebuilding the country's police force and infrastructure, and curbing the illicit diamond trade, among other activities (Olonisakin, 2007).

At worst, infrastructures for peace are obstacles to negative and positive peace. Local peace committees (LPCs) in Nepal, for example, have been called 'local party committees' because they are perceived to perpetuate party politics and conflict (Carter Center, 2011). Similarly, the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction, mandated to coordinate the LPCs, is subject to political interference (Government of Nepal, 2012). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Cote d'Ivoire has reportedly aggravated tensions between the opposing camps (IRIN, 2014), while the truth commissions in Latin America have been accused of allowing 'exactly the kind of false reconciliation with the past they had been expressly created to forestall' (Ignatieff, 1996). UN peacekeeping missions in countries such as Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina, hampered severely by the absence of an effective political strategy and resources, failed to fulfill their mandate of protecting civilians (Koops, Mac Queen, Tardy & Williams, 2015). Informal infrastructures for peace, like traditional justice providers in different parts of Nepal, have reportedly discriminated against marginalized groups, are politicized and corrupt, or use arbitrary methods of dispute resolution which perpetuate conflict dynamics (Saferworld, 2010). Other primary peace service providers in Nepal are astrologers. Astrologers are frequented for mental stress relief and assurance, yet their services may actually increase anxiety and depression in the user (Vyse, 1997).

Despite the mixed evidence of effectiveness, advocacy efforts promoting infrastructures for peace are well underway. Much of the literature on infrastructures for peace is normative in that it promotes the concept on the basis of case studies limited in time and geographical coverage. Data substantiating impacts as well as bottom-up perspectives are lacking. We hoped to balance the literature, by making a quantitative contribution.

Chapter 2:

Approach, definitions, questions

This study embraced a multidisciplinary approach in order to identify and test factors that determine peace and violence in various dimensions. Based on our analysis of the literature, we aimed to capture the diversity of factors identified, as well as the peacebuilding practice of supporting negative and positive peace. We considered this inclusive approach necessary to ensure breadth and objectivity, and to reduce the possibility that one particular framework would limit the complexity of this multifaceted topic.

Inspired by Galtung's (1996) diagnosis-prognosis-therapy framework as well as market study methodology, we took a user-centric perspective. This enabled us to identify 'peace needs' (diagnosis/need) and 'peace service' (therapy/offer) and to examine the interactions between them. In a bid to match diagnosis with therapy, we then developed specific peacebuilding recommendations to address the identified areas of concern (chapter 10).

The following key concepts and findings informed our approach:

- The distinction between positive and negative peace;
- The importance of mental health in peace and violence;
- The complex relation between peace at the individual, community, and national levels;
- The role of outsiders in supporting positive and negative peace.

From the above, we developed working definitions for peace, peace needs, and peace services:

Peace is an ideal state of being, dependent on multiple factors like the absence of violence (negative peace) and the presence of harmonious relationships (positive peace). A parallel can be drawn with health: Just like health is an ideal state of being, dependent on the absence of disease and the presence of a well-functioning immune system, so is peace dependent on the absence of violence and the presence of harmony.

Peace needs arise when individuals, communities, or states are destabilized by conflict and, as a result, experience an absence of positive and/or negative peace. The susceptibility to destabilization depends on internal factors like mental health, resilience, skill sets, and group dynamics, as well as external factors like resource loss, economic deprivation, and the availability of support systems.

Violent conflicts and therefore peace needs- can occur in different dimensions. According to the WHO (2014), violence is 'the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation.' This definition comprises the intrapersonal dimension ('against oneself'), the interpersonal dimension ('another person'), the intercommunity dimension ('group or community'), but not the citizen-state dimension. We however also included citizen-state, because conflicts between Nepal's citizens and the state regularly occur and likely impact relationships in the other three dimensions. Interstate conflicts, however, fell outside of its scope. Figure 1 illustrates the four dimensions of focus.

Figure 1: Intrapersonal, interpersonal, intercommunity, and citizen-state dimensions



Peace services are those services offered by third parties with the goal of addressing peace needs (Suurmond & Sharma, 2013). Peace services do not seek to fulfill survival needs, such as food and shelter. Other providers are better placed to do this. Instead, peace services focus on protecting and increasing the resources and skills of individuals, communities, and states to meet peace needs without the use of coercion. Peace services do so, for example, by supporting healing from trauma, building trust, deconstructing enemy images, and fostering cooperation (Danielsen, 2005).

Third parties providing these services are termed peace service providers. Peace services may be delivered through formal or informal infrastructures for peace. Recognizing that categories are not mutually exclusive, Table 1 provides examples of peace services and corresponding infrastructures for peace organized according to peace needs.

Table 1: Peace needs, peace services, infrastructures for peace

Peace needs	Peace service	Infrastructures for peace
Intrapersonal	Psychosocial counseling Addiction recovery support Mediation	Mental health post Rehabilitation centers Monasteries
Interpersonal	Conflict counseling Family mediation Nonviolent communication (NVC) training	dialogur facilitator pools Traditional justice providers NVC training institutes
Intercommunity	Community mediatioin Peace education Reconciliation support	community mediation committees National education poicies/guidelines Local peace committees
Citizen-state	Mediation Peacekeeping Early warning/early response	Nepal Transition to peace Initiative Schools as zones of peace Peace monitoring bureaus

The following seven questions guided this research:

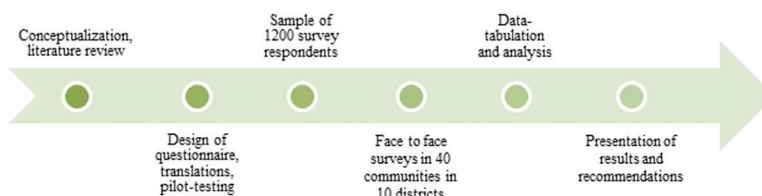
1. What are peace needs?
 - Which factors determine the dimension of intrapersonal peace?
 - Which factors determine the dimension of interpersonal peace?
 - Which factors determine the dimension of intercommunity peace?
 - Which factors determine the dimension of citizen-state peace?
2. What are peace services?
 - Which intrapersonal peace services do people use and who are the providers?
 - Which interpersonal peace services do people use and who are the providers?
 - Which intercommunity peace services do people use and who are the providers?
3. How satisfied are people with the peace services they receive and what is their impact?
4. Which peace services exist in their villages/municipalities?
5. Which peace services do people want that are currently unavailable?
6. Are people willing to pay for their use, and if yes, how much?
7. What are the relationships between peace needs, peace services, and peace and violence?
 - Hypothesis 1: The more peace there is, the less violence there is
 - Hypothesis 2: The more peace services are used, the less violence there is
 - Hypothesis 3: The more peace services are used, the more peace there is

The research questions are answered in chapters 5-9. In order to answer question 1, we constructed peace dimensions based on the factors (indicators) that emerged through statistical analysis from the data. The results showed that these dimensions by and large corresponded with our theoretically defined peace needs (chapter 5). To answer part one of question 2 ('what are peace services?'), we constructed peace service dimensions in a similar way (chapter 8). The remaining parts of question 2 (use and providers) as well as questions 3-6, were answered through respondents' answers to relevant questions (chapter 7). To be able to answer question 7, we constructed a violence index (chapter 6) and tested the three hypotheses using predictive methods (chapter 9). In addition, we explored how the peace dimensions, the violence index, and the peace service dimensions are related to different aspects, like district, gender, class, caste, and region, presenting only the significant results in the chapters 5, 6, and 8. The methodology used is explained in more detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Having presented the literature and approach, this chapter describes the research process including the design of the questionnaire, sampling, surveying, and data tabulation and analysis. Figure 2 gives an overview of the research stages.

Figure 2: Research stages



Design of the questionnaire

The first part of the questionnaire served to answer our research questions 2-6, pertaining to peace services, as mentioned in the previous chapter. It consisted of self-developed questions examining respondents; perceptions of peace and violence, as well as peace services and their use in the intrapersonal, interpersonal, intercommunity, and citizen-state dimensions. To answer our research question about peace needs (question 1), the second part of the questionnaire included the SCORE Index,¹ and the third part various socio-psychological tests. All three parts of the questionnaire served to answer our final research question on the relationships between peace needs, peace services, and violence and peace (question 7). The different parts are described in more detail below.

Part 1 of the questionnaire focused on understanding the behavior of respondents when selecting and using peace services and infrastructures for peace. Because this study is about peace in Nepal, we first wanted to know what peace means to the respondents. They were therefore asked to indicate situations in which they feel at peace, and situations in which they do not feel at peace. To assess the dimension of intrapersonal peace, we then asked respondents how often they experience painful feelings, including self-conscious emotions like shame, guilt, and regret, as well as anxiety and depression, and whether they seek external support for dealing with these feelings. Those respondents who indicated that they seek external support were subsequently requested to report who it is they go to; their reasons for selecting this person; what that person does to support them; how much this support helps them; and how often they sought support from this person in the last year. In this way, peace service providers, peace services, impact and frequency of use of service were identified. After checking which peace services exist in their community, we asked respondents to choose from a list of peace services those that, in their opinion, would best benefit their community members when they struggle with painful feelings. Designed on the basis of mental health and peacebuilding literature, the list included psychosocial counseling, meditation, and communication training as well as an open response option. Although not mentioned in the literature as interventions supporting wellbeing and/or peace, the list moreover included 'giving medication', 'forecasting the future', and 'advising on how to avert bad luck', because these are services commonly sought after in Nepal for the support of intrapersonal peace. Respondents were subsequently asked if they

¹ © United Nations Development Programme, 2012. *The Social Cohesion and Reconciliation (SCORE) Index is a tool to assess social cohesion and reconciliation*

would be willing to pay for the services they selected if this would be the only way of making them available; and if yes, which amount.

The remaining section of part 1 was dedicated to similar questions oriented to disputes with family (interpersonal dimension) and disputes with the community (intercommunity dimension). Questions were adapted to each dimension. For example for the interpersonal peace dimension, we included in the list of possible peace service providers the option of the Village Development Committee (VDC) secretary, because VDC secretaries sometimes mediate family disputes. For disputes within the village/municipality, we added political actors and traditional justice providers to the list of peace service providers to capture the reality of Nepalese citizens living in rural areas. Because conflicts between citizens and the state transcend the personal relationship, different questions were developed for this dimension. For instance, we asked which institutions help to prevent violence in the community; who in the community is advocating against discrimination and exclusion; and how many times the respondents experienced a dispute with a government agency in the last two years. Part 1 of the questionnaire also included demographic questions and concluded with several questions relating to respondents' perceptions of violence, conflict, and peace in their community.



Photo 1: Researchers practicing surveying

Part two of the questionnaire consisted of the Social Cohesion and Reconciliation (SCORE) Index. Originally developed by the Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD) in collaboration with the UNDP to assess social cohesion and reconciliation in Cyprus, the SCORE index was included in this study to measure intercommunity peace and citizen-state peace. We considered the SCORE index to be the most appro-

priate tool for this, because it explicitly examines indicators of negative and positive peace between groups and between citizens and the state. In addition, the index has successfully generated results in other countries. SCORE indicators of intercommunity peace were active discrimination, social threats, social distance, negative stereotypes, and intergroup anxiety. Indicators of citizen-state peace were trust in government institutions, freedom from corruption, civic engagement, and civic life satisfaction. We also included human security, as conceptualized by UNDP, to measure how secure people felt in terms of personal security (freedom from violence), economic security (secure basic income), and political security (freedom of expression and association).

The SCORE Index was calibrated to the Nepal context during a week-long workshop attended by the research director of SeeD and the chairperson of the Nepal Institute for Conflict Management, Peace, and Development. Calibration is necessary to ensure the relevance and appropriateness of the tool in each context. To illustrate, we briefly describe three adaptations below.

The first example relates to civic life satisfaction. Because in Nepal there is a clear divide between civic life at the local level (e.g. local economic development, local health care, safety and security in the village), versus civic life at the national level (e.g. effectiveness of national government, administration of justice), we measured these through separate scales instead of the original one to be

able to analyze them independently of each other.

The second example relates to corruption. Nepal is among the highest scoring countries on the 2015 Corruption Perception Index of Transparency International. Additional questions were therefore included to address the themes of political party corruption and civil service corruption.

The third example relates to identity groups. To be able to assess intercommunity peace, a number of Nepalese identity groups were selected. According to Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov (2010), Nepal is a collectivistic society. This means that Nepalese citizens tend to have a close, long-term commitment to the member group, be that a family, extended family, or extended relationships. Moreover, they often belong to multiple groups. Traditional group identities, such as those based on caste, ethnicity, and religion, exist alongside contemporary group identities, such as political party and region of residence. Informed by data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, the DFID-GIZ Risk Management Office, and the UN Resident Coordinator's Office, we selected those identity groups for which intergroup tensions had been reported. For example, at the time of research, a source of contention was the restructuring of the state. Political groups like the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), as well as ethnic groups like the Limbu, Madheshi, and Tharu were advocating for ethnic-based federalism. In order to capture these dynamics, questions to assess self-identification along the dimensions of caste, ethnicity, religion, political party, and region were incorporated.

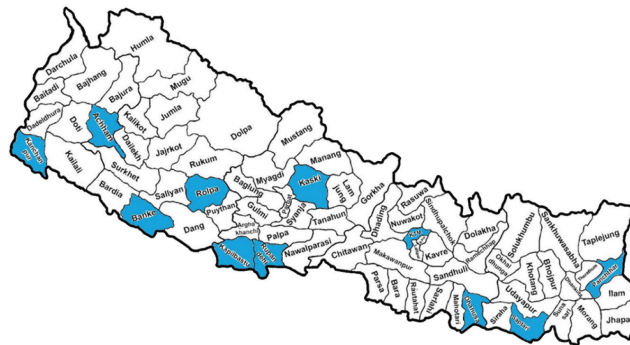
Part 3 of the questionnaire comprised multiple psychological scales. Previously validated scales were included for anxiety, depression, PTSD, substance use, aggression, anger, psychopathy, life-orientation, resilience, self-regulation, self-esteem, self-compassion, empathy, and conflict style. Furthermore, original scales were developed in the context of this study to measure victimization and social support. Annex 1 provides a detailed overview of the indicators, instruments, and example items.

The survey questionnaires were translated from English into Nepali, Maithili, Awadhi, Tharu, and Limbu following a rigorous control system. The translations were checked by professional translators and different versions piloted in the demographically distinct areas of Kirtipur, Samakushi, and Kalanki (Kathmandu); Kupondole (Lalitpur); and Katungi (Bhaktapur). Based on the results, we made several adaptations to the questionnaire. Because the self-report methodology of the scales in part 3 created confusion, we transformed all self-report statements to interview-style questions. For example, the Buss-Perry aggression scale item 'some of my friends think I'm a hothead' was rephrased to 'do some of your friends think that you are a hothead?' In addition, items were adapted to the local context and language. The same Buss-Perry item, for example, was eventually rephrased to 'do some of your friends think that you quickly become angry?' During the pilot study, respondents expressed impatience and fatigue with the duration of the questionnaire. To prevent this from becoming a problem in the main study, we reduced response options in part 2 and part 3; offered the respondents financial compensation by way of incentive; and instructed the researchers to take minimum one 10-minute break for which they were provided a tea and snack budget.

Sampling

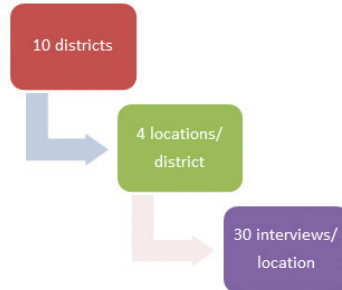
The survey encompassed 1200 respondents in 40 villages and towns located in 10 districts across the country (Map 1).

Map 1: Sampling districts



Purposive sampling was used to select districts, villages and identity groups based on the Nepal 2011 Census. Informed by data from the Nepal Central Bureau of Statistics, the DFID-GIZ Risk Management Office, and the UN Resident Coordinator's Office, districts were identified based on two parameters: The first was whether they formed 'hotspots' (areas with high potential for violence),² the second was their location (East-West, hill-flatlands). Villages and towns were selected based on their conflict potential and location (urban-rural). Identity groups were selected on the basis of caste, ethnicity, gender, religion, geography, and political party affiliation. Using voter lists and VDC data, random sampling was used to select respondents within the identity groups. Figure 3 gives an overview of the number of districts, locations, and interviews.

Figure 3: Number of districts, locations, and interviews



Annex 2 gives a detailed overview of the districts, locations, and number of surveys

Data collection took place between March and April 2015 and was, with the exception of 23 interviews, completed just before the Gorkha earthquake.³ Thirty researchers were selected on the basis of their work experience, training, and political neutrality. All researchers participated in four days of training. Each research team consisted of one researcher from Kathmandu and two researchers from the district. At least one of the team members was female and one a native local-language speaker. The teams were equipped with research guidelines, materials in Nepali and the local language, and letters from the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction and the Local District Officer endorsing the research.

2 Kapilvastu and Rupandehi were merged in order to include the Muslim community that lives on both sides of the border between these two districts

3. The Gorkha earthquake struck Kathmandu and surrounding districts on 25 April 2015. With a magnitude of 7.8 on the Richter scale, it killed 9000 people and destroyed more than 500,000 homes. Hundreds of aftershocks with a magnitude higher than 4 followed

Photos 2 and 3: Researchers administering questionnaire in Saptari district



Surveying, data tabulation, analysis

The questionnaire was administered face-to-face in the mother tongue of the participants by researchers who are also native speakers over the course of on average 2,5 hours. The lead researcher assigned an interviewer to make the first contact with each of the households selected by personal visit or by phone. Suitable respondents were considered to be any capable adult member (age 18-65) of the household and were interviewed by one or two researchers alone. The research teams rotated the role of interviewer to match the gender of the respondent in order to increase comfort. All respondents provided informed consent before participating in the survey and statements to this effect were read before the interview started. A coding system was used to maintain the anonymity of the respondents. Following each interview, surveys were checked for accuracy and completeness. Every research team was visited at least once by the Pro Public monitoring team. The data were tabulated in the computer program IBM SPSS Statistics 21 by Pro Public staff and researchers in Kathmandu in June and July 2015. Data were analyzed by the Pro Public-SeeD team over the course of August-December 2015.

Chapter 4:

Demographic data

This chapter describes the sample through the presentation of various demographic data. A total of 1177 household survey respondents were included in the analysis.⁴ The number of male and female participants was roughly equal (51.8% men, 47.8% women, 0.3% other). The majority of the participants were of age 18 to 35 (44.4%) or of age 36 to 55 (40.6%) and 15% of the total sample was of age 56 and above. Tables 2-8 present the sample breakdown by education, perceived class, main income source, religion, support for political party, and self-assigned ethnic identity and caste.⁵

Table 2: Respondents breakdown by education

Level of education	n (%)
No education/beginners only	225 (19.1)
Primary school/ incomplete	46 (3.9)
Primary school/completed (1-5)	104 (8.8)
Lower secondary secondary school (6-8)	122 (10.4)
Secondary (9-10)	129 (11.0)
SLC & equivalent	162 (13.8)
Intermediate & equivalent	154 (13.1)
Graduate & equivalent	100 (8.5)
Post-graduate & equivalent	25 (2.1)

Table 3: Respondents breakdown by perceived class

Perceived class	n (%)
Lower class	349 (29.2)
Middle class	816 (69.1)
Upper class	22 (1.6)

Table 4: Respondents breakdown by main income source

Income source	n (%)
Farming & animal husbandry	379 (32.2)
Regular Job	232 (19.7)
Business	194 (16.5)
Inheritance & pension	191 (16.2)
Wage labor	181 (15.4)

⁴ 23 interviews were lost in the Gorkha earthquake

⁵ Because the average missing response rate was less than 2%, we do not report on missing values. In dealing with missing data, we chose the average imputation strategy assuming that they were missing at random. This means that we used the average value of the responses from the other participants to fill in the missing value

Table 5: Respondents breakdown by religion

Religion	n (%)
Hindu	843 (71.6)
Buddhist	148 (12.6)
Kirat	88 (7.5)
Christian	16 (1.4)
Ohter	8 (0.7)

Table 6: Respondents breakdown by political party support

Political party	n (%)
Nepali Congress	373 (31.7)
CPN-UML	281 (23.9)
No political party	214 (18.2)
UCPN-Maoist	97 (8.2)
RPP Nepal	43 (3.7)
Madheshi parties	38 (3.2)
Maoist splinter parties	11 (0.9)
Dalit Janajati party	7 (0.6)
Jana Mukti party	4 (0.3)

Table 7: Respondents breakdown by self-assigned (ethnic) identity

Identity,	n (%)
Brahmin	143 (12.1)
Chettri	140 (11.9)
Magar	84 (7.1)
Tharu	78 (6.6)
Yadav	74 (6.3)
Kami	73 (6.2)
Musalman	68 (5.8)
Thakuri	67 (5.7)
Other identity	66(5.6)
Gurung	64 (5.4)
Teli	61 (5.2)
Limbu	59 (4.7)
Tamang	55 (4.7)
Newar	53 (4.5)
Rai	53 (4.5)
Damai/Dholi	35 (3.0)

Table 8: Respondents breakdown by self-assigned caste

Caste	n (%)
Vaishya	367 (31.2)
Chettri	209 (17.8)
Sudra (Dalits)	147 (12.5)
Brahmin	146 (12.4)
Not in any caste	129 (11.0)

Highlight: What is peace?

The first question respondents answered was: 'When do you feel at peace?' and 'When do you not feel at peace?' Respondents could select five situations from a list of 24, including an open answer option. Situations included 'when you are in a quiet place', 'when your leaders don't care about you', and 'when there are disputes in your family'. Statistical cluster analysis revealed that respondents' concepts of peace could be distinguished into four separate groups:

1. Those with a sense of peace predominantly based on social hierarchy
2. Those with a sense of peace predominantly based on community wellbeing
3. Those with a sense of peace predominantly based on acceptance by others
4. Those with a sense of peace predominantly based on personal achievement

Interestingly, these categories only refer to positive peace. None of the respondents associated peace directly to violence or physical security.

Chapter 5:

The peace dimensions

In this chapter, we explain how we constructed the peace dimensions in order to answer research question 1: 'What are peace needs?' We then present the peace scores according to district, gender, class, caste, and region, reporting only statistically significant between-groups differences.

The construction of the peace dimensions

As described in chapter 3, we theorized various indicators for four peace dimensions: Intrapersonal peace, interpersonal peace, intercommunity peace, and citizen-state peace. Through statistical construct validation, we tested whether those indicators were indeed relevant for the corresponding dimension and whether they cross-loaded on multiple dimensions (e.g. on intrapersonal and interpersonal peace). Specifically, we looked for those factors that had a significant and unique relation with the dimensions. In order to do this, we first checked the internal consistency of the scale of each indicator (Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient; values between 0.7-0.8 were considered acceptable) and then carried out an exploratory factor analysis to assess whether items measuring one construct also loaded onto another construct despite high internal consistency. Factor analysis is a statistical technique for identifying whether the correlations between a set of observed variables stem from their relationship to one or more latent variables in the data (Field, 2014). In the exploratory factor analysis, we let go of theory and included all the variables to see which would load on which dimension. The results were confirmed with a confirmatory factor analysis. On the basis of this analysis, we identified five, instead of the theorized four, peace dimensions: Intrapersonal peace, interpersonal peace, intercommunity peace, citizen-state peace, and material peace.

The meaning of the numbers

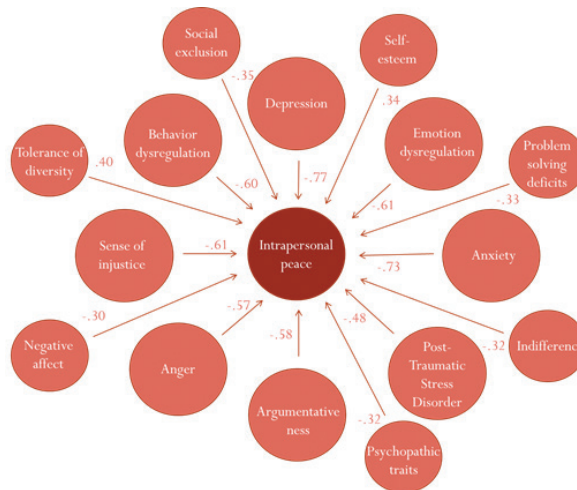
The numbers presented in this chapter for the peace dimensions, the violence index, and the peace service dimensions are mean values, or rather scores, on each of the dimensions or indicators. All scores range between 0 and 10, where 0 and 10 mean different things depending on the valence of the indicator. The name of the indicators or the dimensions suggests their valence. For example, if we take the variable 'trust in governmental institutions', then higher scores (scores closer to 10) will indicate more trust towards institutions; whereas in the example of the violence index, higher scores (scores closer to 10) indicate a greater propensity for violence. For the overall peace score, higher numbers represent higher peace.

The results demonstrated that the optimal solution involved measuring intrapersonal peace by 15 indicators. Some of the indicators we had theorized would load onto this dimension (such as spouse support and life orientation (optimism vs pessimism) did in fact not, and were therefore excluded from the model. Below, we describe the dimensions' characteristics on the basis of our data analysis.

Intrapersonal peace appears to refer to the extent that one is at peace with oneself. This includes being in a sound mental and emotional state, feeling included and fairly treated, and tolerating diversity. Figure 4 shows the 15 factors and the strength of their relationship to intrapersonal peace. The closer their value is to 1, the stronger the relationship. A negative value indicates an inverse relationship to the dimension. The loadings suggest that depression and anxiety are the strongest inverse components of intrapersonal peace. An alternative name for intrapersonal peace could be 'absence of psychological distress', given the components of the factor. For purposes of this re-

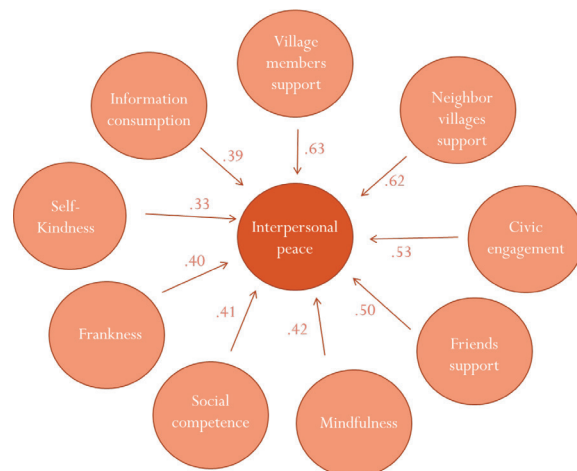
search, we assumed that when people are free from extreme sadness, anxiety, low self-esteem, or anger, they are free from psychological distress and therefore at peace with themselves.

Figure 4: Indicators of intrapersonal peace and their loadings



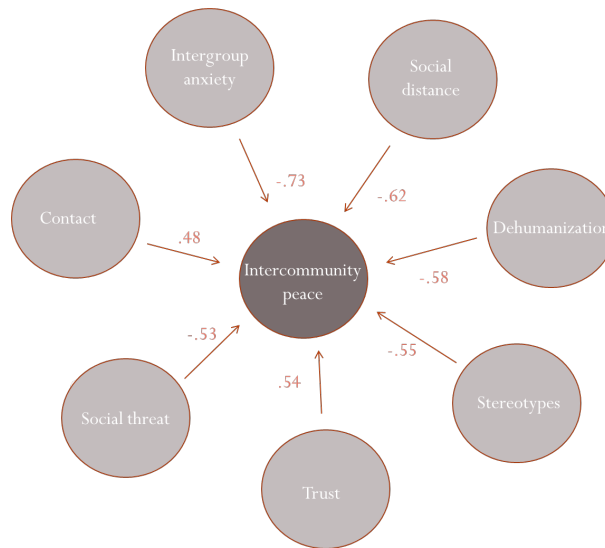
Interpersonal peace seems to refer to how one relates with other individuals in one's own environment, to the psychological qualities that enable peaceful interpersonal relations (e.g. frankness and mindfulness), and to whether one is supported by the members of his/ her environment. Figure 5 presents the indicators of interpersonal peace along with their loadings. As seen in the figure, 'village members support' and 'neighbor villages support; are the two strongest indicators of interpersonal peace.

Figure 5: Indicators of interpersonal peace and their loadings



Intercommunity peace appears to refer to how open one is to peaceful relations with members of other groups and/or communities. Figure 6 presents the indicators of intercommunity peace and how they load on the dimension. The strongest inverse indicators of intercommunity peace are intergroup anxiety and social distance.

Figure 6: Indicators of intercommunity peace and their loadings



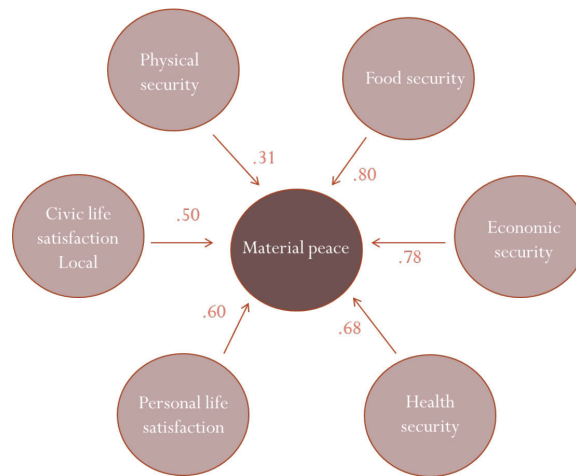
Citizen-state peace appears to refer to the nature of the relationship between the citizen and the state. The indicators of citizen-state peace are presented in Figure 7 along with their loadings on the dimension. The strongest indicators of the citizen-state peace were national civic life satisfaction and trust in governmental institutions.

Figure 7: Indicators of citizen-state peace and their loadings



Material peace refers to whether one has all that is necessary (e.g. food security and physical security) to feel satisfied with life at a personal and a local level. The indicators of material peace are presented in the figure below along with their loadings on the dimension of material peace. As can be seen, the strongest indicators of material peace are food and economic security.

Figure 8: Indicators of material peace and their loadings



Together these findings led to the following dimensions of the experience of being at peace, summarized in Figure 9.

Figure 9: Peace dimensions and indicators



In conclusion, our answer to research question 1: 'What are peace needs and which factors determine intrapersonal, interpersonal, intercommunity, and citizen-state peace?' is: Peace needs are the indicators constituting the peace dimensions that emerged from the factor analysis. Thus, in this sample peace needs fall into five categories: Intrapersonal, interpersonal, intercommunity, citizen-state, and material. The two most important peace needs/factors of intrapersonal peace in this study are reduced depression and anxiety. The two most important peace needs determining interpersonal peace are the support of village members and of neighboring village members. For intercommunity peace, the two strongest peace needs are reduced intergroup anxiety and social distance, while for citizen-state peace they are national civic life satisfaction and trust in government institutions. Finally, food and economic security are the strongest peace needs determining material peace.

To explore the peace needs of different groups in Nepal, we in turn ran analyses of variance (ANOVAs) to test whether there were significant differences between the peace dimensions scores of various groups. The following section presents the results of these between-groups analyses for each of the five peace dimensions by district, gender, class, caste, and region.

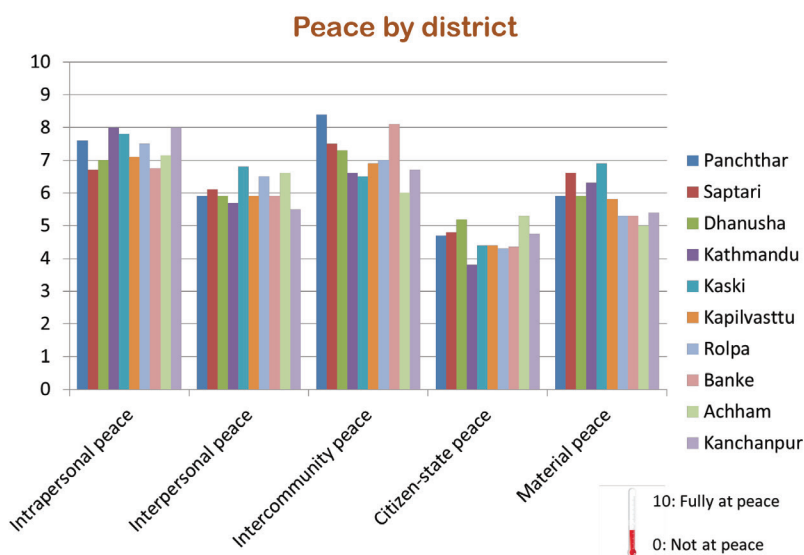
Overall peace score

The peace score of this sample, calculated as the average score of the districts on the five peace dimensions, is a moderate score of 6.2 on a 0-10 scale (where '0' represents not at all being at peace and '10' very much at peace).

Comparison of peace scores by district

Generally, scores on intrapersonal and intercommunity peace were relatively high, on interpersonal peace and on material peace neutral, and on citizen-state peace low. We found statistically significant differences between the districts on all five peace dimensions. Figure 10 shows the peace dimensions scores per district.

Figure 10: Peace dimension scores by district



Regarding **intrapersonal peace** the biggest discrepancies across districts are between Kanchanpur and Kathmandu where the scores are very high (8 on a 0-10 scale) and Saptari and Banke, where scores are around 6.5. More specifically, Banke scored highest on depression, sense of injustice, anxiety and lack of behavior regulation, whereas Saptari scored highest on lack of emotion regulation, argumentativeness, indifference, anger, and PTSD. These indicators are the reason why of all districts, Saptari and Banke have the lowest scores on intrapersonal peace in this study.

As far as **interpersonal peace** is concerned, the district Kaski was the district with the highest scores (nearing 7 on scale ranging from 0 to 10). The district Kanchanpur scored lowest on this dimension (around 5.5 on a 0-10 scale), followed by Kathmandu. Kaski scored highest on the indicators village/town member support, neighboring villages' support, and self-kindness. It was one of the highest scoring districts on mindfulness. Kathmandu and Kanchanpur scored the lowest, or were among the lowest scoring districts, on the indicators village/town member support, social competence, and frankness.

Moving on to **intercommunity and citizen-state peace**, one of the most noteworthy findings is that the capital district of Kathmandu is found to have the lowest scores across districts on the citizen-state dimension of peace, and to be on the lower end for intercommunity peace too. With

regard to the latter dimension of peace, intercommunity peace, Kathmandu only scored higher than Achham district. Kathmandu (as well as the districts Kaski and Achham) scored substantially lower than the districts of Panchthar and Banke in particular. The intercommunity peace scores for the latter two districts are remarkably high (around 8 on a 10-point scale), thus showing very peaceful intercommunity relations. The mean average of the lowest scoring districts, by contrast, is at about 6 out of 10 which indicates lukewarm intercommunity relations. The most noteworthy differences across districts occurred on the following indicators of intercommunity peace: Intergroup anxiety, social distance, and negative stereotypes (Panchthar scored lowest), social threats (Kathmandu scored highest), dehumanization (Achham scored highest), intergroup contact (Achham scored lowest), and intergroup trust (Panchthar scored highest).

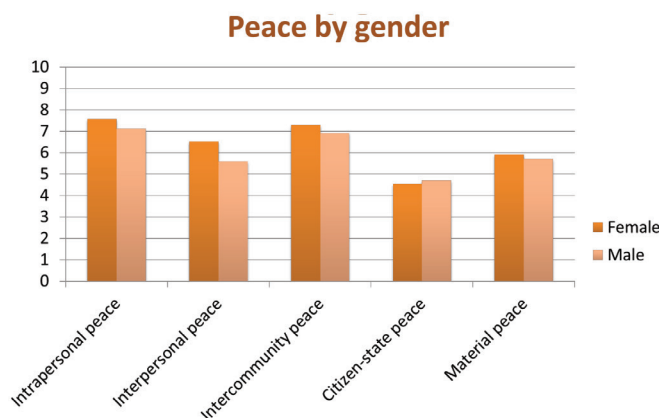
Kathmandu, which is the district that scored lowest on citizen-state peace (slightly below 4 on a 10-point scale), was significantly different from districts Dhanusha and Achham. These two districts scored highest on citizen-state peace, with an average score of 5.2 out of 10. The indicators causing Kathmandu to be scoring so low on citizen-state peace were trust in governmental institutions, trust in local institutions, perceptions of corruption, and perceived government support.

Finally, with respect to **material peace**, the district Kaski stands out as the district with the highest levels, whereas the districts of Rolpa, Banke, Kanchanpur, and especially Achham scored the lowest on this peace dimension. The material peace levels in Kaski in fact are rather high (approximately 7), whereas the scores for the districts that are at the lowest end are around 5 (on a 0-10 scale). The indicators of material peace on which Kaski outweighed the remaining districts (and particularly the ones that scored the lowest) were food and health security, as well as personal life satisfaction and local-level civic life satisfaction.

Comparison of peace scores by gender

Figure 11 presents the scores of male and female respondents on each of the five peace dimensions. As can be seen, intrapersonal peace, followed by intercommunity peace, are the peace dimensions on which the respondents regardless of their gender scored the highest. Citizen-state peace is the peace dimension on which both genders scored the lowest. Apart from this dimension, we found differences between the two genders on all other dimensions of peace. More specifically, women scored higher than men on every dimension of peace except citizen-state peace. The highest discrepancy between gender scores occurred for interpersonal peace.

Figure 11: Peace dimension scores by gender



On the specific indicators for **intrapersonal peace**, men scored significantly higher than women on depression, anxiety, sense of injustice, emotion and behavior dysregulation, PTSD, social exclusion, tolerance of diversity, self-esteem, problem-solving deficits, and negative affect. Differences between the scores of men and women on argumentativeness, anger, psychopathic traits and indifference were statistically non-significant.

Women scored significantly higher than men on all indicators for **interpersonal peace**, including neighboring village support, village support, friends support, mindfulness, social competence, civic engagement, information consumption, social competence, self-kindness, and frankness.

On the indicators relevant to **intercommunity peace**, men scored significantly higher than women on social distance, intergroup anxiety, overall trust, and overall contact between groups. An explanation for this could be that men are more likely to engage in contact with other groups because they are less bound to household responsibilities. In turn, this increased contact has consequences that are positive in some cases (increased trust, an expected outcome of positive contact), but negative in other cases (increased intergroup anxiety and increased social distance, which are both expected outcomes of negative contact). Given that the overall intercommunity peace is lower in men than in women, the negative consequences appear to be more prevalent than the positive. No significant differences were found between the scores of men and women on social threats, negative stereotypes, and dehumanization.

Of the **citizen-state peace** indicators, the scores of men for perceived corruption were significantly higher than those of women. No significant differences were found between the scores of men and women on trust in local institutions, trust in government institutions, national civic life satisfaction, and perceived support from the government. Both men and women scored highest on trust in local institutions and lowest on perceived corruption.

Significant differences were found between the scores of women and men on two of the indicators for **material peace**: Personal life satisfaction and physical security, on which men scored significantly lower than women.

Comparison of peace scores by class

Figure 12 presents the scores of the three groups of the category 'self-identified economic class' on each of the five peace dimensions. It should be noted that we excluded the third group (upper class) from the between-groups analysis, because of its small sample size (n for each group: Lower class: 349 respondents; middle class: 797 respondents, and upper-class: 22 respondents). That means we only compared the peace dimensions of the lower and middle class.

As can be seen in the figure, citizen-state peace was the dimension of peace on which all three groups scored lowest and which had the smallest discrepancies between the groups. The peace dimension for which the greatest discrepancies occurred was material peace: Those identifying themselves as lower class, scored significantly lower on material peace than those identifying themselves as middle class.

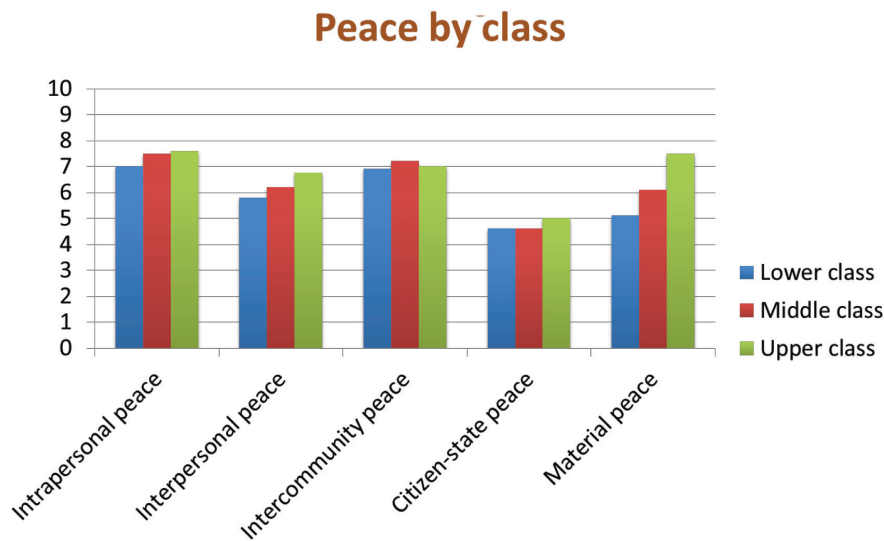
Small but significant differences for those identifying themselves as lower class and those identifying themselves as middle class were found for the intrapersonal and the intercommunity peace dimensions. Regarding **intrapersonal peace**, the indicator-level group comparison yielded significant differences between the two groups for depression, anxiety, sense of injustice, lack

of emotion regulation, social exclusion, problem-solving deficits, negative affect, and lack of self-esteem, with the lower class scoring significantly higher than the middle class on those.

Regarding **intercommunity peace**, between-group differences were found for intergroup anxiety, intercommunity contact and intercommunity trust indicators. People identifying themselves as lower class were less trusting of other communities, more anxious to meet other communities, and also reported having had less contact with them.

Significant between-group differences were found for almost all indicators of **material peace**. Those individuals perceiving themselves as belonging to the middle class, scored significantly higher on economic, food, and health security, as well as on personal life satisfaction than those individuals identifying themselves as belonging to the lower class.

Figure 12: Peace dimension scores by class



Comparison of peace scores by caste

Figure 13 presents the scores of each of the main **castes** in Nepal (Brahmin, Chettri, Vaishya, and Sudra) on all peace dimensions in this sample. Citizen-state peace was the dimension of peace on which all castes scored lowest. Of all castes, the one that stands out is the Sudra caste. People identifying with the Sudra caste scored lowest across all peace dimensions, apart from citizen-state peace.

With regards to **intrapersonal peace**, Sudras had the lowest score (7 on a 10-point scale). This score is significantly lower than the scores of all other groups, which had an average of 7.5 out of 10. The indicator-level analysis showed that Sudras scored significantly higher on depression, anxiety, social exclusion, negative affect, and reduced self-esteem, compared to people identifying with the other castes.

Brahmins scored highest on **interpersonal peace** and Sudras the lowest. The other two castes ranked in between. Chettris scored significantly higher than Vaishyas and Sudras, and Vaishyas scored significantly lower than Brahmins. The indicators responsible for the discrepancies between castes, were social competence and information consumption (Brahmins scoring higher than every other

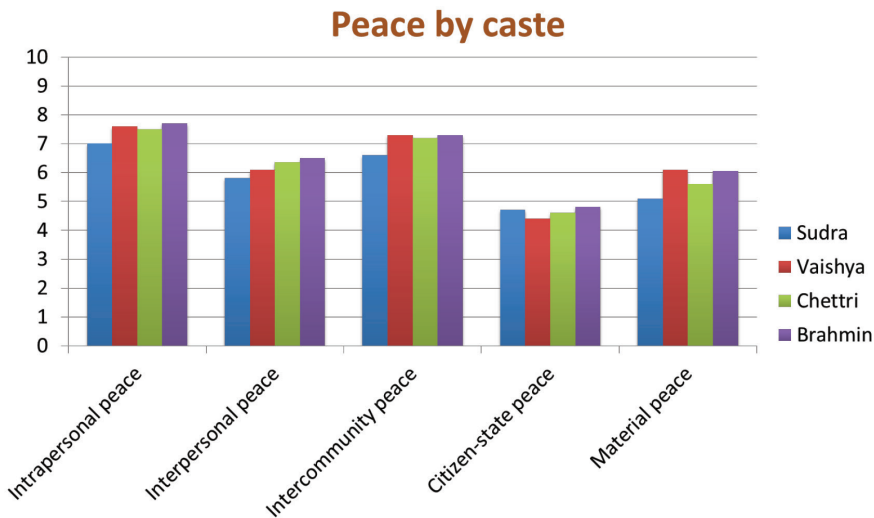
caste) and civic engagement (Brahmins scoring higher than Sudras and Vaishyas). Vaishyas scored lower than Brahmins and Chettris on self-kindness.

As far as **intercommunity peace** is concerned, the only group that stood out was the Sudras. They scored lower on this dimension than all other castes. The indicators that differentiated Sudras from the other castes were intergroup contact and intergroup anxiety. Respondents identifying with the Sudra caste, reported being more anxious to meet people from other communities and that they have had less contact with people from other communities, than respondents identifying with the other castes.

Citizen-state peace was the peace dimension for which the fewest and the smallest inter-caste differences were observed. The only small, but significant, difference we found was between Vaishyas and Brahmins (Vaishyas scoring lower). Vaishyas, more specifically, scored lower than Brahmins and Chettris on trust in local institutions and trust in government institutions, but did not differ significantly from Sudras.

Sudras were followed by Chettris for **material peace**, with the latter group scoring significantly higher than the first on this dimension. Both groups scored significantly lower than both the Brahmins and the Vaishyas. At the indicator level, Sudras and Chettris scored lower than the other two groups on food and health security, whereas Sudras scored lower than all other castes on personal life satisfaction.

Figure 13: Peace dimension scores by caste



Finally, we provide an overview of the different peace dimensions by region.

Comparison of peace scores by region

Figure 14 shows the means of the scores of people living in Nepal's hills (Pahad) versus people living in the flatlands (Terai) on all five peace dimensions. As can be seen, people of both regions scored lowest on the citizen-state dimension of peace: Both groups scored below 5 on a 10-point scale. In terms of low levels, citizen-state peace is followed by material and interpersonal peace for both people living in the hills and people living in the flatlands.

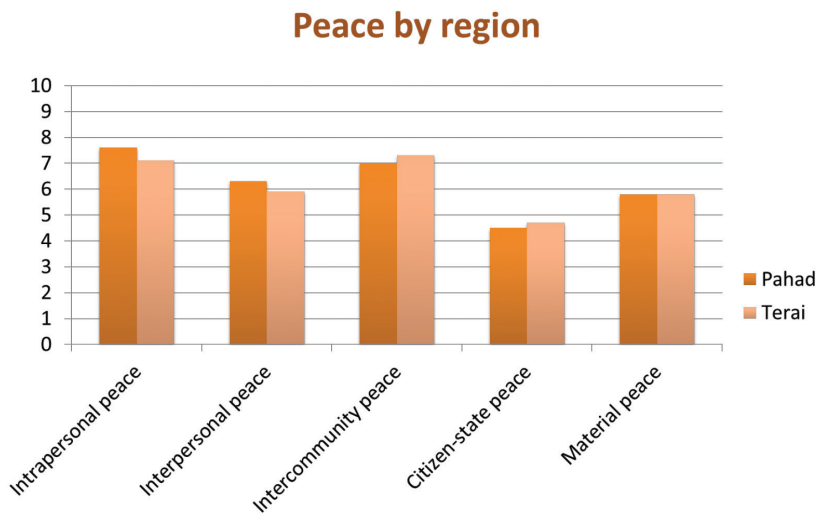
There are some discrepancies between people of both regions with respect to their peace scores. The largest differences were found for intrapersonal and interpersonal peace: People living in the hills scored significantly higher on these than people living in flatlands.

Regarding **intrapersonal peace**, people living in the flatlands scored higher than people living in the hills on the indicators of depression, anxiety, lack of emotion and behavior regulation, anger, PTSD, indifference, psychopathic traits, and lack of tolerance for diversity.

Regarding **interpersonal peace**, people living in the hills scored higher than people living in the flatlands on having the support of members of their own village, members of neighboring villages, and friends, as well as on frankness.

Inhabitants of the flatlands scored higher than those inhabiting the hills on **intercommunity and citizen-state peace**. The indicators accounting for the difference in intercommunity peace were social distance, social threats, intergroup trust and intergroup contact. This means that inhabitants of Nepal's flatlands experienced lower social distance and lower social threats towards other communities, as well as more trust towards and more contact with them. The indicators responsible for the between-regions discrepancy for citizen-state peace were trust in governmental and trust in local institutions, with people in the flatlands scoring higher on both.

Figure 14: Peace dimension scores by region



Highlight: Intercommunity peace between Pahad and Terai

We had a closer look at intercommunity peace between various groups in Nepal. Key indicators of the intercommunity peace dimension were intergroup anxiety, social distance, dehumanization, negative stereotypes, trust, threat perception, and intergroup contact towards other groups. Annex 1 contains example items for each.

Scores below 6 (on a scale 0-10) suggest a low level of intercommunity peace towards another group, while scores above 8 suggest a high level of intercommunity peace towards another group. Scores in between indicate a neutral/ambivalent state of peace towards another group.*

Figure 15 shows the level of intercommunity peace between two regions in Nepal, the hills (Pahad) and the flatlands (Terai). As can be seen, people living in Terai experience more intercommunity

peace towards people living in the hills, than vice versa.**

Figure 15: Intercommunity peace between Pahad and Terai



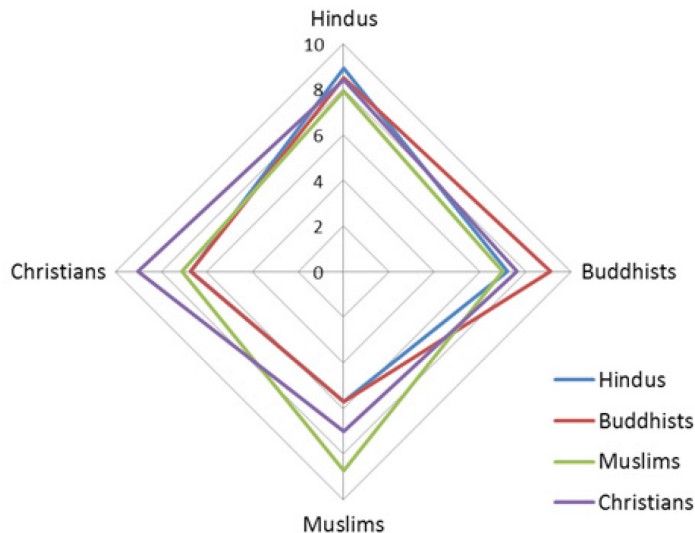
* For more details regarding the methodology: <http://www.scoreforpeace.org/methodology>

** This survey was administered before the promulgation of the constitution and the subsequent border blockade

Highlight: Intercommunity peace between religions

An analysis of religious groups revealed that Hindus scored rather low on intercommunity peace towards Christians and especially Muslims, while Muslims and especially Christians scored relatively high towards Hindus. The small sample size of Christians (n=16), however, prevents us from drawing firm conclusions based on their scores. Overall, Muslims received the lowest scores, as can be seen in Figure 16.

Figure 16: Intercommunity peace between Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, and Muslims



Intercommunity peace scores towards other individuals of the same religion (i.e. the scores of one Hindu towards another Hindu, or a Muslim towards another Muslim) were high for every religion: All approximately around 9.

Highlight: Intercommunity peace between political parties

We also looked at the intercommunity peace levels of supporters of different political parties. Table 9 displays the highest and lowest scores for supporters of each political party. As can be seen, the supporters of the three largest parties of Nepal who participated in this study, including supporters of the UCPN-Maoist party (based on the 2013 elections), as well as of the Rastriya Prajatantra party, feel close to Hindus and Pahadis, but distant from Muslims. Due to the relatively small sample size of the supporters of Madheshi political parties (n=38), we are not able to draw conclusions from their scores.

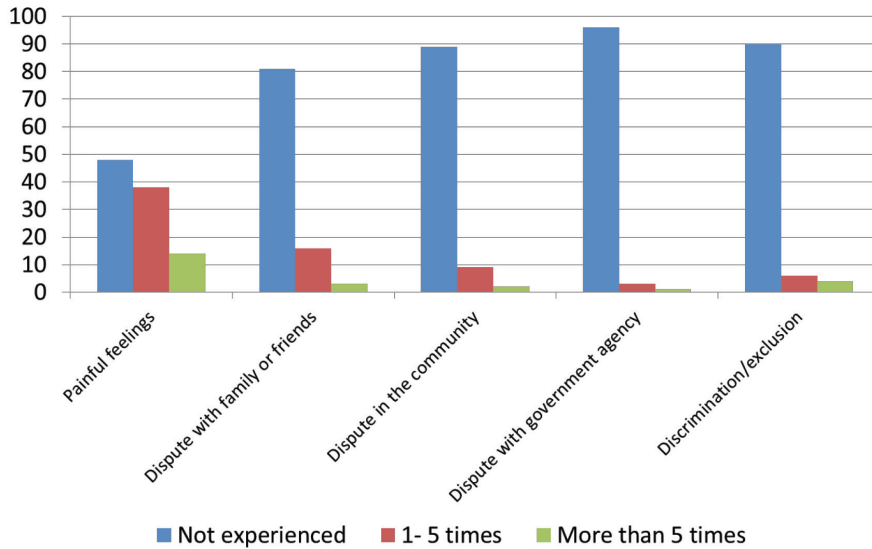
Table 9: Intercommunity peace estimations of political party supporters towards other groups

Support of these parties/ groups	...score high (>8) on intercommunity peace towards..... but moderate to low (<6,5) on intercommunity peace towards
Nepali congress party	Hindus Pahadis Chettris	CPN-Maoist splinter parties supporters Muslims
CPN-UML party	Hindus Pahadis	Madheshis Muslims
UCPN-Maoist party	Hindus Pahadis	Madheshis Muslim
Rastriya Prajatantra Party	Hindus Pahadis	Madheshis UCPN-Maoist supporters CPN-Maoist splinter parties Supporters Muslims
Madhrshi political parties (n=38)	Hindus Madheshis Yadav's	UCPN-Maoist supporters Magar Newars CPN-Maoist splinter parties supporters (all scores <6)

Highlight: Frequency of reduced peace experience

Respondents reported how often they had experienced reduced peace like painful feelings, disputes, and/or discrimination for longer than two weeks in the last two years. As can be seen in Figure 17 (in %), the majority had not had those experiences. Most often reported were 'painful feelings', followed by 'disputes with family or friends.'

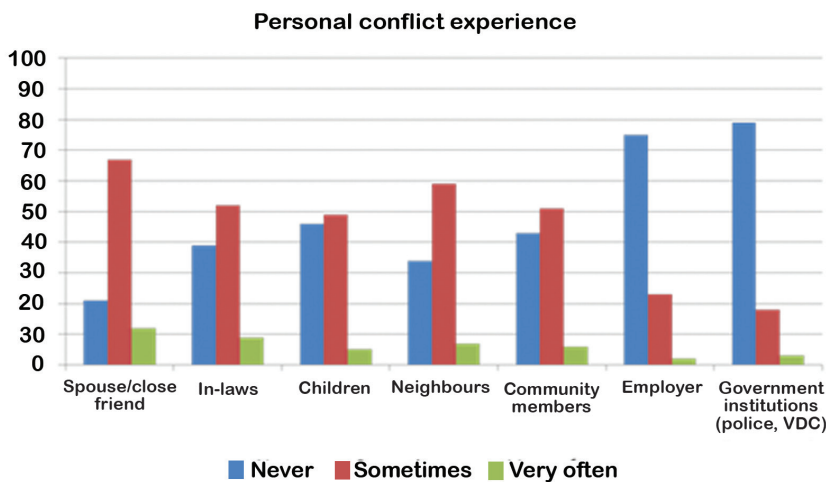
Figure 17: Frequency of reduced peace experience



Highlight: Personal conflict experience

Respondents also indicated with whom they personally experienced most conflict. As can be seen in Figure 18 (in %), most conflicts seem to have occurred between respondents and their spouse or intimate friend, followed by conflicts with neighbors.

Figure 18: Parties to personal conflict



Chapter 6:

The violence index

The violence index was created to help answer research question 7: 'What are the relationships between peace needs, peace services, and peace and violence?' In chapter 9, we answer this question. This chapter describes how we constructed the violence index and presents the violence scores according to the same five categories as the peace scores: By district, gender, class, caste, and region. Only significant results of these between-group analyses are reported.

The construction of the violence index

Created in the style of socio-economic indexes and based on theory, the index relates to the propensity of an individual to resort to violent behavior. Five types of violence constituted the violence index: Physical violence, political violence, substance use (understood as violence against oneself), active discrimination (derogatory behaviors towards members of other groups), and community disputes, along with criminal tendency (an individual's tendency to engage in criminal behavior). The indicators comprising the violence index are shown in Figure 19.

Figure 19: Violence index and indicators



Overall violence score

The average score on the violence index across the 10 districts was low: 0.86 on a scale from 0 to 10 (where '0' represents not violent at all, and '10' very violent).

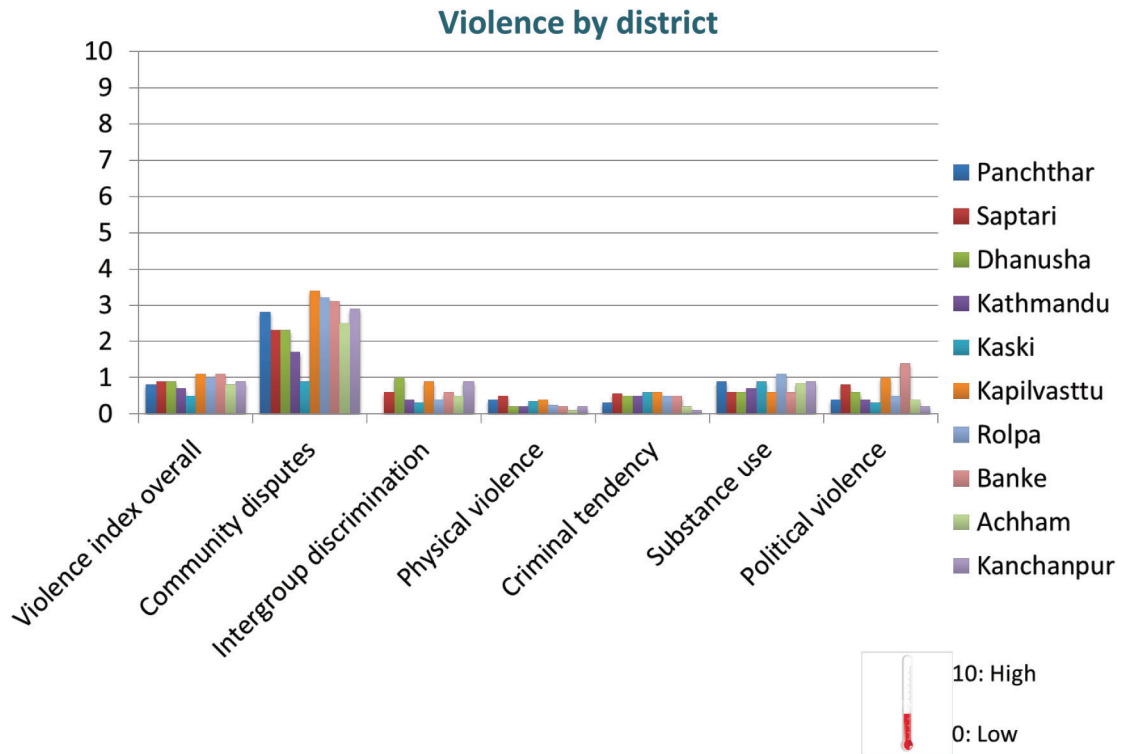
Comparison of violence scores by district

Figure 20 presents the scores of each of the 10 districts on the overall violence index (first set of columns) and the scores of each district on the various indicators of the index. Overall, the district with the lowest violence score was Kaski (0.5, on a 0-10 scale). The two districts with the highest scores were Banke and Kapilvastu (both 1.1).

The indicator that elicited the highest scores was community disputes, while physical violence was the indicator of the violence index on which most districts scored lowest.

We found significant differences across districts on almost all indicators, community disputes and political violence causing the largest discrepancies. Apart from substance use and criminal tendency, Kaski scored lowest, or was one of the lowest scoring districts, for all indicators. Kapilvastu and Banke scored significantly higher than all or most other districts on community disputes and political violence. Dhanusha, Kapilvastu, and Kanchanpur were the districts that scored higher on intergroup discrimination.

Figure 20: Violence index scores by district

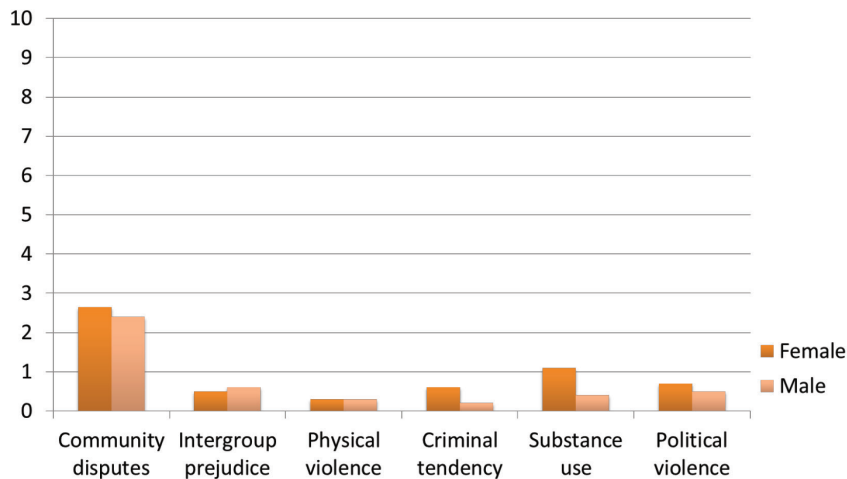


Comparison of violence scores by gender

The overall scores on the violence index were 1.0 for women and 0.7 for men (on a 0-10 scale). Figure 21 shows the scores of the two genders on each of the indicators of the index.

There are a few differences between men and women. These were found for the indicators community disputes, criminal tendencies and substance use. Women scored higher than men on all of these. There were no other gender differences for the remaining indicators.

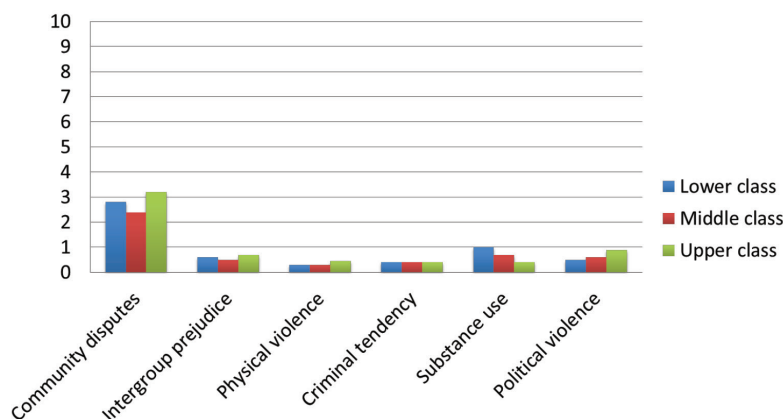
Figure 21: Violence index scores by gender
Violence by gender



Comparison of violence scores by class

The overall violence score of people identifying themselves as belonging to the lower class was 0.9. The score of people identifying themselves as middle class was 0.8. The score of those identifying themselves as upper class was 1.0. None of these inter-class differences on the overall violence score was significant and there was no substantial discrepancy between the two classes whose sample size allowed for comparison (lower and middle class) on any of the indicators either (figure 22).

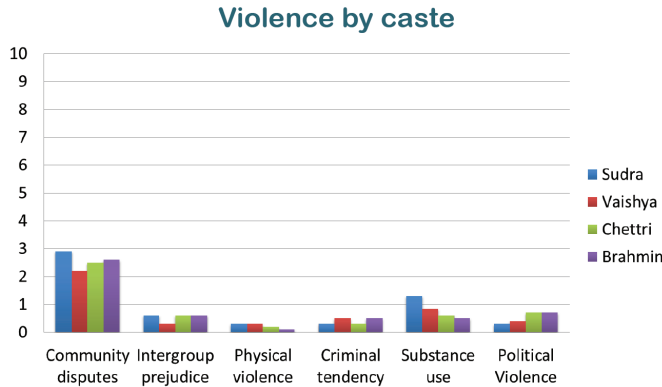
Figure 22: Violence index scores by class
Violence by class



Comparison of violence scores by caste

Figure 23 shows the scores of each of the main castes in this sample for all the indicators that make up the violence index. There are only a few differences across castes on these variables. The two that stand out from the rest are the Vaishyas and the Sudras. Vaishya is the caste that reports the lowest score on community disputes, in contrast to Sudras who report the highest score on this indicator. Compared to all other groups, the Vaishyas also score lowest on intergroup discrimination, while the Sudras score highest on substance use.

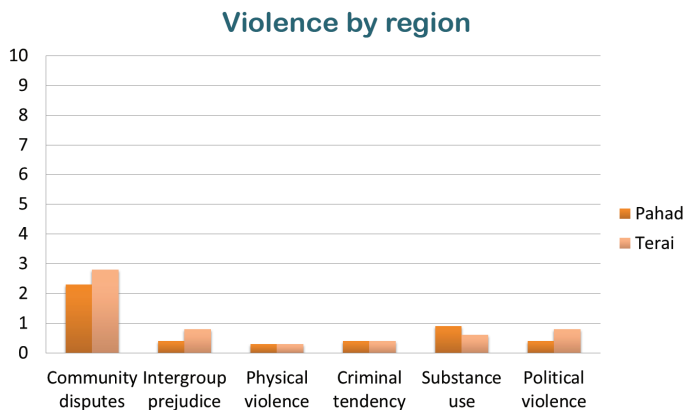
Figure 23: Violence index scores by caste



Comparison of violence scores by region

Figure 24 presents the means of the scores of people living in the hills (Pahad) versus people living in the flatlands (Terai) on all the indicators of the violence index.

Figure 24: Violence index scores by region



Though small, there were some statistically significant differences between the two regions on the following: People living in the flatlands scored higher than people living in the hills on community disputes, intergroup discrimination, and political violence; whereas people in the hills scored higher than people in the flatlands on substance use.

Highlight: Perceptions of violence

When asked about their perceptions of violence in their village or town, only 17 percent of the respondents indicated that they thought there had been more violence in their village or town this year compared to last year.

The majority (77%) of the respondents indicated they believed less violence had taken place in their village or town.

“In Rolpa mostly cases like domestic violence and suicide are higher in rate. In order to reduce these sort of things, education and self awareness is a must” –District Police Officer, Rolpa

“Domestic violence and violence within the so-called lower caste groups still prevail in the society. In my opinion, because of increasing awareness and education, violence has more or less been reduced in this area. Apart from this, poverty and alcoholism are the main problems that still exist in our society.” - VDC Secretary, Kapilvastu

Only 19 percent of the respondents thought that violence in their village or town is bound to increase next year, compared to 73 percent of the respondents who believed violence will decrease.

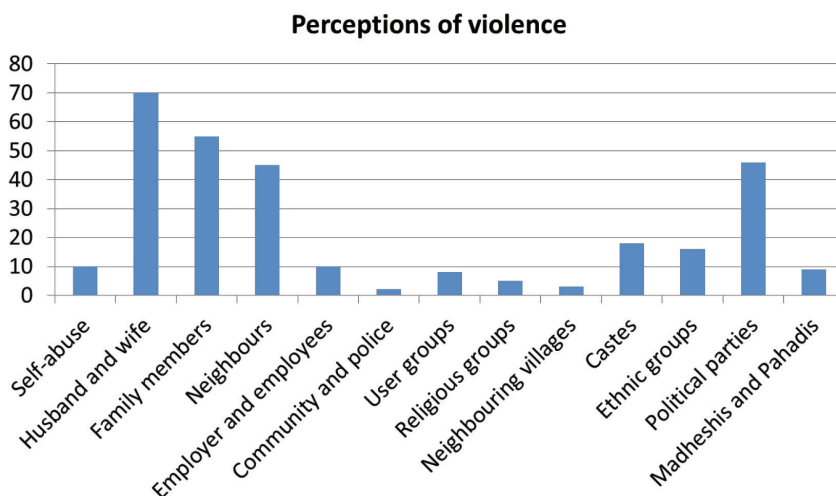
When asked between whom the respondents thought violence happened most often in their village or town, most respondents indicated that they thought violence happens most often between husband and wife, then family members, followed by political parties and neighbors.

“Because of alcohol drinking, violence happens upon the people. Also, people don’t get justice from the concerned bodies” -Member, Local Peace Committee Achham

“Violence has decreased in our community, because youth have gone abroad for foreign employment” -Secretary Local Peace Committee, Dhanusha

Figure 25 provides an overview of respondents' perceptions of parties to violence in percentages.

Figure 25: Perceived parties to violence



Chapter 7:

Peace services, providers, and willingness to pay

In this chapter, we answer research questions 2-6: 'What are peace services, which intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intercommunity peace services do people use, and who are the providers (2); how satisfied are people with the peace services they receive and what is their impact (3); which peace services exist in their villages/municipalities (4); which peace services are desired (5); are people willing to pay for their use, and if yes, how much? (6)' Additionally, we present several other results of interest, for example respondents' reasons for choosing a certain peace service provider. Important to note here is that in this chapter, we only answer the parts of question 2: 'Which intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intercommunity peace services do people use and who are their providers?' In chapter 8, we answer the part: 'What are peace services?'

The next three sections present the answers to questions 2 and 3 as well as the additional questions. The final section of this chapter presents the answers to questions 4-6.

To understand who the peace service providers in the community are and which peace services are being used, we asked respondents whether they request support from third parties when they experience 'feelings of confusion, shame, regret, guilt, depression, loneliness, anxiety, or stress' (indicator of reduced intrapersonal peace); 'strained relations with a family member, friend, or neighbor' (indicator of reduced interpersonal peace); 'tensions between different groups in your village/town or with different families in your village/town' (indicator of reduced intercommunity peace); or 'disputes with the local authorities, like the VDC/municipal office or police' (indicator of reduced citizen-state peace). We also asked who their top three persons to-go-to were, which services they received from them, and how satisfied they were with those services.

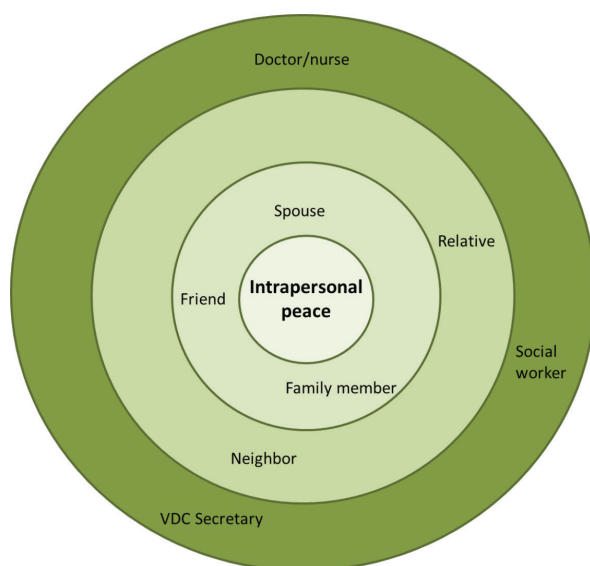
In order to answer research question 2 'what are peace services?', we added up the number of times respondents indicated having received a certain type of support from their top three peace service providers, for example 'listening', 'giving advice' or 'sharing information'. From this we computed peace service variables with scores ranging from 0 to 10. A score of 10 means the respondent always received this peace service from his or her peace service providers and 0 means never. Moreover, respondents indicated how satisfied they were with the peace services received and what they were able to do because of it (research question 3).

Intrapersonal peace services and providers

Slightly more than half of the respondents (53%) reported that they talk to someone when they experience uncomfortable emotions. A slight minority (46%) indicated to deal with those on their own.

We assessed who the intrapersonal peace service providers are by asking respondents who they go to for support when they lack intrapersonal peace. As shown in Figure 26, respondents most often seek support from spouses, friends, and family members (primary intrapersonal peace service providers); followed by relatives and neighbors (secondary intrapersonal peace service providers); and doctors and nurses, VDC secretaries, and social workers (tertiary intrapersonal peace service providers). This answers the question of who the intrapersonal peace service providers are (part of research question 2).

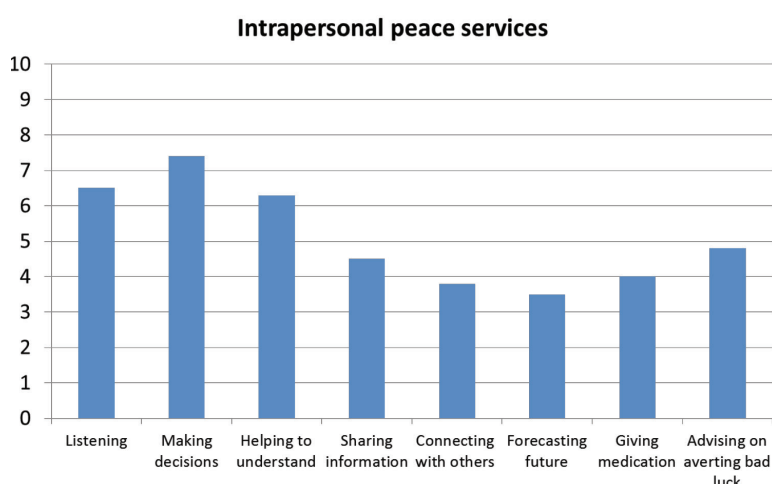
Figure 26: Rings of support - Primary, secondary, and tertiary intrapersonal peace service providers



The four most important reasons for choosing a particular intrapersonal peace service provider given were: 'this person understands me'; 'this person will keep what I say confidential'; 'this person is easy to contact'; and 'this person gives good advice.'

As shown in Figure 27 (a score of 0 means that this service was not received from any of the respondents' top three service providers, while a score of 10 means that this service was received from all three), intrapersonal peace service providers most frequently offer 'making decisions' as a service, followed by 'listening', and 'helping me understand my problem better'. Fifty-six percent of the respondents answered that they were 'advised on how to avert bad luck.' Figure 27 shows the answer to the question of which intrapersonal peace services people use (question 2).

Figure 27: Types of intrapersonal peace services delivered by preferred providers



Answering research question 3 (how satisfied are people with the peace services received and what is their impact?), the majority of respondents (75%) reported to find the services they received very helpful. As a result of the support of their primary intrapersonal peace service provider, respon-

dents most often reported that they were able to calm down and relax (80%), be happier (78%), and understand themselves and their problems better (76%).

Most of the respondents (62%) made use of the services of their primary intrapersonal peace service provider more than five times in the past year; while 31 percent reported having used these services between one and five times in the past year.

About 66 percent of the respondents thought that there are enough qualified people in their village or town to go to for help when experiencing a lack of intrapersonal peace.

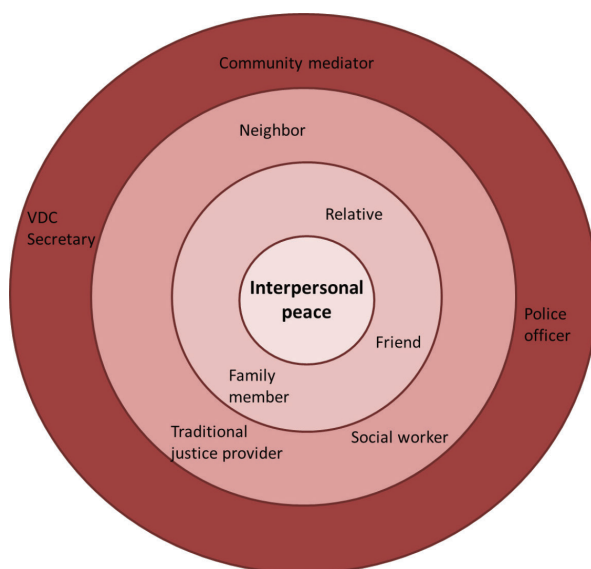
When asked which new service would best benefit their community members when they experience a lack of intrapersonal peace, respondents replied: Learning how to resolve conflicts without using violence (98%), support to deal with domestic violence (97%), and dealing with anxiety (95%).

Interpersonal peace services and providers

Being able to select multiple options, the vast majority (94%) of our sample indicated that difficult disputes among family members (reduced interpersonal peace) are typically resolved through peaceful discussion, while 35 percent indicated that they use the support services of an outsider like a mediator. A small minority (10%) indicated that family disputes were settled through arguing and blaming until one side wins.

As shown in Figure 28, respondents most often seek support from family members, friends, and relatives (primary interpersonal peace service providers); followed by neighbors, social workers, and traditional justice providers (secondary interpersonal peace service providers); and community mediators, VDC secretaries, and police officers (tertiary interpersonal peace service providers). This answers the question of who the interpersonal peace service providers are (part of research question 2).

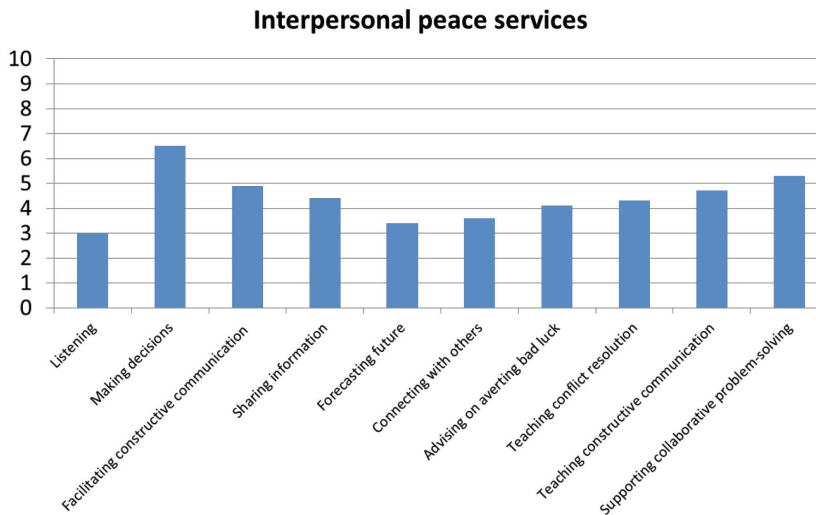
Figure 28: Rings of support - Primary, secondary, and tertiary interpersonal peace service providers



As most important reasons for choosing an interpersonal peace service provider were mentioned 'he or she understands us'; 'he or she is easy to contact'; and 'he or she gives good advice.'

Also at the interpersonal level, peace services providers most often gave the service of 'making decisions', followed by 'supporting collaborative problem-solving' and 'facilitating constructive communication'. Figure 29 shows the answer to the question of which interpersonal peace services people use (question 2).

Figure 29: Types of interpersonal peace services delivered by preferred providers



About half of the respondents found these services to be very helpful, while about a quarter found the services to be somewhat helpful. As a result of the interpersonal peace services, respondents indicated that they were able to understand each other better (76%), experience improved relationships (70%), and be happier (67%). About half of the respondents indicated that they were able to stop yelling or hitting another person because of the services they received.

This answers the question of how satisfied people are with the interpersonal peace services received and their impact (question 3).

Of all respondents, 41 percent indicated that they appealed to the services of their primary interpersonal peace service provider more than five times in the past year, while another 41 percent indicated to have used such service one to five times in the past year.

According to 65 percent of the respondents, there are sufficient qualified persons in their village or town to provide support when people have disputes with their family, while 33 percent reported a lack of qualified persons.

The majority of respondents indicated that they believed new services such as support to help family members find a solution jointly (97%); advice from someone knowledgeable (97%); and learning how to solve conflicts without using violence (96%), would best help their fellow community members when they experience a lack of interpersonal peace.

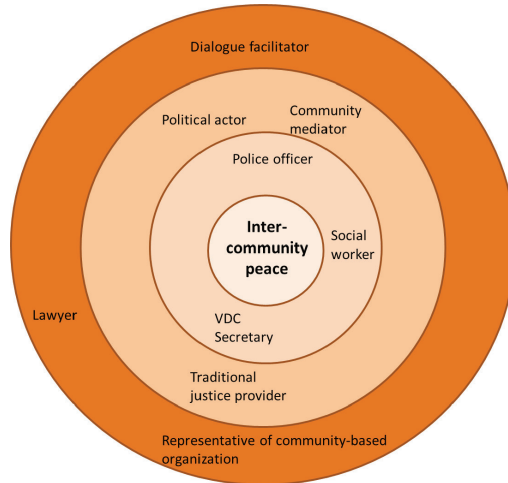
Intercommunity peace services and providers

Most respondents (83%) reported that conflicts in the community (lack of intercommunity peace) are usually dealt with through peaceful discussion among the community members, 80 percent of which indicated that community disputes are usually settled with the support of one or more trusted people. Seventeen percent of the respondents noted that community conflicts are usually resolved

through arguing, until one side wins.

Respondents most often seek the support of VDC secretaries, police officers, and social workers (primary intercommunity peace service providers) when lacking intercommunity peace. Political actors, community mediators, and traditional justice providers are secondary intercommunity peace service providers; while dialogue facilitators, lawyers, and representatives of community-based organizations are tertiary intercommunity peace service providers. Figure 30 shows who the intercommunity peace service providers are (part of research question 2).

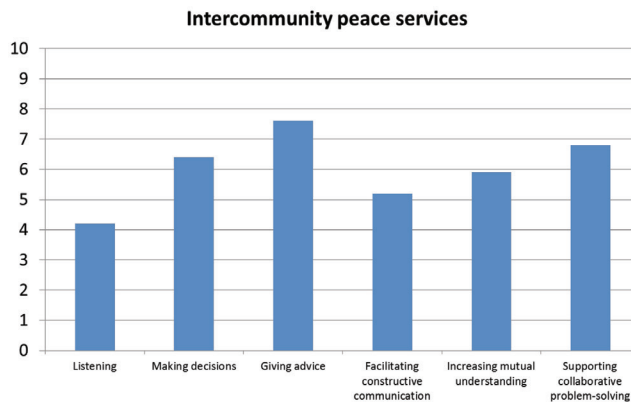
Figure 30: Rings of support - Primary, secondary, and tertiary intercommunity peace service providers



When asked why members of the community make use of certain intercommunity peace service providers, most important reasons given were: 'because that person gives good advice'; 'that person is trustworthy'; 'that person is very knowledgeable'; and 'that person is skilled in solving problems like these.'

As can be seen in Figure 31, at intercommunity level, 'giving advice' was the most often reported peace service provided, followed by 'support for collaborative problem-solving'. The figure shows the answer to the question of which intercommunity peace services people use (question 2).

Figure 31: Types of intercommunity peace services delivered by preferred providers



Almost half of the respondents (45%) reported that their community members made use of the services of the most important intercommunity peace service provider more than five times in the

past year, while another 45 percent reported that their community members used the services of this person between one and five times.

As a result of the support of the primary intercommunity peace service provider, most respondents answered that their community members were able to understand each other better (66%); resolve problems in a constructive way (64%); stop yelling at each other (62%); and move forward with more clarity (58%) (research question 3).

Of all respondents, 28 percent indicated that they themselves had sought support from the most important intercommunity peace service provider to help with community disputes.

When asked who in their community is teaching people how to achieve peace and reduce violence, most often mediators (24%) and teachers (23%) were mentioned, followed by community organizations (18%) and traditional justice providers (17%).

The majority of respondents (61%) indicated that they think there are enough qualified persons in their community to keep the peace and reduce violence, while 38 percent reported a lack of such persons.

When asked which new service would help increase the peace and reduce violence in their community, most respondents answered 'teaching children how to resolve conflicts nonviolently' (98%), followed by 'support for constructive community dialogue' (97%), 'support to help people resolve conflicts nonviolently' (97%), and 'protection from violence' (96%).

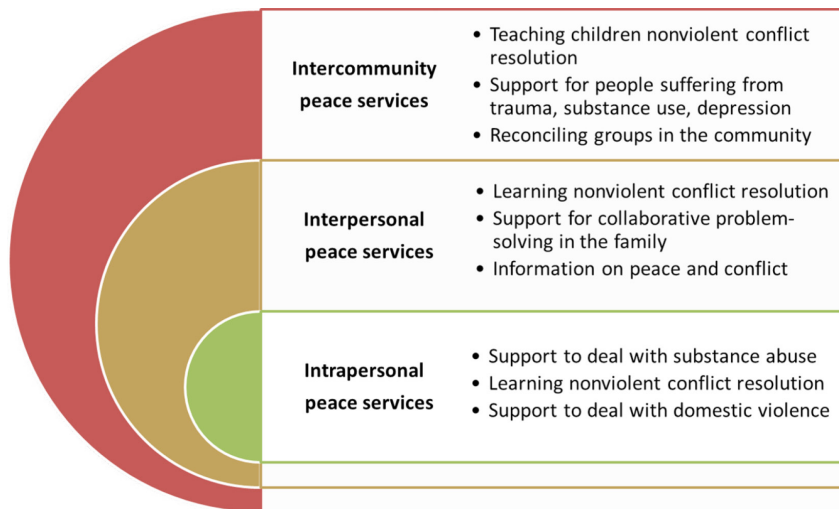
Existing peace services, services desired, and willingness to pay

This section answers research questions 4-6: Which peace services exist in the villages/municipalities of the respondents? (question 4); which services would respondents like to have in their village/municipalities? (question 5); and are respondents willing to pay for their use and if yes, how much? (question 6).

Answering question 4, most of the respondents (64%) reported that the peace services of psychosocial counseling, meditation and yoga classes, rehabilitation services for substance users, and courses in constructive conflict resolution and effective communication do not exist in their village or town. What does exist, according to 77 percent of the respondents, are cultural programs and social dialogue groups (youth clubs, women groups). Moreover, in most villages and towns, traditional justice mechanisms to help address lack of interpersonal peace, such as samaaj (a society of different ethnic groups, castes or profession that settles disputes) or panchya bhaladmi (a council of elders that arbitrates disputes), as well as police, seem to be present. By contrast, courts and psychosocial counseling centers were reported to be largely absent.

Figures 32-35 show the answers to research questions 5 and 6. As can be seen, the most important intrapersonal peace service to introduce according to most respondents was support to deal with substance abuse (wanted by 48%); followed by learning nonviolent conflict resolution (17%); and support to deal with domestic violence (16%). Of all respondents, 84 percent indicated that they would make use of their most preferred new intrapersonal peace service. Moreover, 79 percent reported that they would be willing to pay for it if it were the only way to make it available. When asked how much, almost half of the respondents (46%) answered 'less than 50 NRs per session'; 30 percent answered 'between 50 and 150 NRs per session'; while 9 percent indicated willingness to pay more than that.

Figure 32: Most desired intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intercommunity peace services



The three **interpersonal peace service** most desired by the respondents were learning nonviolent conflict resolution (25%); support for collaborative problem-solving in the family (16%); and information about how to handle conflicts and promote peace (11%). Of all respondents, 91 percent indicated that they themselves would make use of their most preferred interpersonal peace service and 80 percent would be willing to pay for it: 47 percent of the respondents were willing to pay less than 50 NRs per session; 29 percent between 50 and 150 NRs per session; and eight percent more than 150 NRs per session.

The top three of **intercommunity peace services** that were most important to introduce in their village or town according to the respondents were teaching children nonviolent conflict resolution (30%); support for people suffering from trauma, substance use, depression, anxiety, and stress (25%); and reconciling different groups in the community, for example Dalits and Brahmins, men and women, ethnic groups (15%). Almost all respondents (95%) indicated that if their most preferred intercommunity peace service would come available, they would use it themselves. Most of the respondents (85%) reported to be willing to pay for it too: 49 percent less than 50 NRs per session; 30 percent between 50 and 150 NRs per session; and 10 percent more than 150 NRs per session. Most of the respondents would use the services in the future (71%). More than half of the respondents expected other community members to use the services as well (67%), followed by family members (55%), and friends and colleagues (44%). By contrast, only a small minority expected that government officials (according to 3%), politicians (7%), and community leaders (8%) would make use of the new intercommunity peace services.

As can be seen in Figure 33, respondents are most willing to pay for services that support them when they experience painful feelings. They are least willing to pay for support services when they have a dispute with a government agency.

Figure 33: Willingness to pay for support in challenging situations

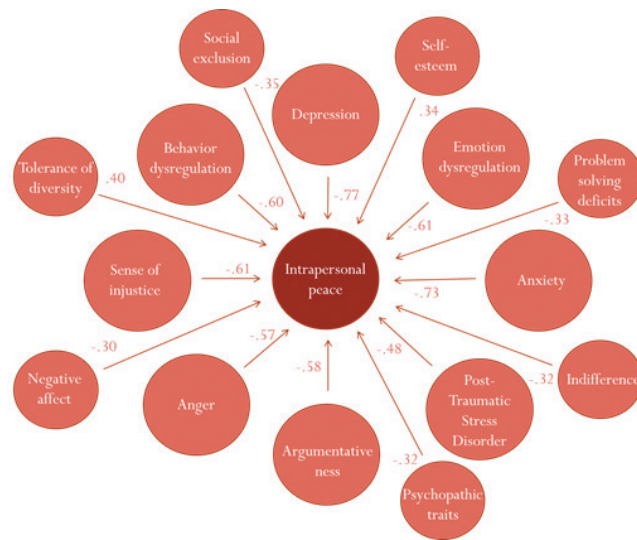
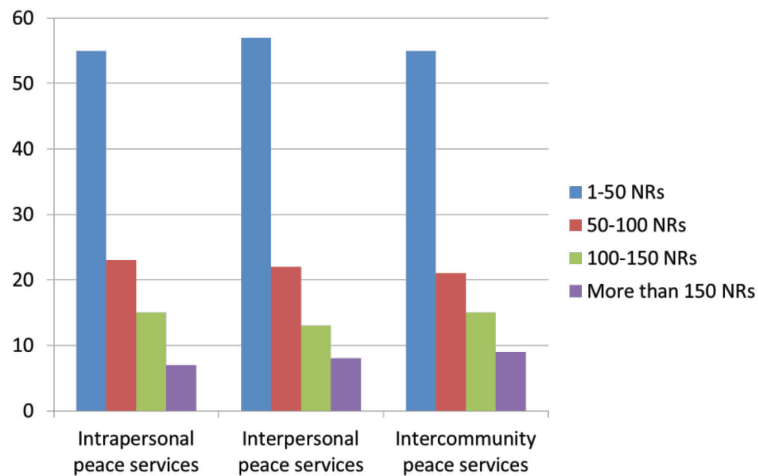


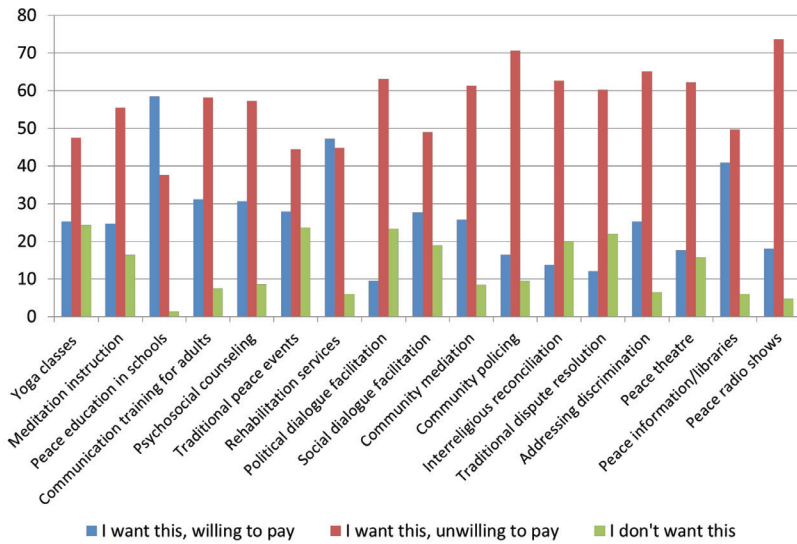
Figure 34 shows how much money respondents are willing to pay for intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intercommunity peace services (in percentages).

Figure 34: Amount willing to pay per peace service category



To get a more detailed picture of the type of peace services people are willing to pay for, we presented respondents with a list of different peace services and asked them to indicate their willingness to pay for each (Figure 35, in %).

Figure 35: Willingness to pay per peace service



Highlight: Perceptions of peace services and providers

“Awareness programs and street dramas related to peace, child marriage, discrimination of caste system have reduced violence in this community”
 – Secretary of the Red Cross Society, Rolpa

“One of the main problems relating to peace in our community is the ineffectiveness of the Local Peace Committee” – Ward Coordinator, Kaski

“Domestic violence and violence within the so-called lower caste groups still prevail in the society. There are many organizations established here to spread peace like LPC, spiritual centers, theatres, woman and youth groups etc. In my opinion because of increasing awareness and education violence has more or less reduced in this area”
 -VDC Secretary, Lumbini

“To maintain peace and security in the community and in the whole district, spreading awareness about the negative outcome of conflict is needed. Similarly reconciliation centre is also required in the society.”- Chief District Officer, DAO Banke, Nepalgunj

“There is a tradition of politicizing every activity in the VDC. There is political nearness in every works” - CeLLRD, Mediator, Kanchanpur

“The political instability and lack of state’s concern to address the post-conflict situation has become a barrier for sustainable peace in the society. Drug abuse and addiction is also a major problem faced by our society. So in my view if programs like rehabilitation centre and more counseling are brought then it will really be helpful to all.” -Psychosocial counselor, Rupandehi

“Different groups such as the para-legal committee, mothers’ groups, and youth groups have been taking control of conflicts in the village and as a result the conflicts have significantly decreased” - Anonymous

Chapter 8:

The peace service dimensions

In this chapter we describe how we constructed the peace service dimensions, in order to answer research question 2 ('what are peace services?'). We also used the peace service dimensions to answer question 7 ('what are the relationships between peace needs, services, and violence and peace?') in chapter 9. In addition, we present the peace service scores according to district, gender, class, caste, and region, reporting only statistically significant between-groups differences.

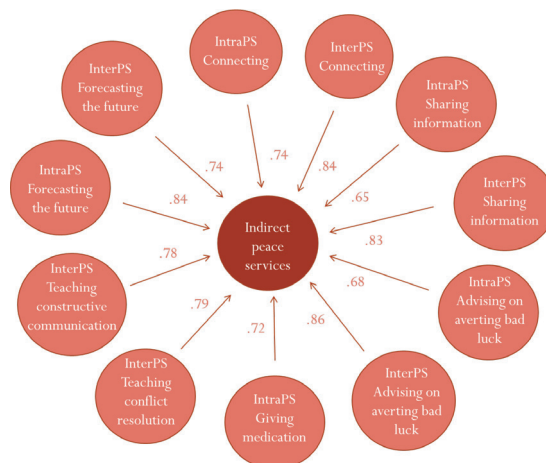
The construction of peace service dimensions

The peace service dimensions were constructed in the same way as the peace dimensions. We ran a factor analysis including the peace service variables from all three levels: Intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intercommunity peace services. A two-factor solution emerged that was based on the modus of the peace service, rather than the level at which they were offered. A confirmatory factor analysis corroborated the results. We labeled the first factor 'Indirect peace services', which included items like forecasting, advising on how to avert bad luck, providing medication, teaching conflict resolution, and sharing information. The second factor was labeled 'Direct peace services' which included items like advising, listening, creating understanding, directing, and collaborative problem-solving (for details, see below).

In addition to direct and indirect factors, the peace service variables clustered by peace service level. This means that the respondents not only differed in the extent that they use direct versus indirect peace services, but also in the extent that they use intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intercommunity peace services. However, regressions between the peace service levels and the violence index and peace dimensions did not produce significant results, meaning that the levels of peace service did not explain variance in violence and peace. We therefore do not further report on them.

Indirect peace services appear to refer to a more passive style of approach that indirectly deals with the problem presented by the user and/or is focused on symptom relief. Figure 36 shows the 11 items and the strength of their relationship to the indirect peace services dimension. 'IntraPS', 'InterPS', and 'ComPS' stand for 'intrapersonal peace service', 'interpersonal peace service', and 'intercommunity peace service' respectively.

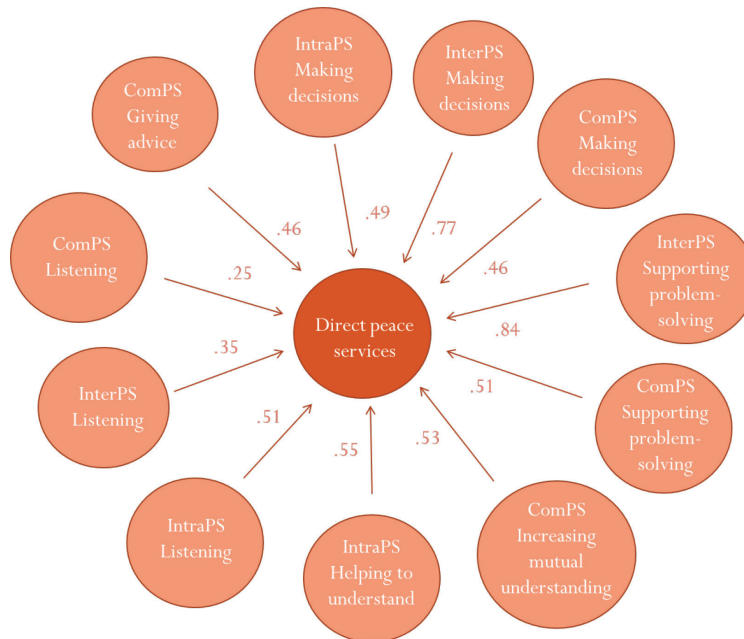
Figure 36: Indicators of indirect peace services and their loadings



The closer a value is to 1, the stronger the relationship to the underlying factor. The loadings suggest that the interpersonal peace service of 'advising on averting bad luck' is the strongest component of indirect peace services, followed by 'forecasting the future' and 'connecting'.

Direct peace services seem to refer to a more deliberative style of support that engages with the problem directly. Figure 37 shows the 11 items and the strength of their relationship to the direct peace services dimension. Also here do 'IntraPS', 'InterPS', and 'ComPS' stand for 'intrapersonal peace service', 'interpersonal peace service', and 'intercommunity peace service'.

Figure 37: Indicators of direct peace services and their loadings



The loadings suggest that the interpersonal peace service of 'supporting collaborative problem-solving' and 'making decisions' are the strongest components of direct peace services.

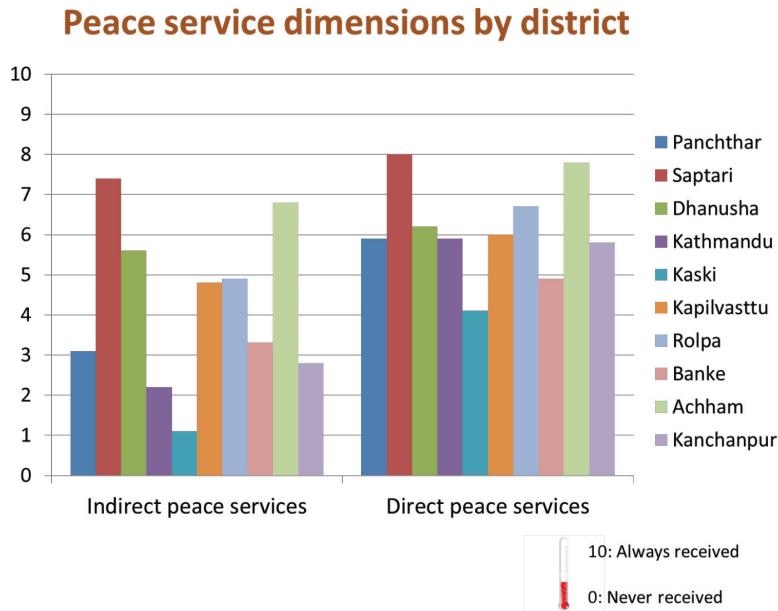
Overall peace services score

The overall peace service score of the sample was a 5.1 on a 0-10 scale (never-always). This means that, on average, respondents now and then received indirect and direct peace services.

Comparison of peace service scores by district

We found significant differences between the districts on both the direct and indirect peace service dimensions. Average scores on direct peace services were neutral to high (6.0) and on indirect peace services low (4.1). This means that respondents less often received indirect than direct peace services. Figure 38 shows the peace service dimensions scores per district.

Figure 38: Peace service dimension scores by district



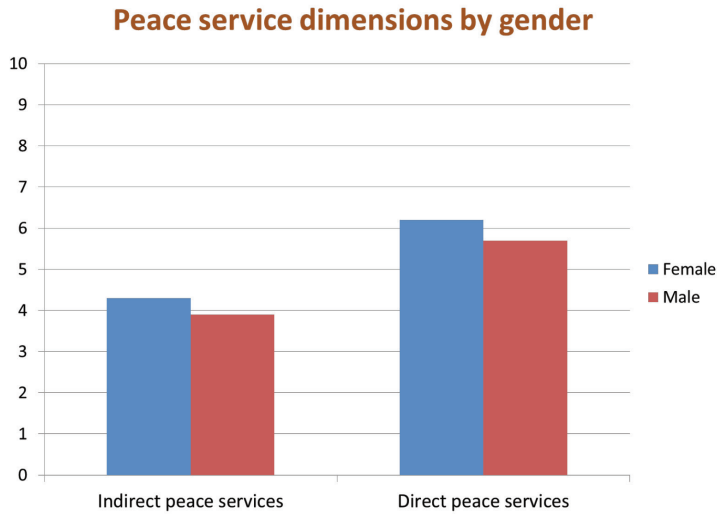
Significant differences between the districts were found for all **indirect peace services**. The largest differences in the frequency of use of indirect peace services were found between Saptari, which scored significantly higher than any other district (7.4 on a 0-10 scale) and Kaski, which scored lower than any other district (1.0). The services accounting for this difference are 'advising on averting bad luck' and 'forecasting the future' both on the intra- and interpersonal levels, for which Saptari had the highest scores and Kaski the lowest. Moreover, Saptari and Achham scored higher than any other district on 'giving medication', while Kaski scored the lowest.

Further between-groups analyses revealed that the largest differences in the use of **direct peace services** are explained by the scores on the interpersonal peace services of 'supporting collaborative problem-solving', on which Saptari and Achham scored highest and Kaski lowest, and 'listening', on which Rolpa scored higher than any other district save for Kapilvastu/Rupandehi. Another difference was found for the intercommunity peace service of 'listening', on which Kathmandu scored lower than any other district except Kaski. Kaski also scored lowest of all districts (save for Banke) on the intercommunity peace service of 'helping mutual understanding', for which Saptari and Achham had the highest scores.

Comparison of peace service scores by gender

We found significant differences between men and women on the direct and indirect peace service dimensions. As can be seen in Figure 39, women scored significantly higher than men on both.

Figure 39: Peace service dimension scores by gender



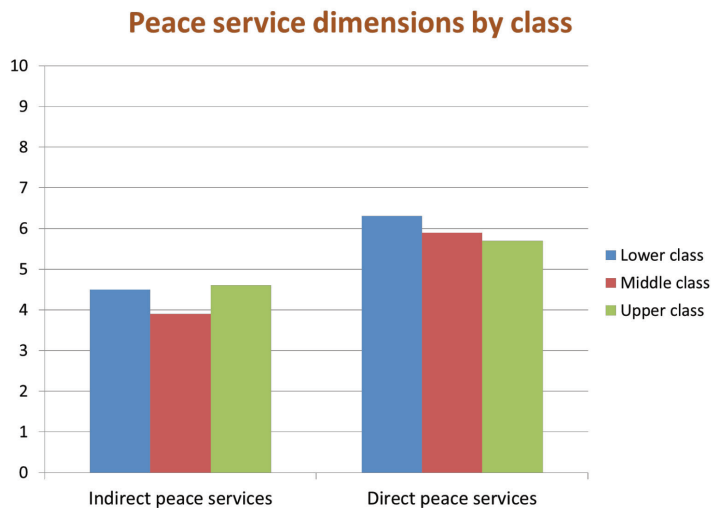
Accounting for the difference in the use of indirect peace services were the intrapersonal level peace services of 'connecting with others', 'sharing information', and 'advising on averting bad luck', on which women scored significantly higher than men.

For direct peace services, women scored significantly higher than men on the intrapersonal peace services of 'making decisions' and 'helping to understand'; the interpersonal and intercommunity peace services of 'supporting collaborative problem-solving'; and the intercommunity peace service of 'helping mutual understanding'.

Comparison of peace service scores by class

We found differences for both peace service dimensions between the self-perceived **middle-, and lower-classes** (Figure 40). The lower class scored significantly higher on both dimensions than the middle class. As noted before, the upper class was excluded from the analysis due to small sample size.

Figure 40: Peace service dimension scores by class



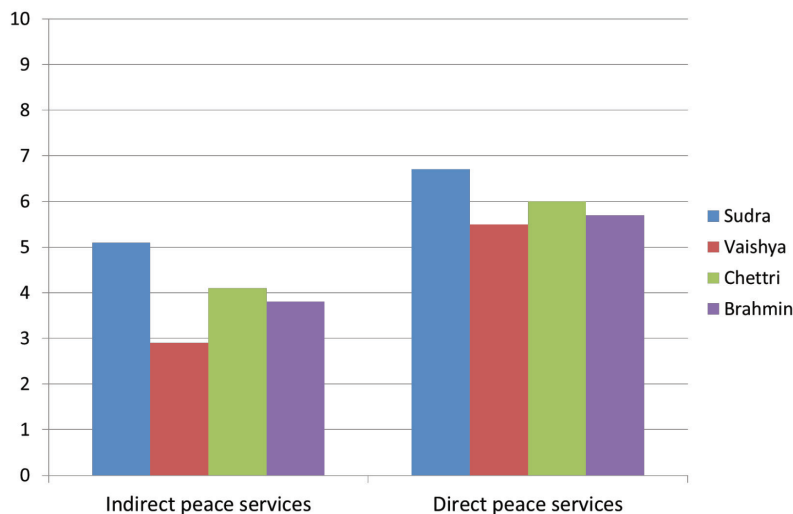
Making the difference in the use of indirect peace services between classes, were the intrapersonal peace services of 'connecting' and 'sharing information' and the interpersonal peace service of 'advising on averting bad luck'. On all of these, the lower class scored higher than the middle class, meaning they used these services significantly more often.

Explaining the differences in scores of direct peace services, were the interpersonal peace service of 'listening' and intercommunity peace service of 'making decisions'. On both of these, the lower class scored higher than the middle class.

Comparison of peace service scores by caste

Differences were found between all **castes** on both peace service dimensions. Sudras scored higher than the other castes on both indirect and direct peace services, while Vaishyas scored lower than Chettris and Sudras on both (Figure 41).

Figure 41: Peace service dimension scores by caste



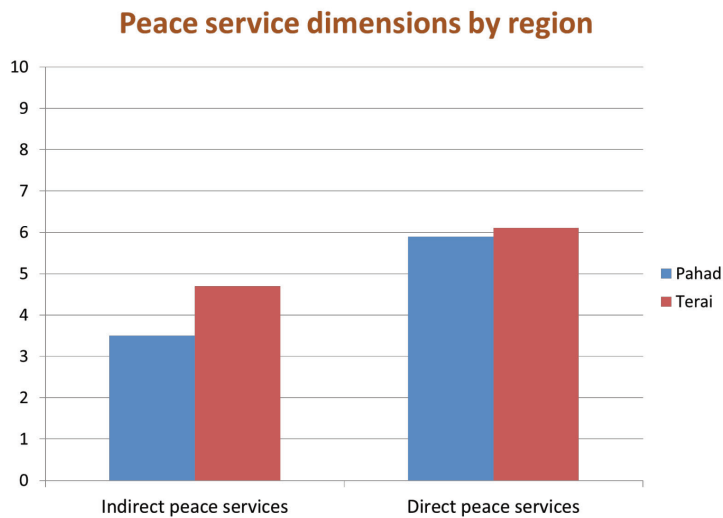
Differences were found between the castes for all indirect peace services. The strongest differences existed for the use of intra- and interpersonal peace services of 'connecting', 'advising on averting bad luck', and 'forecasting'. Chettris and Sudras scored higher than Vaishyas on both service levels of 'connecting'. Sudras scored higher than the other three castes on the interpersonal level, and higher than Vaishyas on the intrapersonal level on 'advising on averting bad luck'. Sudras also scored higher than Vaishyas on both levels of 'forecasting'. Moreover, Chettris and Sudras both scored higher than Vaishyas on the intrapersonal peace service of 'giving medication'. Vaishyas scored lower than Chettris and Sudras on the interpersonal peace service of 'teaching conflict resolution'.

Regarding direct peace services, various peace services made the difference. Chettris and Sudras scored higher than Vaishyas on the interpersonal peace services of 'supporting collaborative problem-solving' and 'making decisions'. For the service 'listening', Chettris and Sudras scored higher than Vaishyas on the intrapersonal level, while Sudras scored higher than Chettris and Vaishyas on the interpersonal and intercommunity levels. For the intercommunity peace services of 'supporting collaborative problem-solving' and 'making decisions', Vaishyas scored lower than Sudras.

Comparison of peace service scores by region

Between the **regions**, significant differences were found for both the indirect and direct peace service dimensions, with people living in the Terai/flatlands scoring higher than people living in the Pahad/hills on both dimensions (Figure 42).

Figure 42: Peace service dimension scores by region



The services accounting for the difference in scores between the regions on indirect peace services, were the intrapersonal peace service 'giving medication' and the interpersonal peace service 'connecting', both on which people in the flatlands scored higher than people living in the hills, meaning that they used these services significantly more often.

Explaining the difference in scores between the regions on direct peace services, were the interpersonal peace services 'supporting collaborative problem-solving' and 'listening', for which again the respondents from the flatlands scored significantly higher than those from the hills. The subgroup from the flatlands also scored higher than the one from the hills on the intercommunity peace service 'listening', while for the intercommunity peace service 'advising' it was the other way around.

In conclusion, our answer to research question 2: 'What are peace services?' is: Peace services are those services respondents indicated they received for support when they struggled with painful feelings, conflict, or violence. These services make up the peace service dimensions that emerged from the factor analysis, and fall into two categories: Indirect and direct. The two peace services that formed the strongest components of indirect peace services are 'advising on averting bad luck' and 'forecasting the future'. The two peace services that were the strongest components of direct peace services are 'supporting collaborative problem-solving' and 'making decisions'.

Chapter 9:

Predictive results and discussions

The predictive analyses were dedicated to research question 7: 'What are the relations between peace needs, peace services, and violence and peace?' To answer this, we tested three hypotheses: (1) The more peace there is, the less violence there is; (2) The more peace services are used, the less violence there is; and (3) The more peace services are used, the more peace there is. We only report results that are statistically significant. Where they were marginally significant, we report 'p<0.1'. This means that a relationship between variables was found, but that the statistical evidence for it was weaker than for the other reported relationships (for which p<0.05). Brief discussions of the findings follow the results.

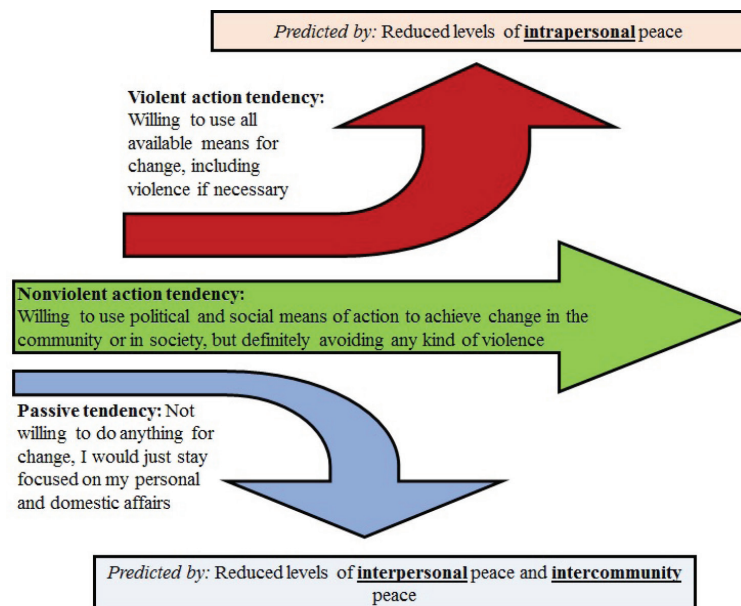
Hypothesis 1: The more peace there is, the less violence there is

The first goal of the predictive analysis was to test hypothesis 1: The more peace there is, the less violence there is. We performed multinomial logistic regression analysis with the five peace dimensions as predictors and collective action tendency as the outcome variable. In statistical terms, predictors are variables used to predict the value of another variable.

Collective action tendency is a self-report measure that indicates what respondents are willing to do in order to effect social and political change: Nothing at all (i.e. passive tendency), social and political means of action but definitely excluding violence (i.e. nonviolent action tendency), or all available means of action, including violence if necessary (i.e. violent action tendency). We used this as outcome variable instead of the violence index, because relating the abstract peace dimensions to the multi-construct violence index would lead to unclear, hard to interpret results.

Figure 43 shows the results of the regression analysis.

Figure 43: Peace dimensions and collective action tendency



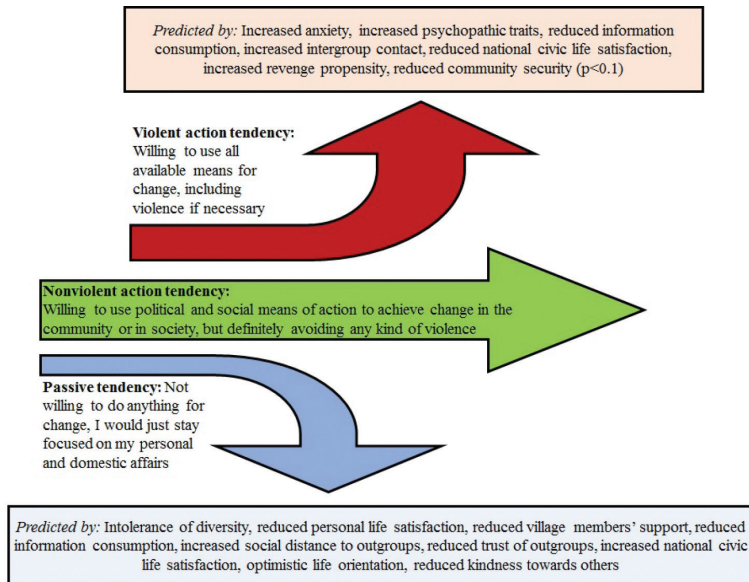
As can be seen, reduced levels of intrapersonal peace differentiate individuals with violent action tendency from individuals with nonviolent action tendency, who are otherwise similar in terms of interpersonal, intercommunity, citizen-state and material peace.

Discussion

These findings could mean that exposure to the same interpersonal, sociopolitical, or material stressors is processed in different ways by people experiencing high intrapersonal peace, who deal with such challenges through nonviolent activism, in contrast to people who are experiencing low intrapersonal peace and therefore convert interpersonal, material, and sociopolitical stressors into violent socio-political action. Alternatively, the latter might have less access to different ways of responding to stressors or advocating for what they want. Individuals experiencing low intrapersonal peace, may be unable to react in nonviolent ways. When looking at what predicts passive tendency, it appears that the main drivers are reduced levels of interpersonal and intercommunity peace. In other words, disengagement from the social context, whether within the community or across communities, seems to translate into lack of interest in achieving any kind of social or political change.

What specific factors account for this result? We took a closer look at which indicators of the five peace dimensions are predictors of violence by performing a similar analysis with collective action tendency as outcome variable for all of them. To explore this more broadly, we additionally included several other variables (including revenge propensity, life orientation, and kindness towards others). Due to the large number of potential predictor indicators, a stepwise remove methodology was utilized, whereby candidate predictors were sequentially removed from the model until only significant predictors remained.

Figure 44: Predictor indicators and collective action tendency



As shown in Figure 44, it is indeed possible to unpack the findings of the previous analysis into a more nuanced understanding of factors that predispose to different types of collective action tendency. Looking first at predictors of violent action tendency, we see that increased anxiety

but also increased psychopathic traits are specific components of intrapersonal peace that are associated with violence. Furthermore, reduced information consumption, increased contact with other groups, civic discontent, desire for revenge, and insecurity at the level of the community are all factors that seem to predispose towards violent choices when facing collective action dilemmas. As for specific predictors of passive tendency, relevant interpersonal and intercommunity factors include intolerance of diversity, reduced personal life satisfaction, reduced village support, increased social distance to outgroups, reduced trust of outgroups, and reduced kindness towards others. Additionally, there appears to be a pathway from national civic life satisfaction and personal optimism to passive collective action choices.

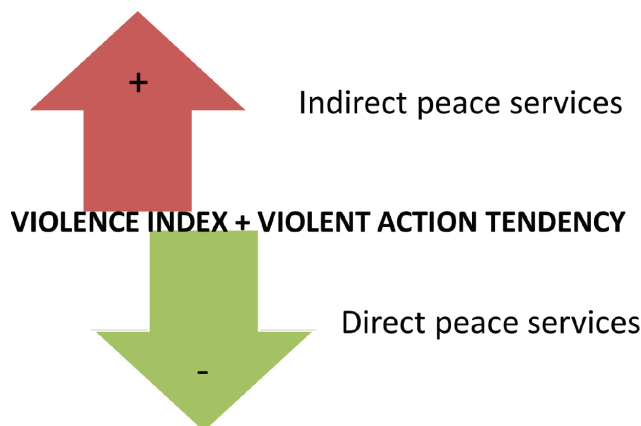
In conclusion, we can partly confirm hypothesis 1: While it is not the case that all dimensions of peace are equally important in predicting violent action tendency, it does appear that intrapersonal peace serves to differentiate nonviolent active citizens from those who are ready to choose violent means of action. Based on this sample, we can therefore say that when intrapersonal peace is high, violent action tendency is low.

Hypothesis 2: The more peace services are used, the less violence there is

The second goal of the predictive analysis was to test hypothesis 2: The more peace services are used, the less violence there is. We ran regression analyses for the direct and indirect peace service dimensions with the violence index as outcome variable as well as a multinomial regression predicting violent action tendency. Both peace service dimensions turned out to be highly correlated, suggesting that people who use peace services use both kinds for their support.

As can be seen in Figure 45, indirect peace services predicted increased violence, while direct peace services predicted reduced violence. More specifically, the linear regression analysis revealed that direct peace services significantly predicted low scores on the violence index, while indirect peace services predicted high scores on the same index. This finding was largely confirmed by the results of a subsequent multinomial regression analysis: Indirect peace services predicted violent action tendency, while direct peace services were marginally significant predictors of nonviolent action tendency (at $p < 0.1$). Given that this model is largely consistent with the violence index model, we interpret the marginal significance as a subtle effect, rather than as an absence of relationship.

Figure 45: Peace service dimensions and violence



Discussion

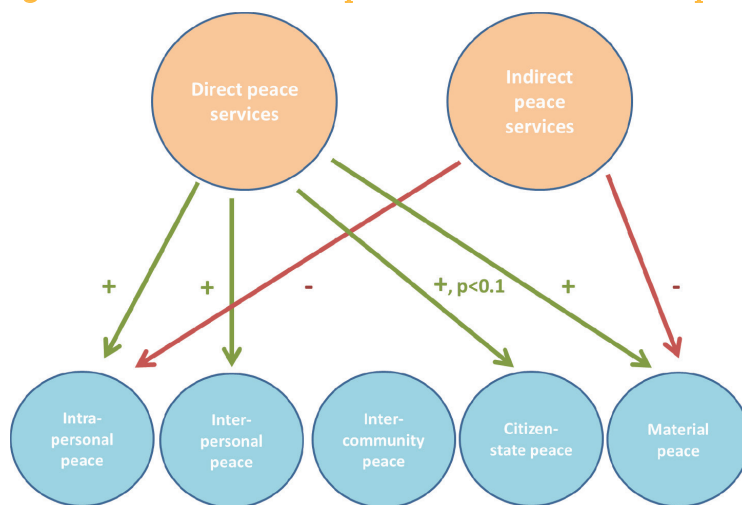
Reliance on indirect services, like medication or future-telling, might be akin to brushing problems under the carpet instead of constructively addressing them when they are acute. As a result conflict and violence occur, in effect disqualifying such services from being 'peace' services. By contrast, direct peace services may help people to work through their problems effectively and constructively.

These findings lead us to partly confirm hypothesis 2, with an important qualification: The more direct peace services are used to deal with acute challenges, the less violence there seems to be. The more indirect peace services are used in similar situations, the more violence there seems to be.

Hypothesis 3: The more peace services are used, the more peace there is

The third goal of the predictive analysis was to test hypothesis 3: The more peace services are used, the more peace there is. Regressions for the direct and indirect peace service dimensions, this time with the peace dimensions as outcome variables, showed that direct peace services predicted higher scores on all peace dimensions except intercommunity peace (citizen-state peace was marginally significant at $p < 0.1$). Notably, the use of indirect peace services predicted lower levels of intrapersonal and material peace, as can be seen in Figure 46.

Figure 46: Indirect and direct peace service dimensions and peace



Discussion

Direct peace services seem to tackle stressors like conflict, head on. This appears to lead to relief, healing, resolution, and integration; in other words, to an enhanced experience of peace in different dimensions. If stressors are dealt with indirectly, they may continue to trigger or even worsen stress levels, leading to loss of intrapersonal peace. Strikingly, direct peace services also contribute to increased material peace, while indirect peace services do the opposite. In addition to a deteriorated experience of intrapersonal peace, the use of inappropriate or ineffective support services seems to lead to resource loss.

In conclusion, we partly confirm Hypothesis 3: The more direct peace services are used when facing acute problems, the higher levels of intrapersonal, interpersonal, citizen-state and material peace.

The more indirect peace services are used, the lower levels of intrapersonal and material peace. Summarizing, the relations between peace needs, peace services, and violence and peace (research question 7) based on this sample, are as follows:

- When intrapersonal peace is high, violent action tendency is low;
- The more direct peace services are used to address acute conflict or emotional pain, the less violence there is. In contrast, the more indirect peace services are used in such situations, the more violence there is;
- The more direct peace services are used to address acute conflict or emotional pain, the higher intrapersonal, interpersonal, citizen-state and material peace. The more indirect peace services are used in similar situations, however, the lower intrapersonal and material peace.

Chapter 10:

Discussion and recommendations

This final chapter highlights a selection of the findings, with a focus on peace needs and peace services for the sake of brevity. Though loosely connected to the research questions, the findings are held more broadly to include the results of the analyses. After giving a short summary of findings in each section, discussion and recommendations follow.

Finding 1: Peace needs

This sample scored moderate to high on the overall experience of peace. More specifically, the scores on intrapersonal and intercommunity peace were relatively high, while scores on material and interpersonal peace were moderate. The lowest scores were found for the citizen-state peace dimension. The strongest indicators of the peace dimensions were the following peace needs: Absence of depression and anxiety (for intrapersonal peace); support of village members and members of neighboring villages (for interpersonal peace); absence of intergroup anxiety and social distance (for intercommunity peace); national civic life satisfaction and trust in governmental institutions (for citizen-state peace); and food and economic security (for material peace). Low national civic life satisfaction and low intrapersonal peace predicted higher willingness to use violence as means of social and political change.

Discussion

Knowing which factors are associated with the experience of peace, allows those interested in peacebuilding to make informed decisions about the dimension of peace they wish to contribute to (differently said: the peace needs they wish to address), for which reasons, and by which means.

Depression and anxiety are the most important indicators of **intrapersonal peace**. Moreover, anxiety and psychopathic traits, as components of intrapersonal peace, appear to subserve different pathways to violence. On the one hand, increased anxiety as a predictor of violence suggests a pathway of elevated threat perception leading to defensive behaviors and from there on to violence. On the other hand, strong psychopathic traits as a predictor of violence suggest a pathway from lack of empathy and self-centeredness to disregard for the needs of others, and from there on to violence as a tool of expedience in the service of one's goals. From a peacebuilding perspective, supporting individuals in their ability to develop and maintain supportive and empathic relationships to decrease anxiety and soften psychopathic traits could be a way to contribute to intrapersonal peace. While providing support for people suffering from depression, anxiety, and psychopathy generally is the responsibility of the mental health sector, awareness of these factors is relevant for peacebuilders too, for the following reasons: (1) Reduced intrapersonal peace, especially anxiety and psychopathic traits, predicts violent action tendency; (2) the field of peacebuilding has developed tools, like Nonviolent Communication, that can relieve anxiety and other mental health symptoms; and (3) in villages where mental health services are not available, peacebuilding services like community mediation may be present.

Many, if not most, of Nepal's inhabitants originate from relatively isolated communities in rural areas. This is likely why having the support of one's own village members and members of neighboring villages seems crucial for **interpersonal peace** in Nepal. Social distance is one of the two strongest predictors of **intercommunity peace** in Nepal. Strongly associated with social dis-

tance is intergroup anxiety, the other most significant predictor of intercommunity peace in Nepal. The country is a kaleidoscope of social groups, home to 125 ethnicities and castes and 123 different languages (National Census, 2011). Being a collectivistic society, according to Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov (2010), group identities determine the daily life of Nepalese informing the terms and content of interactions with others. This may explain why social distance from outgroups and intergroup anxiety are so important in the experience of intercommunity peace in Nepal. Contact with outgroups seems to increase the risk for violent action tendency. It could suggest a relative inability to benefit from intergroup contact to reduce prejudice, perhaps due to a lack of in-depth communication with members of outgroups with which people come into frequent contact (a connection which would have to be investigated further in future studies). In addition, the desire to take revenge for perceived past hurts appears to serve as a powerful motivator for violence.

From a peacebuilding point of view, intercommunity peace could be strengthened by measures that reverse the negative effect of intergroup contact and reduce social distance between groups. Dialogue facilitation, for example, could increase the chances that intergroup contact will be a positive experience for all parties involved.

National civic life satisfaction and trust in governmental institutions are the two most decisive factors in the relationship between Nepal's **citizens and their state** as conceptualized in this study. Without these, it will be difficult for the Nepalese to have a sense of peace in this dimension of life. Nepal is widely perceived to be suffering from corruption and weak institutions. It is therefore not surprising that citizen-state peace received the lowest scores of all peace dimensions. Reduced civic life satisfaction at the national level is a predictor of violent action tendency. To mitigate this, peacebuilders could strengthen nonviolent action tendency, for example by increasing awareness of nonviolent means for social change in the traditions of Kingian and Gandian nonviolence. Alternatively, peacebuilders could contribute to constructively channeling the frustrations surrounding civic life dissatisfaction and national institutions in Nepal, for example by communicating grievances through media and advocacy campaigns in ways that bridge the gap between citizens and state, reduce polarization, and ultimately prevent violence.

Food security and economic security are the two most important factors determining respondents' sense of **material peace**. Both indicators refer to the ability to meet survival needs. These results are to be expected in a country in which more than 25% of the population lives below the poverty line (Asian Development Bank, 2016) and reliable sources of income are hard to come by. Although satisfying survival needs such as food and income is not the main goal of peacebuilding, practitioners can support the processes by which people are trying to survive, for example by facilitating dialogue on sensitive topics such as resource distribution and management. There is also a role for peacebuilding in preventing violent conflict from devastating development and local resources, by mainstreaming conflict sensitivity principles in humanitarian response programs or responding early to conflicts as intermediaries or mediators.

District-specific recommendations

Of all districts surveyed, Saptari and Banke both scored lowest on intrapersonal peace. Banke scored highest on depression, sense of injustice, anxiety and lack of behavior regulation, whereas Saptari scored highest on lack of emotion regulation, argumentativeness, indifference, anger, and PTSD. As far as we know, community mediation services are available in 49 of Saptari's 114

villages; and in Banke in 29 of its 47 villages and one municipality, in addition to dialogue facilitation services in two locations. Most community mediators and dialogue facilitators are trained in empathic listening, a crucial skill in mental health care. Moreover, some of the dialogue facilitators in Banke have received additional training in recognizing, supporting, and referring people with mental health issues from the Transcultural Psychosocial Organization (TPO) Nepal, yet their outreach is limited. To investigate whether people who received the service of empathic listening in these districts had fewer symptoms of mental distress, was beyond the scope of this study and should be further examined in order to identify which peacebuilding interventions would be best placed to address such issues.

In those villages where mental health services are absent but community mediators and dialogue facilitators (or any other professional peace service providers for that matter) are available, the latter could be mobilized as first line responders to at minimum provide mental health first aid. Should mediators and dialogue facilitators indeed take on such extra tasks, they might need coaching and support themselves, important to consider when designing peacebuilding programs. Moreover, the connection between intrapersonal peace and readiness to use violence indicates that when dealing with violent behavior or the prevention of it, intrapersonal aspects of human well being should be targeted.

The district Kanchanpur scored lowest on interpersonal peace, followed by Kathmandu. Indicators accounting for these low scores were village member support, social competence, and frankness. The low scores of these districts on village member support are not surprising, given the fact that Kanchanpur is home to one of the fastest growing populations in the country due to migration from the hills and neighboring Tharu communities, and Kathmandu has seen an influx of newcomers the last 50 years. While most peacebuilding programs are implemented outside of Kathmandu, the city hosts a wealth of peacebuilding trainers and experts, who could be mobilized for programs aiming to strengthen the urban social fabric. Were we to repeat this survey now, however, it is not sure that we would find similar low scores for Kathmandu on village member support. The April and May 2015 earthquakes brought many citizens of the city together in unforeseen ways, sharing food and shelter and helping each other to rebuild homes. Kanchanpur, by contrast, was not affected by the earthquakes. The district is home to various professional peace service providers. Examples include the community mediators in 13 of Kanchanpur's 21 villages/towns and a peacebuilding network committee set up in 2011. Because in peacebuilding honest self-expression is a key skill when forging mutually satisfying relationships, these service providers are a potentially useful source for those wishing to strengthen interpersonal peace in Kanchanpur in general and frankness and social competence in particular.

Achham scored lowest on intercommunity peace. Accounting for this result are the indicators dehumanization and constructive intergroup contact, on which Achham scored respectively highest and lowest. This district was heavily affected by the armed conflict in Nepal of 1996-2006, which killed, displaced, and wounded several hundreds of its inhabitants. In addition, Achham has a legacy of socio-economic exploitation, for example via bonded labor, while gender and caste-based discrimination continue to be prevalent today. Although lack of constructive intergroup contact is not necessarily a concern in itself, it rapidly gains in conflict potential when coupled with dehumanization. If you have little or no contact with others, it is easier to maintain the idea that they are less worthy than you. Although our study does not confirm this, various scholars link

dehumanization with increased violence such as human rights violations, war crimes, and genocide. It is thought that the psychological process of dehumanization can be mitigated or reversed through humanization efforts: The development of empathy; the establishment of personal relationships between conflicting parties; and the pursuit of common goals (de facto opposite goals of military training). To our knowledge, community mediation is not available in Achham, but other, more ad hoc peacebuilding initiatives, for example focused on youth, have taken place. Peace services such as mediation and dialogue facilitation could support healing and reconciliation, while community envisioning processes and follow-up could encourage different groups to unite behind common goals. Peace or empathy museums, such as the museum designed by philosopher Roman Krznaric (which opened in London in 2015), and Nonviolent Communication education in schools could increase skills in empathy.

On the citizen-state peace dimension, Achham scored highest and Kathmandu lowest. The indicators explaining Kathmandu's comparatively low score were lack of trust in governmental institutions and local institutions, lack of government support, and perceptions of corruption. As capital city, Kathmandu hosts the government and most of the national institutions. Its citizens are therefore more exposed to media reports on corruption and government institutions than Nepalese living outside of the city. Peacebuilders could consider contributing to citizen-state peace in Kathmandu by supporting citizens in voicing their concerns and frustrations in constructive ways, thereby increasing the likelihood that they will be heard and removing reasons to resort to violence.

Achham also scored lowest on material peace, with lack of economic security and food security accounting for this result. The main occupation for the majority of people in Achham is agriculture, but lack of employment opportunities in the mountains and hills motivates a large number of people to move to the flatlands and India in search of work. Of all districts, the number of migrant workers from Achham is especially high. Tens of villages in Achham experience acute food security crises every year. Peacebuilders can strengthen the ways in which inhabitants of the district are trying to survive, for example by supporting women's groups with collaborative decision-making and planning processes to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of meetings. Peacebuilders can also help avert the escalation of poverty levels by preventing violent conflict from occurring, which could destroy lives, assets, infrastructure, markets, institutions, and social networks.

General recommendations

In order to increase the relevance and effectiveness of peacebuilding programs in Nepal, we advise practitioners to take the peace needs identified in this study explicitly into account when designing, planning and implementing peacebuilding programs including baseline studies and monitoring and evaluation plans.

Because reduced intrapersonal peace is associated with violence, mainstreaming intrapersonal peace into peacebuilding interventions seems warranted. More specifically, the pathway from psychopathy to violence can be addressed by building empathy; while the pathway from anxiety to violence can be addressed by reducing the tendency to make hostile attributions regarding the intentions of others. Relevant peace services are therefore Nonviolent Communication (NVC) trainings for teachers, peacemakers, and psychosocial workers, because NVC explicitly teaches the skill of empathizing with ourselves and others. Community mediation and dialogue facilitation services providers are advised to focus on reducing stereotypes and intergroup anxiety between conflicting

parties by creating mutual trust and explore ways in which intergroup contact can be beneficial for peace as opposed to detrimental.

Alongside government development efforts, peacebuilding practitioners could help constructively channel the frustrations surrounding national civic life dissatisfaction in Nepal to address the link between reduced national civic life satisfaction and violent action tendency. This could be done by communicating grievances through media and advocacy campaigns in ways that bridge the gap between citizens and state, reduce polarization, and ultimately avert violence. In addition, professionally trained dialogue facilitators, for example those associated with the Nepal Transition to Peace Institute in Kathmandu, could assist conflict parties in reframing polarized discussions to jointly held dilemmas of how to meet the needs of everyone involved. Talks about the new constitution, for instance, could with the support of dialogue facilitators build mutual trust by shifting focus from zero-sum bargaining on issues such as electoral constituencies, provinces, and citizenship; to collaborative problem-solving for meeting the needs of everyone to feel safe and represented.

Finding 2: Peace services

Peace services were conceptualized as support for emotionally painful and/or conflict situations from third parties in this study. Direct peace services, i.e. services that directly deal with the issue at hand, predicted nonviolence and increased levels of intrapersonal, interpersonal, citizen-state, and material peace. By contrast, indirect peace services, i.e. services that do not engage with the issue directly, predicted higher violence scores and lower intrapersonal and material peace scores.

The most important peace service providers of both direct and indirect services were spouses, family members, and friends, followed by VDC Secretaries, traditional justice providers, social workers, nurses and doctors, political actors, police officers, community mediators, dialogue facilitators, lawyers, and representatives of community-based organizations.

The peace services most wanted by the respondents were peace education and information for children and adults; rehabilitation services for substance abusers and victims of domestic violence; and mediation and reconciliation support for disputes in the family and community.

The peace services most respondents were willing to pay for are peace education in schools; rehabilitation services; and peace and conflict resources.

Discussion

As discussed in chapter 1, infrastructures for peace can inadvertently become obstacles for peace when they discriminate, are politicized or corrupt, lack the resources necessary to fulfill their mandate, and avoid engaging with the issues. This study confirms the importance of the latter: Peace services provided through infrastructures for peace should be direct, when tackling acute conflicts or painful emotions, because services that fail to deal with the problem directly may aggravate suffering. In practice, most peacebuilding interventions already concentrate on direct peace service delivery. This finding enhances the rationale for such interventions. It is, however, important to note that the present study focused on acute situations, in which active peace needs require immediate support or relief. We do not know what the effect of, for example, the indirect peace services of 'teaching conflict resolution', 'sharing-information', or 'forecasting the future' are on long-term violence prevention. Other research has shown that peace education for example, can be effective in violence prevention. The findings of this study merely suggest that such indirect services, when received by an individual with an acute peace need, do not contribute to nonviolence and peace.

The two strongest indicators of **indirect peace services** in this study are 'advising on averting bad luck', followed by 'forecasting the future'. Indeed, astrology (jyotis) is traditionally important in the daily existence of Nepalese people. Reasons to consult the astrologer can be birth, marriage, conflicts, disease, ceremonies, and important life decisions concerning career or travel. On the one hand, fortune telling and predictions may elicit a sense of security and confidence in the receiver; on the other hand, they may harm mental wellbeing. Studies have shown that predictions can stir anxiety in the receiver (Vyse, 2013), while external locus of control (the belief that we cannot control the events affecting us) has been linked to decreased self-regulation ability (Bandura, 1986). Being told what the future has in store for you may trigger a sense of disempowerment and indifference, as such compromising an individual's ability to foster a positive connection with him- or herself, leading to reduced intrapersonal peace. The original problem that prompted the individual to seek third-party support may remain unaddressed or addressed insufficiently. Often costly rituals and pujas are advised, which can add to possibly already existing financial burdens, manifesting in reduced material peace. Moreover, such rituals may result in a delay or even avoidance of professional support services for, for example, mental health issues or disputes, which could lead to an increase in the experience of and the tendency to use violence. Alternatively, it could be that individuals with low internal locus of control prefer to seek out indirect services like fortune telling, precisely because they do not emphasize personal responsibility and therefore allow the comfort of cognitive consonance. It could also be that individuals experiencing low material peace cannot afford, or are unaware of, professional support services and therefore tend to seek recourse in the ubiquitous traditional practices like fortune telling.

For **direct peace services**, the strongest indicators were 'support for collaborative problem-solving' and 'making decisions'. These services have in common that they tackle problems head on, but differ in their approach. The first is collaborative and the latter unilateral. Studies have shown that collaborative problem-solving skills contribute to flourishing parent-child and teacher-child relationships and to coping with conflict and problem-solving in the workplace (e.g. Green & Ablon, 2006; Jordan & Troth, 2004). In peacebuilding, collaborative problem-solving has been credited with sustainable peace agreements. A case in point are the Rome General Peace Accords, which ended the civil war in Mozambique and were mediated in a collaborative manner by Sant'Egidio (Hume, 1994). The direct peace service of 'making decisions' may refer to the long-standing tradition of informal arbitration (madhyasthata) in Nepal. In many villages, courts are absent and disputes settled by informal arbitration either by a village elder (a mukhiya or panchyat) or a committee (such as majjan dewam, samaajes, pancha bhaladmi or those established by local political parties). Those who resort to this service may benefit from the relief, clarity, and closure it brings, allowing them to move on.

As direct peace services do not let problems fester and in the process empower users to imagine alternatives to violence along the way, may be the reason why they predict nonviolence and peace in almost every dimension. An alternative explanation could be that individuals, who already enjoy high levels of peace and are not predisposed to violence, seek out direct peace services because they are aware of their effectiveness and their practicality, and are able to afford them. Direct peace services did not predict intercommunity peace. This is possibly because existing direct peace services focus more on practical problems within the community and less on underlying issues of intergroup anxiety, stereotypes, dehumanization, and absence of trust.

The finding that direct and indirect peace services are correlated suggests that most people use both kinds of services, but the benefit of the direct peace services are cancelled out by the negative impact of the indirect peace services.

The majority of respondents were willing to provide at least basic compensation for the use of peace services. This finding is important because the Nepal government and donors, the most important enablers and implementers of direct peace services, have so far not been able to make a wide range of services available despite their intentions. The government of Nepal, for example, aims to make the direct peace service of community mediation available to all citizens. The results of this study suggest that there is potential for other peace service providers, like companies specializing in peace education for schools or mediation, to upscale and expand the outreach of peace services. Moreover, users' willingness to pay could be a quality control measure, providing information about the relevance, acceptance, and appropriateness of the services.

Group-specific recommendations

Districts that scored highest on the use of indirect peace services are **Achham and Saptari**. Specifically, Achham scored high on 'giving medication' while both Achham and Saptari scored high on 'forecasting the future'. Moreover, Saptari was one of the two districts scoring lowest on intrapersonal peace, while Achham scored lowest on intercommunity and material peace. These findings lead us to recommend encouraging the inhabitants of these districts to use direct peace services with a focus on intrapersonal peace, for example psychosocial counseling, and the service providers in these districts to scale up their offer. Many studies show a positive relation between counseling and mental health improvement. Instead of only 'giving medication', research suggests that therapy, or a combination of antidepressant drugs and therapy, is more effective in treating depression, for example. Moreover, for those who recover, psychotherapy seems to be more effective in reducing relapse risk on the long run (Carey, 2015).

Kaski and Banke scored lowest on the use of direct peace services. While Kaski scored highest on several peace dimensions and lowest on the violence index, **Banke** (together with Saptari) scored lowest on intrapersonal peace and highest on the violence index (together with Kapilvastu). Banke could therefore benefit from more direct peace services, specifically focused on intrapersonal peace and community disputes, as the latter explained the high scores of this district on the violence index. Relevant infrastructures for peace could include community mediation committees, conflict coaching teams, and dialogue facilitator pools.

Another group of respondents scoring high on indirect peace services were the **Sudras**. They scored especially high on 'forecasting the future' and 'advising on averting bad luck'. Of the four castes, Sudras scored consistently lowest on all peace dimensions except citizen-state peace, and highest on the violence indicators of substance abuse and community disputes. Based on this, we recommend increasing access to direct peace services, with a focus on intrapersonal peace, for this group. Such services could include psychosocial counseling and NVC trainings.

People living in the **flatlands/Terai** scored significantly higher on the use of indirect peace services than people living in the hills/Pahad. This, in combination with the fact that they also scored higher on community disputes, intergroup discrimination, and political violence and lower on intrapersonal and interpersonal peace than people in the hills, warrants making available more direct peace services with emphasis on interpersonal and intercommunity peace for inhabitants of this re-

gion. This could include nonviolent lobby and advocacy support, community mediation, and peace education. Moreover, the **Pahad** scored significantly lower on intercommunity peace towards the Terai than vice versa, and this score is likely to have further decreased since the survey was conducted due to conflicts surrounding the new constitution of Nepal. For this reason, we also advise the establishment of direct peace services at the intercommunity level for both communities. This should include measures to reduce social distance and social threat perception, and build intergroup trust. Ways of doing this are making available dialogue facilitation for the leadership of both regions to increase mutual understanding of grievances and priorities, ensure collaborative problem-solving, and produce settlements satisfactory to both parties. Other suggestions are peace education in schools based in the Terai and Pahad promoting the common humanity of all Nepalese citizens and beyond; and increasing exposure to examples of positive bi-regional relationships, drawn from bi-regional NGOs, educational institutions, or businesses via radio and television.

General recommendations

Peacebuilding practitioners, policy-makers, and donors are advised to shift the balance between the use of direct and indirect peace services in favor of the former to allow more people to experience the benefit of direct peace services and bolster peace and nonviolence. This could be aided by establishing referral-systems between indirect and direct peace service providers (i.e. astrologers and mediators), making available more direct peace services; and by lowering the barriers to direct peace service providers through financing and marketing campaigns. We advise the continuation of increasing access to peace services like community mediation and dialogue facilitation based on collaborative principles in the VDCs and municipalities.

To ensure and upscale the quality of direct peace service delivery, training capacities could be enhanced. Non-governmental organizations with relevant training experience, such as the members of the Melmilap Alliance and the Asia Foundation, could establish a professional mediation training institute or training department, for example in conjunction with the Department of Conflict, Peace and Development of the Tribhuvan University and/or the Mediation Council. Bundling expertise and resources in this way, such an institute could set and upscale existing standards for certification, expand outreach, and guarantee high-quality mediation training in Nepal.

Professionally trained mediators, dialogue facilitators, and peace workers are most likely to already deliver direct peace services. Since the most important service providers consist of people's intimate circle, however, we advise country-wide peace education to build capacity in direct peace service delivery, both in schools and communities. This could be promoted by integrating and strengthening peace education programs in Nepal's national education system, for example using UNESCO's guidelines for integrating an Education for Peace curriculum into education sector plans and policies (2015). Curricula for schools could be based on time-tested programs like those developed by Peaceful Schools, Roots of Empathy, and the Centre for Nonviolent Communication.

Should peacebuilders and donors consider making available services like peace education for children, rehabilitation, and peace and conflict resources, we recommend checking with future users whether they would indeed be willing to pay for them in order to increase ownership, sustainability, and by way of quality control. Given respondents' willingness to offer basic

compensation for the use of peace services and their current limited availability, peace service providers like companies specializing in peace education for schools or mediation, could be encouraged to complement the ongoing efforts of the Nepal government and donors.

Peace service enablers and providers are advised to focus on direct peace services when aiming to establish infrastructures for peace in order to address acute peace needs in beneficial ways. Direct peace service delivery could be included as an indicator in monitoring and evaluation plans for infrastructures for peace.

खण्ड १०:

छलफल र सुभावाहरू

यस अन्तिम खण्डले शान्ति आवश्यकताहरू र शान्ति सेवाहरूमा केन्द्रित रहेर केही महत्वपूर्ण निष्कर्षहरूलाई संक्षिप्त र सटिकरूपमा प्रकाश पार्छ । अनुसन्धानको प्रश्नावलीसँग सम्बन्धित रहे पनि यस खण्डमा तिनको विश्लेषणका परिणामहरू पनि निष्कर्षमा समावेश हुने गरी बृहतरूपमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । प्रत्येक खण्डको निष्कर्षलाई सारांशमा प्रस्तुत गरेपछि छलफल र सुभाव दिइएका छन् ।

निष्कर्षहरू

निष्कर्ष १ : शान्ति आवश्यकताहरू : शान्तिको समग्र अनुभवमा यस नमुनाले मध्यमदेखि उच्च प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरेको छ । विस्तृत रूपमा भन्नुपर्दा व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्ति र अन्तर सामुदायिक शान्तिको प्राप्ताङ्क उच्च थियो भने भौतिक शान्ति र व्यक्तिहरूको पारस्परिक शान्तिको प्राप्ताङ्क मध्यम थियो । सबैभन्दा कम प्राप्ताङ्क नागरिक-राज्यको शान्ति आयाममा थियो । शान्ति आयामको सबैभन्दा प्रभावशाली सुचाङ्कहरूमा निम्न शान्ति आवश्यकताहरू रहे : दिक्दारीपन र चिन्ताको अनुपस्थिति (व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्तिका लागि); आफ्नो र छिमेकी गाउँका सदस्यहरूको सहयोग (व्यक्तिहरू बीचको पारस्परिक शान्तिका लागि); अन्तर सामुहिक तनाव/चिन्ता र सामाजिक दुरीको अनुपस्थिति (अन्तर सामुदायिक शान्तिका लागि); राष्ट्रिय नागरिक जीवनप्रतिको सन्तुष्टि र सरकारी संस्थाहरूप्रतिको विश्वास (नागरिक-राज्यको शान्तिका लागि); र खाद्य र आर्थिक सुरक्षा (भौतिक शान्तिका लागि) । राष्ट्रिय नागरिक जीवनप्रतिको कम सन्तुष्टि र व्यक्तिको कम आन्तरिक शान्तिका कारण, सामाजिक र राजनैतिक परिवर्तनका लागि मानिसहरूले हिंसाको बाटो अवलम्बन गर्ने तत्परताको पुर्वानुमान गराउँदछ ।

छलफल

शान्तिको अनुभव कुन तत्वहरूसँग सम्बन्धित हुँदा रहेछन् भन्ने थाहा भएपछि शान्ति स्थापनामा रुचि भएका व्यक्तिहरूले शान्तिको कुन आयाममा (अर्थात् सम्बन्धन गर्न चाहेको शान्ति आवश्यकता), कुन कारणले र कुन माध्यमद्वारा आफुले योगदान गर्ने भन्ने विषयमा जानकारी प्राप्त भएर निर्णय लिन सक्छन् ।

व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्तिको सबैभन्दा महत्वपूर्ण सुचाङ्कका रूपमा दिक्दारीपन र चिन्ता रहेका थिए । त्यस अतिरिक्त व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्तिकै पाटोमा पर्ने चिन्ता र मनोविक्षिप्त प्रवृत्तिले, हिंसाको विभिन्न बाटोतिर डो-याउन भूमिका खेल्ने पनि देखिन्छ । एकातिर चिन्तालाई हिंसाको पुर्वानुमान गराउने तत्वको रूपमा हेर्दा, चिन्ता बढ्दै जानाले त्रास र आफुप्रति हुन सक्ने आक्रमणको भान बढेर आत्मरक्षाका व्यवहार ल्याउने र त्यसले हिंसातिर डो-याउने देखिन्छ । अर्कातिर मनोविक्षिप्तताको कडा प्रवृत्तिलाई हिंसाको पुर्वानुमान गराउने तत्वको रूपमा हेर्दा यसले समानुभुतिको अभाव र आत्मकेन्द्रित भएर अरुको आवश्यकता प्रति बेवास्ता गर्ने बाटो हुँदै आफ्नो उद्देश्य प्राप्त गर्ने औजारका रूपमा हिंसा अवलम्बन गर्ने बाटोतिर डो-याउने देखिन्छ । शान्ति स्थापनाको दृष्टिकोणबाट हेर्दा व्यक्तिहरूलाई चिन्ता न्युनीकरण गर्न र मनोविक्षिप्त प्रवृत्तिलाई कम गराउनका लागि सहयोगी र समानुभुतिपूर्ण सम्बन्धहरू विकास र कायम गर्ने क्षमताका लागि सहयोग गर्नले आन्तरिक शान्तिका लागि योगदान मिल्न सक्छ । दिक्दारीपन, चिन्ता र मनोविक्षिप्तताबाट पीडित व्यक्तिहरूलाई सहयोग गर्ने जिम्मेवारी सामान्यतया मानसिक स्वास्थ्य क्षेत्रको हो । तर यससम्बन्धी सचेतना फैलाउनु भने शान्ति स्थापनाकर्ताको पनि हो, किनभने : (१) व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्तिको कमी, विशेषगरी चिन्ता र मनोविक्षिप्त प्रवृत्तिले हिंसात्मक क्रियाकलापको पुर्वानुमान गराउँछ; (२) शान्ति स्थापनाका क्षेत्रले अहिंसात्मक सञ्चार जस्ता विधिहरूको विकास गरेको छ, जसले चिन्ता र अन्य मानसिक अस्वस्थताका लक्षणहरूबाट राहत प्रदान गर्न सक्छ; र (३) मानसिक स्वास्थ्य सेवा उपलब्ध नहुने गाउँहरूमा, सामुदायिक मेलमिलाप जस्ता शान्ति स्थापनाका सेवा उपलब्ध गराउन सकिन्छ ।

नेपालका धेरै बासिन्दाहरूको जन्मथलो दुर्गम भेगका अलग्गिएर रहेका समुदायहरूमा छन् । त्यसैले पनि हुन सक्छ, नेपालमा आफ्नै गाउँले र छिमेकी गाउँलेहरूको सहयोग व्यक्तिगत आन्तरिक शान्तिका लागि निकै महत्वपूर्ण रहेको हुन्छ । सामाजिक दुरी नेपालमा अन्तरसामुदायिक शान्तिका लागि पुर्वानुमान गराउने तत्वमा सबैभन्दा बलियो दुईमध्ये एक हो । सामाजिक दुरीसँग भने अन्तरसामुदायिक चिन्ताको निकै निकट सम्बन्ध छ, जुन नेपालको अन्तरसामुदायिक शान्तिको अर्को पुर्वानुमान गराउने तत्व हो । यो देश सामाजिक समुहहरूको रंगीबिरंगी चित्र जस्तै छ, जहाँ १२५ जातजाति र १२३ वटा भाषाहरू छन् (राष्ट्रिय जनगणना, २०११) । होफ्स्टेड, होफ्स्टेड र मिन्कोभ (२०१०) का अनुसार साभापनामा विश्वास गर्ने समाजका रूपमा, नेपालीहरूले दैनिक जीवनमा अरुसँग जानकारीहरू आदानप्रदान गर्ने शब्द र विषयवस्तुलाई सामुहिक पहिचानले नै निर्धारण गरिरहेको हुन्छ । यसले पनि नेपालमा अन्तरसामुदायिक शान्तिको अनुभवका लागि, बाहिरी समुहसँगको सामाजिक दुरी र अन्तरसामुदायिक चिन्ता किन महत्वपूर्ण छ भन्ने कुराको व्याख्या गर्छ । बाहिरी समुहसँगको सम्पर्कले हिंसात्मक क्रियाकलापको सम्भाव्यताको जोखिम बढाउने देखिन्छ । यसले पुर्वाग्रहहरू घटाउनका लागि अन्तरसामुहिक सम्पर्कबाट लाभ उठाउनमा तुलनात्मक रूपमा असमर्थताप्रति इंगित गर्छ । यसको कारणमा, बारम्बार सम्पर्कमा भइरहने बाहिरी समुहका सदस्यहरूसँग पनि गहिरो सञ्चारको कमी हुन सक्छ (यस सम्पर्कका बारेमा भविष्यमा हुने अनुसन्धानहरूमा थप अध्ययन गरिनुपर्छ) । यसबाहेक

विगतका पीडाबोधले गर्दा प्रतिशोध लिने चाहना पनि हिंसाको एक शक्तिशाली उत्प्रेरकका रूपमा देखिन्छ ।

शान्ति स्थापनाको दृष्टिकोणमा अन्तरसामुहिक सम्पर्कले ल्याउने नकारात्मक असरलाई उल्टाईदिने र समुहहरू बीचको सामाजिक दुरी घटाईदिने तरिकाहरूद्वारा अन्तरसामुदायिक शान्तिलाई सबलीकरण गर्न सकिन्छ । उदाहरणका लागि संवाद सहजीकरणले संलग्न सबै पक्षहरूलाई अन्तरसामुहिक सम्पर्क पनि एक सकारात्मक अनुभव हुन सक्छ भन्ने कुराको अनुभूति गराउन सक्छ ।

यस अध्ययनका लागि बनाइएको नेपालका नागरिक र राज्य बीचको सम्बन्धको अवधारणालाई राष्ट्रिय नागरिक जीवनप्रतिको सन्तुष्टि र सरकारी संस्थाहरूप्रतिको विश्वसनीयताले निर्धारण गरेको छ । यिनको अनुपस्थितिमा नेपालीहरूलाई जीवनको यस आयाममा शान्तिको बोध गर्न कठिन हुन्छ । नेपालमा सर्वत्र भ्रष्टाचार र फितलो सरकारी निकायहरू रहेको दृष्टिकोण व्याप्त छ । त्यसैकारण नागरिक-राज्य बीचको शान्तिले सबै शान्ति आयामहरू मध्येमा सबैभन्दा कम प्राप्त हुन सकेकोमा कुनै अनौठो रहेन । राष्ट्रिय स्तरमा नै नागरिक जीवन प्रतिको असन्तुष्टिले, हिंसात्मक क्रियाकलाप हुने उन्मुखताको पुर्वानुमान गराउँछ । यसलाई समाधान गर्नका लागि शान्ति स्थापनाकर्ताहरूले अहिंसात्मक क्रियाकलापप्रतिको उन्मुखतालाई सबलीकरण गर्न सक्छन्, जस्तै सामाजिक परिवर्तनका लागि किड र गान्धीका अहिंसात्मक परम्पराजस्ता अहिंसात्मक तरिकाहरूबारे सचेतना बढाउन सकिन्छ । वैकल्पिक रूपमा शान्ति स्थापनाकर्ताहरूले नेपालमा नागरिक जीवनप्रतिको असन्तुष्टिले ल्याउने नैराश्र्यतालाई सृजनात्मक तरिकाले निकास दिन सहयोग गर्न सक्छन् । यसका लागि गुनासाहरूलाई मिडियामार्फत सञ्चार गर्ने र वकालतका अभियानहरू गरेर नागरिकहरू र राज्यबीच सेतु बनाउने, धुवीकरण कम गर्ने र अन्ततः हिंसालाई रोक्ने हो । उत्तरदाताका भौतिक शान्ति बोधलाई निर्धारण गराउने सबैभन्दा महत्वपूर्ण दुई तत्वमा खाद्य सुरक्षा र आर्थिक सुरक्षा पर्छन् । यी दुवै सुचकले बाँच्नका लागि अत्यावश्यक कुरा परिपूर्ति गर्ने क्षमतालाई दर्साउँछ । २५% भन्दा बढी जनसंख्या गरिबीको रेखामुनि रहेको (एसियाली विकास बैंक, २०१६) र आयका भरपर्दा स्रोतहरू पाउन निकै कठिन हुने देशमा यस प्रकारको परिणाम आउने अपेक्षा सजिलै गर्न सकिन्छ । हुन त शान्ति स्थापनाको प्रमुख लक्ष्य भनेको खाद्य र आय जस्ता बाँच्नका लागि अत्यावश्यक कुराहरूको सन्तुष्टि गराउनु होइन, तैपनि अभ्यासकर्ताहरूले मानिसहरू बाँच्नका लागि प्रयास गर्ने प्रक्रियामा सहयोग गर्न सक्छन् । जस्तै स्रोतको बाँडफाँड र व्यवस्थापन जस्ता संवेदनशील विषयहरूमा संवाद सहजीकरण गर्न सकिन्छ । त्यसैगरी विनाशकारी विकास र स्थानीय स्रोतसम्बन्धी हिंसात्मक द्वन्द्व रोकथाम गर्नका लागि मानवीय सहयोगका कार्यक्रमहरूमा द्वन्द्व संवेदनशीलताका सिद्धान्तहरू मुलधारमा ल्याउने, वा मध्यस्थकर्ता वा मेलमिलापकर्ताका रूपमा द्वन्द्वको सुरुवाती अवस्थामा नै सम्बोधन गर्नमा पनि शान्ति स्थापनाको भूमिका रहन्छ ।

जिल्ला विशेष सुझावहरू

सर्वेक्षण गरिएका सबै जिल्लामध्ये, सप्तरी र बाँकेले व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्तिमा सबैभन्दा कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गर्‍यो । दिक्दारीपन, अन्यायको बोध, चिन्ता र व्यवहारको नियमन अभावमा सबैभन्दा बढी प्राप्ताङ्क बाँकेको छ । भावनाको नियमन

अभाव, भगडालुपना, उदासीनता, रिस र आघातपछिको तनावका लक्षणमा सप्तरीको सबैभन्दा बढी प्राप्ताङ्क छ । हामीलाई जानकारी भए अनुसार सप्तरीका ११४ गाउँमध्ये ४९ मा र बाँकेको ४७ गाउँमध्ये २९ गाउँ र एक नगरपालिकामा सामुदायिक मेलमिलापका सेवा उपलब्ध छन् । यसबाहेक दुई स्थानमा संवाद सहजीकरण सेवा पनि छन् । प्रायजसो सामुदायिक मेलमिलापकर्ता र संवाद सहजकर्ताहरू समानुभूतिपूर्ण सुनाइमा प्रशिक्षित छन्, जुन मानसिक स्वास्थ्य सेवाको एक महत्वपूर्ण सीप पनि हो । त्यसका अतिरिक्त बाँकेका केही संवाद सहजकर्ताहरूले टिपिओ नेपाल नामक संस्थाबाट मानसिक स्वास्थ्यका समस्याहरूको पहिचान, सहयोग र सिफारिस गर्नका लागि थप प्रशिक्षण पनि प्राप्त गरेका छन् तर उनीहरूको सेवा प्रवाह सीमित मात्र छ । यी जिल्लाहरूमा समानुभूतिपूर्ण सुनाइको सेवा प्राप्त गरेका व्यक्तिहरूको मानसिक तनावका लक्षणहरू कम भए वा भएनन् भन्ने अनुसन्धान यस अध्ययनको क्षेत्रभन्दा बाहिर थियो । यिनको अध्ययन गरेर यस्ता समस्या सम्बोधनका लागि सबैभन्दा उपयुक्त शान्ति स्थापनाको कार्यक्रम के हुन सक्छ भनेर पहिचान गर्न सकिन्छ ।

मानसिक स्वास्थ्य सेवा उपलब्ध नभएका तर सामुदायिक मेलमिलापकर्ता र संवाद सहजकर्ता (अथवा अन्य कुनै पनि पेसागत शान्ति सेवा प्रदायकहरू) उपलब्ध भएका गाउँहरूमा यिनलाई आकस्मिक अवस्थामा मानसिक स्वास्थ्यसम्बन्धी प्राथमिक उपचार का लागि काम गर्नका लागि परिचालन गर्न सकिन्छ । यदि मेलमिलापकर्ता र संवाद सहजकर्ताहरूले वास्तवमै यो थप कार्यभार पनि लिने हो भने उनीहरू आफैलाई पनि तालिम र सहयोगको आवश्यकता पर्छ, जुन कुरा शान्ति स्थापनाका कार्यक्रमहरूको रूपरेखा तयार गर्दा विचार पुऱ्याउनुपर्ने हुन्छ । यस अतिरिक्त व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्ति र हिंसा प्रयोग गर्ने तत्परताको बीचमा सम्बन्ध हुने हुनाले, जब हिंसात्मक व्यवहार वा त्यस्ता व्यवहारको रोकथामका लागि काम गरिन्छ, व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक सुखलाई लक्षित गरिनुपर्छ भन्ने इंगित गर्छ ।

व्यक्तिहरू बीचको पारस्परिक शान्तिमा कञ्चनपुरले सबैभन्दा कम र त्यसपछि काठमाडौंले कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरेको थियो । यस कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गर्नका लागि सुचकका रूपमा गाउँलेहरूको सहयोग, सामाजिक क्षमता र फरासिलोपना रहेका थिए । गाउँलेका सहयोगमा यस जिल्लाहरूको कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गर्नुमा कुनै आश्चर्य रहेन, किनकि कञ्चनपुरमा पहाडी जिल्लाहरू र नजिकैका थारु समुदायबाट बसाइँ सराइका कारण बढ्दो जनसंख्या र काठमाडौंमा विगत ५० वर्षमा नयाँ बासिन्दाहरूको चाप निकै बढिरहेको अवस्था छ । प्रायजसो शान्ति स्थापनाका कार्यक्रमहरू काठमाडौं बाहिर सञ्चालन गरिन्छन्, जबकि

यस सहरमा शान्ति स्थापनाका प्रशिक्षक र विज्ञहरूको जमात रहेको छ, जसलाई सहरी परिवेशमा सामाजिक जालोलाई सुदृढ गर्ने कार्यक्रमहरूमा परिचालित गर्न सकिन्छ । यस सर्वेक्षणलाई अहिले पुनः दोहोर्‍याएर गर्नुपरेमा काठमाडौंमा गाउँलेको सहयोगको सुचकांकमा त्यस्तै कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल हुन्थ्यो वा हुन्नथ्यो भनेर भन्न सकिन्छ । २०१२ सालको वैशाखमा गएका दुई ठुला भुकम्पले सहरका थुप्रै नागरिकलाई अनपेक्षित रूपले नजिक ल्याइदियो, जसबेला उनीहरूले एकअर्कासँग खाना र बासस्थान बाँडे र एकअर्काको घर पुनर्निर्माणमा सहयोग गरे । यसको विपरीत कञ्चनपुरमा भने भुकम्पले असर गरेन । यस जिल्लामा विभिन्न पेसागत शान्ति सेवा प्रदायकहरू बसोबास गर्छन् । उदाहरणका लागि कञ्चनपुरको २१ गाउँ सहरमध्ये १३ मा सामुदायिक मेलमिलापकर्ता छन् र सन् २०११ म स्थापित एक शान्ति स्थापना सञ्जाल समिति पनि छ । शान्तिस्थापनामा पारस्परिक सन्तुष्टि दिने सम्बन्ध विकासमा इमान्दारीतापूर्णको स्वअभिव्यक्ति पनि एक महत्वपूर्ण सीप हो । त्यसैले कञ्चनपुर मा व्यक्तिहरू बीचको पारस्परिक शान्ति सुदृढ गर्न इच्छुकहरूका लागि र अभै विशेषगरी फरासिलोपना र सामाजिक क्षमता सुदृढ गर्नका लागि यी सेवा प्रदायकहरू सम्भाव्य रूपमा उपयोगी स्रोत हुन सक्छन् ।

अन्तरसामुदायिक शान्तिमा अछामले सबैभन्दा कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गर्‍यो । यस परिणामको लागि सुचकका रूपमा रहेका अमानवीयतामा अछामले सबैभन्दा बढी प्राप्ताङ्क र सृजनात्मक खालका अन्तरसामुहिक सम्पर्कमा सबैभन्दा कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गर्‍यो । सन् १९९६-२००६ सम्म नेपालमा भएको सशस्त्र द्वन्द्वका बेला सयौं मानिसहरूको मृत्यु, विस्थापन र घाइते भएको जिल्ला भएकोले अछाम एकदम प्रभावित जिल्लाहरूमध्ये एक हो । त्यसबाहेक अछाममा कर्मैयाजस्ता अन्य प्रकारका सामाजिक-आर्थिक शोषणको परम्परा पनि रहेको छ, जहाँ लैङ्गिक र जातीय आधारमा हुने भेदभाव अभै पनि व्याप्त छ । हुन त सृजनात्मक खालका अन्तरसामुहिक सम्पर्कको अभाव आफैमा समस्या त होइन तर त्यससँगै अमानवीयता पनि उपस्थित रहेको अवस्थामा भने यसले द्वन्द्वको सम्भाव्यता हवातै बढाउँछ । यदि अरुहरूसँग सम्पर्क नै छैन वा एकदम कम सम्पर्क छ भने ती अन्य व्यक्तिहरू आफुभन्दा कम महत्वका हुन् भन्ने विचार सजिलै कायम हुन्छ । हाम्रो अध्ययनले हुन त यो कुराको पुष्टि गर्दैन तर थुप्रै विद्वानहरूका अनुसार अमानवीयता भन्ने कुरा बढ्दो हिंसासँग जोडिएको हुन्छ, जस्तै मानव अधिकार उल्लङ्घन, युद्ध अपराध र नरसंहार । अमानवीयताको मनोवैज्ञानिक प्रक्रियालाई मानवीयता बढाउने प्रयासद्वारा समाधान गर्न वा विपरीत गर्न सम्भव छ भनिन्छ : जस्तै समानुभुतिको विकास; द्वन्द्वरत पक्षहरू बीच व्यक्तिगत सम्बन्धको स्थापना र साभा लक्ष्य प्राप्तिका लागि अग्रसर हुने (जुन सैन्य तालिमको ठिक विपरीत हुन जान्छ) । हाम्रो जानकारीका अनुसार अछाममा सामुदायिक मेलमिलाप सेवा उपलब्ध छैन तर केही युवा केन्द्रित शान्तिस्थापनाका क्रियाकलाप भने भएका छन् । मेलमिलाप र संवाद सहजीकरण जस्ता शान्ति सेवाले पीडासमन र पुनर्मिलापलाई सहयोग पुग्ने देखिन्छ भने सामुदायिक परिकल्पना प्रक्रिया र त्यसपछिका क्रियाकलापमा संलग्न गराएर विभिन्न समूहलाई एकत्रित गरेर साभा लक्ष्यका लागि एकजुट हुनका लागि प्रेरित गर्न सकिन्छ । दार्शनिक रोमन कृष्णारिकले डिजाइन गरेर लन्डनमा सन् २०१५मा खोलिएको सङ्ग्रहालय जस्ता शान्ति र समानुभुति सङ्ग्रहालय र विद्यालयहरूमा अहिंसात्मक सञ्चार जस्ता कुराले समानुभुतिका सीप विकास हुन सक्छ । नागरिक-राज्य शान्ति आयाममा अछामले सबैभन्दा बढी प्राप्ताङ्क र काठमाडौंले सबैभन्दा कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गर्‍यो । काठमाडौंको तुलनात्मक रूपमा कम प्राप्ताङ्कलाई व्याख्या गर्ने सुचकहरूमा सरकारी संस्था र स्थानीय निकायहरू प्रतिको विश्वासमा अभाव, सरकारी सहयोगको अभाव र भ्रष्टाचारको बुझाइ हो । राजधानी भएको कारण काठमाडौंमा सरकारी र प्रायजसो राष्ट्रियस्तरका संघसंस्था छन् । त्यसैकारणले पनि यहाँका नागरिक अन्य स्थानका नागरिकभन्दा भ्रष्टाचार र सरकारी संस्थाहरूबारे आम-सञ्चार क्षेत्रले प्रस्तुत गर्ने प्रतिवेदनमा बढी जानकार छन् । नागरिक-राज्य शान्तिलाई योगदान गर्नका लागि शान्ति स्थापनाकर्ताहरूले नागरिकहरूको नैराश्यता र चासोका विषयका आवाजलाई रचनात्मक तरिकाले बाहिर ल्याउनमा मद्दत गर्न सक्छन् । यसले गर्दा ती आवाजको सुनवाइ हुने र हिंसामा परिणत हुनुपर्ने कारणहरू हट्न सक्ने सम्भावना रहन्छ । भौतिक शान्तिमा पनि अछामले सबैभन्दा कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरेको थियो । आर्थिक असुरक्षा र खाद्य असुरक्षा यस परिणामका कारक तत्व थिए । अछामका बहुसंख्यक बासिन्दाका प्रमुख पेसा कृषि हो तर पहाडी र हिमाली भेगमा आयआर्जनको अवसर का कमीका कारण धेरै मानिस तराई र भारतमा कामको खोजीमा जाने गर्छन् । सबै जिल्लामध्ये आप्रवासी कामदारको संख्या अछाममा बढी नै छ । प्रत्येक वर्ष अछामका दसौं गाउँहरूमा चरम खाद्य सुरक्षाको संकट आइपर्ने गरेको छ । शान्तिस्थापना(कर्ताहरूले अछामका बासिन्दाहरूले जीवन निर्वाहका लागि गरिरहेको प्रयासलाई थप बल प्रदान गर्नका लागि संयुक्त निर्णय र योजना प्रक्रियाद्वारा बैठकको प्रभावकारीता र कार्यकुशलता बढाउनका लागि महिला समूहहरूलाई सहयोग गर्ने जस्ता खालका सहयोग गर्न सक्छन् । हिंसात्मक द्वन्द्वहरूले जीवन, सम्पत्ति, संरचना, बजार, संस्था र सामाजिक संजालहरू तहसनहस पार्ने हुनाले त्यस्ता हिंसात्मक द्वन्द्वहरू हुनबाट जोगाएर अछामका बासिन्दालाई थप गरिबीमा पर्नबाट पनि शान्तिस्थापनाकर्ताहरूले भुमिका खेल्न सक्छन् ।

सामान्य सुभावहरू

नेपालका शान्तिस्थापना सम्बन्धी कार्यक्रमहरूको सान्दर्भिकता र प्रभावकारीता बढाउनका लागि शान्तिकर्मीहरूलाई हामी यस अध्ययनमा पहिचान गरिएका शान्ति आवश्यकताहरूलाई स्पष्ट रूपमा ध्यानमा राख्नका लागि सुभाव दिइन्छ । शान्ति स्थापनाका कार्यक्रमहरूको रूपरेखा तयार गर्दा योजना गर्दा र कार्यान्वयन गर्दा साथसाथै आधाररेखा अध्ययनहरू र अनुगमन र मुल्याङ्कन योजनामा पनि यिनलाई ध्यानमा राख्न सुभाव दिन्छौं ।

व्यक्तिको कम आन्तरिक शान्ति हिंसासँग जोडिएको हुनाले कुनै पनि शान्ति स्थापनाका कार्यहरूमा व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्तिलाई मुलधारमा राखिनुपर्ने कुरा अत्यावश्यक देखिन्छ । अभै स्पष्ट रूपमा भन्नुपर्दा मनोविक्षिप्ति हुँदै हिंसासम्म पुग्ने

बाटोलाई समानुभुतिद्वारा सम्बोधन गर्न सकिन्छ भने अर्कातिर चिन्ता हुँदै हिसासम्म पुग्ने बाटोलाई सम्बोधन गर्नका लागि अरुको मनसायप्रति शत्रुवत् तरिकाले प्रस्तुत हुने प्रवृत्तिको न्युनीकरण गर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ । त्यसैकारण शिक्षक, शान्ति कार्यकर्ता, मनोसामाजिक कार्यकर्ताहरूलाई अहिंसात्मक सञ्चारको प्रशिक्षण एक सान्दर्भिक शान्ति सेवा हो, किनकि अहिंसात्मक सञ्चारले स्पष्टरूपमा आफैँप्रति र अरुप्रति समानुभुति प्रकट गर्ने सीप सिकाउँछ । सामुदायिक मेलमिलाप र संवाद सहजीकरण सेवा प्रदायकहरूलाई रूढिवादीपना र अन्तरसामुहिक चिन्ता न्युनीकरणमा केन्द्रित हुन सुभावा गरिन्छ । यसका लागि पारस्परिक विश्वास सृजना र अन्तरसामुहिक सम्पर्कका तरिकाहरूको खोजी गर्नु शान्तिका लागि फाइदाजनक हुन सक्छ ।

विकासका लागि सरकारी प्रयासका साथसाथै शान्ति स्थापनाकर्ताहरूले नेपालमा नागरिक जीवनप्रतिको असन्तुष्टिले ल्याउने नैराश्र्यतालाई सृजनात्मक तरिकाले निकास दिन सहयोग गर्न सक्छन् । यसो गर्दा नागरिक जीवनप्रतिको सन्तुष्टिको कमी र हिसात्मक गतिविधिको प्रवृत्तिबीचको सम्बन्धलाई सम्बोधन गर्न मद्दत मिल्छ । यसका लागि गुनासाहरूलाई आमसञ्चार का माध्यममार्फत सञ्चार गर्ने र वकालतका अभियानहरू गरेर नागरिकहरू र राज्य बीच सेतु बनाउने, ध्रुवीकरण कम गर्ने र अन्तत्वगत्वा हिसालाई रोक्ने हो । यसका अतिरिक्त नेपालको शान्तिमा रूपान्तरण संस्थापन (Nepal Transition to Peace Institute)मा आबद्ध भएका जस्ता पेसागत रूपमा नै प्रशिक्षित संवाद सहजकर्ताहरूले द्वन्द्वरत पक्षहरूलाई ध्रुवीकरण भएका विवादलाई कसरी संलग्न सबैको आवश्यकता पुरा गर्ने संयुक्त द्विविधाका रूपमा पुनर्विचार गर्ने भनेर सहयोग गर्न सक्छन् । उदाहरणका लागि नयाँ संविधानमा निर्वाचन क्षेत्र, प्रदेश र नागरिकता जस्ता विषयवस्तुहरू बारे हुने अफलदायी बहसलाई संवाद सहजकर्ताको सहयोगमा सबैजनाले सुरक्षित र प्रतिनिधित्व भएको महसुस गर्ने आवश्यकतालाई परिपुर्तिका लागि समा(धानमुलक सहकार्यतर्फ लग्दा आपसी सद्भाव बढ्न सक्छ ।

निष्कर्ष २ : शान्ति सेवाहरू

यस अध्ययनमा शान्ति सेवाको अवधारणा भनेको भावनात्मक रूपमा पीडादायी वा द्वन्द्वको अवस्थामा तेस्रो पक्षले गर्ने सहयोग हो । प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाहरू अर्थात् तात्कालिक अवस्थामै विषयवस्तुको सामना गर्ने सेवाले, अहिंसाको पुर्वानुमान गर्न सकियो र व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक, पारस्परिक, नागरिक-राज्य र भौतिक शान्तिको तहलाई बढायो । यसका विपरीत विषयवस्तुमा प्रत्यक्ष संलग्न नभइने अप्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाहरूले बढी हिंसाको प्राप्ताङ्क र व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक र भौतिक शान्तिको कम प्राप्ताङ्कको पुर्वानुमान गरायो ।

प्रत्यक्ष र अप्रत्यक्ष दुवै सेवा प्रदायकमा पति/पत्नी, परिवारका सदस्य र साथीहरू थिए । ती पछि क्रमशः गाविस सचिव, परम्परागत न्यायदाताहरू, सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता, परिचारिका तथा चिकित्सक राजनीतिकर्मी, प्रहरी, सामुदायिक मेलमिलापकर्ता, संवाद सहजकर्ता, वकिल र समुदायमा आधारित संस्थाका प्रतिनिधि थिए ।

उत्तरदाताहरूले सबैभन्दा बढी चाहेको शान्ति सेवामा बालबालिका र वयष्कका लागि शान्तिसम्बन्धी शिक्षा र जानकारी; लागुपदार्थ दुर्व्यसनी र घरेलु हिंसा पीडितका लागि पुनर्स्थापना सेवा; र समुदाय र परिवारमा हुने विवादका लागि मेलमिलाप र पुनर्मिलापका सहयोग थिए ।

प्रायजसो उत्तरदाताले शुल्क तिर्नका लागि पनि तयार रहेको शान्ति सेवा भनेको विद्यालय शिक्षा, पुनर्स्थापना सेवा र शान्ति र द्वन्द्वसम्बन्धी स्रोतहरूका लागि थियो ।

छलफल

पहिलो खण्डमा छलफल गरिए भैं शान्तिका संरचनाहरू विभेदकारी भएमा राजनीतिकरण वा भ्रष्ट भएमा आफ्नो कार्य सम्पादनका लागि स्रोतयुक्त नभएमा र विषयवस्तुमा संलग्न नभएमा तिनै संरचना शान्तिका लागि व्यवधान बनेर खडा भइदिन्छन् । यस अध्ययनले पछिल्लो कुराको पुष्टि गर्छ : जब तात्कालिक तीव्र द्वन्द्व वा पीडादायी संवेगको सामना गरिन्छ, शान्तिका संरचनाहरूमार्फत उपलब्ध गराइने शान्ति सेवा प्रत्यक्ष खालको हुनुपर्दछ । किनभने यस्तो अवस्थामा प्रत्यक्ष रूपमा समस्यालाई सम्बोधन गर्न नसक्ने सेवाहरूले भने पीडा बढाइदिन सक्छ । प्रायजसो शान्ति सेवा कार्यक्रमहरूको अभ्यासमा उनीहरू प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा उपलब्ध गराउनमा नै केन्द्रित रहेका छन् । यस निष्कर्षले पनि यस्ता कार्यक्रमहरूको औचित्य बढी छ भन्ने दर्साउँछ । तर याद राख्नुपर्ने कुरा यो पनि छ कि यस अध्ययनले तात्कालिक अवस्थाको बारेमा कुरा गरेको छ र त्यस्तो अवस्थामा सक्रिय शान्ति आवश्यकतामध्येमा, सहयोग र राहत पर्छन् । "द्वन्द्व समाधानबारे शिक्षा", "जानकारी आदानप्रदान", "भविष्यको पुर्वानुमान" जस्ता अप्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाहरूले दीर्घकालीन रूपमा हिंसा रोकथाममा कस्तो असर पार्छ भन्ने हामीलाई थाहा छैन । यस अध्ययनले यो मात्र सुभावा दिन खोजेको हो कि तीव्र तात्कालिक शान्तिको आवश्यकता भएको व्यक्तिलाई यस्ता अप्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा प्राप्त गर्दा अहिंसा र शान्तिमा योगदान पुग्दैन ।

यस अध्ययनमा अप्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाका दुई सबैभन्दा बलिया सुचक "दुर्भाग्यलाई पन्छाउनका लागि दिइने सल्लाह" र त्यसपछि "भविष्यवाणी" हुन् । नेपालीहरूको दैनिक जीवनका लागि ज्योतिष शास्त्र परम्परागत रूपमा निकै महत्वपूर्ण छ । जन्म, विवाह, विवाद रोग, उत्सव र काम वा यात्रा जस्ता जीवनका महत्वपूर्ण निर्णयहरूका लागि ज्योतिष सल्लाह लिने गरिन्छ । एकातिर भविष्यवाणी र पुर्वानुमानले एक प्रकारको सुरक्षा अनुभुति र विश्वास त जगाउँछ तर अर्कातिर भने यसले मानसिक सुखमा हानि पनि पुऱ्याउँछ । अध्ययनहरूबाट देखिन्छ कि पुर्वानुमानले त्यो प्राप्त गर्ने व्यक्तिका चिन्ताको हलचल मच्चाइदिन्छ (वीसे, २०१३), जबकि बाह्य-नियन्त्रण (हामीलाई प्रभाव पार्ने घटनाहरू हाम्रो नियन्त्रण भित्र हुँदैन भन्ने विश्वास) स्व-नियमनको क्षमता ह्राससँग सम्बन्धित छ भनिएको छ (बन्दुरा, १९८६) । तपाईंको भविष्यमा के हुन्छ भनेर अन्य कसैले भनिदिए पछि त्यसले

अशक्त महसुस गराउने वा बेवास्ता र उदासीनताको भाव पनि ल्याउन सक्छ, जस्तै व्यक्तिको सकारात्मक स्व-सम्पर्कको क्षमतालाई संकटमा पार्ने र फलस्वरूप व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्ति पनि घट्न जान्छ । सुरुको समस्या, जसका कारण व्यक्तिले तेस्रो पक्षको सहयोग खोजेको थियो, त्यो समस्या भने समाधान रहित वा अपुर्ण रूपमा मात्र सम्बोधन भएको हुन सक्छ । प्रायजसो महँगो विधिसंस्कार र पुजा गर्नका लागि सल्लाह दिइन्छ, जसले विद्यमान गरिबीमा भन्नु बोझ थपिन्छ र फलस्वरूप भौतिक शान्ति पनि घट्न जान्छ । त्यसबाहेक यस्ता विधि संस्कारले गर्दा, मानसिक स्वास्थ्य वा विवादका विषयमा पेसागत विज्ञता भएको सहयोग सेवा लिनका लागि ढिला हुने वा टार्ने हुँदा, हिसाको प्रयोग हुने प्रवृत्ति र अनुभव बढेर जान सक्छ । वैकल्पिक रूपमा हेर्दा कम आन्तरिक-नियन्त्रण भएका व्यक्तिहरूले सायद भविष्यवाणी जस्ता अप्रत्यक्ष सेवाहरूको खोजी गर्छन्, किनकि उनीहरू व्यक्तिगत जिम्मेवारीलाई महत्त्व दिँदैनन् । त्यसैकारण सामञ्जस्यको ज्ञानबोध गरेर सहज महसुस गर्न चाहन्छन् अथवा कम भौतिक शान्ति अनुभव गरिरहेका व्यक्तिहरूले पेसागत विज्ञता भएको सेवाको खर्च धान्न सक्दैनन् वा त्यसबारे अनभिन्न हुन्छन् र त्यसैले भविष्य हेर्ने जस्ता सर्वसुलभ पाइने परम्परागत अभ्यासको सहारा लिने गर्छन् ।

प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाका लागि, सबैभन्दा बलिया सुचक थिए, "समस्या समाधानमा सहकार्यका लागि सहयोग" र "निर्णयहरू लिने" । यी सेवाहरूमा भएका समानता भनेको समस्यामा सिधै सामना गर्ने हो, तर यिनको काम गर्ने तरिकामा भने भिन्नता छ । पहिलो चाहिँ सहकार्य हो भने दोस्रो भनेको एकपक्षीय हुन्छ । अभिभावक-बच्चा बीचको सम्बन्ध र शिक्षक-विद्यार्थीको सम्बन्ध विकास गर्न र कामगर्ने स्थलमा हुने द्वन्द्व र समस्या समाधानका लागि सहकार्यबाट समस्या समाधान गर्ने सीप फलदायी हुन्छ भन्ने कुरा अनुसन्धानहरूले देखाएको छ (जस्तै :ग्रिन र एब्लोन, २००६; जोर्डन र ट्रोथ, २००४) । शान्तिस्थापनामा लागि सहकार्यबाट समस्या समाधानलाई दीर्घकालीन शान्ति सम्झौतासँग पनि श्रेय दिने गरिएको छ । यसमा उल्लेख्य केस रोम जे नेरल पिस् एकोडस् हो, जसले मोजाम्बिकको गृहयुद्धको अन्त्य गरेको थियो र यसलाई सान्तेगिडियोले सहकार्यमा मेलमिलाप गराएका थिए (ह्युम, १९९४) । "निर्णय लिने" प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा, नेपालमा परम्परागत रूपमा लामो समयदेखि विद्यमान अनौपचारिक मध्यस्थता हो । धेरै गाउँहरूमा अदालतहरू छैनन् र विवादहरूलाई गाउँको मुखिया वा पञ्चायतले छिनोफानो लगाउने गर्छन् वा मैजन देवम्, समाज, पञ्च भलादमी वा स्थानीय राजनीतिक पार्टीले स्थापना गरेको जस्ता कुनै समितीले छिनोफानो गर्छन् । यस प्रकारका सेवा रोज्नेहरूले राहत, प्रस्टता र यसले ल्याउने समाप्तिको अनुभूतिबाट लाभ प्राप्त गरेका हुन सक्छन्, जसले उनीहरूलाई अब अघि बढ्न सक्ने महसुस गराउँछ ।

प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाहरूले समस्यालाई बढ्न नदिने र यस प्रक्रियामा अघि बढ्दै जाँदा यसका प्रयागकर्ताहरूलाई हिसाको विकल्पहरूको कल्पना गर्न सबल बनाउने हुनाले होला यसको सबै आयाममा अहिंसा र शान्तिको पुर्वानुमान गरिएको हुन्छ । यसको अर्को कारण यो पनि हुन सक्छ कि जुन व्यक्तिहरूले पहिलै उच्च तहको शान्तिको आनन्द उठाएका हुन्छन् र हिसातिर उन्मुख नहुनमा तयार छन्, उनीहरूले प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाका प्रभावकारिता र व्यवहारिकताबारे सचेत भैसकेका हुन्छन् र त्यसको खर्च पनि बेहोर्न सक्छन् । प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाले अन्तरसामुदायिक शान्तिको पुर्वानुमान भने गरेन । यसको कारणमा प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाहरूले समुदायमा भएका व्यवहारिक समस्याहरूमा केन्द्रित भएर अन्तरसामुहिक चिन्ता, रूढिवादी सोच, अमानवीयता र विश्वासको कमी जस्ता लुकेर रहेका विषयमा केन्द्रित नभएकोले पनि हुन सक्छ । प्रत्यक्ष र अप्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा एक अर्कामा सम्बन्धित छन् भन्ने निष्कर्षले यो कुराको इंगित गर्छ कि मानिसहरूले दुवै प्रकारका सेवाको प्रयोग गर्छन् तर प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाका फाइदाहरूलाई अप्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाका नकारात्मक असरहरूले रद्द गरिदिएको हुन्छ ।

उत्तरदातामध्ये बहुसंख्यकले शान्ति सेवाहरूको प्रयोगका लागि केही आधारभूत शुल्कसम्म तिर्न तयार रहेको कुरा बताए । यो निष्कर्ष यसकारणले महत्वपूर्ण हुनसक्छ कि प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाका सबैभन्दा महत्वपूर्ण समर्थक र कार्यान्वयनकर्ताका रूपमा रहेका नेपाल सरकार र दातृ संस्थाहरूले अझैसम्म पनि आफ्नो मनसायका बावजुद पनि विविध प्रकारका सेवाहरू उपलब्ध गराउन सकेका छैनन् । उदाहरणका लागि नेपाल सरकारले सबै नागरिकका लागि सामुदायिक मेलमिलापको प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा उपलब्ध गराउने लक्ष्य लिएको छ । यस अध्ययनको निष्कर्षले यो इंगित गर्छ कि विद्यालयका लागि शान्ति शिक्षा वा मेलमिलापका विषयमा विशेषज्ञता भएका कम्पनीहरू जस्ता अन्य शान्ति सेवा प्रदायकका लागि आफ्ना सेवालाई बढोत्तरी र फेलाउने सम्भावना छ । यस अतिरिक्त प्रयोगकर्ताहरू शुल्क तिर्न इच्छुक हुनुले गुणस्तरको मापदण्ड कायम गर्न पनि मद्दत मिल्न सक्छ, जसका आधारमा सेवाको सान्दर्भिकता, स्वीकार्यता र उपयुक्तताको बारेमा जानकारी प्राप्त हुन्छ ।

समुह विशेष सुभावहरू

अप्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा प्रयोग गर्नेमा अछाम र सप्तरी जिल्लाहरू सबैभन्दा बढी प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गर्ने जिल्ला थिए । विशेषगरी अछामले "औषधी दिने" मा बढी प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गर्नु भने सप्तरीले "भविष्यवाणी" मा बढी प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरेको थियो । व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्तिमा सबैभन्दा कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गर्ने दुई जिल्लामध्ये सप्तरी एक थियो भने अन्तरसामुदायिक र भौतिक शान्तिमा अछामले सबैभन्दा कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरेको थियो । यी निष्कर्षहरूको आधारमा हामी यो सुभाव दिन्छौं कि यी जिल्लाका बासिन्दाहरूलाई व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्तिमा केन्द्रित प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा प्रयोग गर्न प्रोत्साहित गर्नुपर्छ (जस्तै : मनोसामाजिक परामर्श) र यी जिल्लामा अवस्थित सेवा प्रदायकहरूले आफ्नो सेवा विस्तार गर्नुपर्छ । मनोपरामर्श र स्वास्थ्य सुधारमा सकारात्मक सम्बन्ध रहेको कुरा थुप्रै अध्ययनहरूले देखाएका छन् । केवल "औषधी दिने" मात्र भन्दा अध्ययनहरूले देखाए अनुसार मनोचिकित्सा वा उदाहरणका लागि दिक्दारीपनको उपचारका लागि दिक्दारीपनको औषधी र मनोचिकित्साको सम्मिश्रण अझै प्रभावकारी रहेको जनाउँछ । यस अतिरिक्त मनोचिकित्सा अपनाएकाहरूमा दीर्घ रूपमा पनि रोग दोहोरिएर आउने जोखिम कम गर्नमा पनि यो प्रभावकारी भएको देखिन्छ (क्यारी, २०१५) ।

प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा प्रयोग गर्नेमा कास्की र बाँकेले सबैभन्दा कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरेको थियो । कास्कीले शान्तिका धेरै आयाममा सबैभन्दा बढी प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरेको थियो र हिसाको सुचकांकमा सबैभन्दा कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरेको थियो । बाँकेले भने (सप्तरीसहित) व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्तिमा सबैभन्दा कम प्राप्ताङ्क र हिसाको सुचकांकमा सबैभन्दा बढी प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरेको थियो (कपिलवस्तुसहित) । त्यसैकारण बाँकेले विशेषगरि व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्ति र सामुदायिक विवादमा केन्द्रित धेरै प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाबाट फाइदा प्राप्त गर्न सक्छ किनकि सामुदायिक विवादका कारण यो जिल्लाले हिसाको सुचकांकमा सबैभन्दा बढी प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरेको हो । सामुदायिक मेलमिलाप समितिहरू, द्वन्द्वसम्बन्धी प्रशिक्षण टोली र संवाद सहजकर्ता समूहजस्ता शान्तिका सान्दर्भिक संरचनाहरू हुन सक्छन् ।

अप्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवामा बढी प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गर्ने अर्को समूह सुन्दा थिए । उनीहरूले विशेषगरी "दुर्भाग्यलाई पन्छाउनका लागि दिइने सल्लाह" र "भविष्यवाणी"मा बढी प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरेका थिए । चार जातिहरूमध्ये सुन्दाहरूले नागरिक-राज्य शान्तिबाहेक शान्तिका सबै आयामहरूमा निरन्तर सबैभन्दा कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरे । उनीहरूले पदार्थहरूको दुर्व्यसन र सामुदायिक विवादजस्ता हिसाको सुचाङ्कमा सबैभन्दा बढी प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरेका थिए । यसका आधारमा हामी यस समूहका लागि व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक शान्तिमा केन्द्रित प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाको पहुँच बढाउन सुझाव दिन्छौं । यस्ता सेवामा मनोसामाजिक परामर्श र अहिंसात्मक सञ्चारजस्ता सेवा पर्न सक्छन् ।

तराईमा बसोबास गर्ने व्यक्तिहरूले पहाडका बासिन्दाभन्दा अप्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा प्रयोगमा उल्लेख्य रूपमा बढी प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरे । यसका साथै तराईका बासिन्दाले सामुदायिक विवाद, अन्तरसामुहिक विभेद र राजनीतिक हिसामा बढी प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरे भने व्यक्तिको आन्तरिक र व्यक्तिहरू बीचको पारस्परिक शान्तिमा पहाडी बासिन्दाले भन्दा कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरे । यसकारण तराई क्षेत्रका बासिन्दाका लागि व्यक्तिहरू बीचको पारस्परिक र अन्तरसामुदायिक शान्तिमा जोड दिने प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा उपलब्ध गराउनुपर्ने जनाउँछ । यसमा अहिंसात्मक वकालत र पैरवीमा सहयोग, सामुदायिक मेलमिलाप र शान्ति शिक्षा पर्न सक्छन् । यसका अतिरिक्त, तराईले पहाडप्रति भन्दा पहाडले तराईप्रति राख्ने अन्तरसामुदायिक शान्तिमा निकै कम प्राप्ताङ्क हासिल गरेको थियो । नेपालको नयाँ संविधानको सेरोफेरोमा हाल नेपालमा भैरहेको विवादका कारण यो संवेक्षण गर्दाको बेलामा भन्दा यो प्राप्ताङ्क अहिले अझै कम भयो होला । यसकारण हामी दुवै समुदायका लागि अन्तरसामुदायिक स्तरमा प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाहरू स्थापना गर्नमा सुझाव दिन चाहन्छौं । यसमा सामाजिक दुरी र सामाजिक त्रास घटाउने र अन्तरसामुहिक विश्वास बढाउने तरिकाहरू समावेश गरिनुपर्छ । यसका लागि दुवै क्षेत्रका नेतृत्व गर्नेहरूका लागि गुनासा र प्राथमिकताहरूको पारस्परिक बुझाइ बढाउन, सहकार्यमा आधारित समस्या समाधान र दुवै पक्षले सन्तुष्टि महसुस गर्ने सम्झौता तयार गर्नका लागि संवाद सहजीकरण एउटा तरिका हुन सक्छ । अर्को सुझाव भनेको तराई र पहाडमा भएका विद्यालयहरूमा सबै नेपाली र गैरनेपालीप्रति पनि साझा मानवता प्रवर्धन गर्ने शान्ति शिक्षा प्रदान गर्नु हो । साथै द्वि-क्षेत्रिय सम्बन्धका सकारात्मक उदाहरणहरूलाई द्वि-क्षेत्रीय गैरसरकारी संस्था, शैक्षिक संस्था, वा व्यापारलाई रेडियो वा टिभीमार्फत प्रचार गर्नुपर्छ ।

सामान्य सुझावहरू

बढी मानिसहरूले प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाहरूको फाइदा अनुभव गर्न र शान्ति र अहिंसालाई समेटेर लैजानका लागि शान्ति स्थापनाकर्ता, नीति निर्माणकर्ता र दातृ निकायहरूलाई प्रत्यक्ष र अप्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवामध्ये प्रत्यक्षको प्रयोग बढी गरेर सन्तुलन कायम गर्न सुझाव गरिन्छ । यसका लागि प्रत्यक्ष र अप्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा प्रदायकहरू बीचमा सिफारिसको प्रणाली स्थापना गरेर सहयोग गर्न सकिन्छ (जस्तै ज्योतिष र मेलमिलापकर्ता) । यसरी प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाको उपलब्धता बढाउन सकिन्छ भने अभियानहरूका लागि कोषको उपलब्धता र प्रचार गराएर प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाका अवरोधहरू कम गर्न सकिन्छ । यस्तै गरेर गाविस र नगरपालिकाहरूमा सहकार्यको सिद्धान्तमा आधारित सामुदायिक मेलमिलाप र संवादजस्ता शान्ति सेवाको पहुँच बढाउने कार्यको निरन्तरता गर्नका लागि पनि हामी सुझाव दिन्छौं ।

प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवाको गुणस्तर निश्चित र वृद्धि गर्नका लागि क्षमता अभिवृद्धि तालिमहरू पनि बढाउन सकिन्छ । उदाहरणका लागि मेलमिलाप अलाएन्स र द एसिया फाउन्डेसनजस्ता यस क्षेत्रमा उपयुक्त अनुभव भएका गैरसरकारी संस्थाहरूले त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालयको द्वन्द्व, शान्ति तथा विकास विभाग वा मेलमिलाप परिषद् जस्ता संस्थाहरूसँग मिलेर पेसागत मेलमिलाप प्रशिक्षण संस्था वा प्रशिक्षण विभाग स्थापना गर्न सक्छन् । यस प्रकारले विज्ञता र स्रोतलाई एकत्रित गरेर स्थापना भएको संस्थाले प्रमाणीकरणका विद्यमान मापदण्डलाई निर्धारण वा बढोत्तरी गर्ने, पहुँच बढाउने र नेपालमा उच्च गुणस्तरको मेलमिलापसम्बन्धी तालिमको सुनिश्चितता गर्न सक्छ ।

पेसागत रूपमा तालिमप्राप्त मेलमिलापकर्ता, संवाद सहजकर्ता र शान्तिकर्मीहरूले सम्भवतः प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा नै प्रदान गर्छन् । तर सबैभन्दा महत्वपूर्ण शान्ति सेवा प्रदायकहरू मानिसको आफ्नै निकटतम व्यक्तिहरू हुने हुनाले देशव्यापी रूपमा विद्यालय र समुदायस्तरमा शान्ति शिक्षा प्रदान गरेर प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवा प्रदान गर्ने क्षमता अभिवृद्धि गर्न सुझाव दिन्छौं । यसलाई प्रवर्धन गर्नका लागि नेपालको राष्ट्रिय शिक्षा प्रणालीमा शान्ति शिक्षा समाविष्ट र सुदृढ गरेर गर्न सकिन्छ । उदाहरणका लागि, शिक्षा क्षेत्रको योजना र नीतिमा शान्तिका लागि शिक्षालाई पाठ्यक्रममा समाविष्ट गर्नका लागि युनेस्कोको निर्देशिका (२०१५) प्रयोग गर्न सकिन्छ । विद्यालयका पाठ्यक्रमहरूलाई पिसफुल स्कुल्स, रूट्स अफ इम्प्याथी र अहिंसात्मक सञ्चार केन्द्रजस्ता संस्थाले विकास गरेका र परिष्कृत भैसकेका कार्यक्रमहरूमा आधारित गर्न सकिन्छ ।

यदि शान्ति स्थापनाकर्ता र दातृ निकायहरूले बालबालिकाका लागि शान्ति शिक्षा, पुनर्स्थापना र शान्ति र द्वन्द्वसम्बन्धी स्रोतसामाग्री जस्ता सेवा उपलब्ध गराउने सोच गर्नुहुन्छ भने, भविष्यका प्रयोगकर्ताहरूले ती सेवा बापतको शुल्क तिर्न इच्छुक

छन् वा छैनन् भनेर पनि बुझ्न आवश्यक छ, किनकि तिनको स्वामीत्वबोध, दिगोपना र गुणस्तर बृद्धिका लागि यो कुरा महत्वपूर्ण हुन्छ । शान्ति सेवाका प्रयोगबापत आधारभुत शुल्क प्रस्तावमा उत्तरदाताहरू इच्छुक रहेको तर सिमित उपलब्धता रहेको कुरालाई मध्यनजर गर्दा विद्यालयमा शान्ति शिक्षा वा मेलमिलापजस्ता विषयमा विशेषज्ञता भएका कम्पनीहरूजस्ता शान्ति सेवा प्रदायकहरूले नेपाल सरकार र दातृ निकायहरूको हालका प्रयासहरूलाई सम्पुरण गर्नका लागि प्रोत्साहित गर्न सकिन्छ । शान्तिका तात्कालिक आवश्यकताहरूलाई लाभजन्य सम्बोधन गर्नका लागि शान्तिका संरचनाहरू स्थापना क्रममा शान्ति सेवा प्रवर्धक र प्रदायकलाई प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवामा केन्द्रित हुन सुभाष दिइन्छ । शान्तिका संरचनाहरूको अनुगमन र मुल्याङ्कन योजनामा, प्रत्यक्ष शान्ति सेवालाई पनि एक सुचकका रूपमा समावेश गर्न सकिन्छ ।

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Annex 1:

Theorized peace dimensions, indicators, instruments, components, and example items

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Dimensions	Indicators	Instruments	Components	Example items
Dimension 1: Intrapersonal peace	Psychopathology	Adult Self Report Inventory (ASRI-4, Gadow, Sprafkin & Weiss)	Anxiety Depression Post-traumatic stress disorder Substance use	Is it difficult for you to stop worrying? Do you feel depressed or very sad? Did you experience or have you seen a severe traumatic event and does it still bother you? Do you get into trouble because of alcohol use (family conflicts, arrests, decreased work, etc.)? Do you sometimes want to hit another person?
	Aggression	Buss Perry Aggression Questionnaire (Bush & Perry, 1992)	Physical aggression	
			Verbal aggression Hostility Anger	Do you often disagree with other people? Do you think that life is treating you unfairly? Do you sometimes feel so angry, you are about to explode?
	Psychoopathy	Self-Report Psychoopathy Scale (Paulhus, Neumann & Hare, in press)	Interpersonal manipulation	Do people usually know it when you are lying?
	Life-orientation	Life-Orientation Test Revised (Scheier, Carver & Bridges, 1994)	Criminal tendencies Erratic lifestyle Callous affect Optimism	Have you been arrested? Do you believe that rules are made to be broken? Are you often rude to other people? You believe that good things happen more often than bad things
	Resilience	Two components of the Resilience Scale for Adults (Hjemdal, Friborg, Martinussen, & Rosenvinge, 2001)	Pessimism Social competence	You believe that bad things happen more often than good things You are good at making new friends
	Self-regulation	Barkley Deficits in Executive	Family coherence Problem solving	The bonds between your family members are strong Is it more difficult for you to learn new skills

	Functioning Scale (BDEFS, 2011)	Self-restraint	than it is for others? Do you usually say what you want whenever you want?
		Self-motivation	Do people sometimes tell you that you are lazy?
		Emotion regulation	Do you usually stay upset longer than most other people?
	Self-esteem	Self-confidence	Are you just as smart as most of the other people?
		Self-deprecation	Do you believe you are a failure?
	Self-compassion	Mindfulness	When you are unhappy, are you interested in finding out why you feel that way?
		Self-kindness	Do you accept your own limitations and mistakes?
		Common humanity	When you face problems, do you remind yourself that this is normal and that everybody has problems in life? Have you, or a member of your family, been victim to bullying?
	Victimization	Self-developed	
Dimension 2: Interpersonal peace	Conflict style	Thomas Kilman Conflict Mode Instrument (Thomas & Kilman, 1974)	Do you usually insist on getting your way?
			Do you try to deal with everyone's concerns as well as your own concerns?
			Do you sometimes let others take responsibility for solving a problem?
			Do you propose a middle ground?
			Do you try not to hurt the other person's feelings?
			Do you try to understand what everybody wants before you make a decision in a conflict?
			When you see someone being abused, do you feel you want to protect them?
			How much does your spouse or partner really care about you?
			How much can you rely on them for help if you have a serious problem?
		Social support	Perceived Social Support Protocol (PhenX Toolkit, 2015)

			Friends social support	How much do they understand the way you feel about things?
Dimension 3: Intra- and intercommunity peace	Negative stereotypes	SCORE Index (UNDP & Seed, 2012)		Do you think 'Muslims are greedy' is a correct description?
	Intergroup anxiety	SCORE Index (UNDP & Seed, 2012)		Would you feel comfortable being with UCPN (Maoist) supporters?
	Perceived threats from outgroup	SCORE Index (UNDP & Seed, 2012)		Do you believe that increasing numbers of Pahadis will mean fewer job opportunities for your group?
	Cultural distance	SCORE Index (UNDP & Seed, 2012)		Which groups do you feel similar to/different from in terms of festivals and rituals?
	Social distance	SCORE Index (UNDP & Seed, 2012)		Would you accept members of your family married to a Sudra?
	Positive feelings	SCORE Index (UNDP & Seed, 2012)		How negative or positive do you feel towards 'Madheshis'?
	Dehumanization	SCORE Index (UNDP & Seed, 2012)		Do you think people from the Far-West are capable of making decisions?
	Attitudes towards violence	SCORE Index (UNDP & Seed, 2012)		What are you willing to do in order to change the current conditions in your community or society?
	Attitudes towards revenge	SCORE Index (UNDP & Seed, 2012)		Agree/disagree: "if another person hurts you first, it is all right to get back at him or her"?
	Attitudes towards forgiveness	SCORE Index (UNDP & Seed, 2012)		Agree/disagree: "without forgiveness a conflict can never be resolved"?
	Intergroup contact	SCORE Index (UNDP & Seed, 2012)		How often do you have actual contact with Brahmins?
	Active discrimination	SCORE Index (UNDP & Seed, 2012)		In the last two years, have you made a negative joke about Buddhists?
	Passive discrimination	SCORE Index (UNDP & Seed, 2012)		To what extent have you felt socially excluded or isolated because of your level of education?
	Attitudes toward men and women	Self-developed		Do you agree or disagree with the statement "women are more caring than men"?
	Community conflicts	Self-developed		How frequently would you say that you personally experience disputes over money lending your community?
Community and intercommunity social support	Self-developed, based on Perceived Social Support Protocol (PhenX Toolkit, 2015)	Community social support	How much are community resources, like drinking water and forests, equally shared in your village/town?	

			Neighboring communities social support		How much do the neighboring villages participate in the festivals organized by your village/town? How often do you watch the local news on TV? How important is resolving unemployment? How important is promulgating the new constitution? How acceptable is a unitary state with decentralized governance? To what extent do you think Nepal should become an absolute monarchy? How centralized do you think the country should be? To what extent do you agree/disagree that "the different groups in Nepal should be seen as an asset to the country"?
Dimension 4: Citizen-state peace	Media Consumption	SCORE Index (UNDP & SeeD, 2012)			How often do you watch the local news on TV?
	Economic and social policy priorities	SCORE Index (UNDP & SeeD, 2012)			How important is resolving unemployment?
	Social and political priorities	SCORE Index (UNDP & SeeD, 2012)			How important is promulgating the new constitution?
	The future political model	SCORE Index (UNDP & SeeD, 2012)	Acceptability	Preference	How acceptable is a unitary state with decentralized governance?
				Centralization	To what extent do you think Nepal should become an absolute monarchy?
	Perceptions on social groups in Nepal	SCORE Index (UNDP & SeeD, 2012)			How centralized do you think the country should be?
	Ingroup identification	SCORE Index (UNDP & SeeD, 2012)			To what extent do you agree/disagree that "the different groups in Nepal should be seen as an asset to the country"?
	Personal life satisfaction	SCORE Index (UNDP & SeeD, 2012)			Do you agree/disagree with the statement "Overall, I am glad to be [identity]"?
	Trust in & represent. of institutions	SCORE Index (UNDP & SeeD, 2012)			How satisfied are you with your level of education?
	Civic life satisfaction (local)	SCORE Index (UNDP & SeeD, 2012)			To what degree do you trust the central government?
	Civil life satisfaction (national)	SCORE Index (UNDP & SeeD, 2012)			How satisfied are you with the effectiveness of your VDC?
	Personal security	SCORE Index (UNDP & SeeD, 2012)			How satisfied are you with the effectiveness of the national government?
	Economic security	SCORE Index (UNDP & SeeD, 2012)			To what extent do you feel safe from violence in your daily life? To what extent do you feel financially secure for the future?

Political security	SCORE Index (UNDP & Seed, 2012)	To what extent do you feel safe to express your political views when you are among people who have different views?
Freedom from corruption	SCORE Index (UNDP & Seed, 2012)	Thinking of Nepal, do you think that politicians are receiving bribes from companies and corporations?
Government social support	Self-developed, based on Perceived Social Support Protocol	How much can you rely on the VDC/municipal office for help if you have a serious problem?

Annex 2: Research locations

District	Region	VDC/Municipality	Number of surveys
Kanchanpur	Terai	Bhimdatta	30
		Dekhatbhuli	30
		Krishnapur	30
		Suda	30
Achham	Hill	Baijanath	30
		Mangalsen	30
		Shantada	30
		Timalsain	30
Banke	Terai	Khajura	30
		Naubasta	30
		Nepalgunj	30
		Rajhena	30
Rolpa	Hill	Jaimakashala	30
		Liwang	30
		Mijhing	30
		Siuri	30
Kapilvastu/Rupandehi	Terai	Barkalapur– K	30
		Kapilvastu- K	30
		Lumbini Adarsha– R	30
		Siddharthanagar– R	30
Kaski	Hill	Dhampus	30
		Pokhara	30
		Ribhan	30
		Rupakot	30
Kathmandu	Hill	Kathmandu City	30
		Nagarjun (Sitapaila)	8
		Shankarapur (Bajrayogini)	30
		Tarakeshwor (Manamajju)	29
Dhanusha	Terai	Bateshwor	30
		Ghodghas	30
		Janakpur Municipality	30
		Puspalpur	30
Saptari	Terai	Jamuniya Madhepura	30
		Rajbiraj	30
		Sitapur	30
		Terhauta	30
Panchthar	Hill	Bharapa	30
		Phidim	30
		Rabi	30
		Sarangdanda	30
Total			1177