CULTURE OF PEACE
HANDBOOK ON TOLERANCE PROMOTION IN UKRAINE

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Content

Preface

This Handbook has been prepared within the nationwide communication campaign «Reinvent Respect» on promotion of tolerance and mutual understanding implemented by the International Centre for Policy Studies (ICPS) with support of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in Ukraine. This is the extended edition of the pilot version of the guiding principles for tolerance promotion based on experience of interaction between UNDP Tolerance Envoys in Ukraine and local communities within the «Reinvent Respect» campaign.

The Handbook aims to raise public awareness about the need for tolerance and nationwide inclusive dialogue in Ukraine, especially regarding such sensitive issues as conflicts, corruption, economic problems, sensitive historical moments, achievement of the common vision of the country's future etc.

Tolerance, ways of its understanding and strengthening the nationwide dialogue are the key points that are highlighted in the Handbook. This topic has been popular in public discourse but many specific issues remain open for discussions, tolerant discussions, of course.

Is tolerance connected with peace, and if so, how? Where are limits of tolerance, expecially in the context of violent or other types of negative behavior? What are «paradox of tolerance» and «ethnic security dilemma»? These and many other issues are explained in the Handbook.

Several first chapters are devoted to theoretical and, to some extent, philosophical issues: the understanding of diversity, the definition and measurement of tolerance, and the discourse of tolerance as a rational choice. Further, it is more about political context: how the environment and political regimes influence presence or absence of tolerance in society. The main point of this part concerns the question "Does tolerance provide for peace?" These concepts aren't equal, and while the mechanisms of building a lasting peace are quite complicated, it's difficult to overestimate the importance of tolerance for them. An important part is related to the need for tolerance in everyday communication. There is a need for attentiveness and skills for identifying intolerance, language of hostility, building a tolerant discussion, and ensuring tolerance in socially sensitive groups.

The Handbook covers UN role in strengthening peace as well. Following the experience of implementation of the communication campaign «Reinvent Respect», the examples of attracting prominent personalities in art, literature, music and sports to the processes of strengthening and spreading the principles of tolerance have been analyzed. Thus, this Handbook includes a feedback from UNDP Tolerance Envoys in Ukraine on their own experience gained during the participation in the «Reinvent Respect» communication campaign and the understanding of the value of tolerance in the Ukrainian society.

The topic of tolerance is very comprehensive and interesting. Obviously, it is impossible to cover everything in one research. We propose our own point of view on a set of its important aspects that is an invitation to a broad discussion and joint efforts. This Handbook can be an important contribution to the development of educational programs on tolerance, mutual understanding, dialogue and diversity in Ukraine..

Thinking about Diversity

"Diversity" seems to be one of the most oftenly used words in today's lexicon of social activists, academia, politicians, journalists and bloggers. Its popularity may be approaching that of "globalization" in the 1980-es or "clash of civilizations" in the XXI century. Things get even more challenging, since diversity covers a host of concepts, including but limited to race, nationality, gender, sexuality, physical disability, religion, age, class, social inequality, and discrimination. All of those are somehow related to diversity.

Thinking about diversity is not new, of course. Even thinking about tolerance is not new. Tolerance is usually related to religious wars in Europe, which accompanied Reformation in the XVI–XVII century. Centuries-long conflicts, including severe civil wars, resulted in religious compromises, based on principles of tolerance. A religious diversity has been accepted.

However, a huge wave of interest to diversity took off in the middle of the XX century. Most likely, it has been linked with decolonization and public campaigns, which were built around identity issues and advocated rights of women, racial minorities, and gay/lesbian. All those campaigns demanded acceptance, respect, and recognition. They resulted into changes in legislature, spillover to rights of other social groups, shifts in approach to employment policies, and — overall — into significantly broadened opportunities to protect rights of any mi-

nority. Diversity and tolerance to differences became a mainstream.

Today's discourse built around concept of diversity is certainly much broader than just recognizing the fact that people are different. It is about changing attitude of societies all around the world to the fact that people are different and defining instruments and tools for protecting those differences; and about readdressing issues and periods of history, filled with discrimination and intolerance. Such a discourse is not free from criticism. Some believe that diversity, for instance, is a tool for shifting attention from inequality or even equalizing differences. Others tend to see that the concept of difference underlines normality, from which all others are different. Critical thinking is something absolutely welcome by advocates of diversity. While nuances are inevitable when dealing with such a concept certain elements of "diversity" surely need constant improvement.

For another instance, it is important to distinct notion of diversity as a manipulative tool and as an instrument for making a better society. The point is that there is no objective way to draw the lines inside of the society and thus to divide, for examle, aged from young or physically fit from disabled. All these distinctions are made subjectively, and thus may be a source of manipulations. In other words, diversity may be elusive, and "… given the multiplicity of our identities, we are constantly moving across group boundaries and negotiating the competing demands of group identities…"[1] Thus, categories of difference should be deconstructed — a conclusion quite typical for a generally constructivist study of diversity. From a logical standpoint, diversity is too much inclusive. It encompasses literally everything by definition, including any intolerable things one may think of. Thus, it is better to distinguish among diversity, which is about affirming different identities; diversity, which draws the line between positive and negative social practices, for instance, violence; and diversity of opinions over controversial issues.

To think about diversity now is a very right moment. On the one hand, the world gets further globalized. Globalization leads to growing contacts between different groups and nations, while pressure of interdependence makes these contacts less hostile. On the other hand, the rise of transnational threats, such as migration, illegal traffic, international crime, terrorism, make issues of differences and responses to them extremely urgent. Multiculturalism is in a crisis, xenophobia is on the rise, ethnic nationalism in some regions is also an important factor again. It is time to revise understanding of diversity and the ways it can improve relations between and within states.

[1] Interview with John Eade, Max Plank Gesellschaft // http://www.mmg.mpg.de/diversity-interviews/eade/

Defining Tolerance

We celebrate International Day of Tolerance on November, 16. But do we really know what we celebrate? A concept of tolerance is not easy to define. On the one hand, it is close to understanding, respect, empathy, cooperation, and acceptance. On the other hand, all those terms are rather vague and hard to specify. Bringing tolerance into academic discussion, teaching or political institutions may be difficult, but a very important task. Thus a detailed description is thus highly required.

One of the few things we know for sure about the world we live in is its diversity. It takes multiple forms and faces. In particular, societies, groups, and people are different from each other in many ways. There are three races, twelve major religions, about two hundred of national states, hundreds of spiritual beliefs, about five thousand ethnic groups, and more than six thousand languages on the planet. A combination of those elements alone would provide an almost infinite variety of complex identities for every single person. From this stand-

point there is no two similar human beings on Earth. Each of us is unique.

The same applies to social groups, be they ethnic, religious, ideological, class or any other. People united by a single feature of a combination of attributes form unique societies. These societies, in turn, are comprised of multiple unique groups. Variety of identities interacts, while rules of such interaction define the ways people live, including the patterns of war and peace. To put it short, we live in a world of different nations, within which various overlapping groups interact with each other. Moreover, each of them is comprised by essentially different people.

Tolerance — or its absence or lack of it — defines to a great extent the way these nations, groups, and people live together. It is an approach, a habit, a rule, an outlook, and a way of life, in which respect for diversity takes a central role. By respecting diversity, tolerance implies recognition of equal rights for all individuals and groups. A further step is to accept the right of the others to be different in terms of beliefs, behavior, preferences, will and alike. Tolerance is not just about accepting abstract rights of others to be different, but also about respecting specific people with different views, behaviors, and ways of life.

From a philosophical viewpoint, tolerance is a characteristic feature of liberalism and is defined as a key element of progressive social approach to beliefs, values, and — broadly speaking — preferences and attributes of members of different groups. It may be implied in more specific principles, for instance in multiculturalism.

Tolerance, however, does not imply accepting everything. In particular, tolerance has nothing to do with the consent for violation of rights, aggressive behavior, offenses, and alike. Respect for diversity of opinions does not preclude moral judgment. Tolerance also does not imply readiness to quickly or often change one's own beliefs and values. Recognizing the right of the other to be different does not mean shifting own preferences.

Lack of tolerance has certainly a lot to do with crimes, terrorism, genocide, and discrimination. But tolerance's attribute of accepting and respect for alternative attitudes should be treated carefully. Being tolerant does not imply to respect any values regardless their substance. Tolerance is not about accepting and respect for terrorists or criminals. It is also not about making people with opposite views on controversial issues agree. Tolerance, to put it short, is not about moral relativism. It is rather about respect for legitimate freedom of ideas, and perceived that was it would enable disagreement among tolerant people. That disagreement, for sure, should take non-violent forms.

Tolerance is not only a personal emotion or attitude. It is a political factor, shaping interactions within and among societies. Political tolerance plays an exceptionally important role and may be defined as readiness to extend political rights and allow political freedoms to those who are politically different[2]. From a certain standpoint, tolerance is a matter of rational choice, a value system which enhances one's opportunities and broadens one's choice in a globalized, multifaceted environment. To be tolerant is a rational decision under circumstances of today's world. Some believe that tolerance is the product of modernization and as such is connected with expansion of capitalism, modern ideologies, and national identities. Others see signs of tolerance much earlier, mostly in times of great religious debates or, rather, wars. Tolerance seems to be unequally felt or present throughout the history of mankind. Likewise, it is unequally distributed on the planet today. Some societies are much more tolerant than the others, and although tolerance may be a progressive attitude, it is far from being a universal value.

That means tolerance needs promotion. It can and should be enhanced through education, science, law, culture, and political institutions. Tolerance is better promoted under democratic regimes, in open societies which enjoy freedom of speech, communication and faith. Promoted and enhanced, tolerance helps establishing the culture of peace.

One of the most well-known descriptions of tolerance is given in the *Declaration of Principles on Tolerance,* approved by UNESCO in 1995[3]. Four points of Article 1 provide an extensive elaboration of tolerance and description of its meaning. This short document lays the foundation not only for understanding of tolerance within a current context of social development, but also for elaborating state and international policies for promoting a more tolerant world.

It is widely believed that tolerance contributes into replacing culture of war with culture of peace. A history of mankind is overpopulated by wars and other forms of violence. Not all of them are brought about by intolerance, and — at

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[2] Gibson J., Bingham R. On the Conceptualization and Measurement of Political Tolerance // The American Political Science Review, Vol.76, Issue 3, 1982.— pp. 603–620.

[3] Declaration of Principles on Tolerance, UNESCO, 16 November, 1995 // http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13175&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

WHAT TOLERANCE IS	WHAT TOLERANCE IS NOT
Respect for diversity	Indifference
Recognition of the right to be different	Accepting violence and injustice
Active attitude prompted by recognition of human rights	Rejecting one's own opinions
Responsibility upholding pluralism, democracy, and the rule of law	Concession or indulgence

least theoretically — there are instruments and ways to construct peace, both internationally and internally, without paying much attention to tolerance. But in practice tolerance turns out to be closely connected with well-being, democracy, emancipative values — with all those making peace much more attainable and sustainable.

Measuring Intolerance

When it comes to measuring intolerance things are turning more complicated. The concept is somewhat intuitive, illusive and definitely lacks an undisputed academic definition. As a result, attempts to measure tolerance and/or intolerance take various forms, and, in turn, require some degree of tolerance from academics, experts, and decision-makers themselves.

There's no single most influential approach to measuring tolerance among states, groups or individuals. A host of variables is taken into account, given that tolerance itself is a rather broad concept. There are several leading indexes and data sets, which by mostly using sample surveys, comparative analysis, and case studies, may provide some insight into measuring degrees of tolerance among and within societies.

World Values Survey (WVS) is among most comprehensive of them[4]. It comprises research results from over one hundred states and has been carried out since 1981, with more than 400 publications being released and counting. WVS targets more than a dozen of issues, ranging from gender equality and cultural diversity to impact of globalization and subjective well-being. It is especially helpful for measuring intolerance, since

4   World Values Survey Database // http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp

it addresses issues of diversity, democracy, values, national identity, and varying attitudes. With a headquarters in Stockholm, Sweden, WVS performs truly globally, with over 400,000 respondents being interviewed under the project. Results and findings are also used to assess dynamics and changes in values, attitudes, and beliefs all over the world.

Some of the project results are of special importance for measuring intolerance. In particular, it has been found out that values change from traditional to secular-rational along the lines of modernization theory, which implies people tend to become more tolerant as the level of well-being increases and vice versa. This is an important finding also within a con-

text of rational choice theory of tolerance. Another one is that people tend to shift from survival to self-expression with an increasing sense of individual agency, which, in turn, occurs most likely with the transition from industrial to knowledge societies. Values are not distributed randomly, but follow a geographical pattern: traditional and survival values, for instance, are highly concentrated in the Middle East, while self-expression values are much common in Europe.

Another important set of values, introduced by WVS, are emancipative values. These are the once stressing the freedom of choice and equality of opportunities, which brings them very close to the notion of tolerance. Emancipative values

The personal freedom map of the world

Legatum
Prosperity Index

-3   -2   -1   0   1   2
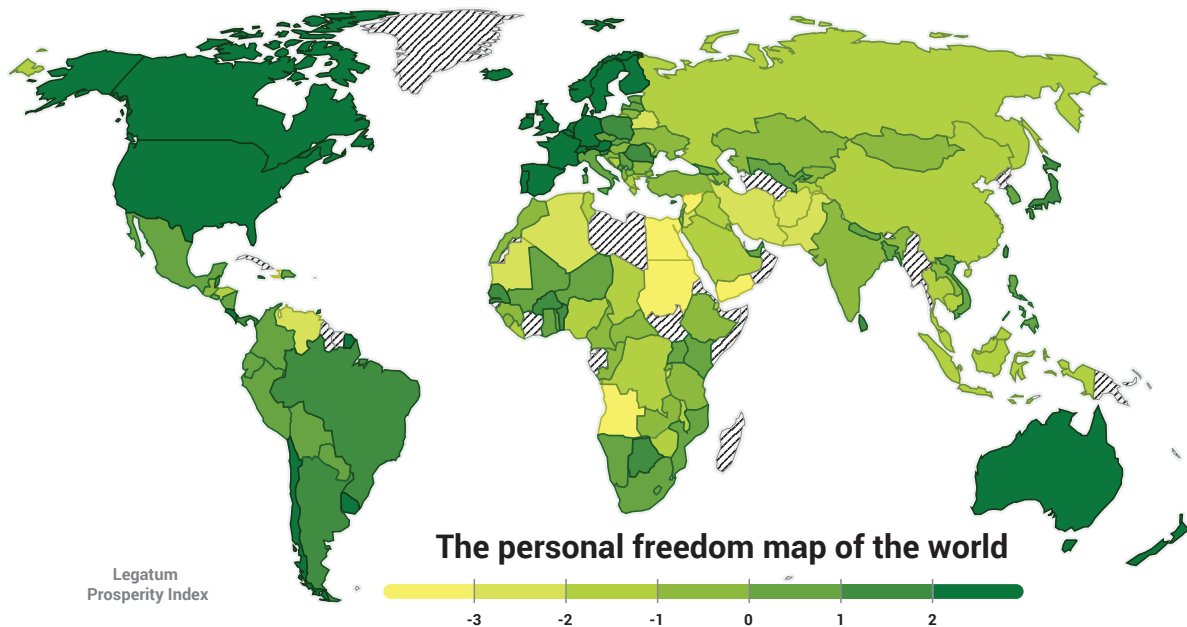
drive one's orientations within a group and towards outsiders. They are highly correlative with democracy by making understanding of it more liberal on the one hand, and making assessment of their country's level of democracy more critical. There's an important connection between the two categories.

Another fruitful attempt to measure intolerance is provided within the Global Social Tolerance Index[5]. It comprises minority, immigrant, religion, and gender tolerance dimensions, based on data from the WVS. The index implies multi-step procedure, incorporating data

standardization, weighting, and aggregation. That allows 124 replications for each country's index, as well as several measures for sensitivity and robustness. At the bottom line, the Index provides the tool for measuring overall tolerance of any nation and tolerance over each of four dimensions.

An important insight is provided by The Legatum Prosperity Index[6]. The Index itself is not about tolerance, but about prosperity. It builds on nine evaluation criteria, which include economic quality, business environment, governance, education, health, safety/security, personal

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[5] Zanakis S., Newburry W., Taras V. Global Social Tolerance Index and Multi-Method Country Ranking Sensitivity // Journal of International Business Studies, Vol.47, Issue 4, 2016.— pp. 480–497.

[6] The Legatum Prosperity Index // http://www.prosperity.com/

freedom, social capital, and natural environment. But a complex evaluation of those criteria might bring close to measurement of tolerance, especially given the correlation between well-being and freedom. Moreover, personal freedom indicator is comprised of tolerance for immigrants and tolerance for ethnic minorities, thus overall may be an adequate reflection of comparative levels of tolerance in the world. Methodologically this part of The Legatum Prosperity Index is built on surveys.
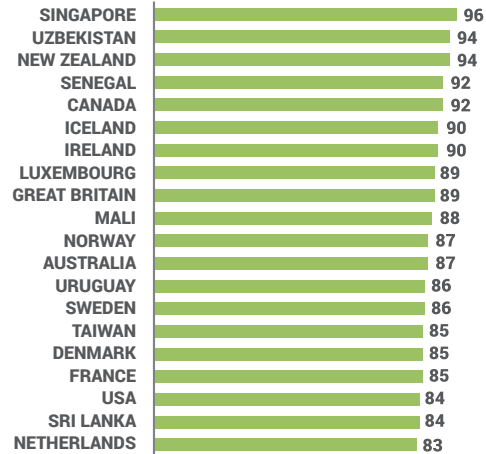
It places New Zealand, Canada, and Iceland as top three countries in 2017 at the personal freedom dimension.

Another valid assessment of tolerance/intolerance may be looked for at the Social Progress Index[7]. This Index is also comprehensive and generally is about quality of life. However, that implies, among other things, conditions for all individuals to reach their full potential, which is methodologically close to tolerance. Index weighs 50 indicators, grouped into three categories: basic human needs, foundations of well-being, and opportunity. Tolerance and inclusion is a specific indicator within the latter group. It relates to tolerance for immigrants, homosexuals, and religions, as well as to discrimination and violence against minorities and community safety net. Methodology of the Index is notable for the so-called "beyond GDP" approach and a holistic vision.

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[7]   2017 Social Progress Index // https://www.socialprogressindex.com/

Where people feel their country is tolerant of ethnic minorities

Top 20

Country	Value
SINGAPORE	96
UZBEKISTAN	94
NEW ZEALAND	94
SENEGAL	92
CANADA	92
ICELAND	90
IRELAND	90
LUXEMBOURG	89
GREAT BRITAIN	89
MALI	88
NORWAY	87
AUSTRALIA	87
URUGUAY	86
SWEDEN	86
TAIWAN	85
DENMARK	85
FRANCE	85
USA	84
SRI LANKA	84
NETHERLANDS	83

Legatum Prosperity Index

Where people feel their country is tolerant of ethnic minorities

Bottom 20

Country	Value
BELARUS	56
MONGOLIA	55
SYRIA	54
PARAGUAY	54
MOLDOVA	50
SIERRA LEONE	49
VENEZUELA	48
THAILAND	47
MAURITANIA	46
LIBERIA	46
ISRAEL	42
LEBANON	41
TUNISIA	40
ANGOLA	40
HAITI	40
ALGERIA	32
JORDAN	29
YEMEN	24
EGYPT	22
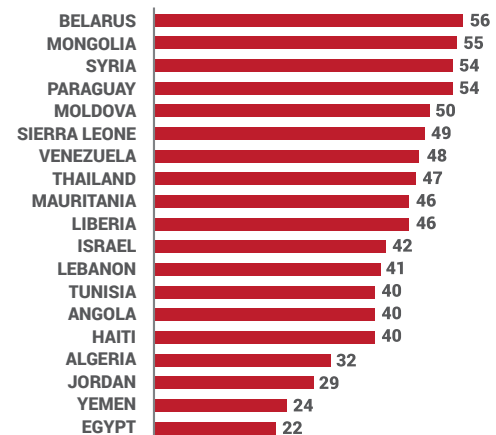
Legatum Prosperity Index

There's no single way of measuring intolerance. It correlates with well-being, democracy, and modernity and is geographically dependent. Continuous and numerous surveys seem to be the most reliable method of probing into levels of tolerance within and among societies.

Why Tolerance Is Better

Being tolerant is not only a moral choice. It is also a rational one.

From the first sight, it may seem there is something against logic and ration-

World performance on the social progress index and component scores

Bar chart. Values shown:

Basic human needs (blue):
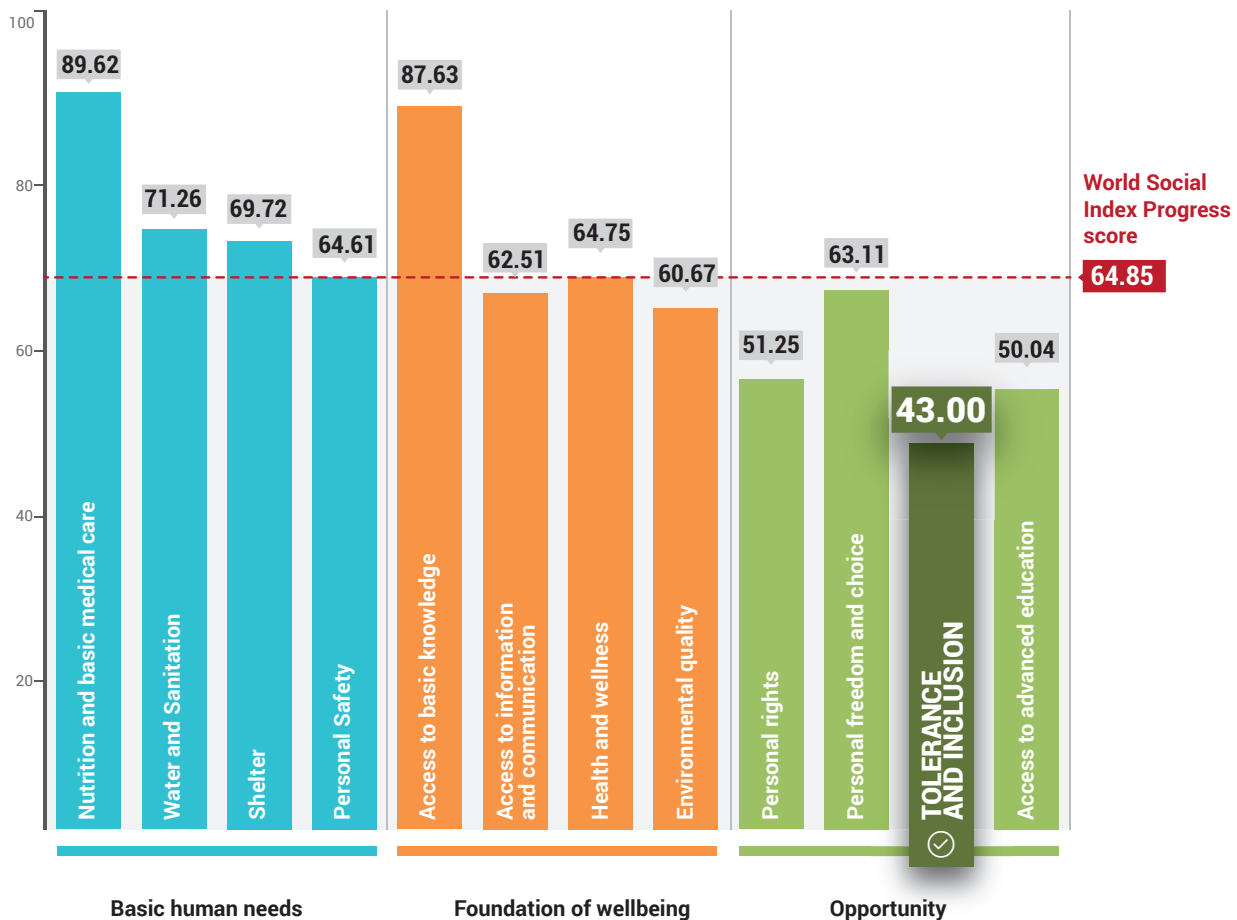- Nutrition and basic medical care: 89.62
- Water and Sanitation: 71.26
- Shelter: 69.72
- Personal Safety: 64.61

Foundation of wellbeing (orange):
- Access to basic knowledge: 87.63
- Access to information and communication: 62.51
- Health and wellness: 64.75
- Environmental quality: 60.67

Opportunity (green):
- Personal rights: 51.25
- Personal freedom and choice: 63.11
- TOLERANCE AND INCLUSION: 43.00
- Access to advanced education: 50.04

World Social Index Progress score: 64.85

al choice about being tolerant. It seems so, because the principle of tolerance implies lack of choice in every particular situation: one has to accept others' views, beliefs, and preferences. Having a freedom of choice and, in particular, of rejecting what you dislike may seem a more comfortable position. However, it is misleading.

The main rational argument behind being tolerant is that it increases the chances of other being tolerant to you. This can be explained by a strategic logic of social interaction: a better response is usually symmetric. If your partner cooperates, you better cooperate in return. If he/she defects, your best response is to do the same.

That can be illustrated with a game-theoretic prisoner's dilemma. A couple of suspects have two alternative strategies each, to stay silent or to betray. Mutual betrayal will give each –2 payoff; mutual silence will result in –1 payoff. If one betrays and another keeps silence, the former gets 0 and the latter ends up with –3. By betraying each may minimize risks and get a relatively small punishment. But the game provides a better strategy for both if only they may somehow ensure cooperation

Mutual silence in prisoner's dilemma is not a matter of morality. It is a rational choice. Mutual tolerance is a Pareto optimal pair of strategies in game-theoretic terms. Being tolerant sends signals to

The prisoner's dilemma

PRISONER A
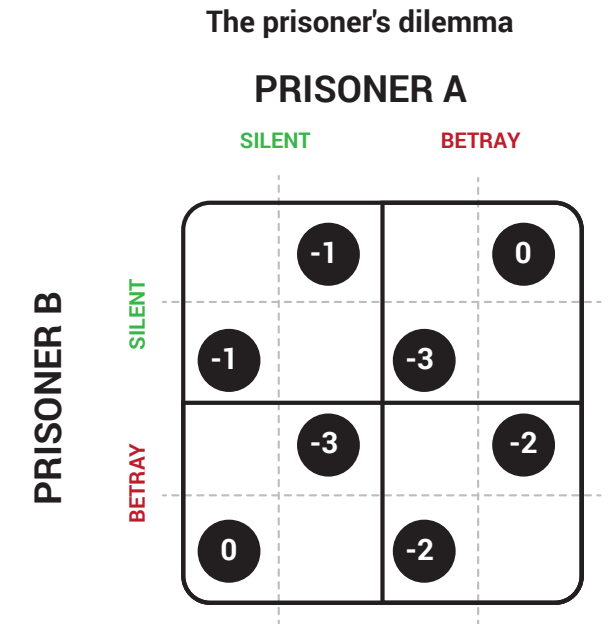
others, thus increasing chances for their tolerance. Thus tolerance pays off in the long run.

This effect multiplies if tolerance spreads. When more people are guided by principles of tolerance, it is becoming an effective rule, which shapes not only behavior, but expectations. If you expect tolerance from your neighbors, there is a very high probability that you'll demonstrate tolerance towards them as well. That resembles the logic of a famous moral law by Immanuel Kant: "Act only according to that maxim whereby you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law." If, in the end, everyone is tolerant, everybody will be sure his opinions or preferences are tolerated. Such

an environment will significantly lower chances for violence and thus will be for a common good.

At the very personal level there are also rational arguments for adopting tolerance. Parents are usually looking for opportunities to maximize chances for their children to succeed. In an open and dynamic society tolerance is the way to broaden perspectives and multiply chances. As soon as parents realize that, they will start pay special attention to tolerance while raising children.

It should be noted, that not all societies reward tolerance. In some of them being tolerant may be seen as a disadvantage, especially if people are highly sensitive or dependent on public opinion.

Another important thing about rationality of tolerance is that intolerance is irrational. At the very foundation intolerance is about superiority or criticism towards alternative values. The point is that it is impossible from a rational perspective to define which set of values is better. Values and principles are relative

and subjective. Try to find out what's better, liberal democracy or, say, religious fundamentalism? There is no way to do that. These sets of values and norms are relative. Thus, there may be no solid ground for superiority. Intolerance may be emotional or even moral, but it can not be rational.

Tolerance is a perfectly rational way to maximize one's chances for success in most modern societies. The more tolerant that society is, the more beneficial it is to be tolerant. That logic may work even without tolerance being promoted legally, however it is better to support moral and rational reasons for tolerance by corresponding legislature. It helps build up positive expectations and reduce potential risks for everyone who perceives tolerance through the lenses of the abovementioned prisoner's dilemma.

There is a well known paradox of tolerance. It says that if being tolerant implies accepting any position, then intolerance should also be tolerated. Here's a well-known formulation by Karl Popper:

> *"Unlimited tolerance must lead to the disappearance of tolerance. If we extend unlimited tolerance even to those who are intolerant, if we are not prepared to defend a tolerant society against the onslaught of the intolerant, then the tolerant will be destroyed, and tolerance with them. In this formulation, I do not imply, for instance, that we should always suppress the utterance of intolerant philosophies; as long as we can counter them by rational argument and keep them in check by public opinion, suppression would certainly be unwise. But we should claim the right to suppress them if necessary even by force; for it may easily turn out that they are not prepared to meet us on the level of rational argument, but begin by denouncing all argument; they may forbid their followers to listen to rational argument, because it is deceptive, and teach them to answer arguments by the use of their fists or pistols. We should therefore claim, in the name of tolerance, the right not to tolerate the intolerant."*

> *Popper K. The Open Society and Its Enemies.*

Does that mean tolerance is impossible?

No. It could have meant something like that, be tolerance a result of coercion.

But tolerance is a matter of choice. As we have seen before, tolerance does not require turning others into tolerant as well. Neither it means accepting what one does not want to accept. Thus, the paradox is easy to resolve: tolerance is the matter of one's own choice, not of social compulsion.

Nevertheless, there are ways to improve social environment for tolerance, as well as purely rational reasons behind such improvement.

Dangers of Intolerant Environment

Intolerance is not only a lack of tolerance, but a specific attitude, characterized by unwillingness to accept the right of people to possess alternative views, lack of respect for others, treatment of people or groups with different identities in a hostile way. Intolerance in multicultural and multiethnic societies leads to violations of human rights, violence, and internal disruptions. Extreme cases may also include different forms of genocide.

Putting intolerance into a context helps reveal the structures of and explains how it can lead to a dangerous environment of violence, conflict and war. The first case that will be examined is Rwanda in 1994, where nearly 1 million Tutsis and moderate Hutus lost their lives in the occurring genocide.

The second case is Kosovo in 1999 where about 10,000–11,000 deaths were reported. Intolerance may be seen throughout the ages in all societies, but these two contexts will be described because they are relatively recent and occurred under different circumstances with different backgrounds.

RWANDA 1994

General background

Intolerance in the lead-up to the Rwandan genocide stems from the colonial era that laid the basis for major interethnic tensions. International community did very little to prevent the crime of genocide, despite visible indicators of dangerous environment.

Colonization

Rwanda was colonized by Germany and Belgium from 1885. In the beginning, Germany raised taxes on Rwandans but did not meddle too much in internal affairs as it still depended on the indigenous authorities. This gradually changed,

as the Tutsi minority became a favored party to do business with, which made the colonial powers grant Tutsis basic ruling positions. Even though Rwanda gained independence in 1962, the heritage of colonization shaped Rwandan society and created an environment of intolerance leading up to the events in 1994. Colonization is linked to the following two factors but must be mentioned as a separate indicator causing intolerance in Rwanda.

Transition and distribution of power

Rwanda's population consisted of 7 million people in 1994 comprising two major ethnic groups: Hutu 85%, Tutsi 14%. During the great wave of decolonization, tensions between the two ethnicities increased. Tutsis had enjoyed certain privileges during the colonial era, especially in the political sphere, which

sharpened ethnic tensions after colonization during the transitioning period. A revolution in the 1960s ended the Tutsi domination, giving the Hutu majority full political power after independence in 1962.

Stigmatization

Ethnic classification was introduced by Belgian colonial powers and institutionalized when ID cards were indicating different ethnicities. In 1994 these ID cards were used as a stigma and instrument to sentence Tutsis to death at roadblocks. Thus, ethnic stigmatization is a dangerous tool that helps differentiate people in an intolerant society.

Scapegoating

Juvenal Habyarimana, the Hutu president of Rwanda, was killed when his plane was shot down in April 1994. Local media sources joined in on the assumption

that Tutsi rebels were to blame for the incident. This event was the turning point in the conflict and quickly accelerated a response that led to the genocide. The accusations — which until this day remains uncertain — intensified waves of hate among Rwandan Hutus.

Hate speech in media

At that time, radio was the main media in Rwanda. The radio station Mille de Collines became very popular in 1994 and played a significant role in the genocide promoting hate speech against Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Tutsis were referred to as "cockroaches" that needed to be eliminated. The station was set up and financed by Hutus extremists preparing its listeners to partake in genocide activities as it began to call for a final war ending Tutsis.

Lack of international response

Finally, the genocide in 1994 became possible due to the lack of international response before and during the mass killings. The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) had little means to protect Rwandan people under attack and the mandate of the mission was limited and unclear. The international community did very little to nothing to prevent the actions even though there were clear indications before the event took place that the situation might escalate into genocide. Also, international media did not cover the events in Rwanda, so the international political players were not pressured to make Rwanda a priority that had to be dealt with. This made it possible for Hutu extremists to continue the indoctrination, fuel anger among Hutus and prepare for the systematic killings of the Tutsi minority

KOSOVO 1999

General background

Kosovo is partially recognized state that proclaimed independence in 2008. However, Kosovo is *de jure* part of Serbia which, in its turn, used to be part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). Intolerance in Kosovo is based on interethnic tensions and continues up to date. The international response towards Kosovo was different from Rwanda and suggests that the use of violence to fight violence is inefficient peace efforts.

Nationalism and discrimination

Even though nationalism can have positive results in nation-building efforts and reaching a common identity, the language can also become exclusive, discriminating and aggressive to those who do not match the prescription of an identity. The rise in nationalism at the time had an aggressive tone and sharpened the already existing tensions between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo.

Transition

Under the rule of Josip Broz Tito, SFRY gradually devolved power to the authorities of Kosovo, although it formally remained a part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Tito implemented integrating policies to control the ethnical tensions in Kosovo but research during this time indicates that these policies failed to alleviate the underlying ethnic tensions between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo[8]. In other words, the tensions between the two ethnic groups in Kosovo

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[8] Lahne S. Shan. Analysis of Tito's Policies on Ethnic Conflict: The Case of Kosovo. 2012

under Tito might not have been as visible but were present nevertheless. The transitioning period following the death of Tito in 1980 and the following collapse of communism made Yugoslav politics susceptible to intolerance and turned it increasingly polarized along ethnic lines.

Segregation

The Serbian parliament revoked the right of self-government in Kosovo in 1989. Supporters of the Serbian nationalist leader Slobodan Milosevic took control over local government and security forces in Kosovo. Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo were fired from the state administration, Albanian education and media were curtailed. The Kosovo Albanian leader Ibrahim Rugova established a parallel political and social structure, including a separate educational system. The segregation and social exclusion continues up to date as many ethnic Albanians became radicalized and sought revenge after the conflict escalated in 1999[9]. This makes non-Albanians seek security in their own communities making Kosovo more segregated and increasing ethnical tensions still.

Economic decline

The transition from a communist economic system towards a more open economy has proven to be difficult for Kosovo. Kosovo was the poorest part of the former Yugoslavia with a series of federal development subsidies received in 1960s and 1970s. During 1990s, the abolition of province autonomous institutions weakened the economy followed by poor economic policies, international sanctions, little access to external trade and finance as well as ethnic tensions. A cycle emerged where economic problems intensified ethnic tensions, and the latter in its turn created additional economic challenges.

Aggressive international response

There was no effective international response to the Croatian and Bosnian wars in early 1990s. Therefore, Milosevic became bolt in his approach in Kosovo allowing mass atrocities. However, the international community feared that the Kosovo War could draw other countries into a wider conflict, including NATO members Greece and Turkey. NATO therefore intervened in March 1999 quite aggressively against Serbia without an actual mandate from the UN Security Council. The intervention might have put an end to the atrocities at the time but

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9   Constance Grewe and Michael Riegner. Internationalized Constitutionalism in Ethnically Divided Societies: Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo Compared. 2011

it has proven not to be a long-term solution for Kosovo. There are still tensions in the region with clear indicators of intolerance.

Does Tolerance Bring About Peace?

Tolerance is an indicator of positive social relations. Tolerance can contribute to reaching sustainable peace. Similarly, the absence of tolerance (towards minorities, vulnerable groups etc.) can lead to tensions causing violence, conflict and war.

Tolerance means respecting people who are different. People can be different in terms of race, ethnicity, language, religion, civic views, sexual or gender identity, physical capacities and on thousands of others grounds. Tolerance can be reflected in many forms:

⊘ **Different groups of people have equal access to education, health**

care, economic opportunities or power. It is necessary that none of citizens could be denied in his or her essential rights for reasons of his ethnicity, language, religion, origin, race, gender or sexual identity. Lack for any barriers enables everyone to achieve success based on his skills or qualification.

⊘ **Different groups of people are fully integrated into society.** A citizen is perceived as an inalienable part of society regardless of his origin, sex, race, language, ethnicity, religion, political views etc. It is important that all social groups and minorities should participate in public discourse (on economic or political issues) and cooperate to address the common problems facing the country. Thus, all citizens are interested in establishing a peaceful, wealthy and prosperous country where everybody can manifest oneself.

⊘ **Traditions of minorities are observed.** It is necessary that every citizen can publicly speak native language, demonstrate religious belief or cultural traditions and express civic position without any discrimination or contempt. Moreover, everyone should be assured with preservation of his or her identity and possibilities of cultural developments.

⊘ **All groups of people feel secure from prejudice or discrimination.** A citizen should be free from fear for his life, security, property or employment because of his membership in a particular group of people. It is important that all citizens might count on public institutions to obtain justice in case of disputes.

Society recognizes the importance of protecting minority and vulnerable groups. The society is mature if it realizes benefits of cultural diversity. Thus, interactions between different ethnicities or religions may enrich the entire society by learning from each other. Finally, civil society organizations or active citizens will make efforts to preserve diversity and tolerance[10].

Many countries and societies face obstacles to tolerance. Intolerance stems from the idea that one's own group is superior to those of others. Intolerance can be

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[10] Tolerance: a threshold to peace. A teaching/learning guide for education for peace, human rights and democracy
http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/34_57.pdf

reflected at both official and grassroots level.

Sometimes, intolerance can be a part of conscious state policy towards specific group or minority. There are numerous examples of how authorities were discriminating various groups of people on ethnic, racial, religious or other grounds. Anti-Semitism was an essential part of government policy in Nazi Germany which later took shape of Holocaust with at least 6 million of Jews killed during World War II. For four decades, South African government was pursuing the policy of Apartheid, which provided for discrimination of non-white citizens. There are many countries where ethnic or religious minorities are deprived of their political or cultural rights despite living in their homeland. Finally, women in many countries may be restricted in their participation in public life. In this regard, a government policy largely determines public moods towards specific groups of people, resulting in such severe outcomes as racism, aggressive nationalism, religious extremism and xenophobia.

However, non-discriminatory policy is not enough to prevent intolerance in society. In each country, there may be specific attitude towards different groups of people as a result of many factors that could affect public moods.

At grassroots level, there may be many **forms of intolerance** towards racial, ethnic or religious groups, immigrants or sexual minorities[11].

PREJUDICE	An emotional attitude (usually negative) towards a person based solely on his belonging to a particular group.
STEREOTYPING	Describing all members of a group of people (usually negatively) as characterized by the same attributes.
TEASING	Calling attention to particular human appearance, attributes or traditions in order to cause ridicule or insult.
SCAPEGOATING	Blaming nationwide traumatic events or social problems on a particular group of people.

[11] Ibidem.

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STIGMATIZATION	Intentional distinguishing of a particular group of people from other members of society on socially characteristic features.
SEGREGATION	Enforced separation of people due to different races, religions or gender, usually to the disadvantage of one group.
OSTRACISM	An attitude towards a particular group of people as if they were not present or did not exist.
HARASSMENT	Intimidating, insulting or exerting psychological pressure on a person in order to force him out of an organization or community.
BULLYING	Use of superior physical capacity or greater numbers to humiliate others or deprive them of certain social role.
DISCRIMINATION	Excluding a person from social benefits and activities on primarily prejudicial grounds.
REPRESSION	Forceful preventing a person or a group of people from their access to fundamental human rights.
EXPULSION	Denying persons in the right of entrance or presence in a social group, profession or any place where group activity occurs, including vital needs as employment or shelter etc.
HATE SPEECH	Offensive speech against a person or a particular group on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, sexual orientation or physical abilities.
HATE CRIME	A prejudice-motivated crime that are targeted against a victim because of his belonging to a particular group of people, such as, race, ethnic or religious groups, sexual minorities, disability etc.

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If the government and society do not discourage intolerance, it may cause resentment accompanied by inter-group violence. Frequent acts of inter-group violence have triggered deadly conflicts in many countries. In this regard, it is vitally important to react to early incidents regardless of how sizable a target group is.

Tolerance and Political Regimes

The general indicators causing intolerance will now be placed in a context to help explain when intolerance creates a dangerous environment that could lead to violence, conflict and war. Political regimes are mentioned separately at first because the idea that democratic governance prevents intolerance has proven to be false now, when right-wing populism advocating intolerance is on a rise in liberal democratic states.

Tolerance is incompatible with totalitarian regimes because it advocates a single belief system but democracies are no guarantee for tolerance either. At the end of the Cold War, there was a wide spread notion that political and economic liberalism offered a key solution to a broad range of political, social and economic problems[12]. But the current intensified problems seen in liberal states prove that liberal democracy is no absolute cure against intolerance.

A French political scientist and philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville observed democracy in the United States and explained why intolerance can be part of democratic regimes. He saw danger in extreme democratic systems and warned for a "tyranny of the majority"[13]. Ac-

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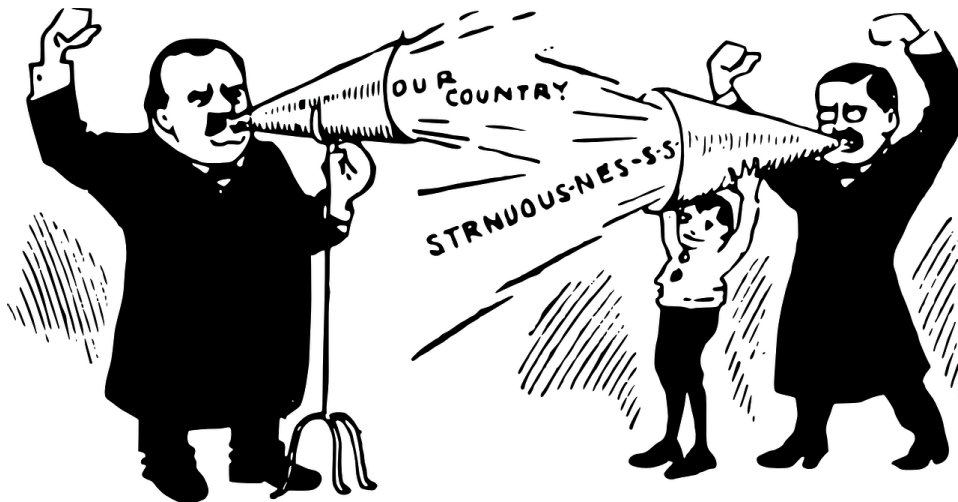
12 Roland Paris. Saving Liberal Peacebuilding. 2010
13 Alexis de Tocqueville. La Democratie en Amerique. 1835

cording to Tocqueville, democracy is an equation balancing liberty and equality. The core principles of liberty and equality are not endless and when the two are at odds with each other they can cause this tyranny of the majority. This directly opposes a culture of peace and enables a system where diversity is discouraged and minorities are silenced. Tocqueville prompted people to work together for common purposes and counterbalance the danger of the tyranny of the majority.

Totalitarian regimes however have more explicit examples of intolerance. The regime creates a dangerous environment where the state authority is limitless and controls all aspects of life (business, labour unions, churches or political parties). The regime deprives people of all personal freedoms and is intolerant of activities that do not match the goals of the state, entailing repression. Totalitarian regimes seek to mobilize entire populations in support of the state ideology and eliminate all complications or people that prevent this from happening.

Intolerance within totalitarian regimes has had huge consequences. This form of regime has led to many millions of deaths over the world. Although there are different examples of totalitarian regimes that embraced intolerance, the USSR under Stalin and Nazi Germany under Hitler will be emphasized.

Though the two cases differ in context and visible indicators of intolerance, the factors causing a dangerous environment mostly remain the same.

SOVIET UNION UNDER STALIN

General background

Intolerance during the rule of Joseph Stalin was not so much based on ethnic grounds, rather on ideological, political and social differences. Nothing other than the state ideology was tolerated, which created a dangerous and intolerant environment. The death toll under the Stalin regime is estimated at about 20 million, according to most historians[14].

Repression

Stalin ruled with terror, people were ruthlessly repressed and all competition was exterminated creating fear and continuation of the regime. The collectivization forced people to move from the countryside towards the city for the purpose of industrialization. The forced collectivization caused a large manmade famine in Ukraine called Holodomor that killed millions of people.

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[14] How many people did Stalin kill? http://historyofrussia.org/stalin-killed-how-many-people/

Ostracism

To prevent uprisings or disobedience within the USSR, the Stalin's regime neglected areas where possible rebellion could take place, denying local residents in access to basic needs such as food and housing. In particular, famine was an efficient weapon used to end peasant revolt.

Stigmas and scapegoating

Richer peasants were stigmatized as Kulaks and portrayed as enemies of the people. According to Soviet terminology, Kulaks accomplished their wealth at the expense of the common people. Propaganda exploited this idea and fueled a wave of hate among the population, resulting into a witch hunt targeting millions of people who justly or unjustly corresponded to this terminology.

NAZI GERMANY

General background

Intolerance in Nazi Germany originated from Nazi ideology in which Germans and the Aryan race were considered superior to other peoples. The Holocaust belonged to an extreme form of Nazi discriminatory policy which resulted into the liquidation of 6 million Jews and many others who did not match the Nazi perception of state identity.

Segregation

In Nazi Germany, the population was divided into different groups, each with different rights, food rations, allowed housing strips in the cities, public transportation etc. Jews and sometimes Romani were confined to ghettos in Eastern Europe, turning them into concentration camps.

Stigmatization

Jews, Poles and gays were forced to wear identifying badges to stigmatize their nature. Jews had to wear yellow ribbons or the Star of David. Poles were forced to wear a yellow with purple border and the letter «P» cloth identifying tag sewn to their clothing. Eastern Europeans were subject to deeper discriminatory measures then Western Europeans as they were viewed as being racial inferior. Men sent to the concentration camps due to their homosexuality had to wear pink triangles attached to their uniforms.

Discrimination and prejudice

Prejudice was used as a form of propaganda advocating discrimination in the Third Reich. The Nazis based their ideology on social Darwinism arguing that an Arian race was superior to others. Prejudice prevailed, as the interaction between different people was minimal and created a dangerous environment dehumanizing vulnerable groups.

Scapegoating

The Nazis made use of anti-Semitic sentiments in Germany. According to Adolf Hitler and NSDAP, Germany lost World War I because of the Jews. Thus, they became an easy target to blame when the economic situation in Germany worsened.

So, political regimes do not provide the answer how to create tolerant societies or create a culture of peace. Current approaches to counter intolerance still rely too much on aspects of liberal democracies, but this is unfounded and falsely insinuates tolerance is a development issue and unreachable for states without sufficient means to invest in certain areas. A new common approach should therefore monitor the indicators of intolerance and include more aspects than the five mentioned by the UNESCO.

Foundations of Lasting Peace

Peace is often hard to achieve, especially in institutionally weak societies with lack of democracy, unstable economies, or long history of mutual hatred. Bearing in mind that lasting peace is not just absence of violence, but also effective set of tools and channels for settling or preventing conflict within a society, it should be noted, that it is hard to achieve. A sustainable peace requires strong institutions, rule of law, absence of discrimination, and specific techniques to tackle historic problems or complicated relations among ethnic groups. In recent history, the task has been very rarely completed.

Terminating violence does not necessarily mean securing peace. The absence of violence does not equal lasting peace. In order to build lasting peace, it is important to focus on other factors that will reduce the likelihood of conflict or its resumption.

⊘ **Public institutions must rest on the idea of equality.** It is vitally important that public institutions focus on the basic needs and equal opportunities of people as

well as try to maintain a balance between different interests. When different groups (ethnic, religious etc.) feel protected and non-discriminated, there will be no reason to feel resentment towards other social groups.

⊘ **Focus on prevention.** Naturally, it is hardly possible to avoid all disparities in a society. However, well-functioning institutions can better help to resolve disputes at an early stage within the legal framework so that none of the groups feel the need to use force or rebel to protect their own interest.

⊘ **Interdependency creates trust.** A peaceful environment with interdependency allows interaction between various groups without fears for personal life or security. Different groups of people benefit from mutual cooperation while realizing that potential rivalry may

jeopardize everyone's business, home, and family.

⊘ **Support for engagement.** Active interaction between various groups increases mutual trust and helps to reduce prejudices or stereotypes. Regardless of past tensions, it is important to develop in an inclusive participatory manner a vision for a common future. Moreover, a citizen should feel his or her engagement in public affairs or at least cannot be ostracized for his or her ethnicity, religious beliefs, origin, political views etc.

It may take years or even decades to achieve lasting peace. Peacebuilding is a long process and rests on strengthening many pillars.

⊘ **Effective, accountable and inclusive institutions.** Citizens can hardly be secured if power is concentrated in hands of a narrow group (ethnic, religious, business, regional etc.). As a result, social tensions are likely to arise if interests of wider population are not represented in public authorities. Therefore, it is vitally important to bridge the gap between government and citizens in order to strengthen peaceful societies. Moreover, well-functioning institutions are necessary to increase the security of citizens and protect their rights and freedoms.

⊘ **Respect for human rights.** Very often, large-scale violations of human rights provoke deadly conflicts. Prosecution or discrimination of citizens on racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic, political or other grounds will inevitably cause resentment. The majority of contemporary internal conflicts are fueled by the inability or unwillingness of state authorities to protect the rights of minority groups. Therefore, public institutions shall ensure that all citizens can enjoy civil, political, economic and cultural rights and freedoms without any discrimination.

⊘ **Social justice.** Abuse of power, corruption and unfair distribution of social benefits limit an access by many citizens to education, health care, job and other opportunities. As a result, people may be forced to give bribes their way into services that should actually be part of basic needs. Moreover, it triggers organized criminal groups. Therefore, a fair and compassionate distribution of social benefits is important in preventing social tensions.

⊘ **Positive social relations.** Finally, sustainable peace requires a balance of interests among government, civil society organizations, social groups and individuals.

Therefore, every citizen — regardless of his or her social role — to some extent shares responsibility for peace in the country. In particular, tolerance is an important indicator of peaceful society.

In other words, peace is strongly intertwined with sustainable development. Thus, enhancing peace requires addressing political, social, economic and other problems in the countries.

In January 2017, the UN Secretary-General António Guterres said that investing in sustaining peace means investing in basic services, bringing humanitarian and development agencies together, building more effective and accountable institutions, protecting human rights, promoting social cohesion and diversity, ensuring the meaningful participation of women and girls in all areas of society and moving to sustainable energy[15].

Ethnic Security Dilemma

Some states are much more peaceful than other. This is very rarely due to their homogeneity or absence of fierce conflicts in the past. Vast majority of modern states are multiethnic and/or heterogeneous in many other ways. In regions like Europe, a long list of wars, hostility, and violence is recorded. Nevertheless, Europe is one of the least conflict-prone regions in the world. What is the reason behind peacefulness of some states? It looks like the answer is: strong institutions.

Violence does not erupt within societies, comprised of multitude of different groups with divergent interests, because of strong institutions of a state, which is an effective mediator of disputes. But what if there is no effective mediation by a state?

In that case relations among different groups within state boundaries are gradually deteriorating. Not necessarily that happens because of some unresolved contradictions or fundamental disagreements. Quite often a decisive role is played by a loss of state's credibility and a growth of mutual distrust among groups within the society. Groups may be formed on a different basis, most often ethnic, religious, or ideological.

A normal society is a pluralistic one, with a number of interacting identities, so that there is always a room for speculating on variations.

Under normal conditions, those speculations, including most radical versions, are channeled and controlled. A state provides all necessary and reliable institutions, procedures, and regimes for dealing with conflicts among ethnic, religious, or ideological groups. That is how

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[15] Guterres highlights importance of recognizing the links between peace and sustainable development, January 24th, 2017 http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/blog/2017/01/guterres-highlights-importance-of-recognizing-the-links-between-peace-and-sustainable-development/

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relations within a state are fundamentally different from those among nations on international arena. International relations lack any control or institution, which could have managed conflicts among states.

That is why relations among nations are often labeled as "anarchy". That does not imply chaos, just lack of superior authority. States do what they think necessary and have to count only on themselves. Anarchy of international politics generates the so-called "security dilemma": by seeking more security states end up having less. That happens because taking care of one's own security generates threats for others. By building a rocket, a state may be looking to enhance its security, but de facto undermines security of the others. These others feel threatened mostly because they can not be sure about intentions of a given state. Even if promises are given or treaties are signed, no state can be sure about intentions of the other.

Within a normal state situation is different. Groups of different race, ethnicity, wealth or political values, may peacefully coexist, because they can be sure about their security. A state provides it.

But from time to time states get fragile. Their capacity to provide security for social groups deteriorates. They can no longer be effective mediators in internal disputes. Such states are called "weak", and a number of them in the world is estimated at about 50–60. This is a huge share.

Weak states are ineffective. They are no longer capable of delivering well-being, prosperity, or justice to their citizens. Neither they are able to guarantee security of social groups, including minorities. These groups start to feel themselves as the states in an anarchical international system, i.e. threatened. What is also important about ethnic and other social groups, is that their survival depends not so much on military strength or economic potential, as in the case of states, but on inter-group cohesion and continued tradition. Moreover, the dilemma in this case is burdened not only by structural, but by perceptional factors, which means that the importance of perceived, even if not actual, threats can drive sides to a conflict. Groups have to rely on themselves and perceive others as potential enemies. Such perception makes them much more inclined to aggression and eventually violence. That is not because of any specific norms or ideas. That is because of the feeling of insecurity and lack or weakness of the "rules of the game".

These rules are most often called "institutions". Weak states are weak in-

UN DP Ukraine

stitutionally. They are unable to either formulate broadly acceptable norms or to implement them. In some cases weak states don't even control their sovereign territory. As a result, groups within such a state are trapped by mistrust, fear, and worst-case thinking. This is called "ethnic security dilemma".

While being called "ethnic", the dilemma is certainly not only about relations among ethnic minorities and dominant groups. Although its is the most frequent among internal conflicts, the logic applies to all other types. A social group in a weak state, if only possesses a distinctive identity, starts taking care of its own security as soon as it does not believe a state can protect it. That leads to further consolidation, to growing intolerance towards others, and to preventive steps. This is the moment when violence becomes highly probable.

The way ethnic security dilemma works underlines structural factors of internal conflicts. They are permissive cause for violence. Tolerance may be seen in this context as an institution, a rule, which helps the society to ameliorate, at least partly, the power of security dilemma.

Tolerance and Culture of Peace

Tolerance is an integral part of the culture of peace, as defined in the UN Dec-

laration on a Culture of Peace[16]. The culture of peace itself may be broadly seen as an approach aimed at preventing violence and violent conflicts in particular, and deeply rooted in universal values, human rights, and mutual understanding. By promoting sustainable economic and social development, principles of equality and democratic participation, this approach aims at transforming culture of war into culture of peace. The latter takes into account numerous mistakes made by mankind throughout its history, filled with wars. However, the question remains: can cultural shifts lead to a more peaceful world? And, if so, how tolerance can contribute into that?

The central idea behind culture of peace is that by transforming perceptions and

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[16] UN Declaration on a Culture of Peace, September, 13, 1999 // http://www.un-documents.net/a53r243a.htm

expectations, it is possible to decrease probability of war. What is labeled "culture of war" rests, inter alia, on intolerance towards other values, beliefs, identities, etc. Intolerance implies rejective attitude towards other groups or people. Such an attitude rises out of belief that one's way of life is superior to another's. A culture of war is an ideology that aims at extinction of differences, alternatives, and oppositions. It is supposed that such an approach is responsible for the most of warfare in history.

That may not necessarily be the case. Wars are often a result not so much of hatred, but of necessity. States take decisions to go to war because they care about security, not because leaders are cruel. However, the way those leaders perceive the world is often biased towards violence, zero-sum competitions, and war. Within a dangerous anarchic international environment states "think" of each other in mostly negative terms, perceiving others as potential threats. Not only culture, but also terminology and habits of war are necessary results of such perceptions. In a way, a culture of war is a synonym to worst-case thinking. Could it be shifted somehow into a more positive one?

The shortest way to shift perceptions is to change the rules of the game. If there is a way to improve trust and mutual understanding among nations of the world, relations among them would become

much more peaceful. That is not easy to achieve. In some regions of the world, Europe for instance, building mutual trust took extraordinary efforts, much time, and very innovative approaches. The project of the European integration has been a huge enterprise about transforming a culture of war into a culture of peace in a region, which by mid-XX century experienced the longest list of the most bloody wars. The outstanding result has been achieved to a large extent due to sustainable culture of peace, in which tolerance plays an exceptionally important role. Peace and tolerance in Europe go hand in hand.

Other telling examples of building up a culture of peace are also about the ways of enhancing trust and positive expectations among nations.

One of them is through establishment and empowerment of international institutions, which are specific rules states find beneficial to follow. Those are not rested solely on tolerance, but rather on rational choice; however tolerance shifts the calculation. In a more tolerant international environment, there is more room for institutions. Specific international regimes are more effective under more tolerance as well. International organizations pay special attention to the issue of tolerance, including by adopting documents aimed at promoting it. This is mostly to the effect tolerance generates for trust among states. More trust helps

overcome security dilemma in relations among states and thus to avoid unnecessary violence. More tolerance may not necessarily make international politics a moral, but it makes violence and war less optimal.

We have already addressed the issue of measuring tolerance. Are there ways to measure the culture of peace? Since it is still quite a vague concept, some guidelines could be of help. First of all, culture of peace is certainly grounded in the way a state functions. It may include level of democratic development and fundamental freedoms, like freedom of speech and mass media, for instance. It is also about inclusion of groups into political process and their access to decision-making. More democracy, fundamental freedoms, and inclusion would result in a stronger culture of peace. Another important dimension includes norms within society, for instance, peace education and promotion of values or tolerance. Finally, international context is to be taken into account. A culture of peace presumes peaceful foreign policy.

The culture of peace also builds on interdependence of a globalized world. It is assumed that interdependence punishes aggression and rewards cooperation, thus generating incentives for tolerance and conditions for peace. It is also assumed, that a globalized world tends to diminish or remove barriers and con-straints for human potential of any kind, be it state boundaries or lines of discrimination and intolerance. Globalization is good for culture of peace and diversity.

Consequently, culture of peace is about peaceful conflict resolution. International order would be based on diversity of interests, values, and identities. Nations of the world would joint responsibility for the future.

At the same time institutional dimension of the culture of peace should not be overlooked. By promoting human rights, principles of equality, universal values, mutual understanding, as well as by underlining the ways different nations, groups, and individuals may co-exist without violence, culture of peace also transforms the ways people perceive each other. Perception matters, and so does a culture of peace.

Tolerance: Global Trends

"…Divisive political rhetoric on asylum and migration issues, rising xenophobia, and restrictions on access to asylum have become increasingly visible in certain regions, and the spirit of shared responsibility has been replaced by a hate-filled narrative of intolerance…"

Ban Ki-moon[17]

Recently, the world has become a much less secure place. As we have already learnt, insecurity and intolerance breed each other, while dangerous and risky environment hardly can be favorable for enhancing tolerance in any of its meanings. As violence grows, trust among and within states gives way to suspicion, negative perceptions, and worst-case scenarios. Demand for aggressiveness rises, while tolerance gets out of fashion. This trend is threatening and shouldn't be overlooked.

In recent ten years, the annual number of ongoing military conflicts went 45% high, from 35 in 2007 to 49 in 2016. 47 out of these 49 are conflicts within state boundaries[18]. Either ethnically, religiously, or ideologically motivated, they are manifestations of intolerance and mutual hatred. That also tells something

about state institutions, and the way minorities tend to interact in the world in turmoil.

Weakening of international rules of the game contribute into the rise of intolerance.

Most internal conflicts are rooted in ethnic discrimination and weak state institutions. The latter, in turn, lead to the rise of perceived discrimination.

Xenophobia, mistreatment of ethnic minorities, and hostility towards neighboring nations are more common in today's world, than in the world of ten years ago. Nationalism is on the rise in a number of regions, including Eastern Europe. In most cases it is ethnic, not civic nationalism, with an emphasis on exclusive, fixed national identities.

It often features revisions of history, introduction of symbolic elements into national identities and, as a rule, leads towards growing tensions at the intra-, international, and regional levels.

Ethnic intolerance is marked by several important dimensions of discrimination, among them political, economic, and cultural. Political discrimination denies access to political life for ethnic groups. Economic discrimination blocks their full access to job market, natural resources or other economic opportunities.

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[17] Secretary-General's Message on World Refugee Day, UNSG, June, 20, 2016 // https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2016–06–20/secretary-generals-message-world-refugee-day-scroll-down-french

[18] SIPRI Yearbook 2017. Summary // https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2017–09/yb17-summary-eng.pdf

In rare cases minorities may economically discriminate dominant ethnic groups. Cultural discrimination is about limiting group's rights to develop cultural identity, preserve traditions or use native language.
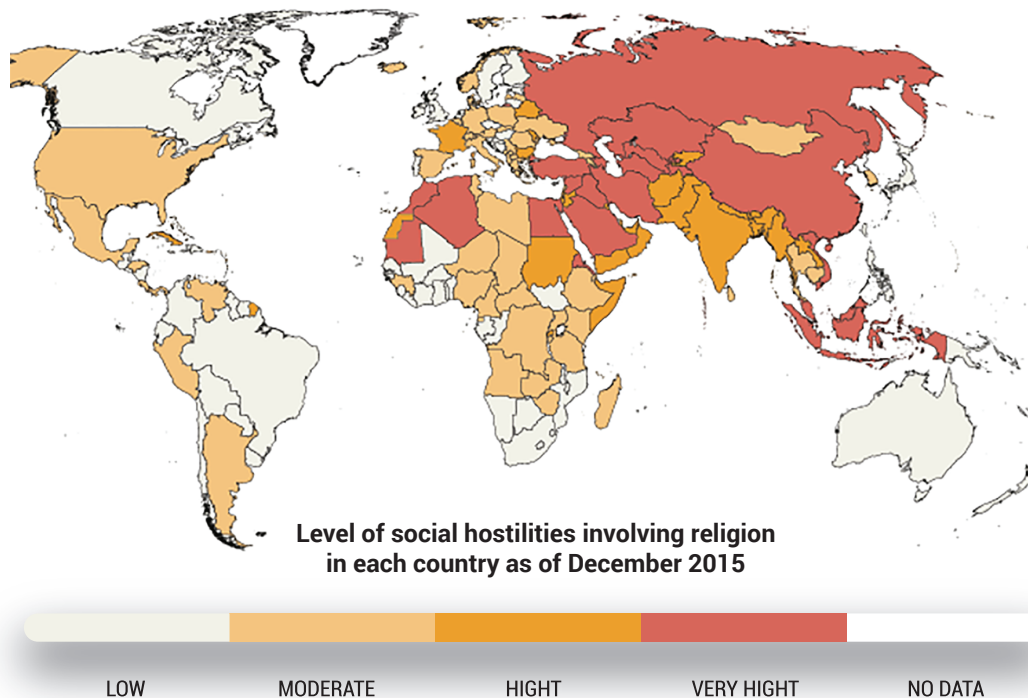
Along with manifestations of ethnic discrimination, in recent years there has been a rise in religious intolerance and discrimination, as well as in number of religiously motivated conflicts. According to Pew Research Center, in 2015, for the first time in three years, hostilities motivated by religion, increased in number. Since then, the trend has been unchanged[19]. In recent ten years, the number of countries with religious hostilities varied within 18–33%, approaching the minimum level in 2008–2009 and being closer to 30% in recent years. Levels of religious intolerance, i.e. share of countries with high levels of religiously motivated government restrictions, are also on the rise.

The total share of such countries is about 25%. Rise of religious intolerance is also

19 Global Restrictions on Religion Rise Modestly in 2015, Reversing Downward Trend, Pew Research Center //
     http://www.pewforum.org/2017/04/11/global-restrictions-on-religion-rise-modestly-in-2015-reversing-downward-trend/

Social hostilities involving religion around the world

**Level of social hostilities involving religion
in each country as of December 2015**

| LOW | MODERATE | HIGHT | VERY HIGHT | NO DATA |

reflected by increase in religiously motivated mob violence: in Europe there were 17 countries in 2015 where incidents have been reported, compared to 7 a year before.

Overall, more than 53% of all countries experienced government harassment of religious groups, compared to 43% in 2014. In Europe 32 countries witnessed social hostility towards Muslims in 2015, with Jews and Muslims remaining victims of hostilities in most European countries. Throughout the world top three religiously intolerant countries were Syria, Nigeria, and Iraq.

Racial intolerance is still on the global agenda. It may no longer resemble traditional ways of discrimination, but many people seem unwilling, for instance, to have their children in relationships with a person of a different race. According to a recent study, for instance, only 64% respondents in the EU feel comfortable with their children dating a Black person, while these numbers are significantly lower in countries like the Czech

Republic, Slovakia or Bulgaria[20]. A child dating Asian person would make feel comfortable 69% of EU citizens; while only 63% of Europeans would feel comfortable working with a Roma person[21].

Forms of intolerance are not limited by the most well-known — religious, ethnic or racial. They include intolerance to gender groups, in particular elder people; intolerance to disabled and/or ill; intolerance to transgenders, etc. Variety of identities implies variety of ways people may be discriminated. There are many countries in the world, where not only fighting against intolerance is out of the agenda, but the very issue has never been raised, while true levels of intolerance are unknown.

Societies of the world continue to be divided about the attitude towards homosexuals. While they are broadly accepted in Europe and Americas, but the level of tolerance in Africa, Russia, parts of Asia remains low. This is a long-lasing pattern unlikely to be reversed in the near future.

According to Social Progress Index, in recent years substantial declines in scores on tolerance towards immigrants, homo-

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[20] Discrimination in the EU in 2015. Report //ebs_437_en_20(1).pdf

[21] Ibidem.

Jews and Muslims remain victims of social hostilities in most European counties

Of the 45 countries in Europe, the number with social hostilities against between 2007 and 2015
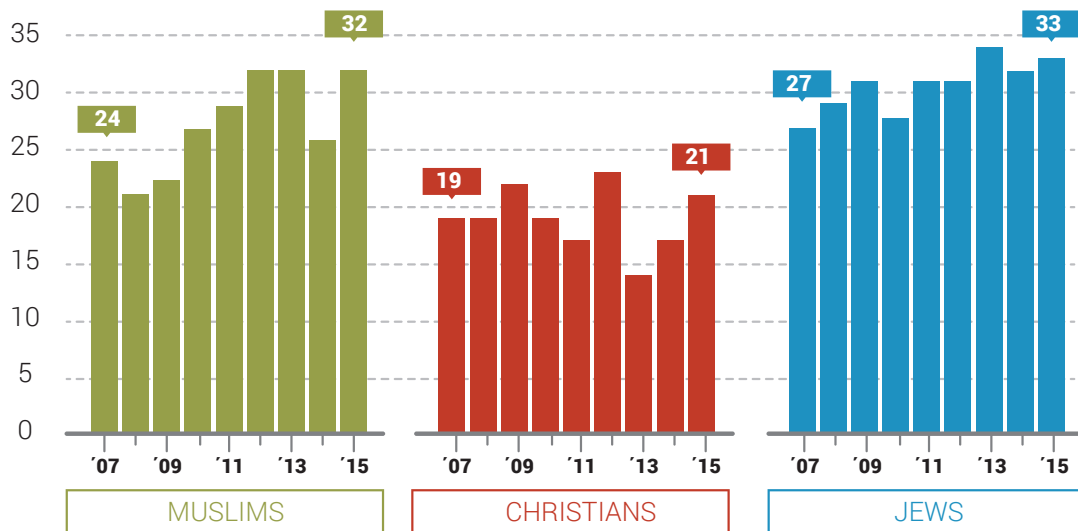
Pew Research Center

sexuals, and religious minorities were reported in France, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Latvia, Poland, Russia, and Slovakia. Intolerance in recent years continues to rise towards immigrants, most notably in Europe, with Poland, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, and Bulgaria leading the trend.

Tolerance correlates with well-being, democracy, and power of institutions. With democracy in retreat, both globally and regionally, institutions weakened, and wealth distributed rather unequally, rising intolerance has become a major trend. It shapes expectations and policies of individuals, groups, and states, making international security even more fragile. It is not just an emotional problem anymore, but a political one. Reversing the trend for intolerance is a matter of security environment.

UN Role in Strengthening Peaceful Societies

The United Nations was found in 1945 with the purpose "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors[22]. After the devastation of two World Wars, countries and their leaders came to an agreement: never again. They therefore decided to cooperate in efforts to maintain peace and security by setting up an international organization — the United Nations.

There have been different ways undertaken by the UN and other international organizations to stop armed conflicts and restore peace, in particular[23]:

- ⊘ **Preventive diplomacy**, which is a measure used to reduce tensions and disputes capable of preventing escalation into a violent conflict. For instance, diplomatic measures managed to prevent another World War during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.

- ⊘ **Peacemaking**, which involves peaceful means to bring hostile parties to a negotiated agreement after the conflict emerged. Mediation by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan during Kenyan post-election crisis in 2007–2008 could be an example of peacemak-

22 Charter of the United Nations. Preamble http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/preamble/index.html
23   Report of the Secretary General, "An Agenda for Peace, Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping" A/47/277, 17.06.1992 http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/47/277

ing that brought two presidential candidates to the negotiating table, helped end two-month long violence and sign a power-sharing agreement.

⊘ **Peace enforcement**, which provides for coercive measures, including the use of military force if peaceful means to stop violence turned out unsuccessful. In addition to the right of self-defense, the use of military force can be legitimate when "all necessary means" are authorized by the UN Security Council[24]. An example of peace enforcement was military actions authorized by the UN Security Council resolution 678 (1990) against Iraq in 1991 in response to the invasion and occupation of Kuwait.

⊘ **Peacekeeping**, which involves the deployment of international military personnel to disengage hostile troops along the ceasefire line. For instance, the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) has been operating in the buffer zone between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities for several decades.

⊘ **Peacebuilding**, which provides a complexity of measures aimed at avoiding lapse or relapse into conflict. Peacebuilding is the final stage in conflict resolution as it seeks, inter alia, to uproot the underlying causes of conflict and change a mutual perception of different communities. For instance, French-German youth exchange programs have contributed to reconciliation between two nations following 75 years of animosity.

Peacebuilding measures have been increasingly important in the 21st century. Establishment of peace does not automatically mean resolution of conflict. In this regard, a Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung suggested differentiating between negative peace and positive peace[25].

⊘ **Negative peace** refers merely to the absence of direct violence. For instance, when an armed conflict is over and a ceasefire is established, (and parties honor it) both parties will not use violence. However, the conflict is not resolved as the root causes preserve. In addition, different forms of violence may resume under certain circumstances. Finally, mistrust drags on between both parties.

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[24] Charter of the United Nations. Chapter VII: Actions with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression
http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-vii/index.html
[25] Galtung, Johan (1967). Theories of Peace: A Synthetic Approach to Peace Thinking. International Peace Research Institute, Oslo.

⊘ **Positive peace** means all forms of violence are absent. Both parties no longer have the intention to resume violence as the underlying causes of conflict are resolved and demands of each side are met. The roots of hostilities do not exist anymore and both parties enjoy cooperation, harmony, tolerance and mutual respect.

Third parties can mediate between conflicting parties and help try to facilitate reaching a peace agreement. Despite peaceful efforts by the UN and other third parties, establishing peace without willingness of counterparts will be an impossible task. In addition, third parties or outside parties can pressure the conflicting actors to seek conflict resolution.

Settlements are even harder in internal armed conflicts. Countries can be hesitant towards international interference in resolving the internal conflict with reference to the national sovereignty. However, this can be dangerous when state authorities fail to meet the responsibility to protect its citizens. As a result, sometimes millions of people may suffer from violence until warfare is over.

The UN has been in particular promoting peaceful and inclusive societies in order to reduce the risk of involvement into armed conflict or its renewal. In this regard, in 2015, the UN adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which provides 17 ambitious goals. In particular, Goal #16 binds peace with justice and strong institutions. For instance, resentment, animosity and violence in many developing countries could be caused by the lack of justice and the inability of public institutions to resolve disputes between various social groups.

For many decades, the UN has been a platform for elaborating universal human rights instruments since the notion became widely accepted that fighting discrimination could strengthen peaceful societies in many ways. In order to protect various social groups, Ukraine and most other countries signed and ratified the following human rights conventions[26]:

- ⊘ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;

- ⊘ International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights;

- ⊘ Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women;

- ⊘ Convention on the Rights of the Child;

- ⊘ Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide;

- ⊘ International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;

- ⊘ International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid;

- ⊘ Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees;

- ⊘ Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities;

- ⊘ Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment;

- ⊘ International Convention for the Protection of all Persons from Enforced Disappearance

Politicians and diplomats have come to realize that it is much easier and more efficient to focus on preventing conflicts rather than intervening, when tensions have already escalated into conflict. In this regard, it has been increasingly important to uproot causes of tensions, including discrimination, racism and xenophobia, and promote justice, inclusion and mutual respect in order to build peaceful societies.

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[26] OHCHR. Ratification of Human Rights Treaties: Country Profile for Ukraine http://indicators.ohchr.org/

Liubko Deresh:

"*The experience of participating in the "Reinvent Respect" campaign became a big step for me to realize the real processes of interaction with Ukrainian communities for the sake of mutual understanding in the country.*

The area of work, which was opened at the same time, does not provide estimates within the opposition of "good / bad", but pushes for analyzing the lessons from each of the events that we conducted during this time.

The basic understanding I have made for myself — the need to be an active listener in the process of communication. The role of Tolerance Envoys was often confined not so much to transmit one or another values (because the status itself is sufficiently eloquent and emphasizes certain ideas), but rather to become a kind of "ears", whose auditory nerve leads to the center, responsible for the situation in the country and in the world. The people I had to communicate with felt

a great need to express their opinions, in which emotions often dominated the logical content and in this they reinvented the opportunity to return lost connection with some integrity — state, national, or universal.

In a formal sense, in such dialogues (which often took place backstage of the events), it was about restoring social, political, historical justice, in essence — the need for overcoming isolation was meant.

Thus, in my opinion, the issue of tolerance formation, especially political, is preceded by the procedure of communication, especially the empathic listening. Just listening to the opinions of certain communities by authorized representatives, I think, can become a catalyst for restoring confidence — and as a result, reinventing respect in the Ukrainian society⟩⟩.

Goodwill Envoys as an Instrument for Promotion of Tolerance and Mutual Understanding

Goodwill Envoys (GWEs) have a CV that suits the purpose of promoting tolerance and are experienced in the matter differently so they will cover separate aspects and appeal to a broader range of people. The use of envoys by the UN is not a new phenomenon and is mostly referred to as a **Goodwill Ambassadors Program**.

The UN has a tradition of enlisting the volunteer services of prominent figures from the worlds of art, entertainment, sport and literature to highlight priority issues and draw attention to its activities. In 1954, UNICEF established the first Goodwill Ambassador program in the United Nations system appointing an American comedian **Danny Kaye**. Oth-

er United Nations organizations have followed since. Celebrities have been appointed with the purpose to raise funds, affect diplomatic agendas and draw attention to development causes.

When Kofi Annan was Secretary-General (1997–2006), he intensified celebrity involvement and established a special category of Goodwill Ambassadors among figures with widely recognized talents. They were titled "Goodwill Ambassadors" (GWA) or "Messengers of peace" (MoP) depending on the different organizations within the UN system. Due to their increasing participation, the UN Secretary-General issued the first ever **Guidelines for the designation of Goodwill Ambassadors and Messengers of peace** which include[27]:

⊘ Definition and selection criteria;

⊘ Selection and designation;

⊘ Role of Goodwill Ambassadors and Messengers of Peace;

⊘ Conditions of Services;

⊘ Communication and information;

⊘ Termination.

In 2006, the Joint Inspection Unit (JIU) conducted an additional evaluation of the Goodwill Ambassadors programs. According to the inspectors, the UN Guidelines do not mention how to make

[27] Guidelines for the designation of Goodwill Ambassadors and Messengers of peace
http://un.org.ua/images/documents/4193/Guidelines_for_the_designation_of_Goodwill_Ambassadors_and_Messengers_of_Peace.pdf

the best use of GWAs talents after their designation and the number of GWA programs have increased substantially since the guidelines. The JIU made 11 **additional recommendations** to the Secretariat[28]. A few examples of the recommendations are:

- ⊘ Guidelines should be complemented with more guidance for the effective management and implementation of the relevant programs across the United Nations system;

- ⊘ The number of GWA should be rationalized;

- ⊘ Only one title should be used to designate celebrities;

- ⊘ Joint activities of Goodwill Ambassadors should be organized among organizations with common strategic goals and priorities.

A recent example of a successful GWA program is the appointment of a British actor **Emma Watson** as UN Women Goodwill Ambassador in 2014. She serves as an advocate in the **HeforShe campaign** that seek to promote gender equality and empower young women. The campaign invites boys and men to build on the work of the women's movement as equal partners, crafting and implementing a shared vision of gender equality. A
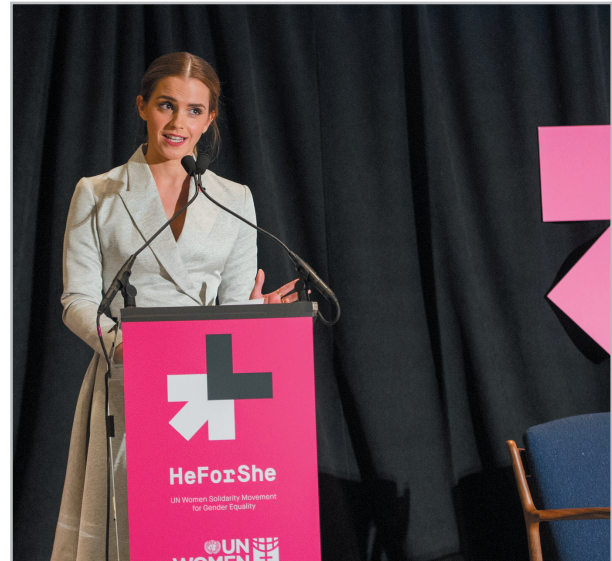
logo was created to make the campaign recognizable and spread the idea and vision further. The goal is set to mobilize 1 billion men to accelerate the achievement of gender equality while its website monitors the number of initiatives set up in the spirit of the campaign[29].

An American actress **Angelina Jolie** is another example of how GWA program may be successful. She has been UNHCR Special Envoy (the UN Refugee Agency) since 2001. She represents UNHCR at the diplomatic level and engages with decisionmakers on global displacement issues. So far, she has carried out nearly 60 field missions all over the world and written journals and books about her personal impressions during these visits. She has become an influential figure

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[28] Papa Louis Fall & Guangting Tang. Goodwill Ambassadors in the United Nations System. Joint Inspection Unit, 2006 https://www.unjiu.org/en/reports-notes/archive/JIU_NOTE_2006_1_English.pdf

[29] UN Women. HeForShe Overviews http://www.heforshe.org/-/media/heforshe/files/our%20mission/heforshe_overview_brief.pdf

advocating for major crises resulting in mass population displacements[30].

The increase in the number of GWA programs has led to criticism and academic debates however.

In particular, it was noted that famous GWAs might turn politics into a media spectacle utilizing public relations techniques and media marketing to focus attention to UN causes. GWAs, as critics argued, often become an 'elite club' that creates a misleading impression of "victory of ideas", rather than problem solving.

There are dangers in over-simplifying complex issues of international diplomacy as the celebrities are not actual diplomats and might not understand the context or sensitivity of the issues they are advocating for.

All these recommendations and critical remarks, in particular the Guidelines for the designation of Goodwill Ambassadors and Messengers of peace, were taken into account during the implementation of the Ukrainian nationwide communicational campaign «Reinvent Respect».

The guidelines and recommendations of JIU were used as the basis for the appointment of the appropriate UNDP Tolerance Envoys in Ukraine for this campaign.

Only those Envoys who meet the selection criteria of the UN were selected. After that, they were fully informed on the issues related to the promotion of tolerance in order to ensure their compliance with the UN. Based on critical remarks from previous experience, this campaign was as depoliticized as possible within its framework and focused on promotion of tolerance values. It has not been used to criticize those who are not tolerant, but rather has been created to find a way to engage everyone into a tolerant discussion.

Honesty is appreciated, but it is important to leave the space where nobody feels like an object of criticism or attack. Dialogue within the Ukrainian society between those who have different points of view on painful issues of the past and present, and the development of a common vision of the country's future creates

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30 UNHCR Sepcial Envoy Angelina Jolie http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c56.html

an atmosphere of tolerance, inclusiveness, participation, responsibility and engagement that, as international experience shows, is the best instrument for building a positive peace and strengthening public institutions.

The activities within the communication campaign in 2017–2018 were aimed at identifying the causes of intolerance and developing the culture and traditions of tolerance, promoting the values of mutual understanding, reducing the polariza-tion of public sentiments and strengthening dialogue in the Ukrainian society.

The initiative «Reinvent Respect» involved 12 UNDP Tolerance Envoys in Ukraine — prominent personalities and opinion leaders from the sphere of art, literature, music and sports.

The communication campaign on promotion of tolerance and mutual understanding in the Ukrainian society has been joined by:

Liubko Deresh,
writer

Larysa Denysenko,
human rights activist,
writer

Natalia Sumska, actress,
People's Artist of Ukraine

Alevtina Kakhidze,
artist-performer

Katya Chilly,
singer

Mykhailo Minakov,
philosopher

Andriy Kulykov,
journalist, media expert

Yevhen Zakharov,
human rights activist

Gulnara Abdullaeva,
historian, TV presenter

Mariana Savka,
writer

Vyacheslav Varda,
TV presenter, mas-
ter of sports

Pavlo Vyshebaba,
musician, environ-
mental activist

Within five months, the Envoys have participated in more than 30 events throughout the country, organized within the framework of the project. More than 600 participants — this is the record number of listeners at one of the lectures of the «Reinvent Respect» campaign. In total, more than 10 thousand people took part in the events. Particular attention was paid to the usage of different formats and approaches to the topic of tolerance that allowed the involvement of many different groups of society to discussions. Participants of the events actively discussed the issues of establishing a dialogue in society, the importance of diversity values, tolerance and civil peace.

The essence, relevance and urgency of the issues raised, the popularity of the Envoys and their public recognition, high public demand for security and dialogue have contributed to the final results of the project.

Diagnosing Intolerance

Generally, intolerance is rejecting someone's right to be different. Implications, degrees, expressions, and negative consequences of intolerance may vary under different conditions. Several most widespread forms of intolerance can be distinguished.

DISCRIMINATION

By and large discrimination is being treated unfairly because of one's personal characteristics. Those may include race, gender, nationality, language, religion, disability, age, pregnancy and alike. A good way to look for discrimination is by searching for various "isms". Discrimination may be an everyday experience at a personal level, but also may be targeted against social groups. In both cases we deal with expression of intolerance. People and groups may be discriminated by denying access or benefits, imposing

burdens or excluding. It often happens without a clear intention to inflict harm or damage. Along with personal, people may get discriminated at a group level by denying political rights, economic benefits, cultural autonomy or linguistic diversity.

Discrimination is often the result of negative attitudes, biases, and stereotypes.

STEREOTYPES

Non-justified generalizations about reality are stereotypes. They may result from non-critical thinking, misuse of theories or just wrong information. This is a very common phenomenon, since human mind tends to simplify things it observes. But they acquire a negative social meaning as soon as deal not only with simplified patterns of perception, but with convictions, associated with a certain social group. Stereotyping is a certain technique of thinking we learn in an early childhood. Stereotypes are difficult to get rid of. Sometimes they help people to feel more secure or to adjust to complicated unfamiliar circumstances. But they also can generate and channel aggression, justify violence, serve as a means for misinformation, manipulation, and propaganda. Even though it is hard or even impossible to live without stereotypes, they should not be decisive in shaping behavior towards people or social groups.

To reinvent respect — to know yourself

Mariana Savka

When we try to get to know somehow our society, then we get the first, rather painful, impression: how little we know it. Well, just nothing. Each of us — in their small comfortable capsules of comfort zone — tries to conclude about things of general order. But it does not work out. There is no communication network. The capsules do not open.

The search for tolerance gives the first tactile sensation of this unknown country, in the incredible variety of human mini-systems of values and anti-values. We should say to everybody: remove your visors, open your hearts, look at each other, give your hands. But it's not that simple. It is more difficult to do than write about it. The fear, written in the gene code, is the best conservative of the old (bad, but life-tested) models. "If only not worse", and most important "not in my backyard" — this life philosophy is rooted too deep. Where does tolerance come from? I mean encapsulated behavioral models a priori cannot be tolerated to something new, unusual, to everything that goes beyond the investigated, though a poor space. Therefore, it is so difficult at all to change something in the society, which seems to articulate the desire for changes, but in reality does not want them and resists them in every way. Therefore, changes in critical areas of life — in education, healthcare, and judiciary are so difficult and slowly occurring.

But nevertheless there are changes. And tolerance is laid in the foundation of these necessary changes. These harbingers of changes are open proactive people who are not afraid to go beyond their own comfort zone, risk being incomprehensible to others,

but they still go and do their little feats every day by unlocking our closed society. Here and there, I see the wonderful initiatives of public activists, who open eyes for someone to fact that each and every one of us can and must even create a new society. It is not necessarily to be in the Verkhovna Rada. You can just open your eyes and see who needs your help: large families who cannot cope with the difficulties, or the war veterans, or just old and lonely people. Or maybe we need to unite into the community and repair the school where your children and children of those, who does not look like you, will go. It is not necessary to be a great strategist to realize that without basic European values, and in particular without tolerance, our society will go into a deadlock. We shouldn't fight against diversity but to learn how to live with it and turn it into an additional resource.

Tolerance is a way to know yourself. The more you accept the others, the more you understand yourself, your human potential, you have more confidence in yourself. After all, tolerant people have a generous soul. They are generous to themselves too. Thus — they are happy.

Recently, in some TV-program, I have seen Cambodian man with the ugliest face in the world. Despite of that, he has a lovely wife, eight cute children, and rejoices at the fact that his ugliness has brought him recognition — because he is unique. I'm saying that he's a happy man — his fellow villagers love him and appreciate his kind heart. We really need so little to be happy — to love the world and all its creatures, so different, so unique.

CHAUVINISM

As well as other extreme forms of nationalism, it is a dangerous form of intolerance. Aggressive and belligerent forms of nationalism result from specific ways of understanding national identity.

There are two forms of nationalism, civil and ethnic. The first one ascends to American Revolutionary War and the French Revolution. It is also often called open nationalism, since national identity is not determined by birth and open to outsiders. Civil nationalism defines a nation through political rights and freedoms or, in other words, through civil society. During the French Revolution a term "nation" referred to all those who were against absolute power of a monarch. Ethnic origin was out of significance.

Things are different with ethnic nationalism. Also known as closed nationalism, it is about national identity enrooted in ethnic origin. Ethnic nationalism is exclusive; it is an environment favorable to discrimination, and violence. Chauvinism is one of the extreme manifestations of nationalism, brought about by intolerance.

XENOPHOBIA

Fear, negative perception, or hatred towards foreigners is labeled "xeno-phobia". It may result from the fear of loss of identity, a threat to well-being, a feeling of superiority, or poor inter-cultural dialogue. Foreigners, including immigrants and displaced persons, are treated with suspicion and in a way as if they threat identity or economic welfare of recipients.

The risk of xenophobia is especially high in transit societies and during crisis (not to mention transit societies in crisis!). Manifestations of xenophobia often tend to scapegoat foreigners, blaming immigrants and newcomers for poverty, instability, and unemployment.

HATE SPEECH

An expression of hate towards a person or a group, accompanied by an intense emotion, which brings an opinion to external audience, may be called hate speech. Much is the same manner as discrimination, hate speech targets and insults people because of who they are. A specific case of hate speech is denial of historical events.

Memory laws in different countries in this or that way prohibit expressions denying certain historical events, namely those of genocides. Such expressions are seen as offending the victims and thus are considered cases of hate speech

These are major visible forms and expressions of intolerance.
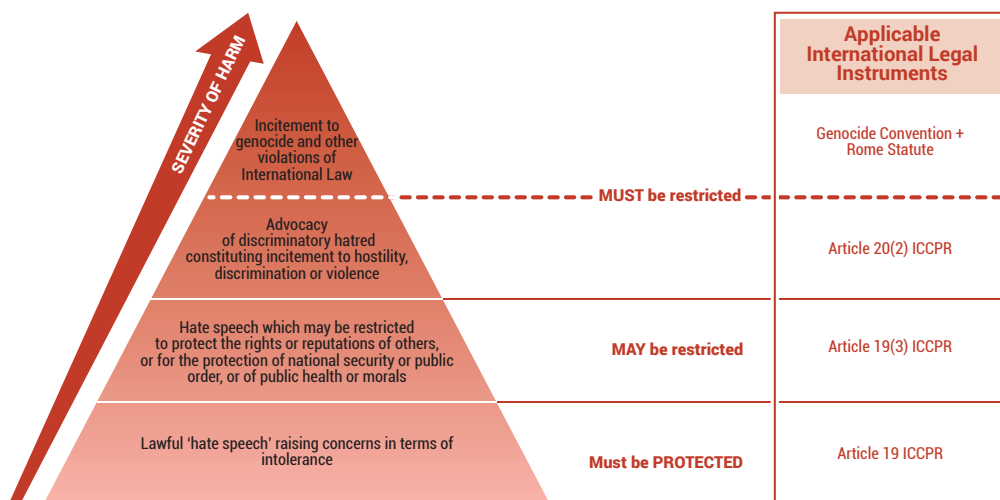
How Tolerant Is the Ukrainian Society

In Ukraine, the level of intolerance varies based on types of bias and forms.

Ukrainian society demonstrates **selective tolerance** towards different groups of people. According to a recent opinion poll[31], Ukrainians mostly accept living next door to persons who speak different language (only 7% would rather avoid living nearby), have different religion (7%) and different race (12%) as well as immigrants, to a lesser extent (20%). At the same time, Ukrainian society is highly intolerant to living next door to homosexuals (67%) and persons with HIV-infected persons (43%) — nearly as much as drug addicts (94%) and alcoholics (82%).

According to discrimination barometer[32], 14% of Ukrainian citizens consider to have experienced **discrimination**. Employment is the most common sphere of discrimination in Ukraine. During employment persons were frequently discriminated on the grounds of sexual orientation or gender identity (60%), disability (53%), age above 50 (52%), skin color (39%), language (25%), religion (24%), ethnicity (23%) and sex (20%). Moreover, persons also note discrimination in dealing with state institutions and civil servants, largely on the grounds

The 'Hate Speech Pyramid'

SEVERITY OF HARM

Incitement to genocide and other violations of International Law

Advocacy of discriminatory hatred constituting incitement to hostility, discrimination or violence

Hate speech which may be restricted to protect the rights or reputations of others, or for the protection of national security or public order, or of public health or morals

Lawful 'hate speech' raising concerns in terms of intolerance

MUST be restricted

MAY be restricted

Must be PROTECTED

Applicable International Legal Instruments

Genocide Convention + Rome Statute

Article 20(2) ICCPR

Article 19(3) ICCPR

Article 19 ICCPR

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[31] Основні засади та шляхи формування спільної ідентичності громадян України: Інформаційно-аналітичні матеріали до круглого столу 12 квітня 2017 р. http://razumkov.org.ua/images/Material_Conference/2017_04_12_ident/2017-Identi-3.pdf

[32] Український барометр дискримінації: комплексне оцінювання стану принципу недискримінації (методика та результати пілотного дослідження) http://dhrp.org.ua/uk/publikatsii1/1536–20161108-ua-publication

of sex (17%), residence (10%) and property status (7%).

As mentioned before, Ukrainian media often reflect **hate speech** on ethnic grounds. For instance, anti-government armed formations in Eastern Ukraine are often mentioned as "Russians" either in the context of ethnicity ("русские") or citizenship ("россияне"). Meanwhile, there are generalizations about "Chechens" as the entire ethnic group based on actions of certain individuals fighting alongside pro-Russian separatists. In Ukrainian media, expressions "people of Caucasian origin" or "people with Eastern appearance" are also mostly used in negative context without any clarifications for such distinguishing[33].

Armed conflict in Donbas sparked intolerance towards persons from the restive region. On the one hand, there are statements that over-generalize people living in the non-controlled territories by accusing them all of separatist sentiments and collaboration with Russia[34]. On the other hand, there are stereotypes about IDPs based on street crimes or espionage of certain persons.

Hate speech could indirectly contribute to the growing number of **hate crimes** in Ukraine. The National Police of Ukraine found 79 hate crimes in Ukraine in 2015 — above twice more than in 2014 when there were recorded 33 hate crimes. Out of 79 hate crimes in 2015, 43 were motivated by anti-religious bias, 24 by prejudice against nationality or ethnicity, 4 by anti-Semitism, and 3 by racism. Hate crimes largely included attacks against places of worship, obstructions of religious practices, homicides etc[35].

However, civil society organizations mention much more criminal offences on homophobic grounds, anti-religious bias, racism and homophobia. Namely, they collected data on 213 hate crimes in 2015[36]. The disparity between official information and that provided by civil society stems from the fact that law enforcement agencies do not always recognize hate crimes as such. The Criminal Code of Ukraine does not mention hate crimes, envisaging "violation of citizens' equality based on their race, nationality, religious preferences, disability or other grounds" instead (Article 161)[37].

Other forms of intolerance include racist and chauvinistic screaming in football stadiums, xenophobic graffiti on the streets, offensive language during mass protests, attacks on the LGBT community during the Equality March etc.

[33] Звіт за результатами моніторингу мови ворожнечі в українських ЗМІ [2014]. Проект «Без кордонів»/ ГО «Соціальна дія» http://noborders.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/hatespeech_report_NoBorders_2015.pdf

[34] Показати війну … війною. Газета «День», 16 червня, 2017 https://day.kyiv.ua/uk/article/media/pokazaty-viynu-viynoyu

[35] Національна поліція України, 26.02.2016 http://www.npu.gov.ua/uk/publish/article/1830725

[36] OSCE ODIHR. Hate crime reporting. Ukraine http://hatecrime.osce.org/ukraine

[37] Кримінальний кодекс України (в редакції станом на 10.07.2017) http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2341–14

Roots of Intolerance in Ukraine

Historically, Ukrainian society was rather tolerant. Many ethnicities and religions had a centuries-long experience of peaceful coexistence in Ukraine, though it was somewhat shattered by tragic developments in the first half of 20th century.

However, tolerance in Ukraine has been endangered since late 2013. In addition to ongoing social and economic problems, a collection of traumatic developments — police violence during the Euromaidan, Russia's occupation of Crimea, armed conflict in Eastern Ukraine — fueled polarization and radicalization of Ukrainian society.

As Ukraine has been facing unprecedented troubles for recent years, there is a combination of factors that trigger intolerance among the society.

Armed conflict

Conflict in Eastern Ukraine has become a major trigger of radicalism and intolerance in Ukrainian society since 2014. It is revealed in many forms.

Naturally, annexation of Crimea and armed conflict in Donbas significantly strengthened anti-Russian sentiments in Ukraine. Russian population have been

scapegoated due to their overwhelming support for their leadership, especially regarding actions against Ukraine. Russian-owned banks and fascilities were repeatedly attacked by far-right protesters during mass rallies.

Besides, conflict in Eastern Ukraine provokes fierce political and public tensions over future of the restive region, the Minsk agreements, the Donbas blockade, hostages' exchange and other sensitive issues. Deadlock in peaceful settlement increases public demand for easy and radical solutions that are promoted by some politicians and parties. In August 2015, the tense situation around conflict resolution even resulted in fatalities out-

side Ukrainian parliament (a protester launched a grenade at police) when the Verkhovna Rada adopted in the first reading controversial constitutional amendments regarding special status of separatist-held territories.

Hot debates over Donbas are often accompanied by hate speech and intolerance for dissent. Many citizens are neither willing to accept an alternative point of view nor even to listen to each other.

Forced displacement of people from warfare areas has been an additional sparkle of intolerance. As of May 29, 2017, the Ministry of Social Policy recorded about

1,584,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) or nearly 1,300,000 families[38]. Displacement may provoke three types of social conflicts[39], which often reflect intolerance.

First, relations between host communities and IDPs might have been tense due to the competition for land plot, social payments, jobs and financial assistance. Moreover, there are popular stereotypes about IDPs from Donbas regarding widely spread "pension tourism", criminality, excessive humanitarian aid. However, IDPs are mostly scapegoated due to popular pro-Russian and separatist sentiments.

Second, sometimes tensions occur between ATO participants and IDPs. In addition to competition for social protection and land plots, both sides blame each other for the outbreak of war. Most of all, this struggle is strongly felt in regions located close to the ATO zone. Families are especially sensitive if their relative was killed or wounded in the war.

Third, tensions may also occur between ATO participants and host communities. Though host communities mostly have a positive attitude towards veterans, there are some stereotypes about aggression among combatants. However, post trauma stress disorder often leads to domestic and street violence as ATO participants do not receive enough psychological support.

Political rivalry

Despite recent democratic achievements, poor political culture contributes to radicalization of Ukrainian society. Ukrainian politicians and political groups frequently exploit linguistic, historical, regional or other differences (e.g., draft laws on languages, initiatives on Donbas, renaming streets etc.), especially during election campaigns. Controversial decisions jeopardize domestic stability and security situation, though they provide short-term benefits to certain political groups by both mobilizing core supporters and distracting public attention from current social and economic problems.

Political rivalry made Ukrainian politicians major top-down carriers of intolerance. For instance, they increasingly resort to hate speech and fight in public places as PR techniques. Incidents involving Ukrainian politicians are rapidly disseminated by media outlets, becoming a popular daily conversation topic.

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[38] Вирішення соціальних проблем внутрішньо переміщених осіб не втрачає своєї гостроти. Міністерство соціальної політики України, 29 травня 2017 http://www.msp.gov.ua/news/13260.html

[39] Analysis of the Dynamics of Conflicts Between the IDPs and Host Communities http://www.radnyk.org/uploads/7/6/6/5/76650087/zvitmon_.pdf

Weak state capacity

Ukrainian state institutions cannot properly ensure security and protect the rights and freedoms of its citizens. Weak state capacity is caused by widespread corruption, low efficiency and high political engagement. As a result, Ukrainian state institutions generally face a critical deficit in public trust. For instance, the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the National Guard of Ukraine, the State Border Guard Service of Ukraine and the patrol police are the only state institutions trusted by Ukrainian population. At the same time, the majority of other state authorities have a negative ratio of trust-distrust, namely, the courts (–72%), the Prosecutor General's Office (–67%), the Security Service of Ukraine (–20%), the National Bank of Ukraine (–65%), bodies of local self-government (–11%) etc[40]. As Ukrainian citizens can hardly rely on state authorities, this fuels legal nihilism and radicalism among society. Therefore, there are frequent protests, incidents or violent clashes near courts, administrative buildings, construction sites etc.

Economic situation

Ukraine, which had already been one of the poorest European countries, confronted a deep economic crisis in 2014. Ukraine's GDP dropped by a cumulative 16.4% in 2014–2015. Though there are signs of economic recovery (Ukraine's GDP grew by 2.3% in 2016[41]), Ukrainian citizens have not felt an improvement in living standards yet. The majority of Ukrainian population noted the worsening situation regarding well-being of their families (73%), prices and tariffs (88%), wages (54%), social protection (49%), pension provision (49%), and healthcare (54%)[42]. Poverty increased competition for jobs, social protection and other resources. In addition, decline in living standards fueled criminality, especially in large cities. Finally, it increased demand for populists who promise easy ways out from poverty and social problems as well as circulate hate speech against oligarchs and political rivals.

Mass media

Ukrainian media has had a significant impact on public consciousness. As na-

[40] Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation. 2016: public opinion of Ukraine, December 16–20, 2016
http://dif.org.ua/article/2016-public-opinion-of-ukraine
[41] World Bank. Ukraine Economic Update — April 2017 http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/ukraine/publication/economic-update-spring-2017
[42] Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation. 2016: public opinion of Ukraine, December 16–20, 2016
http://dif.org.ua/article/2016-public-opinion-of-ukraine

tionwide and local media do not always meet journalism ethics and standards (accuracy, objectivity, impartiality, public accountability), Ukrainian population may receive biased coverage of certain developments as well as attitude towards certain groups of people.

Hate speech has become a real challenge for Ukrainian journalists given traumatic events since late 2013. Experts documented 424 cases of hate speech in Ukrainian media over 2014, including 173 in printed media, 135 in online media, 116 on TV[43]. Citing xenophobic expressions or stereotyping lead to prej-

udice and negative attitude towards certain groups of people by Ukrainian public.

Armed conflict in Donbas is currently the most divisive issue for Ukrainian journalists. Some journalists call on their colleague to refrain from covering the conflict in just "black and white" perspective, namely avoid labeling a pro-Russian separatist as a terrorist unless there are supporting evidences of acts of terrorism[44]. To the contrary, others reject "tolerance towards the enemy in wartime" given atrocities against Ukrainian prisoners of war by separatists[45].

[43] Звіт за результатами моніторингу мови ворожнечі в українських ЗМІ [2014]. Проект «Без кордонів»/ ГО «Соціальна дія» http://noborders.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/hatespeech_report_NoBorders_2015.pdf

[44] Hate speech threatens peace process in Ukraine. Hromadske International, 25 December, 2015 https://en.hromadske.ua/posts/Hate_Speech_Peace_Ukraine

[45] Мова ворожнечі vs «латентна безпринципність». Газета «День», 25 березня, 2016 https://day.kyiv.ua/uk/article/media/mova-vorozhnechi-vs-latentna-bezpryncypnist

Pavlo Vyshebaba

Within the framework of "Reinvent Respect" campaign, we were able to personally discuss with dozens of people from different parts of Ukraine their understanding of tolerance. These discussions have revealed that the concept of tolerance for the majority of ordinary people is so vague and uncertain that it may sometimes seem completely obscure or too detached from everyday life to draw attention to it. At the same time, this does not prevent most of our interlocutors from using these principles in practice every day.

During conversations, we revealed several common myths that prevail among Ukrainians on this matter.

Myth № 1: Tolerance is a sign of weakness that is inherent to those who are not able to physically or morally dominate others. In fact, in practice, we find that this concept has content opposite to myth. Tolerance is an act of will, a conscious abstention from violence when we have the opportunity to cause it. To carry out this act, we need moral forces, strong reliance of values, while the incitement of violence does not require spiritual or analytical work from us, instead, the infliction of violence does not require spiritual or analytical work from us.

Myth № 2: Tolerance impedes achieving personal success and happiness. In fact, tolerance is a powerful tool for achieving psychological comfort and happiness in personal life. To be respectful to others, a person receives many benefits: the sympathy of relatives and friends, expansion of the friendse' circle that gives confidence and support in the hours of life's difficulties. It is often pointed out that the

more you have real friends, the happier you are. It should not be forgotten that a society with mutual respect has economic advantages: it has a higher level of security, and because of this doing business in such a society is more comfortable, the investment attractiveness increases as well as the economic status of the community, region, and country.

Myth № 3: Ukrainian society is tolerant. Fortunately, this is the only myth to which the reality is not the opposite at all. At the very beginning of the meetings within the «Reinvent Respect» campaign, we, in a quick glance, determined whether the Ukrainian society and participants are tolerant in the meeting. The overwhelming majority of people with whom we communicated consider themselves tolerant, although when disclosing the issue in the continuation of the meeting, we quickly discovered that each of us still has to make efforts to become tolerant: to conduct internal analytical work, based on the logic of equality rights or preferences of tolerance, and in some cases, it is just more often to practice compassion.

This could lead to the conclusion: Ukrainians consider themselves tolerant, and therefore have a desire to be so. At the same time, they do not always understand where the limit for tolerance ends and discrimination begins. In my opinion, the most urgent issue within the continuation of the campaign on promotion of tolerance and mutual respect in Ukraine should be an explanatory campaign concerning the most widespread violations of the principles of tolerance in our country⟫.

Instruments for Fighting Intolerance

Eliminating or decreasing levels of intolerance in a society prove to be difficult and time consuming. Tolerance is usually enhanced slowly and gradually, with changes being made both into legislature and moral standards within the society. In many cases it must literally be brought up, which may take at least a generation.

Speaking of bringing up, **education** plays an exceptionally important role in containing intolerance and enhancing acceptance of diversity. Tolerance is something that is learned through exposition to diversity of cultures, traditions, languages, and ideologies. That can be achieved through knowledge and experience. Children may be provided knowledge about others, but they can also get experience through inclusive education, by learning together with children of different identities. Thus, common schooling, intergroup understanding, introduction of concept of multiculturalism, and sharing space are among key points of educating tolerance.

Confronting stereotypes is another important issue. It is also about learning in a certain way. Stereotypes are results of lack of knowledge and lack of critical thinking. By developing the latter and filling in the former, it is possible to reduce stereotyped perception.

Knowledge would be best gained by personal experience — thus reading, talking, and listening to people of various identities is the best way to know them. More information about stereotypes would be helpful, as well as about the way they influence our perception. Even if it will turn impossible to get rid of all stereotypes, being aware of the way they work would greatly limit room for intolerance.

Stereotypes should be replaced, whenever possible, with generalizing. Unlike stereotypes, generalizations are much less categorical, and open to critical thinking. They also take into account any possible individual differences. Unlike stereotypes, generalizations are retained consciously. They could be changed after experience and are descriptive, while stereotypes are judgmental.

> **Exercise:**
> *write down characteristics of a) Ukrainians; b) Russian speakers; c) students; d) older people. Try to assess which of them are stereotypes, and which are outcomes of your experience.*
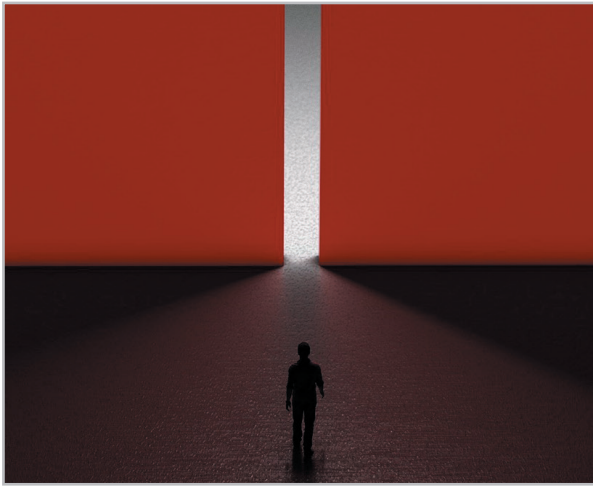
Try to turn stereotypes into generalizations.

To overcome stereotypes it may be helpful to set examples of positive attitude towards other groups. Learning, including about history and culture of other groups, should be encouraged. Aware-ness of diversity should be promoted, while oversimplifications should be discouraged. Critical thinking and empathy should be key words to keep in mind.

Freedom of speech and awareness of intolerance are crucial in building up a positive attitude towards diversity and ways of exchanging multiple and different opinions. Intolerance is most likely when there's lack of information, which is filled with manipulative images and narratives. Diversity and reliability of information is a good way to fight negative effects of intolerance.

On the one hand, awareness is important for countering myths and stereotypes. On the other, victims of intolerance are thus provided with knowledge about how to better protect their rights. Raising awareness would also improve social inclusion. Steps to go beyond just sharing information are also appropriate, which would help reach minorities of all kinds. Awareness should thus be raised about existing diversity, level of discrimination, acting legislature, and ways for minorities to protect their rights.

Legislature is also a necessary element of any strategy directed against intolerance. Compiling a comprehensive legislation requires adaptation of national legislatures to international laws on human rights, as well as establishment of institutions responsible for imple-

Instruments for Enhancing Tolerance

Enhancing tolerance is also challenging. The progress is not made at once, but there are certain milestones to indicate the right path. One of the most instrumental and specific is legislature, which enhances tolerance. Members of the society must enjoy equal rights, access to benefits, and legal responsibility. Adoption of legislature that prohibits discrimination and other forms of intolerance is a very pragmatic and practical step.

Political ideologies are also quite illustrative. Absence of calls for violence is usually a good indicator, just as the marginal support for political parties advocating any sort of discrimination. Respecting political rights of minorities and ensuring their participation in politics through various power-sharing mechanisms are signs of tolerant political environment.

Secure rights of minorities are another important milestone. Conditions for preserving ethnic identity, cultural autonomy, language must be created for ethnic minorities. Same applies to religious, which are separated from both state and education. Finally, the very language used in social dialogue, tells much about tolerance.

Within the framework of the «Reinvent Respect» communication campaign, UNDP Tolerance Envoys in Ukraine

mentation of anti-discrimination legislature. Measures also should be taken to guarantee equal access to governmental programs, employment, and education by all social groups. Legislation against violence motivated by any biases should be adopted and/or strengthened.

States can further rely on national and international legal norms, as well as strengthen the mandate and improve capacity of human rights mechanisms. A multi-agency approach could be adopted to coordinate efforts among governmental and civil society institutions. Specific strategies directed against different forms of intolerance and discrimination can also be adopted.

Exercise:
bring examples of any three pieces of legislature in your country, which are aimed at fighting intolerance.

has used various means of communication in order to increase tolerance and mutual understanding in Ukraine. The focus was on public speeches, media platforms and social networks in order to attract as many people as possible to the discussions.

Television as the most important media in Ukraine was also actively used by UNDP Tolerance Envoys in Ukraine to disseminate the ideas of the campaign and the values of tolerance. Media platforms can help transform tolerance into a priority task and raise awareness of issues that would require greater levels of tolerance.

At the same time, no mass media or social networks can replace personal «live» communication, especially in regions or places close to the conflict zone. That is why the main emphasis during the campaign was made on the visits of Tolerance Envoys to all regions of the country, conduction of numerous meetings with interested citizens to discuss the painful social problems. The experience gained clearly demonstrates the need for depoliticization of the national dialogue, need for space, where people can freely say what they want, without harming others in the process. Such meetings encouraged citizens to work independently with the aim of promoting ideas of tolerance and constant dialogue.

The absence of **self-criticism** challenges tolerance. Dialogue, negotiations and mediation are only successful when parties can truly listen to each other and be self-critical. Self-criticism helps create mutual understanding among different cultures and peoples. Psychologists, for instance, have suggested individuals who are psychologically connected to perpetrators may view themselves as sharing some responsibility. Such broadened self-perception should enable self-criticism for past failures just as it enables self-congratulation for past triumphs.

There are **different levels to practice self-criticism**: individual level; group level; state level. Self-criticism at the state and group level seems to be rare. In particular, previous generation rarely demonstrate self-criticism regarding genocides or mass violence[46]. Since the UN adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1947, no group has ever spontaneously pronounced themselves perpetrators of genocide[47]. The first, and only, head of government to confess to genocide was Rwandan Prime Minister Jean Kambanda. However, he did this only after being brought to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), and later he tried to withdraw his plea.

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[46] Colin Wayne Leach, Fouad Bou Zeineddine, Sabina Cehajic-Clancy. Moral Immemorial: The Rarity of Self-Criticism for Previous Generations' Genocide or Mass Violence. 2013

[47] M. Minow, 1998. "Between Vengeance and Forgiveness"

So, at the state or group level self-criticism seems to be quite rare and one could only fantasize on its improvement. To the contrary, at the individual level self-criticism and forgiveness can be promoted through educational programs that focus on inclusion and rethink. This could bring major results as it helps to improve dialogue, mediation and negotiation efforts contributing to a culture of peace.

The final factor challenging the promotion of tolerance is the **interdependence gap**. When top leadership, middle-range leaders and grassroots leaders become interdependent, relationships can improve between different parties through negotiations, dialogue and mediation[48]. By bridging the interdependence gap and including all levels of leadership, trust can be build and tolerance can be efficiently promoted to reach sustainable peace. Tolerance must be promoted through all levels of leadership so that it could trickle down to civil society. At the same time, there must be space for initiatives that come from the bottom and reach their way to the top. Only joint efforts with a healthy amount of self-criticism and interconnectedness can effectively contribute to the promotion of tolerance. In turn, putting in place the checks and balances this will help enable sustainable peace.

South Africa

South Africa under Nelson Mandela is a widely known success story. It cannot be denied that South Africa is still facing serious challenges today regarding tolerance but **peaceful transition from the apartheid regime to an inclusive democratic state** was remarkable because many thought the transition period would be impossible without erupting into civil war.

Nelson Mandela's **charismatic leadership** was of crucial importance before, during and after the transition period. He inspired people to be tolerant and used inclusive rather than exclusive language. Transitions can be often challenging and uncertain leading to chaos, societal upheaval, violence and conflict. Mandela however managed to lead South Africa relatively peacefully throughout this transition and set an example of how to move forwards through forgiveness and reconciliation. Never before has tolerance been embraced as a state ideology and been made as part of the nation-building process as was done in South Africa. The segregation installed by the apartheid regime was abolished and all the structural discriminatory legislation was changed without taking forceful revenge on the political predecessors. That is why South Africa provides a solid case as a success story.

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48 John Paul Lederach. Justpeace. 1999 http://homepage.univie.ac.at/silvia.michal-misak/justpeace.htm

The approach used in South Africa is sometimes criticized as being too much of a **top-down approach** rather than a bottom-up approach. This might create an artificial level of tolerance instead of contributing to sustainable tolerance and peace. This criticism supports the idea that by including the different levels of leadership and promote self-criticism in a common approach would contribute to sustainable peace as aforementioned.

Project Citizen in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Another success story to promote tolerance is Project Citizen — a civil education program used in Bosnia Herzegovina. The scale of this project is smaller than the South African case but it uses a bottom-up approach where more than a million youngsters have participated in over the past 20 years.

Project Citizen involves youths and children in activities aimed to improve the relationships with the government. Students work on projects in school where they can identify problems in public policy and think of ways to solve it. The work of students is displayed in a class portfolio containing a display section and a documentation section. The winning teams gets the opportunity to present their public policy proposals in the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. **Civil education programs** can help promote tolerance in society because it changes the structures of

students' orientations making students more susceptible to focus on tolerance, trust, raise awareness of their civic duties and approve of legal political behaviors[49]. Project Citizen is implemented in different areas but the greatest successes were booked in the Balkans and, in particular, in Bosnia and Herzegovina[50].

Project Citizen is a good example of **promoting interdependence between all levels of leadership**. The proposed initiatives coming from the bottom have the opportunity to rise all the way to the political top. Even when the initiatives do not proceed to the top, the project stimulates children from a young age to think of and engage in public policy, regardless of their background or descent.

The above theory and past experiences prove that there is no efficient one-size-fits-all approach how to promote tolerance in societies. However, **promotion**

of tolerance may produce visible results if it rests on the following measures:

- ⊘ Monitoring roots and indicators of intolerance in society;

- ⊘ Increasing interdependence between all levels of leadership;

- ⊘ Educating self-criticism at schools and universities;

- ⊘ Taking into account factors that contributed to previous success stories as well as pitfalls underway.

Messages to Promote Tolerant Discussions

Ukraine is going through hard times, experiencing many internal shifts throughout the country. The annexation of Crimea, the armed conflict in Donbas, economic difficulties, lack of deep-rooted democratic traditions — all these changes have created a breeding soil for extremism and intolerance. The challenges Ukraine faces are not unique — many countries struggle with similar problems and seek to create an environment of inclusiveness in line with core universal values such as tolerance and respect for different opinions. "Dehumanization" and "stigmatization" must be prevented at all times. Dialogue is an impor-

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49 Steven E. Finkel and Howard R. Ernst. Civic Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Alternative Paths to the Development of Political Knowledge and Democratic Values. 2005

50 Herbert M. Atherton. We the people… Project Citizen. In S. Mann & J. J. Patrick (Eds.), Education for civic engagement in democracy (pp. 93–102). 2000

tant tool to create tolerance and with that comes the responsibility to listen and actually hear what opposing parties have to say. Tolerant societies create a conductive atmosphere where political and economic developments are possible, benefiting all groups and layers of society. The following messages were selected in accordance with the Ukrainian context in order to promote the values of tolerance and mutual respect in society. They were used during regional events within the framework of the «Reinvent Respect» communication campaign and proved to be effective.

FOCUS ON DISCUSSING THE FUTURE RATHER THAN THE PAST

Convincing someone of your personal opinion might be tempting. However, you will hardly benefit from your persuasion with the exception of raising your own self-esteem. You will hardly improve your life even if you have made the most convincing argument to support your case. Likewise, a person with an opposite opinion will not substantially benefit after a fierce discussion on historical disagreements, ethnic differences, and language preferences.

Debates on history, language, ethnicity or similar issues are important, but might not immediately lead to consensus, inclusiveness or conflict resolution. To the contrary, very often they can create new lines of division or deepen the old ones. Focus must be placed on the future

instead of the past and in order to reach tangible results — actually benefiting the common good — important sectors can be discussed such as employment, opportunities for business, new startups, healthcare or pension reforms etc. Exchanging innovative ideas about the future will be more constructive than arguing about never-ending dramas of the past. Historical debates cannot change the facts. But we, Ukrainians can focus on and construct a common future — comfortable to everyone.

DIFFERENT OPINIONS ON THE SAME SUBJECT HAVE THE RIGHT TO EXIST

You might be convinced that your beliefs are absolutely true and you have the right to do so of course. Naturally, you may disagree with an opinion expressed by someone else. However, disagreement does not mean one opinion is right and the other opinion is wrong. Disagreement and different opinions can be seen as a gift to provide us with insights and allow

one to look at the same subject from different angles, thus making an objective assessment of the issue.

We have to cherish a culture of respect to another opinion. The person who thinks differently is the same human being as you, has his or her reasons to think in such a way. Difference in views, language or belief does not prevent the ability to find common ground and the possibility to have similar views and goals for the future.

There is only one exception to be made. The freedom to express oneself can only be challenged when it prevents others to do so. At the end, all of us want to have peace, security, well-being — so we have to talk to each other how to develop a country providing us with these values and standards and include all parties in the conversation so that no one would be challenged.

NOBODY'S OPINION IS AN ABSOLUTE TRUTH

Remember that often there is not one solution to a problem. The best solution for you might not necessarily mean this

solution is the best for everyone, especially in economic and political assessments and forecasts. One must keep in mind that even the most distinguished economists and political scientists make mistakes, as any other human beings. Given the complexity of attaining gospel truth, the more convincing opinion is the one that is based on more solid arguments.

BE SELF-CRITICAL, NOT PREJUDICED

Consider if and why you have a specific attitude towards different ethnicity, religion, culture or political opinion. Do not immediately assume you are not prejudiced and that improving tolerance is the problem of others rather than yourself. Change starts by changing oneself. Honesty and critical evaluation are essential in this process. Is your attitude towards others reasonable? Is your attitude based on unbiased facts and reliable evidence? Do your friends and colleagues share your prejudice against different persons? After carefully considering the reasons for your prejudice, you will see that your biased attitude towards some groups of people is groundless.

DO NOT PERSONALIZE ONE'S OPINION

You may disagree even with a close friend of yours on some issues. However, you rarely judge or insult your friend based on his or her opinion, otherwise you will have few friends left. Every day you are surrounded by people who may have dif-

ferent views. Therefore, it is important to engage with each other and treat others, regardless of their views, the way you want to be treated. Everyone has his or her reasons — and to understand these, you need to live that person's life. As you cannot — do not condemn people whose opinion you do not share. Who knows what would be your opinion if you had their experience.

FIND UNITY IN DIVERSITY

Prevent polarization and a 'You're either with us or against us' mentality. Focus on creating an environment of inclusiveness rather than exploiting differences. Find unity in diversity by focusing on the aspects that unite rather than divide society.

REFRAIN FROM NEGATIVE EMOTIONS DURING A DISAGREEMENT

Sometimes you may feel frustrated or defensive when you hear a diametrically opposite opinion on a sensitive issue. Explaining why the argument makes you upset differs from choosing a defensive approach or attacking your opponent. Negative emotions usually prevent the ability to understand each other and, in order to reach an understanding, this must be the aim.

It is vital to express your point of view in a non-threating way in order to avoid pointless conflicts. Do not engage in negative emotions as anger or fear and remember to respect one another. Emo-

tions can be used to support your argument but the fundaments of arguments must be based on facts.

LISTENING TO OTHERS WILL PREVENT FUTURE CONFLICTS

Listening to other opinion does not mean your deviation from your own stance. Instead, acknowledging another viewpoint allows you to look at the same things in a different light. Understanding other narratives will create an atmosphere of trust, which, in its turn, will help to prevent potential conflicts between persons with polar mindsets.

COMMUNICATION WITH DIFFERENT PEOPLE MAKES YOU OPEN-MINDED

Communicating with people from different backgrounds (ethnic, religious, cultural) or views will help you broaden your perspectives. By dealing with different people, you learn more about the world and this can, in its turn, contribute to your spiritual growth. Furthermore, you will increase your circle of acquaintances, meet new friends, learn about new job prospects and travel destinations.

LET US LEARN FROM EACH OTHER

Even though every nation has its own challenges, it is important to compare situations every once in a while. Exchange of experiences from other countries still facing intolerance helps to find a response that suits all different parties in Ukraine.

People of my strength

Larysa Denysenko

People of my strength will never let my heart to rust, my energy to go down, my sensivity to harden, my mind to faint, my empathy to crawl like an ashes of dead words.

They will shake off dust from my life, they will sate me with aesthetic, intellectual, physical nectar, they already exist in me, and it seems that it will always be like this.

Of course, I still will be myself without them, but I'll keep counting them in every in every mole, in the blood, under my skin. And in some of them, perhaps, in every "him" and every "her" I will be hiding.

They are side by side. They are always with me at a distance of my though, memory, delight. It doesn't matter where they are. I collected them all my life. Counted, sniffed, took in hugs, cared for their hearts and minds, inspired, saved, admired, saturated, didn't let them go or on the contrary gave them wings.

And when it comes to inevitable, when we all will find ourselves in the Ark sailing away to create a new world together, I can't imagine what awaits us all?

Who are we in reality? Are we — the strength of one another, the other to the second, the second to the other?

Are we able to create the land of our desire, with the ideal conditions, which can only be imagined in our dreams?

The land with no place for discrimination, where tolerance prevail, where Dignity and Equity, Justice, Impartiality, Independence, Respect, Fair Competition and Freedom — all these hovers in the air, lives in thoughts, we breathe, confess, adhere to and distribute it …

Some of us will be having children there. How their growth will look like in our so-called ideal society devoid of stereotypes, humiliation, unfair competition, lies? What will be with them, what kind of people will they be when they grow up, already prepared to be the people of my strength?

Or maybe everything will go wrong? Will we fail to be ideal homo socialis and "natural" essence will prevail?

Natural selection, predation, domination? The best males or females — for me. The best food is for me. Better housing, warm clothes, benefits — for me. And if you are weaker — die or adjust. Become my hermit, litter, weapon, bring small or great benefit — or try to

win, or run away, betray and substitute others or die.

Sisterhood, brotherhood, help? Responsibility, Values, Social Contract? But if all of these doesn't work?

I can get drunk, for example, and also be brutal, dominant, impulsive and sometimes pressured. Often "I" gets so huge that absorbs other letters.

He is so egocentric that he can neither forgive nor thank nor understand those who have been arranged otherwise.

She still finds herself wiser than others, because a community of such just-wise people as she is just can't exist. Or it can? Because they are her people. Is there a weak link?

He can't overcome proprietary instincts.

He is so amenable to flattery that one day he will definitely soften, go crazy, smeared himself with pathos, forget about all the promises, strategies, postulates, devaluate the expressed and received words, and will puff towards the power like a zombie.

And she can't be a friend to everybody. She doesn't put up with the fact that somebody could be intimate to the people of her choice.

He can't stop lying. Sure, he lies to strangers who seem like nobody there most of the times. How about she? Or maybe this one? Exactly! These ones can be fooled.

And she wants to win at any price. It's all a club? No way, she definitely will mark somebody outside-or-underdone-of the club.

And suddenly our phobias will burst with hidden herpes. The little ones, with which we struggled every day, destroyed, shamed, waved, buried. People are not born ideal, society will halt people, and they can also halt someone.

And then what, solidarity is in the trash? Because we love people of our strength only when they approve of our small phobia passions when they swallow our phobias utterance, and sometimes smile with us, or else they become our enemies, strangers who are full of danger.

Will our beliefs, values, world outlook be able to stop us from destroying?

Will our ability to dialogue be able stop our deafness?

Can our faith in the best that we have, leave our eyes and hearts open?

Do we feel our strength in each and every one?

Can we stop two / three / several rifles to which almost all are accustomed?

Can we honestly confess our mistakes, passions, disappointments, can we sincerely ask for help?

Can we just be sincere?

Will we become rulers of the flies, or not, being converted into pious man and godly woman, all of us will remain the people of our strength?

When you are the author, you can now do anything, convincingly anything or cause the readers to debate the barrier.

And if you're just a man? If you're not yourself? Do you, through the forces of you and people of your strength, create, develop and not break through the wonderful, just, free and full of equality and mutual assistance space of tolerance?

It's better to think now, while your Ark is about to go, while people of your strength breathe in unison with you while they hear you, they believe in what you do while you are ready to make a lot of incredible, useful and remarkable things. Or gain strength, learn to swim, or better — fly.

Promoting Tolerance to Specific Groups

GIVE A HELPING HAND TO PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

Fortunately, most of us have a natural ability to hear, see, talk or walk. Unlike most of us, persons with disabilities suffer from physical limitations, barriers in their participation as equal members of society and violations of their human rights. Try to help such persons as much as possible wherever you meet them — on the subway, in the shop or at work.

DO NOT JUDGE A PERSON SOLELY BY HIS OR HER AGE

Remember that nobody is perfect. All persons — young, middle-aged, and older — have their strengths and weaknesses. At the same time, each person has unique character, qualification, achievements, interests and hobbies. Thus, age cannot be a determining factor in gauging a person.

MULTILINGUAL PEOPLE ARE MORE SUCCESSFUL

By protecting Ukrainian language as the only state language, we should also encourage you to learn other languages. Speaking multiple languages is a great asset that allows you to better understand other cultures, traditions, history, make foreign friends, study or find a job abroad. Moreover, scientists proved that language learning improves creativity and tolerance.

TERRORISM HAS NO RELIGION

Amid recent terror attacks in Europe, many people in Ukraine and other countries have felt prejudice and Islamophobia. However, 99% of Muslims or other believers reject violence and express solidarity with the victims of terrorism. Following Paris attacks in 2015, a famous American boxer Muhammad Ali said: "I am a Muslim and there is nothing Islamic about killing innocent people in Paris, San Bernardino, or anywhere else in the world. True Muslims know that the ruthless violence of so-called Islamic Jihadists goes against the very tenets of our religion".

Mahatma Gandhi said: "Religion is entirely a personal matter". Everyone — Orthodox, Catholic, Greek Catholic, Muslim, Jew or other believer — has the right to believe as he or she wishes, assemble with others of the same religious tradition, engage in religious practices etc. Meanwhile, no one shall impose his or her beliefs on others that his or her religion is the only true or superior one.

NO ONE WAS BORN RACIST

All human beings, regardless of skin color, belong to a single species and are equal in dignity and rights, forming an integral part of society. Racism stems from ignorance and fear. A Jewish Amer-

ican scholar Abraham Joshua Heschel once nicely said: "Racism is man's gravest threat to man — the maximum of hatred for a minimum of reason". Being a good or successful person does not depend on your skin color but on how you treat others.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY EMPOWERS YOU

Foreign businessmen and migrants provide not only economic benefits to Ukraine (investment, production, new jobs) but enrich Ukrainian society. They also give you incentives to learn foreign languages, and opportunity to better understanding other cultures and religions, and borrow success stories from other countries facing similar problems.

IDPS ARE THE SAME UKRAINIAN CITIZENS AS YOU

IDPs can be only distinguished by the fact that they had to flee their homes due to the war that had destroyed their houses and deprived them of daily bread. It is our common responsibility to help our fellow citizens fleeing the war in housing,

heating, food and employment. Helping persons in need is a feature of civilized country.

SEXUAL ORIENTATION IS A PRIVATE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

One should distinguish between public and private life of the individual. Everyone should be free to choose his or her way of life, including sexual orientation or gender identity, without any pressure from relatives, friends or society. Many of you may find it unacceptable to interfere with your family life.

IDENTITIES ARE NOT FIXED

Any person bears a multitude of identities. Some of them are more difficult to change, say ethnic. Some others, for instance, religion or ideology, are easier. However, even identities which seem impossible or very difficult to shift are nevertheless flexible. People not only aren't born racists, they also aren't born Christians, leftists or Ukrainians. All those identities are acquired and from time

to time change. Minding and reminding that identities depend on environment, culture, and education is an important element of raising tolerance in groups.

Reacting to Hostility

Brought from an intergroup to an interpersonal level, hostility is something anyone can face. This is especially important when hostility arises not out of personal motives, but because of differences of identities or attitudes. In that case any interpersonal quarrel becomes a model of a broader intergroup dialogue.

Hostility is an expression of strong negative feelings. Mostly it is based on perception of the other, but sometimes has to do with one's one history, ideas, and identity. Prejudice, hostility, and hatred are expressed both in rhetoric and deeds. They may be not only emotional, but also defensive or instrumental, aimed at specific political goal.

How is it better to respond to manifestations of intolerance in a way that would not lead to further escalation?

1. **Don't be hostile in return.** Spiral of hatred is the most likely outcome of raising bets in a quarrel. The idea behind tolerance is to minimize risks of that kind. Hostility is provocative. It is often used with the view to get a target person or a group out of control. Taking time and retaining self-control

will let keep the level of hostility down.

2. **Know your rights.** Hostility at some point may easily violate rights of a person or a group. It is important to know the moment when expressions of hostility and intolerance move from emotional to legal realm. One should remember that norms against abuse and fraud are present in national legislatures and are rooted in international legal documents, such as the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Focusing on your rights may add moral strength and solidify your opposition to intolerance.

3. **Try to build mutual respect.** Whatever degree of hostility in the room, each person has her own approaches, ideas, culture, and experience. Those are to be recognized and respected. In turn, this demands exploration and understanding of alternative points of view, as well as taking the differences as chances to expand one's own knowledge. Hostility as manifestation does not have to be tolerated, but it is important to look at what stands behind and see whether there is any room for a compromise. Multicultural societies provide lots of examples for successful and

failed attempts to build mutual respect in response to hostility. Although recently criticized, the concept of multiculturalism, founded on mutual respect, is so far the most productive way to manage diversities. It can not prevent any possible hostilities altogether, but makes them far less probable in the long run.

4. **Stimulate dialogue and promote inclusion.** It may be difficult to engage into a dialogue in return for intolerance, but it is necessary. An open talk among social groups is a crucial for further inclusion and promoting respect. It is important to pay attention to the way a dialogue is arranged, so as it does not turn into a sum of presentations of different viewpoints.

Mutual respect opens space for transforming environment. Such changes may be promoted on the basis of common elements, shared principles, and values. Inclusion is not the same as assimilation, neither is means everyone doing whatever she wants. It is about constructing something in common, which would outweigh reasons for hostility. Thus, dialogue and mutual respect become more likely than hatred.

Conflicts on the basis of history provide a good example for that. Perception of and communication of the basis of common history may often be complicated

and emotional, even at the state level. Ukraine finds it uneasy to deal with Poland, because history matters. It may produce hostilities as well. First half of the XX century posed similar problem for Germany and France, however with much more dramatic consequences. Inclusion, in a latter case in a form of supranational institutions, interdependence, and eventually integration process, helped ameliorate that long and deep division.

Field Experience of Promoting Values of Tolerance and Mutual Understanding

The activities of Envoys in the capital city and regions of Ukraine during 2017–2018 made it possible to highlight a number of conclusions and recommendations that can be actively used for further work to support and promote the ideas and values of tolerance and mutual understanding in the Ukrainian society.

1. Dialogue about the future unites Ukrainians. The numerous meetings of Envoys and activities within the communication campaign confirmed the well-known thesis in a peacebuilding theory that discussions about the future, conversation about common vision of the future of the country can become an effective mechanism for reducing aggression and intolerance. Society and citizens need a vision to the future, an understanding of

where the country moves, how key problems and challenges faced by each and everyone will be solved. Even despite regional, linguistic, religious or other differences, Ukrainians are concerned about the same problems and united by similar expectations. Dreams, plans and the choice of ways for development can overcome antagonisms and show solidarity, bring together, but not divide people. Negative historical experience should serve as a warning, a signal from the past, but not a guide to the future. If the past creates lines of conflict, it should be left to historians for analysis and conclusions that is normal if they require decades for professional discussions. Public discourse must also be directed to the future.

"Discussions about the future are equally needed in the East and in the West of Ukraine. They are able to unite people, even with different views, but in a constructive dialogue that is much better than in disputes about the past."

Andriy Kulykov

"One year of war equals ten years of mine clearance. But this is also about mine clearance of memory and personal relationships. It's all long time …"

Mykhailo Minakov

2. Knowledge about tolerance is necessary and important. During the campaign, Envoys noted high interest in the soci-

ety as regards the topic of tolerance and mutual understanding. Ukrainians need to learn more about the dangers of discrimination and the benefits of tolerance. A person is usually well feels justice and its violation, but the feelings themselves are not enough, you need an understanding of the way out. Lack of knowledge, standards, rules, clear indicators creates a danger of giving preference to simple solutions that often becomes the beginning of aggression. Where does discrimination begin? According to Liubko Deresh, "people often do not even know that they discriminate against others, considering their actions to be a norm."

Education in an intolerant environment can greatly affect the person's perception of the phenomenon of discrimination.

In Ukraine, there still is a narrow understanding of tolerance as the attitude towards certain social groups, for example, LGBT. If, in the social perception, the imperative of mutual respect and tolerance is fixed, then it can quickly reach a social consensus on the key issues of the country's development, and therefore fundamental changes in public life. Lack of traditions of dialogue and consensus on the basis of mutual respect and with consideration of the interests of different

groups, the lack of standards and habits, and the traumatic consequences of recent events — all these factors affect the decrease of tolerance in Ukrainian society. It is divided by the attitude to the acute issues while creating artificial camps of «friends» and «enemies», «bots» and «traitors». It creates a difficult environment, but at the same time increases the demand for knowledge about diversity and ways to make life in its conditions peaceful and harmonious. Interesting observation: those who lost their loved ones during an armed conflict on the territory of Ukraine show more tolerance and readiness for dialogue. People need more knowledge to independently build a safer world.

> *"People's fear, feeling of the lack of security forces people to be aggressive and intolerant."*
>
> *Pavlo Vyshebaba*

3. *Live communication is important.* Together with the knowledge, society needs a dialogue. Communication is also important by means of media and social networks, but nothing can substitute for personal communication with citizens and within communities themselves. Dialogue and communication are impor-

tant throughout the country, regardless of the division of the imaginary lines, especially in the regions and places close to the conflict zone. Personal stories, specific examples and true emotions play an important role in live communication. Communication contributes to empathy, and personal stories about examples of tolerance inspire people. The dialogue in the framework of the communication campaign has shown that perception of tolerance contains mostly not geographical, but social peculiarities. Lines of differentiation in terms of understanding and tolerance are determined more by the level of welfare or occupation than by the place of residence. Dialogue and lively communication will help overcome these divisions and establish a mutual understanding between people of different professions, social strata and beliefs.

> *"People need just live communication, social networks are unable to replace it... many «heroes», demonstrating intolerance in networks, don't do all they write about, but even just words increase the degree of intolerance."*

> *Andriy Kulykov*

4. *To be tolerant is reasonable and profitable.* Pragmatic arguments are more likely to convince people of tolerance benefits than the appeals or quotations of theorists. If to convince people that being tolerant is not only pleasant and honorable, but also beneficial, the chances to build a tolerant society are significantly

increasing. The abovementioned is about tolerance as a rational choice. Tolerance is beneficial in a constant interaction, because it increases confidence and reduces risks. The pragmatism of human choice can serve as a means of dissemination of tolerance. Not only tolerant societies are wealthier, but wealthy societies are more tolerant. The first five most tolerant countries — Canada, Norway, New Zealand, Iceland and Ireland — take places in the top 20 among the list of the countries at the level of GDP per capita, with Norway, Iceland and Ireland — in the top five. This interconnection should be at the center of attention. It is also important and useful to represent tolerance as a basis for mutual expectations emphasizing the feedback between people.

> *"People are usually mercantile. When they are shown that tolerant societies are wealthier, they perceive it faster and better."*

> *Andriy Kulykov*

5. *From Tolerance to Security.* The connection between tolerance and security remains controversial in people's minds. On the one hand, it's never too early to talk about security, what a difficult conversation would be. On the other hand, tolerance is perceived mostly at the everyday life level, as the nature of relations between people. "Security", and even more, "Peace" for the majority are political concepts that are not associated with the concept of «tolerance». Building

a clear connection in people's minds between their personal security, safe and stable society and tolerance is an important challenge. Security is not only legislation, functioning authorities or policy makers, but the daily common life of people and social groups. Both people and social groups are different; the political process forms the general contours for their interaction, but mutual perception and attitude between them determines its meaning. The formation of a tolerant environment does not automatically lead to a safe society, but its absence almost always leads to violence.

As for me, the challenge and the task for Ukrainian writers and, more intellectuals, now it is an attempt to

see a new world in the future. Instead of continuation the burdening present, it is worthwhile to start an active dialogue on a new, integrated world, based on other principles — more open, less competitive, based not on fear and suppression, but on tolerance and care. Instead of inertia about linguistic and cultural diversity — to accelerate the process of forming new ideas about another world in Ukraine, where diversity is not a defect, but a resource.

Liubko Deresh

AFTERWORD

A complicated way forward

The world is diverse, and tolerance under diversity may be hard to achieve. Some societies live in harmony and peace, while others suffer from continuous internal tensions and violence. Those tensions may be caused by various reasons, but intolerance is usually among them. If societies suffer from structural drawbacks of a weak state, intolerance reinforces mutual distrust. When conflicts last for years, intolerance is the key obstacle for settlement.

With all its academic vagueness, tolerance is an important and effective tool for building harmony and peace in any society and internationally. It is also crucial for restoring internal peace and rebuilding positive expectations among people. With low levels of tolerance it is extremely difficult to prevent internal violence, lines of division, and hatred.

Intolerance may have different faces. Discrimination of minorities, hate crimes, disrespect, violence, hate speech are among them. Respecting rights of others and accepting differences may not be the easiest way, but in the long run it is much more promising. Tolerance is not only moral, but also a rational choice. At the same time, it does not imply encouraging or accepting negative behavior.

Today tolerance is a trend. There are legal instruments and social models that promote tolerance within and among states. More and more people realize that being tolerant increases chances of experiencing tolerance in return. Social groups enjoy equal opportunities and find fewer motives for engagement into violent conflicts.

But any trend can be reversed. Safeguarding tolerance as the key of social interaction is thus a priority for a state and civil society. That is especially true in conflict prone or divided societies. Without tolerance a true conflict settlement would be impossible.

Unfortunately, one of such societies is the Ukrainian one. Thus, promoting, strengthening, and restoring tolerance should be a long term priority. Ukrainians need to learn more about discrimination and hatred. They need to know more about their rights and how to protect them. They need to practice tolerant attitude towards people and groups which are different. Otherwise challenges we face today will be multiplied.

What will be our path to security and mutual understanding? It's only clear that it will be complicated and probably long. The communication campaign for promotion of tolerance and mutual understanding in society was not intended to develop recipes for quick solutions. But it seems that tolerance is present as a necessary ingredient in any medication. Building a lasting peace and security requires space for dialogue, which can only be created through the spread and strengthening of mutual respect, acceptance and tolerance. Dialogue is required so that any social agreements to be lasting and achievable at a lower price. Tolerance allows forming of positive expectations in the relations between yesterday's opponents, reducing the antagonisms in relations between them. Intolerance concerns everyone. Individual efforts are important, but they will not be able to overcome it. The development of tolerant attitudes within the community should be part of (perhaps the key) any conflict settlement strategy and its prevention in the future. However, there is no doubt that consistent and systematic work to promote tolerance and mutual understanding will result in sustainable peace, security and prosperity in society.

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