


**PEACE BUILDING IN PRACTICE: A STUDY OF OPERATIONAL
FACTORS USING THE OXFAM CANADA PEACE BUILDING
PROGRAMME AS A CASE STUDY**

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I hereby declare this work to be my own in entirety. Any sources which have been used as supporting texts have been cited accordingly.

Signed..........

Date.....

Abstract

The central question of this study addresses the issue of the impact and effect of peace building interventions on the dynamics of peace and conflict. It takes as its context the process of rebuilding and reconciliation in KwaZulu-Natal and uses the Oxfam Canada peace building programme as a specific case study. The study identifies and analyses the peace building impact of the programme with the aim of leading to a common peace building framework for improving the planning, conduct and evaluation of peace building interventions in post conflict situations.

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CHAPTER ONE: An Introduction to the Study of Peace Building

'The concept of peace is easy to grasp.'
(Bhoutros Bhoutros Ghali, *Agenda for Peace*)

This introduction will serve as an orientation to this study of peace building. The main object of this study is the investigation of the effects and impact of peace building processes and interventions on the dynamics of peace and conflict in the post conflict context of KwaZulu-Natal. This study will examine the rebuilding and reconstruction processes currently underway in KwaZulu-Natal after more than a decade of brutal and sustained civil war and conflict, through a case study of one such peace building project, the Oxfam Canada peace building programme. The programme is based in Durban and involves the partnership of three NGOs, the development NGO, Oxfam Canada, which is also the funding organisation; Network of Independent Monitors (NIM) and Programme for Survivors of Violence (PSV). The case study of the Oxfam Canada peace building programme will be used to assess the impact of peace building interventions against a typology of the most effective peace building practices being utilised.

The impetus behind this study is a combination of academic and professional interest in peace building as I work as information and research officer on the Oxfam Canada peace building programme.

Introduction to the study

In the profound uncertainty of the end of the Cold War, the global community is confronted by devastating conflicts and atrocities in many regions. Peace continues to be a scarce commodity. There are certain trends in the international system, as Michael Klare has noted:

- Violent conflicts will continue to occur in the years and decades to come.
- No major powers or centres of power will be able to establish their hegemony over the whole world, let alone large parts of it; on the contrary what we shall see is a world that is highly fragmented with a few islands of relative stability (North America; Western Europe) which will be surrounded by vast areas subject to chronic instability and violence.
- Although the risk of global conflict or war affecting the whole African continent cannot be ruled out, the greater likelihood is that we shall witness a global proliferation of local disputes, insurgencies or ethnic or religious conflicts.
- Although it is possible that nuclear or chemical weapons will be used in local conflicts, most wars in the future will be waged with conventional weapons.
- No single institution or entity will be responsible for making peace on a global scale and no single strategy for making peace will apply to all cases of conflict. The task of peace making will have to be shared by a wide range of bodies: the United Nations (UN), certain states, regional organisations, non governmental organisations (NGOs) and similarly, use

will have to be made of a broad range of techniques for making peace to deal with the range of likely conflicts.¹

Klare's ideas about the so called 'New World Order' point to a highly fragmented world in terms of international security, despite the globalisation of trade and means of production which make our world appear increasingly homogenous. It may be foreseen that peace making and building will become all the more difficult as the UN and other organisations have not yet found the means to guarantee effective international peace keeping and peace building. There also exist the problem of conflicts erupting, which have defied anticipation or forewarning, challenging conventional assumptions about conflict. This is clearly shown by the examples of Rwanda, the former Yugoslavia and Somalia.

Klare's image of the world as akin to disorder and chaos as well as prone to rapid disintegration, is disturbing and discouraging in terms of the freedoms of people and democracies. Two themes emerge from Klare's ideas: (a) the likelihood of further conflict and instability and (b) the need for a multiplicity of contrasting approaches and solutions to these rather intractable problems of our age.²

It is important to recognise that peace in one corner of the world is related to peace in another corner of the world. It follows that the struggles of South

¹ Klare in Legault (1992):p3-7

African civil society to facilitate post conflict peace building deserve support from the international community. Those initiatives which try to support peace and stability essentially make it possible for the masses of people to exert meaningful control over the processes which control their lives.

The relationship of peace to development is a recurrent theme in this study. Without strong and enduring peace, there can be no economic development; in fact stability and security are prerequisites to development. The removal of conflict and the efforts to build peace, are minimalist conditions for the attainment of peace. In turn development is critical to the task of attaining peace. Development is first and foremost a phenomenon associated with humanity and its creative energies. It can be seen as an unending improvement in the capacity of the individual and society to control their own lives for their own benefit. It is a process of actualising people's inherent capacity to live a better and more fulfilling life. It implies increasing skill, capacity, greater freedom and self confidence, creativity and material well being. Therefore if development is linked to peace, it is in another way linked to security, thereby linking peace with security. By the concept of security, we mean the freedom from violence. It may refer to the security of one state from another, of one faction from another, of one adversary from another. A developed society is the best guarantee against threats to the security of people.³

² ibid

³ See Kliot, N. (1991) and Joel, M. (1988) for a full treatment of the relationship between peace, security and development.

Therefore the point of departure of this work is the current historical setting in which this study is situated: a period of transition, turmoil, acute humanitarian crises and profound disillusion. Samir Amin writes, 'the historical drama of our epoch is situated precisely here, and has its roots in the failure of social consciousness to imagine positive and progressive alternatives.'⁴ Rajni Kothan echoes this sentiment '(we are experiencing) a basic crisis of vision, a decline of engagement with utopias-in a sense, an end of 'alternatives' in the real and comprehensive sense of the term.'⁵

This widespread sense of disillusionment provides the background of the struggle to fashion an alternative orientation of vision and builds itself on the hopes embodied in civil society. A meaningful viable peace requires a strong and assertive civil society.

This study focuses on two levels of peace building: a) as it is situated in the broader context of the international community that is United Nations (UN) and non governmental organisations (NGOs) who, after decades of working in conflict and post conflict situations, began to alter their operational approaches to reflect on the particular circumstances in which they attempted to carry out their mandates (b) peace building in the particular context of KwaZulu-Natal as currently being conducted by international NGO, Oxfam Canada.

⁴ Amin, S. (1993) : p 7-8

Relevant literature on peace building is explored critically in order to explore the international community's approach to peace building and ascertain what the other international actors are doing or thinking in peace building terms.

This study will offer a definition of NGOs and assess their influence and power before examining how NGOs operate in the peace building context.

The focus in this study is on the participation of civil society in the form of NGOs in the process of peace building. This study will show that NGOs have a significant role to play in peace building and will examine the tools and strategies which may work best in furtherance of this goal. A typology of peace building practices will be made toward this end.

The focus is the case study based in KwaZulu-Natal, the Oxfam Canada KwaZulu-Natal Peace Building Programme. The study will analyse the programme in terms of the kinds of interventions made and the processes within which it operates which influence both the programme as well as the work of NGOs generally.

A synopsis of the remainder of this study of peace building is as follows:

Chapter Two: **Peace Building In Practice: Toward a working definition of peace building.** This chapter will offer a review of relevant literature related to contemporary

⁵ Kothan, R. (1993) : pp 119-139

peace building as well as make an attempt toward formulating a definition of peace and peace building.

Chapter Three: **The NGO as an actor in development and Peace building: Analytical Approaches to Understanding the NGO Phenomenon.** This chapter will examine the role of NGOs in the contemporary context of peace building and transition. An attempt will be made toward explaining the structure and nature of work of NGOs through the formulation of a basic working definition of NGOs. The different types and roles of NGOs, as well as the many challenges facing them will also be explored in order to offer a full picture of NGOs engaged in peace building.

Chapter Four: **Best Peace Building Practices: Toward a Peace Building Typology.** This chapter will formulate a typology of commonly used peace building interventions which will provide a means of assessing the peace building programme to be studied in the following chapter.

Chapter Five: **Case Study of the Oxfam Canada Peace Building Programme: Peace Building in Practice.** This chapter will make a case study of the Oxfam Canada peace building programme and assess how the programme measures up against the typology of peace building practices.

Chapter Six:

Conclusion: Peace Building in Perspective. This chapter will make conclusive findings related to NGOs engaged in the peace building operational context. Firstly the chapter will assess what lies ahead for NGOs in terms of how they will operate. How NGOs approach the issue of peace building is another focus of the chapter. The chapter will also assess the peace building interventions studied and formulate lessons for a peace building agenda, from thereafter.

CHAPTER TWO: Peace Building in Practice - Toward a Critical Review and Working Definition of Peace Building

The primary aim of this work is to conceptualise an 'ideal' peace building programme in order to measure what actual programmes can realistically hope to accomplish, given the capacity and resources, as well as the particular needs of the specific beneficiary.

Therefore the aim of this chapter is to formulate a working definition of peace building which will inform the study, as well as to specify the ideal outcomes envisaged by such peace building interventions. A major challenge facing those attempting to implement, manage and evaluate peace building programmes is the lack of a clearly defined approach. As yet, there exists no agreed upon definition, programming framework or guidelines to which organisations or programmes can refer in designing, implementing or reporting on projects. It is hoped that a start toward a viable working definition of peace building may be made within this chapter, which will lend direction to the rest of this study.

An additional important purpose of the chapter is to present a critical review of significant peace building literature, in order to offer a sense of the prevailing ideas and trends in the field. It may be noted that the literature studied here spans a period of years from the 1960's when a great deal of groundbreaking

work on peace was first published such as Kenneth Boulding and Johan Galtung, to the present such as Bhoutros Bhoutros Ghali.

Toward a definition of peace

The concepts of 'peace' and 'peace building' are quite elusive and raise a number of questions for practitioners. What is peace about? Does peace building refer to a 'negative' peace, characterised by the absence of conflict at a given point in time, or of a 'positive peace, where former enemies have entered into a collaborative/ cooperative relationship? When does peace building end and where does development begin? Is peace building an activity to be pursued in and of itself, or is it, as Kenneth Bush suggests, an 'impact' of 'mainstream' development programmes?⁶ An attempt toward resolving the answers to these questions will be made in the definitions explored below, namely, of the concept of peace and peace building pursued here.

A useful starting point is to outline a broad conceptual definition of peace, which will explore the nature of peace itself as well as the historical evolution of peace work and activities. While there is no universal concept of peace, several different perspectives may be identified. There are two key concepts of peace, which are 'positive' and 'negative' peace. Although there is some variety among academic conceptualisations of peace, almost all can be subsumed under one of these categories. The longest standing notion of peace is that of 'negative peace', or the absence of war and other direct forms

⁶ Bush, K. (1998) : p7

of violence.⁷ The concept is problematic in that it is treated as simply the opposite of war and as a negative category, becomes difficult to theorise. Some define peace even more narrowly to include only the absence or prevention of nuclear war.⁸ Arguably, this is a definition more appropriate to security studies or traditional international relations. Those schools, relying on the so called realist school of thought, generally focus more on war rather than on peace, and more readily accept the inevitability of warfare. The term war is often too vague or ambiguous to use as a determinant of negative peace, as real conflict is not always that clear, for example, South Africa's destabilisation campaign against the Frontline countries such as Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana.⁹ Although there was never a formal declaration of war, there was certainly the presence of violence and destruction on a large scale. This conflict definitely involved the absence of negative peace. On the other hand, relations between NATO countries and the Warsaw Pact nations have often been called the 'Cold War', signifying that there was never direct military confrontation.¹⁰ This would appear to prove that negative peace does exist, and opens up the issue of specifying which behaviours are to be avoided in human conduct in order to characterise those relations even as negative peace. The additional concepts of stable and unstable peace may be of help in this regard.

⁷ See Berlin, I. (1969) for a complete study of the concept

⁸ Turpin, J. and Elias, R. (1994) : pp 17-25

⁹ Hanlon, J.(1986)provides a comprehensive overview of the conflict

¹⁰ Kliot, N. (1991) : pp 1-18

There are situations in which there really is peace between states, and situations which are merely brief intermissions between wars. It would be misleading to call these situations 'peaceful', even in the sense of a negative peace. For example, a 'peaceful' period may be one in which both sides are merely regrouping each other's military strength before resuming war again. To prevent being misled by this chimerical form of peace and to further objectify the definition of negative peace, a distinction has been introduced by Kenneth Boulding between 'stable' and 'unstable' peace.¹¹ Boulding writes that stable peace is a 'situation in which the probability of war is so small that it does not really enter into the calculations of any of the people involved.'¹² This concept of stable peace goes beyond the general idea of negative peace in that it indicates the absence of large scale physical violence while still specifying that the expectation is that the behaviour will become observable over time.

On the other hand, unstable peace denotes a situation in which no large scale physical violence is going on at the time, but where the threat of that violence is real. Cold War relations constitute such a case of unstable peace. Even though those relations never involved physical violence between the two countries, there was the perception among people that they did not expect this situation to continue. In fact, the major bulwark of the foreign policies and calculations of both countries was the fear that the other side would attack

¹¹ Boulding, K. (1978)

¹² *ibid*: p43

and that perception, being true or false, was the only thing that kept the other side from attacking for fear of retaliation.

This distinction between stable and unstable peace is important in that it allows for the process of identifying and describing conflict behaviours.

Therefore the concept of negative peace is expanded; the absence of war or large scale violence cannot be used as a determinant of peace, as it can be seen to apply in both cases, a) where the peaceful condition is expected to continue and b) where it is feared that it will not.

The concept of negative peace implies the existence of another way of viewing peace, which is 'positive'. The concept of positive peace evolved more recently, and has become an increasingly predominant way of defining peace¹³. Under the concept of positive peace, a peaceful world or society requires the absence of both physical and structural violence as well as the promotion of social justice. These are both narrower and broader conceptions. Western societies (and particularly the United States) have confined themselves to political and civil rights, or those rights of political and personal freedom with which states should not interfere. Here, for example, the absence of state repression would be a sign of peace. In contrast, Eastern societies (and particularly the former Soviet Union) and developing societies have emphasised economic, social and cultural rights, or those rights of human welfare that states have an obligation to provide. Here the absence of

¹³ Again, Berlin, I. is the definitive text in this regard

structural violence, such as underdevelopment and institutionalised poverty, would be a sign of peace.

One advocate of the concept of positive peace, Johan Galtung, describes peace as the absence of violence. Violence is defined as being present '...when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realisations are below their potential realisations. Violence is here defined as the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual.'¹⁴ This last point is crucial in helping to differentiate between a death resulting from structural violence and one resulting from accidental or natural causes.

Another proponent of the positive peace concept, Adam Curle, defines positive peace as including an explicit right to development. He writes that peace is 'a condition from which individuals and groups concerned gain more advantages than disadvantages.' This, he concedes, is in opposition to peacefulness, which is

a situation in which human beings are impeded from achieving full development either because of their own internal relations or because of the types of relations that exist between themselves (as individuals or group members) and other persons or groups....By contrast, with the absence of overt strife, a peaceful relationship would, on a personal scale, mean friendship and understanding sufficiently strong enough to overcome any differences which may occur. On a larger scale, peaceful relationships would imply active association, planned cooperation, an intelligent effort to forestall or resolve potential conflicts.¹⁵

¹⁴ Galtung, J. (1969): p161

¹⁵ Curle, A. (1971) : p7

Such concepts of negative and positive peace can be seen to complement each other. The presence of war and other direct violence (the absence of negative peace) not only disrupts the immediate 'peace' but also promotes social injustice (the absence of positive peace), since they promote widespread violations of human rights in all its definitions. The reverse is also true, in that the presence of social injustice (the absence of positive peace) provides not only the immediate violence of repression but also the breeding grounds for the development of war or other direct violence such as crime. Similarly, years of economic deprivation, social neglect and racial or class injustices can provide the breeding grounds for greater direct violence, that is, in the form of crime, in any society. In other words, peace and injustice are inter-related concepts without either of which, neither is possible.

The concepts of peace, as discussed, pave the way for an examination of peace building and its meaning on the ground for practitioners as well as those involved in or the aftermath of violent conflict.

Background to Peace Building as an International Enterprise

The peace building approach was created in the context of the end of the Cold War and the consequent resurgence of ethnic discord and nationalism, which continues to pose considerable problems for states concerned. The level and scale of internal armed conflict characterised by genocide or 'ethnic cleansing', created resurgent interest in the United Nations (UN) and in different forms of peace keeping and making. More specifically, it generated

an awareness that traditional peace keeping had outgrown its viability in the context of the new internal conflict.¹⁶

The response of the international community to the new imperatives was the foundation of the peace building approach. The impetus to the new emphasis on peace building was given by Security Council Resolution 688, authorising UN intervention to protect the Kurds in Northern Iraq from Iraqi military forces following the Gulf War. UNICEF Executive Director James Grant characterised the resolution as an 'abrupt break with the past' and a 'precedent' in the cause of the humanitarian intervention when state sovereignty is invoked to violate human rights.¹⁷ The new focus rapidly became the subject of academic scholarship. In a 1991 essay on military humanitarianism, Tom Weiss and Kurt M. Campbell wrote: 'With the humanitarian intervention in Iraq, the international community may be perched on the brink of a new era in which states will codify the principles and identify the appropriate conditions when humanitarian imperatives will override domestic jurisdiction. Military humanitarianism provides a bridge between Cold War military capabilities and the vision of new world order proponents.'¹⁸

Within this atmosphere of academic and political interest on so wide a scale, then United Nations Secretary general Boutros Boutros Ghali published his *Agenda for Peace*, which called for a comprehensive approach to peace, such

¹⁶ Tschirgi, N. (1996) : pp1-3

¹⁷ UNESCO Strategy (1999) :pp1-2

¹⁸ Weiss, T and Campbell, K.M. (1991) : pp 463-464

as the inclusion of peace enforcement as well as peace keeping¹⁹. Former UN official Sir Brian Urquhart called for the establishment of voluntary UN military brigades to undertake enforcement activity, most especially in cases of gross human rights violations.²⁰ However this optimism in the UN as an instrument of peace keeping and peace enforcement was rapidly eroded in the face of severe conflict in Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda. The new world order was tested hard, along with many of the new assumptions of forceful peace keeping, and found wanting.

It subsequently became clear that there was a significant lesson to be learned from such experiences, namely, that peace cannot be externally imposed on warring societies but must be a shared and sincere mutual desire and commitment by role players in the conflict, if the effort is to stand a reasonable chance of success. It also became clear that internecine and internal armed conflicts would be a primary feature of the international landscape unless and until the root causes underlying them were addressed. While enthusiasm for peace-enforcement type activities began to wane and recede slowly to the background of international interest, peace building rose to the fore as a tool for managing conflict.

Defining Peace Building

An attempt to reach a working definition of peace building must be located within an understanding of the desired outcomes of the process of building

¹⁹ Ghali, B.B. (1992) : pp1-53

peace. Therefore, the questions being addressed are: what is peace building understood to be about and what does it aim to do or achieve?

A useful starting point is Necla Tschirgi's reminder that peace building is an internationally coined and promoted concept that refers primarily to the international community's response to violent conflict, threats of violent conflict, or the aftermath of such conflict. 'Peace building, then,' she writes, 'is the point of intersection between local realities and international response; what one observer has called the meeting point of 'two anarchies'.'²¹

UN Secretary Boutros Boutros Ghali's *Agenda for Peace* (1992) was long considered to be the definitive work on peace building for the international community, and generated a range of differing interpretations of the concept of peace building. It defined peace building as a post-conflict activity involving 'action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.'²² It noted:

Since the creation of the United Nations in 1945, over 100 major conflicts around the world have left some 20 million dead. The United Nations was rendered powerless to deal with many of the crises because of the vetoes - 279 of them - cast in the Security Council. With the end of the Cold War there have been no such vetoes since 31 May 1990, and demands on the UN have surged. Its security arm, once disabled by circumstances it was not created or equipped to control, has emerged as a central instrument for the prevention and resolution of conflicts and for the preservation of peace. Our aims must be: To seek to identify at the earliest possible stage situations that could produce

²⁰ Urquhart, B. (1993)

²¹ Tschirgi, N. (1997) : p 3-4

²² Ghali, B.B. (1992) : pp 2-53

conflict, and try through diplomacy to remove the sources of danger before violence results; Where conflict erupts, to engage in peace making aimed at resolving the issues that have led to conflict; Through peace-keeping, to work to preserve peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peace makers; To stand ready to assist in peace building in its differing contexts: rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war and strife; and rebuilding bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among the nations formerly at war.²³

Agenda for Peace dealt in large measure with improving international institutions and their mechanisms for intervening to resolve conflicts. In addition, there was great emphasis placed on the possibility of intervening before conflicts do occur, in other words, giving the UN a real capacity for preventive intervention.²⁴ This capacity would be possible if the UN were equipped with a truly international army.

However, this concept suffers from several fundamental weaknesses. It does not clarify the mechanisms for decisions regarding interventions and assumes that the UN Security Council will always be responsible for deciding whether to intervene - and make the correct decision. It does not take into account that the UN is only as strong as the member states which comprise it, and as history has shown memorably, those member states tend to act only when their interests are threatened in any way. The possibility of the UN cooperating with NGOs (as it is in the area of preventive diplomacy that NGOs can achieve a great deal) is not addressed.

²³ ibid

²⁴ ibid

Another flaw which may be noted is that Bhoutros Ghali does not take into account the idea that peace building is a process as well as a continuum of interventions, which spans many different periods in a given conflict.

The European Union has been also actively involved in peace building in developing countries and is regarded as one of the leading participants in the international debate about peace building. In 1996 the EU set out the following five principles which form the basis of its approach to conflict in Africa:

- Principle of ownership, that is, while the EU sees itself offering active and involved, assistance in terms of helping shape the environment for peace, African countries have primary responsibility for peace building. Solutions should be generated internally rather than being prescribed by outside powers such as the EU.

- Principle of prevention. The EU believes in an essentially preventive and long term approach to peace building, in terms of early warning systems for potential conflict spots and long term approaches to ongoing conflicts.

- Principle of coherence. The EU advocates a holistic balanced approach which integrates economic as well as political considerations in terms of progress toward an environment conducive to peace.

- Principle of coordination. This points to the need for more effective international coordination and cooperation in peace building initiatives in violent conflicts.²⁵

The above five principles summarise the basic approach of the European Union to peace building and conflict prevention and represent a measure of broad international consensus. However the formulation of concrete policies or the development of practical tools for the implementation of general guidelines and principles, is still underway. The EU is in the process of producing a practical handbook designed for use by Commission desk officers, which will serve as a guide for the design and implementation of development and peace building programmes. It will also contain early warning indicators as well as the criteria for the evaluation of the impact of EU policies on peace in developing countries. With the objective of peace building in mind, the EU is also reviewing its development assistance on a country by country basis. In addition, approaches to peace building and conflict prevention also form the basis for the negotiations of the partnership agreement which is envisaged to replace the Lome Convention by the year 2000.²⁶

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) is another key international role player in peace building efforts. Its definition of peace building is :

²⁵ European Union website

the effort to strengthen the prospects for internal peace in formerly war torn societies, and decrease the likelihood of renewed violent conflict. The overarching goal of peace building is to enhance the capacity of a society to manage conflict without violence. Ultimately then, peace building aims at building human security, a concept which involves democratic governance, human rights, the rule of law, sustainable development, and equitable access to resources.²⁷

Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy describes peace building as 'a package of measures to strengthen and solidify peace by building a sustainable infrastructure of human security...I see peace building as casting a lifeline into foundering societies struggling to end the cycle of violence, restore civility and get back on their feet.'²⁸

The current UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, describes peace building as 'action undertaken at the end of a conflict to consolidate peace and prevent a recurrence of armed confrontation.' He notes that peace building requires an integrated effort to address the various factors which have caused or are threatening a conflict.²⁹

Other theorists who define peace building tend to approach it from a much broader perspective, which allows space for interpreting what is and what is not peace building. Conciliation Resources, an international organisation which provides support to community peace building efforts undertaken by local and national organisations, defines peace building as 'about process;

²⁶ ibid

²⁷ CIDA website at <http://www.dfait.maeci.gc.ca>

²⁸ ibid

²⁹ Evans, G. (1993) : p 75

about supporting interpersonal attitudes, techniques and mechanisms which promote cooperative and productive social, economic and political relationships between members of a society affected by existing or potentially violent conflict.³⁰ Gareth Evans defines peace building as a set of strategies which aim to ensure that disputes, armed conflicts and other major crises do not occur in the first place, and if they do arise, then they do not subsequently recur.³¹ Fen Hampson explains that peace building covers a wide range of activities and functions associated with political, social and economic reconstruction in war torn societies. Hampson also notes that such activities need to be linked to a negotiated peace settlement, if they are to stand any chance at success in building peace.³² Similarly, Chetan Kumar points out that it is important to consider not simply the basket of activities which can be undertaken to build peace, but more particularly, whether a self sustaining process can be initiated for the pre-emptive management of disputes.³³

Two broad themes emerge from these differing, though overall complementary, views of peace building:

- a) that peace building is an organic process involving everyone in society which should ideally integrate political, social, economic, institutional and cultural aspects in order to build a truly holistic framework for peace.
- b) that peace building involves strengthening the capacity of individuals and communities to resolve problems without resort to violence

³⁰ Conciliation Resources website at <http://www.c-r.org/cr/commpeace.htm>

³¹ Evans, G. (1993) : p 70

³² Shaw, M. (1996) : pp38-48

³³ Kumar, C. (1998) : p17

c) that peace building can be applied at any stage in conflict. This leads to the idea of categories of intervention, which shall be formulated at a later stage in this work.

d) accordingly, this leads to the idea that peace building involves a range of short term tasks and activities, but must ultimately be able to facilitate long term development and stability.

As noted above, an important point is that peace building can be applied at any stage in a conflict. Conciliation Resources has identified three stages in conflict namely, the pre-, mid- and post- conflict situations. In the pre-conflict situation, peace building involves correctly identifying the latent tensions in a society, and creating or supporting institutional mechanisms to address these tensions and constructively channel them in the interests of justice and development. In the midst of conflict, peace building is described as consolidating disrupted or new relationships among the conflicting actors in society and re-establishing functional co-operation between and among victims of violence, the perpetrators of violence and wider society. In a post-conflict situation, peace building is about the resuscitation or invention of more effective means of mediating conflict, so that the need to revert to the use of force is avoided.³⁴

This outline needs to be explored further in order to offer some degree of conceptual clarity. The task at hand would be to define the range of activities

³⁴ Conciliation Resources website at <http://www.c-r.org/cr/commpeace.htm>

which support these stages in conflict. A question which then arises, is whether these phases of intervention in a conflict are themselves also techniques for intervention.

Peace Building Activities

On a general level, one may identify three distinct types of peace building activities, which are integral to achieving conflict transformation, namely, political peace building, structural peace building and social peace building. Political peace building is about establishing political arrangements which provide the overall context for understanding the relationships of the different actors, parties and their resources. In terms of infrastructure, it represents the outermost superstructure. Activities would include negotiations, fact finding missions and technical working groups.

Structural peace building involves the creation of middle level structures of behaviour, institutions and concerted actions such as community, military, economic etc. which support the embodiment or implementation of a peace culture. These structures are necessary because political peace building can never accomplish conflict transformation by itself. Political peace building creates the basis for peace through treaties, agreements etc. and needs the corresponding societal structural infrastructure to support it. Activities of structural peace building include economic development programmes, strengthening democracy and governance, and supporting the creation and work of local indigenous NGOs which support peace and peace activities.

The social infrastructure is in turn supported by a more basic foundation: a human infrastructure. Social peace building is the grass roots component of the peace building process, which is usually consultative and people-driven in character. It is about building a human infrastructure of people who are committed to engendering a new 'peace' culture.

There is a wide range of activities associated with different levels of peace building. It has previously been noted that conflicts can be at various stages of escalation and de-escalation when interventions occur. These can be performed by third parties, ie external actors, as well as parties to the dispute or conflict themselves, but the key point is that efforts to intervene in conflicts can be taken by any party at any stage of conflict.

The Peace Building Activities Chart used by the Canadian government describes the range of activities which comprise a peace building agenda, as the term is currently used by the Canadian government and NGOs.

<i>Peace building activity</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Early warning	<input type="checkbox"/> Intelligence and monitoring <input type="checkbox"/> Data collection and analysis <input type="checkbox"/> Transmission and early action
Environmental Security	<input type="checkbox"/> Conflict assessment and resolution related to resource depletion, human

	migration etc.
Individual Security	<input type="checkbox"/> Gender specific violence <input type="checkbox"/> Sexual orientation-specific <input type="checkbox"/> Violence <input type="checkbox"/> Racial/cultural-specific violence
Human Rights	<input type="checkbox"/> Field operations <input type="checkbox"/> Investigations/reporting <input type="checkbox"/> Training <input type="checkbox"/> Advocacy
Conflict Resolution	<input type="checkbox"/> Community based initiatives <input type="checkbox"/> Second track diplomacy <input type="checkbox"/> Mediation and negotiation
Social Reconstruction	<input type="checkbox"/> Psycho-social trauma <input type="checkbox"/> Reintegration of refugees/displaced <input type="checkbox"/> Peoples/combatants <input type="checkbox"/> Social Services (health/education) <input type="checkbox"/> Peace education <input type="checkbox"/> Access to information
Governance and Democratic Development	<input type="checkbox"/> Electoral assistance <input type="checkbox"/> Civic education and training <input type="checkbox"/> Judicial training and training <input type="checkbox"/> Media development and training

Institutional /Civil Capacity Building	<input type="checkbox"/> .Government Capacity Building <input type="checkbox"/> .NGO Capacity Building (civil society/institutions) <input type="checkbox"/> Implementation of peace accords <input type="checkbox"/> Probity/corruption (transparency/accountability)
Policy Development, Assessment and Advocacy	<input type="checkbox"/> Research <input type="checkbox"/> Assessment/Evaluation <input type="checkbox"/> Lessons Learned <input type="checkbox"/> Public Consultation
Training	<input type="checkbox"/> Training in any of the above activities <input type="checkbox"/> Training trainers ³⁵

CIDA's ideas of peace building are broad and inclusive as they integrate many different factors in the peace building process. Clearly peace building is conceived of as a sustained process which needs to integrate different aspects such as training and education. CIDA's recognition of the importance of early warning systems is significant as few programmes incorporate an awareness of this vital component of peace building. Environmental security is also a facet of peace building, which normally goes largely unrecognised.

³⁵ CIDA website at http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/peacebuilding/cpi_activities-e.asp

The activities outlined above point to a broadly inclusive peace building agenda. It would appear that while strengthening government capacity is a priority, the main aspects of the agenda feature the strengthening of civil society such as social reconstruction and human rights. This chart appears to recognise the importance of civil society in the rebuilding process, as opposed to building up the capacity of government. The activities relate to the stated goal of 'strengthen(ing) the prospects for internal peace in formerly war torn societies, and decreas(ing)the likelihood of renewed violent conflict'.³⁶

Peace building interventions can be seen to be part of a process. NIM coordinator Gail Wannenburg explains that NIM recognises the importance of the continuum of interventions in terms of seeing peace building as a sustained process. According to NIM, their kind of interventionist-type monitoring is planned along the following continuum:

Human Security (such as crisis intervention, security deployment, witness protection etc)

Rule of Law (such as investigations, statement-taking, facilitation of civil claims etc)

Mediation (such as peace processes, conflict resolution etc)

Community Building (such as training communities, crisis committees, CPFs ie community policing forums)

Development (being the last phase).³⁷

³⁶ ibid

³⁷ Appendix B: interview with G. Wannenburg

Wannenburg notes that development itself can also lead to conflict.³⁸ For example, NIM is involved in developmental schemes on the South Coast of KwaZulu-Natal, such as building schools or rebuilding areas which experienced massive displacements in the conflict of the 1980s and early '90s. The communities who are the beneficiaries of such aid may often quarrel amongst themselves as to their involvement in the schemes.

It has been shown that peace building needs to be seen as a dynamic continuum with interventions in all of the phases of a conflict. Peace building may therefore be defined as a sustained and meaningful continuum of activities, efforts and strategies to prevent, minimise and resolve conflict at all levels of society beginning at the grass roots and focusing upward, with the emphasis on decreasing the possibilities of resumption. Communication, education and conflict resolution may be seen as significant keywords in the peace building process.

³⁸

ibid

CHAPTER THREE: The NGO as an Actor in Development and Peace Building - Analytical Approaches to Understanding the NGO Phenomenon

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the role of NGOs as related to development and peace building. Like nation-states, NGOs are extremely diverse which defies an uncomplicated analysis of its structure and nature of work. This chapter will discuss the NGO phenomenon generally in terms of their scope, reach, function and methods and means of cooperation with governments and other role players such as bi-lateral and multi-lateral institutions. This chapter also makes an attempt at proposing a means of making and conceptualising a definition of NGOs for the purpose of this chapter. Finally the challenges facing NGOs at both an international, national and local level are explored, most particularly to place in context the Oxfam Canada peace building programme which is a focus of this study at a later stage in this work.

Defining NGOs

In spite of the growth of the NGO phenomenon, there still exists a great deal of confusion and ignorance about the definition of the NGO and the nature of its relationships with other NGOs, as well as the context within which it works.

Much of the literature regarding NGOs is written from a legalistic perspective, which overlooks or understates the richness of NGO activities and politics.³⁹

The site of NGO activity examined here suggests paradoxes and contradictions. Gordenker and Weiss point out one conceptual problem related to NGOs being understood as 'non governmental' hence, 'non state actors', which may just as well apply to transnational entities such as banks, organised crime syndicates, insurgents, churches etc.⁴⁰ This is clearly erroneous. By definition NGOs, with the emphasis on the explicit separation from government, have no formal standing with government. Yet NGOs have become an integral part of the process of setting agendas for cooperation and in carrying out the results not only for governments but for other individuals and NGOs.

There is a preponderance of terms used to define NGOs, based on their organisational structure and format, such as non profit organisation, private voluntary organisation, social movement, civil society, people's organisation, grass roots organisation, community based organisation.⁴¹ Some of these are synonymous and others are highly specialised versions. This leads to conceptual confusion.

³⁹ See Rosenau, J (1994)

⁴⁰ Gordenker, L and Weiss, T. (1995): p359

⁴¹ NGO cafe website at <http://www.ngo-ngdo-cbo.html>

The term 'non governmental organisation' is itself challenged by a variety of alternative usages. According to the World Bank report *How the World Bank Works with Non -Governmental Organisations*,

The diversity of NGOs strains any simple definition. They include many groups and institutions that are entirely or largely independent of government and that have primarily humanitarian or cooperative rather than commercial objectives. They are private agencies in industrial countries that support international development; indigenous groups organised regionally or nationally; and member groups in villages. NGOs include charitable and religious associations that mobilise private funds for development, distribute food and family planning services and promote community organisation. They also include independent cooperatives, community associations, water user societies, women's groups and pastoral associations. Citizen's groups that raise awareness and influence policy are also NGOs.⁴²

From the above, it may be deduced that NGOs are extremely diverse, varied and multi-faceted. Apart from their diversity, other characteristics of NGOs include their formal (as opposed to ad hoc) organisation, being self-governing on the basis of their constitutions and private in that they are separate from government and not in the business of making or distributing profits. A 1994 United Nations document described NGOs as non profit entities whose members are citizens of one or more countries and whose activities are determined by the collective will of its members in response to the needs of the members of one or more communities with which NGOs cooperate.⁴³

The difficulty is that this formulation describes just about every kind of group except for private businesses, revolutionary or terrorist groups and political parties. The NGO has been called 'an organisation or group of people

⁴² World Bank Report (1990)

working independently of any external control with specific objectives and aims to fulfil tasks that are oriented to bring about desirable change in a given community or area or situation.¹⁴⁴ Another definition has characterised NGOs as 'an independent, democratic, non sectarian people's organisation working for the empowerment of economic or socially marginalised groups.'¹⁴⁵ A similar interpretation of NGOs was made as 'organisations established by and for the communities without or without little intervention from the government.'¹⁴⁶ Many of these interpretations can be criticised as limited and in fact, erroneous in the context of the imperatives of globalisation and governance. Not every organisation which claims to be an NGO can claim to be a private citizen's organisation, separate from government but non profit making and active on social issues.

It is clear from the above that there are many competing definitions of the NGO. Several keywords serve as common denominators, such as independence, participation, common purpose, expertise in different fields, development and voluntarism. Independence and voluntarism are common traits of NGOs. Traditionally NGOs collected funds directly from the public to support their development work, but now are funded by various sources such as governments and multi-lateral institutions etc. Therefore for the purposes of this chapter, NGOs may be described as civil society organs which most often, work for the common purposes of socially responsible development.

⁴³ Simmons, P.J. (1998):p3

⁴⁴ NGO Workshop organised at the Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok, Oct 17-21, 1998

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

Their expertise and capacity in different fields allow them to serve as service providers and particularly as a counterweight to the state, under the rubric of promoting civil society and capacity building. They also articulate the interests of the most vulnerable and marginalised groups in society, such as the poor.

Types of NGOs and their Roles

This section will study the types of NGOs which exist as well as assess the roles played by NGOs. It will provide an understanding of the different ways and methods, which NGOs cooperate and interact with various actors in development and aid, such as governments and multi and bi-lateral institutions.

Three particular kinds of NGOs will be discussed, namely GONGOs (government-organised organisations), QUANGOs (quasi-non governmental organisation) and DONGOs (donor-organised organisations). The first of these, GONGOs, achieved notoriety during the Cold War because many so-called NGOs owed their very existence and financial support to communist governments in the Soviet Bloc or authoritarian ones in the so called 'Third World'.⁴⁷ There were also a few such organisations in the West, particularly the USA, where they were often a front for administration activities.⁴⁸ Although the Western variation may have been more 'non governmental' than their

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Gordenker and Weiss (1995): p361

⁴⁸ Gordenker and Weiss (1995): p361

Soviet or 'Third World' counterparts, they were not created for the classic purposes of NGOs. Therefore GONGOs can only be treated as tangential to the purposes of this chapter.

The second type of NGO is the QUANGO. QUANGOs are so named because they receive the bulk of their resources from public funds.⁴⁹ QUANGOs are generally perceived to have negative implications. Most of the services of QUANGOs are aimed at internationally endorsed objectives and their operations are separate from government, even if their funding is public. Such organisations claim that the source of funding does not affect their priorities and the nature of their programmatic work and focus. However, with more and more government funding being channelled through NGOs, particularly international NGOs, the issue of independence against the weight of donor pressures, assumes greater salience. The contradiction of maintaining both dependency and distance reflects a difficulty faced by many NGOs.

Oxfam, as the subject of this study, provides an interesting example. There exist many variations within the Oxfams, against which one may measure QUANGOs in terms of the traditional criteria attached to QUANGOs. Oxfam Canada receives 75 percent of its core funding from the Canadian government, yet as the organisation argues, the QUANGO label would not accurately reflect the organisation's function and nature. In this way Oxfam presents a challenge to the definition of QUANGOs. Oxfam Canada Regional

⁴⁹ Korten, D. (1998):p7

Director David Gallagher explains, 'It is not about us being a public service contractor for the Canadian government. We are not implementing a Canadian government project, but rather getting money from the government to implement *our own* projects. That is the essential difference which needs to be understood.' He goes on to explain that it is 'the conscious strategy of the government to encourage Canadian NGOs to apply for funding, as they are needed as conduits to fulfil their own objectives, for example on poverty alleviation. Therefore they need NGOs to deliver.' He concedes that while the dependency factor in terms of funds can be described as high, historically this has never stopped Oxfam from criticising the government. Recently we organised an anti-free trade lobby, using staff time and offices all over the country. You also have to remember that Canada is a relatively liberal country and NGOs are allowed a certain amount of leeway in these matters.⁵⁰

Therefore it is understood that Oxfam Canada's work is consciously independent of government influence, as opposed to the understanding one would have of an NGO being the recipient of a large amount of government funding. Moreover, Oxfam Canada's independence is encouraged by the Canadian government in the interests of pluralism and democracy.

Therefore Oxfam Canada shows in this way that the variations of NGOs are not necessarily embraced by the traditional concept of NGOs and in this case

⁵⁰ Appendix A: interview with D. Gallagher

QUANGOs in particular, and shows the dilemma posed to commonplace understandings about NGOs.

The third type of NGO, the DONGO, is also distinguished by its source of funding. DONGOs are created by donors as recipients of their funds according to their specific needs and focus. For example, USAID has a number of NGOs in South Africa which function to support its programmatic foci. The UN system has a number of NGOs designed for their particular purposes and operations. The UNDP programme has been involved in fostering their development for over a decade now. The UN also created many local NGOs which were involved in local efforts which complemented their own UN operations, such as for eg demining in Afghanistan and mobilising the population for elections in Cambodia.⁵¹

GONGOs, DONGOs and QUANGOs are three basic types of NGOs. However there are many other types, whose form of service provision is oriented toward charity or work with the poor. Included under the rubric of NGOs are citywide organisation such as Rotary or Lion's Club, chambers of commerce and industry, coalitions of business, ethnic or educational groups.⁵² Some exist for purposes other than assisting the disadvantaged, and become involved in such work as one of their activities, while others are created for that purpose.

⁵¹ Korten, D. and Brown, D. (1989) : p 22

However there also exist several different orientations, the most familiar being that of charity. Here, NGOs are involved in activities directed toward meeting the needs of the poor, for example, distribution of food or medicine, provision of transport, schools etc. Such NGOs may also undertake relief activities during a natural or man made disaster. There is little involvement from the beneficiaries, who are instead the recipients of top down efforts and activities by the organisation in question. Salvation Army and International Red Cross are such examples.⁵³

The service-oriented NGO includes activities such as the provision of health, family planning or education services in which the programme is designed by the NGO and people are expected to participate in its implementation and in receiving the service.⁵⁴ PPSA (Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa) is one such example.

Participatory NGOs are characterised by self help projects where local people are involved in the implementation of a project by contributing such resources as cash, tools, land, materials, labour etc. In the typical or classical community development project, the project begins with the needs definition and often continues into the planning and implementation stages. Cooperatives often have a participatory orientation.⁵⁵

⁵² See NGO Café website at <http://www.ngo-ngdo-cbo.html>

⁵³ Srinivas, H. (1999)

⁵⁴ *ibid*

⁵⁵ *ibid*

An empowering orientation is the aim of the NGO that helps disadvantaged or marginalised communities toward development in the fullest sense of their being, in order to maximise their potential. Within this framework such communities are guided toward a clearer understanding of the social, political and economic factors affecting their lives and accordingly, come to an awareness of their own potential power to control and change their lives. Sometimes these groups develop spontaneously around a particular problem or issue as in CBOs (community based organisations) and at other times, outside workers from NGOs play a facilitating role in their development.⁵⁶

NGO types may also be distinguished by the level of their operation.

Community based organisations (CBO's) originate from people's own initiatives, such as women's organisations, educational organisations etc.

There are a large variety of CBO's, some supported by NGOs, being either national or international, or bilateral or international agencies, or others who are independent of external help.⁵⁷

International NGOs range from secular agencies such as Radda Barna and Save the Children to private organisations such as CARE, Oxfam and Ford Foundation etc. Their activities vary from mainly funding local NGOs, institutions and projects, to implementing the projects themselves.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ See Korten, D. and Brown, D. (1989)

⁵⁷ *ibid*

⁵⁸ *ibid*

From the above it may be said that the defining characteristics of NGOs discussed thus far are organisational structure, operational programme areas, funding sources and membership structures. Great diversity has been identified among the types of NGOs discussed, which makes generalisations dangerously misleading.

In an attempt to find a broad definition of NGOs which would embrace their activities in all their entirety, Gordenker and Weiss have concluded that '...(despite the diversity) there seems to be no quarrel with the notion that these organisations consist of durable, bounded voluntary relationships among individuals to produce a particular product, using specific techniques. Like minded organisations may analogously develop lasting relationships to one another and form meta-organisations.'⁵⁹ This definition may be expanded to include social goals or outcomes in the 'product' and interventionary tools and strategies, such as community organising, information dissemination, education and poverty alleviation, under 'specific techniques'. Most importantly, the nature of 'the durable, voluntary relationships among individuals' warrants an explanation of organisational structure. Membership structures are commonly organised along the lines of professionals, women, youth, community, religion, students and volunteers. Beneficiaries vary according to the type of work engaged in by the NGO and are usually the disadvantaged. Examples of a meta-organisations' can be identified as international organisations such as the UN, or even transfederations of NGOs.

It may be concluded that defining NGOs is a difficult intellectual task. Yet although there may be no universal agreement on what NGOs are exactly, there is widespread agreement that their numbers, influence and reach are extensive.⁶⁰ NGO activity is astounding in its scope and level, as it challenges national governments, changes societal norms and gradually finds a way into areas of 'high' politics such as arms control, banking and trade, which were previously dominated by the state.⁶¹

The contribution of NGOs to democracy was widely acknowledged at the Third Commonwealth NGO Forum, held at Durban, in November 1999, in order to discuss issues facing their respective countries, ahead of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting. KwaZulu-Natal premier Lionel Mtshali attributed the failure of democracy to the weakness of civil society. Mtshali said 'There are insufficient constraints on the adventurism of power. Investment and economic ground is often an overlay which creates a thin layer of prosperity, leaving the mass of people powerless and power.' He explained that conditions such as these exist even where elections were held, saying that is the environment in which the greatest significance of NGOs lay. Mtshali said, 'An independent NGO sector is the chassis or backbone of civil society and the ability of people to monitor and focus the activity of

⁵⁹ Gordenker and Weiss (1995):p360

⁶⁰ Simmons, P.J. (1998) : p 4

⁶¹ See Korten, D. and Brown, D. (1989) for a fuller treatment of the increasing role of NGOs

governments. An independent NGO sector is essential to put flesh on the bones of constitutional and democratic structures.'

Mtshali added that this did not mean that governments and the NGO sector should be alienated from each other, but that success in democracy and development required a synergy between state and society. 'The state must be open to lobbies and policy influence from civil society should strive to add value to government service delivery.'⁶²

The Commonwealth's Secretary General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, echoed Mtshali's address, saying that governments were increasingly recognising the work of NGOs. He stated that dramatic progress in the scale and scope of NGOs activities throughout the Commonwealth had been apparent, and that NGOs were now trying assiduously to address the issue of how they could be more effective.⁶³

NGO activism has influenced recent world history to a great degree. For example, in 1945 NGOs were largely responsible for inserting human rights language in the UN Charter and have since put almost every major human rights issue on the international agenda. Similarly, NGO activism since the 1960s and 1970s successfully raised the profile of global and environmental and population issues.⁶⁴

⁶² Khumalo, S. (08/11/99) in Daily News : p 3

The capacity of NGOs to force issues to policymakers' attention is well demonstrated by the 1997 Nobel Prize-winning campaign by NGOs to conclude a treaty banning landmines over the objections of the United States. The campaign was conducted through the self described 'full working relationship' between the Canadian government and a loose coalition of more than 350 humanitarian and arms control NGOs from 23 countries. Its focus was the innovative media campaign using the World Wide Web, faxes, email, newsletters and even Batman and Superman comics. Treaty supporters won the signatures of 122 countries in four months. The end result of the campaign was the launching of official talks on a possible treaty in July 1998 by the United States government.⁶⁵

In the early 1990s NGO pressures forced the World Bank into a reluctant position of change when a sustained campaign was mounted by more than 150 public interest NGOs in demand for greater accountability and openness as well as to encourage debt reduction and development strategies which were more equitable and less destructive to the environment.⁶⁶ As a result, about half of the bank's lending projects have provisions for NGO involvement, up from an average of only 6% between 1973 and 1988. The bank even included such NGOs as Oxfam International, in once sacrosanct debt relief discussions, against the wishes of many World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) officials. Even the IMF showed signs of

⁶³ *ibid*

⁶⁴ *ibid*

⁶⁵ NGO Café website at <http://www.ngo-ngdo-cbo.html>

⁶⁶ Paul, A. (1996) at <http://www.globalpolicy.org>

change. In 1988 the IMF Board of Directors met with several NGO leaders to discuss solutions to increase the Fund's transparency.⁶⁷

NGOs are also skilled at negotiating the outcomes of treaties etc. In 1990, a sole Italian NGO, the Cominuta di San'Egidio, started the informal meetings between the warring parties in Mozambique which led, eventually, to a peace settlement. During talks in 1995 to extend the Treaty on the Non Proliferation on Nuclear Weapons, NGOs from several countries working with the South African government delegation helped forge a compromise which led to the treaty's permanent extension.⁶⁸

NGOs on the ground often make a great difference in terms of humanitarian and developmental aid. In 1992, for example, total assistance by and through international NGOs to the developing world amounted to approximately \$8 billion; accounting for 13% of all developmental assistance and more than the entire amount transferred by the UN system.⁶⁹

Perhaps one of the most vital but widely overlooked roles played by NGOs is the promotion of societal changes necessary to making international agreements work. International NGOs often play a critical role in terms of translating international agreements and norms into domestic realities. Where governments practice official denial or deliberate blindness, groups such as Amnesty International and Committee to Protect Journalists, work to call

⁶⁷ ibid

attention to violations of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. In 1997 Amnesty International conducted a prolonged and greatly successful campaign in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the UN Declaration on Human Rights as a lead up to December 1998 when the world's largest book, a collection of signatures from all over the world, was presented to Secretary General Kofi Annan.⁷⁰

NGOs can exert great influence on government policy. NGOs which seek government policy change, can be crucial for the timing and nature of international responses. For example, NGOs in the US failed to get the Clinton administration to acknowledge genocide and take action in Rwanda in 1994, but their perseverance can be identified as crucial in getting the Pentagon to assist in Zaire and Tanzania. In France, NGOs were successful in launching and sustaining an activist humanitarian policy, *le droit d'ingérence*, which became the official policy of the Mitterand government and Minister Bernard Kouchner, and which survived both their departures⁷¹.

Increasingly, NGOs operate outside existing formal networks, working independently to establish new standards that governments, institutions and corporations are compelled to follow through sheer force of public opinion. Recently, the environmental NGO Greenpeace, conducted a European consumer boycott which placed the issue of the sustainable use of forests on

⁶⁸ NGO Café at <http://www.ngo-ngdo-cbo.html>

⁶⁹ Simmons, P.J (1998):p5

⁷⁰ See Amnesty International at <http://www.amnesty.org.uk>

⁷¹ Simmons, P.J (1996) at <http://www.globalpolicy.org/ngos/issues/simmons.htm>

the agenda of many European governments and multilateral institutions. It counted among one of its successes, the persuasion of a leading Canadian logging company to change the methods traditionally used to harvest trees.⁷²

NGOs play an active role in terms of policy work in the form of research, lobbying advocacy. In some cases NGOs become spokespersons for the poor and disadvantaged and attempt to influence government policies and programmes on their behalf.⁷³

NGOs play a role in development, which may take many forms⁷⁴. Often this involves local programmes with communities at a grass roots level. Oxfam Canada's peace building programme is an example of a grass roots, bottom-up project which sees development in a local context in terms of psychological health and recovery of victims of violence as well as facilitating investigation, monitoring and research into safety and security issues in the province.

NGOs have, by the nature of their work and structure, a multitude of advantages which allow them the virtually unlimited capacity to do good. NGOs have the ability to experiment with a great deal of freedom and creativity and if necessary, take risks in the course of their work. They are flexible in responding to local needs and in the process, are able to adapt to local situations and accordingly develop integrated as well as sectoral projects. They are able to render developmental and relief assistance to the

⁷² Princen and Finger (1997) :p 427

very poor and disadvantaged. NGOs are able to communicate on all levels from the neighbourhoods and communities to the highest levels of government. They are also able to recruit staff and experts with fewer restrictions from the government.

Despite the demonstrated capacity of NGOs to do good, their growing power on the ground has exposed them to criticism. A recent study on peace building in Bosnia criticised the use of advertising (from signboards to t-shirts) by NGOs to promote their reconstruction programmes to potential donors. The study criticised the advertising as denigrative of local rebuilding efforts and raised the question of where NGOs were actually putting their money. In the Sudan and Somalia, NGOs have subsidised warring factions by making direct and indirect payments to gain access to areas needing assistance. In other conflict situations such as Rwanda and Ethiopia, NGO-constructed roads and camps for civilian assistance have instead been used by combatants.⁷⁵

Radical critics argue that development aid has done more harm than good and/or served the wealthy and corrupt elites in developing countries. More moderate critics have admitted that development aid has often failed to reach its intended target groups.⁷⁶ Pressures in Northern countries to find more effective ways of spending aid money exacerbate the problems already

⁷³ See Srinivas, H. (1999) for analysis of NGO roles related to advocacy and lobbying.
⁷⁴ *ibid*

⁷⁵ These examples have been drawn from Simmons, P.J (1999) : pp 11-13 and Andersen, M. (1998) : pp 35-41

⁷⁶ See Andersen, M. (1998)

experienced by NGOs. International NGOs and donor agencies are responsible to their own constituencies in the North and these primarily decide their agendas. For example, critics argue that political forces in developed countries could for example, have an interest in propping up an NGO against a government following non desirable politics, such as for example, socialism.⁷⁷

It has been argued that NGOs are disadvantaged by donor imperatives, which means that they begin to focus on donor fashions' rather than genuinely meeting people's needs. NGOs who work at local level are often accused of adopting people's rhetoric while continuing to work in a top-down, non participatory fashion.⁷⁸

Challenges to NGOs

NGOs worldwide are facing a number of challenges. Firstly, sheer number of NGOs present a dilemma to governments, multilateral institutions and corporations working in similar fields or attempting to work with them. The issue of participation and the form of it, particularly at an international level, is a vexing problem.

Different states have mixed track records with regard to NGO participation. Canada stands out most notably, for its role in forging an alliance with NGOs on the landmine ban. As Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy has stated 'Clearly

⁷⁷ Fowler, A. (1991) : pp 55-78

one can no longer relegate NGOs to simple advisory or advocacy roles...They are now part of the way decisions have to be made.⁷⁹

NGOs are often accused of what Cousin Williams calls 'territorial possessiveness'⁸⁰ that is, intense competition over resources and space, which may often restrict the degree of participation in programmes as well as reduces cooperation between agencies. Notably in 1996, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees warned that if national governments continue to favour NGOs over multilateral agencies in donor assistance, they may undermine important systems of coordination and cooperation in large scale emergencies.⁸¹

Perhaps the greatest challenges created by the burgeoning influence of NGOs are not in the field but in the arena of public opinion and the corridors of power. This phenomenon has been bemoaned by an unknown environmental activist as the rise of the 'global idiots',⁸² referring to the ability of NGOs to misdirect public debate, for reasons of their own image and fundraising causes, rather than for the advancement of the public interest. It may be deduced that the confrontational and seemingly constantly adversarial stance of NGOs, may work to their disadvantage when their energies are misdirected.

⁷⁸ ibid

⁷⁹ Axworthy, L. Speeches available at <http://www.dfait.maeci.gc.ca>

⁸⁰ Williams, C. (1988) : p54

⁸¹ Simmons, P.J. (1995) : p 6

It is important to situate the general NGO context in terms of the recent political changes in South Africa as the peace building focus in this study is exclusively concentrated within a local South African context. This section suggests the background and context of the peace building programme.

Researchers bemoan the lack of contemporary applied research on the voluntary sector in South Africa in the context of the challenges and crises of the country's transitional phase. It is felt that the general paucity of informed research on voluntary non profit organisations and civil society in general has made it increasingly difficult to make most accurate analyses of the state of the voluntary sector. As Helle Christiansen Cawtha comments 'much of the writing on the voluntary sector is based on informed 'guesstimates' rather than sound empirical data and researchers rely on a small sample of increasingly dated surveys.'⁸³ For example, there exists no comprehensive database on the voluntary sector from which one may make qualitative and quantitative assessments. The most fairly accurate source would have to be the Programme for Development Research (PRODDER) which is a department of the parastatal Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), and of which an annual update is made.⁸⁴

A extensive new study entitled the South African Non Profit Sector Study, jointly sponsored by the Institute of Policy Studies at Johns Hopkins University in the US and the Graduate School of Public and Development Management

⁸² <http://www.foreignpolicy.com>

at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, is predicted to make a change in this regard. This study will attempt to make a comprehensive overview of the voluntary sector in terms of definition, size, structures, employment and funding base, contribution to South Africa's gross domestic product (GDP), developmental role etc as well as other related research questions. The study hopes to establish a sampling frame which can be taken over by Statistics South Africa in the five yearly census to update data on the sector.⁸⁵

The challenges faced by the NGO sector since the transition are manifold. Many of these challenges and issues are not necessarily new, but have rather intensified since 1994. For example, one of the key features of the crisis faced by South African NGOs is the shift in priorities by Northern donors, who have directed aid away from NGOs to the new government.

After the 1994 elections many Northern donors initiated what was essentially a two fold process of change in donor policy. Prior to 1994, Northern donors generally directed funding to NGOs to the exclusion of the apartheid government, as a means of supporting the struggle for justice and democracy. When the new government was installed, many of the larger foreign donors reduced the level of direct funding to NGOs and instead redirected it to government departments in the form of bilateral aid. This was done on the assumption that some of this funding would reach NGOs through contracts

⁸³ Cawthra, H.C. (1999) : pp 141-2

between government departments and NGOs.⁸⁶ However government departments struggling with transformation issues and bureaucratic incapacity, and hampered by problematic tendering procedures, were unable to effect such a relationship to any significant degree.

Donor policy has varied. Some Northern donors, mostly Scandinavian-based, built in a buffer transitional period of ancillary funding to NGOs within a specified time period. Some funders have indicated intentions to fund on a reduced scale while others have chosen non renewal of contracts.⁸⁷ This has often been prompted by budget cuts and policy shifts based on the perception that South Africa's struggle need no longer be supported in apartheid's demise.

Oxfam Canada peace building partner NIM (Network of Independent Monitor) states that this matches their experience of funding with a few donors, but not all. NIM coordinator Gail Wannenburg explains that donors are able to take advantage of NGOs precisely because they are financially dependent and structurally so, because NGOs can never be entirely self-financed. She cited an example of a particular donor which used NIM's experience and input for purposes of a monitoring training manual for which they were not properly

⁸⁴ PRODDER website is <http://www.hsrc.ac.za/prodder.html>

⁸⁵ Cawthra, H.C. (1999) : pp 142

⁸⁶ *ibid*

⁸⁷ *ibid*

credited. She claims that educated, aware and competent NGOs can work around these obstacles.⁸⁸

PSV (Programme for Survivors of Violence) coordinator Berenice Meintjies stated that while their historical relations with donors were relatively good, the organisation did experience a period of financial crisis several years ago due to the precipitous withdrawal of two of their large donors. She emphasised that NGOs need to be wary of the risks of dependency.⁸⁹

A study undertaken by SANGOCO (South African National Coalition of Non Governmental Organisations) of its membership yielded interesting insights into the impact of the reduction of NGO funding. On the basis of a questionnaire circulated by the organisation, it was found that a fifth of the organisations surveyed indicated budgetary issues as an outcome of the unexpected and often hasty withdrawal of funding. It was found that community based organisations suffered badly and were forced to cut back on budgets and activities to a severe degree. Several prominent NGOs were forced to close due to insufficient funding. It was also suggested that NGOs with a visible and tangible delivery system such as housing construction for instance, have greater survival capacity than those with a less tangible delivery role, such as those involved in research and lobbying etc. This survey

⁸⁸ Appendix B: interview with G. Wannenburg

⁸⁹ Appendix C: interview with B. Meintjies

was small, based on a sample of 20% of the organisation's 4000 members⁹⁰, but nevertheless indicates clear trends.

The voluntary sector has called repeatedly for reform of the legislative and tax environments in which they operate. Ex-Programmes Director of SANGOCO Jacqui Boule, commented that,

South Africa has no tradition of public philanthropy. This can partly be blamed on the unsympathetic tax system. For example in 1996, (then) Deputy Minister of Finance, Gill Marcus, said 'The present tax system is of little encouragement to NGOs. In comparative terms, our system is not generous, in fact as the Katz Commission acknowledged, many countries offer far more extensive deductions. Indeed the tax regime is a good indicator of whether government is keen to encourage the development of a philanthropic tradition in redirecting the resources of society.'⁹¹

The passing of the Non Profit Organisations Bill in 1998 abolishes many of the restrictions of apartheid legislation but still remains a site of controversy and debate among NGOs.⁹²

Government has failed, in large part, to provide relief to embattled NGOs through direct state grants or development contracts. NGOs have complained that the tendering system is bureaucratic, over-elaborate, and characterised by overly-long waiting and decision-making periods. There would also appear to be different policies and procedures between the local, regional and national levels of government and between provinces within the same levels

⁹⁰ SANGOCO website at <http://sangoco.org.za>

⁹¹ Boule, J. (1996) : p24

⁹² NPO Bill available at SANGONET website under GOVERNMENT at <http://www.wn.apc.org>

of government. NGOs also complain that they are often excluded from tenders in favour of freelance consultants.⁹³ The Green Paper on Public Sector Procurement Reform was released in 1997 and calls for simplification and reform of the tendering system. However legislation based on the Green Paper has not, as yet, been forthcoming.⁹⁴

NGOs have also suffered the 'brain drain' in the form of the loss of skilled staff members to the government and the private sector. Cawthra points out while this has been negative for NGO development, improvements in salaries and terms of employment have seen NGOs attract a younger, and more skilled and educated core of NGO personnel.⁹⁵

During apartheid rule, policy development was the exclusive domain of apartheid bureaucrats, which was of inestimable damage to disadvantaged communities. Now that South Africa is a democracy, the temptation to leave this important role in the hands of government is even greater. This is a temptation against which NGOs must strenuously guard, if only to debunk the commonly accepted ideas about the government as the sole repository of wisdom and knowledge.

From the above it is clear that NGOs now have an emerging strategic role to build and strengthen civil society over and above their traditional role of

⁹³ Cawthra, H. C. (1999) : pp 158-60

⁹⁴ Green Paper available at SANGONET under GOVERNMENT at <http://www.wn.apc.org>

⁹⁵ Cawthra, H.C. (1999): p156

service delivery. These organs of civil society have an important role to play in promoting participatory democracy. If civil society is weak, governments are left to their own devices, leaving them vulnerable to embracing harmful policies in response to political pressures of one kind or another. Therefore the long term health of South African society is dependent in part on the promotion of NGOs, specifically the promotion of their divergence and right to dissent. The specific role of NGOs in peace building will be explored in the next chapter.

This chapter has shown the diversity and scope of NGOs at an international and national level as well as the challenges posed to NGOs. Despite the criticisms which may be levelled against NGOs in various instances, it is clear that NGOs have a great deal to offer society which is positive and healthy, such as its expertise and capacity, its sense of purpose and commitment, and its relative freedom from bureaucratic constraints. South African NGOs are in a dual position: although they are possessed of many such positive, often historically-based advantages, they are located in a complex and difficult stage of transition, which involves them redefining and reinventing themselves in response to the new context of democracy and the dissolution of the old order. The work and activities of NGOs are the tools of peace building. It should be recognised that the incremental process toward a semblance of stable peace and the integration of South Africa's peoples into one harmonious society are very much dependent on NGOs. Their roles need to

be planned and worked out with government and other significant role players such as business, to maximise the benefit to the society whom it serves.

CHAPTER FOUR: Best Peace Building Practices - Toward a Peace Building Typology

This chapter will attempt to make a conclusive and reasonably integrated summary of peace building practices, which are seen as most effective and successful in terms of the violent environment it seeks to ameliorate. This chapter will attempt to formulate a typology of peace building practices, which NGOs have used and are using, with the experience of the peace building programme and its practices as the base of the typology. The typology seeks to develop an informed and comprehensive idea of the best practices in terms of peace building and act as a kind of referral point for other peace building interventions undertaken in the future.

Thus far this study has yielded the following implications for peace building and in the context of NGO interventions:

- Violent local or regional conflicts in developing countries have important international repercussions; while such conflicts do not necessarily pose direct security threats, they place significant strain on the international community, including the UN system and international NGOs working in the peace building arena. Therefore effective peace building requires concerted action on the part of the international community.
- NGOs working in the peace building arena are faced with many different challenges in light of the changed nature of post Cold- War conflict. These

challenges come from different sources such as the international community within which it is situated, the nature of their work itself as well as their structure and funding bases, their beneficiaries and the local environments within which they work.

- Peace building involves a range of tasks from conflict prevention to post conflict reconstruction, in which NGOs play an important role.
- Peace building involves strengthening the capacity of individuals and communities to resolve problems without resorting to violence
- Peace building and development are seen in this study as mutually complementary.
- There are many different tools and approaches to peace building. The typology will seek to accommodate the aforementioned implications of peace building as argued in this study. Although the focus of this study is post conflict peace building, the typology will go beyond post conflict methodologies to include a broad holistic and inclusive approach to the continuum of peace building interventions. The reason is that the continuum of interventions is not fixed and what is appropriate in a post conflict situation may sometimes apply to an early stage in the peace process. It will endeavour to provide as broad and comprehensive an outline of peace building practices as is possible, while cognisant of the fact that 'best peace building practices' cannot always mean similar things for different environments and contexts. Therefore a level of generalisation must be allowed for.

Building a Peace Building Typology

A dominant peace building template has emerged strongly in the study of past peace building interventions, both at local and international level. This template of peace building is important in that it suggests a particular continuum of peace building initiatives, and therefore allows a measure of insight into contemporary patterns of peace building and leaves space for exploring how they can be improved.

There are three principal processes in peace building. The various initiatives are placed within differing phases of the peace building process.

PHASE ONE

CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Conflict resolution is seen as essential in terms of making initial attempts, however tenuous or superficial, toward getting the peace process underway. In general, conflict resolution involves war weariness on the part of the domestic actors combined with desire for peace, as well as international political will to solve the step into the breach and attempt to solve the conflict. Pressure toward settlement is maintained by other involved powers.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ See Lund, M. (1998) : pp11-17

PHYSICAL SECURITY

The next phase is the establishment of a ceasefire, which in turn allows for the implementation of further processes such as extended negotiation, capacity building and economic and social reconstruction.⁹⁷ Demobilisation and disarming of the combatants are essential factors which assist the confidence of the combatants toward the negotiation process. It also helps improve the general security situation.

Recently it has been the experience of many Southern African countries that demining is another essential step in order to ensure that humanitarian efforts are carried out safely.⁹⁸

HUMANITARIAN RELIEF

The improvement of the security situation allows for the implementation of humanitarian aid and relief operations, such as food, security, shelter and medical care. This assists towards greater stabilisation of the affected population and in turn paves the way for continued political negotiations and efforts at demobilisation and disarmament.⁹⁹

PHASE TWO

GOVERNMENT AND NGO CAPACITY

This phase of peace building involves an involved and ongoing political process. Capacity building, for example, may involve the provision of technical

⁹⁷ See Solomon, H. (1999) : pp 34-39

assistance to government ministries in economic areas, developing the ability of selected government departments to provide basic services to the population. Similarly, it can develop the development of a robust and effective NGO community in the fields of human rights, agriculture and reintegration.¹⁰⁰ At this stage, capacity building can also include the formation or reform of such components as a national judiciary, a new national army and a neutral police force.¹⁰¹

PHASE THREE

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Social reconstruction relies on a stable security situation to facilitate demobilisation and the return of refugees. Effective and sustainable programmes must be implemented toward this end, involving reintegration, health and education.¹⁰²

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

Economic reconstruction is reliant on the achievement of a stable security situation in order to realise itself. Basic needs of people also have to be assured. There needs to be a symbiotic cooperative process of development with all the role players in the environment, such as local communities, government, national and in international agencies.¹⁰³ For example,

⁹⁸ See Lund, M. (1996) : p 5-6
⁹⁹ See de Waal, A. (1995)
¹⁰⁰ See Lopez-Pintor, R. (1997)
¹⁰¹ *ibid*
¹⁰² See de Waal, A. (1995)
¹⁰³ Lund, M. (1996) : pp 5-9

reintegration programmes can be much more successful if they involve the prospect of sustainable jobs or income generating opportunities.

ELECTIONS

Elections are related to the physical security initiative and are intended to concretise the developmental goals achieved. Tschirgi points out that the focus on elections highlights a serious shortcoming of many peace building initiatives which tend to favour the democratic process over developmental goals and activities. Therefore many significant parts of the peace building process can be delayed or even omitted in favour of the holding and planning of elections. Consequently, this has meant that in the post-election period society has lacked the necessary stability to ensure the continuity of the peace building process. Tschirgi cites the examples of Angola, Cambodia and Liberia in which the election process was hurried through at the expense of the other peace building initiatives.¹⁰⁴ Tschirgi's point is a valid one. To hold elections without adequate security guarantees or stabilisation of humanitarian needs, and without the previously developed government and NGO capacities to implement the election results, can create destructive and harmful forces within the peace building process. The perception of elections as a finalising step in the peace building process has significant implications for the process itself. Elections finalise and concretise political relationships and distributions of power, which adversaries in the conflict may find difficult to accept. For example, in the case of Angola the hasty move to elections meant

¹⁰⁴ Tschirgi, N. (1997) : pp 10-11

that the demobilisation and disarmament process was only partially completed. Therefore it was easy for UNITA to reject the election results and return to armed conflict. In Cambodia elections took place despite the fact that disarmament and demobilisation of the armed factions had not taken place. Therefore this meant that the newly formed government faced threats from continued insurgencies, and was subsequently weak and fragile.¹⁰⁵

HUMAN RIGHTS

For the purposes of peace building the term 'human rights' must be separated into two categories; the first of which is referred to in international law as non-derogable human rights, that is, basic inalienable rights such as the right to life, liberty, security of person, freedom from torture and freedom from slavery etc; and the other category of rights includes those which international humanitarian law regards as secondary rights, such as rights of freedom of expression and freedom of association.¹⁰⁶ It is important to realise that the first category of non derogable rights will be realised through the implementation of Phase One and Two initiatives. A ceasefire, demobilisation and disarming of combatants and humanitarian relief will remove the primary cause of human rights abuses, that is, the conflict and the combatants.

Specific initiatives to relieve abuse of other secondary rights are best implemented following the prior implementation of Phase One and Two processes, that is, they ought to occur in conjunction with the social and

¹⁰⁵ See Goodwin-Gill, G. (1994)

economic reconstruction efforts of Phase Three. To attempt to address the abuses of secondary rights is likely to be somewhat premature and therefore ineffective as appropriate mechanisms such as the government or NGO agencies will not be adequately developed. It will also threaten to undermine overall confidence in the peace process. Therefore this should be delayed until a robust peace process is underway and likely to be irreversible.

However there do exist exceptions and that the process must remain flexible to the vagaries of events as well as to the differing contexts. For example certain types of disputes exist where human rights are a key issue and must be addressed within the first phase in order to get the peace process going as well as to ensure that the peace process is regarded as being credible by the parties involved.

The Peace Building Typology

The tools outlined below are methods to prevent or ameliorate conflict and to build peace. These tools can comprise several projects, procedures, programmes or mechanisms. Each tool operates on a conflict's sources and manifestations by manipulating different kinds of influence. Tools can be implemented through different organisational channels; some are sponsored by actors external to a conflict, some by national government and some locally. It is important to note that they vary in the aspects of conflicts they address and in their effectiveness and efficiency in achieving results.

¹⁰⁶ Turpin, J. and Elias, R. (1994) : pp 1-17

Official Diplomacy

This is a form of conflict prevention involving negotiation and dispute resolution which is generally short term and often used in large scale conflicts, most often at the early stages of a conflict. Official diplomacy consists of experienced and impartial diplomats dispatched by the authority of a third party, who attempt to promote dialogue concerning situations with the potential to trigger off or develop into conflict, make recommendations on various aspects of issues and suggestions for preventive activities and provide early warning. Special envoys play an important role where there is little trust amongst parties in conflict and there exists no way to drive positive and peaceful efforts for stability. The strength of envoys lie in their stature, experience and degree of independence. All UN Secretaries General have used envoys as a diplomatic tool.¹⁰⁷

Military Measures

Mahiga and Njii have written extensively of confidence and security building measures (military CSBMs) in their UN-sponsored book *Confidence Building Measures in Africa*. Although CSBMs are traditionally seen as agreements between two or more governments regarding exchanges of information, joint activities and achievements of mutual goals regarding the size, composition, movements and use of respective military forces and armaments, CSBM's

¹⁰⁷ Evans, G. (1993) : pp 71-74

can also be seen as applied to intra state conflict prevention between a government and non governmental parties or between two or more government parties. CSBM's aim to create confidence in the process by increasing transparency of capabilities and tensions, allaying anxieties or suspicions and improving predictability for the parties involved as well as clarifying intentions about military force and activities.¹⁰⁸

According to analysts such as Gareth Evans and Michael Lund, preventive deployment is another proactive measure designed to facilitate a political solution by avoiding or limiting a political conflict. It is a deterrent, and is normally not designed to take on an attack. This deterrence function is reinforced when a stronger force is kept in reserve to react to any violation of whatever ground rules have been set. Successful preventive deployment prevents the escalation of an emerging conflict while the presence of third party troops on the ground reassures local communities and authorities and prevents local human rights abuses.¹⁰⁹

Humanitarian Assistance

According to de Waal, humanitarian aid (HA) is emergency aid or relief to provide basic means of survival, such as food, water, shelter, sanitation and health care. It may also include advocacy and protection following complex emergencies characterised by civil conflict, weak or collapsed state authority

¹⁰⁸ Mahiga, A.P. and Nji, F.M. (1987) : pp 69-98

¹⁰⁹ See Lund, M. (1996) and Evans, G. (1993)

and structures, food insecurity and massive population displacement.

Increasingly, HA activities have come to include social programmes such as family tracing and reunification and trauma counselling.¹¹⁰

HA aims to provide rapid relief to conflict or disaster affected populations. A secondary objective is to set the scene for reconstruction, recovery and development. It is important to recognise that HA may have pervasive effects on the target communities at which it is aimed. According to Anderson, HA programmes must explicitly aim to 'do no harm'. She explains that, HA, being a source of major (and unpredictable) resources at a time of scarcity, can also exacerbate tensions which lead to conflict, depending on the type of aid offered, the manner and locations to which it is distributed, among other factors.¹¹¹

HA programmes can be specifically designed to include conflict prevention, to mitigate existing conflict, or to focus on post conflict reconstruction in ways to discourage recurrence by incorporating development principles such as capacity and institution building objectives into emergency response.

Therefore HA must be distributed in ways that prevent the escalation and spread of conflict and promote conflict mitigation.

It is equally important to recognise that HA is an integral phase in terms of setting the stage for post conflict work as it helps create ties at the local level

¹¹⁰ See de Waal (1995)

destroyed by previous conflict and tensions, that is, acting as a catalyst for the process of peace building. According to Prendergast, peace building can be integrated into HA in several ways: staff may be trained in conflict management to help develop the capacity for peace building; conflict prevention and mitigation programmes can be introduced at the local community level within the HA process; dispute resolution programmes should also be introduced as a means of addressing local issues in ways which promote reconciliation and establishment of rapport among community members and developing the proficiency of implementing agencies such as NGOs in skills such as international humanitarian law and conflict resolution. Prendergast explains that the encouragement of an indigenous peace building capacity is the key to long term peace building.¹¹²

Political Institution Building

Political institution building refers to assistance given to build effective, responsive, formal democratic political institutions. This includes efforts to build official capacity, that is, to enhance the skills and ability of public officials to administer and govern at national, provincial and local levels. For example, electoral assistance, and efforts toward judicial and police reform are used as examples here.

¹¹¹ See Andersen (1998)

¹¹² See Prendergast, J. (1996)

According to Lopez -Pintor, electoral assistance means preparing, monitoring and conducting an election and observing that is free and fair, with the aim of strengthening political parties and institutions and providing voter education.¹¹³ Elections are seen as legitimate means for power to change hands in a democracy, for as Diamond comments, the lack of a participatory system of government is at the heart of many of the internal conflicts in the world today.¹¹⁴ Post conflict and long term peace requires that elections enable all members of society, without discrimination, to participate fully in political, social and cultural life, with governments reflecting fair and diverse representation of the population. While the value of elections to peace building may be recognised, it is also important to note that the placing of elections in a certain phase of the continuum of peace building initiatives is rather delicate. It should be conducted during the most appropriate stage.

Police reform is another aspect of institution building, as the police are a powerful political institution whose activities are crucial to maintaining order, stability and state's domination over their citizens. It comprises efforts to create a civil police institution, distinct from the military, responsible for internal security. It is appropriate to any conflict where unfairness or abuses in the internal security apparatus contribute to the conflict. Planning and implementing police reform is a phased process and the length of the time to set up police reform depends on the scope of reforms taken.¹¹⁵ It can occur at

¹¹³ Lopez-Pintor, J. (1997) pp 65-67

¹¹⁴ Diamond, L. (1995) : pp 30-42

¹¹⁵ See Marenin, O. (1982)

any stage in conflict and a post conflict transition or transition to democracy can present a window of opportunity.

Related to police reform is legal and judicial system reform, which according to Horowitz, is aimed at strengthening weak civilian legal institutions to provide a fair legal system to which all have access and have confidence in, regardless of race, class, social status and ethnic group.¹¹⁶ This can be qualified by adding that successful legal system reform develop a sustainable system of justice and law enforcement as well as facilitates and strengthens civilian governance by providing an impartial political climate for civil society.

Poorly functioning or biased judicial/legal systems contribute to conflict when they support the arbitrary use of political and economic power and help maintain the status quo by denying citizens legal recourse against the state or non state actors for wrongs such as genocide, torture, persecution or other such political violence. It can be seen that political violence thrives where there is insufficient legal protection, failure of legal/judicial procedure, and a lack of professionalism among judicial/legal system personnel.

Deficiencies in the system can also exacerbate inequitable political or economic situations, as disparate treatment by authorities may undermine non dominant or minority groups confidence that the system should address their grievances, leaving no alternative but violence. For example, where access to

¹¹⁶ Horowitz, D. (1985)

the judicial system is limited to those who speak an official language, ethnic groups who speak a different language are left outside the legal system. The starkest example of the latter is the apartheid system which effectively disenfranchised the majority black African group. Therefore a functioning judicial/legal system is important for long term and sustained democracy. Such reform can include legal aid, paralegal training, legal literacy campaigns, alternate dispute resolution (ADR) such as neighbourhood counselling centres and binding arbitration schemes etc. PSV has recently showed interest in this form of dispute resolution, which is in fact suitable for their target communities as it is a low cost measure for providing expeditious and accessible services for settling grievances, particularly for lower income people. Activities aimed at judicial/legal reform include increasing the number of judicial police, clerks, bailiffs or process servers to improve civil and criminal court functioning; reviewing the process for nominating judges such as through an independent, multi-ethnic board rather than through political nominations; improving prison conditions and security etc.¹¹⁷

Civil Society Building

According to Seligman, civil society building strengthens independent non government and non military organisations, including helping voluntary organisations develop legal, financial and regulatory frameworks. It can be described as the political space between the individual and government, expressed by membership in NGOs, social groups, associations and other

¹¹⁷ See PSV Organisational Structure

voluntary, non profit organisations.¹¹⁸ Building civil society contributes to a healthy, pluralistic, participatory society and peaceful transition to democracy as well as helps facilitate post conflict peace building. For example, civil society can play an important role in managing conflict by providing oppressed groups with a political voice which is otherwise unavailable in the official political process. Civil society development can lessen the risk of violent conflict or terrorism to destabilise the government by giving citizens alternative non violent avenues. Therefore effective institutions in civil society perform the following range of functions, which contribute to democratic transition and consolidation and to conflict prevention or mitigation: scrutinising or containing the power of the state, educating people about public affairs and political issues, advocating and lobbying governments, multilateral institutions and regional organisations on development issues, watching and challenging the state and monitoring elections.¹¹⁹ Civil society building is part of the process to democratise a country's political system and as such is much more effective at preventing rather than mitigating violence. It is therefore much more relevant to pre and post conflict stages. Building strong civil society institutions is suitable for any type of conflict.

Non Official Conflict Management Systems

This refers to indigenous conflict management and conflict resolution mechanisms which use local actors and traditional community based decision

¹¹⁸ Seligman, A. (1995) : pp 21-24

¹¹⁹ See Joel, M.S. (1988)

making mechanisms to manage and resolve conflicts within or between communities.¹²⁰ This is a grass roots approach to peace, which is used by PSV as a means of resolving community conflict. PSV uses these local mechanisms to resolve community disputes before they escalate to large scale violence and to prevent a resumption of violence after a period of calm. Many PSV staff are drawn from local communities, which makes for a useful entry point into feuding local communities.

According to Adams and Bradbury, indigenous conflict management is a procedure.¹²¹ Generally, one or both parties request intervention by an elder, the elder council, traditional leadership or other community members such as women's organisations, professional association eg teachers in the area. The elders function as a court with broad and flexible powers to interpret evidence, impose judgements, and manage the process of reconciliation. Parties typically do not interrupt or address each other, eliminating direct confrontation. Statements are followed by open deliberation which may integrate listening to and cross examining witnesses, the free uninhibited expression of grievances, caucusing with other groups, visiting dispute scenes, seeking opinions and views of neighbours, reviewing past cases, holding consultations and seeking and considering solutions. The elders or other traditional mediators use their judgement and position of moral ascendancy to find an accepted solution. Decisions may be based on consensus within the elders or traditional mediators and may be rendered on

¹²⁰ See Adams, M. and Bradbury, M. (1995)

the spot. Resolution may involve forgiveness and mutual formal release of the problem, and if necessary, the arrangement of restitution.

It is important to pay attention to traditional cultures, customs and roles, and learning the community structure in areas where external actors such as international agencies are operating programmes, including the role of the elders, women etc. It is also important to build on traditional structures for peace and conflict resolution, and use those structures in dealing with ongoing conflicts.¹²²

Development Assistance

Development assistance is aid from bilateral and multilateral donors to central government, local governments or non governmental structures in another country to carry out socio-economic and/or political development.

Development programmes aim to improve an area's overall socio-economic situation or address root causes of communal violence directly or help to avert a return to violence in the aftermath of a conflict.¹²³

Peace Structures

Peace structures refer to formal, officially supported or informal grass roots derived structures at the national, regional and/or local levels to involve

¹²¹ ibid

¹²² See Transcripts from USAID-sponsored Proceedings on Practicing Community-Based Conflict Mitigation, March (1995)

community members in resolving issues through joint action to reduce, counter or prevent violence and conflict. The latter can be done by involving local private citizens in resolving issues through joint action with other community representatives, providing leadership and advocacy to secure, protect and promote human rights, and encourage understanding through education of cultural differences.¹²⁴ Peace structures such as commissions and dispute resolution committees, can provide an impartial, non partisan forum for the peaceful expression of differences. They can help to contain violence by identifying when political violence is likely to flare, and work to contain or pre-empt it. As was done in South Africa, peace committees can be set up either formally on a national level, using a top down approach, or informally and independently, using a bottom up approach.

Peace committees can be useful at all stages of a conflict. They have been effective during a post conflict period of transition as in South Africa, and during periods of rising conflict to prevent or slow its escalation. Community action through peace structures can be appropriate for a range of causes of conflict. While peace commissions can provide operational conflict prevention, assisting in limiting political violence, they cannot in themselves overcome the structural causes of conflict. However, over time, peace committees can contribute to structural conflict prevention as they build regular lines of communication and confidence across racial divides and gives participants lessons in multiparty cooperation and tolerance.

¹²³ See Andersen, M. (1998)

PEACE BUILDING TYPOLOGY

Phase	Type	Activities
One	OFFICIAL DIPLOMACY	Mediation Negotiations crisis diplomacy conflict prevention or management centres
One	MILITARY MEASURES	preventive peace keeping forces restructuring/integration of army forces crisis management procedures
one and two	HUMANITARIAN MEASURES	Food aid Resettlement or repatriation of refugees and displaced people Social programmes such as family reunification
Two	POLITICAL INSTITUTION BUILDING	Electoral assistance Judicial reform Police reform
Three	CIVIL SOCIETY BUILDING	Strengthening NGOs Advocacy and lobbying
Three	NON OFFICIAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS	Local solutions such as community based conflict resolution mechanisms
Three	DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE	Aid toward socio-economic and /or political development
Three	PEACE STRUCTURES	Structures (formal or informal) at either national/local/regional levels which work toward peace and conflict resolution. These would act as 'watchdogs' of peace.

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The typology is meant to show what an 'idealised' peace building programme might consist of. The various interventions are intended to broadly embrace the different aspects of peace building, according to the needs of the beneficiaries. A case study will be made in the following chapter in order to gain some insight into the processes of peace building on the ground.

CHAPTER FIVE: Case Study of the Oxfam Canada Peace Building Programme - Peace Building in Practice

This chapter will undertake an analysis of the Oxfam Canada peace building programme. The work and function of the partners in the peace building programme that is Oxfam Canada, Network of Independent Monitors (NIM) and Programme for Survivors of Violence (PSV), will be discussed in terms of their peace building activities and the contribution made to the peace building programme and Oxfam Canada's broad peace building goal of *contributing to the reduction of violence in the province*.¹²⁵ This case study will be used as a means of evaluating the programme and its peace building practices.

The Oxfam Canada peace building programme was developed in response to the needs of the KwaZulu-Natal province in the aftermath of the civil war waged since the early eighties in a seemingly ceaseless cycle of violence and retribution. The label of post-conflict peace building was attached to the programme.

The programme envisioned a broad overall goal: *contributing to the reduction of violence in the province*. Its vision was thus perceived as contributing to the creation of a peaceful and healthy society through prevention of further

¹²⁵ Oxfam Canada Peace Building Report 1998: RBM Framework Paper

violence and related effects of violence through investigation and monitoring as well as trauma counselling work for the victims of violence.¹²⁶

Background

As this study entails an exclusive focus on peace building in a post-conflict context, the violence in KwaZulu-Natal will be not be treated in any great depth. This chapter will relate the violence to the present situation in the province in terms of the legacies and repercussions which now form part of peace building's developmental objectives.¹²⁷

Since early 1986, political violence in KwaZulu-Natal has claimed the lives of more than 20 000 people and displaced an additional 500 000.¹²⁸ The establishment of KwaZulu as a self-governing homeland for Zulu-speaking people created a divisive rift within the liberation movement in the early 1980s. As the liberation struggle intensified through the last decade, so did the conflict between supporters of the United Democratic Front (UDF), which disbanded when the African National Congress (ANC) was unbanned in 1990, and Inkatha, which in the early 1990s changed its name to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). The incidence of politically motivated violence perpetrated by and against the apartheid regime increased throughout the 1980s, erupting into a state of unofficial civil war in 1987. As the anti-apartheid

¹²⁶ ibid

¹²⁷ The conflict in KwaZulu-Natal has been well documented by a number of sources, both individuals and organisations. Notable amongst these are the Truth and Reconciliation Reports, which provide a full and informed picture of the violence.

¹²⁸ Human Rights Committee Newsletter 1998

forces heightened the intensity of their struggle, the state in turn clamped down harder on activists across the country and the number of fatal political incidents continued to rise steadily, most particularly in KwaZulu-Natal. The conflict intensified rapidly in the early years of this decade, reaching its most intense phase in early 1994, prior to South Africa's first non-racial elections.¹²⁹

The period since the 1994 elections has been one of incredible social change in South Africa; a time when communities dislocated by the experience of sustained political warfare have attempted to rebuild social structures that will enable them to come to terms with the effects of prolonged intimidation and violence. A clear decrease in tension and fear on the ground has been witnessed, as a result of which people are becoming more focused on the future and how to address issues of poverty relief, employment, and personal and community development. As noted by Oxfam Canada's regional director David Gallagher, this is in sharp contrast to the atmosphere of fear and intimidation experienced during the years of political struggle against the apartheid regime, a time when people were concerned most primarily about the survival of themselves and their families.¹³⁰

As communities in KwaZulu-Natal attempt to overcome the dislocating effects of violence, they face problems which threaten to undermine their peace building initiatives. Attempts to rebuild fragmented communities are affected

¹²⁹ A number of sources are useful in this regard, such as Anthea Jefferies, John Aitchison, John Brewer and John Daniel

by the general lawlessness in the province, which is engendered in part by historically based mistrust of the security forces and a lack of faith in the judicial system, which in turn perpetuates the cycle of violence through the committing of random brutal violence without fear of punitive action. There are other destabilising factors such as the huge number of displacees in the province; the problem of militarised youth, invariably male, unemployed and marginalised by society; an increase in criminal violence and inadequate social structures to provide the emotional and material support needed to overcome the trauma of the region's violent past and allowing it to rehabilitate and develop the mechanisms to resolve conflict without resorting to violence.¹³¹

There have been various developments at local and national level which have affected the state of violence in the province. Following the 1994 elections a number of processes have been initiated to transform structures of the previous government. In May 1996 the ANC and IFP began negotiating a peace agreement. The peace process was seen as part of a process to bring stability to the province. Prior to this, the provincial government was unable to function effectively because of the tensions between different political parties, which prevented the provincial government from taking any decisions on matters that impact on violence in the province. The IFP/ANC peace initiatives have not only contributed to a reduction in political violence but have also

¹³⁰ Appendix A: interview with D. Gallagher

¹³¹ See Cawthra, H for full picture of the post conflict context of the province

brought greater co-operation between different parties in the provincial government.¹³²

According to both programme partners NIM and PSV, the nature of the conflict has changed drastically over the past several years.¹³³ Prior to about 1996 the conflicts were clearly between ANC and IFP supporters, with the security forces being implicated in various ways. More recently conflicts have arisen over a wide range of issues including competition within parties for local leadership positions, criminal activities (including arms and drugs dealing), and competition over scarce economic resources (most particularly taxi routes). Thus while national and provincial leadership are cementing a hard won peace, local issues are still producing a great deal of violent conflict.

In a sense, what is being experienced in KwaZulu-Natal is the result of two decades of civil conflict. Mass unemployment, economic isolation, rising substance abuse, teenage pregnancy, HIV infection and AIDS, and sexual and domestic violence, are all accompanying (though not necessarily part of) the transition to democracy. Development is effectively blocked in this context. This anti-development aspect of the province's problems constitutes a gap for the peace building programme to fill.

¹³² Johnston, A.M and Johnson, R.W (1998): pp19-24

¹³³ The issues raised in this paragraph are drawn from Oxfam Canada Peace Building Programme Report 1998-99

Case Study

The programme is a partnership between the funding organisation Oxfam Canada and its two partners, PSV and NIM. The organisations will be discussed in depth below.

OXFAM CANADA

Oxfam Canada describes itself as an international development organisation which is committed to basic human development and utilises its resources to support community based organisations to advance alternatives, expand democratic space and build strategic alliances.¹³⁴ Oxfam Canada first began working in South Africa in the early 1980s by supporting the United Democratic Front's struggle and victims of apartheid within South Africa. This was combined with increasing support to community development work through local associations in South Africa.¹³⁵

Oxfam Canada's main programming areas in South Africa are as follows:

a) Gender and Development (GAD)

The South Africa gender and development programme supports 13 women's groups working in three sectors: women and violence, women and the economy and gender training. This support consists of assisting in the involvement of women in education, social and economic fields so that they can meet their basic needs and defend their interests. The programme

¹³⁴ See Oxfam Canada website

addresses some of the fundamental causes of the problems identified by women by supporting the development of women's organisations and mixed organisations committed to gender equity. Partners receive institutional support and training opportunities on gender and development issues through networking, information sharing, research and gender related advocacy.¹³⁶

b) Urban community based organisations

The joint Oxfam Canada/NOVIB Urban Programme supports some of the most marginalised communities in the informal settlements around metropolitan areas and villages in ex-homeland rural areas. It addresses needs by supplying resources for networking and the articulation and advocacy of needs of community based organisations (CBOs) to manage and implement development programmes. 11 partner organisations work in the areas of housing, community, health and the development of joint NGO/CBO local government development, including local economic development.¹³⁷

c) Peace Building, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

The goal of the programme is to promote peace and political stability in KwaZulu-Natal running up to and shortly after the national, provincial and local elections in 1999. The partners in the programme are both long standing Oxfam Canada partners, Programme for Survivors of Violence (PSV) and

¹³⁵ See Appendix A: interview with D. Gallagher

¹³⁶ Oxfam Canada Report 1998-99

¹³⁷ ibid

Network of Independent Monitors (NIM).¹³⁸ Both partners will now be discussed in more detail.

PROGRAMME FOR SURVIVORS OF VIOLENCE (PSV)

Programme for Survivors of Violence (PSV) is a non governmental organisation (NGO) which was founded in 1991 by health personnel in KwaZulu-Natal who were concerned about the absence of services for the thousands of people who have suffered as a result of violence.¹³⁹ While PSV focuses on political violence, it also includes the effects of sexual and criminal violence. PSV's work is centred around general trauma counselling and referral service to survivors of traumatic incidents, as well as crisis response services, conflict resolution and mediation and development and poverty relief. PSV runs two offices in the province, the Midlands office based in Pietermaritzburg and the Coastal office based in Durban, and works in 10 target communities.¹⁴⁰ Although Durban and Pietermaritzburg are the two largest centres in KwaZulu-Natal, and the centre of much of the political violence in the late eighties and early nineties, more recently the conflict has occurred in other areas, particularly on the North and South Coast.

¹³⁸ ibid

¹³⁹ Appendix C: interview with B. Meintjies

¹⁴⁰ See PSV website for additional info of greater depth about PSV activities

NETWORK OF INDEPENDENT MONITORS (NIM)

The Network of Independent Monitors was established in 1992 as a network of 16 member organisations. After 1992 NIM became an organisation based in KwaZulu-Natal. NIM staff have worked in 50 areas throughout KwaZulu-Natal on an ongoing basis since 1992 and prior to the latter, served as volunteer monitors in these areas. NIM is a grass roots centred human rights organisation which identifies safety and security concerns with communities in KwaZulu-Natal and makes strategic interventions at all levels of government and civil society, such as confidence building in the rule of law, crisis intervention, monitoring, investigation and research.¹⁴¹

Therefore it identifies its main long term objective as 'the increased safety and security of persons in KwaZulu-Natal and the reduction of the high degree of interrelated political and organised social conflict through promotion of the rule of law.' Medium term goals are identified as '..(ensuring) the implementation of legislation, successful prosecutions, community participation, supported state service delivery and increased civilian oversight and social change in state services along with attitudinal shifts in all sector.' In the short term, NIM's stated intention is '(to) raise awareness of impediments to justice, effect increased security for persons/communities at risk, effect arrests of perpetrators and effective services and human rights education.'¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Appendix B: interview with G. Wannenburg

¹⁴² NIM: New Strategic Focus: Report September 1999

NIM's work is designed around a holistic multi-level strategy which incorporates crisis intervention, investigations and monitoring, facilitation and training, analysis and research and advocacy. NIM's approach is to jointly identify safety and security issues with affected communities, which they claim, informs their qualitative perceptions of the problems within the province. In the process of investigations or such activities, NIM is required to collect information from victims, co-perpetrators, community members, local, provincial and national leaders and state officials at all tiers of government. NIM has a six-member field monitoring team which is deployed all over the province in order to interact with communities.¹⁴³ This communication and contact with communities in problem identification is the starting point and would appear to set NIM apart from other organisations, in terms of their very practical and hands on approach.

The Oxfam Canada KwaZulu-Natal Peace Building Programme is based on a central philosophy: that of the interrelationship between peace and development. The programme is built upon a single central philosophy: that there is a mutually dependent relationship between peace and development.¹⁴⁴ The programme assumes that sustainable peace and good governance- both essential for human development-are organically interrelated. The converse is also true: without the combination of peace and good governance, the prospect of attaining, let alone sustaining human development, is very slight. The proliferation of conflict in the province serves

¹⁴³ ibid

as a telling indicator of the inter-relationship between human security and good governance.

The programme is intended to make an impact in underdeveloped communities in terms of facilitating development and peace. It also relates to Oxfam Canada's grass roots developmental philosophy, which believes that civil society and grass roots communities are the most deserving beneficiaries of aid.¹⁴⁵

Operational Aspects of Peace Building

NIM and PSV are well placed in terms of their own target groups and types of interventions, to complement the philosophy of the programme. The interventions of NIM and PSV are devised in a context which takes account of the following: the high costs of conflict in both economic and human terms, the importance of peace to development and the role of civil society in promoting peace. NIM and PSV are also aware of peace building as a process inseparable from sustained human development.

Both organisations define their target groups differently. As a violence monitoring organisation, NIM targets communities affected by violence - that is, NIM works directly with communities affected by violence, finding ways of assisting victims of violence and developing mechanisms to reduce levels of violence; as well as identifying people in authority or in a position to influence

¹⁴⁴ Oxfam Canada Peace Building Report 1998-99

policy, which will include police and security personnel, government, business, journalists, political parties and other non governmental organisations¹⁴⁶. As a trauma counselling and psycho-social development organisation, PSV works with those communities which have experienced a high level of political violence, and have achieved a degree of peace which makes developmental intervention useful and (given available resources) which are easily accessible to and from the PSV offices.¹⁴⁷

Currently PSV's target groups are the following:

- Rural areas around Port Shepstone
- Empangeni: surrounding rural areas, on KwaZulu-Natal North Coast
- Richmond: surrounding rural areas
- Edendale Valley
- Dambusa, in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands
- Wembezi, in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands
- Oshabeni, on the KwaZulu-Natal South Coast
- Harding, in Southern KwaZulu-Natal
- KwaMashu, the major township in the north of Durban
- Umlazi, the major township in the south of Durban
- Inchanga, a semi-rural area outside Durban
- Mandeni, on the North Coast of KwaZulu-Natal
- Mathubathuba, in Northern KwaZulu-Natal.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ See Oxfam Canada website at <http://www.oxfam.ca>
¹⁴⁶ NIM Organisational Structure: Executive Summary : p 1
¹⁴⁷ PSV Organisational Structure Report to CIDA and Oxfam Canada
¹⁴⁸ ibid

NIM and PSV have articulated the expected results of their interventions as such:

- increased ability of school and non school youth to cope with, manage and resolve conflict in the target communities.
- Better targeted crisis intervention in affected communities.
- Improved monitoring of areas of potential conflict to facilitate early intervention and non violent conflict resolution.
- Increased cooperation among the key actors, governmental and non governmental, in KwaZulu-Natal.¹⁴⁹

The structure of programme will be summarised in the form of a tabular matrix.

GOAL	OBJECTIVES	RESULTS	CRITICAL ASSUMPTIONS
To promote peace and encourage a level of stability in KwaZulu-Natal running up to and shortly after the national, provincial and local elections in 1999.	1. To increase South African NGOs capacity to reduce violence in KwaZulu-Natal through crisis intervention, monitoring, investigation and research. 2. To strengthen the capacity of South African NGOs to deliver services in schools and non school youth affected by violence, including managing and resolving conflict. 3. To increase support for NIM and PSV's advocacy and lobbying programmes which assist in rebuilding communities that have experienced the dislocating effects of political conflict.	Better targeted crisis intervention in affected communities Improved monitoring of areas of potential conflict to facilitate early intervention and non -violent conflict resolution Increased ability of school and non school youth to cope with, manage and resolve conflict in targeted communities Increased cooperation among the key actors, governmental and non-governmental, in KwaZulu-Natal	As the province moves toward the 1999 elections and political campaigning intensifies, political intolerance and heightened political activity is anticipated to lead to an escalation in violence, which could jeopardise prospects for peace in the province The continued existence of the capacity for political violence is a serious threat both to the holding of free and fair elections in the province in 1999 and to the current

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		<p>Increased government support toward violence affected communities</p> <p>Better understanding of violence related issues through exchanges, linkages and networking</p>	<p>processes toward peace which are underway¹⁵⁰</p>
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NIM and PSV both contend that successful interventions require two steps, that is (a) knowing which tools are effective in which circumstances and (b) devising and implementing place- specific and multi-tooled strategies to move a given community toward peace. Both organisations are involved in three primary kinds of interventions: **conflict resolution, conflict prevention and conflict management.**

Conflict prevention is identified as preventive peace building by both organisations namely, those actions, policies and procedures undertaken in particularly vulnerable places and times in order to avoid the threat or use of armed forces and related forms of violence and coercion by a host of actors such as states or groups. These methods are seen as the way to settle disputes which can arise from the destabilising effects of economic, social and political change. Conflict prevention can also include action taken after a violent conflict to avoid its recurrence.¹⁵¹ It is the latter in which the peace building programme is involved.

¹⁵⁰ This table summarises my understandings of what the programme is about, from the reports cited thus far.

¹⁵¹ Lund, M. (1996) : p21

In this way, conflict prevention refers specifically to actions which take place before political disputes between parties become a crisis or an active violent conflict. This strategy strives to intervene before threats to threats to use coercion or force are made or before resort to significant armed force or coercion.¹⁵² Berenice Meintjies, PSV director, refers to this strategy as their way of 'putting out fires before they become unmanageable.'¹⁵³

Political violence increased by 33% in 1999 as compared to 1998.¹⁵⁴ This was attributed to political intolerance in the run up to the national election held in June 1999. Organised social violence also increased in the province. NIM played a vital early warning role in respect of political and organised social violence. NIM attributed this to a number of factors namely, lack of resources or ineffective use of resources by state services such as police; continued partiality of elements within the state service; lack of an informer base in the state service or in some instances, a skewed informer network and NIM's grass roots contacts and supporters in all areas. NIM was approached by then Deputy Minister of Defence Ronnie Kasrils to provide the South African Defence Force (SADF) with their threat assessment of the province in the run up to the election. NIM was in daily contact with the National Election Joint Operation Centre of the police and army and played an advisory role in this structure. NIM organised 100 deployments of security force deployments in

¹⁵² ibid

¹⁵³ PSV Organisational Structure

¹⁵⁴ Human Rights Committee (HRC) : p14

the period from January to July 1999. Since July NIM has organised approximately 10 security force deployments.¹⁵⁵

NIM identifies advocacy as part of its strategy for conflict prevention. For example NIM also uses the media to pressure the government to act in resolving issues related to political and social violence. An example of this would be the many appearances of NIM coordinator Jenni Irish on television and radio as part of an advocacy strategy for the gangsterism problem in KwaMashu. This contributed to the deployment of a large security force presence, known as Operation Ventilation, in KwaMashu.

At the moment NIM is planning to embark on an assessment of external police and army operations in KwaMashu and more broadly, make suggestions with regard to safety and security measures required to deal with gangsterism.¹⁵⁶

According to PSV, the conflict prevention aspect of their work became particularly necessary in the lead up to the 1999 general elections, when increased tensions became prevalent in communities. According to PSV, a striking similarity in community dynamics was noted, marked by a sudden increase in tension around local leadership. Problems between local leadership, traditional leadership, local developmental committees, and council structures were noted across the province by the organisation. There was a conscious sense of old battles being stirred up. The general instability

¹⁵⁵ NIM Organisational Structure: Executive Summary

of this time may be accounted for the phase of local or internal struggles for leadership to be put forward to represent communities in the forthcoming elections. PSV records show that there appears to have been a decline in these types of tensions from January to March 1999, but the remaining short period before the elections showed a definite increase in inter-party conflict.¹⁵⁷

PSV initiated a conscious strategy of 'containment' which involved sustained and intensive consultations with local leadership, attendance of community meetings and discussion with the weekly groups on a wide scale. The group facilitators found themselves attending many more community gatherings, and doing much more consultation with leadership and much more detailed discussion with the weekly groups.¹⁵⁸

PSV director Berenice Meintjies acknowledges that while the containment function is difficult to assess, it seems to have had a significant effect in terms of reducing potentially disastrous levels of violence in the 'hotspots' of the province.¹⁵⁹ Community members acknowledged the importance of the presence of PSV staff in terms of accountability, neutrality, mediation, problem solving and emotional support. Other involved NGOs, CBOs and community members, commented on the importance of the PSV presence in containing the latent tensions in the communities and particularly in terms of accountability, neutrality and mediation, problem solving and support. They

¹⁵⁶ ibid

¹⁵⁷ PSV Organisational Structure: Funding Proposal

¹⁵⁸ ibid

maintained that this presence did indeed contain the situation. As one community member said, 'Just knowing you were there, and would be coming every day, and keeping the groups going, calmed things down.' Staff of other NGOs involved in the conflict said, 'I thought Bhambayi was going to explode again. If you had not been present in Bhambayi, I think things would have been much worse.'¹⁶⁰

NIM and PSV formed a joint mediation committee along with SABC and Durban Development Centre (DDC) as an entry point into communities experiencing a state of profound uncertainty and dislocation. The result was the bringing of a measure of calm and stability to the situation.¹⁶¹

This method of conflict prevention utilised by both organisations can also be identified as **crisis management**. Crisis management can be identified as efforts to keep situations of high tension and confrontation between conflicting parties, usually associated with threats of force and its deployment, from breaking into armed violence.

This distinction is important as it recognises the occurrence of such a strategy at two points in a conflict's life history: (a) when there has not been a violent conflict in recent years, and before significant violence signals possible escalation to sustained violent conflict; the aim of which would be to keep the

¹⁵⁹ Appendix C: interview with B. Meintjies

¹⁶⁰ PSV Organisational Structure-Funding Proposal

¹⁶¹ Oxfam Canada January 1999 Peace building Report to CIDA Peace building Unit

conflict from escalating and (b) where there has been a recent violent conflict but peace is being restored; where the aim is to avoid a relapse or reigniting of conflict. It is important to recognise such distinctions because literature regarding peace building and peace keeping often uses terms interchangeably. This obfuscates significant descriptive and operational differences between interventions made at varying levels of conflict. It may be found to also have an inhibiting effect on consideration of policy and programming options.

Conflict prevention can take different forms. For example, the joint research project on gangsterism, on which NIM and PSV are collaborating, is seen by the programme as a form of conflict prevention. PSV is already working with unemployed youth in communities affected by violence in the form of weekly support groups. In these groups, the youth deal with past traumatic experiences and social identity in the form of personal development workshops. They also establish a name, a constitution and hence, identity for the group, and work on belonging and even social status in their communities. They also do small- scale fundraising and send group members on technical skills training in order to start joint income generation projects. The idea behind these groups is to offer these youth similar elements to that of the gangs, that is, income and opportunities for development and social identity. The work targets youth at risk of being involved in gangs as well as those who already have some form of involvement in gangs.¹⁶² It is important to note that

¹⁶² Joint Advocacy Proposal submitted by NIM and PSV November 1999

the efficacy of this approach in keeping youth away from gangs has not been formally explored and is at this stage experimental and anecdotal.

Both organisations propose a two pronged approach to the project: NIM will profile the gangs operating in a specified area, such as for example, KwaMashu, investigate the relevant police station and their approach to the gang problem as well as the relationship of the community to the gangs in the area and offer a holistic strategy for safety and security in the area. PSV will explore creative strategies involving the prevention of the emergence and growth of gangs. They will research the advantages and disadvantages of belonging to a gang and suggestions and recommendations for intervention re preventive approaches.¹⁶³

PSV's circus arts project in collaboration with Oxfam Canada, international arts outreach programme Cirque du Soleil based in Montreal, Canada and its lead agency in South Africa, Cape Town-based Zip Zap Circus, is an innovative approach to both conflict prevention and resolution. The programme is an alternative education approach through the medium of the circus arts, which teaches circus skills to township youth from the Durban and Pietermaritzburg areas, all of whom have been directly affected by political violence.¹⁶⁴ It is consciously preventive as it gives youth interesting options for the future in terms of income generation, added skills and employment opportunities. The conflict resolution aspect is seen in the sense that it

¹⁶³ ibid

teaches youth to deal with their traumatic experiences through the creatively designed circus programme.

The project received cooperation from the University of Natal, Durban, in terms of the use of their facilities for the training programme. Although the programme is only in the first stage of a three year cycle, the youth have received wide acclaim and have performed several times since the culminating show of their training, once on request for the SABC.¹⁶⁵

These forms of conflict prevention are both creative and practical. The gang project involves the partners in a joint undertaking which shows how their differing approaches to peace building, complement each other and can actually work together to make a difference. The circus project is an example of the concrete difference which peace building can make.

Conflict resolution may be referred to as 'post conflict peace building.' This is identified as efforts or activities to increase cooperation among the parties to a conflict and deepen their relationship by addressing the conditions which led to the dispute. The fostering of attitudinal changes, reconciliation initiatives and building or strengthening the institutions or processes through which the conflicting parties interact, are part of the strategies subsumed under the rubric of conflict resolution.

¹⁶⁴ Cirque du Monde: Handbook for Instructors and Partners (1997) : pp 6-20

Conflict management is often referred to conflict mitigation or peace making. It is identified as efforts and activities to contain and if possible, reduce the scale of violence used by parties engaged in conflict and to engage them in communication looking forward to the eventuality of settling disputes and terminating the violence.

The investigation and reporting done by NIM is a form of conflict management. NIM works on an ongoing basis with victims and witnesses of political violence and organised social violence to enable them to access state services and obtain justice. NIM fieldworkers are experienced paralegals and obtain statements which are referred for civil and criminal cases. NIM identifies one of the key problems with the justice system as the pre-trial stage. Many witnesses to political and organised social violence are either killed or intimidated into withdrawing their evidence or complaints. Often there is a delay in getting witnesses into witness protection programmes. In 1999 NIM housed three witnesses to political violence for a period of six weeks after they were threatened at gun point by suspects in the case and were unable to continue with their education. These witnesses went subsequently into witness protection.¹⁶⁶

NIM conducts investigations into incidents of political and organised social violence and state service human rights violations (for example police or army). NIM usually refers the completed investigation to independent police

¹⁶⁵ See ka'Madlala, B. (09/11/99): p 7

units for investigation and prosecution. A key aspect of NIM's work is that of police or army torture. Local police stations seldom investigate allegations of police misconduct adequately. Cases are often withdrawn for lack of evidence as police fail to photograph wounds and do not refer the victims for medical treatment or assessment. NIM intervenes in such cases in assisting victims to document their injuries and in referring them to the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD). Where possible, NIM alerts the ICD to cases so that they can monitor the progress of the investigation.¹⁶⁷

NIM has been involved in mediation in political and taxi disputes between rival and political parties and taxi operators. However this is not a key focus area of work and is usually only conducted upon request.¹⁶⁸

NIM is, however, involved in facilitation of community based structures. For example, NIM fieldworkers worked extensively in trying to establish a community police forum (CPF) in Richmond in 1999. In Pongola, NIM facilitated the establishment of a local crisis committee to collect information and lobby around crime-related issues.¹⁶⁹ In 2000 NIM hopes to train ex-combatants in conflict resolution and peace promotion skills in Richmond as part of a development project.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ NIM Organisational Structure- Executive Summary
¹⁶⁷ *ibid*
¹⁶⁸ *ibid*
¹⁶⁹ *ibid*
¹⁷⁰ *ibid*

NIM has become involved in development work as an incentive for peace in areas where violence has been reduced. For example, in Mawuleni on the South Coast, NIM facilitated the establishment of a joint ANC and IFP development committee and assisted them with fundraising to build an eco-tourist camp for tourists. This project is aimed at foreign tourists who wish to experience first hand the 'African bush'. It is intended to stimulate and promote local economic growth by involving local communities in various aspects of the venture. ANC and IFP community members were involved in building the camp and will later be employed at the camp.¹⁷¹ Therefore, the project is involved in reconciliation and peace issues.

NIM is in the early planning stages of an ex-combatant training project. It is hoped to be implemented in 2000. The project will train ex-combatants in the management of a development programme or small enterprise, ascertain employment opportunities and arrange skills training in these areas. It is hoped that a small percentage of the profits of these projects will go toward peace promotion work. According to NIM, this model has been used successfully in Nicaragua and Northern Ireland.¹⁷²

PSV is involved in conflict management through their work in communities. For example, PSV has tried to address lower level conflicts before they became out of control and highly politicised. This happened with several different matters in Bhambayi, in particular. During the period of April to

¹⁷¹ *ibid*

December 1998, there were many seemingly small tensions about leadership of the local creche. PSV was drawn into the conflict as PSV was on the board of the creche, and the project had originally been started by group members. PSV helped settle the dispute over a period of time, and a new creche supervisor was appointed. Distribution of a donation of food by an organisation with which PSV is affiliated, also became a major source of conflict. The community is also divided over a donation by the Department of Welfare, and PSV is being drawn into mediating this tense matter.¹⁷³ As yet the conflict remains unresolved.

Recently a local conflict developed in Umbumbulu over the installation of water pipes as group members felt sidelined and marginalised in the decisions around the distribution of water. PSV intervened through supervision and support of the group members, and by visiting the local water board authorities to discuss the matter. The group members reported having come to a suitable agreement with other local water committees, and managed to include themselves much more in the decision making.¹⁷⁴ These are some of the examples of issues which require PSV's intervention.

This case study generates some important insights into the range of peace building interventions as described in the broad peace building typology developed in the previous chapter. Although the programme is, in relative

¹⁷² ibid

¹⁷³ PSV Organisational Structure : Funding Proposal

¹⁷⁴ ibid

terms, a fairly small project on a modest budget and set within a brief funding cycle of two years, it addresses many of the significant aspects of peace building. While it may be noted that the project is limited by the funding cycle, its interventions have been planned in such a way that they are directed toward a process of renewal and continuity, in the sense that they can be built upon and kept going. Whether further funding becomes available or the communities attempt to sustain the processes of peace building set in motion by the programme on their own, the programme represents seeds of hope and regeneration in a creative and meaningful sense.

The first phase of the peace building typology, that is, **official diplomacy** and **military measures** do not apply specifically to the programme as it relates to ongoing conflicts as opposed to the post conflict scenario of KwaZulu-Natal. However post conflict does not exclude the possibility of the recurrence of localised conflict as a product of the processes of normalisation and reconciliation. Conflict prevention and crisis management procedures are in place in the programme, and are utilised fairly extensively. It is this principle of prevention and the recognition of the significance of early warning, which distinguishes the programme from others. The approaches used in the programme by PSV are fairly unsophisticated as suited to community level. It is also related to the high level of distrust and hostility prevalent in communities and the phases of conflict ie post conflict in which the programme is located.

It may be noted that NIM needs to develop a more coherent monitoring system such that human rights monitoring may be fitted within a larger information and analytic structure which can process the information in terms of more complex social conflict such as faction fighting, and communicate that analysis cogently to the organisation's own planning systems. A system of early warning needs to be developed in terms of a specific method of prioritising and flagging in order to bring attention and resources to important cases. Early warning also ought to be linked to contingency preparedness, since even under the best circumstances it remains impossible to pinpoint specific future outcomes of conflict and since the absence of any contingency planning, will limit what will be heard.

The second phase of the typology of **humanitarian measures** are related to the social reconstruction work which both partners are constantly engaged in. Although humanitarian measures generally refer to measures taken during crisis situations, in a post conflict context these kinds of measures can be understood as aid and relief given to victims of conflict and trauma as part of assisting them toward normalisation. The development work done by NIM and the food consignments made by PSV to needy group members, are such examples. The programme is centred around people and their needs. Therefore the category of 'humanitarian measures' in this case and in the context of post conflict peace building, may describe just about the entire scope of the peace building programme.

Phase two is about **political institution building**. The programme is involved in this aspect of peace building fairly extensively. For example electoral assistance as cited as part of political institution building, occupied a large portion of the programme's funds and time. Elections are a significant part of restoring the political process, and can help strengthen democratic institutions and encourage greater political participation. Elections which give legitimacy to government and which contribute to a perception of political stability can bring greater access to the support of the international community, including development assistance, and enhance investor confidence. This leads to better prospects for sustainable development and for improving the lot of the poor and disadvantaged.

Police and judicial reform are addressed through the work of NIM in these areas. It is important to note that great effort should be expended in terms of lobbying police and the judiciary to work with local communities as NIM do. It would seem that national governments and other actors do not build sufficiently on local forces, dynamics and initiatives, either because they are not aware of them or because they do not fit into programmes and projects designed in national capitals or headquarters. Local agencies such as NIM are very well placed to foster awareness of this need and should recognise the significance of their role and exploit it accordingly.

Civil society building is part of the second phase of the typology. As with humanitarian measures, this category describes the work of the programme in

its entirety rather than as a sub category of a particular set of interventions.

The aid and support given to NIM and PSV by Oxfam Canada translates into the building of civil society and the move toward creativity and hope at a grass roots level. It also relates to the lobbying and networking aspect of the programme, which has a strengthening function for NGOs who work and interact with NIM and PSV.

Phase three includes non- official conflict management systems. This involves the use of local solutions such as community based conflict resolution mechanisms. This is a novel approach which many organisations working in conflict and post conflict situations often fail to utilise. The real importance of local actors in rebuilding processes does not always seem to correspond to the importance and weight given to them at present by the international community or the media. The importance and role of some actors that is internal actors generally such as the local people, is greatly underestimated. It would seem that in contrast, the importance and role of other external actors, such as the UN and, to a lesser extent, the state and public sector, is overestimated.

The programme recognises that the main resources which allow a society to rebuild after conflict lie undoubtedly in the people themselves. The resilience, creativity, pragmatism and capacity to adapt of people themselves is a major factor in the rebuilding process. Local solutions to rebuilding challenges are often more effective and sustainable. Many communities are hostile toward

outsiders and cope better with local actors who are able to reach people on a level that an external person could not.

Development assistance is part of phase three. The programme has performed well in this regard in terms of its modest budget. The Oxfam Canada/PSV/Cirque du Soleil project represents a form of development aid which possesses the capacity for continuity in terms of the potential of the youth who were trained and the income generating potential. It is a distinctively different and creative approach to peace building which many other peace building programmes can learn a great deal from.

The last phase of the typology refers to **peace structures**. There is no formal overall peace network as such, in place. However PSV have formed several structures such as the Youth Leadership Forum, which are intended to safeguard the peace and stability of the community. The programme would benefit from an effort to forge a network of individuals who are committed to the goal of peace as a viable legacy of its peace building interventions.

From the above it is clear that the peace building programme is actively engaged in the post conflict rebuilding of the province. In a sense it is about 'picking up the pieces' and attempting to overcome the devastating legacies of the past. However it is also clear that this programme only scratches the surfaces of what are extremely complex and dynamic issues, many of which are still playing themselves out in different forms. While the programme

makes a small contribution to a uncertain and complex situation of massive proportions, there are 'many positive spinoffs', as acknowledged by Oxfam Canada Regional Director David Gallagher, which translate into a hopeful vision of the peaceful and healthy society, which is part of the ultimate goal of the peace building programme.

CHAPTER SIX: Conclusion - Peace Building In Perspective

The aim of this chapter is to integrate the issues raised in this study into an understanding of peace building and the interventions made by NGOs. The chapter will also review lessons learned from the peace building interventions made by the Oxfam Canada peace building programme.

Peace building and NGOs

This study has attempted to place NGOs in the context of peace building and the challenges they are faced with. It is clear that NGOs have an important role to play in the context of rebuilding the new society, however there appears to exist some ambivalence and confusion toward NGOs and their role, particularly by government. On one level the role of the NGO community has been recognised by the new government. The government has appointed many leaders from the NGO community to positions of leadership in the various commissions set up to ameliorate some of the wrongs of the past, such as most notably the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the Human Rights Commission, the Youth Commission, the Commission for Gender Equality as well as the Religious Life Commissions. This has the aim of safeguarding against the arbitrary use of government power and acknowledging the role of public watchdog to civil society. Thus a lot of responsibility has been transferred to NGOs in having them play a key role in

helping create and sustain a culture of non-violence, democracy and human rights.

However, attention must be drawn to the increasing centralisation of power around the president and deputy president's office and the emergence in the past two years of strident governmental attacks on alleged 'disloyal' elements in the NGO community. Government has also been seen to have failed to sustain the life of many NGOs by not disseminating the funds which have been redirected to it by foreign donors. Prior to 1994 large amounts of foreign donor funds passed through NGOs and CBOs (US \$ 300 million p.a between 1986 and 1993). These same organisations now look on with resentment and trepidation as donors line up to fund the new government to the tune of US \$ 148 billion p.a.¹⁷⁵ The tenders and contracts on which NGOs have been relying have not been forthcoming from government.

Therefore the Oxfams and other more activist private donors will be even more important for the NGOs and CBOs who are now being squeezed into a corner by the new context in which they find themselves, with grants, loans, organisational development (OD) and links to overseas counterparts.

The new context is bewildering for NGOs in another aspect as well as NGOs are going through an identity crisis and having to transform themselves from resistance movements to movements of reconstruction.

¹⁷⁵ 'Africa scrambles for Africa' in Africa Confidential (08 Jan 1999): pp23-24

Therefore it would appear that these dilemmas call for a process of upfront self appraisal by NGOs. Rather than bemoan the current downturn in donor funding, they should seize the context as an opportunity to rethink their way of doing and thinking. They should take the fluid, unstable environment in which they operate as the basic assumption of their existence and attempt to find creative means of engaging with that environment. For many NGOs this may mean developing business and corporate skills, which may allow them the financially lucrative opportunities of contracting out staff for different positions. Many local NGOs are experimenting with this new exercise in self sufficiency, while recognising the donor-dependent nature of their work.

NGOs engagement with local communities is another point of concern. Clearly as agents of development NGOs have much to contribute in this regard. In order to be successful in this regard NGOs must bring with them an intimate understanding of local conditions.

The typology of peace building interventions gives an idea of which tools serve NGOs toward this purpose the best. The challenges of peace building are infinitely more difficult and more complex than is generally recognised. Societies attempting to build peace face a range of problems on all fronts, all inter-related and all urgent. However one overshadows and affects all others : the destruction of relationships and the loss of trust, confidence, dignity and faith. More than the physical, institutional or systemic destruction that war and

conflict bring, it is this invisible legacy, grounded in individual and collective trauma, which is most potent and destructive. It has the potential to undermine the solutions to all other problems, be they economic, political or security-related. If people do not trust each other and lack trust and confidence in government and in the rebuilding process in general, then the best rebuilding strategies are likely to fail. Therefore it would appear that the central and primary challenge of peace building is centred around the mending of relations in society and with the restoration of trust and faith.

The Oxfam Canada peace building programme recognises this challenge in its process of peace building. The problem of fragile relationships between people, communities and institutions are addressed through the programme's focus on people centred peace building. PSV's work with trauma survivors is one such example. The programme recognises that this infinitely complex and delicate type of work does not mean that people no longer harbour resentments and that they feel reconciled with former enemies. Rather the fact that people are working together shows that people are surprisingly pragmatic and ready to work with former adversaries in the elementary pursuit of livelihood and security. Therefore the programme is aware of the long term aspect of peace building.

The programme is also aware of the fact that post conflict societies tend to be unstable, volatile and very politicised. NIM represents the security dimension through investigations and monitoring of violence.

In the case of the Oxfam Canada peace building programme, the project would be an ideal typology of peace building interventions, were it not for the funding limitations. While the focus is on the long term perspective, the project's funding cycle suggests otherwise. Many peace building programmes which concentrate on what can be accomplished in short time frames of transition and are oriented toward quick measurable solutions, fail precisely because they do not look beyond the immediate peace building scenario. The peace building programme should be focused on helping to sustain and shape the movement toward peace and development, and should be able to contemplate some move toward long term social transformation.

Therefore local and community peace building should be developed as a category of thought and action, supporting such efforts where they exist and facilitating their creation where they do not, particularly in deeply divided societies emerging from prolonged conflict and strife, where the poor and underprivileged have been the principal victims, and whose internal conflicts must give way to reconciliation, as the basis for genuinely popularly based development and sustainable democracy.

Lessons Learned

Involve as many people as possible in peace building

It would appear to be an obvious but often overlooked point, that as many sectors in the community as possible should be involved in the peace building

process. The rationale behind this would be to spread the benefits and effects of peace building around as much as possible such that it is widely distributed and makes for positive spinoffs at a greater level.

Strengthen local capacities for peace

If efforts to prevent, resolve and transform societies and communities involved in or recovering from, violent conflict, are to be successful in the long term, they must be based on the active participation of local groups committed to building peace. Peace cannot be built just through the exclusive conclaves of local leadership. Long term strategic relationships with significant stakeholders in the communities should be built in order to drive peace processes and ensure that they become woven into the social fabric of communities. Strengthening local capacities may take several forms such as education and training, training volunteers, working with local peace makers etc. Different civil organisations should be involved in the peace process.

Conceive of peace building as a process

Perhaps one of the significant lessons learned from the peace building programme is the perception of peace as a sustained process, which must be built up over a long period of time. It should also be an organic process, growing from all levels of society.

Change patterns of thinking: create hope

The basis of the Oxfam Canada peace building programme is the creation of hope at different levels: firstly in a metaphoric sense, in that the programme is about the hope for peace and subsequently, a more peaceful society and in the sense that the peace building interventions of NIM and PSV are designed to break the logic of conflict. For eg PSV's interventions at community level create hope and stimulate others to disengage themselves from a conflict and violence mentality.

The PSV/Oxfam Canada/Cirque du Soleil/Zip Zap circus project demonstrated clearly the regeneration of hope and creativity in battle scarred, traumatised youth and the breaking free of the mindset which stunts growth and potential.

Create dialogue

Communication is very important in peace building. Peace building should be about stimulating feelings of interdependence, emphasising points of commonality such as common identities and helping people to see, if not understand, the other side's position. Ideally, peace building should be about humanising opposing sides to each other. Dialogue should be created in creative and interesting ways and in a neutral and non-threatening environment, which draws the focus away from feelings of anger and resentment to concepts of reconciliation and forgiveness.

Promote education about peace building

It is important that communities learn about peace building in a broad educative sense, that is, an awareness of co-existence, tolerance and reconciliation. While these ideas should be imparted to communities, it is important that local leadership or significant stakeholders in the peace building process, should be thoroughly prepared and trained. Professionalisation of peace building can enhance its effectiveness.

Exchange experiences

International exchanges between peacemakers and builders from different conflict regions should be promoted. Learning from each other's experiences promotes innovative approaches. The Oxfam Canada peace building programme placed strong emphasis on this aspect of peace building, but due to lack of funds, was able to make one exchange visit only, ie facilitating a contingent of PSV youth members to visit a fortnight-long peace conference in Northern Ireland with other youth peace commissions from conflict regions. It was originally planned that exchanges and networking be facilitated with another Oxfam Canada peace building project in Nicaragua, where Oxfam Canada has an office. However lack of funds prevented this.

Include local actors

The decentralised approach of many grassroots and community based organisations (CBOs) has resulted in many successes.

Make conflict impact assessment a requirement of peace building programmes

In order to maximise the benefits of development aid, some form of assessment as to the likely impact of such aid, that is, whether it would reduce the risks of, or heighten the risks of conflict breaking out, should be done. As Mary Andersen warns explicitly in her study of the impact of developmental aid 'first do no harm.'¹⁷⁶

Prioritise early warning and early response

A preventive approach should be taken by all those engaged in peace building, paying attention to the adage 'prevention is better than cure'. Resources should be generated toward this end as well as the political will needed for early responses to potential conflict situations both present and future.

Promote an integrative approach to peace building by using a combination of approaches

The construction of a stable and enduring peace must follow from a number of integrative approaches to peace building. Efforts should be undertaken toward this end, such as the building of collaborative relationships among the stakeholders in the peace building process such as civil society, local and national government, and the international community, or the broad

¹⁷⁶ Andersen, M. (1996)

consensus on strategy and related set of interventions. There should be a balancing of political and macroeconomic objectives.

Strengthen coalition building between civil society organisations

The effectiveness of civil activity is often hampered by a lack of coordination between groups operating in similar fields. As a result, scarce resources are wasted by duplication of tasks and failure to achieve synergy. There is a need to create civil networks and/ or platforms which promote coalition and constituency building.

Official and Non Official Approaches

Well balanced and integrative peace processes ought to combine official and non official approaches. Official diplomacy is usually most effective when it is linked to official processes and channels. The significance of non official approaches should be appreciated as creative means of reaching local levels.

Role of donors

Ideally, the role of donors ought to extend beyond mere financial support. Donors ought to provide extra impetus to the peace building process by offering expert advice and support, and initiating conferences and agenda setting. This would involve donors in the process to a greater degree than just the dispensing of funds.

There also ought to be a system of mutual trust and accountability between NGOs and donors.

Perhaps the most obvious lesson we have learned is that of peace as an important human value. In fact it is so basic a value that it is a prerequisite for the attainment of other values. Peace cannot be a blueprint created or produced by academics or politicians on the basis of a once and for all solution to the problems of peace, may be found. A useful step would be to build social movements around support for peace and justice, develop strategies for such movements and use those strategies to connect short term issues and policy recommendations with a long term strategy for reform. This is essentially what the peace building programme is doing, at a micro level.

Although the peace building programme is a post conflict project, on a general level the persistence and recurrence of localised forms of community conflict indicates the imperatives of new analyses and responses. The programme does go some way toward meeting this ideal. The different peace building interventions used by the programme embrace those in a broader typology of practices used in both conflict and post conflict situations, in forms to suit the programme.

The programme does not address the structural roots of inequalities and tensions, preferring to concentrate on the people centred aspect of development and peace building.

Conclusion

This study has shown that NGOs face a great many challenges in the task of addressing the peace building needs of South African society; the first of which relates to their structure and nature of work. NGOs need to engage in a process of self definition and conceptualisation in order to meet the challenges imposed by the external environment in which they operate.

Clearly funding problems are a major source of tension within NGOs. NGOs will have to decide their options in terms of dependence on their base of donors, which in the context of the transition, is shrinking anyway, or the government. While NGOs cannot really strive for complete financial freedom, they can attempt to narrow the gap between their dependence on outside funding sources and their own self sustaining strategies. There would appear to be very little choice for NGOs in this matter if they wish to keep their identity and relative independence. NGOs also need to use their lobbying skills to ameliorate the aspects of the external environment which are hostile to them, such as their tax status.

This study has also shown that NGOs have a significant role to play in the peace building process. Although government appears to have taken the lead in this task, particularly in terms of redirecting funding for such post-transition development and peace building work, NGOs need to assert themselves in this regard. They need to be networking and lobbying toward this end in the

interests of fulfilling the role of public watchdog, which government has already acknowledged.

This study has also tried to show the different kinds of peace building interventions which are most effective. The practices as outlined in the peace building typology are intended to show which interventions are most commonly used in conflict and post conflict situations, and how the Oxfam Canada peace building programme uses these practices according to the particular context and needs of their target communities. Conflict resolution, physical security, humanitarian relief, government and NGO capacity, social reconstruction, elections and human rights are cited as part of the process and it is to the programme's credit that all these kinds of processes are incorporated into it.

This is not to argue for a blanket approach or standard set of tools in response to conflict or post conflict situations. It is simply an acknowledgement that certain sets of interventions work better than others according to the context in which the conflict is situated.

Peace and stability have long been recognised by the international community as of critical importance. However, for too long, political and social stability and viability were equated with state centric concepts of peace and security, focusing primarily on strengthening state institutions. The existing political institutions of society cannot always accommodate or respond to the

pressures arising from profound social and political transformation and NGOs are well placed to make a vital difference in this way.

At a minimum, as a concept and as a policy tool, peace building provides the possibility to change traditionally held ideas about the twin issues of security and development. In the final analysis, peace building confronts the challenges of rapid socio-economic and political change, and the need to strengthen the mechanisms and institutions which can steer society through the complex path of development.

APPENDIX A: Interview with DAVID GALLAGHER, OXFAM CANADA REGIONAL DIRECTOR

Conducted by A. Nyar on 12 July 1999 at 14:45, at the Oxfam Canada Southern African office in Durban.

□ Can you describe your organisation briefly?

Oxfam Canada is an international development agency which is part of international civil society in the sense that it dispenses funds to support different projects. The major functions are seen as solidarity and advocacy with civil society. ...this means that human rights, opposition to the WTO (World Trade Organisation), IFI's (International Financial Institutions), SAP's (structural adjustment programmes), which affect people in both the North and South. Therefore Oxfam is not just a funding agency. Hence our history in Southern Africa comes from support to the liberation movements in for example, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, that is, Angola before the war. Therefore our support continued in this way: support to the liberation movements, and then through the electoral process and then the resulting development issues which follow. We are aware that a great deal of violence occurs in the post liberation phase and we have given aid to certain parties in the process, such as in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola, and of course here in South Africa. In a sense...we take sides. Therefore the reason why we're here, its tougher terrain, some of the poorest and most underdeveloped areas in the world, phenomenally high AIDS levels, lack of foreign investment, structural adjustment programmes. The battle around development is actually much more complex than around issues of conflict itself.

□ How did you identify the need for a peace building programme in KZN?

Well, this relates to our actual decision to set up in KwaZulu-Natal as we have a long history of support. KwaZulu-Natal is one of the poorest and most populated provinces, and has always been associated with the problem of major political violence. Now, of course, there has been something of a change, probably related to many different factors, one of which must be the effects of the transition. Anyway, in the post liberation context, violence between the ANC and IFP was a major problem in the province. So we were here, we were aware, we realised the extent of the endemic violence related to the political situation, we were also very involved in the 1994 election process as election observers. In the process of the latter, we became very involved with one of our peace building programme partners, NIM. I worked as the international observer coordinator for KNEON, that is, the election observer network set up in the province, which was being run and coordinated by NIM. It was through our election experience that we gained a clearer understanding of what the issues were really all about in the province. This coincided, quite favourably, with our Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy's initiative in Canada to set up the Peace Building Fund for the major 'hotspots' in the world. With this fund made available to us, we decided to act. We were knowledgeable, on the ground, we had the contacts. We made an application.

The other partner, PSV, was being funded by another Oxfam, Oxfam Great Britain, and it was through that Oxfam connection that we got to know about

them and the fine work they were doing. Their work was different from NIM and therefore lent a wider and more holistic scope to the programme. It was extremely positive that both communities were dealing with communities at a grass roots level, which meant the kind of bottom up approach that is the essence of Oxfam Canada's philosophy.

- How did you arrive at your choice in partners, given the number of credible, committed organisations working in the violence sector?

Well, PSV was being funded by Oxfam Great Britain and through that Oxfam connection, we got to know about them. Their work is very different from NIM's and gives wider scope to the programme. Their target groups are extensive and hence they have a wide reach. PSV's work is long term developmental stuff, while NIM's is much more immediate. It gives a balance to the programme. Given the limitations of the fund, it made more sense to fund two excellent partners decently rather than spread the funds around other organisations.

- What kinds of monitoring mechanisms are put in place to ensure that the goals and purposes of the programme are being fulfilled as planned?

We held a RBM workshop at the initiation of the programme, which set the guidelines for outcomes, results, anticipated results, ways of measuring etc. Oxfam also employed a researcher to follow up on that. Reports are made twice a year.

- What are your feelings about the violence in KZN? Do you feel your programme will be able to make a sizeable impact on the communities you work in? If so, how do you measure that?

Well, if you're referring specifically to the many target communities, both partners have great positive impact. In the broadest sense, what they are doing is quite small, but there are many positive and hopeful spinoffs. Both are well respected and credible NGOs, they are often called upon by various forums, by government, by the private sector. Their influence is also broad as they do a great deal of advocacy work.

- Given that the source of a large proportion of your funding is the government, how do you reconcile your work with imperatives of satisfying their needs, as they hold the purse strings, so to speak? Is there ever a tension between the work you do and the state? If so, how do you resolve that?

It is tough. However the trick is matching the needs to the various funding pots available. It is not about being a public service contractor for the government. We are not implementing projects of the Canadian government. We are getting funds from the government to implement our own projects. That is the essential difference. It is a conscious strategy of the Canadian government to the conscious strategy of the government to encourage Canadian NGOs to apply for funding, as they are needed as conduits to fulfil their own objectives, for example on poverty alleviation. Therefore they need NGOs to deliver. So

while we do rely on government funds, it does not mean that we are *dependent* as such, on them.

- Can you give me some background information on Oxfam Canada, and its relationship with other Oxfams as well as Oxfam International? The relationship isn't quite clear to me, as I'm confused by reference in a great deal of the literature to 'Oxfam' which usually, I've found, refers to Oxfam Great Britain.

I think that the simple term 'NGO' now presents a lot of confusion as there are so many different kinds. Its hard to define. I suppose the best way to define ourselves would be as a voluntary organisation. Oxfam has hundreds of volunteers and we raise money from the public. 'Broker' would be a good description as we act as a go between between public funds. There are 11 Oxfams, the two largest being NOVIB and Oxfam Great Britain, with budgets of US \$ 200 million a year. Spanish Intermon has about \$ 40 to 50 million, all the rest about \$ 10-15 million. Oxfam International is therefore naturally skewed toward the two largest Oxfams and hence they are the ones with the largest funds, infrastructure, research capacity. I assume this is where confusion with conflating Oxfam Great Britain and Oxfam International comes in. All the Oxfams are currently engaging in a process of harmonisation, that is, trying to merge all our work and ideals and programmes, such that we may all speak with one voice, so to speak. Oxfam Canada is the lead management agency in Southern Africa, it is the third largest Oxfam in Southern Africa, with the second biggest infrastructure, well positioned, decentralised, in a good

position to take on the role. The Oxfams have a joint advocacy office in Washington, funded by all the Oxfams. There is a secretariat in Oxford which manages everything.

- Oxfam Canada is in a position among NGOs, being a donor as well as an NGO which has to hustle for funds from different sources. Its like wearing two hats, am I right?

Yes.

- What do you feel about the debate in the NGO community regarding Northern donors and the need for regulating principles? Do you think all the controversy is justified?

Well, there is a variance among donors. I must say, most are not terribly sensitive to partners needs. Most are just donor-driven. There's a move to set up standards, reporting etc. However it works both ways. Some NGOs can be manipulative as well.

- The violence in KZN has changed to a great degree since the programme was initially conceived and put in place. How does your programme accommodate those kinds of changes, given that it must change your goals somewhat?

We have found that political violence has become largely superseded by different forms of social violence, such as gender based violence. With the peace building programme coming to a close at the end of its two year cycle,

we are looking to a broader programme which is more inclusive of different forms of violence, such as against women and children.

- How do you see the future for NGOs in South Africa? What about in an international context, given the constraints of globalisation and added demands of increased conflict situations.

Bleak, in a word. Funding opportunities have really dwindled. If you listen to Mbeki, any reference to NGOs are around service delivery and public service contracting. What happens to those NGOs, for example, the human rights NGOs, who are concerned with acting as public watchdogs? Are they going to be sidelined? It seems like the government has a very firm and definite idea of the role for NGOs.

- What does peace building mean to you?

Peace building is about ensuring that conflict is not likely to occur again, by giving people alternatives and the space to work in. Its about releasing people's creative energies and making them see there's a better, more hopeful, ultimately more peaceful future out there for them.

- Thank you.

APPENDIX B: Interview with GAIL WANNENBURG, NETWORK OF INDEPENDENT MONITORS (NIM) COORDINATOR

**Conducted by A. Nyar on 10 August 1999 at 9:15 at NIM
offices in Durban.**

- Can you describe your organisation briefly, and particularly in terms of how it was set up and the changes which have been made since?

It started in 1992 as head of NEON, that is, KwaZulu-Natal Election Observer Network. KNEON was made up of 24 organisations in the province but was made up of 17 organisations nationally. It aimed at providing capacity to member organisations to monitor political violence. Prior to that, the other organisations had their own permanent structures and capacity. NIM structure was made up of unemployed staff who coordinated volunteers and eventually as NIM got started as a proper NGO, these staff were employed by NIM. For example, I was a fieldworker employed by Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), I was paid by NIM but introduced as LHR.

So then, as monitors, we were essentially interventionist as opposed to merely recording or documenting. By 1995 there was a significant reduction in political violence in other parts of the country, but political violence remained quite a stubborn, intractable problem in the province. There were also forms of violence which were not overtly political. The NIM offices around the country closed, and only the Durban office remained.

□ Can you explain how NIM works, in terms of the structure?

Well, our work has been somewhat redefined. Back in 1995 our focus was the continued capacity to use violence as a political strategy such as arms, paramilitary training, etc. Now there are pockets of violence such as on the North Coast, Northern Natal, Midlands. The peace process has really made quite a difference. Although there is now state control over state services such as the police, army, justice dept, there still exist places where the state is not able to effectively take control, such as a politically biased police force. The problems in these areas are usually exacerbated by the presence of traditional leaders.

□ Can you give me a rundown on what is the kind of work being done by NIM?

We do what we call interventionist monitoring. It's kind of a continuum, what we call the peace building continuum. The first step in the continuum is human security, such as crisis intervention, security deployment, witness protection. Then there's rule of law, which is about statement taking,

□ How do monitors interact with communities? How do they find entry into communities, given that many communities are violence-stricken and therefore difficult to penetrate?

We facilitate entry into communities, that is we go into communities, make communities. We never really started off cold, we always had people monitoring the situation on the ground for ages. Once your reputation

spreads, it becomes easier. We do a lot of crisis work with communities and try to deliver tangible results, which vary from getting additional security deployment to media exposure. For example we got the security deployments that were so badly needed in Msinga before the elections in June, and also drew the media's attention to the high levels of political and factional violence in Msinga. Part of the problems is that the police and army don't usually consult with communities, they place their deployments according to their own intelligence, which is sometimes skewed. They also rely a lot on official statistics, which are sometimes dubious because a great many things go unreported because of lack of faith in the police.

- What are your feelings about the violence in KZN and the prospects for peace?

We are still on shaky ground. AIDS is going to have a major impact on any peace process...many leaders/councillors in local communities are HIV+. What's going to happen to the next generation of leaders? I think there's going to be a lot of realignment of parties, partly due to the fact that peace pacts are being made at provincial level without consulting local level leadership.

- How do you feel about peace building? Do you think that the process can take root easily in communities? What do you think is needed to make KZN a more peaceful and healthy society?

It's a very long process...we have to go through the continuum of interventions in the hope that things will right themselves and not reignite. There are other areas where the fight is not so political, there are factional disputes, which relate to land and have been going on for generations.

- What would you say is the most difficult in terms of the work that you do?
Any particular obstacles you have to contend with?

Well, funders like quick results! But the process is long, hard to measure and this makes the issue of funding very difficult. I feel that fieldwork and investigations are terribly difficult as you have to really persevere. If the political structures are weak, then it's very hard to effectively take up issues. Also there really is a lack of knowledge about legal processes, on the part of communities. For example the Pongola community complained of torture, but they did not go to the police, to the doctor. There was no evidence. We taught them the procedures. They were referred to us by the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD). The main problem is partial, incompetent policing, and its part of the reason why we exist, to stop up the gaps in the system.

- How do you feel about being an NGO in such a rapidly changing context as SA?

I think its difficult and challenging. It also poses questions to the way NGOs traditionally operate because of the stopgap in funding. I think there's a role for us in service delivery, the most difficult period will be now.

- There is debate about NGOs relationship with Northern donors. Northern donors are accused of being self serving and using the local NGOs they work with for their own agendas? What do you feel about this?

We have experienced this before. However Oxfam and Diakonia Sweden, who are our core funders, have always treated us fairly. However donors can treat you unfairly precisely because they have the advantage.

- Do you feel there's any way of improving the relationship with donors?

I think educated and competent NGOs can work around this.

- Thank you.

APPENDIX C: Interview with BERENICE MEINTJIES, PROGRAMME FOR SURVIVORS OF VIOLENCE (PSV) DIRECTOR

Conducted by A. Nyar on 4 August 1999 at 11: 00 at the PSV offices in Durban.

- How did PSV first come about? What was the reason behind PSV's formation?

We started off as a group of academics and psychologists based at the University of Natal, as we were concerned about the effects of the then violence on children in the province. We started to fundraise and do lots of research and eventually we started making interventions into conflict spots around the province.

- What would you say is PSV's methodology?

There are actually three prongs to our methodology. Firstly mental health, that is, people need to unpack their traumatic experiences and deal with the trauma they have suffered. Then there's the peace building component, we work together with people from different parties, communities so that people can try to live together in relative peace and overcome the traumas of the past. We do a lot of mediation and conflict resolution in this regard. Then there's poverty alleviation, we try to address the conditions which encourage violence. We focus on weekly support groups, that is, women groups, youth groups, community leadership, and offer trauma counselling. Apart from trauma counselling, there is small scale fundraising initiatives which provide

some form of relief to families, like community gardens, block making projects, sewing projects by the women groups. The women's group in Bhambayi saved enough between them to pay for school fees for one child to attend school per year in the two years that the project has been going on.

□ Who are PSV's main target groups? How do you work with them?

Our main targets are youth of school going age and caregivers such as women and teachers.

□ How do you facilitate entry into communities, given that the context is so fragile in terms of the violence and its effects on people?

We do this in two ways. We are introduced into the community by other people and then there is also just feeling one's way through the community hierarchy. This can be difficult as there are often successive layers of leadership and you have to consult with all of them in order not to offend or create the wrong impression. We have to be careful as we have a long waiting list and with funding constraints, we don't want to grow too quickly. Our reputation grows with our work and every new request we get.

□ How do you gain people's trust?

It's a long process and very complex. People aren't familiar with the process of counselling. With a new group, we go to Koinonia for a full trauma workshop to work together in building trust. For example in Umbumbulu there is a three-generational factional conflict which has claimed the lives of at least

three members in each group. It's been very difficult to put these families together and work with them in the normal counselling processes.

□ Would you say you've been successful in this regard?

I would say so, yes. Recently the IFP side in Bhambayi held a traditional community cleansing ceremony with the premier, which was extremely symbolic as it incorporated the ANC side. That was a direct result of the peace building programme.

□ How do you see prospects for peace among the communities you work in, as well as overall in KwaZulu-Natal?

At the general local level it seems fairly successful. However people are carrying so much pain and it seems like the slightest thing can trigger off conflicts. Peace is going to be hard to come by...so many of these conflicts are through the generations, and it takes time to heal.

□ As an NGO, how do you feel about the future of NGOs in SA? There've been concerns raised about the challenges facing NGOs in terms of its new relationship with govt, funding crises etc. Do these affect you?

I feel NGOs have an important role in terms of their skills and their community bases. They can play an important role in service delivery, especially in partnership with government. We certainly do a lot of tendering for government. NGOs need to start being creative about funding.

- There's currently a great deal of debate regarding Northern donors and their attitudes and actions toward the local NGOs they work with. They are described as self serving and geared toward their own agendas? Given that you work with such donors, how do you feel about this debate?

We have a fairly good relationship with our donors. We feel most of them are quite warm and ready to learn. We did have incident where one large donor pulled out quite suddenly and ended what was a long standing contract. It was quite traumatising for us. On the whole, donors ought not to be encouraging dependency.

- What does peace building mean to you? How does peace building fit into your overall goal?

Peace building means being brave enough to uncover the past and not patch it over with slick initiatives. People are carrying a lot, they need to be heard and felt. The social fabric, which was destroyed by apartheid, needs to be mended and with a great deal of care. It's a slow, patient process and we have to respect all the actors engaged in it and give them the time and space they need to effect this kind of reconciliation and healing.

- Thank you.

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