



**Developing peacebuilding skills among civil society organisations in
Zimbabwe**

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy: Management Sciences-Peace Studies in the Faculty of
Public Management

Durban University of Technology

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February 2017

ABSTRACT

Local peacebuilding practices require a systematic and reflective analysis in order for them to bring an impact. Successful peacebuilding pivots on the development of a set of skills to attend to the challenges presented by the conflict. The study was inspired by an observation that the emergence of CSOs working on peacebuilding in Zimbabwe was happening in a context where there was no proper training and organisational capacity development. Using an action-research design, and a case study of two CSOs operating in Bindura and Mazowe Districts in Mashonaland Central Province in Zimbabwe, the study involved a sample group of fifty-seven participants, and included a core Action Research Team (ART) of twelve participants to initiate the process of capacity development related to peacebuilding in Zimbabwe.

Interviews, Focus Group Discussions, Document studies were used in a triangulation approach to enhance validity and reliability of the process. The preliminary assessment revealed that the peacebuilding environment in the two districts is highly polarised. There is a combination of both direct and indirect violence in the area. The state as well as traditional institutions are active perpetrators of both direct and indirect violence in the two district. The use of Local Peace Committees and the workshop method has not reaped the desired outcomes owing to the polarization. After a preliminary assessment of the peacebuilding environment in the area as well as a critique of the peacebuilding models being used by the two organisations, we then set out on a process of identifying strengths and weaknesses in both the programming as well as the delivery of the projects in the communities. A series of focus group discussions and organisational document analysis of the two organisations, we eventually agreed on the development of a training module for the Action Research Team.

Five thematic issues were identified as forming the basis of the intervention programme. The five thematic issues were on the conceptual issues of conflict, violence and peace in a local context, conflict analysis skills, conflict sensitive programming, culture, conflict and change and lastly basic counselling skills for peacebuilders. A three-day training workshop was then held in order to develop capacity relating to the thematic issues. The short term evaluation of the intervention showed that the training was successful as the participants had already started implementing some of the new knowledge and skills.

Key Words: Peacebuilding, Skills, Capacity Development, Local Context, Sensitivity, Culture

DECLARATION

Developing peacebuilding skills among civil society organizations in Zimbabwe

I declare that the thesis herewith submitted for the PhD: Public Management-Peace Studies at the Durban University of Technology has not been previously submitted for a degree at any other University worldwide.

.....
David Makwerere

I hereby approve the final submission of the following thesis.

.....
Dr. S.B. Kaye

.....
Professor G.T. Harris

DEDICATION

A lot of things inspire me in my daily life. I could write a book about all of these but this work is dedicated to an inspirational figure in my life, Kinros Tsvatai Chinyangarara Makwerere. A philosopher and visionary in his own right. His philosophy about life, family and society is as brilliant as it is enlightening. This is for you Chirandu!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to my Supervisor, Dr S. B. Kaye for her invaluable advice. She was instrumental in helping me shape the scope of the study. I am also grateful to Professor Harris for his kindness. He went out of his way to provide financial resources when the going was tough. He made my stay in Durban all the memorable.

I also would want to salute my family for their steadfast support. They sacrificed a lot just for me. I appreciate their financial and material support. I appreciate my mother Letty Makwerere (Nee Zengeni) for her kind-heartedness. She was there for my two daughters Ruponeso and Makanaka throughout the duration of my study. I salute you muzvare.

I also appreciate Dominion United Methodist Church and Reverend David Mucherera for the spiritual guidance during my time in Ethekeini. Special mention to Tinashe Madziva, a young man whose unwavering belief in God also made me believe when the going was tough.

Many thanks to my colleagues for the peer review and wise counsel. To Dr C. Muchemwa, I say you were my pathfinder. I also would want to thank Dr Shonhiwa, Mr I.R. Madenga, Miss B. Maposa, J.P Mfuni Mwanza, Dr. Diaku Dianzenza, Dr. S. Mungure, Chief Sakhiseni Gumede and many others who were always by my side throughout the often demanding journey. This crowning moment would not have been possible without you. I salute you and I say AFRICA YEDU!!!

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ART	Action Research Team
CCJP	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
CCMT	Centre for Conflict Management and Transformation
CCSF	Church and Civil Society Forum
CHS	Commission on Human Security
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DFID	Department of Foreign and International Development
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Commission
GNU	Government of National Unity
GPA	Global Political Agreement
HSN	Human Security Network
HSU	Human Security Unit
IYWD	Institute for Young Women Development
JOMIC	Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee
LPI/HAP	Life and Peace Institute/Horn of Africa Programme
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDC-N	Movement for Democratic Change-Ncube
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai
NANGO	National Association of Non-Governmental Organisations
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
ONHRI	Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
SFCG	Search for Common Ground
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UN-PBC	United Nations Peacebuilding Commission
UN-PBF	United Nations Peacebuilding Fund
UN-PBO	United Nations Peacebuilding Office
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Education Fund
USAID	United States of America International Aid
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UNTFHS	United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security
WHO	World Health Organisation
YETT	Youth Empowerment and Transformation Trust
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZICOSU	Zimbabwe Congress of Students Union
ZIMCET	Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust
ZimPF	Zimbabwe People First
ZHT	Zimbabwe Heritage Trust
ZLHR	Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights
ZPP	Zimbabwe Peace Project

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SECTION 1: BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

Chapter 1: Introduction and Background

Great-power diplomacy can sometimes bring protagonists to the negotiating table, and statesmen can craft the compromises that bring into effect ceasefires, accords, settlements, and constitutions. To turn such agreements into sustainable peace, however, requires a much wider range and distribution of skills (Ramaposa 2001: xi).

There are more than a hundred NGOs in Zimbabwe that are involved in peace building alone, potentially more. However, it is no more for the sake of employment and income generation than anything else. Most, if not all of them, were formed after the violence of the 2008 elections, when international donors poured money into peace building efforts. This was without training, qualification or even a bit of literature in the field (Chinhanhu 2015).

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the background to the study. The chapter presents a brief background to the global, continental and national issues relating to the problem under study. The section includes the statement of the problem, the aim, the objectives as well as the justification of the study. I also provided an overview of the whole study by giving a brief preview of each section.

1.2 Background to the study

Pre and post-independence Zimbabwe has constantly been characterised by violent contestations most of which are political and socio-economic. The pre-colonial states often contested territorial control and ownership of cattle. During colonialism, the context of the struggles shifted from intra-ethnic conflicts into a confrontation with the white minority settlers. This led to the First *Chimurenga* (War of Liberation) of 1896-97 and later on the more protracted Second *Chimurenga* war from 1966-1979. Post-independence Zimbabwe has had to deal with violent conflicts mainly emanating from political and ideological contestations.

The *Gukurahundi* (a *shona* term referring to the early rains which wipe away the chaff) conflict of the mid-1980s saw many civilians dying, Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) 1997). The conflict involved a government clampdown on dissidents who were causing havoc in the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces in the early 1980S. However, a report by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) noted that the conflict was literally an

ethnic cleansing exercise with the predominantly *shona*-dominated Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) aiming at destroying the predominantly Ndebele-dominated Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) as the former aimed at consolidating its political power. The *Gukurahundi* conflict is often regarded as the darkest era in the country's post-independence history. According to the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (1997), the *Gukurahundi* conflict left about 20 000 civilians dead. The best that the government could do was a mere acknowledgement that the *Gukurahundi* was 'a moment of madness by the government', (Cross 2014). The conflict was brought to an end in 1987 when the two conflicting parties signed a unity agreement which became known as the Unity Agreement and leading to the amalgamation of ZANU and ZAPU into one political party which became known as Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF).

Scholars like Lindgren (2001:160), Stauffer (2009:114) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011:2) found out, the conflict was never really addressed at the grassroots level but rather at a political level with a lot of compromises being made especially by leaders from ZAPU, who were negotiating from a position of disempowerment as ZANU enjoyed the control of all state apparatus. Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007:277) also noted that the political agreement suited the politicians more than the ordinary citizen. The *Gukurahundi* conflict was the first major conflict in post independent Zimbabwe and although there were political solutions to the conflict, the social aspects of the conflict were never really attended to. More problems were to surface in the 1990s.

As the country's economic fortunes continued to dwindle in the early 1990s to the late 1990s, workers' groups escalated their confrontation with the state. This eventually culminated in the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999. The reaction by the ZANU-PF-led government was that of lack of tolerance and thus leading to serious clashes between the two opposing political parties. Violence escalated and the country became deeply divided. The unresolved conflicts in the early years of independence as well as the political duels in the past fifteen years have seen the country gradually turning into a polarized environment.

The violence which has ensued is evidently organised and has manifested through repeated cycles of violence, (World Bank 2011). The culture of political intolerance is threatening to destroy the social fabric in Zimbabwe. Machakanja and Mungure (2013:10) observe that the emergence of a strong MDC party saw a gradual undermining of government institutions leading to their manipulation for partisan interests. These events have left the country in dire need of transformation of both a structural and social nature.

A combination of global, continental and local forces has seen the demands for the establishment of an infrastructure for peacebuilding in Zimbabwe in order to respond to the

challenges that the country was going through. Civil society organisations such as the Zimbabwe Human Rights Association, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace as well as political organisations such as the Movement for Democratic Change have all been calling for concerted peace building efforts in Zimbabwe. This is a clear demonstration that Zimbabwe is in dire need of social, political and economic reconstruction.

1.3 Zimbabwean Conflict Typology and Attempts at Reconciliation

The 1980 policy of reconciliation laid precedence for elitist, top down reconciliation endeavours in the Southern African country. After the 1982-7 disturbances in Matabeleland and parts of the Midlands, also known as *Gukurahundi*, (Nyarota, 2006) came another elitist reconciliation move. The Unity Accord of 1987 signed between Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) (ZANU PF) and Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (PF ZAPU) did not incorporate the grassroots and civil society. The turn of the millennium (year 2000) saw a marked increase in inter-party violence in Zimbabwe. The country thus experienced a lot of politically motivated violence and a lot of arrests were thus made (Feltoe 2004: 213). In October 2000, President Mugabe used his presidential prerogative to issue a clemency order granting amnesty to the perpetrators of the politically motivated violence that Zimbabwe experienced in the run-up to the June 2000 parliamentary elections (Feltoe, 2004: 213–214). The order freed those convicted criminals accused of kidnapping, public violence and other petty crimes (Huyse 2003: 38). This was largely viewed as unfair by opposition political parties who felt that the Clemency Order of 2000 only benefitted ZANU PF supporters. Sustainable peace building involves transforming the social and political environment that fosters intolerable inequality, engenders historical grievances, and nurtures adversarial interactions (Conteh Morgan, 2005: 72). It can be noted therefore, that, the move was not in the best interest of reconciliation as the perpetrators were immediately rescued by the presidential order in a move seen as calculated. Feltoe (2004) and Goredema (2005) believed that the ruling ZANU PF party have always engaged in acts of self-preservation engaging in witch hunting and purging.

Violence had now largely become synonymous with national and local plebiscites and by 2008 the crisis in Zimbabwe had reached a tipping point. The June 2008 presidential election re-run were very violent forcing the opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai to withdraw, International Crisis Group (2008). This necessitated the Southern African Development Community (SADC) brokered negotiations between ZANU PF, MDC T and MDC N., Mashingaidze (2010). The negotiations resulted in the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) in September 2008 (Sibanda 2011, Du Plessis & Ford 2009). The GPA had many important provisions. However, an important article relating to this study was Article VII

on national healing and reconciliation (GPA 2008:7-9). The article called for the country to formally recognise and acknowledge the need for national healing and reconciliation. The provision also called for the establishment of the Organ on National Healing and Reconciliation (ONHRI). ONHRI was set up under the provisions of Article 7.1 (c) of the GPA (2008:7) which stated that:

The parties hereby agree that the new government: ...shall give consideration to the setting up of a mechanism to properly advise on what measures might be necessary and practicable to achieve national healing, cohesion and unity in respect of victims of pre and post-independence political conflicts.

On paper the ONHRI was a necessary creation, nevertheless, Muchemwa et al (2013: 145) lamented that ONHRI, a “state-centric and state propelled project” was “haunted by the very same challenges that undermined and shattered its predecessor”. Furthermore Muchemwa et al (2013: 153) brings to light the fact that one of the principals to the ONHRI, Sekai Holland, admitted that the principals were clueless as to how to set it up. If setting up the ONHRI was difficult, then operationalizing it and articulating its agenda would be almost impossible, given the huge backlog of unresolved conflicts that it attempted to address. This was against the backdrop of the eager anticipation of the people of Zimbabwe, especially the victims who had waited for too long to get any form of recourse. These aspects among other seriously hamstrung the work of the ONHRI and resultantly, it did not achieve healing and reconciliation.

In the same vein, Machakanja (2010) and Mbire (2011) have condemned ONHRI mainly because it had a top down approach that failed to cater for the demands of the grassroots. More so ONHRI was poorly structured and had a confused mandate that made it difficult for the parties involved to set up applicable guidelines for addressing social injustices that occurred in the past. Part of ONHRI's confusion was caused by the unwillingness of some members of the government, in particular ZANU PF representatives, to acknowledge responsibility for past incidents, such as the Matabeleland massacres (1980-87).

In the real world, where authoritarian resilience is as common as the installation of democracy, the prospects for transitional justice are shaped forcefully by politics (Bratton 2011: 355). In politics, he who wields political power has the ability to impose his designs on what transpires within a given context. Such was the power that President Mugabe was furnished with in the GPA era. Under the GPA, ZANU-PF retained control of the defence portfolio and, by extension, significant capacity for violence. Thus, as president, Mugabe retained the potent executive office, as well as control over the influential echelons in the state's military and security apparatus. This close relationship has probably also protected the armed forces from being made accountable for any wrongdoing, despite the fact that opposition parties have

accused them of committing human-rights abuses since the early 2000s (Dzinetsa, 2012: 9). But the great question is: How effective have these been in addressing reconciliation and healing in Zimbabwe? The weaknesses of these government initiatives saw a gradual evolution of infrastructures of peace dominated by non-state actors, mainly civil society organisations.

1.4 Evolution of Infrastructures of Peace in Zimbabwe

The above sections have narrated how government-led (top-down) initiatives have failed to bring sustainable peace in the country. Baker and Scheye (2007:503) note that this is a common trend in many post-conflict states, as they tend to prioritise state-centred approaches as opposed to people-centred and locally owned reconciliation initiatives. It is against this background that Zimbabwe witnessed a phenomenal growth of civil society organisations at the beginning of the 21st century. This, of course, was in line with global developmental trends where the UN had made significant strides in prioritising a peacebuilding agenda. As noted by Muchemwa, Ngwerume and Hove (2013), all the notable efforts towards peace building in Zimbabwe were a top-down affair. At independence in 1980, the President simply announced the policy of reconciliation and racial integration, Huyse (2003). There were no specific criteria as to how the reconciliation was to be achieved. As a way of ending the *Gukurahundi* conflict, the two conflicting parties, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) signed the Unity Agreement and merged to become one entity, the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU) (PF). This approach was heavily criticised with Mashingaidze (2005:87) arguing that the process was an elite agreement that never benefitted the ordinary citizens.

The trend continued after the year 2000. Political violence escalated but the government did not demonstrate interest in effectively dealing with the conflicts. Even with the formation of the Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI) in 2009, the approach was criticized as being more political as opposed to reconciliatory. The ONHRI was largely ineffective as it could not address issues of political violence. Makoni (2012:4) observed that:

Flighting adverts on a national broadcaster and the holding of meetings by a designated body which does not engage victims and people at personal and grassroots level is not enough to bring national healing to a highly polarised nation like Zimbabwe.

The ONHRI suffered operational challenges as the secretariat (comprising representatives from ZANU-PF, MDC-Tsvangirai and MDC-Ncube) could not agree on the strategy to be used. ZANU-PF wanted an umbrella amnesty for people who committed grave human rights abuses

while the MDC formations wanted a South African model of Truth and Reconciliation Commission, where perpetrators come out in the open and confess.

In the absence of a serious government effort, a high number of civil society organisations (CSOs) working on peacebuilding emerged in post 2000 Zimbabwe. Previously the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), Zimbabwe Council of Churches and very few others had led the way in peacebuilding efforts in Zimbabwe. A survey by the Centre for Conflict Management and Transformation (2013) indicates that there are more than 100 organisations engaged in peace-related activities throughout Zimbabwe. The survey also established that most of the employees in these organisations do not have training in peacebuilding. Peacebuilding requires specialised skills and hence this research seeks to explore the nature and models of some of these peacebuilding organisations as well as developing a training module for the development of effective skills among organisations working with different communities in the quest for sustainable peace.

The flourishing of CSOs, not only in the peacebuilding arena but in other spheres of socio-economic development in Zimbabwe, was also, to a large extent, the reflection of global developments. The neo-liberal era has seen civil society (CS) gradually occupying important spaces in the socio-political and economic development of states especially in developing countries. Civil society organisations (CSOs) have received a great deal of international mention in post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding. They are expected to play a crucial role especially in societies emerging from violent conflicts. This is so because quite often the countries emerging from conflict usually find themselves hamstrung by a serious shortage of financial resources. Zimbabwe is one such country where civil society organisations have taken centre-stage in the socio-economic activities of the country. The role of civil society in Zimbabwe is particularly important as the country is facing a plethora of economic, social and political challenges. The country qualifies to be in the category of a fragile state, where the economy and social services have collapsed and the social fabric has been eroded because of political turmoil since the turn of the Millennium, (Bratton and Masunungure 2011:3).

Zelizer (2013:4) notes that the field of peacebuilding has continued to grow and thus has led to the development of an infrastructure for peace. The Centre for Conflict Management and Transformation (2013), notes that there were more than 100 civil society organisations doing peace projects across Zimbabwe by 2012. Most of these organisations have been in existence for less than 10 years and thus raising serious issues to do with human resources and technical capacity to deal effectively with issues in the field of peacebuilding. The organisations are working in a politically charged environment and require effective peacebuilding skills. The environment is polarised along political party affiliation lines leading

to the politics of exclusion as noted by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2010). The country is characterised by serious human suffering emanating from both structural violence and direct violence. There is antagonism between the government and the civil society organisations operating in Zimbabwe.

Some analysts have often dismissed some of these CSOs as conflict entrepreneurs and thus inconsequential. Magaisa (2009) mourns the divided and fragmented nature of civil society movements in Zimbabwe. Zigomo (2012:4) notes that Zimbabwe's civil society lacks capacity as a result of various political, ideological and economic factors. The term peace has been politicised and commercialised leading to what Coullier and Hoeffler (2004) terms conflict entrepreneurs, who claim to be carrying out peacebuilding programs and yet their intention is to reap financial benefits from donor funds.

However, even with the controversies surrounding some of the operations relating to CSOs, it remains a fact that they play an important part in the peacebuilding processes across the country. As noted by Machakanja and Mungure (2013), the ONHRI made an effort to integrate the CSOs in their operations. It was, however, unfortunate that the ONHRI was heavily politicized and consequently it failed to have a meaningful impact on the reconciliation agenda. A new body was created by the new Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013:236(1), the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission. It is imperative that the new body works with the CSOs across the country as they (CSOs) have considerable resources and have easy reach to communities.

There are multiple problems that are affecting CSOs in Zimbabwe. Ziso (2007:55-56) found out that the relationship between the government of Zimbabwe and the CSOs is problematic because the government views the CSOs as watchdogs with the aim of undermining ZANU-PF hegemony whilst the CSOs on the other hand believe they have a democratic right to promote the interests of the masses. On the other hand, Gwisai (2007:14) lamented the "commodification and commercialisation" of the civil society sector in Zimbabwe and he further bemoaned the tendency by the CSOs to engage in civic affairs because of the opportunity that is there to make more money.

The position of civil society in Zimbabwean body politic is also further complicated by the "western stooges" label given by pro-ZANU-PF scholars, (Chitanga 2009:23). As a result of this labelling, many CSOs have tended to be side-lined from national development issues. However it remains a fact that a well-functioning civil society sector plays an important role in a country's socio-economic development.

1.5 The Research Problem

The failure of state-centred approaches to peacebuilding in Zimbabwe has seen civil society organisations leading the grassroots peacebuilding initiatives. The relationship between the state and civil society in Zimbabwe is problematic, yet the role of civil society in the socio-economic development of any nation is increasingly becoming more influential. In the absence of government commitment, civil society in Zimbabwe has attempted to close the peacebuilding gap. However, for the CSOs to be effective there is need to develop the relevant skills. Chinhangu (2015) found out that most of the CSOs were formed after the unbearable violence of 2008 and that they were formed without any form of training, let alone literature relating to peacebuilding. Many of the organizations are led by personnel who do not have tuition in peacebuilding.

There is a serious challenge regarding CSO driven initiatives in a localized context. As noted by Krause and Jutersonke (2005:459), many CSOs:

Follow a donor-driven, bureaucratic-institutional logic that conjures into existence a social field in which policies can be imposed by experts defined not by their local knowledge but by their grasp of institutional imperatives and pseudo-scientific models of society and societal change.

Donais (2012:11) notes that the standard view of CSOs as a universally accepted force for good is often challenged by the politicized nature of conflict in the local context.

There has not been a systematic generation of knowledge to inform the practice in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. A national survey carried out by the Centre for Conflict Management and Transformation (2013) revealed a common characteristic among many organisations working on peace projects in different provinces in Zimbabwe: lack of technical skills and expertise in peacebuilding. This was corroborated by a commissioned report by the European Union (2014) which also revealed that CSOs in Zimbabwe lacked practical skills and that most of them did not have a research unit in their establishments. This has a serious bearing on their programming. The European Union (EU) Document (2014:25) also noted that the CSOs tended to orient their strategies and activities to donor priorities, losing independence and being perceived by the authorities as agents of the west. Prendergast and Plumb (2002) note that where there is no proper research and expertise of what needs to be done, Civil Society may, unwittingly, “reinforce negative, conflict producing elements of the economic and social structure of a given state...”

Studies on civil society and peacebuilding have largely focused on the roles that the CSOs can play in humanitarian emergencies as well as in post conflict reconstruction. This study focuses on the development of appropriate peacebuilding skills in the context of Zimbabwe. Many of the peacebuilding organizations in Zimbabwe are relatively new. Most of them are yet to realize their full potential. The development of a comprehensive peace infrastructure in Zimbabwe is still embryonic. This study focuses on a reflection of current practice and how to improve in order to enhance the impact of the interventions. Freire (2004) encouraged a critical reflection and problem solving approaches in education as well as an investigation of reality in order to transform social situations. This study thus focused on the development of peacebuilding skills to effectively transform the Zimbabwean conflict situation into more positive outcomes.

1.6 Aim of the Study

The aim of this research was to develop effective peacebuilding skills among civil society organizations in Zimbabwe through a process of reflection, research and action.

The specific objectives are:

- ❖ To identify the nature and scope of peacebuilding initiatives by civil society organisations in Bindura and Mazowe Districts, Zimbabwe;
- ❖ To examine the challenges facing civil society organisations working in peacebuilding in the two districts of Bindura and Mazowe, Zimbabwe;
- ❖ To design and implement a training module for civil society organisations for skills development in peacebuilding in Bindura and Mazowe Districts in Zimbabwe and;
- ❖ To carry out a preliminary evaluation of the short term impact of the training programme.

1.7 The Participating Organisations

Two civil society organisations operating in Bindura and Mazowe Districts of Mashonaland Central Province in Zimbabwe participated in the study. For ethical reasons owing to the sensitivity of the issues discussed, the polarized political environment in Zimbabwe in general and the province in particular, the names of the participating organisations have been concealed. For reporting purposes, I will use A to refer to the organization with projects running in Bindura District and B to the organization operating projects in Mazowe District.

1.8 Profile of Organisation A

The organization focuses on women empowerment, peacebuilding and civil and political rights advocacy activities. The organization was formed in 2010 and is barely five years old. It is a community based organisation that is only visible in the districts of Bindura, Guruve and Shamva in Mashonaland Central Province. The secretariat is largely dominated by females with only a few males present.

Regarding peacebuilding work, the organization has been running peacebuilding workshops and has set up peace committees in the district.

1.9 Profile of Organisation B

The organization is much bigger than A. It has its coordinating office in Harare but it maintains a presence in Mashonaland Central, Mazowe District, Mashonaland West, Mashonaland East, Manicaland and Midlands. It focuses on the promotion of civic rights, advocacy and peacebuilding. It has been in existence since 2003. Because of limited resources, the organisation's activities and programmes are largely done by volunteers in the community with the secretariat only providing an oversight role.

Like organization A, the organization works with communities to address conflicts. Organisation B has also set up peace committees and holds peacebuilding workshops in communities whenever resources permit. The organisation recently started a project on sustained dialogue although this concept has not been implemented in Mazowe District.

1.10 Significance of the Study

There is a paucity of published studies on capacity development in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe, more so of an action research nature. This study will go a long way in providing the basis for reflective approaches in peacebuilding practice in the country. The study has relevant contribution towards the capacitation of civil society organisations in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe and hence will improve the quality of the interventions by CSOs. The study managed to develop a context-specific intervention which was informed by the obtaining realities on the ground. I noted that there was a bias towards the more generic approaches to peacebuilding and therefore the study also managed to strike a balance by developing an

eclectic approach that adopted the positives from the largely general approach as well as from the traditional context.

The collaborative study provided a useful reflection on the current practice by the CSOs and noted that there was a need to re-think some of the models being used in peacebuilding as they were not yielding the best results. Effectively, the significant aspect of the study was that it managed to impact positively on the participating organisations by providing:

- Personal Skills that are necessary in peacebuilding;
- Interpersonal skills for communication, dialogue, programming and other interactive processes and
- Organisational skills to enhance conflict sensitivity and an awareness of the cultural dynamics in peacebuilding.

Most of the civil society organisations in Zimbabwe are relatively new and would benefit immensely from the research. The original contribution of the research to the subject of training in peacebuilding is that action research has not been largely utilised in peace studies. As a result, the study itself will serve as an important precursor to the wider use of action research in peacebuilding. Furthermore, a study of this nature has not been carried out in Zimbabwe and therefore it will offer an important insight into the state of peacebuilding interventions by CSOs.

1.11 Delimitations

Geographically the study was confined to the two districts of Bindura and Mazowe in Mashonaland Central Province, Zimbabwe. The study comprised two participating CSOs, which I have referred to as Organisation A and Organisation B, throughout the presentation primarily for ethical reasons, given the sensitivity of some of the issues that are discussed in the study.

Conceptually, the study was in the field of peacebuilding and was guided by Lederach's conflict transformation theory as well as the elicitive versus prescriptive approaches to training in peacebuilding. The study was an action research and was situated in the context of the interventions that the participants were currently involved in.

I did not consider carrying out a long-term impact evaluation for the study. This was because of the fact that this was an academic study with established timelines and as such a long-term impact evaluation was beyond the expected time frame for me to finish.

1.12 Overview of the Research Methodology

The study followed an action research design and the methodology was basically qualitative. The qualitative methodology was favoured as it uses a “naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings” (Patton 2001:39). The philosophical basis for the study was the interpretivist approach. As noted by McNiff and Whitehead (2011:30-32), one of the fundamental epistemological assumptions underpinning action research is that “knowledge is a collaborative process.” I made sure that the study was a collaborative process from the initial stage right up to the closure. The study was divided into three cycles of reflection, research and action. Using a combination of interviews and focus group discussions, the first phase of the study aimed at understanding the conflict dynamics in Zimbabwe in general and Mazowe and Bindura districts of Mashonaland Central in particular. The initial findings were used to reflect the nature of peacebuilding interventions by the two participating CSOs in the districts. The second phase of the study was to reflect on the approaches being used by the CSOs as well as the competencies that the organisations possessed in relation to peacebuilding. At this stage I used a combination of interviews and FDGs again to gain an in-depth understand of the challenges and opportunities for effective peacebuilding at the organisational level. This helped in identifying the needs at both the individual and institutional levels. The findings informed the third phase of the study. This basically involved a collaborative process of designing an intervention, in the form of a training workshop, training and evaluation of the impact of the workshop.

1.13 Limitations

The major limitation faced was that I was dealing with two organisations whose organisational profiles are totally different. The one operating in Bindura, i.e. organisation A, is much smaller and their decision-making was prompt, whereas Organisation B, operating in Mazowe, is a much bigger organisation with a national appeal, and uses a network of volunteers and had bureaucratic issues that delayed some of the processes. However, once we had identified the action research team, the process was much easier as all of the participants were volunteers based in Mazowe communities.

Another major limitation was that Zimbabwe is a highly polarised environment and, therefore, the peacebuilding environment is significantly sensitive. Initially, the participants were not comfortable to partake in the study but after assurances of confidentiality, including that of the participating organisations, the participants were forthcoming and the data collection process went well.

1.14 Definition of Terms

Peacebuilding: peacebuilding is a complex term with various connotations. In this study peacebuilding was taken to mean efforts towards social reconciliation, improvement of community institutions of peace and nurturing of tolerance and peaceful co-existence. The term refers to the efforts towards rebuilding broken relationships as well as breaking the cycle of violence by addressing the root causes as well as developing the capacity of the local actors in peacebuilding. Peacebuilding must have a fair balance between the liberal perspective and the local perspective. Peacebuilding requires sustained, cooperative work on underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems (Annan, 2004). In the Agenda for Peace (1992), Boutros-Ghali proposed responsibilities and responses for the United Nations and the International Community in dealing with contemporary conflicts. The proposal included four major areas of activities: - *preventive diplomacy*, *peacemaking*, *peacekeeping* and *post-conflict peacebuilding* (Lederach, 1997). His framework suggests that at different times in the diverse contexts, a variety of sequential response mechanisms and functions are needed to promote the resolution of conflict and sustenance of peace. Barnett, Hunjoon, O'Donnell and Sitea (2007:42) view peacebuilding as efforts towards building positive peace by eliminating the root causes and building capacity for more viable options for resolving differences.

Civil Society Organisations: these are organisations working independently of government influence. They are non-partisan, non-political and development-oriented. They represent a wide array of community interests ranging from social, political, economic and environmental. CSOs usually extend the social services to the people especially in circumstances where the government is incapacitated or overwhelmed.

Peacebuilding Skills: this refers to a wide array of personal, inter-personal and organisational qualities and competencies necessary for the effective execution of duties in peacebuilding. Skills also refer to the ability to analyse, design and evaluate interventions in a specific context and environment.

Peace:the term is difficult to define. However, a basic and more acceptable definition was given by Galtung (1996) who defines peace as the absence of violence in all its forms. At a personal level, peace can be taken to mean freedom to make personal choices, the provision of basic civil and political rights without fear or intimidation. Freedom from fear and freedom from want; implying a reasonable access to basic human needs. At an inter-personal or community level, peace refers to the ability to accept and celebrate diversity regarding political, religious and other affiliations. Galtung (1996) presents two types of peace, namely negative and positive peace. Negative peace relates to the situation immediately after a violent conflict where people are living in fear or forced peace as a result of fear or intimidation and coercion. Galtung (1996) further suggests that it is important to create a conducive environment to enable the transition from negative peace to positive peace. Positive peace entails the enjoyment of human liberties and freedoms.

Conflict: Refers to the differences that arise as a result of different beliefs, value systems, religion, human needs and unmet human expectations. Conflict can emerge as a result of scarce resources, struggle for power and various other factors. Conflict can be categorised as intra-personal (within oneself), inter-personal (between two people), communal (within a community), national (within a country) and international (involving many countries). Conflict can be political, economic, social, religious, and ethnic or identity based. Conflict is by nature unavoidable, ubiquitous, and inherent and a part of society. Conflict itself can be said to be neutral. It depends on how people react to a conflict to decide whether it acts out in a negative or positive manner.

Violence: There are various definitions of violence. The World Health organization (2003:6) defined violence as the deliberate use of physical force or power to leading to death, injury, psychological harm or impeded development. The definition also makes an attempt to cover the micro-level as well as the macro-level manifestations of violence. It also covers the public and private nature of violence. The World Health Organization (WHO) (2003:7) further divides violence into three categories: self-directed violence, interpersonal violence and collective violence.

Human Security: It refers to a more broadened concept of security where the human being is the primary referent. Human security attempts to strike a balance between the security of persons and the security of the state. Schirch (2013:10) defined human security as people-centred security with an emphasis on the protection of people, communities and the environment. Human Security has also been defined by the United Nations as 'freedom from fear and freedom from want'. The concept was first brought into the public domain by the

United Nations Development Report of 1994. A human security approach prioritises the security of people (especially the special populations like children, women, elderly, and people with disability and minority ethnic groups) in matters of peacebuilding.

Knowledge: Knowledge refers to the ways in which people acquire information and utilise it. Davenport and Prusak (2000:5) define knowledge as a fluid mix of framed experience, values, contextual and expert insight into a given subject. Knowledge can be tacit, implicit or explicit. Explicit knowledge refers to knowledge that is codified and stored in readable, visual or audio files. Implicit knowledge is embedded in the cultural, religious, social and political organisation of a society. Tacit knowledge is hard to explain but it is knowledge that is locked in the processes and is experiential. Tacit knowledge can be taken to refer to skills, experience and expertise.

Capacity: It is the ability of institutions to carry out their mandate in a manner that is effective, sustainable and efficient. Capacity also refers to having the relevant technical and human resources for a particular task.

1.15 Thesis Overview

The thesis comprises five sections. Section i) contains one chapter with the general background to the study as well as the statement of the problem. Section ii) focuses on the review of related literature and is made up of four chapters. Section iii) is made up of one chapter and it discusses the research design and methodology. Section iv) contains the data presentation and is made up of five chapters. Section v) has one chapter focusing on the summary and conclusions. The specific chapter outlines are presented below:

Section I: General Introduction

This section comprises one chapter.

Chapter 1: Background to the Study and Statement of the Problem- The chapter introduces the study by presenting a brief background to the problem, stating the problem, research objectives, delimitations, limitations as well as an overview of the whole thesis.

Section II: Review of Related Literature

- Chapter 2: Conflict, Violence, Peace and Conflict Transformation- this chapter discussed the key conceptual issues relating to the study. The discussion focussed on concepts like conflict, violence, peace, conflict management, resolution and transformation.
- Chapter 3: The Holistic Peacebuilding Approach (Bottom Up) - the focus of the chapter was on the Holistic Peacebuilding model as propounded by J.P. Lederach (1997). The discussion was centred on the functions of CSOs within the peacebuilding pyramid.
- Chapter 4: Civil Society and Peacebuilding: The constructed thoughts and the contested categories- the focus of the chapter was on the concept of civil society, its meaning from various theoretical orientations, roles and responsibilities in peacebuilding.
- Chapter 5: Training in Peacebuilding and Selected Action Research Case Studies- in this chapter the discussion focused on training approaches in peacebuilding. Case studies of previous action research studies were also visited.

Section III: Research Methodology

- Chapter 6: Research design and Methodology- this chapter outlined the research design, which was an exploratory action research, its philosophical underpinnings as well as its contextualisation in peacebuilding. The chapter also discussed the methods that were used for the data collection, analysis as well as intervention and evaluation of the action research. The study followed an action research design and was a case study of two civil society organisations operating in Bindura and Mazowe Districts in Mashonaland Central Province, Zimbabwe. The two organisations are using similar approaches to build peace in the communities and this was the major reason why I opted to focus on the two organisations.

Section IV: Data Presentation, Discussion and Analysis

- Chapter 7: Bindura and Mazowe Districts: Communities Haunted by Perpetual Fear- This is the first of the five data presentation Chapters. The main focus of the chapter

was on objective number one of the study and it sought to interrogate the nature and causes of conflict in the two districts of Bindura and Mazowe.

- Chapter 8: A critique of the local peace committees and the workshop approach in Peacebuilding in Bindura and Mazowe Districts- this chapter relates to objective number two of the study. It interrogates the current practice in peacebuilding among the participating CSOs.
- Chapter 9: Preparing for the Intervention: Determining the Training Needs- Chapter reflects on the skills needed in order to respond effectively to the issues raised in Chapters 7 and 8.
- Chapter 10: The Intervention (Training) - this was the intervention (action) part of the study. It documents in greater detail the training methods, experiences and outcomes.
- Chapter 11: This chapter discusses the emerging issues from the intervention stage. The key issues discussed include the need for individual skills, institutional capacity as well as cultural sensitivity in peacebuilding programming and implementation.
- Chapter 12: The Evaluation- the focus was on the evaluation of the action intervention. The chapter focuses on both the process (workshop) as well as the impact (effect) evaluation of the intervention.

Section V: Conclusion

- Chapter 13: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations- the last Chapter provides the summary, conclusion and recommendation of the study.

1.16 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the background to the research context and problem. I also clarified the statement of the problem, set out the research aim and objectives as well as the research questions. Part of the problem is that most peacebuilding initiatives have taken a top-down approach at the expense of grassroots approaches which have proved to be much more sustainable and effective. The challenge is to develop a human capital base with the capacity to initiate peacebuilding programmes aimed at social transformation for the good of society. I have also provided justification and significance of the study. I also discussed the geographical, conceptual as well as methodological delimitations of the study as well as the

limitations that were faced and how I overcame them. The next section discusses the literature related to the study. The literature is divided into three chapters; chapters 2 and 3 discussed the conceptual and theoretical underpinnings of the study whilst chapters 4 and 5 discussed civil society in peacebuilding, training in peacebuilding and some selected action research case studies.

SECTION II

2.0 CHAPTER 2: CONFLICT, VIOLENCE, PEACE AND THE CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION THEORY

Conflict is not inherently unmanageable. On one hand, the term 'conflict' suggests images of destructive and social disintegration. But when the resources, awareness and skills for managing it are available and accessible, conflict can be channelled toward mutually beneficial results (Dress and Peoc'h 2005:7).

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I focus on the key theoretical issues anchoring the study. There are various theories that could have been easily suited in this study, for example, the relational theory or the theory of conflict, violence and peace by Johan (Galtung: 1969, 1975, 1996). However, after carefully considering the pros and cons of each of the probable theories, I eventually decided to settle for the conflict transformation theory by John Paul Lederach (2003). The conflict transformation theory was preferred because of its emphasis on relational issues and the transformation of social conflicts. It covers four important aspects at which conflict can be transformed and these are: the personal; relational; structural and cultural levels, all of which are critical in transforming conflicts. These four critical aspects are important as they relate to the challenges that Zimbabwe is currently going through. However, before discussing the conflict transformation theory in detail, I will first examine the other relevant terms that feed into the concept of peacebuilding. It is particularly important to understand conflict, violence and peace before attempting to design a peacebuilding framework.

2.2 Aspects of Conflict

The word conflict is a significantly broad and often ubiquitous term. The definition is therefore relative depending on the focus and context of discussion. Simply put, conflict is defined as an incompatibility of goals, Ramsbotham, Miall and Woodhouse (2005:13). Conflict is an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce resources, and interference from the other party in achieving their goals.

Lederach (1999:18) views conflict as natural, inevitable in human existential dynamism, and good as a motor of change. In his earlier publication Lederach defines social conflict as:

A phenomenon of human creation, lodged naturally in relationships. It is a phenomenon that transforms events, the relationship in which conflict occurs, and indeed its very creators. It is a necessary element of transformative human construction and reconstruction of social organisation and realities (1995:17).

The above definition of conflict takes a constructivist approach to understanding and transforming conflict. It is critical to understand the context (including cultural and religious aspects) so as to effectively deal with its manifestations. The important point raised by Lederach is that conflict can be constructed and deconstructed by the same actors. In other words, the power to transform a conflict rests entirely with the conflicting parties. The constructivist approach is supported by Conteh-Morgen (2005:73), who submits that “constructivism as an approach is a useful theoretical lens in understanding the true nature of issues such as collective violence, class, gender, and racial issues, among others.”

Another definition which is of relevance to this study was provided by Cooper (2008:85) who viewed conflict as “an ineradicable part of human condition and it occurs when the interests of one party come by accident or design into engagement with those of another or others.”

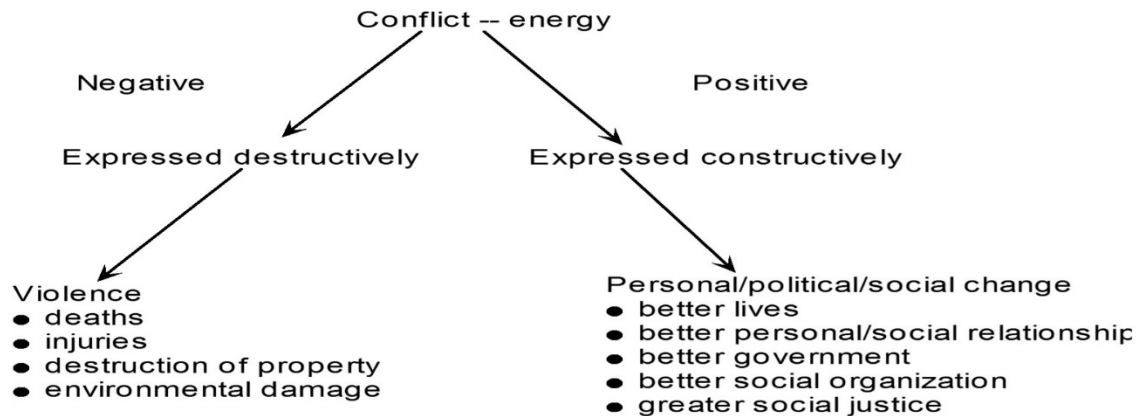
Each conflict is unique and thus it must be understood in its particular context. The drivers of conflict in Zimbabwe are different from those in the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa region and as such approaches and strategies to dealing with these conflicts must be informed by the realities on the ground. The perceptions are different and the actors are different as well. In this vein, Harris (2011:24) noted that “each of us sees, hears and experiences the world uniquely and we spend our lives bridging the differences between our perceptions and (all the needs and wishes they generate) and the perceptions of others.”

From the above definition it is apparent that there is a close relationship between conflict and change. Conflict-generated change can either be positive or negative. Conflict has certain characteristics namely that it is inevitable, inherent and ubiquitous in the natural world. As noted by Galtung (1996:14), conflict is largely informed by attitudes, behaviour and contradictions. Conflict can be latent or overt. There are various types of conflict; including political, relational, economic, and social and interest based conflict. Conflicts can have multiple causes. A typical example is the Zimbabwean conflict which can be classified as having political, social and economic causes. However, political factors appear to be the major compelling factor.

Conflict that is handled in a constructive and positive manner is bound to have positive effects and positive changes in society. On the contrary, if conflict is handled negatively, the outcomes

are bound to be retrogressive and destructive. This often leads to violence, loss of life and other negative consequences. The diagram below illustrates the outcomes of conflict.

Figure 2.1: Conflict Expression



Source: www.conflictsensitivity.org (accessed 23 January 2015)

It is clear from the illustration that if conflict is expressed in a negative manner the results are bound to be calamitous. Lives are lost, the environment is destroyed and property is damaged. Conflicts experienced in sub-Saharan Africa are largely violent and most regimes are oppressive. Examples of violent conflicts in the region include the Mozambique and Angolan conflicts which have raged on for decades. Conflicts that are expressed positively usually lead to better lives, better social relationships, sound social and government structures as well as greater social justices. However, this has remained elusive especially in developing countries.

2.3. Conceptualising Violence

The pioneering work of Johan Galtung remains influential on how violence is understood in the context of peace studies. Galtung (1969: 168) defines violence as “present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realisations are below their potential realisation.” This is a rather abstract definition but it offers the necessary parameters within which we can understand violence. The important aspect is that violence can be direct and indirect. Galtung (1969: 170-171) further illustrates this by proposing that:

We shall refer to the type of violence where there is an actor that commits the violence as personal or direct, and to violence where there is no such actor as

structural or indirect. In both cases individuals may be killed or mutilated, hit or hurt in both senses of these words (i.e. physical and psychological), and manipulated by means of stick and carrot strategies.

This understanding of violence by Galtung is an important building block for the study as it provides a clearer understanding of the various dimensions of violence. Galtung goes on to term these overt and covert forms of violence. In the context of conflict, overt refers to the more direct forms of violence whereas covert refers to the indirect forms of violence. Direct or overt violence is physical or verbal and is largely visible while indirect or covert is structural and largely invisible. Structural violence is a result of policies or governance systems that are not responsive to the needs of the people resulting in a particular group benefitting at the expense of the other (Galtung, 1969).

Galtung furthers his conceptualisation of violence by adding a third dimension that he terms cultural violence. Cultural violence is described as “those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence... that can be used to justify or legitimise direct or structural violence” (1990:291). This third component is also important in understanding violence. Cultural violence qualifies as indirect or covert violence as well. There are some cultural practices that blind individuals from realising the harm that they inflict on a particular group in society. A good example is the issue of gender stereotypes in the context of Zimbabwe. Many Zimbabwean communities proscribe and prescribe certain behaviours as well as duties for men and women. A closer analysis of these prescribed roles reveals a gradual entrenchment of abusive practices leading to the subjugation of women by men. The end result is a society, or societies that are characterised by serious inequalities among men and women.

Galtung notes that:

The visible effects of direct violence are known; the killed, the wounded, the displaced, the material damage, all increasingly hitting the civilians. But the invisible effects may be even more vicious: direct violence reinforces structural and cultural violence (1996: 41).

It is important to understand the dimensions of structural violence as such understanding forms the basis and background of an inquiry into the development of peace building skills in civic organisations. Structural and cultural violence are a daily experience in most countries in sub-Saharan Africa, creating vicious cycles of poverty, hunger and violent conflict. Working towards addressing these challenges is an important consideration in peacebuilding. The violence triangle by Galtung (1969, 1996) offers a comprehensive appreciation of violence in its various forms. This conceptualisation of violence has remained influential regarding how

the international community perceives conflict. The contemporary definitions may differ in terminology but the understanding is basically modelled along the thoughts of Galtung (1996).

The World Health Organisation (WHO) defines violence as:

The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation (2003:6).

This definition brings into perspective the issues raised in Galtung's conceptualisation of violence. The effects of violence relating to injury and death are more directed to direct violence as articulated in Galtung's conceptualisation. Mal-development and deprivation can be linked to structural and cultural violence. The definition also makes an attempt to cover the micro-level as well as the macro-level manifestations of violence. It also covers the public and private nature of violence. WHO (2003:7) further divides violence into three categories:

- ❖ Self-directed violence
- ❖ Interpersonal violence
- ❖ Collective violence

The first category relates violence to self-inflicted violence. These include self-abuse through drug and alcohol abuse as well as suicide or para-suicide (attempted suicide). The second category of inter-personal violence is in relationship to smaller group dynamics. This can be one person inflicting pain on another person. This can be at a family level, work place or even within a religious or cultural group. The groups are relatively small and do not qualify as a community.

The third category which is termed collective violence is more broad and complex. This form of violence is a macro-level phenomenon and takes place in many communities in Africa. WHO (2003:7); notes that collective violence can further be divided into social, political and economic categories. Social forms of violence may include cultural and religious practices that expose people to certain vulnerabilities for instance female genital mutilation in some communities in Africa, the practice by some apostolic sects of shunning medical institutions in general and denying their children access to critical vaccinations and immunisations in particular, under-age marriages as well as forced marriages. Political violence is also equally problematic in many African communities. In essence, the research problem for this study centres on political violence in Zimbabwe. Political violence in Zimbabwe, which is usually pronounced towards elections and in the aftermath, is one reason why so many CSOs working

on peacebuilding emerged in Zimbabwe. Political violence includes organised and state-sponsored militias, self-organised resistance groups or movements calling for self-determination.

Most of the UN agencies appear to borrow the ideas of Galtung in their conceptualisation of violence. UNESCO (2003) describes structural violence as:

The in-built violence that exists in the inequalities of societal structures, where there is such gross power imbalances that people's chances of life actually vary substantially. Uneven resource distribution, access to medical supplies, hygiene, education, income, security, and of course political power are a result of structural violence.

The UNESCO definition is particularly important in peace practice primarily because of the changing nature of conflict, especially in the context of sub-Saharan Africa. Incumbent governments usually rely on state apparatus to perpetuate their hegemony and to violate the fundamental human rights of their own people. The scope of peacebuilding should thus aim at developing mechanisms and approaches that seek to address such kinds of violence. Quite often peacebuilding efforts are aimed at helping the affected population (usually through reconciliation and economic rehabilitation) whilst ignoring the very structures that perpetuate violence. As a result of structural violence, Galtung (1990; 46) notes that “the top dogs get much more out of the interaction in structures than others, the under dogs.”

The three dimensions of violence as articulated by Galtung and further expanded by various UN agencies like UNESCO and WHO are important in the designing and implementation of any peacebuilding activity. Direct violence is largely visible and quite often is the one given attention but it is important to note that cultural and structural violence are equally damaging and must be given due attention as well. The next important term is peace. I will explain the term by referring to key contributions from scholars in the field of peace.

2.4 Contextualising Peace

One of the earliest scholars to provide an empirical study to the concept of peace is Johan Galtung. Galtung (1964:20) defines negative peace as “the absence of violence, absence of war”, and positive peace as “the integration of human society”. Galtung was probably influenced by developments during that time when peace was largely equated to the absence of war. The consideration of societal and human integration as the broader understanding of peace broadened the horizons for peace practice and studies alike.

The term peace is widely used yet it is also very difficult to conceptualise. The term can be defined from various philosophical standpoints: religion, security, development and various other strands. Lawson (2007:8) quotes Martin Luther arguing that, "Peace is not the absence of tension but the presence of justice." Jameson (2000:56), on the other hand, defines peace as "the elimination of inherent and multiple political and socio-economic threats." Lawson (2007:60) goes further to mention that there is "positive" and "negative" peace of which negative peace is maintained through coercive and repressive means whereas positive peace emanates from democratic and voluntary persuasions.

2.5 Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding has experienced an exponential growth ever since the end of the cold war. The Agenda for Peace by Boutros Boutros Ghali (1992) was a watershed United Nations publication that not only popularised the term but also went a long way in Institutionalising the practice at International and Regional levels.

Peacebuilding is often referred to as the broader term encompassing all the other strategies like conflict management, resolution and transformation, (Lederach 1997, 2003). It is also linked to other concepts like peacemaking and peacekeeping. Peacebuilding is a key term in my research topic and an anchor to my study. As a result I will devote considerable space to address the concept, its various forms as well as its evolution.

2.5.1 The Concept of Peacebuilding

The term peacebuilding is as complex as the process of peacebuilding itself. The concept is broad and complex. Peacebuilding can be viewed from various perspectives such as international relations, reconstruction, and development and so on. It is a long term process and occurs in different spheres. The term "Peacebuilding" originated in the field of peace studies more than three decades ago. It was coined by Galtung (1975) in his pioneering work, *Three Approaches to Peace: Peace keeping, Peacemaking and Peacebuilding*. Johan Galtung called for the creation of peacebuilding structures to promote sustainable peace by addressing the "root causes" of violent conflict and supporting indigenous capabilities for peace management and conflict resolution (Neufeldt et al, 2006). The term was popularised by the then United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in 1992 when he presented his document titled *Agenda for Peace*. Boutros-Ghali defined peacebuilding as a

range of activities meant to identify and support structures which tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict, (Francis 2008:37).

The definition by Ghali may have been influenced by developments of the time. It is particularly important to note that the definition by Ghali assumes a largely reactionary approach to peacebuilding. It does not consider the pre-conflict situation. The conceptualisation of peacebuilding during the 1990s was probably influenced by the notions of security during the cold war era. State security appeared to take precedence over human security.

Kofi Annan (2004) in *Agenda for Development* states that peacebuilding requires sustained, cooperative work on underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems. In the *Agenda for Peace*, Boutros-Ghali proposed responsibilities and responses for the United Nations and the international community in dealing with contemporary conflicts. The proposal included four major areas of activities: - *preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and post-conflict peacebuilding* (Lederach, 1997). His framework suggests that at different times in diverse contexts, a variety of sequential response mechanisms and functions are needed to promote the resolution of conflict and sustenance of peace.

Peacemaking refers to the diplomatic efforts by the international community to bring conflicting parties to the negotiating table and for them to reach an agreement. Peacekeeping is one of the most popular preventive mechanisms that the UN has continued to use in conflict zones. Examples of ongoing UN peacekeeping missions include the mission in DRC, Sudan, and Israel/Palestine among others. According to Lederach (1999) peacekeeping implies the deployment of armed and civilian personnel in a conflict zone so as to save lives and arrest the fighting between belligerents.

The early warning mechanism refers to the monitoring and forecasting mechanisms that are put in place in a bid to monitor conflict situations and take action before they reach the crisis stage (Beghof Foundation 2012:18). The strategy uses both qualitative and quantitative data so as to monitor regions where conflicts are likely to occur. International actors can then use the information from these regions to apply diplomatic pressure in a bid to arrest the situation.

The UN had, since the *Agenda for Peace* and *The Agenda for Development*, evolved over the years with the August 2000, *Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations* (commonly known as the Brahimi Report), (Tshirgi 2004) as well as Annan's Publication *In Larger Freedom* in 2004 showed that the thrust of peacebuilding has clearly shifted from focusing only on state sovereignty to human security and development through transformed relationships (Makwerere and Mandoga 2012).

As Lederach (1997:12) puts it, peacebuilding is understood as:

A comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates and sustains the full array of processes, approaches and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable peaceful relationship.

Lederach (2000) further reinforces the position that peacebuilding is mainly to do with transformation of relationships between people. Mani (2002:15) suggested that peacebuilding is both a political process as well as a social process which is aimed at rebuilding relationships. This view was further broadened by Fukuda-Parr and McCandless (2009:216-217) who argue that peacebuilding should comprise holistic conceptual strategies and approaches in order for them to be effective. Initially, peacebuilding was considered a necessary step once peace-making had established the framework for a negotiated settlement and peacekeeping had ensured that warring functions would not re-engage in armed conflict (Cornwell et al 2010). The concept was broadened in the 1990s to include, apart from rebuilding in post-conflict settings, conflict prevention, conflict management and post-conflict reconstruction efforts, (Cornwell et al 2010). Since then, peacebuilding has formed the central issue in international intervention in post-war societies ever since Boutros-Ghali introduced the concept as key to successful preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace keeping (Cornwell et al 2010). It involves a wide range of activities and functions that both precede and follow formal peace accords.

Lederach (2003) further sees peacebuilding from a broader perspective as it relates to rebuilding relationships. Lederach posits that peacebuilding involves the transformation of relationships. Peacebuilding includes processes of change within a more expansive view of context and time (Karbo 2008). In view of this, peacebuilding is not limited to markers of peace such as the signing of peace agreements or cessation of hostilities. It is an ongoing multifaceted and holistic concept that should be tied to a society's social, cultural, political, spiritual, and economic and development fabrics.

According to Lederach (1998:44), conflict transformation assumes that the consequences of a conflict can be modified so that relationships and social structures improve as a result of conflict instead of being harmed by it (Lederach 1999:27). Lederach's emphasis is on rebuilding destroyed relationships focusing on reconciliation within society and strengthening of society's peacebuilding potential. Peacebuilding thus represents a route to achieve societal reconciliation (Neufeldt et al 2006:3).

From the various definitions that have been proffered above, a critical stand out issue is that peacebuilding is largely relationship-centred. Humanity's conflicts in the world are relationship

centred. Therefore, the entry point for any successful peacebuilding initiative must strive to address relational aspects. If relationships are normalised then it becomes easy to address other forms of conflict.

2.5.2 The Evolution of Peacebuilding Practice

Whilst the concept may have started with Galtung in his 1975 publication, the UN Agenda for Peace provided the breakthrough for its wider use in international relations and international conflict resolution initiatives. The development of peacebuilding gained currency in the aftermath of the Cold War. The end of the Cold War presented the world with a new window of opportunity as well as reflections on working for sustainable peace in the world. Ghali (1992) called for “an integrated approach to human security” so as to attend to the root causes of conflict as well as political, social and economic issues. This was a notable departure from the dominant notions of state-centred security. Svensson (2002:2) notes that the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1994) Human Development Report pinpoints “interdependence between security and development as the two main components of human life and dignity.”

This major paradigm shift from an exclusive focus on state security to human security, provided the currency to propel peacebuilding to new levels. During the era of the Cold War it was difficult for the United Nations to advocate the peacebuilding agenda especially at a country level mainly because of the serious ideological differences which divided the world into two ideological realms, the capitalist bloc and the communist bloc. The capitalist bloc was dominated by countries such as the United States of America, Britain, France and West Germany (now Germany after the merger with East Germany). The communist bloc comprised the then Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), China, Romania, and East Germany among other states. The period witnessed a lot of proxy wars that were fought mainly on African, Asian and South American turfs.

It is, however, pertinent to note that the UN definition of peacebuilding had its own limitations. Ryan (2013: 28-29), notes that the conceptualisation of peacebuilding as post-conflict initiatives has its own serious problems because no society is post-conflict. He suggested the post-violence as a better and more appropriate term. The conceptualisation of peacebuilding by the UN may have been informed by the challenges of the late 1980s and the early 1990s in which the world experienced serious inter-state and intra-state wars. The period of the cold war made it difficult for the international community to engage in acts of preventive diplomacy

primarily because of the unipolar nature of the international system. Intervention was largely possible in the aftermath of a conflict.

Whilst conceding that the UN definition on peacebuilding had serious limitations, it would also suffice to say that the agenda for peace opened the floodgates on the development of literature on the concept of peacebuilding as well as the practice. The concept later flourished as scholars like Lederach (1994, 1997, 1999); Kumar (1997); Maynard (1999); Doyle and Sambanisi (2000); and Reyler and Paffenholz (2001) all contributed to the broader conceptualisation of the subject.

The UN publication of 1995, *Supplement to an Agenda for Peace* which was also written by Ghali to mark the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the United Nations, offered a more refined definition of the subject. The supplement now recognised not only the post-conflict stage as important but also the importance of the pre-conflict stage. The rest of the text, however, remained similar to the *Agenda for Peace*. The focus appeared more inclined to the resolution of intra-state conflicts than inter-state conflicts.

The *Supplement to an Agenda for Peace* was then followed by another publication, the *Agenda for Democratization*, by Ghali (1996). This UN publication focused more on institutional capacity building in post conflict environments and was anchored on the belief that in order for peace to be sustainable, there has to be strong democratic institutions, (Ryan 2013: 30-31). The *Agenda for Democratization* borrowed heavily from the liberalism school of thought. The idea of democratisation will go a long way in laying the foundation for sustainable peace but it is also equally important to note that this has its own limitations especially in Africa. Most of the conflicts are not essentially about a lack of democratic institutions but more about resource distribution and access, ethnicity and recognition. Therefore, any peacebuilding initiative must take note of the many variables threatening peace in the African context.

The other significant UN publication was the *Brahimi Report* of 2000. The report was a reflective analysis of the UN experiences in terms of success and challenges in peacekeeping in the world (Ryan 2013). The report marked a broadened scope of the concept of peacebuilding. The report notes the threat of the HIV/AIDS virus, malaria and other communicable diseases as serious threats to the freedom of nations and states. The Brahimi Report also moved on to lay the foundation for a more solid peace infrastructure within the UN system. The report referred to the 1998 SCR that encouraged the creation of peacebuilding offices within the UN secretariat.

The *Brahimi Report* was then followed up by the *In Larger Freedom* report which was presented by Kofi Annan (2005). The recommendations from the report were then used as the basis for the creation of the UN Peacebuilding Commission. According to the United Nations (2006) the main functions of the Peacebuilding Commission are to; promote best practice, improve the coordination of actors engaged in this work, advise governments who want assistance with peacebuilding tasks, and enhance the attention and funding given to peacebuilding at an international level. The Commission comprises 31 members who are drawn from the various geopolitical areas of the globe. It also includes representatives from 7 members of the Security Council as well as others from the ECOSOC. The UN has also gone on to create the UN Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) and the first beneficiaries from this fund included Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone and Burundi.

The evolution of peacebuilding within the UN system has been gradual and long in coming. The motion was set by the *Agenda for Peace*, Ghali (1992), *Supplement to the Agenda for Peace* (1995), *Agenda for Democracy* (1996), *The Brahimi Report* (2000) and *In Larger Freedom* (2005). This eventually culminated in the formation of the UN Peacebuilding Commission in 2007. As a result of these developments, all current United Nations peacebuilding activities are now being coordinated by the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission (UN-PBC). This is the evolution and current outlook of peacebuilding architecture within the corridors of the UN.

The UNDP (1995:23) defined Human Security as “safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression as well as protection from sudden and harmful threats such as repression as well as protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the pattern of daily life - whether in homes, jobs or communities. It is this broadened conceptualisation of security that brought about the growth of the peacebuilding movement as well as its institutionalisation. The United Nations (2009:10) notes that the term peacebuilding was initially used to refer to the immediate activities required after the reduction or conclusion of conflict and referred to capacity building, reconciliation and socio-economic transformation.

The United Nations Peacebuilding Commission, hereinafter referred to as the PBC (2007) on its website conceptualised peacebuilding as “a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into a conflict in countries emerging from conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels, address key causes of conflict and lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development.”

Tschirgi (2003:13) sums up five key precursors that can promote peacebuilding globally:

1. Normative developments: the security agenda broadened to include human security;

2. Policy Developments: Conflict prevention, the uses of development assistance to address violent conflicts, more effective peace operations for peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction became officially declared goals and objectives;
3. Operational responses: The United Nations launched a growing number of multi-dimensional humanitarian, peacemaking and peacekeeping operations.
4. Institutional reform: Many governments and donor agencies established prevention and peacebuilding units. Several multi-governmental and non-governmental peacebuilding networks were created and
5. New institutional Arrangements: for example “coalitions of the willing” and the “United Nations Plus” model.

The observations by Tschirgi are to a very large extent valid at least in the context of my study; the most valid observation being the normative developments on the security agenda and how this could usher in a new approach to security issues at a global level. It is, therefore, important to take a closer look at the relationship between peacebuilding and human security. These institutional reforms and developments can only be fully understood in the context of the developments within the UN and beyond. Developments at the level of the UN are important as they help to shape the global agenda on key issues for instance environmental issues, human and drug trafficking issues and peacebuilding.

2.6 Peacebuilding and Human Security: The Global trends

Schirch (2013:10) quips that there is a close relationship between peacebuilding and human security, whereas peacebuilding initiatives aim at providing sustainable solutions to both immediate and structural sources of fear and want, human security on the other hand requires a citizen-oriented state, an active civil society as well as a robust business sector so as to ensure a secure environment for every individual in the community.

Table 2.1: Differentiating National Security and Human Security

	National Security Paradigm	Human Security Paradigm
Goal	Securing territorial, economic, and political interests of the nation, such as access to oil or other resources or promoting ideologies such as free-market capitalism	Protecting the wellbeing of individuals and communities so that they can live free from fear, free from want, and free to live in dignity
Actors	Primarily military	Multitrack efforts at top, mid-, and community levels, including government, civil society, business, academic, religious, media, and other actors
Analysis	Threat assessments primarily focus on terrorism, rogue states, and weapons of mass destruction	Threat assessments include weapons of mass destruction, terrorism from state and non-state actors, poverty, economic disparity, discrimination between groups, deadly diseases, nuclear and biological materials, and environmental destruction and climate change
Budget	Security budget geared toward offensive military capacity	Security budget requires robust investments in preventive efforts involving economic development, good governance, and Multitrack diplomacy
Global Ties	National security seen as relatively isolated from global security	Human security seen as interdependent across state lines

Adapted from Schirch, L. (2013:18)

Human security takes a paradigm departure from the more popular state security paradigm. Whilst the two concepts should ideally complement each other, lines can still be drawn on the differences between the two. Security is intrinsic to personal and state safety, access to government services and participation in political processes. In this discussion, the meaning of security is guided by the UNDP'S (1994) *Human Development Report*. The UNDP's (1994) *Human Development Report's* definition of human security argues that the scope of global security should be expanded to include threats in seven areas namely; economic, political, food, health, community, personal and environmental security. Although the concept of human security emerged as a challenge to the traditional concept of security; it does not mean that the concepts are mutually exclusive. One cannot attain one without the other.

Human security is people-centred. Its focus shifts to protecting individuals. The important dimensions are to entail the well-being of individuals and respond to ordinary people's needs in dealing with sources of threats. The concept of human security recognizes the notion that the provision of security goes beyond the government and includes other non-state actors

such as civil society organizations and community members. The conceptualisation embraces the security of people from both violent and non-violent threats to lives and/or wellbeing and that such security or peace is dependent on sustainable development. The UNDP definition shifts from state-centric security to people-oriented security.

Table 2.2: Genesis and Institutional Trajectory of Human Security and Link to Peacebuilding

1992	Agenda for Peace	UN Secretary General Boutros-Boutros Ghali's call for "an integrated approach to human security" to address the root causes of conflict, spanning economic, social and political issues.
1994	Human Development Report	Debut of human security, broadly defined as 'freedom from fear and freedom from want' and marking the move from a state-centric to a human-centric security paradigm
1999	1999 Millennium Declaration	UN secretary general Kofi Annan calls the international community to work towards achieving the twin objectives of 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'
	United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS)	In March 1999 the government of Japan and the UN Secretariat launch the UNTFHS to finance UN human security projects and increase human security operational impact
	Human Security Network (HSN)	Launch of the Human Security Network at the initiative of Canada and Norway. The HSN comprises a group of like-minded countries from all regions of the world committed to identifying concrete areas for collective action in the area of human security
2001	Commission on Human Security (CHS)	Establishment of the independent commission on Human Security under the chairmanship of Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen
2003	Human Security Now	The CHS publishes its final report Human Security Now, defining human security as: "to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment".
2004	Human Security Unit (HSU)	Establishment of the Human Security Unit at the UN Secretariat in the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)
2004	UN Secretary General's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change	Recognition of the interconnectedness of a wide range of new threats to human security (economic and social threats; interstate conflict and rivalry; internal violence, including civil war, state collapse and genocide; nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological weapons; terrorism; and transnational organised

		crime) and the need for greater cooperation and partnerships to address them.
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Source: A synthesis of United Nations Institutional Documents.

There is a close connection between the concept of human security and peacebuilding. The paradigm shift from an exclusive focus on state security to a more balanced approach that also focuses on human security created more space for peacebuilding. The ultimate goal of peacebuilding resonates well with the scope of human security. In both approaches there is an underlying desire to transform the lives of the people in a more positive way. In this vein, it is by no coincidence that the human security trajectory can be linked to the formation of the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) in 2007. The conceptualisation of human security by the UNDP must not, however, be construed to imply that state security is less important. In fact, state security and integrity are important building blocks for sustainable peace and human security. Therefore, state security and human security are concepts that can only be viewed as being closely related and in a continuum rather than in contradiction. There is also need to understand peacebuilding in its various categories. This is important as it provides the parameters within which we conceive and perceive peacebuilding practice which is key in the current thesis.

2.7 Categories of Peacebuilding

The United Nations contextualises peacebuilding activities into four broad categories as specified in the Peacebuilding Capacity Inventory (UN Executive Office of the General Secretary, 2006:13). These are:

- i) Security and public order (e.g. security sector governance, law enforcement, DDR and mine action);
- ii) Justice and Reconciliation (for example; transitional justice, judicial and legal reform, human rights);
- iii) Governance and participation (for example; good offices, constitution-making, local governance, political parties, civil society, media) and
- iv) Social and Economic wellbeing (for example; protection of vulnerable groups, basic needs, gender, physical infrastructure, employment, economic development).

The categorisation of peacebuilding by the UNO reflects a general bias in its definition and conceptualisation of peacebuilding. The UNO definition visualises peacebuilding mainly as post-conflict reconstruction and development and as such the emphasis is on security, justice,

governance and economic wellbeing. The first category which focuses on security and public order can be related to one of the broad approaches to peacebuilding which is known as the Security-first approach, (Morten, 2004 and Schneckener, 2005). The emphasis is on ensuring the security of citizens as well as that of the wider community as pre-requisites for sustainable peace.

The second approach, which focuses on justice and reconciliation, can be equated to the other approach to peacebuilding also known as institutionalisation, (Paris, 2004; and Schneckener, 2005). This approach to peacebuilding emphasises the need to establish strong political institutions and then work on establishing democracy or democratic institutions. Paris (2004) noted that the Institutionalisation approach had to be emphasised so as to ensure a strong and stable environment upon which the more important issues of reconciliation can then be pursued. This emphasis on the strengthening of the institutions of governance is also referred to as 'state-building' Paris (2010:8).

The third strand which focuses on governance and participation can be equated to the civil-society-first approach. This approach was made popular by Ryan (1990) and Lederach (1994). The approach came out of the realisation that most ceasefire agreements and political agreements require a strong civil society for the effective implementation of the agreements. The role of civil society in socio-economic development has continued to receive widespread focus especially in the post-cold-war era. However, over-emphasis on the effectiveness of civil society has also presented countries coming out of conflict with serious challenges. Some CSOs, especially in the context of Africa, have often been accused of pursuing ulterior motives and of being agents of the west.

The last category is commonly referred to as the liberalisation approach and can be linked to economic and social welfare of nations and states. The approach borrows from the liberal ideas of governance. It advocates for the effective democratisation of all governance institutions, as a precondition for sustainable peace. The democratization process must include a wide range of issues including human rights, constitutionalism, the free market economy, and so on. The emphasis is on free and fair elections leading to the establishment of legitimacy. The approach grounds itself in the democratic peace theorem from scholars such as Doyle (1986), Russett (1993) and Kant (2002).

Whilst each of the four broad categories is seemingly inadequate, it is important to note that the four approaches must complement each other. However, the justice and reconciliation approach is more relevant to my study and ties in well with the theoretical framework on conflict transformation as well as the holistic peacebuilding model by Lederach (1997, 2003). The

conflict in Zimbabwe is largely a social conflict (although there are various other conflicts such as economic, cultural, and religious) and therefore, required an approach that grounded itself in the need to reconstruct and rehabilitate the broken relationships. The approach also borrowed from the third strand which emphasises the strengthening of civil society in the country.

The state-civil society relationship in Zimbabwe is probably one of the worst in Southern Africa or even the whole of the African continent (Zigomo 2013). As a result, the operations of civil society movements have not yielded much of the desired results. In fact, some of the CSOs often find themselves taking sides in the political conflict that the country has been grappling with over the past years, more specifically since 2000. Given this disturbing reality, it is only proper that the institutions be capacitated to develop the necessary peacebuilding skills as well as focusing on their core duties of nurturing peaceful co-existence in the communities in which they work.

2.8 The Conflict Transformation theory: J.P Lederach

The conflict transformation school was largely popularised by such scholars as Vayrynen (1991), Lederach (1995), Galtung (1995) and Rupesinghe (1995). The conflict transformation school probably developed out of the limitations of the conflict resolution school. Vayrynen (1994:4) proposed a transformative approach as opposed to settlement when he noted that:

The bulk of conflict theory regards the issues, actors and interests as given and on that basis makes efforts to find a solution to mitigate or eliminate contradictions between them. Yet the issues, actors and interests change over time as a consequence of the social, economic and political dynamics of societies.

Vayrynen does not offer a succinct definition of conflict transformation but contests the efficacy of the conflict resolution school. His acknowledgement that conflict is dynamic and much broader in scope is an important contribution because it broadens the parameters within which we perceive and address conflict. Vayrynen (1991:4-6) went on to identify four entry levels that are necessary when attempting to address a conflict and these are;

- ❖ Actor transformation
- ❖ Issue transformation
- ❖ Rule transformation and
- ❖ Structural transformation

The argument is that for any conflict to be transformed, there is need to understand and transform the actors, to transform the issues that are fuelling the conflict, deal with the rules of engagement as well as transforming the structures that are a source and driver of the conflict. The model, however, lacks a practical framework for dealing with the conflicts so that they can be transformed.

However, it is Lederach who managed to give a clear elaboration of the meaning of conflict transformation. Lederach (2003:14) defines conflict transformation as:

To envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real-life problems in human relationships.

The emphasis of the conflict transformation approach is on relationship building and Lederach (2003) emphasises that a transformational approach recognises that conflict is a normal and continuous dynamic within human relationships. The conflict in Zimbabwe (ever since the turn of the millennium) is largely political and social. This has created serious social fault lines that have seen societies failing to maintain cordial relationships.

Lederach (2003:19) further elaborates that “conflict transformation focuses on the dynamic aspects of social conflict. At the hub of the transformational approach is a convergence of the relational context, a view of conflict as opportunity, and the encouragement of creative change processes.” The idea is that the attainment of peace is not an end product but an ever evolving and dynamic process that requires constant nurturing. It is this nurturing that will require skilled personnel through capacity building and training.

Lederach (2003:21) further states that:

The pursuit of moving relationships from those defined by fear, mutual recrimination, and violence towards those characterised by love, mutual respect, and proactive engagement, constructive social change seeks to change the flow of human interaction in social conflict from cycles of destructive relational violence toward cycles of relational dignity and respectful engagement.

This is a particularly important observation by Lederach. The relationship aspect of a conflict is important in that it has the potential to make or break any efforts towards reintegration. In Zimbabwe, many people, including international diplomats, hailed the Global Political Agreement (GPA) as a conflict transformation move in Zimbabwe (Chipaike 2013). However, it soon turned out that the most critical component was missing. The relationship, both at a

social and economic level; between the political antagonists in the pact was seriously compromised. The GPA was characterised by mistrust and power politics. In the end, instead of addressing the crisis and laying a long term solution for the country, the GPA eventually expired without seriously addressing the critical issues affecting the country.

Although there was the ONHRI to address issues of reconciliation and national integration, the organ itself was also seriously hamstrung by a lack of political will as well as a lack of a well-defined peacebuilding model to help in the mending of relationships across the country. The other challenge was that the organ's approach was largely top-down as opposed to the bottom-up approach proposed by Lederach. The post 2013 harmonised elections in Zimbabwe were tense. Many analysts are predicting that the country may be currently slowly receding to the levels of violence and anarchy that were witnessed prior to the formation of the GNU.

The assumptions of the conflict transformation school are important in this study because peacebuilding is essentially about relationship building. It is especially important in the context of Zimbabwe because the state is at its weakest and most of the work is being done by civil society organisations. Civil society organisations in Zimbabwe occupy the critical middle level space and have easy access to the communities that have lived in hostilities for a very long time. These hostilities have created difficulties especially in the manner in which communities and even families relate to each other. There is serious political polarisation that cuts across most communities in Zimbabwe. Of the ten provinces in Zimbabwe, Mashonaland Central Province is often referred to as the political hotbed in Zimbabwe. Political conflicts are often expressed violently and without any form of tolerance. Conflict transformation is interested in the improvement of relationships through improving communication patterns. Its main emphasis is on improving the malfunctioning communication patterns and nurturing mutual understanding. This is done by helping the conflicting parties to realise their relational prejudices that include positions, interests, needs and fears, (Lederach 2003: 24).

Lederach (1999:23) identifies six critical considerations in what he terms the 'Framework for Peace'. The six considerations are:

1. Maintaining a broad conception of conflict and peacebuilding that legitimates and encourages multiple roles relevant to different tasks in the progression of conflict;
2. Promoting the ultimate goals of increasing justice, reducing violence, and restoring broken relationships;
3. Developing opportunities for transformation, both personal and systemic;
4. Promoting a holistic view of conflict transformation as restoration that embraces justice, forgiveness and reconciliation;

5. Pursuing social empowerment as the nurturing of individuals and community, and;
6. Understanding process as a way of life rather than as a technique and outcome as a commitment to truth and sustained restoration rather than as agreements or results.

These six considerations provide a holistic picture of the process of conflict transformation. They provide the basis for mapping the causes of the conflict (both long term and short term), the actors (the obvious ones and the lesser visible or indirect players), considerations for addressing the personal and systemic issues addressing the conflict and most importantly they embrace truth, reconciliation, forgiveness and justice, all of which are critical ingredients for sustainable peace.

Lederach (2003:28-29), views the transformational framework as having three components with each representing a point of inquiry when responding to conflict. These are:

- ❖ The presenting situation;
- ❖ The horizon of preferred future, and
- ❖ The development of change processes linking the two.

The three aspects articulated by Lederach are often overlooked in peacebuilding planning. The presenting situation requires thorough conflict mapping for practitioners to get a full appreciation of the roots as well as the drivers of the conflict. Mapping requires some specialised skills often acquired through training and perfected over a sustained period of engagement. The second aspect is also important. Envisioning the horizon for the desired future is important as this will create a common understanding of where the process should focus. The horizon or the desired future will also help to create a common understanding and a common vision for everyone involved in the process.

The last one is the most critical one. The creative strategies for achieving the desired change will require a good understanding of the conflict plus the necessary skills to move towards the horizon. In Zimbabwe, the process of peacebuilding has largely been driven by civil society organisations. Some have the capacity but unfortunately, others lack the critical skills. The situation is also compounded by the fact that some of the CSOs are into peacebuilding because that is where the donor funds are relatively easily accessible, at least in the context of Zimbabwe. The development of the process to link the two concepts requires skills and these skills are only acquired through training.

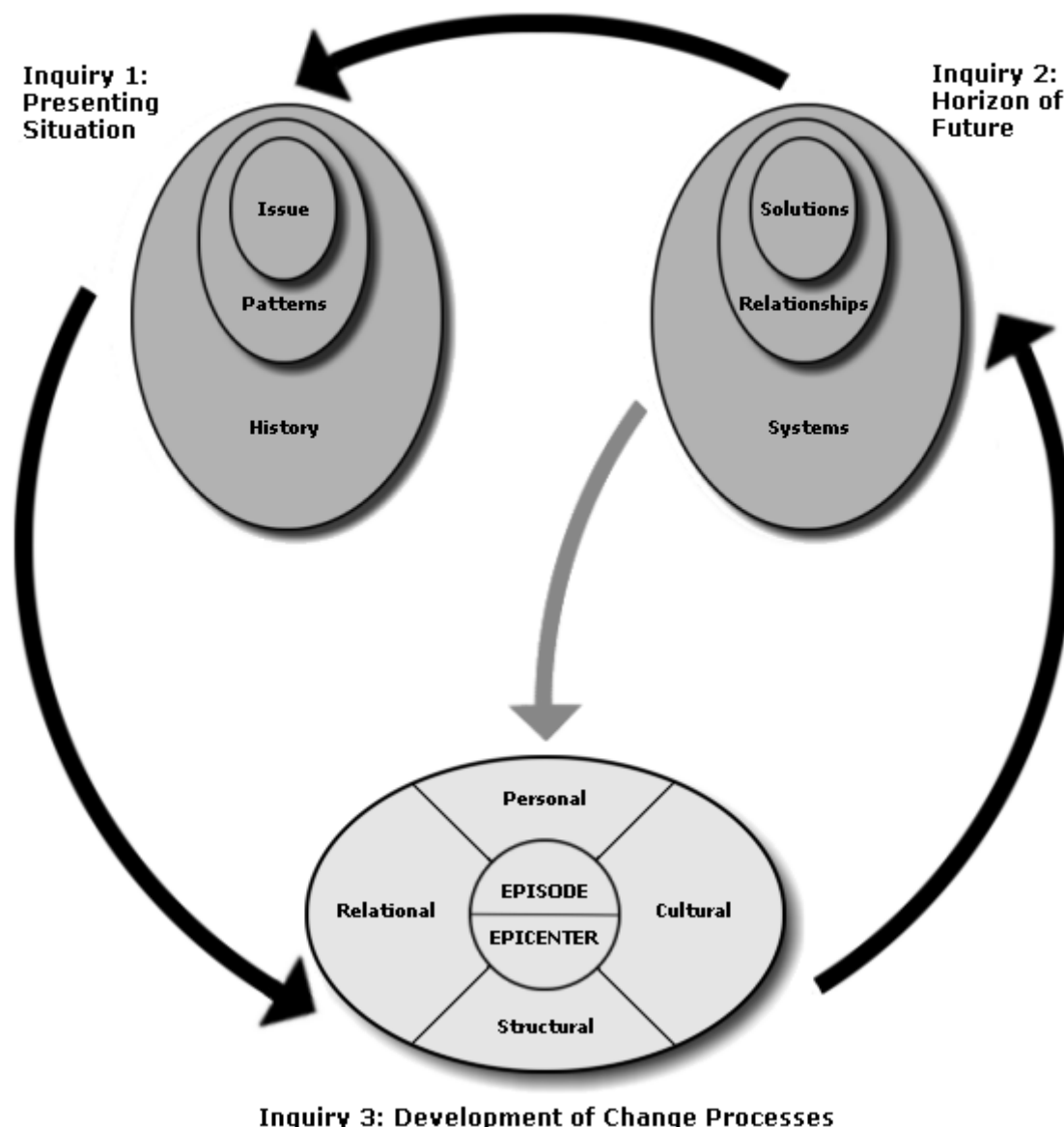
Lederach's perspective (2003:34) indicates that he was, however, quick to acknowledge that the process of change is not linear:

The movement from the present toward the desired future is not a straight forward line, but rather a set of dynamic initiatives that set in motion change processes and create a sustained platform to pursue long-term change. Such a framework emphasises the challenge of how to end something not desired and how to build something that is desired.

As I have already intimated when I explained the concept of conflict, it is a dynamic process that goes back and forth and the stages of conflict (although seemingly linear) may go back and forth depending on the conflict dynamics. The illustration of conflict transformation is presented in the diagram below.

Figure 2.3: Conflict Transformation Flow

The Big Picture of Conflict Transformation



Adapted from Conflict Sensitivity (2014). www.conflictsensitivity.org

In the above diagram, Lederach is giving a graphic illustration of the conflict transformation process. At the first port of enquiry, one may call for parties or practitioners to carry out a thorough mapping exercise. This conflict analysis exercise will involve all parties and will seek to determine the main actors to the conflict, the history, the root causes, the drivers and the effects among other aspects. History of the conflict is important to understand because it has a bearing on the conflict dynamics and understanding. It will help to shape the horizon for the desired outcomes and future.

The second aspect is also important in that the horizon must be shaped by common beliefs and that there has to be ownership of the processes. The horizon will derive from the relationship patterns as well as systems (both social and governance) that are put in place in order to address the conflict. The development of change (inquiry 3) is where the peace practitioners must develop the strategies for change. Lederach (1999) suggests that “change processes must not only promote short-term solutions, but also build platforms capable of promoting long-term social change.”

The change must be cognisant of the four dimensions of conflict, i.e. personal, relational, structural and cultural. This holistic and anthropological approach has great resonance on the Zimbabwean context. The conflict in the country is micro and macro and it affects personal, structural and in a way, cultural relations. Consequently the approach should thus address these broad conceptual aspects and within the context of both short-term and long-term horizons.

I will briefly reflect on conflict resolution in the section below so that I draw the line between resolution and transformation.

2.9 Conflict Resolution

The conflict resolution school seeks to address the root causes of conflict. The main assumption of the conflict resolution school is that every conflict has its roots and these roots are traceable. Once the roots are traced then the conflict can be resolved. Proponents of the school include, among others, Edward Azar, Michael Banks and John Burton. Botes (1994:4-5) notes that most conflict resolution scholars believe that conflict is finite and, therefore, can be effectively solved by addressing the root causes of the conflict. The term resolution has, however, posed several problems among scholars in peace studies. The conflict resolution scholars appear to be too simplistic about conflict and its dynamics. Arresting and eliminating a conflict is problematic because conflicts are in themselves very dynamic and have a tendency to generate other conflicts. An example is the Zimbabwean land conflict which emanated from the Lancaster house agreement. The Lancaster Constitution, which was a product of the Lancaster agreement, clearly highlighted that land in the new Zimbabwe was going to be sold on a ‘willing seller, willing buyer’ basis. This failed to resolve the conflict and when the government eventually tried to resolve the conflict, it now had offshoots some of which are still a big issue in the current dispensation.

One of the leading scholars of the conflict resolution school, John Burton, is credited with the problem solving approach. His most popular theory though is the Human Needs Theory

(1990). Burton (1990:23) observes that all conflicts are spurred by serious human needs deprivation. The conflict resolution school has remained fairly popular over the years. The school looks at both the micro-level and macro level dynamics of conflict. In fact, the conflict resolution school bears some similarities with the conflict transformation approach. The only major differences are that the resolution school is largely issue centred and the horizon is usually short-term as opposed to the transformation school which is relationship-centred and the horizon is usually long-term.

Claudine (2012:64) notes that:

...conflict resolution does not set specific solutions or end goals for society, rather it offers a commitment to the key assumption that destructive win-lose styles of management in violent conflict generally incur unacceptable costs of the conflict parties and the whole society in general and the search for ways of transforming actually or potentially violent conflict into peaceful process of political and social change.

Claudine (2012:67) identifies the following eight considerations in conflict resolution:

- Creation of an effective atmosphere: This typically entails creating a secure environment in which interaction between conflicting parties will take place without interruption. This can be done with help from a mediator.
- Clarification of parties' perceptions: Parties must be able to express their feelings and perceptions to each other. Conflicting parties have different perspectives of issues at stake and through clarifying each other's position, feelings and perceptions the parties may understand and appreciate each other better.
- Focus on individual and shared needs- By focussing on each party's needs and those that are shared; this step marks the beginning of finding areas of common ground.
- Building of shared positive power- Where it is difficult to find common ground among conflicting parties, this may be built by the parties focussing on the problem to be solved.
- Looking to the future and then learning from the past- Bridging the gap between the past and present will make it easier for parties to face a common future together.
- Generation of options - Conflict and violence sometimes occur because concerned parties may believe they have run out of options or alternatives. Dynamic and creative thinking can change pessimism into optimism.

- Taking action - When exploring alternatives, parties must develop particular acts to meet individual and shared needs.
- Making mutual benefit agreements- All the mentioned steps must be formulated into a mutually satisfying agreement which the parties commit to.

Conflict resolution is more issue-centred and pays more attention to the presenting problems. The difference with the conflict transformation school is that in conflict transformation relationships are important and are at the centre of every conflict. In conflict resolution there is lesser attention on the structural issues that feed into the conflict. However, there are some similarities between the resolution and transformation approaches. The two approaches all believe that conflicts are rooted in some long term causes and that the only way to deal with the presenting situation is to understand the long term causes. I have presented a summary of the differences between conflict resolution and conflict transformation in the table below.

Table 2.4: Resolution and Transformation: A Brief Comparison

	Conflict Resolution Perspective	Conflict Transformation Perspective
The key question	How do we end something not desired?	How do we end something destructive and build something constructive?
The focus	It is content-centred	It is relationship-centred
The purpose	To achieve an agreement and solution to the presenting problem creating the crisis	To promote constructive change processes, and to open up life opportunities and new opportunities for everyone
The development of the process	It is embedded and built around the immediacy of the relationship where the presenting problems appear	Concerned with responding to symptoms and the institutional and structural causes of conflict and how to transform them so that they serve the needs of the people
Time frame	The horizon is short-term	The horizon is mid- to long-range
View of conflict	It envisions the need to de-escalate conflict processes	It envisions conflict as ebb and as a natural part of relationships. Advocate a transitional approach

Adapted from Lederach and Maiese (2003).

2.10 Conflict Management

The three concepts, management, resolution and transformation are closely connected. Conflict management usually occurs at a more diplomatic and political level. It involves the elite leaders and outcomes are usually in the form of peace or political agreements, ceasefires etc. in some sense it can be referred to as a precursor to the resolution and transformation of conflicts. Bloomfield and Reilly (1998: 18) view conflict management as:

The positive and constructive handling of difference and divergence. Rather than advocating methods for removing (it) addresses the more realistic question of managing conflict: how to deal with it in a constructive way, how to bring opposing sides together in a co-operative process, how to design practical, achievable co-operative system for the constructive management of difference.

Whilst conflict management may appear a largely diplomatic tool which is more applicable at the macro level, it is important to note that the approach is also very much applicable at the meso and micro level. Conflict management requires a higher level of diplomatic astuteness for it to bear the desired outcomes. There have been many conflict management initiatives across the world. In the context of Zimbabwe, many agreements can be viewed in the context of conflict management. The Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 between Ian Smith and the African Nationalists in Zimbabwe is one such classic example. The agreement had a raft of diplomatic concessions from either of the conflicting parties. The successful implementation of the agreement would then signify the process of conflict resolution and transformation. To a large extent the agreement was a success as it ushered in independence and a new government to the people of Zimbabwe. Another example could be the 1987 Unity Agreement between ZANU and ZAPU. The agreement was arrived at after years of civil unrest leading to the death of many civilians in some parts of Midlands and Matabeleland provinces of Zimbabwe. Whilst the Unity Agreement may have brought an end to the hostilities, it is often criticised for its failure to resolve and transform the real issues at the grassroots level. It is important however, is to note that the approach was largely rooted in the conflict management school. The Global Political Agreement of 2008 also borrowed largely from the conflict management approach.

In extremely violent conflict situations, conflict management can also be in the form of peacekeeping. The United Nations sends peacekeepers (often with an element of civilian peacekeeping as well as military representation) to manage the warring parties by ensuring that they are kept apart. Harris (2011:123) notes that keeping warring parties apart is often done concurrently with other diplomatic offensives until such a time that the violence subsides

thus paving way for more sustainable and transformative initiatives from negative peace to positive peace. In a way, peacemaking can be viewed as a fire fighting initiative that would then allow parties to reflect on the causes and issues fuelling the conflict at a later stage. Its core objective is to save lives whilst resolution and management serve to move away from negative peace or the fragile environment as ushered in by the agreement. Cooper (2008: 86) views conflict management as attempts to separate the conflict parties as well as ensuring that the set rules of engagement are followed without prejudice.

Conflict management can never really work effectively as a stand-alone tool. By its very nature, it can only work to diffuse the tension but it does not go beyond the diplomatic corridors. Looking at Johan Galtung's (1969 and 1975) conceptualisation of violence, management applies more to direct violence. The approach, however, does leave a yawning gap when it comes to addressing structural and cultural violence. These types of violence will require more creative and long term approaches to transforming them. This is particularly so because conflict transformation identifies with the grassroots players whereas conflict management is more directly related to the diplomatic and political levels. In relation to Lederach's (1997) holistic peacebuilding model, conflict management appeals more to the top leadership. However, it does not offer the much needed horizontal and vertical lines of communication so as to transform the conflict.

Whilst the conflict management school may appear to be too limited in terms of scope, it remains a very important entry point for longer term conflict transformation and peacebuilding initiatives. The school is often criticised by leading scholars with Lederach (1995:17) noting that '.... experience tells us, however, that we do not really manage human action and interaction in ways we might manage things in the physical world.' Whilst Lederach's views about conflict management are valid, to me it is more of terminology and technical use of the word management that remains contested. The conflict management school has its advantages and it still serves as a useful entry point and a necessity for longer term conflict transformation objectives.

2.11 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I looked at the key conceptual issues informing the study as well as the main theory guiding my study. I discussed the concepts of conflict, violence and peace. From the discussion, I conclude that understanding the different dimensions of conflict as well as the various conflict stages was important for peace practitioners. I also highlighted that violence is perceived differently in various spheres and I relied mainly on Johan Galtung's three

dimensional characterisation of violence. Direct violence is visible unlike the other two forms which are invisible but equally damaging. I also looked at peace focusing on the concept of negative peace and positive peace. I further traced the evolution and institutionalisation of peacebuilding at an international level. The concept gained momentum after the cold war. The UNDP Human Development Report of 1994 brought a new concept or a new dimension to the conceptualisation of security. The report mentioned human security for the first time in UN language. There is a close relationship between human security and peacebuilding. In fact it is the institutionalisation of human security that eventually led to the establishment of the UN-PBO in 2007. I ended the chapter by looking at the conflict transformation theory by John Paul Lederach. The key aspects of the theory are the relational dimension, personal dimension, cultural dimension and structural dimension. All of which are necessary for the achievement of sustainable peace. The next chapter focuses on the complimentary framework, the holistic peacebuilding framework again by John Paul Lederach.

3.0 THE HOLISTIC PEACEBUILDING APPROACH (BOTTOM-UP APPROACH): A CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

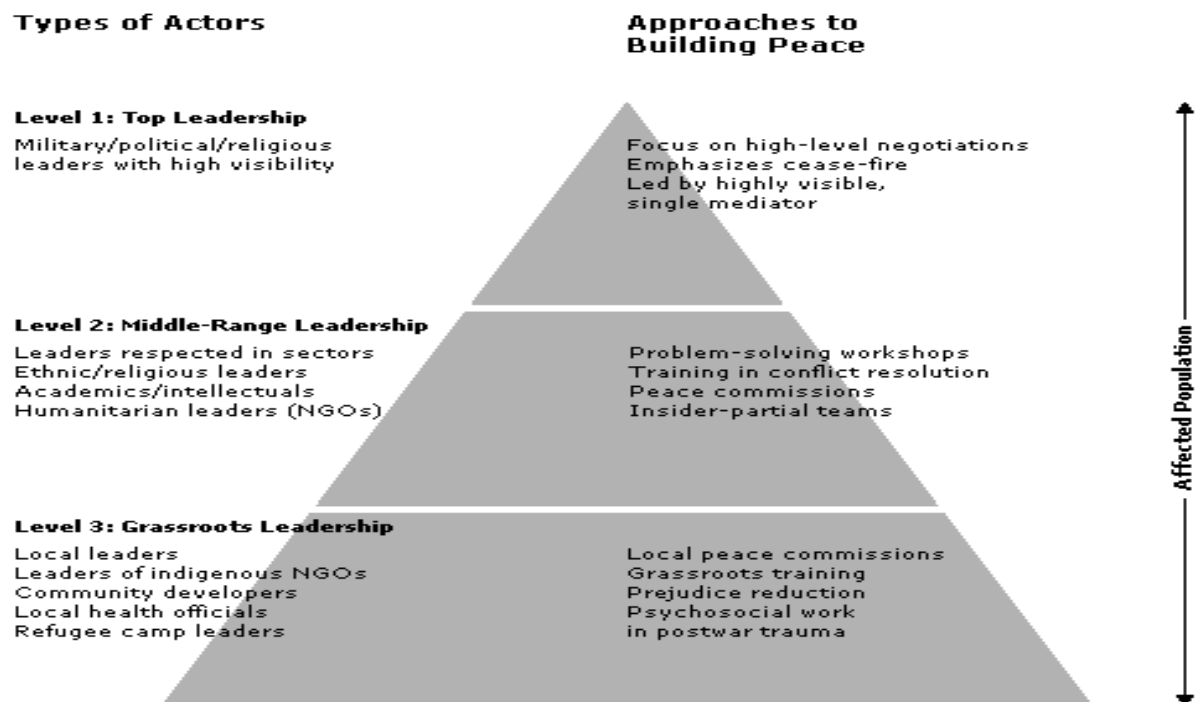
3.1 Introduction

The study invoked John Paul Lederach's Holistic Peacebuilding approach. Lederach (1997:29-42) argues that any peace process that seeks to achieve sustainable peace has to follow the bottom-up approach. The bottom-up approach allows for wider consultation and the involvement of every individual directly or indirectly affected by the conflict. The holistic or bottom up approach was preferred as a complementary framework to the conflict transformation theory which is the main theory of the study. The conflict transformation theory provides an in-depth conceptualisation of conflict transformation, its parameters as well as the cycle. However, it does not really provide a practical approach to addressing the conflict. As a result, I had to include the holistic pyramid as it provides a projection or organogram of society and how the different actors can contribute to conflict transformation.

3.2. The Holistic Peacebuilding Model-Key Assumptions

The holistic peacebuilding model is one of the most popular works by Lederach. Essentially, it was developed much earlier than the conflict transformation theory. However, I will use it as a complementary theory to the conflict transformation theory as it provides the more practical dynamics and realities in the field of peacebuilding. The conflict transformation theory is more detailed and provides a deeper understanding of conflict transformation. The diagram below provides a graphic illustration of the various actors in post conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding. It also attempts to provide the respective roles for the various actors. Interestingly though, just as in the conflict transformation theory, the holistic peacebuilding model emphasises relationship building as the epicentre of any successful peacebuilding initiative.

Figure 3.1: Lederach's Holistic Peacebuilding model



Source: Lederach (1997:39)

Lederach (2002, 2005) advocates a holistic approach to peacebuilding, one which focuses attention from the grassroots right up to the highest levels of power, and at all points in between. Lederach's general holistic theory of peacebuilding is centred on building social networks that can cut across the conflict divide. The theory suggests that these relationships can be nurtured by watching 'for hubs where the cross linking relational spaces connect the not like-minded and the not like-situated people', (Lederach 2003: 12). It is important to make sure that peacebuilding activities take advantage of existing cultural resources and pay attention to the context in which they are operating. Lederach (2003) advocates for an approach to transforming protracted social conflicts which is primarily aimed at improving relations between conflicting groups, principally because relationship is the basis of both the conflict and is long-term solution' (Lederach 2003:26).

The top level of the pyramid is made of the elite leaders who include the politicians, the religious leaders and the diplomats. The middle-level include the civil society leaders, the church leaders, educationists and other professionals. The grassroots includes the communities and the local traditional leadership structures. The level may also include local community based organisations.

The middle-level as well as the grassroots-level are of specific interest to my study. I worked with the civil society organisations that largely constitute the middle level and the grassroots levels in the communities. The reason why I have opted for Lederach's holistic framework is that it provided me with an opportunity to reflect on the various roles that CSOs can play in peacebuilding and post conflict reconstruction. The model also emphasises the fact that the CSOs are strategically positioned to reach the leadership as well as the grassroots.

Most importantly, the pyramid by Lederach also mentions possible strategies when dealing with conflict. He specifically mentions problem-solving workshops, training in conflict resolution and capacity building among local communities. This aspect forms the crux of my study and I examined this in a real world context.

3.3 Resonance with the Zimbabwean Context

The approach is largely relevant to the scope and context of Zimbabwe. Miall (2004:6) notes that the strength of the holistic peacebuilding pyramid by Lederach is that it broadens the options for peacebuilding by involving all actors at all levels in society. Lederach argued that the grassroots are the largely affected population whenever a conflict arises and consequently they must be involved when dealing with conflict. The observation by Lederach holds true especially in the context of Zimbabwe. The post independent conflict transformation attempts have all been top-down as opposed to bottom-up. The Unity Accord of 1987 between ZANU and ZAPU was at the elite level, the GNU of 2008 and the work of the ONHRI was also largely at the elite level.

Inasmuch as practitioners are not in agreement as to the most effective peacebuilding approach, Lederach's pyramid offers an operational guide. It must be noted that Lederach does not disregard the elite leaders in this approach. The elite leaders still retain the important role of providing the policy direction as well as creating the leadership direction. However, his observation was that the grassroots must own the process. Local ownership has the added advantage of being culturally grounded in the local context. Tschirgi (2004: 17) notes that peace cannot be superimposed by external actors but rather it must be a product of the domestic processes and grounded in the local political context.

Killick (2005:3) takes this further by noting that:

Local ownership is important (a) because it raises the probability that reforms will be tailored to local circumstances, priorities and political realities, (b) because those

who have to decide upon and implement the reforms are more likely to perceive the changes as being their own, or their country's interests, and (c) reforms are more likely to be perceived by the public as legitimate than when measures are viewed as having been forced on the government from outside through the exercise of financial leverage.

This observation by Killick is an important one especially considering that in Zimbabwe the peace process has largely been driven by non-state actors, especially civil society organisations. One of the biggest challenges has been the fact that donors appear to set rigid conditionality for their funds. They also want things to be done in a certain way and thus undermining local capacities.

CSOs in Zimbabwe are largely viewed as regime change agents by the ZANU PF government and as a result, this compromises their integrity when going into the communities. The hegemonic stranglehold on political power that ZANU PF has in Zimbabwe has meant that the communities are sometimes not comfortable to interact with some civil society organisations in their areas. Most CSOs are monitored by state security agents and this makes it difficult especially for those working on peacebuilding.

This view was captured by Prendergast and Plumb (2002: 334) who noted that:

In the efforts of international agencies to build local capacity and enhance participation, questions need to be constantly asked about whether traditional authority structures are being undermined and – given their repressive nature in some places and their role in preserving the social fabric on other places-whether they should be.

This is an everyday challenge that CSOs in Zimbabwe have had to grapple with. The ZANU PF regime has over the years constantly and conveniently invoked the sovereignty agenda when undermining the work that the CSOs are doing. According to Masunungure (2013) they are quite often labelled as agents of the West bent on advancing the neo-imperialist agenda. To that effect, many of the CSO activists have been harassed by state security agents.

However, it remains a fact that CSOs play a crucial role in peacebuilding. Their role is even more pertinent in sub-Saharan Africa where the governments are struggling to balance their expenditure. In Zimbabwe, the New Constitution of 2013 created the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission (NPRC) but up to date the commission is yet to be operationalised because of a critical lack of funding. As a result, the big gap has been left to the CSOs, albeit

in a very difficult working environment. In the absence of a national institutional framework, the CSOs should step in and bridge the gap.

3.4 Local Ownership as a building block

The approach also regards local communities as agents of change themselves and not objects for change. The grassroots should own the process because in many cases they would have borne the brunt of violent conflict. They have a better imagination of the future they want. These sentiments were also echoed by Donais (2012: 17) who notes that:

By treating local actors as potential agents of transformation, rather than as objects to be transformed, such approaches could yield significant benefits in terms of generating locally defined solutions which are likely to be more sustainable over the long term.

The bottom-up approach realises the fact that violent conflicts are largely played out at the grassroots level. Therefore the involvement of the grassroots in transforming these conflicts is equally important. Lederach (2003:48) is also careful in highlighting the importance of integrating both the bottom-up and the top-down approaches to conflict. The same view is shared by Donais (2012:17) who argues that:

Merging top-down with bottom-up approaches in creative and culturally sensitive ways is also likely to enhance the sense among local populations of the legitimacy of the broader peacebuilding process.

In as much as the CSOs in Zimbabwe appear to be promoting the bottom-up approach, in reality, the material and training approaches have very little input from the local grassroots communities. The facilitators bring their training manuals (most of which are downloaded from the internet) and deliver the training without actually studying the nature and context of the conflict which they are trying to transform, Chinhanhu (2015). The emphasis on cultural sensitivity by Lederach is an important aspect in training.

Peacebuilding is a delicate process that thrives on trust building. Talentino (2007:153) notes that legitimate efforts towards post conflict reconstruction can easily collapse if there are ill-perceptions from the local population. The effective involvement of local citizens can easily address the issue of perceptions.

The conflict transformation approach has quite often been criticised for being idealistic. It has been accused of lacking a practical framework. Botes (1999:11) notes that “the link between conflict transformation theory and its practical application still appear weak.” Lederach (2004:16) appears to concede to this criticism by saying “my purpose is to add a voice to the ongoing discussion and search for greater understanding and clarity in human relationships and not to minimise or degrade other interventions”.

Peacebuilding refers to efforts and interventions aimed at overcoming the root causes of conflict. It is about attempts to overcome the structural, relational and cultural contradictions which lie at the root of the conflict. John Paul Lederach proposed an ‘elicitive’ approach rather than a ‘prescriptive’ approach to peacebuilding. An elicitive approach to peacebuilding entails reaching out to the affected constituencies and gathering their needs and aspirations through a careful process of conflict analysis. A prescriptive analysis is whereby the approach is top-down at the expense of the expectations of the grass roots. According to Champagne (2006), peacebuilding is a challenging practice, which requires, because of its ambitious goal-restoring sustainable peace in war-torn societies and avoiding a relapse into conflict, a constant regeneration of the priorities according to each particular conflict. The current concept of peacebuilding has been directed toward the broad goal of positive sustainable peace beyond a simple phase of conflict management and the sole absence of violence (Cockell 2000).

According to Lederach (2002), sustainable peace is characterised by the absence of physical and structural violence, the elimination of discrimination and self-sustainability. Moving towards this sort of environment goes beyond problem solving or conflict management. Peacebuilding initiatives try to fix the core problems that underlie the conflict and change the patterns of interaction of the involved parties. They aim to move a given population from a condition of extreme vulnerability and dependency to one of self-sufficiency and well-being, (Boutros-Ghali 1992).

Conflicts are not homogenous and thus they take different forms and go through different stages. As Lederach (1997) points out, conflict is not a static phenomenon, but is expressive, dynamic and dialectical. Lederach propounds a holistic approach to peacebuilding based on justice, the building of right relationships and social structures that allow expression of divergent social thinking whilst encouraging group cohesion. He further argues that conflict is normal in human relationships and conflict is a motor of change. Transformation is vital because it brings into focus the horizon toward which we journey, namely the building of healthy relationships and structural transformation both nationally and globally.

3.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I discussed the holistic peacebuilding pyramid by John Paul Lederach. I first looked at the key assumptions of the model and attempted to justify why I had to use the model as part of my theoretical framework. The model comprises three levels, the elite, the middle-level and the grassroots-level. Activities at the middle level include problem solving workshops as well as training in peacebuilding skills. Training can also be extended to the grassroots level. This is of particular interest to my study as I am focusing on the development of peacebuilding skills among CSOs in Zimbabwe. There is an emphasis on local ownership as part of the holistic peacebuilding model. This is also central to my study. I then proceeded to critique the concept of local ownership looking at its challenges and strengths in local peacebuilding. My reflection was informed by the state of affairs (state-civil society relationship) in Zimbabwe. The critique revealed that there is need to balance top-down and bottom-up approaches so as to achieve the desired outcomes in peacebuilding. In the next chapter I will focus on civil society and peacebuilding.

4.0: CIVIL SOCIETY AND PEACEBUILDING: THE CONSTRUCTED CATEGORIES AND THE CONTESTED TERRAINS

Civic associations and everyday forms of civic engagement, if robust, promote peace; their absence or weakness opens up space for communal violence (Varshney 2002:3).

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the various conceptualisations of civil society from both a liberal and Marxist perspective. However, I will dwell more on the liberal conceptions of the concept because peacebuilding, as this thesis is a subject that grew out of the liberal ideology. I also attempted to trace the historical origins of civil society, its current conceptualisation as well as the role of civil society in peacebuilding. In doing so, it is apparent that civil society is a contested phenomenon especially in the context of Africa. On the one hand, it is a tool for socio-economic development and plays a critical role in societal integration. On the other hand it is viewed with scepticism especially in developing countries. Against this backdrop, I had to carefully weigh the role of CSOs in peacebuilding. The chapter also took a closer look at civil society in Zimbabwe, its challenges as well as efforts in peacebuilding. It has been noted that not very much has been written specifically on civil society and peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. This is probably explained by the fact that the most of the CSOs that focus specifically on peacebuilding only came into existence at the beginning of the 21st century.

4.2 The Concept of Civil Society

Civil society has always been in existence ever since the emergence of the early state. As noted by O'Brien (1999) early philosophers like Hegel, Locke and Hobbes presented the early conceptualisations of civil society. The roles of civil society have continued to be dynamic throughout the years. The end of the cold war in the early 1990s provided a new impetus for civil society. The proclaimed triumph of democracy opened up wide spaces for civil society. The United Nation Agenda for Peace and its call for proactive actions in pre and post conflict societies meant that civil society had to play a significant role.

Civil Society has emerged as an important medium of socio-economic transformation especially in developing countries and more specifically in developing countries and the Sub-Saharan region. As noted by Seethi (2007:1) civil society "has become a buzzword and an inevitable component in the development practices, human rights discourses and most

importantly, in explaining various social movements.” In Zimbabwe there are so many civil societies that are involved in various spheres of development. Veneklasen (1994:3) defined civil society as:

A sphere of social interaction between the household (family) and the state which is manifested in the norms of community cooperative, structures of voluntary association and networks of public communication ... norms are values of trust, reciprocity, tolerance and inclusion, which are critical to cooperation and community problem solving, structure of association refers to the full range of informal and formal organization through which citizens pursue common interests.

Connor (1999) provided reflection on the structure and organisation of civil society and submitted that it is composed of autonomous associations which develop a dense, diverse and pluralistic network. As it develops, civil society will consist of a range of local groups, specialized organizations and linkages between them to amplify the corrective voices of civil society as a partner in governance and the market.

As a concept, civil society has experienced a lot of academic reflection and examination. Civil society and peacebuilding as a specific sector has also enjoyed much attention ever since the late years of the 20th century. Prominent writers on civil society and peacebuilding include Sturk (2010) and Paffenholz (2006, 2010). Goodhand and Lewer (1999) note that the term civil society was “linked in the late 1980s with people’s political struggles around the trying to build more democratic societies, and gain access to power and economic wealth.” These global transitions provided a platform for the proliferation of many civil society organisations with many different persuasions.

There are various definitions of civil society. A more comprehensive definition was proffered by Merkel and Lauth (1998:7) who sum up civil society as; “the arena of voluntary, uncoerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values.” Merkel and Lauth (1998) expand on the definition and clarify that civil society is not a specific sector per se but rather it constitutes the space in between the more established factors. This lack of a solid definition for civil society is further advanced by Glasius (2004:3) who quips that “it can be all things to all people.” Other scholars however, have attempted to provide a more categorical definition for civil society. Janoski (1998:12) defines civil society as “a sphere of dynamic and responsive public discourse between the state, the public sphere consisting of voluntary organisations, and the market sphere concerning private firms and unions.” Earlier on, Linz and Stepan (1996:7) view civil society as “an arena of polity where self-organising groups, movements, and individuals, relatively autonomous from the state attempt to articulate values, create associations and solidarities and advance their interests.”

Paffenholz and Spurk (2006:2) present the idea of civil society as “the sector of voluntary action within institutional forms that are distinct from those of the state, family and market, keeping in mind that in practice the boundaries between these actors are often complex and blurred.” The latter definition by Paffenholz and Spurk underlines the current conceptualisation in terms of the practice and reality of civil society especially in developing countries. This definition is in line with the thinking of multilateral donor agencies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund who view civil society as very central to the socio-economic transformation of a state.

Writing in the contemporary sense, Fukuyama (2000) views civil society as:

a complex welter of intermediate institutions, including business, voluntary associations, educational institutions, clubs, unions, media, charities, and churches and that a thriving civil society depends upon a people's habits, customs and ethics-attributes that can be shaped only indirectly through conscious political action and must otherwise be nourished through an increased awareness and respect for culture.

The definition by Fukuyama has its own strengths and weaknesses. The observation that civil society is a complex arena is a valid submission. Ideally, and going by the classical definition, civil society must be a standalone entity that is free from government and business. However, this is not always the case. Sometimes civil society organisations work closely with government units and as a result their autonomy becomes heavily compromised. I am not sure what the context was when Fukuyama mentioned culture in his definition. However, it seems that his conceptualisation of civil society is largely informed by the configuration of CSOs in the more developed communities. In this part of the world CSOs can actually fundraise and sustain themselves and thus maintain some kind of a cultural identity. This is different in the developing world because most of the CSOs are dependent on the western community for donations and usually these donations have got some conditionality which tends to undermine cultural identity.

The concept assumes a largely broad and at times ambiguous meaning. The World Bank (2006:3) views civil society as an arena or sphere that provides a platform for the interaction of communities and people in a bid to seek influence and that this arena is constituted by diverse actors, both formal and informal. The World Bank (2006:7) notes that the “analytical approaches to peacebuilding have shifted in recent years from outcome-oriented approaches to conflict management, to relationship-oriented conflict resolutions, and to more comprehensive transformation oriented.”

In this conceptualisation, civil society is supposedly given a domineering role in all spheres of the socio-economic and political wellbeing of a state. It is given the watchdog role and a high moral ground. In line with the thinking of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations Development Programme, Putnan (2000) refers to civil society as an agent of civic engagement, which refers to the participation of individuals in civil life and groupings. This understanding of civil society has created the grounds for the massive involvement of civil society in social development programs in many developing countries. In this discussion the focus is on civil society and peacebuilding. The involvement of more than 200 civil society organisations in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe is testimony of the role of civil society in civic engagement.

4.3 History and Origins of Civil Society

The history of civil society is traceable to the early years of state formation in Western Europe. O'Brien (1999) found out that philosophers like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Adam Ferguson wrote extensively about civil society and its roles. On the other hand Karl Marx and Hegel wrote about civil society at a time when the European continent undergoing massive industrialisation. The period was marked by a rapid growth of capitalism and emergency of class struggles. Antonio Gramsci advanced the subject on civil society in the 1930s when he wrote about hegemony, class struggles and civil society as a force of change. His ideas were largely shaped by what was going on in Italy (Fascism) and Germany (Nazism), (O'Brien 1999).

The classical period was dominated by philosophers such as Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. Socrates cited by O'Brien (1999) submits that people can resolve their differences via the dialectic, which was some kind of dialogue between conflicting parties. It is, however, important to note that Socrates did not use the term civil society in his early writings. He was, however, conscious of the importance of public space as a platform for resolving conflicts within communities. Socrates also underlined the importance of this public space as an arena for exploring matters truthfully and dutifully. An important point to note in Socrates' ideas is that the public space has to uphold certain values that reflect the integrity of society. Truthfulness and dutifulness place a big responsibility on civil society to always strive to regulate the wellbeing of any given society.

Plato on the other hand viewed civil society as a just society in which people dedicate themselves to the common good, practice civic virtues of wisdom, courage, moderation and justice (O'Brien, 1999). The parameters for civil society, according to Plato, were not very clear

and he appeared to emphasise the importance of leaders when he called them philosopher kings. This appeared to suggest that civil society was closely connected to the state. However, what is important from the ideas of Plato is that civil society again is a field where community virtues and values are upheld. It is associated with the well-being of the community. It is a large public forum that should provide the checks and balances to society.

Aristotle, on the other hand, believed in a civil society built on rational characteristics that are already part of existing experiences (O'Brien 1999). The ideas of Aristotle appear to suggest that civil society is borne out of an established consensus based on value systems within a community.

The conceptualisation of civil society during the classical period might have had a narrow scope but the basic foundation as benchmarked by societal values such as duty; trust and consensus have all offered a foundation for the broader and deeper understanding of civil society in the present day world. Their concepts were developed at a time when states were not yet even clearly defined.

Later during the development of the modern-day states, in what is now known as the age of reasoning, a new breed of philosophers emerged. These included, among others, Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. Thomas Hobbes as cited by O'Brien (1999), believed that life was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." He, therefore, proposed a social contract between the individuals and the state. He argues that human beings are power seeking and selfish who act in self-interest at the expense of others if not restrained by law.

Government is necessary in order to create order; otherwise chaos would be the order of the day. Therefore, according to Hobbes, human beings avoid chaos and disorder by entering into an agreement with one another. This is the social contract to establish a government. Citizens have an obligation to obey political authority regardless of how the government may behave: the government does not need to reciprocate. According to Hobbes, a state must be created under the consent of the people to safeguard peace. Hobbes termed the state Leviathan and once created by popular consent, would allow no threat to the general peace, including that of political dissent.

However, John Locke appeared to be apprehensive of this arrangement as he felt that putting so much trust in the state would jeopardize the freedom of the masses. Locke believed in a strong civil society that would superintend over the affairs of the state. He noted that all legitimate political power derives from the authority of the consent of the people. He termed this the commonwealth. Locke was of the firm belief that the power of the state must be limited so as to limit its threat to the basic freedoms of the citizens. He also believed that individuals

should be allowed to meet together, form associations, and enter into relations of their choice. He gave a direct reference to the state where he said the church had no direct authority to set religious documents. Locke identified two social contracts:

- The first contract, called the social contract proper, is undertaken by all individuals who form a society. The main part of the agreement is when individuals sacrifice part of their liberty in order to have order and stability which is offered by living in a political community.
- The second contract was between a society and its government. The government is obliged to protect the natural rights of its citizens while citizens are obliged to obey the government.
- If the government is tyrannical against the individual, the individual could exercise the right to popular resistance (removal of a government by society).

Hobbes and Locke's ideas were probably more radical as compared to those of the early philosophers because the idea of the state was emerging strongly in most parts of Europe and the Americas. Hobbes and Locke were probably weary of the threat posed by the state on its citizens. As a result, they proposed a strong civil society. The role of the government was to guarantee civil liberties to everyone in society. If the government fails to satisfy the expectations of the society, then the citizens have the right to withdraw their confidence and elect a new government. The important issue with the ideas of Hobbes and more specifically Locke was the recognition that public consensus and the common good are obtainable from the civil society. The people have power by virtue of being the majority. However, it must be noted that the social contract theory is difficult to uphold especially in developing countries where democracy is yet to fully flourish. Most African countries are struggling with issues of good governance and democracy. Elections, which are used as a tool for selecting public office bearers, are usually highly contested in Africa. As a result, the idea of the social contract theory is compromised in Africa.

The period of the Scottish enlightenment saw a further refinement of the concept of civil society. Adam Smith and David Hume emerged as the leading scholars on the subject. Ferguson, as cited by Seethi (2007), argued that civil society could have been identical with 'commercial society'. He clarifies the concept as a distinct realm characterized by moral and cultural accomplishments, the subjection of the government to the rule of law, a sense of public spiritedness, and a complex division of labour. Smith and Hume saw civil society as a broader context of economic and social transactions.

4.4 Contextual Discussion of CSOs in Africa

The subject on CSOs in Africa is often overwhelmed by the dominant discourses as emanating from western liberal thinking and historical developments. However, this does not imply that there is no history of civil society in Africa. It is not easy to come up with a narrative on civil society in Africa. Mamdani (1996:19) called for an analysis in terms of the evolution and functioning of civil society in Africa. Lewis (2002:572) noted that the concept is always historically specific to particular times and spaces. Makumbe (1998:306) found out that civil society in Africa was largely informal, communal and concerned with popular participation of all in decision making. Schmitter (1997) discovered that civic and associational life was largely dependent on common actions to express and defend interests and that was largely defined by agreed rules that were civilian and mutually beneficial to everyone in society.

However, Makumbe (1998: 311) argued that in precolonial times, there was no distinction between the traditional leadership and civil society because the same officials and leaders of the social groups were also largely part of the monarchical institutions that had political power. This assertion was supported by Fadakinte (2013), who noted that traditional leaders were and are born, not elected. Hassan (2009:067) and Nwabueze (2010:15) discovered that civil society during pre-colonial times and even during colonial times was defined by ethnic, family and communal connections and identities and without any visible structure of administration. He went on to note that the people were usually glued together by a common cause.

Matanga (2000:4) found out that as the societies continued to improve in terms of their organization, the civil society organisations started organizing themselves around issues of welfare, agriculture and finance. The financial services were organized at the very local levels with one trusted individual or individuals given the mandate to keep the money on behalf of the group.

Appiagyei-Atua (Anon) found out that civil society in Africa evolved through three distinctive stages and these are:

- The communal stage which was characterized by informal associations, communalism and the common good where everyone was eager to help everyone around him or her. The associational life was largely influenced by communal values and beliefs. Civil society was the community itself and less structured.
- Political stage which was characterized by complex issues including political consciousness, identity issues and race relations in colonial Africa. The associations were slowly becoming radical and more structured. They were beginning to operate away from the communal setting and into the public and international realms.

- Advanced Political relates to both civil society movements during and after colonialism. These organizations emerged as both complementary forces to government initiatives as well as adversary elements to government excesses and hegemony.

This gradual evolution of civil society as captured above was also corroborated by Fadakinte (2015:130-131) who found out that civil society in Africa has gradually evolved to become both a social value and as a buffer between the state and the citizens. The social values of civil society resonate well with what Edwards (2009:3) observed when he found out that modern day civil society thrives on associational life and the quest for the good society. Darke (2010:118) and Nisnevich (2012:9) both concurred that modern day civil society imply conditions of civility as well as sovereignty of individuals and a progressive realization of individual freedoms.

The concept and definition of CSOs in Africa is not in any way significantly different from the dominant western discourse. The emphasis on communal values and the good society is reflected in more contemporary definitions of the concept. What is perhaps more important is to discuss state-civil society relations in post independent Africa.

4.5 State-civil society relations

The relationship between the state and civil society in most countries in Africa is largely characterized by hostility (Thompson 2004:5). The strenuous relationship was a result of the changing role of civil society in post-colonial Africa. After independence, the civil society movements started agitating for individual rights and freedoms in a context where most governments were pushing for one-party state political arrangements, Adejumobi (2002) and Muloong (2007). Most African governments reacted by tightening the operating environment for CSOs. Writing in the context of West Africa, Mbogge and Doe (2004:3) noted that state-civil society relationship in post-colonial Africa started off on a generally good note but this however did not last as most CSOs turned into serious forces of political opposition and thus pitting themselves against the incumbent governments in their respective countries.

The situation in West Africa was not different from what was obtaining even in Zimbabwe. Sachikonye (2002, 2003) and Sachikonye and Matombo (2009) traced the emergence of an authoritarian state in Zimbabwe under Mugabe and how this led to the deterioration of state-civil society relations in the country. They noted that the authoritarianism was in the form of a patronage system or coercive means to bring everyone into line. Chingono (2010:199) concurred with Sachikonye and Matombo on the authoritarian nature of the state and went on

to underline the fact that the situation deteriorated even further after the year 2000 as the economy continued to implode and combined with the emergence of a strong opposition that offered real threat to ZANU-PF hegemony.

Maseng (2010) traced the relationship between CSOs and the state in Zimbabwe and concluded that the relationship can be characterized as being cooperative on the one hand and as confrontational and hostile on the other. This is in line with the findings of Adejumobi (2002) who also found out that during the early years of independence most CSOs emerged as complementary groups to the activities of the state and these included among others, student movements, trade unions and farmers' organization. However this has changed over the years with the relationship becoming increasingly hostile.

The NGO Consultancy Africa (2005:3) lamented this sad state of affairs as they found out that the hegemony by the ZANU-PF government was frustrating the existence, growth and operations of CSOs in Zimbabwe. Muzondo (2007:1) made reference to the difficult operating environment in which Zimbabwean CSOs find themselves in. He argued that constitutional provisions such as the Access to Information and Privacy Protection Act (AIPPA), Public Order and Security Act (POSA), Broadcasting Services Act (BSA) and the NGO Bill (the president has not signed into law although it was debated and passed in parliament) formed an axis of repression and a suffocating environment for CSOs in Zimbabwe.

4.6 Features of Civil Society

There are certain features that are associated with civil society the world over. The commonest feature is that civil society is separate from the state. This is evident in most of the definitions as discussed above, with the exception of a few scholars like Gramsci who believed that civil society can be a part of society that can be used to perpetuate cultural and ideological hegemony. However, the majority of the definitions are in agreement that civil society is independent of the state. However there has to be a collaborative effort between the state and civil society when civil society attempts to influence policy changes as well as complement government service delivery (Diamond 1994:6).

Another crucial element of civil society is pluralism. Most CSOs have different approaches to tackling issues and this diversity must be embraced by all in civil society. There is no single CSO that should claim a monopoly on issues of common interest. However in the context of Africa, some CSOs have emerged and are based on ethnic or religious beliefs (Chazan 1992:283). Such organisations usually claim a monopoly over certain rights and practices within a given ethnic constituency. As a result they are not embracing other CSO formations.

A third feature that also defines CSOs is that their recruitment process is not open to the general public. However, this trend could be changing especially in Africa where the CSOs are emphasising competency and effectiveness. A lot of CSOs in Africa rely on western donor funds and most of the funders are now emphasising on specific competencies for key personnel like programmes officers and finance officers.

A fourth characteristic is that of forging alliances with like-minded organisations. In Zimbabwe, for example, many of the CSOs have often joined forces in order to rally round common issues that are affecting them as CSOs. A case in point is the National Association of Non-Governmental Organisations (NANGO) and the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition (CZC) that comprise a network of CSOs, albeit with different organisational goals and objectives.

4.7 Functions of Civil Society

The above section explored the different conceptualisations of civil society. It is clear that the concept of civil society has continued to assume different meanings at different times. The more recent neo-liberal impressions of civil society relate more to functions like upholding human rights, being the representative of the ordinary citizens.

Table 3:1 Civil Society Functions in Peacebuilding

FUNCTION	ACTIVITIES	TYPICAL ACTORS
Protection	Protecting citizens' life, freedom and property against attacks from state and non-state actors.	Membership organisations, human rights and advocacy NGOs
Monitoring/Early Warning	Observing and monitoring activities of government, state authorities and conflict actors	Think Tanks, human rights NGOs, operational NGOs (in conjunction with Community based organisations.
Advocacy/Public Communication	Articulation of specific interests, especially of marginalised groups and bringing relevant issues onto the public agenda. Creation of communication channels, awareness raising and public debate. Participation in official peace processes.	Advocacy organisations, independent media, think tanks, networks

Socialisation	Formation and practice of peaceful and democratic attitudes and values among citizens, including tolerance, mutual trust and non-violent conflict resolution	Membership organisations
Social cohesion	Strengthening links among citizens, building bridging social capital across societal cleavages, contributing to social cohesion.	CBOs and other membership organisations
Intermediation/Facilitation	Establishing relationships (communication, negotiation, control) to support collaboration between interest groups, institutions and the state. Facilitating dialogue and interaction. Promoting attitudinal change for “culture of peace” and reconciliation.	Intermediary NGOs, CSO networks, Advocacy orgs, Faith Based Organisations
Service Provision	Providing services to citizens at large or group members can serve as important entry points for other peacebuilding activities	NGOs, self-help groups

Source: Merkel and Lauth (1998)

The roles of CSOs in peacebuilding are broad and varied as illustrated in the table above. However, in the context of Zimbabwe, the more compelling functions would be to look at the socialisation, social cohesion and intermediary and facilitation roles in the context of peacebuilding. The country's social fabric is highly fractious and the difficult political experiences from 2000 have left the country on the brink of an implosion. The damaging political polarisation has left the country largely divided along ZANU PF and MDC divides. The conflict is seemingly latent in most parts of the world but the people are emotionally charged and will require a proactive civil society to nip the simmering emotions in the bud.

Edwards (2009:15) argues that:

...especially where formal citizenship rights are not well entrenched, it is civil society that provides the channels through which most people can make their voices heard in government decision making, protect and promote their civil and political rights, and strengthen their skills as future political leaders.

There is a general lack of clarity pertaining to strategies for civil society participation. However, Posner (2004:237) notes that there appears to be two notable strategies used i.e. advocacy and substitution. Advocacy appears to be the most popular approach in many CSOs. Civil

society in this sense plays the intermediary role between the government and the electorate. CSOs work with the grassroots to identify policy issues and developmental gaps that also need to be addressed. The CSOs then help the communities by relaying the issues to the government. However, this is only possible were the government is responsive and fairly democratic. As noted by Donais (2012:62), the pluralist model of civil society depends on the responsiveness and willingness of the government to accommodate the CSOs. Now this is not always feasible especially in developing countries where issues of sovereignty reigns supreme. The Zimbabwean scenario is a case in point. The CSOs are constantly being accused of trying to effect a regime change in Zimbabwe and are heavily monitored.

The second model (substitution) appears to be more applicable in many conflict ridden countries. In this arrangement, CSO takes over the provision of basic social amenities and other responsibilities like drought and food relief, medication etc. Posner (2004: 239) observed that in this arrangement CSOs provide most of the “organisational infrastructure and human and financial resources to provide the order and public services that the public desire”. Whilst the relationship between the Zimbabwean government and CSOs is antagonistic, it can be noted that CSOs have gradually taken over most of the relief activities on the countryside and even in the urban settlements. The chaotic land reform in Zimbabwe left the country very vulnerable and food security at its weakest. Major international agencies like WHO, World Food Organisation (WFO), Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), Plan International and others have been at the forefront of securing and providing maize and other basic food stuffs for the impoverished communities.

In the education sector, UNICEF, Plan International and other organisations have worked hard to ensure that the education sector does not suffer a total collapse. The social front has also seen organisations like ZLHR, ZIMRIGHTS, Child Rights and others fighting for the rights of the ordinary citizens who often find themselves at a crossroads with the state and its security apparatus. The challenge, however, is that the CSOs are always viewed with political lenses and are treated as such by state. In Zimbabwe the formation of the MDC and more recently the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) (now a political party) is traceable to civil society activities in the Zimbabwean context.

However, the important point here is that CSOs provide the critical mass, social capital upon which the public agenda can be executed for the good of the community. CSOs are important actors in peacebuilding as they provide the micro-level and macro-level platforms for conflict transformation. More importantly they also provide the resources. Edwards (2009:64) observed that:

the development of shared interests, a willingness to cede some territory to others, the ability to see something of oneself in those who are different and work together more effectively as a result-all these are crucial attributes to effective governance, practical problem solving, and peaceful resolution of our differences.

However, as I have discussed earlier on, the effectiveness of CSOs in peacebuilding is to a large extent dependent on the political environment that is prevailing in a given context. In situations where a vibrant CSO appears to threaten the status quo, there is a danger that the state may react with heavy-handed tactics to silence them. I have previously referred to the Zimbabwean scenario as an example. Interestingly though, in spite of the difficult operating environment in Zimbabwe, CSOs have remained vibrant.

4.8 Why the increased role for civil society

The changing dynamics within the international system have gradually created space for more civil society engagement. Before 1990 and during the era of the cold war, the approach and emphasis was on state sovereignty and state security. As a result, international conflict resolution focused almost exclusively on track 1 diplomacy, i.e. mediation among the top political leadership. However, the end of the cold war and the broadened conceptualisation of peacebuilding meant more space for peacebuilding. This was also encapsulated by the new insights into the practice and realities of peacebuilding by such scholars as Lederach (1994, 1995, 1997), Galtung (1995) and Rupesinghe (1995). These authors popularised the concept of conflict transformation whose main focus was on how to transform deep rooted conflicts so as to come up with a more sustainable and durable peace.

In the context of the conflict-riddled African continent, the increased role of civil society in development in general and peacebuilding in particular is owed to the weak capacity of most African states. The causes of the poor state of affairs in most countries on the continent are attributable to a variety of factors including the colonial factors, poor governance, corruption and inter and intra state wars.

The support and recognition of the role that civil society can play in peacebuilding at the level of the United Nations has also given them prominence. The United Nations Security Council Report (2005) attests to the important role that civil society organisations are playing in building peace. This comes out of the realisation that the United Nations Organisation and other state actors cannot effectively reach out to the grassroots communities and thus would require the complementary role of civil society organisations. Consequently, the UN and its specialised agencies like the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), UNICEF, and

WHO among others have been significant funders for peace-related initiatives. Other international donor organisations like Swiss Peace, USAID and DFID are also widely involved in the funding of peacebuilding activities. In Zimbabwe, almost all of the NGOs working on peacebuilding have benefited from these organisations one way or the other. In relation to peacebuilding, civil society organisations have taken a prominent role across Africa. In Zimbabwe alone, there are more than 100 peacebuilding organisations (Centre for Conflict Management and Transformation, 2013).

4.9 Civil Society and the Zimbabwean Context

4.9.1 The post-2000 period in Zimbabwe

The formation of the Movement for Democratic Change in Zimbabwe in September of 1999 was supposedly a watershed development in the politics of Zimbabwe. The MDC was seen as a formidable opposition that was expected to push ZANU-PF. Makumbe (2009) noted ZANU-PF started using unorthodox means to maintain its stranglehold on power and this included usurping the powers of the traditional leaders and important government institutions. The period from 2000 to 2008 created serious political contestations which left the country dangerously fragile and bordering on a vicious cycle of violence.

Makwerere and Mandoga (2012) observed that the 2000 parliamentary, 2002 presidential, 2005 parliamentary as well as the 2008 harmonised elections and most notably the June 27 2008 presidential re-run produced bitter electoral duels between the Movement for Democratic Change and ZANU-PF. The electoral conflicts left large numbers of people displaced. Several hundreds were left dead and many others maimed.

Just like in previous years, the main political antagonists, namely ZANU-PF and the two MDC formations entered into a marriage of convenience now officially referred to as the Global Political Agreement which culminated in the formation of the government of national unity. Amongst the provisions that are enshrined in the global political agreement is the acknowledgement of the need for national healing, reconciliation and integration as highlighted in the Global Political Agreement Article VII. This clause came out of the realisation that the country had gone through a very difficult time that left communities and the nation at large heavily polarised and in serious need of social reconstruction.

Peacebuilding is almost bound to fail if there are no ethical foundations for its implementation. Neufeldt (2014:440-441) underlined the importance of understanding the intended and

unintended consequences of peacebuilding interventions as well as understanding the self in relation with others in the field of peacebuilding. The most important ethical consideration is to thoroughly analyse the causes of the conflict so as to address the correct challenges. Shedrack (2006) highlighted the need to understand a conflict in its three related dimensions, the distant past, which may span back to centuries or decades, the immediate past and the immediate events. As noted by Machakanja (2008), Zimbabwe's conflicts are multi-layered and a historical perspective is necessary so as to understand the dynamics. In Lederach's peacebuilding pyramid, the grassroots are an important matrix in peacebuilding. Their voices must be heard and their wishes upheld as well.

Secondly, after a violent conflict, truth cannot be sacrificed for the purposes of maintaining the status quo Lederach (2003, 2005). It is almost impossible to reconstruct a divided society without seeking the truth about what would have happened at the peak of the conflict. The people in Matabeleland and elsewhere in Manicaland have been calling for a truth and reconciliation commission as a way of dealing with the past. Even some civil society organisations, notably the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) and the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) have persistently called for transitional justice in Zimbabwe. The Centre for Research and Development (2009:12), in a report on police brutality in Mutare and the Chiadzwa diamond fields, reported that the State has continuously muzzled the discerning voices. The challenge being that the institutions of peace in Zimbabwe are largely state centric and apply a largely top-down approach as opposed to the bottom-up approach as intimated by Lederach (1997).

The Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI) had offered hope for a robust approach to post conflict reconciliation in Zimbabwe but again it was largely state controlled. The Organ lacked a well-grounded theoretical drive to deal with the demands of post conflict reconstruction. The role of the state in post conflict reconstruction cannot be underplayed but it is also equally important to note that the State must play a largely facilitation role that allows for the affected people to take charge of the process. The other organ, the joint monitoring and implementation commission (JOMIC), is also a government creation with a political outlook. Lederach (1997) and Maiese (2003) also raised the importance of participation and Miall et al (1999) referred to this as communal legitimacy. Whilst other players from civil society have been brought in, it is problematic because most of these are invited along political party affiliation lines.

Due to the nature of the political terrain in Zimbabwe, local civil society organizations have a socio-political role to play in the country. The post inclusive government period saw the country still bedevilled by the ghost of state despotism, where little priority is placed by the government on the protection of citizens' rights, emanating from the current political leadership's thrust towards maintaining a grip on power. Rights that are threatened in Zimbabwe are mainly civil and political rights such as freedom of expression and association, among others. As such, civic organizations such as the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights and the Zimbabwe Human Rights Association have a basic function of protecting lives, freedom and property against possible state despotism. Although the inclusive government ushered in a new constitution which commendably includes a more comprehensive and inclusive bill of rights, this in the absence of a culture of constitutionalism is insufficient for respect of human rights. Thus the civil society should engage government to ensure independence and non-partisanship of institutions such as the judiciary, media and human rights commissions, so that they act swiftly to prevent violence and hold accountable perpetrators of rights abuses.

The key to civic society success is in a new thrust in dealing with government, where they should engage positively through such methods as lobbying, and not use traditionally antagonistic advocacy methodology. Importantly and in relation to this, the country's civil society organisations should rid themselves of political branding where they align themselves to particular political parties, as this has always been the source of antagonism with government. Such an approach would make them legitimate stakeholders in such perceived sacred subjects as the security sector reform in Zimbabwe, which issue has remained a key public concern in the post inclusive government era. The country's security sector has on occasions exhibited a political bias towards the ruling ZANU (PF) party, which has brought into serious doubt the sector's professionalism and impartiality in discharge of duty. In the run up to the June 2008 presidential run-off election, the sector reportedly perpetrated arbitrary arrests, tortures, and scores of other human rights abuses with impunity, International Crisis Group (2009). The need for a reform of the sector is therefore justified and the civil society could thus champion security sector reform in Zimbabwe with a view to realign the sector with professional standards and not to target certain individuals for retribution. This could be achieved through developing a capacity on the part of the civil society, to understand and sustain dialogue with the government as a fundamental means of constructive change.

The civil society in Zimbabwe can also champion the cause for community building in the aftermath of the political polarization and negative stereotyping characterizing both the pre and post inclusive government periods. Instead of "blame gaming" and name calling, civil society could organize the country's citizens into some series of sustained dialogue exercises, where the affected communities discuss their experiences, fears, concerns and challenges in

open engagement, particularly targeting past atrocities such as the 2008 election violence and the Matebeleland disturbances of the early 1980's. Andrieu (2010) argues and validly so, that historical amnesia is no longer necessary for the building of a nation as recent developments in human rights have demonstrated a general trend towards collective recollection, where unaddressed legacies of violence engender future conflicts. It is apparent that engagement and participation in voluntary associations not only has the potential to mend broken relationships among the political communities of Zimbabwe in line with the conflict transformation framework, but may also strengthen bonds among citizens, thereby building social capital (Lederach and Maise, 2003). The more diverse the dialogue groups in terms of not only political affiliation, but also ethnicity and other social categorisations, the more the exercise would be likely to bridge societal cleavages, thereby fostering social cohesion. This would be a positive stride towards transitional justice, which is an instrument of broad social transformation to ensure that societies do confront the horrific past in order to come to terms with their history and move on (Machakanja, 2010).

Assisting in policy formulation and analysis (Ghaus-Pasha, 2005) is another socio-political function that the civil society organisations can play in Zimbabwe. The policy environment in the post inclusive government era in the country still leaves a lot to be desired as some of the policies fall short of addressing the issues of concern to the generality of the people of Zimbabwe. A sound policy framework in any country is a necessary precondition for development, which in turn help drift farther the possibility of violent conflict. As such, the civil society needs to take up the role of assisting in policy formulation and analysis, and this they can achieve through carrying out comprehensive researches prior to policy formulation, and drawing on the diverse skills pool in the country as well as Zimbabweans living in the diaspora to come up with effective planning policies that address critical issues in the country.

Part of the task under the conflict transformation framework is to ensure that people have access to political procedures and voice in the decisions that affect their lives (Lederach and Maise, 2003). Civil society can thus help by mobilising awareness among citizens so that they not only participate in policy formulation, but do so from an informed point of view. The sector can also lobby government to recalibrate faulty policies.

However, although civil society has this role in the socio-political sphere of Zimbabwe justifiably due to the nature of the domestic politics, the sector can also play a crucial function on the socio-economic and developmental arena in the country. For instance, the majority of Zimbabwe's population suffers perennially high levels of poverty, unemployment and economic vulnerability since the years of structural adjustment in the 1990s, which continued

on a deepening trajectory until the political and economic crises in the post-2000 period. As such, the civil society can assist in campaigning for the rights of the poor and vulnerable groups of society, for example, through lobbying the government on public service delivery and social welfare schemes and programmes. In a volatile economy like Zimbabwe, civil society organisations can also help ease unemployment woes by starting and coordinating small to medium income generating enterprises in worst affected communities, as well equipping such communities to run the projects through training on some skills such as business management. This, however, has to be done with the genuine aim of helping the affected communities, and not as a ploy to reach out to grassroots dwellers in order to manipulate their mind-set with political propaganda as has been the common case in Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe is currently experiencing challenges of food insecurity such that most vulnerable groups, namely the poor and unemployed, require the assistance of both state and especially non-state actors to mitigate daily challenges. The food insecurity in the country is rooted in a myriad of factors, ranging from bad policing on the part of government to the effects of climate change such as droughts, floods and erratic rainfall patterns that have generally affected the Southern African region in recent years. This not only affects individual citizens, but has also caused a massive drop in the national agricultural output, thereby seriously impacting negatively on the country's agro-based economy. As such, civil society organisations can utilize their unfettered access to the people, not only to give food handouts, but also to mobilise communities on environmental awareness. In this regard, the sector could champion anti desertification and environmental protection campaigns to reduce the incidence of climate change, a factor that can also contribute to conflict. It can also educate communities on short season drought resistant crops, good farming practices such as crop rotation and inter cropping with legumes so as to maximize yield amid dwindling rainfall amounts and faltering patterns.

Civil society organisations in Zimbabwe can also play a crucial role in campaigning for improved public service provision, which has been a significant problem in the country in recent years. For instance, much of the country's public infrastructure facilities such as roads, railways and bridges, are dilapidated, while some have virtually collapsed (Kamidza 2009:3). In addition, many suburbs in Zimbabwean towns experience incessant water and electricity cuts and poor waste management and sanitation facilities, which cumulatively contribute to disease outbreaks, such as the 2008 cholera epidemic. There has also been a general decline in the health sector, which has significantly resulted in loss of life among many Zimbabweans. As such, civil society sector can put in place practical intervention strategies to ensure that the

government and the respective local authorities do prioritise the safety of citizens. It can also assist by educating communities on health and safety practices so as to reduce the likelihood of disease outbreaks and for communities to be able to better respond to such crises when they do occur.

Zimbabwe is host to a number of large corporate companies that are involved in various economic activities in the country, particularly in the extractive and manufacturing sectors. Notable examples include Anjin in Chiadzwa Diamond fields, Metallon Gold etc. The activities of such companies have on occasions resulted in serious environmental degradation, where the local communities are left to battle with the effects thereof. The civil society can thus serve as a watchdog against such malpractices by the corporate companies through advocating for community environmental protection and community empowerment, as well as holding them accountable to both their physical and human environment (Muzondidya, 2010). The sector can thus promote advocacy campaigns meant to increase business' levels of involvement in corporate social responsibility, so that corporates plough back into the communities in which they operate. In this regard, civil society could partner government in implementing the community share ownership schemes under the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment framework, meant to ensure that local communities benefit from the activities of corporates in their areas.

Community development projects in Zimbabwe have arguably been affected by a lack of coordination and ownership of the projects by the intended beneficiaries. This has not only resulted in the collapse of ongoing projects but the initiation by politicians, of unwanted projects that do not address the needs the targeted community. While this might be the case in Zimbabwe, transformative development must be able to respond to life's on-the-ground challenges, needs, and realities (Lederach and Maise 2003). Civil society organisations in Zimbabwe can thus help through carrying out participatory action researches (Kemmis & McTaggart 2007:273), where citizens participate in both defining their problems and mapping the solutions thereto. In this regard, the civil society sector can lead the coordination of community-based analysis of socio-economic problems, thereby giving rise to development projects that are specifically responsive to the needs and opinions of the concerned communities.

Corruption is one aspect where civil society can play a role. This social ill has become endemic in Zimbabwe, affecting all sectors of society. Corruption has significantly contributed to poverty in the country as it results in a collapse of public services and causes leakages in the national economy through stealing and personalization of national resources. There have been many

reported cases of bureaucratic corruption in Zimbabwe, and numerous others unreported, where government officials abuse both public authority and office for personal gain, before, during and post the inclusive government period. For instance, the abuse by legislators from across the political divide, of funds allocated by the *Constituency Development Fund* can be cited as one among many examples. What is appalling about corruption in Zimbabwe is how the perpetrators carry on with impunity. Civil society organisations, such as Transparency International have been play a pivotal role both in naming and shaming corrupt officials, and also educating communities to expose and shun corruption to avert its degeneration into a collective action problem. To achieve this end, however, the organisations must first shun corruption themselves.

4.9.2 Civil Society and Peacebuilding in Zimbabwe

As I have already highlighted earlier in the presentation, Zimbabwe has experienced an influx of civil society organisations that are involved in peacebuilding-related activities. According to the CCMT (2013), there are more than 100 organisations that are involved peacebuilding activities. Some of the notable organisations include the CCJP, CCMT, Youth Empowerment and Transformation Trust (YETT), Institute for Young Women Development (IYWD), ZPP, ZIMCET, among others. The Zimbabwean conflict was arguably at its peak between 2006 and 2008 eventually leading to the signing of the Global Political Agreement and subsequently the formulation of the GNU in early 2009. The GPA (2008:18) Article 7 underscored the need for reconciliation and this formed the basis for peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. GPA Article 18 also acknowledged the role of civil society in the quest for peace and reconciliation in Zimbabwe. However, the role of the CSOs appeared to have been usurped by the more domineering institutions that were created by the Zimbabwean state. The two most visible ones were the ONHRI (which was a tripartite arrangement among parties in the GNU) and the Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC) which was again a tripartite arrangement of parties to the GNU.

The effectiveness of the two organs, the ONHRI and JOMIC was, however, undermined by the political tension that characterised the GNU. Apart from the political polarisation, the organs were largely underfunded. The decision to also entrust politicians with leading the peace process after going through a difficult time also proved problematic. The GNU was a continuation of the conflict but on a somewhat different turf. It was a war of attrition and positioning. The MDC formations and ZANU PF all endeavoured to effectively position themselves for the post GNU era and as such no one was willing to make concessions.

In a qualitative study by Ncube (2014: 284-85), the author noted that CSOs were largely active during the era of the GPA and more specifically the GNU. He noted that during this era, many of the peacebuilding discussions in Zimbabwe were centred on power mediation (between ZANU-PF and the two MDC formations) as well as transforming conflict at the grassroots (community) level. Ncube case-studied the Church and Civil Society Forum (CCSF) which was a network of churches and civil society organisations working on peacebuilding initiatives during the era of the GNU.

The CCSF was guided by four broad objectives which were to; develop national and local mechanisms for peacebuilding; engage in capacity building of various peacebuilding stakeholders; mobilise, create awareness, and encourage citizens to participate in various peacebuilding initiatives to avoid duplication and facilitate efficiency and wider implementation.

The views of Ncube were largely narrative on the basic functions of Civil Society in Zimbabwe. His submission that the CSOs under the CCSF largely delivered on the key functions as outlined by Paffenholz has its own shortcomings. One of the issues that Ncube did not dwell on was that of disunity and corruption among civil society organisations.

The CCSF is probably one of the most active CSOs on peacebuilding though. The CCSF (2015) notes that:

The church should have regular engagements with political leaders at all levels. One key target is the grassroots party zealot who *toyi-toyi* in our streets upsetting everyone and the party lunatics who force-marches people to rallies against their will.

The CCSF identifies key strategic considerations in their Violence Prevention Mechanisms and these are listed as:

- i) Research and documentation
- ii) Development and promotion of violence early warning mechanisms
- iii) Dialogue with policy makers
- iv) International advocacy and lobbying
- v) Briefings with the church bishops

CCSF has also been facilitating trainings but largely from a faith based perspective. However, it must be noted that the conflict in Zimbabwe is largely a political conflict and will require more ingenuity to effectively deal with the challenges. This is captured by CIVICUS (2011:37) who noted that the:

Intra-state conflict in Zimbabwe is neither ethnically based nor a fully-fledged military war, but rather the people of Zimbabwe are against the political elites. The relationship between civil society and the military institutions are hostile, causing the majority of Zimbabweans to live in fear.

The conflict in Zimbabwe thrives on a combination of structural elements as well as direct. At different times, the military and the police have been used to perpetrate violence and fear on the ordinary citizens. The grassroots people are polarised and any development initiative in the communities is widely interpreted from a political perspective.

CIVICUS also observed that:

To some people, and those outside Zimbabwe, it may appear there is no conflict in Zimbabwe. But they are misguided. The arrests, detention and even disappearance of opposition voices are part of the regime's plans to keep the people quiet. We have silent conflict because people are afraid (2011:40).

The CSOs in Zimbabwe are working in an environment that is characterised by fear and are also working with people who have lived in fear for a very long period of time. This will require some specialised peacebuilding skills to transform this situation.

4.10 Challenges Facing Civil Society Organisations in Zimbabwe

Whilst civil society organisations have certainly emerged as an important factor in the socio-economic transformation of communities and states alike, they still face some formidable challenges in their daily operations. These challenges range from institutional, political, funding and logistical factors.

4.10.1 Political Challenges

Paffenholz (2004) notes that peacebuilding initiatives face a sustainability challenge in most countries emerging out of conflict primarily because locals are seized with human needs challenges. Paffenholz et al (2010:406) notes that “when the state is repressive towards civil society actors, there is limited space for civil society to act.” This observation reflects the problematic relationship between the CSOs and most African governments. In Zimbabwe, the relationship between the government and CSOs has been frosty since the year 2000 with the government constantly accusing the CSOs as being agents of the west and as regime change

agents (Kagoro 2005). As a result the CSOs often find themselves in a difficult situation as they cannot fulfil their mandate. Paffenholz et al (Ibid) further noted that when the state is perceived to be illegitimate by a section of the population there is a high probability of civil society fragmenting along political party affiliation. In Zimbabwe most of the Western funded CSOs are viewed to be pro the opposition MDC party and all the locally funded are viewed as pro ZANU PF party. This has an impact on how the CSOs are perceived.

In Zimbabwe, organisations that are funded by international donor organisations like DFID, USAID, Swiss Peace and many others are generally perceived to be anti-ZANU PF. These include CSOs like Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR), Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum and Heal Zimbabwe Trust. These organizations currently have a particularly strained relationship with the ZANU PF government. On the other hand, organisations like Destiny for Africa Network, Zimbabwe Federation of Trade Unions, Zimbabwe Congress of Students Union (ZICOSU) and Zimbabwe Heritage Trust (ZHT) enjoy a fairly cordial relationship with the government as they do not receive funding from international donors from the west.

Kagoro (2005:24) notes that most CSOs who operate in Zimbabwe are often forced to carry out their activities in a more concealed way so as to avoid clashes with the government. Kagoro (2005:28) notes that “the deep psychological scarring and emotional trauma suffered by the poor and marginalised people in particular will become more difficult to heal and the possibility of civil strife breaking out will increase.” This observation by Kagoro remains very valid as subsequent efforts towards trauma healing, reconciliation and social cohesion have often been derailed by political interference. A case in point is the lack of impact of the ONHRI that was operational during the time of the PGA and more specifically the GNU.

4.11 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I looked at the concept of civil society, its features, and evolution as well as expected roles in society. I also looked at the roles of CSOs in peacebuilding. I took a more focused approach on Zimbabwe in which I examined the roles that CSOs have played in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. I noted that the literature on CSOs and peacebuilding in Zimbabwe is still very sparse. Most of the available literature relates to CSOs and socio-economic development. The main challenge facing CSOs in Zimbabwe is the inhibitive operating environment where the ZANU PF government has put in place a difficult institutional framework for the control of the CSOs. However, in spite of these challenges, CSOs continue to dominate the peacebuilding discourse in the country owing primarily to the challenges facing

the Zimbabwean government. The NPRC is yet to be constituted because of a critical lack of funds and in the absence of this commission, the peacebuilding and reconciliation agenda has been pushed by the CSOs.

Chapter 5: Training In Peacebuilding

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I shall concentrate on issues in training in peacebuilding. I have briefly looked at the concept of training in the context of peacebuilding. I also made reference to Lederach's insights on prescriptive and elicitive methods in training in peacebuilding. I have also presented a number of case studies on various approaches to training in peacebuilding. Since my study is an action research study, I made reference to action research case studies across Africa.

5.2 Why Training in Peacebuilding?

Training is an important aspect of capacity building and enhancement in peacebuilding. If properly managed, training can enhance the quality of the process leading to sustainable peace. Abu-Nimer (1998:3) contends that the goal of peacebuilding is to foster tolerance as well as appreciation of diversity among the antagonists. However, the process of reaching this state of affairs (appreciation and tolerance), requires a scientific and systemic approach to training in peacebuilding. Although the writer was taking a religious perspective, the observation is important because it provides a broader and long term perspective on peacebuilding and peacebuilding training. The challenge with facilitation in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe is that most of the civil society organisations have been affected by the polarisation in the country and they tend to take sides with regards to the causes and effects of the conflict on the communities.

One of the fundamental but often lacking skills among civil society organisations in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe is conflict analysis. O'Gorman (2011:44) captures the importance of this skill when he states that:

The task is one of tracking dynamism and not allowing the conflict to be taken as a single snapshot at a given moment, but rather to be sequenced as a film that moves: conflict analysis should edit and capture the back story, the key event, the actors and their complex interactions over time.

Barnes (2005:21) notes that CSOs start initiatives that are beyond their skills and capacities and thus may make the situation worse by escalating danger, exacerbating divisions and tensions, and/or through reinforcing prejudice. Gurr (1993:314) argues that one of the greatest

challenges is the increasing pervasive nature of conflicts. Most conflicts are embedded in communities and have serious ethnic, religious and cultural undertones. As a result, civil society organisations responding to these conflicts must be technically prepared for the complex dynamics of these conflicts. They also need the knowledge and insights into the cultural values in the communities that they work in. In his article, 'Civil Society's present and future role in Zimbabwe', Lee (2011) notes that serious governance problems afflict civics and other voluntary organisations in Zimbabwe, most of which operate with little or no oversight. A 'founder's syndrome' is prevalent, whereby the first leader of the organisation becomes the president or secretary general of the organisation and runs it like a private fiefdom, sometimes for life. Lee (2011) further notes that while the rest of the economy was shrinking after 2000, a civil society 'industry' was booming courtesy of donor funding, often with little accountability and transparency. Given the challenges facing civil society in Zimbabwe and the complex responsibilities they are supposed to execute, there is definitely need to carefully develop peacebuilding skills among those working on projects in peace.

5.3 Considerations during Training

Abu-Nimer (2001) underscores the need for trainers to motivate and empower the potential in their participants, especially those who hold tolerant views towards others. Abu-Nimer (1999) identifies three major factors that influence a training sector:

1. How cognitive, affective (emotional), and behavioural factors can change the attitudes of individuals in a training setting.
2. How effective it is to address participants as individuals or as representatives of their collective communities; and
3. How affective experiential (here and now) learning is as compared to instrumental learning, which is based on new information and knowledge or a task to be completed.

Lederach (1997) and Abu-Nimer (2001) concur that training in peacebuilding must build on the local resources as well as the experiences of the local people. The experience must be elicitive and less prescriptive. The objective and contents of peacebuilding training must be a primary function of the participants.

The experience with training in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe lacks a clear pedagogy that speaks to the real peacebuilding needs of the country. Most of the organisations have relied on internet materials for training resources (Chinhanhu 2015). Apart from the internet materials, the facilitators are not well groomed. Most of them gained prominence because they are well connected to the CSOs that are offering peacebuilding initiatives.

5.4 Approaches to Training in Peacebuilding

There are two generic models for training in peacebuilding. Lederach (1995:39) presents the elicitive approach, which relies on local cultural resources and participant experiences to guide the peacebuilding training process. He also presents the prescriptive model where the facilitator or trainer is the source of knowledge and designs the training modules. In elicitive methods, the facilitator together with the participants will help to come up with the contents of the training as well as the methodology. However, Abu-Nimer (2001: 490) appears to promote a combination of the elicitive approach and the prescriptive or instrumental approach arguing that this enhances the chances of attitude and behavioural changes among the participants.

5.4.1 Elicitive and Prescriptive Approaches in Peacebuilding

Lederach (1997) offers a distinct approach to training in peacebuilding. Lederach notes that training approaches can be different depending on context and Lederach contests the notion that training models are universally applicable. He argues that conflicts are unique and culturally grounded. He notes that each culture has its own conception of conflict resolution and management techniques. As I have already mentioned, he makes a distinction between elicitive and prescriptive methodologies in peacebuilding training.

Lederach, cited by Maiase (2004), proposes a methodological framework that emphasises the importance of cultural factors in conflict resolution and transformation processes. Lederach poses the question, “how do we foster a pedagogical project that empowers people to participate in creating appropriate models for handling conflict in their context?” In what he calls the integrated framework, Lederach, cited in Maiase (2004) observes that:

- ❖ People in a setting are a key resource, not recipients
- ❖ Indigenous knowledge is a pipeline to discovery and appropriate action
- ❖ Building from available local resources fosters self-sufficiency and sustainability
- ❖ Empowerment emerges from processes that promote participation in naming and discovering appropriate responses to identified needs and problems.

The elicitive model pays attention to the cultural dynamics of a given population. This connects well with the concept of local ownership in peacebuilding (discussed earlier in Chapter 2). Culture must be an important consideration when planning for training in peacebuilding. Lederach (1996:55) observes that:

the elicitive approach starts from the vantage point that training is an opportunity aimed primarily at discovery, creation, and solidification of models that emerge from the resources present in a particular setting and respond to needs in that context.

Young (1998: 211) provides a distinction between prescriptive and elicitive training approaches when he stated that:

Prescriptive approaches generally assume universal models of conflict resolution which are then applied or adopted in particular cultural situations. Elicitive approaches, on the other hand, recognise the existence of distinctive cultural understandings of conflict and its resolution, which are then clarified, elucidated, and enhanced through reflection and dialogue.

The work of Lederach has largely influenced training approaches in peacebuilding. However, the challenge in Africa in general and Zimbabwe in general is that most of the CSOs that are offering peacebuilding services still rely on western designed training material. At the same time, the facilitators themselves have not received a formal training of trainer's tuition and thus making the process much more compromised (Chinhanhu 2015). Therefore, the elicitive and the prescriptive methods in peacebuilding must be understood in much greater detail so as to help inform the designing of a training program for the participants.

5.5 Training in Peacebuilding

There are various approaches to training in peacebuilding. Training serves many purposes. Francis (2002:53, 86) contends that training is one form of conflict intervention which can go a long way to addressing the need for constructive conflict resolution. She noted that training offers three important domains in conflict transformation that is internal skills for effective personal behaviour, the external skills for effective interpersonal behaviour and the analytical, organisational and strategic skills for effective group action. Raider, Coleman and Gerson (2010: 698-700) state that ideally workshops should cover three important dimensions, which are the knowledge, skills and the attitude objectives.

Tillett and French (2010:188) observe that conflict resolution fundamentally involves a set of practical skills, that is, it must work in practice if it is to have any real value. The skills involved are not esoteric or complex, they are basic intellectual and interpersonal skills that everyone possesses, but they are often largely underdeveloped and unapplied. Kent (2001:280-287) outlines the importance of understanding, ownership, sensitivity, respect, time and networking, experience as important considerations when designing training for peacebuilders. In

Zimbabwe there is a big gap, however. Most of the training is not locally developed and thus lacks a grounded appeal to the needs of the local populations. Studies have mainly focused on state-civil society relationships and there is no literature on training in peacebuilding.

5.6 Peacebuilding Training, Culture and the Notion of Local Ownership in Peacebuilding

Successive challenges witnessed in peacebuilding projects have forced actors to reconsider the need for local ownership in peacebuilding. This notion is closely connected to the role of culture in sustainable peacebuilding. Richmond (2013:355) recommended that peacebuilding must be based on local choices, the cultural context and contextual needs. However, he goes on to suggest that there should always be an effort to re-align these choices with international standards. Perhaps the most popular notion of African indigenous knowledge values is captured in the philosophy of *Ubuntu*. Amisi (2008: 13) defined Ubuntu as the African philosophy which is defined by oneness, community, kindness, human sympathy, harmony and peace.

There has been a lot written about culture and conflict. I believe culture plays an important role in the designing of peacebuilding interventions as well as training methodology. There has been a great deal of debate regarding the efficacy of local indigenous mechanisms in peacebuilding and the wider context of development. Ghanaian George Ayittey (2012) laments the effect of colonialism on indigenous knowledge systems and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms. He notes how colonialism affected the integrity of these institutions. Makwerere and Mandoga (2012) conclude that post-colonial governments also continued with the colonial machinations as they have continued to undermine and manipulate these institutions. Focusing on the Zimbabwean context, the two noted how traditional institutions have been undermined to suit the political goals of ZANU PF.

Stroschein (2013:276) argues that the liberal approach to peacebuilding is grounded in western ideology and is therefore at odds with local values and traditions. She also found out that the local setting for peacebuilding work is a complex environment with invisible and yet important dynamics that must be understood. Stroschein (2013:284) sums up this observation by saying that “interventions in local settings, whether for peacebuilding or resource assistance purposes, are like trying to alter a machine that is already in motion- and without a sense of all its moving parts. NGOs need to understand the local dynamics in order to reduce harm and enhance effectiveness.

As noted by Franks and Richmond (2008:85), intervention of NGOs in a context of strong ethnic cleavages, the assistance of one ethnic group at the expense of the other may as well be viewed as aiding the other part in the conflict. In Zimbabwe the conflict is characterized by sharp polarization between the ruling ZANU PF and the MDC parties. The CSOs appear to have been split along political party ideological lines as well.

5.7 Is Culture Relevant in Peacebuilding Training?

Major scholars in peacebuilding have produced conflicting perspectives. John Burton, writing in the early 1990s dismissed the central role of culture in unlocking intractable conflicts. Burton (1990) negates the importance of culture arguing that the most important thing is the realization of basic human needs regardless of religious and cultural beliefs. To him culture operates at “a shallower level to the underlying level of universal or generic human needs.” This is, however, contested. Culture, as also reflected in religious practices, can be a major source of conflict as well as a source for stability. Johan Galtung and John Paul Lederach argue that culture is an important aspect in peacebuilding. Lederach (1997, 2003) found out that for peacebuilding to be effective, it must be grounded in the local cultural dynamics and tap into the local resources. Lederach (1997:88-95) suggested that there are two important resources in peacebuilding. These are socio-economic resources and socio-cultural resources. Socioeconomic resources relate to the financial and material resources needed for the implementation of projects for peace. The sociocultural resources refer to the people and their culture and Lederach (1997:94) argues that “the greatest resource for sustaining peace in the long term is always rooted in the local people and their culture.” Galtung (1998) also shared the same observation as he viewed culture as an important ingredient for the building of sustainable peace.

Tutu (1999:34-35) suggests that the term *Ubuntu* is very difficult to translate into Western terminology. Tutu argued that Ubuntu is a comprehensive philosophy relating to the essence of being human. The overarching philosophy about Ubuntu is that “a person is a person through other people”. The central values relate to reciprocity, openness, inclusivity and oneness.

Other scholars have also come up strongly in support of local indigenous resources in peacebuilding. Eglash (1999) and Amisi (2008) concurred on the fact that local people are familiar with their own local indigenous design mechanisms and that they are grounded in local practice. Whilst the world has witnessed an accelerated growth towards globalization, it is a fact that most African communities are still rural and organized along traditional hierarchy

and custom. The practices have historical depth; the language is common and the value systems common to the people.

5.8 Relationship with peacebuilding

Tobias (2014:227-228) observes that cultural values are largely pro-community building and must be harnessed in order to produce sustainable peacebuilding. Tobias (2014:229) further notes that values such as sharing, compassion, caring and other social developments such as inter-marriages make societies more intact and helpful to one another.

Malan (2005:450) posited that cultural and local values are important but only if these cultural values are still being respected by the people. In raising this point, she raises an important aspect about whether some of these practices are still valuable in the eyes of the communities. Malan (2005:456), however, concludes that local cultural values are indispensable for as long as they are still being practiced and that they have “functioned in conflict-preventive, peacebuilding, and reconciliatory ways through the ages”. The findings by Malan were corroborated by Yusuf and Le Mare (2005:459-464) who point out that the engagement of the elders in the Somali conflict led to a breakthrough in efforts towards conflict transformation and sustainable peacebuilding. They note that the protagonists had confidence in the community elders who mediated the conflict as this was an age-old tradition which was trusted by everyone.

Perhaps a celebrated traditional model for dealing with post conflict challenges was the *Gacaca* in Rwanda which was held in the aftermath of the Rwandan Genocide. Karbo and Mutisi (2008) hailed the model as having been able to address the truth-telling aspect as well as the healing aspect of the conflict. The *Gacaca* was a hybrid approach to post conflict social reconstruction and included aspects of Western practice in transitional justice as well as the local traditional value systems. According to Karbo and Mutisi (2008) the *Gacaca* means “justice on the grass” and it called for perpetrators of violence to seek forgiveness and reconciliation from the survivors of the genocide. The process was conducted by village headmen and the elderly in the local communities.

5.9 Violence, trauma and peacebuilding

Conflict in most African communities is largely characterized by violent confrontations. One of the most complex outcomes of violent conflicts is trauma. Saul (2000) indicates that the term

trauma is mostly used by various people, mostly journalists, human rights activists, churches etc. to refer to situations that are stressful to the individual or the community at large. Merwe and Vienings (2001:343) defined trauma as a reaction to a situation that is overwhelming to an individual's coping mechanisms. He identified causes of traumatic events such as witnessing murder, destruction of homes, beatings, killings, abductions and serious threat or harm on people who are close to one's existence. Farwell and Cole (2004:25) define trauma as serious shock that is likely to affect the balance of the "cognitive, affective and spiritual". Papadopoulos (2002) and Neller et al (2005:153) provides an explanation that trauma is purely depended on how individuals react to situation. What might be traumatic to others might not necessary act out as traumatic for other individuals.

Zelizer (2008) observes that the concept of trauma itself can be a useful analytical tool in post conflict reconstruction. He, however, warned against embarrassing the concept as a one size fit all in all situations. There is need to consider other approaches in dealing with the problem. Trauma related studies have a long history. They started in the aftermath of the world war and later the Vietnam War where American soldiers showed serious discomfort in the aftermath of the war.

This suggests that a person's nervous disposition determines how he or she reacts to a traumatic event. Ehrenreich (2003:20) and Dillenburg (2006:98) observe that the conflict in Northern Ireland for example, produced a wide range of reactions among individuals who would have gone through a similar ordeal only to react differently.

5.10 Types of Trauma

There are various types of trauma. However, for the purposes of this presentation, I focused on the categorization given by Warren (2006: 21-24). The first type is regarded as Individual trauma and it affects an individual's mental and physical faculties. The second type is referred to as collective trauma. According to Warren, collective trauma affects the sense of community. It destroys the wellbeing of the community and it destroys the social fabric that ties people together. Papadopoulos (2000), however, identified three categories of trauma. He referred to the three as:

- a) Ordinary human suffering and that this is the usual response to human suffering. It is not out of the ordinary and does not usually last long.
- b) Distressful psychological reaction – this is more severe compared to the first one. It usually manifests for longer periods.

- c) Psychiatric Disorder (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) which is more serious and requires specialist help.

Trauma is caused by many factors but in the context of Zimbabwe, the major causes emanate from a history of political violence which pre-dates independence. However, PTSD has been criticized as being too Western. Scholars like (Becker 2004 and Wessells 2008) observe that the PTSD model may lack applicability in non-western settings as it places too much emphasis on the individual at the expense of the community. Perhaps it suits the liberal peace agenda which I have discussed elsewhere in the section.

5.11 Effects of trauma

Trauma can manifest in different ways depending on the severity of the impact as well as the affected individual's dispossession. However, as Merwe and Vienings found out, trauma can manifest in the following ways:

- Post-traumatic stress disorder
- Difficulties in relating to family and friends
- Victims may become violators
- Children exposed to violence will more likely become perpetrators themselves

Merwe and Vienings (2001: 344-346) further note that there is a common misperception that the victims of violence are the more vulnerable ones to trauma. However, he reminded practitioners that those who witness acts of violence may actually be the worst affected and that the perpetrators also require rehabilitation in order for them to move on in life. Merwe also noted that trauma can be passed on to the children or the next generation if it is not properly handled. Dealing with trauma is an important consideration for sustainable peacebuilding. In Zimbabwe, very little has been published regarding the need for trauma healing, both in the aftermath of the Gukurahundi as well as in post-2000 where political violence escalated to unprecedented levels.

5.12 Trauma Healing and Sustainable Peacebuilding

It is widely believed that trauma healing in post violent societies provides a sustainable foundation for peacebuilding. Mendeloff (2004: 367-368) provides both individual and national benefits. The healing of individuals will translate to the healing of communities and a more sustainable peace at a national level.

5.13 Popular Approaches Used by CSOs in Peacebuilding

There is no doubt that the most popular peacebuilding approach among CSOs working in peacebuilding is the workshop method. As noted by Francis (2002) workshops can be generally divided into two categories, problem solving workshops and capacity building workshops. A problem solving workshop aims to facilitate the resolution and transformation of conflicts among the conflicting groups or parties. It is usually carried out in the presence of trained or seasoned facilitators who have the duty to provide the necessary facilitation. A capacity building workshop aims at building capacity among the actors in conflict transformation and peacebuilding, (Francis, 2002 and Lederach, 1997).

Another equally popular approach that has since gained momentum is the concept of the Local Peace Committees (LPCs). International development agents like Oxfam Great Britain (2005) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (2005) define LPCs as local organizations with diverse representation of all interest groups and are charged with ensuring peace in their respective communities. The United Nations Peacebuilding Commission (2010) also acknowledge the importance of LPCs as an important constituency for peacebuilding. The LPCs have been hailed as effective tools for bringing about sustainable peace. Ahmad, Ullah, Asad and Shah (2013:103), in a study carried out in Pakistan, point out that LPCs are doing a commendable job in the facilitation of peacebuilding as well as security in the communities of Pakistan.

The responsibilities of the LPCs differ from context to context. Some are given more explicit roles whereas others are given general roles. Neyround and Bakley (2001) found out that the roles may include monitoring of violence during elections, facilitation of reconciliation or any other function as dictated by the context and situation. A study of LPCs in Columbia by Alther (2006) indicated that LPCs are a very important instrument for sustainable peacebuilding as they identify with the local dynamics of the conflict as well as with the people involved in the conflict. Alther also noted that the LPCs in Columbia had managed to create a sense of community by creating safer environments for the people and allowing for development initiatives to happen as well as creating a community of multi-racial co-existence. However, the study also noted that in situations where the conflict is protracted, the committees may as well suffer from attrition and may end up becoming agitated. Thompson and Eade (2004:7) propose that the most important aspect of local peace initiatives is that they create and generate protection capacities that have the capacity to challenge and undermining the source of power of the agitators.

5.14 Workshops as platforms for peacebuilding

One approach that has emerged as a popular strategy for peacebuilding is the workshop method. As noted by Fisher (1997) workshops emanated from Western practice in mediation practice and conflict resolution and are famed for their ability to create an interactive platform for the resolution and transformation of conflicts. The workshops can be organized in different forms. Francis (2002) identifies three distinct forms of workshops;

- i) The problem solving workshop, where antagonists are brought together to discuss their differences and to explore possible solutions to the problem;
- ii) The capacity building workshop. This kind of workshop aims at developing relevant skills for players in peacebuilding so that they can be better equipped to deal with the nature of the conflict within a given context and;
- iii) The dialogue workshop which is simply aimed at exploring the possible options for addressing a specific conflict.

The workshop approach was popularized in the United States of America in the mid-1960s. John Burton (1969), an international relations and conflict analyst probably borrowed the practice from social psychologists, Blake, Shephard and Mouton (1964), who focused on organizational psychology. The strategy employed by Burton was to bring high-level representatives of states or communities in conflict and allow them to dialogue on the contentious issues with the aid of a third party who served as a mediator.

The practice was further elaborated by Kelman (1972) who provided an explanation of the importance of the workshop method as it provided the platform for conflict analysis and mapping of the needs and fears of the antagonists and how an understanding of these concerns was important in providing a lasting solution to the problem.

5.15 Action Research in Peacebuilding Case Studies

There has been a gradual increase on literature relating to action research in peacebuilding. In the table below I present a summary of the key methodological issues and findings from previous action research studies.

Table 5.1 Case Studies of Action Research in Peacebuilding

Author	Research Problem	Target Group	Key Findings
1. Ngwenya, D. (2014)	To help survivors of Gukurahundi to overcome their psycho-social challenges	Survivors of Gukurahundi in Matabeleland North	The study was a participatory action research aimed at healing the wounds of Gukurahundi among survivors in Matabeleland North. The Gukurahundi is used to refer to the civil unrest that characterized areas in Matabeleland and some parts of Midlands in the early 1980 to the mid-1980s. As a result of the unrest, government used heavy-handed tactics to decent on the perceived perpetrators leading to the death of an estimated 20 000 civilians most of whom were of the Ndebele Ethnic group. The study found out that by creating safer spaces that would allow for truth telling through an array of activities including story-telling, drama, group-based healing workshops and psychosocial approaches, people and communities can heal themselves even in the absence of official government apology.
2. Muchemwa, C. (2016)	Building Friendship between the Ndebele and Shona Ethnic Groups	University Students at Solusi University in Matabeleland South Province	In the study, Muchemwa focused on efforts towards building friendship between the Ndebele and Shona ethnic groups. The action research study was done with a control group of 24 University Students. The study employed mainly interviews for the preliminary stages and then dialogue sessions. After the intervention the participants also initiated a tree planting exercise as symbolism that it was possible for people with diverse ethnic backgrounds to work together in harmony and in peace. Using the conflict transformation theory by Lederach and the transcend dialogue as propounded by Johan Galtung, the study concluded that dialogue is an effective tool for relational transformation. According to the findings of the study, there are deep seated animosities between the two ethnic groups and the differences have a long historical dynamic. The study also found out that the younger generations were victims of misinformation and misconceptions regarding the relationship between the two groups and that through friendship building it was still possible to help the groups to find each other through dialogue. The study concluded that there is an opportunity to build

			sustainable relationships between the Shona and the <i>Ndebeles</i> and that what was needed was to create the necessary spaces for such initiatives to happen.
3. Lockett, S., Ngubane, S. and Memela, B. (2001)	Developing a management system for a rural community development organisation	Study carried out in kwaZulu-Natal Province of South Africa	This participatory action research project was carried out in a rural setting in kwaZulu-Natal province in South Africa. The aim of the study to help improve the organizational effectiveness. The methodology involved a series of Focus Group Discussions, Workshops, feedback sessions as well as working with a core group responsible for decision making. Although the initiative was successfully achieved, the researchers indicated that there was need for a more comprehensive appraisal of the initiative after a period of time to determine effectiveness of the new changes. The study also concluded by acknowledging the significance of systemic action research as it helps participants to develop home grown solutions that suit the local context. The study also noted that systemic action research provides a window of reflection to everyday practice.
4. Lundy, P. and McGovern, M. (2006)	The aim of the study was to facilitate truth telling in an ethical way	The study was carried out in Northern Ireland	The study focused on the Ardoyne Commemoration Project in Northern Ireland. The main focus was to assess the ethical issues surrounding community truth telling initiatives and the potential challenges and how to overcome them. The methodology used for data collection included interviews and group feedbacks. The study concluded that a community based truth telling initiative can facilitate the healing of communities. However, the researchers noted that healing is a sensitive issue and because of that it poses serious ethical dilemmas to the researchers.
5. Adebayo, O. (2014)	The aim of the study was to build capacity for conflict-sensitive journalism among journalists in Nigeria	The study was carried out in Nigeria	The study focused in the training of Nigerian journalists in peace journalism. A total of 36 journalists took part in the study. The participants were taken through training in peace journalism. The researcher concluded that the study was highly successful as reflected in the workshop evaluation report as well as the evidence the as shown by the manner in which the journalists had embraced the notion of peace journalism in their reportage.

Source: A synthesis of previous studies in Action Research in Peacebuilding

5.16 Case Studies from Specific Regions in Africa: The Life and Peace Institute (LPI)/ Horn of Africa Programme (HAP)

One of the most volatile regions on the African continent is the Horn of Africa. The region, which is on the eastern tip of the continent, comprises countries like Somalia, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea and a few others. The region has experienced a series of successive conflicts that are both of an intra-state and inter-state nature. The inter-state conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia over territorial boundaries required the intervention of the international community. But perhaps the most damaging intra-conflict to have been experienced in the region was the civil war in Somalia. The war left many people displaced and many others dead. The state was destroyed to the extent that it was left with no central authority and regions and districts under the control of powerful war lords. The state was eventually declared a collapsed state.

The collapsed state left a huge gap in terms of the provision of social amenities, economic activities as well as a serious need for reconciliation. Many international organisations stepped into the picture to try and assist in the reconstruction of the social fabric in the country. One of the notable organisations that have withstood the test of time in the region is the Life and Peace Institute/ Horn of Africa Program (LPI/HAP). An interesting aspect about the LPI/HAP programme was that it was locally developed and does not rely entirely on a framework that is imported from outside. The mission, vision and strategies were drawn from the local existential and experiential realities among the people who survived the civil war.

Svensson (2011: 291) notes that the process is driven by a firm philosophy that peace is a holistic process and that its process must be seen to be involving everyone concerned. The LPI/HAP also believe that peace and conflict transformation cannot be simply achieved by signing peace agreements, the people and the communities must be seen to be working for peace. This approach enhances local ownership of the peace process. The holistic approach is also emphasised in their peacebuilding approach which is anchored on the belief that sustainable peace can only be built from within and by the people themselves. Svensson (2011: 291) observes that the process draws from the local resources including culture, social institutions as well as their experiences. The LPI/HAP effectively subscribes to the elicitive approach to training in peacebuilding, (Lederach, 1997); Abu-Nibu, 2001).

The LPI/HAP refers to this as a community based approach to peacebuilding. Svensson (2011: 292) observes that the LPI/HAP in Somalia started as a learning process and it continues to be a learning process. The thrust of the whole process was to develop and capacitate local including civil society so as to enhance their role in the reconciliation and

peacebuilding process in Somalia. Although the LPI/HAP initiative is not explicitly stated or referred to as action research, the approach is a classical ongoing action research exercise. The LPI/HAP has tapped into the local resources and tried to work with the local communities to improve their competency as well as their institutional capacity to deal with the challenges of reconciliation within the region.

It is a refreshing development to note that the LPI/HAP programme has not been influenced by externally brought peacebuilding and reconciliation models. It is grounded in the local community realities and more importantly, the approach taps into the richness of the local cultures. The approach has also managed to target the middle-level leaders within the community because in Lederach's (1997) peacebuilding pyramid, the middle-class level (which also includes civil society) present a rich and conveniently placed category in society who can easily reach the grassroots level or the top leadership level. Many peacebuilding initiatives have failed to sustain because of a largely top-down approach.

In Zimbabwe, for example, many of the post-independent peacebuilding initiatives have failed to reap the intended results because the approach has largely been top-down. A case in point is the 1987 Unity accord which served only the interests of the political elites at the expense of the ordinary majority who bore the brunt of the Gukurahundi disturbances. The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) (1997) report summed up the intensity and impact of the Gukurahundi on the ordinary Zimbabweans by stating that:

Many people, possibly thousands, who were either victims of physical torture, or forced to witness it, continue to suffer psychological disorders indicative of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Such disorders as unexplained anxieties, dizziness, insomnia, hypochondria and a permanent fear and distrust of senior government officials are evident in victims. Typically, such victims pass on their stress to their children and create a heavy extra burden on existing health care structures.

Up to this day there has been no national initiative to help the victims of the Gukurahundi atrocities. The politicians who signed the 1987 Unity agreement possibly benefited from the arrangement at the expense of the suffering majority. The same mistake was repeated in 2008 when the Government of National Unity (GNU) created the Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI). The ONHRI was supposed to facilitate the reconciliation of communities in the aftermath of election violence across most of the Zimbabwean communities, both rural and urban. However the ONHRI was seriously hamstrung by the nature of its composition. The serious mistake that made by the principals of the GNU was to appoint political leaders to lead the process of reconciliation in the country. This was further compounded by the fact that the ONHRI was in existence at a time when the

parties in the GNU were in serious conflict regarding the implementation of the issues agreed on in the Global Political Agreement (GPA). Those politicians who were leading the ONHRI failed to effectively reach out to the people because they had more political interests to protect than to advance the peace and reconciliation agenda as outlined in the ONHRI.

Content and Methodology of the LPI/HAP

The approach used by the LPI/HAP is holistic and targets local district councillors and local civil society organisations. However, the training content for the local district councillors is different from that of the civil society organisations. The councillors are trained in technical subjects such as public administration, planning, budgeting and financial management but for the civil society organisations, the focus is on civic education which is broadened to include participatory democracy and peacebuilding (Svensson, 2001: 295).

Insights form the LPI/HAP Training Programme

The LPI/HAP project initially started when the conflict in Somalia was at the crisis stage. Svensson (2001: 297) observes that training in peacebuilding is possible during a conflict. The project however noted that there is need for diplomatic skills of the facilitators so as to ensure effectiveness and sustainability of the process. Svensson further notes the need to prioritise training of smaller groups and to support them in their respective constituencies.

Principles of the LPI/HAP Training Programme

Svensson (2001: 298) identifies the following as key principles of the LPI/HAP training programme;

- a) Ownership and sustainability
- b) Time commitment
- c) Work with local trainers
- d) Build on indigenous knowledge and resources
- e) Importance of venue
- f) Work in the local language
- g) Gender balance
- h) Incorporate feedback mechanisms
- i) Impact study
- j) Research and documentation

The LPI/HAP training programme reflects the dynamics of training in peacebuilding. The environment in which the training is taking place is extremely volatile and thus measuring the

impact may pose some challenges. However, what is important is that the training programme is grounded in local realities and there is a genuine attempt to build capacity as informed by the local needs. A major point to reflect on is that the programme has managed to survive for a long period considering the difficult environment in which they are operating in. This is a sure sign that if training programmes are properly managed; they can bring about the desired change in the long run.

5.17 The case of Burundi

Burundi is a country in the Great Lakes region. Just like many of the countries in that region, Burundi has gone through a devastating violent conflict. The conflict was largely complex and had tribal undertones. The training in peacebuilding in Burundi was carried out by the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), which is a Cape Town Based training organisation.

The CCR training in Burundi was based on the following principles:

- ❖ Gain an understanding of the context in which the training will take place
- ❖ Build partnerships with credible, local organisations
- ❖ Develop the training programme with local partners

These first three values were related to the preparatory stage of the training programme. The navigation into the training environment was carefully considered and the three anchoring principles proved vital for the training programme. There were further principles that spoke to the conduct of the trainers. These were:

- ❖ Be respectful
- ❖ Be sensitive to social, political and cultural issues
- ❖ Spend time in the training environment
- ❖ Work to build a local network
- ❖ Trainers should be experienced practitioners as well as trainers

The third category of principles was in relation to the designing of the training materials and are listed below:

- ❖ Adapt training materials, content and methods
- ❖ Select participants carefully
- ❖ Meet the participants' immediate and long-term needs
- ❖ Provide time for practice and debriefing
- ❖ Provide opportunities for training and practice.

The Burundi training program was a fundamentally good exercise. As earlier indicated, the training was carried out at a time when the conflict in Burundi was still to subside. Given this difficult background, the initiative must be hailed as a success. The CCR must be lauded for making sure that the training programme was sensitive to the local needs. However, the training programme can be criticised on certain aspects.

5.17.1 Critique of the CCR Training in Burundi

Amongst big obstacles that emerged were that Burundi is a former French colony and as such the country is a predominantly French-speaking country. The other challenge that was faced was that the training of trainers program was instituted at a time when the conflict in Burundi was gravitating between the crisis stage and the outcome stage. As a result the country experienced intermittent incidences of violent encounters between the conflicting parties. The other challenge was that the facilitators (CCR) were coming outside Burundi and most of them were not conversant in French, English. Other than the language barrier, the facilitators were totally new to the conflict and had to start with a thorough mapping of the whole Burundi conflict. Arnold (2001:279) notes that the trainers needed to know the trainers and their expectations as well as the dynamics of the conflict. As a result, the preparation stage and the conflict mapping and analysis stage became a protracted exercise. It was also a costly exercise because members of staff at the CCR had to travel several times to Burundi in order for them to get a wider appreciation of the conflict dynamics and the actors. An interesting development was the reliance by CCR on one of their staff members who happened to be a former official in the Burundian government. It is not clear on what rank this particular official held in the Burundian government, but it raises questions about his objectivity regarding the assessment and mapping of the Burundian conflict. This was more of an opportunistic advantage than a well-planned idea and had its own serious undoing.

However, the analysis and mapping exercise received a fair measure of validation as CCR managed to meet directors of partner NGOs in Burundi namely Search for Common Ground and Ligue Itaka. The collaboration of these three organisations led to the identification of the critical training needs of the participants, determination of the training material and contents as well as identification of the participants. As noted by Arnold (2001: 280), the participants were selected because they met the following criteria:

- They displayed an aptitude for peacemaking and the desire to do this kind of work
- They had some experience in managing conflict situations in their professional lives
- They had the self-confidence to work in front of groups and

- They were available and willing to conduct training courses both during and after the completion of the training program.

Whilst the criterion used appeared comprehensive, some gaps remained. For example, some scholars often emphasise the need or importance of the trainers to have at least experienced a conflict themselves so that they can fully appreciate the dynamics. Violent conflicts (especially in Africa) usually take a gendered pattern and the criterion used in identifying the trainers appeared to be silent on the gendered dynamics of the conflict.

In many African countries, cultural relevancy goes a long way in determining the success or lack of it of local peace initiatives. Ideally, the CCR in collaboration with the two locally based NGOs, could have liaised with the local traditional institutions to ensure the 'do no harm' effect, (Anderson: 1999) to their programming. It appears the determinant factors (for choosing the participants) had more to do with demeanour, experience and availability than it have to do with cultural grounding and sensitivity.

However, as noted by Arnold (2001: 280), the training programme by the CCR tried to balance the delicate ethnic arithmetic in the country. This was in the hope of trying to meet the various needs of the potential training audiences across Burundi. The programme is generally viewed as a major success in the then conflict-ridden Burundi. It is another demonstration that action research can help strengthen institutions in conflict ridden environments. This will, however, require a proper mapping of the conflict and a careful planning and designing of the training materials. It will also require user friendly evaluation techniques so as to effectively measure the impact of the training method. Impact is always difficult to measure but always an important undertaking after training.

5.18 The case of the Search for Common Ground in Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone is one of the many African countries to have imploded during the 1990s, a decade which was popular for intrastate conflicts in Africa. The civil war in Sierra Leone was as devastating as it was destructive. The almost decade-long war in the country claimed almost 50 000 people, displaced well over 2 million people and left several tens of thousands of people incapacitated (Konings and James, 2009: 249). More than 20 thousand children, mainly boys were taken as child soldiers. It was evident that the country was in need of social, political and economic reconstruction. The state was incapacitated to go it alone and as a result other non-state actors had to come to the fore. One such organisation was the Search for Common Ground (SFCG). The SFCG used a largely unexplored model of conflict

transformation, the radio. The radio had previously been used in Burundi (with a measure of success) and now this was to be a replica of the initiative in Burundi.

The project was named the Talking Drum Studio (TDS). The main objective of the initiative was to facilitate reconciliation and social integration across Sierra Leoneans in the wider framework of national recovery. The TDS worked in collaboration with the Community Peacebuilding Unit in Sierra Leone. The radio was used to broadcast messages of peacebuilding and ongoing initiatives across communities in Sierra Leone.

5.18.1 The pre-intervention situation in Sierra Leone

The situation in Sierra Leone was already fragile going into the civil war which started around 1991. The growing phenomenon of Warlords and child soldiers created a delicate situation in the country. However, as noted by the UNHCR (1998), the conflict in Sierra Leone was unique in the sense that it did not follow any tribal or ethnic lines. The conflict was dominated by warlords. Charles Taylor and Foday Sankoh emerged as major players in the conflict. The UN (1998:5) submits that the tense situation in Sierra Leone was a result of several years of unchecked poor governance, corruption and unemployment that left the country on the verge of implosion. Youths emerged as a key driver of the conflict as well as children who were taken as child soldiers. The Lome Peace agreement brought relative peace but again the country was still fragile apparently because of the challenges that it had gone through.

The SFCG approach in Sierra Leone and in many other African countries was guided by the theory of social change. In the context of Sierra Leone, the SFCG aimed at using radio to work on the structural, political and social issues affecting the Sierra Leoneans. The SFCG believe radio is the most commonly used and most influential means of mass communication and as such can be used to find solutions to social problems affecting the country, (Konings and James; 2009:254).

5.18.2 Critique of the SFCG

The use of the media in peacebuilding is complex and on many occasions difficult in terms of measuring the impact. However, this kind of action oriented approach to peacebuilding was a great initiative. The theory of social change that offered the theoretical guide for the project was clearly articulated and had relevance to the wider objectives of the initiative.

The fact that the TDS has remained in existence provides ample ground in considering the relevance and effectiveness of the project. Sesay and Hughes (2005) note that the radio programmes on civic and voter education which were created by TDS proved very vital in building political tolerance in Sierra Leone.

However, it must be noted that the programming carried a largely American orientation and influence and thus undermining the aspect of local ownership. Local ownership is one of the important pre-requisites for any successful peacebuilding initiative. The locals who were recruited for the programme also struggled to maintain impartiality.

The evaluation criterion on impact assessment was not clearly defined and hence leaving room for over-generalisation on the achievements of SFCG. The SFCG offered a veiled acknowledgement to the fact that the process had multiple players and as a result cannot claim all the glory (Konings and James; 2009: 259). This failure to have a comprehensive evaluation criterion on an action research study has the danger of providing overgeneralised findings as well as over-glorifying achievements. There is need to provide a clearly set out evaluation procedure. This is not only useful to that specific study but also for other studies on similar themes.

5.19 The Lesotho case study

A typical action research study was carried out in Lesotho by the National University of Lesotho, Department of Political and Administrative Studies in collaboration with the University of Maryland's Centre for International Development and Conflict Management. The action research study was a macro-conflict analysis of a variety of issues affecting Lesotho. The research was carried out by Davies, Fekade, Hoohlo, Kaufman and Shale from 2001. The study set out to unpack the challenges facing Lesotho as well as to try and transform the challenges into more meaningful relationships. Davies et al (2009:129) focus on the following four key issues:

- ❖ Interparty conflict which was characterised by selfish ambitions often leading to a zero-sum game (every one losing because no one was willing to make concessions to the other and vice versa;
- ❖ Interparty conflict which was built around party personalities at the expense of policy debates and discussions. This would often lead to splits and a multiplicity of seemingly minute and almost inconsequential political parties in Lesotho;
- ❖ The country was also experiencing serious conflicts between traditional leaders and the elected leaders and

- ❖ The country was also grappling with conflicts between the principal chiefs and the political parties.

The project adopted a bottom-up approach and worked with local traditional governance institutions as well as the elected local government officials. The main focus was on building local conflict management skills (Davies et al, 2009:130).

The study was spread over a five year period and was guided by the following specific objectives:

- ❖ Capacity building in integrative conflict management, presentation, and peacebuilding for CSOs, academics and other professionals;
- ❖ Development of culturally appropriate tools for integrative conflict management, building on local traditions and empowering local partners;
- ❖ Development of consensus agreements on policy options for decision-makers among government and other stakeholders to address current conflict issues;
- ❖ Development of courses and specialised research and applied programs at NUL to help strengthen a culture of peace (Davies et al, 2009:133).

The project started with a comprehensive capacity needs assessment in all the ten districts of the country. A wide range of capacity needs was identified and these were grouped into economic, socio-political, education and conflict management.

5.19.1 Methodological Issues

The research largely adopted the workshop method especially for the grassroots participants. The workshops lasted for 3 days and the follow up workshops lasted for one day. The methodology also tapped into local indigenous knowledge values and systems by inviting local mediators and tapping into their vast experiences.

5.19.2 Evaluation of the Action Research impact

The evaluation process focused on three key deliverables, that is, the outputs (usually the tangible activities like number of workshops conducted, number of people who received training); impact on participants' perceptions and skills and outcomes focusing on implementation, policy shifts (as influenced by the training) (Davies et al, 2009:144).

5.19.3 Critique of the Lesotho case study

The study in Lesotho was one of the few clearly defined action research studies in peacebuilding and conflict transformation in the Southern African region. The study was done at a macro-scale owing to the fact that it was well funded by UNESCO, USAID and other local funders from within Lesotho. The enormity of the study required a reasonable time frame and to their credit, the researchers spread their activities over a period of five years. The objectives were clear although the conceptual and theoretical aspects of the study were not clearly articulated from the very start. There were attempts however to try and draw the parameters for the workshops that were held. It was going to be helpful for the study to outline from the very beginning the need to integrate culture and the other approaches to conflict transformation, particularly the workshop approach which is more popular with the western approach to conflict transformation and capacity building.

It is interesting though to understand the current dynamics in Lesotho. The country has remained fragile and continues to face political challenges and legitimacy issues at the level of government. The study was successful of a in terms of building capacity of both government and traditional institutions. It is a fact that conflict is not a constant phenomenon; it is dynamic and thus it will be interesting to note the new conflict dynamics and how they are fuelling conflict in Lesotho.

5.20 Implications of the Literature on my study

Literature on CSOs and peacebuilding has continued to be accumulated over the years. Much has been written particularly on the role that civil society can play in peacebuilding. However, as I have already stated earlier on, literature on action research on training and skills development in peacebuilding remains scanty. In Zimbabwe I tried to search for any meaningful studies that have been done to that effect and I could only find a handful.

I had to look elsewhere in Africa for case studies. What is emerging from the case studies is that action research can be a useful tool for conflict transformation as studied in Burundi, Lesotho and Sierra Leone. The methodological issues are not clear in some of the case studies but in the case of Burundi, the CCR used qualitative design with a small number of participants who were conveniently sampled. The Lesotho study was a macro-scale initiative that covered the whole country over a period of five years. It was a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies because of the number of participants involved as well as the nature of issues under study.

The study in Sierra Leone was not very clear on its methodology but the theoretical framework guiding their project was the theory of change. In Somalia, the project is running continuously and emphasises local ownership. In all the three case studies, the results were positive and thus giving a brighter picture of the prospects of action research in peacebuilding. Every conflict is unique and will require a unique approach in resolving it. I did not necessarily aim to replicate the approach in any of the case studies but my research benefited from the insights gained from the case studies.

5.21 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I looked at the key issues underpinning training in peacebuilding. I have looked at the two dominant approaches, elicitive and prescriptive approaches in peacebuilding. The literature suggests that there are more merits in using the elicitive approach as opposed to the prescriptive approach. The elicitive approach tends to appreciate the local cultural dynamics of any given conflict and this has the advantage of ensuring ownership of the processes as well as acceptability among the local population. There are some elements of the prescriptive approach which are however of importance as well. A facilitator will have to lead in one way or the other and to provide direction as and when necessary. This entails an element of prescription. I then looked at case studies of training in peacebuilding, focusing on action research studies, across the African continent. I must admit, however, that literature (action research studies) on CSOs and peacebuilding in Zimbabwe is not readily available. As a result, I had to look elsewhere for case studies. In the next chapter I will discuss the research design as well as the methodological considerations for my study in the next section.

Section III: Research Methodology

Chapter 6: Research Design and Methodology

Methodology is the overarching, macro-level frameworks that offer principles of reasoning associated with particular paradigmatic assumptions that legitimate various schools of research. Methodologies provide both the strategies and grounding for the conduct of a study (O'Leary 2010:88).

6.1 Introduction

The success of any research study depends on how well the research plan is articulated and adhered to. Designing a research plan is a cumbersome exercise that requires due diligence. The subject of methodology in peace research is broad and complex. In this chapter I will discuss the research design and methodology that I used for the study. I will articulate how the study was conducted and will also explain the philosophical framework that guided the study. This philosophical framework was the interpretivist approach. The study followed an action research design and was guided by qualitative methodology. Action research, at least in the context of peace research, is beginning to be popularized. In Africa, the Peacebuilding Programme at Durban University of Technology (Masters and PhD) is arguably leading the way in promoting the mainstreaming of action research in peace studies. To date the Programme has produced a number of candidates who carried out action research studies in different settings across Africa. I will explain the philosophical assumptions that underpinned my study, the methodology as well as the data collection methods, data analysis and presentation. The chapter also focuses on the issues of validity and reliability measures that were considered in order to ensure a credible research process.

6.2 The Study Objectives

The study was conceptually grounded in the need to develop effective peacebuilding skills among CSOs working on peacebuilding projects in Zimbabwe. Many of the peacebuilding organisations in Zimbabwe are relatively new. Most of them are yet to realise their full potential. As noted by Dube and Makwerere (2012:298), the development of a comprehensive peace infrastructure in Zimbabwe is still embryonic. Many of the organisations are manned by personnel who do not have tuition in peacebuilding. Many CSOs claim to be working for peace but most of them lack the necessary skills. There is a wide gap between the ideal

peacebuilding processes and what is obtaining on the ground in Zimbabwe. There is an overwhelming need for the development of the necessary peacebuilding skills among CSOs in Zimbabwe. This action research study thus sought to bridge this skills gap.

The specific objectives are:

- ❖ To establish the nature and scope of peacebuilding initiatives by civil society organisations in Bindura District, Zimbabwe;
- ❖ To examine the challenges facing civil society organisations working in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe;
- ❖ To design and implement a training module for civil society organisations for skills development in peacebuilding in Bindura District in Zimbabwe and
- ❖ To carry out a preliminary evaluation of the short term impact of the training programme.

6.3 Research design

The definition of key concepts relating to research is as blurred as it is confusing at times. I tried to avoid this terminological minefield by sticking to the simplest version of a research design as provided by Mouton. As I have already stated in the introduction, the study is an action research design. Mouton (2001:55) defined a research design as “a plan or blueprint of how you intend conducting research.” O’Leary (2010:89) further buttresses this notion when he states that:

your methodological design is basically your study’s blueprint and as such will comprise elements that are as broad as questions related to paradigm, and as specific as questions dealing with the nuts and bolts of who, where, when, how, and what.

Therefore, my conceptualisation of methodology covers the philosophical framework to include ontological and epistemological assumptions, my research design, i.e. the action research design, population and sample population, the data collection instruments as well as presentation and analysis and ethical considerations. I expand on the components in the sections that follow.

The study followed an exploratory action research design. I must admit that this was the first time I designed and carried out an action research study and thus most of what I did was framed by texts and sharing of experience from the pioneer members of the Peacebuilding Programme at Durban University of Technology. Therefore, this section endeavours to explain the broad design, including the philosophical sketch map of the assumptions underlying the study. I will explain the action research design as well as its philosophical underpinnings below.

6.4 The study as grounded in Qualitative Research

There are two dominant research paradigms: quantitative and the qualitative. The choice of research tools is usually determined by the nature of the research paradigm. Researchers can also use a mixture of quantitative and qualitative assumptions to guide their study. This is known as mixed methodology research. I opted for the qualitative research paradigm because my study was largely aimed at understanding the nature of conflict in a given context as well as developing skills that respond to the conflict. Wellington, Bathmaker, Hunt, McCulloch and Sikes (2005:97) defines methodology as:

The theory of acquiring knowledge and the activity of considering, reflecting upon and justifying the best methods. Methods are the specific techniques for obtaining the data that will provide the evidence base for the construction of that knowledge.

As noted by Patton (2001:39): “qualitative research methodology uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest.” The qualitative methodology was used because of its effectiveness when trying to unpack the dynamics that influence human behaviour and perceptions in their social settings, Davies (2007:136). Peace studies are basically interested in understanding the cause, nature and dynamics of conflict, with the intention of providing remedial solutions to the communities that are at conflict. There for it is only logical to approach research in peace studies from a largely qualitative domain. However, this does not imply that there is no place for the use of quantitative methods in peace studies. Quantitative approaches are a viable option especially when there is an element of a survey approach to establish prevalence, perceptions and frequency of certain variables. I was more interested in establishing the current nature as well as practices in peacebuilding practice among CSOs in Zimbabwe and to develop more effective skills to deal with these conflicts. Therefore, a more qualitative approach was enough to deliver on the study objectives.

O'Leary (2010: 113-114) argues that qualitative tradition is in short a critique of positivism as the reigning epistemology and a realisation of the need for alternative ways of producing knowledge. Qualitative methodologies appreciate multiple perspectives and realities as well as subjectivities. More importantly, it values depth as opposed to quantity and 'works at delving into social complexities in order to truly explore and understand the interactions, processes, lived experiences, and belief systems that are a part of individuals, institutions, cultural groups, and even the everyday.

O'Leary (2010:114) further observes that qualitative methodologies means:

Working in a world that accepts and even values: the search for holistic meaning; research conducted in natural settings; emergent methodological design; small numbers; non-random sampling strategies; rich qualitative data; inductive analysis; idiographic interpretation; and even the possibility of negotiated outcomes that recognise the need for the researched to be party to a researcher's constructed meanings.

My choice for a qualitative methodology was inspired by three main considerations:

- The desire to understand the nature, complexities and challenges of peacebuilding in a politically volatile context like Zimbabwe.
- An attempt to develop a context specific intervention model build out of the experiences of the people involved and;
- To come up with locally constructed ideas for sustainable peacebuilding models in Zimbabwe especially after observing that most of the approaches to peacebuilding are largely grounded in western tradition.

As noted by May (2011:8) qualitative research thus:

.... becomes more than a reflection of our opinions and prejudices: it substantiates, refutes, organises or generates our thinking and produces evidence that may challenge not only our own beliefs, but also those of groups and societies in general.

It is important to retain objectivity as a qualitative researcher. This is not an easy feat as it requires proper planning and implementation of the plan as well. However, objectivity in action research is difficult because the researcher is actively involved in the intervention. I addressed

these issues under validity and reliability later in this chapter. The precepts of qualitative research resonate well with attempts to understand how communities interact, the causes of conflict as well as efforts to address these conflicts. I felt that the assumptions in qualitative research reverberate well with the concept of action research.

6.5 Action Research

Action research has its roots in education and the pioneering work is attributable to Kurt Levin (Burnes and Cooke 2012). Other notable works include that of Paulo Freire whose emphasis was on democratic education and consciousness-raising (Chevalier and Buckles 2013). Most of the systematic action research studies are widely documented in the context of Europe, Australia and America. There is a growing number of literature in the context of peace studies notably in Maphosa, Deluca and Keasley (2014) and in an edited book by Harris and Kaye (in print). The overarching goal in action research is for organisations and communities to address critical social and organisational concerns in a manner that is both practical and scientific. There are various definitions of the concept of action research. I referred to some of the most relevant and clearer definitions below.

Elliott (1991:69) defines action research as:

... The study of social situation with a view to improving the quality of action within it. It aims to feed practical judgement in concrete situations, and the validity of the 'theories' or hypotheses it generates depends not so much on 'scientific' tests of truth, as on their usefulness in helping people to act more intelligently and skilfully. In action research, 'theories' are not validated independently and then applied to practice. They are validated through practice.

Reason and Bradbury (2008:1) defines action research as seeking:

...to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities.

Taylor, Sinha and Ghoshal (2009:66) view action research as:

....problem solving research involving a close collaboration between academic and managerial staff. It seeks to contribute to organisational effectiveness and to the development of management theory.

A synthesis of the above definitions demonstrates that action research is primarily about a practical and yet scientific approach to doing research. Action research emphasises the importance of collaboration during research. These key aspects of action research were the mainstay of my study. Peacebuilding can be viewed in some sense as an applied science. Thus, the use of action research becomes even more appropriate. In as much as I was inspired by my supervisor to take up action research, I also discovered that it is the best way to have an impact on the communities around us. The prospect of practical and hands on initiatives and feedback in a proper research setting was thus appealing. There are several characteristics that are essential in action research.

6.5.1 Characteristics of Action Research

There are several key characteristics that define action research. Coghlan and Brannick (2014: 6) identify the following three:

- Research in action, rather than research about action;
- A collaborative democratic partnership and
- A sequence of events and an approach to problem-solving.

The above-mentioned characteristics provided the vision as well as the framework in conducting the study. Whilst there might be other characteristics of action research, I had to confine myself to the above three because of their simplicity as well as clarity. My study involved two CSOs who are operating in Mashonaland Central Province. The other one operates in Mazowe District and the other one in Bindura District. The two organisations are all doing peacebuilding in a province that is widely troubled by political violence and in a province that many regard as the political hotbed of Zimbabwe. Doing peacebuilding work in such a politically volatile environment has often proved to be a daunting task and many of the CSOs have frequently been threatened with closure or even arrest for working against the state. The issue of democratic partnership was also an important guiding philosophy. My role as a researcher was largely as a facilitator. I had to tap much into the experiences of the two organisations and to learn from their experiences as much as I could.

The third characteristic of action research provided me with the guidance on the steps to take during the course of the whole study. It guided me in terms of the sequence. However, I must admit that the sequence of the study was not cast in stone as there were many unforeseen developments along the way. The details of the fieldwork are presented in greater detail later in this chapter.

6.5.2 The foundations of action research

Action research has a long history. However, the pioneering work is attributed to Kurt Lewin. I will not delve into the history and evolution of action research in this section but I will go straight into the key concepts of action research by Lewin as summarised by Argyis *et al.* (1985:8-9) cited in Coghlan and Branick (2014:46):

1. It involves change experiments on real problems in social systems. It focuses on a particular problem and seeks to provide assistance to the client system.
2. It, like social management more generally, involves iterative cycles of identifying a problem, planning, acting and evaluating.
3. The intended change in an action research project typically involves re-education, a term that refers to changing patterns of thinking and action that are currently well-established in individuals and groups. A change intended by change agents is typically at the level of norms and values expressed in action. Effective re-education depends on participation by clients in diagnosis, fact-finding and free choice to engage in new kinds of action.
4. It challenges the status quo from a participatory perspective, which is congruent with the requirements of effective re-education.
5. It is intended to contribute simultaneously to basic knowledge in social science and to social action in everyday life. High standards for developing theory and empirically testing propositions organised by theory are not to be sacrificed nor the relation to practice be lost.

This is what makes action research a unique approach to studying a social phenomenon. Studies in action research start with an already identified problem. The interested parties in the study then start a journey to try and understand the causes of the problem in its contextual setting, reflect on current practice and eventually design and implement corrective intervention measures. The process is cyclic and requires constant evaluation. The main goal of action research is to initiate the process of re-education. This is an important process because at the end of the process participants must have new insights into doing certain activities. It is against

the tradition of passive research where the researcher leads all the way and publishes what he or she deems empirical. Action research challenges the status quo. The methodology in action research can be messy, however. The plan can change along the way for as long as this will suit the original construction of the study. However, in the context of my study, the changes did not change the research design in any significant ways. The sequencing of activities did not change and as well as the timing.

6.5.3 Goals of Action Research

Unlike other approaches to research, action research aims at delivering some specific goals. Action research is geared towards making an immediate impact on current practice as well as contributing to the body of knowledge. Coghlan and Branick (2014:48) note that action research is guided by two main goals i.e. to solve a problem and to contribute to science. This dovetailed into the overall objective of my study as I engaged two organisations working on peacebuilding in two districts of Mashonaland Central Province in order to generate new perspectives (re-education) in peacebuilding training and contribute to the generation of new knowledge. The focus of the study was to develop, in collaboration with the two organisations, a set of skills that respond to the fluid and unpredictable peacebuilding terrain in Zimbabwe. But action research has to follow certain philosophical assumptions in order for it to meet the expectations of both the practitioners and the academics. I explore the ontological and epistemological assumptions below.

6.5.4 Philosophical Assumptions of the Study

I had to keep in mind the fact that action research, just like any other kind of research, has to be grounded in some kind of philosophical orientation from an ontological and epistemological perspective. There are many philosophical viewpoints through which studies can be carried out. I chose to follow the interpretive approach. Guba and Lincoln (1994:108) note that the main ontological assumption for the interpretive researcher is that social reality is locally and specifically constructed by humans through their action and interaction. This is further buttressed by Neuman (1997:69) who notes that 'social reality is based on people's definition of it'. Guba and Lincoln (1994:108) frame the ontological question of interpretive research as; 'what is the form and nature of reality and, therefore, what is there that can be known about it?' As an action researcher, I was compelled to be clear about the research environment and the form and nature of reality so as to ensure clarity and validity of the research process. Validity and reliability issues are discussed later in the chapter but this philosophical worldview

was important as it emphasised the need to ground myself in the research context as well as the experiential realities of the action research team that I came up with.

Kaplan (1998:89) notes that action research “engages the researcher in an explicit program to develop new solutions that alter existing practice and then test the feasibility and properties of the new innovation.” As illuminated by Scott (2010) cited in McNiff and Whitehead (2011:14), “action research has always been understood as people taking action to improve their personal and social situations and offering explanations as to why they do so.” Exploratory action research was particularly advantageous in this research because it allowed for a rigorous test of theories in a natural organisational setting, implement innovation, while tailoring local needs as well as allowing for an in-depth reflection of issues being changed.

As noted by McNiff and Whitehead (2011:30-32), one of the fundamental epistemological assumptions underpinning action research is that “knowledge is a collaborative process.” It is important to understand epistemological assumptions. This had a profound influence on how I structured my research question, the choice of data collection tools and even the analysis methods. As Taylor, Sinha and Ghoshal (2009:2) noted, ‘it is important to address questions relating epistemology because a researcher aims to get to the truth of a situation.’ The authors also noted that knowledge is created, not only discovered through trial and error.

The key question from an epistemological perspective is: ‘what is the nature of the relationship between the knower or would-be knower and what can be known?’ Guba and Lincoln (1994:108). Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991:14) view the epistemological assumption as ‘understanding social reality requires understanding how practices and meanings are formed and informed by the language and tacit norms shared by humans working towards some shared goal.’ From an ontological assumption, action research assumes that the researcher is in relationship with everything else in the research field, and influences, and is influenced by, others. These assumptions influence the way a study is conducted as well as the nature of the relationship between the researcher and the respondents. One of the key considerations was to use ethically sensitive terms. For example, we agreed those involved in the study that they were participants and not respondents. As a result, you will note that throughout the study report, those who participated are referred to as participants as opposed to the more popular term, participants.

As noted by Wellington et al. (2006:101) epistemology is the theory of knowledge, thus epistemological assumptions are concerned with how we know, with what constitutes knowledge, with where knowledge comes from and whose knowledge it is, and with what is

possible to know and understand and re-present.’ The researchers further noted that the purpose for doing research is to acquire knowledge and to communicate the acquired knowledge for the purposes of informing and improving policy and practice. This broad understanding of ontological and epistemological assumptions helped me to map the relevant actors in the context of my study. These assumptions were also a great way of understanding how these issues affect the reliability and validity of the study as well.

In critical theory, Gergen and Gergen (2008:78) argue that; ‘knowledge as part of the coordinated activities of individuals, which are used to accomplish locally-agreed-upon purposes concerning the real and the good’. Steier (1991:180) further argues that when the researcher is situated within his or her research enquiry, this points out to reflexive methodology. Action research places the researcher at the heart of the study and the epistemological assumption that knowledge construction is a collaborative process becomes a central conjecture.

As noted by Riordan (1995: 10) the philosophy in action research is:

a kind of approach to studying social reality without separating (while distinguishing) fact from value; they require practitioner of science who is not only an engaged participant, but also incorporates the perspective of the critical and analytical observer, not as a validating instance but as integral to the practice.’

There is an important quality that the action researcher must possess in order for him or her to be able to make an impact. The action researcher must be grounded in the theory and practice of the area that he or she is studying. Without grounding, it is very difficult to make a positive impact on the whole process. I was confident from the very beginning because of a massive background in peace and security issues from my other previous qualifications as well as current practice.

This is closely related to the ideas of Coghlan and Brannick (2014: 44) who identify four key epistemological assumptions in action research:

- Experiential knowing- the knowledge arising as we encounter the realities around us;
- Presentational knowing- the knowledge expressed in our giving form to this experiential knowing through language, images, music, painting and the like
- Propositional knowing- the knowledge distilling our experiential and presentational knowing into theories, statements and propositions; and

- Practical knowing- the knowledge that brings the other three forms of knowing to full fruition by doing appropriate things skilfully and competently.

These assumptions were instrumental in the manner I had to come up with the study sample as well as the nature of the questions that I had to ask. I had to appreciate that the conflict(s) in Zimbabwe is not homogenous. People view, experience and relate to conflict differently. The conflict in Matabeleland, for example, is both political as well as ethnic. The people in the region thus view conflict with different lenses compared to those in other places. Thus, I had to be thorough in the manner in which I sought to understand the conflict in the two districts as well as from the two participating organisations in the study.

Another epistemological dimension to action research is offered by Reason (2006) as cited in Coughlan and Brannick (2014:83). He argues that action research should not be judged by the positivist criteria but rather within the criteria of its own. He identifies the following five key questions to ensure quality:

1. Is the action research explicit in developing praxis of relational participation? In other words, how well does the action research reflect the cooperation between the action researcher and members of the organisation?
2. Is the action research guided by a reflexive concern for practical outcomes? Is the action project governed by constant and iterative reflection as part of the process of organisational change or improvement?
3. Does action research include a plurality of knowing which ensures conceptual-theoretical integrity, extends our ways of knowing and has a methodological appropriateness? Action research is inclusive of practical, propositional, presentational and experiential knowing, and as a methodology is appropriate to furthering knowledge on different levels.
4. Does action research engage in significant work? The significance of the project is an important quality in action research.
5. Does the action research result in new and enduring infrastructures? In other words, does sustainable change come out of the project?

These epistemological assumptions were important in informing the process of data collection. The emphasis is on facilitating the process and not dominating the process. I had to ensure that the story of the participants, their experiences, their narratives as well as their anxieties informed the direction that the study took. The issue of sustainable peacebuilding infrastructures in Zimbabwe remains elusive and an attempt to build locally developed skills is

important and difficult to ignore. The important aspect was that the development is grounded in the local realities and taps from the experiences of all the concerned stakeholders. This also resonates well with the interpretive approach that I elected to use for the study.

As noted by Schwandt (1994:118), interpretive approach provides ‘an in-depth insight into the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it.’ Olesen and Nordentoft (2013) cited in Drake (2014:95), underline the interpretivist assumptions of action research by noting that:

In contrast to more positivist approaches, where it is sometimes assumed that the researcher holds the expertise and the participants are data fields to be explored, action researchers concentrate on participatory approaches that work collaboratively with participants, focusing on co-producing knowledge and understanding.

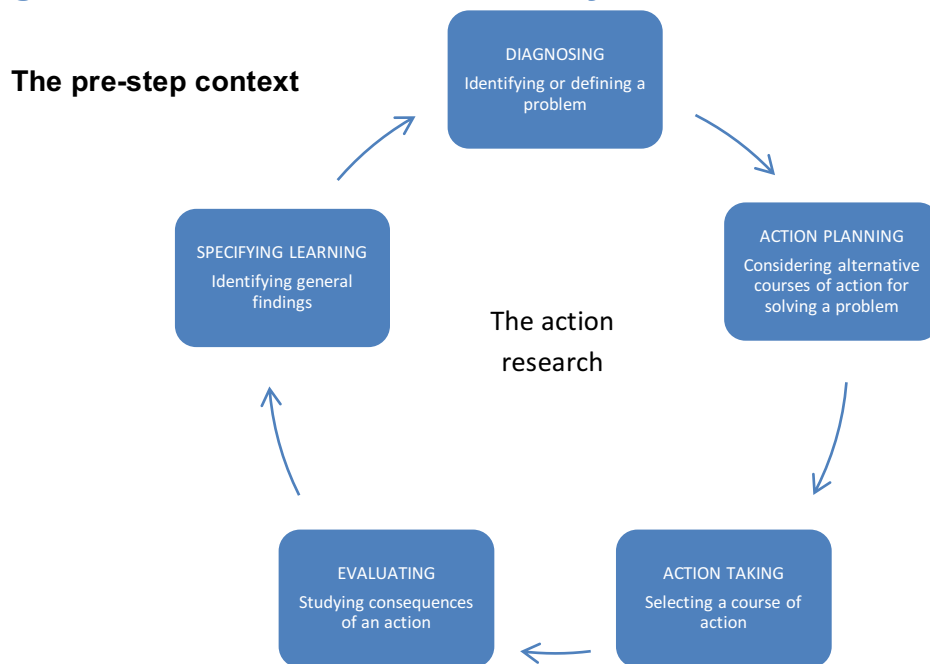
Participation provides the much-needed element of local ownership. Local ownership ensures sustainability of initiatives within a local setting. Sustainable peace infrastructures in the context of Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular hinges on the ability of the practitioners to develop bottom-up as opposed to top-down approaches in peacebuilding. CSOs are an important agency in this endeavour and action research can play the midwifery role in this important venture.

From the forgoing discussion, it can be noted that action research thrives on understanding the research environment (including the broad nature of the problem(s), the specific problem(s), and forging a collaborative network to develop an empirical understanding as well as response to the presenting problems. The actual process of data collection, as discussed later on in this chapter, elaborates how these key ontological and epistemological assumptions informed the study. The next section discusses the important stages in the action research cycle.

6.5.5 The Action Research Cycle

There are various models and stages that can be followed when doing action research. A closer look at the various cycles that have been developed will show that the differences are almost inconsequential. They retain the key features of the cycle. I used the one that was developed by Susman and Evered (1978).

Figure 6.1: The Action Research Cycle



Adapted from Susman and Evered (1978)

6.5.6 Elucidating the stages in Action Research

1. *The pre-step context*

Following Coghlan and Brannick (2014:10), it is important to understand the general context within which the research is taking place and to ask questions such as; why is this project necessary or desirable? What are the political, economic and social forces driving change? I had to carefully study the broad socio-political and economic environment in Zimbabwe in general and Bindura in particular so as to understand the nature of challenges facing peacebuilding organisations in the country. Another consideration was to understand the peacebuilding models that the two organisations are using in their peacebuilding activities. There was also the need to come up with a baseline survey that also involved interviewing the communities in order to tap into their concerns as well. This required wider consultation as well as careful mapping of the issues in order to come up with the real issues affecting the organisations as well as the communities in which they were operating. I used a combination of secondary and primary data to gather the information. Secondary data involved consulting with the reports on peace activities by the two organisations as well as getting their video

materials. However, the other organisation declined to give me access to their video materials for ethical reasons. Primary methods included interviews with members of the two organisations, interviews with local government officials in the districts in which the two organisations operate, as well as focus group discussions with the communities as well.

2. Diagnosing: Identifying or defining the problem

The success of any research is hinged on the ability to identify the problem and its sub-problems. Johnson (2002:21) maintains that a research can only be deemed a success when it has the potential to clearly identify and address the real problem. Coghlan and Brannick (2014:10) note that the first step in action research is dialogic where the stakeholders of the project engage in the construction of the issues and processes informing the action research. I worked closely with the members from the Institute for Young Women Development as well as the Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust in order to identify the training needs as well as the areas that need improvement. However, it must be noted that the other organisation indicated that I could only work with their animators (volunteers) as part of the action research team because they are the people who carry out the implementation of the activities in the communities. This was closely linked to the pre-step exercise of mapping the socio-political and economic peacebuilding environment within which the change is taking place. This was done through the use of interviews and focus group discussions with the stakeholders in order to determine the training needs.

3. Action Planning: Considering alternative courses of action for solving a problem

After establishing the context as well as identifying the challenges, I then worked collaboratively with the stakeholders to design the course of action. It was at this stage that I identified a team to develop and implement an intervention strategy. Since the action research was basically about developing peacebuilding skills among CSOs in Zimbabwe, I identified participants who were responsible for the implementation of the activities. These were those in the programmes department for the other organisation and the animators for the other organisation.

4. Action Taking: Selecting a course of action

This was the training (intervention) stage of my action research cycle. At this stage I designed a training manual (as determined by the needs of the two participating organisations) and this was the reference tool for the training programme. The training manual had five broad sections

and ran for three days. The content was not entirely new. It was rather a prioritization of issues which the participants had challenges in. an eclectic approach where I had to pick the more relevant aspects of the vast training materials on peacebuilding. Perhaps the greater challenge was to make the material context specific and culturally relevant.

5. *Evaluating: Studying the consequences of an action*

Townsend (2013:111) contends that evaluation is interested in unbundling what has been learnt from the intervention process and to determine the extent to which the intervention has influenced change. Coghlan and Brannick (2014: 11) observes that the outcomes of action research, both intended and unintended, are examined with a view to seeing:

- If the original constructing fitted;
- If the actions taken matched the constructing;
- If the action was taken in an appropriate manner; and
- What feeds into the next cycle of constructing, planning and action?

In other words, evaluation must reflect on the process with a view to identify the success stories as well as the challenges faced along the way. Evaluation processes can also set the stage for another phase of action research. Coghlan and Brannick (2014:13) maintain that action research evaluation must be premised on content, process and premise.

There was both the evaluation of the workshop immediately after the training as well as short term impact evaluation of the training. The short-term impact evaluation was done after three months.

6. *Specifying learning: Identifying general findings*

It is also important to ensure that the outcomes of the action research process contribute to theory and usable knowledge. This is an important aspect in maintaining the academic features of action research. I am in the process of analysing the process outcomes with the aim of publishing excerpts from the research thesis.

6.6 Study Population

The two districts of Bindura and Mazowe are arguably the most populous districts in Mashonaland Province. However, my study population was determined by the communities

in which the two organisations are working. The organisation operating in Bindura District generally works with both the rural and urban communities. The other one working in Mazowe operates with largely rural and farming communities. Both organisations keep a record of the people who attend their community outreach workshops on peacebuilding and reconciliation. On average, the combined total of villagers or community members who participate in these workshops is plus or minus one hundred. These participants became the population of interest for the study. I also felt that there was need to include the local government authorities who also work with these organisations. Therefore, the District Administrators' offices of the two respective districts became part of the population to be considered for the study.

6.7 Sampling

I had a total of fifty-seven participants for the study. The participants were mainly identified through convenient sampling with the exception of the community focus group discussions (FGD) participants who were identified through random sampling. According to Robinson (1993), sampling is an important aspect of life in general and inquiry in particular. We make judgements about people, places and things on the basis of fragmentary evidence. Sampling is closely linked to external validity or generalisability of the findings of the inquiry. Uys and Puttergill (2003:107-108) sum up the purpose of a research design as a strategy to optimise the use of resources, and drawing a sample is one of the ways to achieve this.

There are various civil society organisations operating in the area but I was interested in only two civil society organisations. I was interested in these two organisations because they are working on a project of setting up peace committees in the communities in which they are operating. Their projects are almost similar and therefore they offered an appropriate and convenient entry point for sampling. The two organisations have also collaborated on some peacebuilding objectives and share the same vision and approach to peacebuilding.

Using purposive sampling, I managed to identify eight participants from the organisation that was based in Bindura district and four participants from the other one operating in Mazowe district. These twelve participants formed the action research team (ART). In Sekaran (2000) words, judgmental sampling design sample subjects are chosen on the basis of their individual's ability to provide the type of special information needed by the researcher. These participants are involved in the programmes section of their respective organisations. The twelve that were identified formed the action research team (ART). This group was part of the

training (intervention) programme. Apart from the action research team, I had two separate interviews with the programmes managers of the two respective organisations.

However, a larger group from the communities in which these organisations are operating was also chosen in order to provide their own perspectives about the work of the organisations in the communities. With the assistance of the two organisations, I managed to hold four FDGs, two in Mazowe District and two in Bindura District. The FDGs comprised members which varied from seven to eleven. I also tapped into the insights from the district offices. As a result, I also interviewed two officials from the District Offices in Bindura and Mazowe. The reason why I was interested in their perspective was to understand the nature of the operating environment for CSOs in the two districts. Initially I had overlooked the traditional leaders, but during the problem identification and planning for intervention stages, I realised that culture and tradition were featuring prominently in the discussions. Traditional institutions of peace and security were being viewed as being both a challenge and opportunity for effective peacebuilding. It was against this development that I identified four traditional leaders in the study. Two village heads and two headmen. I also had a Chief as the fifth participant under traditional leaders. Ultimately, I had a total of fifty-seven participants and out of this total, twelve formed the ART.

Table 6.1: Summary of Participants

CATEGORY	SAMPLING TECHNIQUE	SAMPLE	DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENT USED
CSOs	Convenient Sampling	14	Interviews and FDGs
Villagers	Random Sampling from those that usually attend workshops by the two participating organisations.	36	FDGs
Local Government	Convenient Sampling	2	Semi-Structured Interviews
Traditional Leaders	Convenient Sampling	5	Interviews

6.8 Data Collection

6.8.1 Interviews

Interviews are some of the most important data collection tools in social science research. Interviews can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured, Davies (2007). Rugg and Petre (2007) posit that an interview, as a primary source of data gathering, is a “conversation with a purpose”. Kvale (1996), pointing out the centrality of human interaction for knowledge production, regarded interviews as ‘an interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest’. As noted by Kvale (2007:7) an interview is a construction site for knowledge and that researchers may “invoke theoretical and epistemological positions to understand the knowledge produced in interviews.”

I used interviews at different levels of the data collection phase. The first stage was when I was attending to the first two objectives of the study. This was a preliminary assessment to appreciate the nature of conflict in Zimbabwe, the peacebuilding models being used as well as the challenges being faced. Semi structured interviews were used to solicit responses from the CSOs, Government officials and traditional chiefs.

I used semi-structured interviews because they are in between the two extremes of fully-structured interviews (with pre-determined set of questions asked and responses recorded on a standardized schedule) or unstructured (completely informal interview where the interviewer has a general area of interest and concern but lets the conversation develop within this area) Colin (1993). The semi-structured interviews covered the important themes as guided by the study objectives. Interviews demand an enormous amount of time to collect and analyze the responses due to their diversity, Wimmer and Dominick (1997) but it should be noted that the flexibility proffered by semi-structured interviews is key in probing seemingly unclear issues. Probing is a way for the interview to explore new paths which were not initially considered Gray (2004). Patton (2002) recommends to:

... explore, probe, and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate that particular subject ... to build a conversation within a particular subject area, to word questions spontaneously, and to establish a conversational style but with the focus on a particular subject that has been predetermined.

The data collected from these two objectives and in collaboration with the members of the two organisations helped the team to come up with training needs as well as the nature of the content to be included in the training module. The development and training of the participants followed the key questions and themes as highlighted in the appended interview and focus group schedules.

A major highlight was that the interview sessions with the traditional chiefs were not as smooth sailing compared to those carried out with the CSOs representatives. The conflict in Zimbabwe is largely political and this has seen society being polarised along political party affiliation lines. All the traditional chiefs who were interviewed initially wanted to deny the need for peacebuilding in Zimbabwean society, pointing out that the whole agenda for peacebuilding was largely a western ideology. This challenged me to re-think as well as re-phrase some of my initial interview themes and questions.

6.8.2 Focus Group Discussions

The other method that I also used for data collection were focus group discussions (FDGs). A focus group is a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment. Fisher (2010) highlights that a group of people are brought together to have a free-flowing, but focused discussion on a particular topic. Richardson and Rabiee (2001) further note that participants are selected on the basis that they would be able to contribute to the discussions owing to their general understanding of the topic. I had to purposefully select those participants who had interacted with the two participating organisations during their outreach programmes.

Ideally the groups should have a maximum of eight people, enough to give everyone the opportunity to express an opinion but large enough to provide diversity of opinions (Krueger and Casey 2000). I had to decide on the themes and topics to be discussed, having developed protocols for the collection of information at all stages of the discussion. Before the start of each and every focus group discussion, I had to inform the participants on how the information given during the discussion was to be used and the extent to which their anonymity will be preserved.

I chaired four FDG discussion sessions, two in Bindura district and two in Mazowe District. The initial plan was to have groups with a maximum of eight participants each. However, one of the groups in Mazowe had ten participants and the other one had eight. In Bindura district

the two groups were made up of nine members each. The average time for each FDG lasted for about one hour twenty minutes. The initial time limit was one hour but I had to allow for a slight extension as a few more new ideas were still emerging. The FDGs were very lively and this is probably because of the fact that the members have met and worked together in various other workshops. The atmosphere was generally relaxed and participants were free to express themselves. A disturbing trend was that some members misconstrued this as a platform to air grievances of an economic nature. This was fine to a certain extent but the bigger objective was to focus on the nature of conflict(s) in their communities, the approaches being used by CSOs as well as what they thought about these approaches. FDGs were done with groups of between seven and eleven individuals taking part in one hour to one and a half hours long discussions.

6.9 Development of a Training Manual

Through close collaboration with the ART, we managed to develop a module with five broad sections on peacebuilding. The consultations involved interviews with the ART, two FDGs to map the training needs, feedback and clarification meetings as well as the crafting of the module. The thematic issues covered in the module considered the nature of the challenges (both internal and external), the capacity gaps as well as the vision and goals of peacebuilding. However, the development of the content was not entirely new. What was important was to prioritise certain thematic issues as preferred by the action research team and to contextualise them and relate to the needs of the participants.

There are various approaches to training in peacebuilding. Training serves many purposes. Francis (2002:53, 86) notes that training is one form of conflict intervention which can go a long way to addressing the need for constructive conflict resolution. She noted that training offers three important domains in conflict transformation that is internal skills for effective personal behaviour, the external skills for effective interpersonal behaviour and the analytical, organisational and strategic skills for effective group action. Raider, Coleman and Gerson (2010: 698-700) state that ideally workshops should cover three important dimensions, which are the knowledge objective, skills objective and the attitude objectives.

Tillett and French (2010:188) observe that conflict resolution fundamentally involves a set of practical skills, that is, it must work in practice if it is to have any real value. The skills involved are not esoteric or complex, they are basic intellectual and interpersonal skills that everyone possesses, but they are often largely underdeveloped and unapplied. Kent (2001:280-287)

mentions the importance of understanding, ownership, sensitivity, respect, time and networking, experience as important considerations when designing training for peacebuilders. In Zimbabwe, there is a large gap as most of the training is not locally developed and thus lacks a grounded appeal to the needs of the local populations. Studies have mainly focused on state-civil society relationships and there is limited literature on training in peacebuilding.

6.10 Impact Evaluation

Impact evaluation is an important aspect of action research. There is need to provide a well worked out evaluation criteria in order to establish impact. Coghlan and Branick (2006:11) argues that:

‘The outcomes of the action, both intended and unintended, are examined with a view to seeing:

- If the original constructing fitted;
- If the actions taken matched the constructing;
- If the action was taken in an appropriate manner; and
- What feeds into the next cycle of constructing, planning and action?

As noted by Patton (2003:2) qualitative evaluations use qualitative and naturalistic methods mainly; (1) in-depth open ended interviews; (2) direct observation and (3) written documents. Ezemenari, Rudqvist and Subbarao (1999:3) sum up impact evaluation as ‘the extent to which a program has caused desired changes in the intended audience. It is concerned with the net impact of an intervention on households and institutions, attributable only and exclusively to that intervention.’

Evaluation was done to reflect on the training process itself as well as to assess impact. The workshop evaluation was done immediately after the workshop whilst impact evaluation was done after three months. The details of the intervention programme are discussed and presented in detail in the next chapter. I have presented key highlights of the data collection procedures below.

Table 4.2: Fieldwork and Data Collection Procedures at a Glance

DATE	STEPS TAKEN	DATA COLLECTION TOOL(s)	PURPOSE
June 2013	Baseline survey	Interviews and Focus Group Discussions	To explore the peacebuilding environment in Zimbabwe. The intention being to establish the nature of the conflict in Zimbabwe, the methods being used in Zimbabwe and the challenges being faced by the CSOs in their quest to build a sustainable peace in the country. The participants included programmes managers from selected CSOs working on peacebuilding, District Administration officers in the two districts and a visit to the two organisations' websites.
July 2015	Baseline Survey	Interviews and Focus Group Discussions	A more focused survey of the specific peacebuilding approaches as well as challenges being faced by the two participating organisations. The participants included interviews with the programmes officers as well as Monitoring and Evaluation teams from the two organisations. The other approach was to go into the communities and have a selected group participating in FDGs to reflect on the challenges that the communities are facing and what they felt should be considered when bringing peacebuilding initiatives into the communities.
July	Identifying the Action Research Team	Collaborative Sessions	After the baseline assessment, I had to identify the action research team in order to decide on the way forward and to develop a more specific intervention programme. I had to alter my initial plan. One of the organisations indicated that they would rather second volunteers than

			members from their secretariat. Their argument being that the volunteers are responsible for the implementation of their programmes and their national secretariat for planning and resource mobilisation. I came up with a total of 12 participants. The action research team comprised 4 males and 8 women. The reason for the gender disparity was that the other organisation is largely a female dominated institution whose secretariat is managed by women.
July to August 2015	Mapping Capacity Needs	Collaborative Sessions, Workshop Method	Between July and August 2015, I engaged with participants from the two organisations to discuss and reflect on the issues coming out of the preliminary baseline survey on the peacebuilding environment in Zimbabwe. The purpose was to prioritise the action areas and to decide on how we (as a team) were going to address the challenges presented from the various forums. A total of three meetings were held during the month of July and August 2015.
August to September 2015	Developing a training manual	Using the capacity gaps that were identified to develop an intervention tool	After appreciating the environment (social, economic, cultural and political) and how it was impacting on the peacebuilding initiatives, as well as working on establishing the capacity gaps within the two organisations, I then worked on developing an intervention tool in the form of a training module on selected thematic issues as informed by the survey. The key themes that are covered in the module include communication and listening skills, conflict analysis, conflict sensitive programming, culture, conflict and change and counselling skills for peacebuilders.
October 2015	Intervention	Training Workshop	The preliminary assessment as well as the skills mapping exercise identified the thematic issues that were used for the

			intervention stage. I had an advantage in that I am a holder of a Conflict Analysis and Mapping certificate as well as Alternative to Violence (AVP) basic, Advanced and Training of Trainers certificates. Another compelling advantage was that I also have a first degree in counselling and so the session on counselling skills for peacebuilders was not a big challenge.
October	Workshop Evaluation	Process evaluation	This was done in order to evaluate whether the workshop had managed to meet the objectives of the intervention program. All the participants were happy although about a quarter of the Action Research Team indicated that they would have preferred more training time especially on the last aspect on counselling skills for peacebuilders.
January 2016	Evaluation	Short Term Impact Evaluation	In January of 2016 I carried out a short-term impact evaluation. The impact evaluation was carried out in the form of a workshop to reflect on the impact that the intervention has had on their respective organisations. An interesting theme from the participants was that they now appreciate the importance of conflict-sensitive development and are working towards enhancing this in their daily operations. One of the organisations also indicated that they have already started the process of looking themselves in the mirror and one structural issue was to ensure that they get Memorandum of Understanding as a way of developing a conflict sensitive framework with all stakeholders within the areas they operate.

6.11 Data Analysis

Data analysis is an important aspect of research. This is the stage during which the researcher reflects on the data collected in order to make meaning out of it. The analysis followed a general inductive approach. As noted by Thomas (2006:38), the primary purpose of the inductive approach is 'to allow research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant, or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies.' Strauss and Corbin (1998) described data analysis as the interplay between researchers and data. Anderson (2010:1) notes that qualitative data analysis is more interested in the meanings attached to the words, actions and feelings as expressed by participants. The meanings are attached to the real world in which the participants live and are linked to existential realities. I used themes and codes to analyse the data and to capture the emerging issues. As noted by Taylor and Gibbs (2010), coding the data makes it easier to search the data, to make comparisons and to identify any patterns that require further investigation.

Thomas (2006:238) identifies three important features of inductive analysis approach:

- To condense extensive and varied raw text data into a brief, summary format;
- To establish clear links between the research objectives and the summary findings derived from the raw data and to ensure that these links are both transparent (able to be demonstrated to others) and defensible (justifiable given the objectives of the research); and
- To develop a model or theory about the underlying structure of experiences or processes that is evident in the text data.

The data that I collected was processed without the assistance of any computer packages. I relied on two basic approaches, that is, the interpretive analysis and discourse analysis. I chose the interpretive analysis approach as it ties well with the ontological and epistemological assumptions of my action research design. Sustainable peacebuilding requires a good understanding of the local environment. Key scholars like Lederach (1995, 2003), Galtung (1996) and Schirch (2010) underline the importance of the local cultural context in peacebuilding. The use of interpretive as well as discourse analysis in order to make sense of the data was thus relevant in trying to understand the dynamics of peacebuilding in the context of the study.

The analysis of qualitative data can be cumbersome and requires a clearly articulated framework of analysis. Green and Thorogood (2004) noted that most researchers use a combination of data analysis approaches. I relied on Krueger's (1994) Framework Analysis to analyse the data. Framework Analysis involves a number of distinct though highly connected stages. These are familiarisation; identifying a thematic framework; indexing; charting; mapping and interpretation. Krueger (1994) advised that the best way of handling data is to view it in a continuum that is raw data; descriptive statements; interpretation.

As part of the familiarisation process, I had to read the field notes several times as well playing recorded materials several times. This allowed me to get to appreciate the flow of data. After familiarisation, I then started identifying the themes. I did this through short notes, codes and frequency of dominant ideas from the participants. This entails the formation of descriptive statements.

The emerging themes were then indexed and arranged to allow for logical presentation. Bailey (2008:129) notes that both interview and focus group discussion transcriptions require a systematic approach so as to capture the important messages coming out of the conversation.

6.12 Addressing validity and reliability issues

The credibility of any research undertaking is hinged on the validity and reliability measures that the researcher takes. Validity issues in action research take a slightly different orientation from other research designs. Reason (2006:191) notes that:

The movement in qualitative research has moved away from the validity criteria that mimic or parallel those of empiricist research toward a greater variety of validity considerations that include the practical, the political, and the moral.

Anderson and Herr (2015) provide a practical checklist for ensuring research validity in action research.

Table 6.3.: Validity Checklist in Action Research

	Goals of Action Research	Quality/Validity Criteria
1.	Generation of new knowledge	Dialogic Process validity- form of peer review

2.	The achievement of action oriented outcomes	Outcome validity- the extent to which actions occur which leads to a resolution of the problem that led to the study
3.	The education of both researcher and participant	Catalytic validity- re-orienting and deepening understanding of the social reality under study and should be moved to some action to change it.
4.	Results that are relevant to the local setting	Democratic validity- the extent to which the research is done in collaboration with all parties who have a stake in the problem under investigation. Problems emerging from a particular context and solutions responding to that particular context.
5.	A sound and appropriate methodology	Process validity- the extent problems are framed and solved in a manner that permits ongoing learning of the individual or system. It must also deal with the much debated problem of what counts as evidence to sustain assertions, as well as the quality of the relationships that are developed by the participants. Process affects outcome.

Adapted from Anderson and Herr (2015)

The process of ensuring the validity of the study was to a large extent influenced by the insights from Herr and Anderson's table above. Many social science researchers are used to setting the research agenda as well as determining the route to take when doing research. However, the situation, as I realised, is different when doing action research. The stakeholders, including the communities in which these organisations operate, were involved and were given a chance to map the problems that they are facing and how best the CSOs can make an impact. Collaboration became the key term throughout the course of the study. This entailed collaboration with the participating organisations as well as with the affected communities and other stakeholders.

Triangulation was also done at two conceptual levels. The first one was the data collection phase and the second one during the data analysis stage. I used a combination of interviews, focus group discussions and observations during the data collection phase. There was also a deliberate inclusion of various stakeholders as participants in the study. This also helped in bringing interesting insights into the themes that were being discussed. I felt the inclusion of all important stakeholders in peacebuilding as part of the study sample was an important validation exercise. The inclusion of local government officials, traditional chiefs as well as villagers was also an effective way of triangulating the data. I had to include the chiefs after realising that they also needed to provide their version of how they relate with CSOs as well as their perceptions about peacebuilding.

The crafting of the training manual was also done carefully and in close collaboration with the ART. This was an important undertaking that required a delicate balancing act involving the concerns of all stakeholders. The fact that the participants had to contribute and decided was in itself a validation process.

Closely connected to validity is reliability. Trochim (2006) contends that 'reliability has to do with the quality of measurement. In its everyday sense, reliability is the 'consistency' or 'repeatability' of your measures.' I relied on my supervisor who helped me with insightful comments and suggestions on how to structure the methodological aspects of my study. I also received considerable peer review from my colleagues and this also helped to fine tune my data collection instruments.

I also piloted the interview instrument. A pilot study can reveal deficiencies in the design of a proposed study or procedure and these can then be addressed before time and resources are expended on large scale studies (Lancaster and Williamson, 2004:97-114). I made sure that all the important variables are covered in my research instruments. The interview instrument was pre-tested with the general population of the study.

6.13 Ethical considerations

Axiology is one of the three cornerstones in any study. As a way of ensuring the credibility of the study, I had to consider important ethical issues. This involved three aspects; negotiating and securing access, protecting participants and assuring good faith, McNiff and Whitehead (2011). I secured letters of consent from the participating organisations and also ensured that they were involved at every stage of the study. An important consideration is about maintaining respect within and among the action research team. Gray (2009:323) emphasises that:

Given the facilitation role of Action Research, the relationships and working processes between researcher and participants are of central importance.

This involves ensuring that people are not harmed by the researcher's actions. I had to be guided by Gray's observations when conducting and leading an action research group as illustrated in the table below.

Table 6.4: Ethical Considerations in Action Research

Working Principle	Principles as Implemented in Action Research
Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Promote feelings of equality for all involved, maintain harmony.• Resolve conflicts openly• Encourage cooperative relationships
Communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Listen attentively to people• Be truthful and sincere• Act in socially and culturally appropriate ways• Regularly advise others as to what is happening
Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Enable significant levels of involvement• Enable people to perform significant tasks• Provide support to people as they learn to act for themselves• Deal personally with people rather than representatives or agents
Inclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Maximise the involvement of all relevant individuals.• Ensure cooperation of other groups, agencies and organisations• Ensure that all relevant groups benefit from activities.

Adopted from Gray (2009:323)

I had to ensure that all members of the AR team were equally treated. An important consideration was to come up with ground rules for the group. Members agreed and committed themselves to respecting each other's opinion as well as respecting diversity. Members also agreed to ensure political neutrality as well as religious diversity. We also agreed that activities were going to be gender, religious and culturally sensitive in order not to harm any of the participants.

One common challenge when dealing with groups is that some members end up dominating proceedings. As a precaution, we agreed that all members were going to be given an equal opportunity to participate. We agreed that for every round of discussion, a group member cannot make more than one presentation before everyone else makes his or her own contribution. There was, however, an exception, that is others are not forthcoming on the particular theme being discussed, willing members could then contribute more than once.

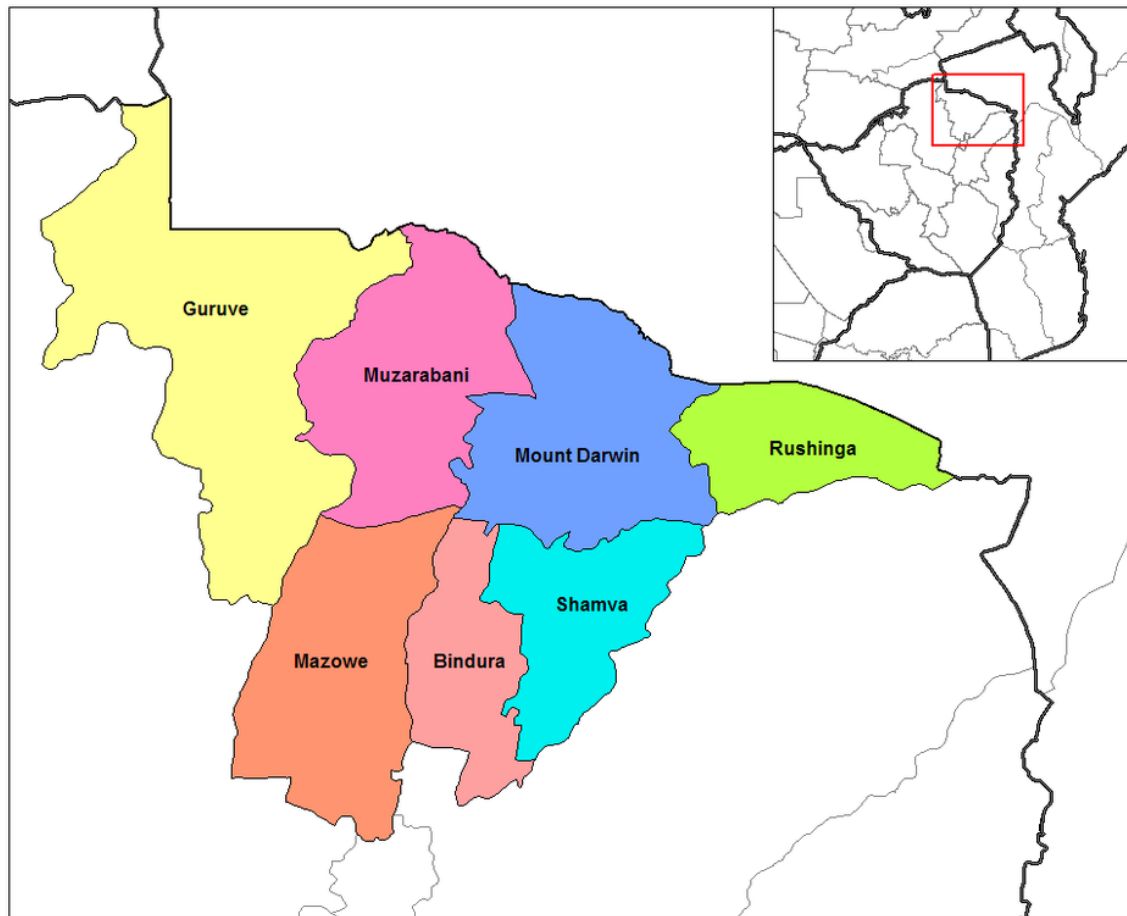
I also ensured that there was equal distribution of tasks especially during the intervention phase. All members carried out at least one or more task per each particular session. This was done to ensure inclusivity as well as ownership of the process.

6.14 Research Environment

The study was carried out in Bindura and Mazowe Districts of Mashonaland Central Province in Zimbabwe. The two districts are the most politically volatile in the province and are often regarded as the political hotbed of Zimbabwe. Initially I had targeted Bindura District but I then realised that the other organisation is operating in Mazowe District. So I had to alter my initial geographical delimitation for the study. The districts have experienced serious epochs of violence leading to thousands of casualties. Others remain displaced from their homes and others remain unaccounted for since the turn of the century. The Province is a stronghold for ZANU PF and recorded high levels of political violence ever since the year 2000.

Bindura is a predominantly mining town with two major mining companies providing most of the economic activities. Ashanti Gold Mine and Trojan Nickel Mine is the mainstay of the town's economic activities. The district is also surrounded by commercial farms on the northern side and communal lands on the southern side. Mazowe District is also largely a mining and commercial farming area. The south eastern parts thrive on commercial farming whereas the north western parts comprise communal farmers.

Figure 6.2: Map Showing the Research Area



Source: Google Maps

6.15 Summary

In this chapter I explained the research design, context and methodology guiding the study. I also elaborated the philosophical assumptions guiding my study. The chapter also detailed the stages taken during data collection. The study followed the assumptions of qualitative paradigm and was an action research design. The qualitative design is arguably the most appropriate paradigm especially when dealing with human phenomenon. Peacebuilding is a practice grounded in human interaction and a qualitative approach sets us on a path towards understanding human behaviour in a much deeper and context-specific way. Interviews, focus group discussions and observations were used to collect data. The intervention stage comprised a 12-member action research team from the two participating organizations. The intervention included a series of consultative meetings, planning, mapping the themes and eventually the crafting of a training module and a workshop that ran for three days. The

evaluation of the process and the outcomes of the study were done in order to measure impact. I also ensured validity and reliability of the study through triangulation of both the data collection instruments as well as the views from the participants. I also had to take note of all sensitive issues surrounding the study, including the issues of informed consent, gender, cultural and religious sensitivity and confidentiality.

Section IV: Data Presentation and Analysis

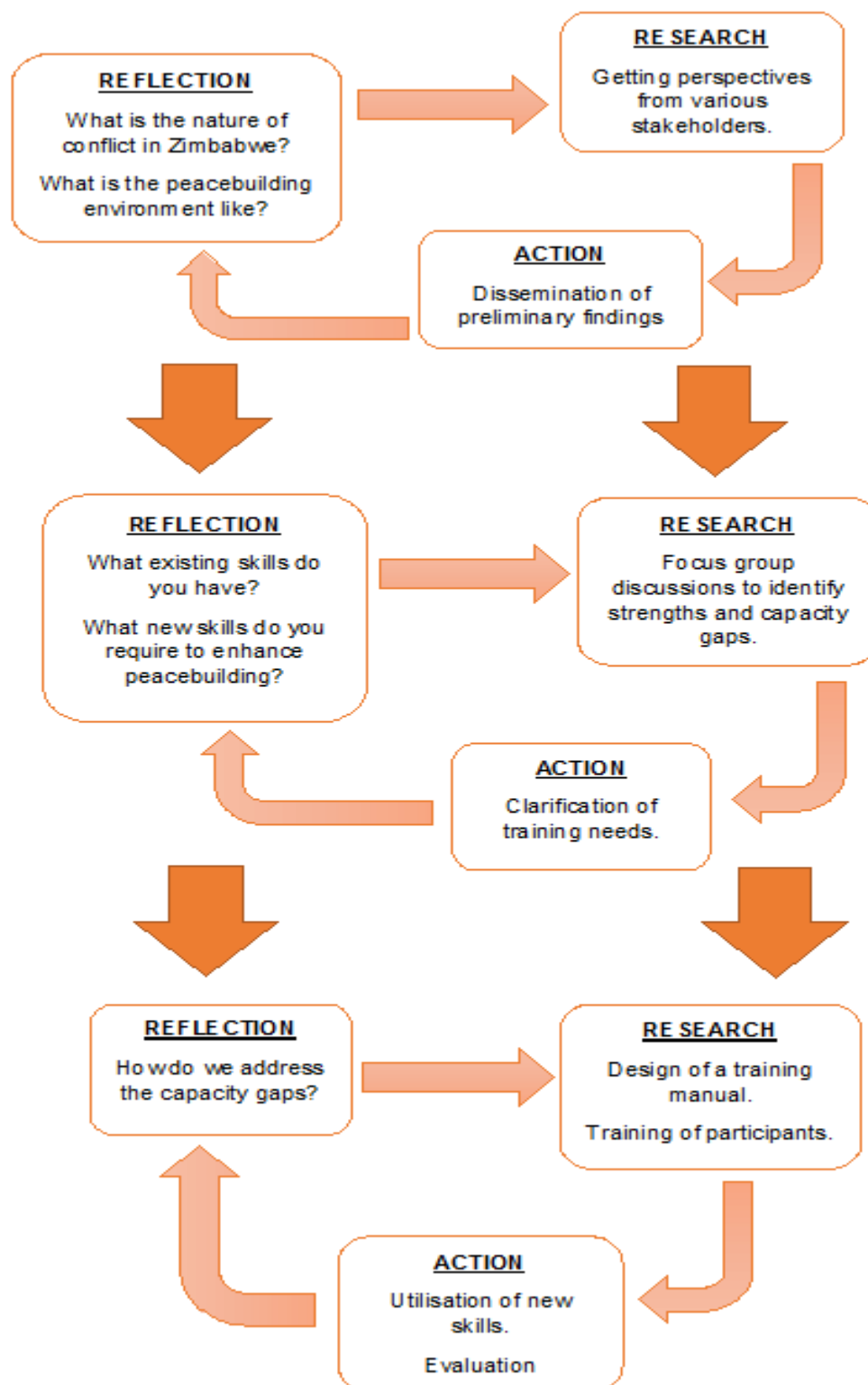
Chapter 7: Bindura and Mazowe Districts: Communities Haunted by Perpetual Fear

Overly fearful governments can lurch into panoptic governance, undermining the world they seek to preserve. In such situations, citizens come to be seen as actual or potential enemies, vigilantes prosper, civility withers and, ironically, the uncertainties and dangers that lurk within society become its defining and potentially terminating features (Sparks 2003: 201).

7.1 Introduction

This chapter marks the beginning of the data presentation phase. The data presentation is closely linked to the stages in the action research cycle. This chapter explores the general peacebuilding environment in the districts of Bindura and Mazowe. It explores the nature, causes and effects of the problems being faced. This chapter addressed the first objective and partly the second objective of my study. The focus was on the peacebuilding environment in the two communities under study i.e. Bindura and Mazowe Districts. The chapter discusses the dynamics of conflict in these two districts with a view to understand the nature, causes, drivers and effects of the conflict on the community. This was a necessary entry point into the research field as it provided the empirical evidence for the intervention program which is discussed later in the section. The diagram below presents the graphic illustration of the action research journey that I undertook. The study went through three major cycles of reflection, research and action.

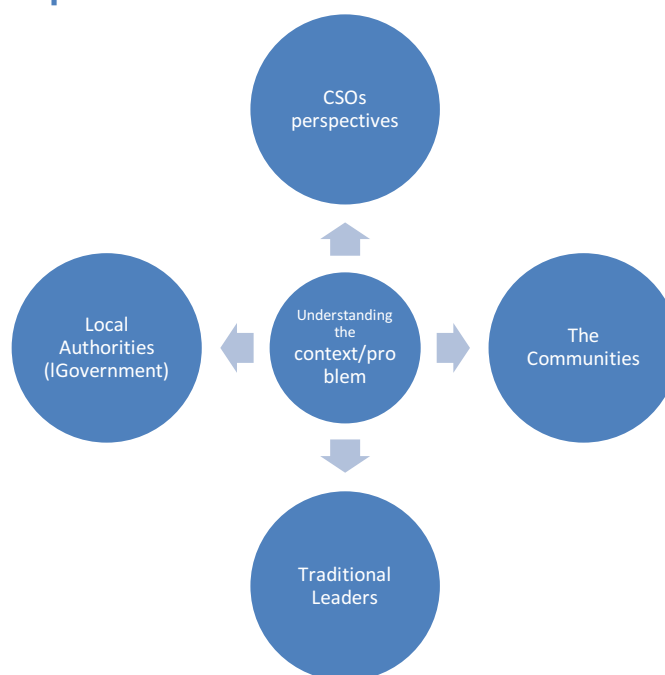
Figure 7.1: The Reflection, Research and Action Diagram of my Study



7.2 What is the nature of conflict in the areas of Mazowe and Bindura Districts?

Understanding the peacebuilding environment in the two districts served as a precursor to the determination of action intervention that was to be taken. In order to appreciate the peacebuilding environment, I had to elicit responses from four broad categories of participants from the environment. The participating CSOs, the Local Government Authorities, the Traditional leaders as well as the local communities themselves provided deeper insights into the developments relating to peacebuilding. This preliminary exercise was important because understanding the environment is key to any peacebuilding intervention. The participants at this stage of the action research study are captured in the diagram below. The data presented and discussed in this Chapter underscores the differing perspectives on the conflict in Zimbabwe in general and in the two districts in particular. The triangulation methods during data collection helped me to tap into the contradictory worldviews among the various stakeholders. This represents the challenges with understanding conflicts whether at an international level or local level.

Figure 4.2: Perspectives on the conflict in the two districts



Source: Fieldwork Notes

7.3 Peacebuilding from the top as opposed to the bottom up approach

The first objective of my study focused on understanding the nature and causes as well as the challenges relating to civil society-initiated peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. The peacebuilding environment is a very complex terrain. Most of the initiatives have been state-led since the attainment of independence in 1980. The CSOs lamented the fact that previous attempts at peacebuilding have remained a largely state-led undertaking. They cited the policy of reconciliation at independence as one good example of when the culture of the top-down approach was introduced in Zimbabwe. They also referred to the Unity Accord of 1987 between ZANU and ZAPU as being a top-down arrangement which ignored the wishes of the grassroots people.

A more recent development which left the CSOs convinced that peacebuilding in Zimbabwe is largely politicized and top-down was the ONHRI. The organ comprised political leaders from the three leading political parties of the time. The organ was in existence between 2009 and 2013. The participants observed that there was no involvement of the grassroots and to make matters worse, the organ lacked a clear blueprint aimed at facilitating the reconciliation of divided societies.

However, the local government authorities and the traditional leaders who were interviewed sang a different tune. The local government officials noted that there is always a need to ensure a balance between state security and other developmental needs of the communities and the state at large. One of the interviewees brought an international relations perspective to it. Mr. Samson stated categorically that:

The issue is simple. Zimbabwe is a free and democratic state but that does not mean that the state cedes its authority to every other sector or organization in the name of democracy. We need to protect our interest and integrity in light of the pressures coming from outside. Is it ironic that the country is under sanctions from Britain and America and yet they fund the activities of splinter movements?

This position as reflected by the government authorities demonstrates that there are serious ideological contradictions affecting the relationship between the state and non-state actors in Zimbabwe. However, this presumed ideological difference must be viewed with more in-depth analysis. Dictators can also use ideology as a way of oppressing the masses. It can be noted that the liberation history of Zimbabwe was largely driven by a communist doctrine, a doctrine that emphasizes central authority of government. The ideology does not really pay particular

attention to individual and community rights. On the other hand, the proliferation of small CSOs in Zimbabwe reflects a Western liberal ideology with greater emphasis on individual and community rights. This dichotomy has meant a constrained relationship between the state and CSOs in Zimbabwe (State-CSO relationship is discussed in detail later in this chapter).

The traditional chiefs on the other hand, also believe that the government must retain central authority. They also fear that their authority is under threat and thus are sometimes skeptical about the operations of the CSOs in their area. The traditional chiefs feel their traditional authority is slowly being undermined. A traditional Chief in Mazowe highlighted that:

Tisu varidzi vematunhu nezviwanikwa zvirimo. Hatirambi kushanda nevanouya kuzobatsira asi kana vachiuya ngavaratidze kuti vakazvinipisa uye vari pasi pehutongi hwedu. Kana vakasaita izvi hativatenderi kushanda munzvimbo ino. Zvakare kana vachiuya ngavaratidze kuti vakazvipira kushanda nevatungamiriri varipo nekuti vamwe vavo varikushanda nemuwengi kupandukira hurumende yeruzhinji (We are the custodians of the communities and the resources that are found in them. We are always ready to work with other non-state institutions for as long as they are willing to show subservience to the traditional authority in the area. They must also show respect for the government of the day because some of them are working to undermine the government).

The traditional leaders believe that their power is unquestionable and must not be undermined in any way. Thus they treat anyone who comes with suspicion although they are often attracted by the allowances that come with participating in these NGO-led activities. The villagers, on the other hand, feel that the environment remains largely inhibitive because of towering state security at all levels. They made it clear that they feel intimidated and found it difficult to associate with organizations that seek to advance human rights and peacebuilding issues. Tafadzwa summed up this feeling when she said:

Hazvisi nyore kungotaura zvinotinetsa munzvimbo dzatiri. Vanhu vakawanda vanotya kuzorohwa especially kan yanguva yemaelections so vanhu tinongonyarara kuitira kuzvichegetedza nehupenyu hwedu asi zviripo zvakawanda zviri kushungurudza vanhu (It is never easy to speak out our concerns in this kind of environment. It is even more dangerous during election time as people are often harassed and beaten. As a result, people prefer to remain quiet although they have a lot troubling them).

7.4 State-Civil Society Relationship in the two districts

The study noted that civil society organizations are viewed with deep suspicion by the current ZANU PF government. The suspicion is also further compounded by the relationship between the Zimbabwean government and Western countries like the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States of America (USA). There is a long running diplomatic standoff between Zimbabwe on the one hand and the USA and UK on the other. The diplomatic standoff reached its peak in around 2000-2003 when Zimbabwe embarked on the Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme (FTLRP). The programme saw the government repossessing previously white-owned commercial farms and giving it to landless black peasants. As noted by Raftopoulos (2009:311) and Nyakudya (2013:88) the process was marred with violence, thuggery and insincerity on the part of the government. There were allegations of serious human rights violations, sexual abuse and murder.

The war veterans, who played a leading role in Zimbabwe's liberation struggle from 1966-1979, took a leading role in the land invasions and were encouraged by the ZANU PF government. The ZANU PF led government refused to compensate the white farmers. USA responded by enacting the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Bill (ZIDERA), Britain and the European Union responded by effecting targeted travel and economic sanctions on the ZANU PF leadership. The government of Zimbabwe has continuously maintained that the economic sanctions are not targeting and have thus taken the country into a serious economic crisis.

Whilst this might seemingly appear as a diplomatic conflict, presumably on the pretext of the controversial Fast Track Land reform Programme in Zimbabwe as well as the country's troubled human rights record, the standoff has had a profound effect on the operations of CSOs, many of whom receive their funding from the west. The two participating organizations in this study are also direct beneficiaries of organizations that are based in the USA. The two CSOs revealed that they have benefitted from funding from the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) as well as from United States Aid for International Development (USAID) and the Department of Foreign and International Development (DFID) in the United Kingdom.

As previously discussed in my conceptual framework, there are four schools of thought in peacebuilding. Richmond (2013) noted that the first one, the 'conflict management school' focuses more on international relations and diplomacy, the second one, 'the conflict resolution' school focuses on the involvement of actors like civil society organizations in post conflict reconstruction as well as preventative peacebuilding. The third school, 'liberal peacebuilding and state building is more interested in good governance through democracy approach and is

more interested in pursuing the UN agenda of liberal democracy. The fourth school, 'liberal-local hybridity' places emphasis on ensuring the involvement of both the civil society actors as well as the local actors (communities). All (1996:136) argues that the indigenous people must be viewed as primary resources for the resolution and transformation of conflicts because they have a better understanding of the local conflict dynamics, cultural dynamics as well as the history of the conflict. He criticized the top down approach as lacking ownership and a recipe for failure in many peacebuilding initiatives. Prominent scholars, Lederach (1997) and Galtung (1996) also allude to the importance of the local terrain in peacebuilding. This conceptual grounding informed the way I looked at the issues of peacebuilding in the activities being implemented by the two participating organizations.

As part of trying to understand the operations of the CSOs, I had to ask a question relating to the relationship between the state and the CSOs. The responses from the interviews that I conducted with the CSOs revealed that the relationship is antagonistic and very fluid. They also noted that the relationship is sometimes defined by the nature of work that the CSOs are doing at a given time. The participants complained about the heavy handed and top-down approach that the country has used when dealing with CSOs ever-since independence. One participant during the interviews, Taremeredzwa lamented:

The problem with the Zimbabwean conflict is that the government maintains a heavy presence at all levels of the state right down to the communities and thus making it difficult for us to effectively execute our duties as non-state actors. Members of the president's office are ever present at our meetings and this has a deterring effect on the participation of local communities. The problem started with the Organ on National Healing. It was a state driven initiative and no meaningful impact was recognized¹

The CSOs further indicated that they are expected to seek permission from the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) and the local councilor each time they are to carry out an activity. Whilst on paper there is nothing wrong with these provisions, the CSOs noted that the problem arose with the conflation of state institutions and those of the ruling ZANU PF party in the province. The participants noted that getting permission from the local government offices and the police alone was not a guarantee that you would carry on with your planned activities without disturbances. One female interview participant, Tazvitya, captured the dilemma that they face as CSOs:

¹ The Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI) was provided for in the Global Political Agreement of 2008. The agreement was signed by ZANU PF, MDC T and MDC N. The ONHRI comprised representatives from the three political parties and was meant to facilitate national healing and integration in Zimbabwe.

It is not obvious that when we are given police clearance and when we have signed memorandum of understanding with the local district councils that we are guaranteed to carry on with our work. In some cases, we will still have to negotiate our way past ZANU PF officials who have made themselves self-appointed gatekeepers in the communities. It is very confusing because the police refuse to arrest them saying these are political differences that must be addressed politically.

However, the story from the local government authorities contradicted the observations by members from the two participating CSOs. The local government representatives presented a picture that the CSOs are not sincere and they usually want to circumvent the laid down procedures when they go out in the communities. The authorities noted that CSOs must play a complementary role to what the state is already doing and not to come up with their own agenda that is in contradiction with the national agenda. One of the senior government employees at the district office, Mr. Kinros had this to say about the CSOs operating in the area:

These so-called NGOs are not sincere. They always come with an agenda that is not clear. In many cases, they want to campaign for the opposition political parties at the expense of their established mandates or worse still, usurp the powers of government and operate parallel institutions in the constituencies in which they operate.

These accusations and counter accusations from the CSOs on the one hand and the government on the other hand reflect the deep-seated fear and mistrust between the state and the non-state actors. The government is justified in that CSOs must follow laid down procedures but on the other hand the CSOs are justified that even when they meet laid down procedure, they still find the government throwing obstacles into their way. The action of the state, however, depends on the nature of the work being done by the CSOs. One of the participants from the CSOs category gave a succinct analysis of the duel between the state and CSOs. The participant gave a human rights perspective to the way the state and the CSOs are run. Emmanuel indicated that:

The work of CSOs in Zimbabwe is dependent on which area an organization is working on. Basically, there are three generations (types) of human rights; 1. Civil and Political Rights (Red rights), 2. Social and Economic Rights (Blue Rights) and 3. Environmental Rights (Green Rights). Your work as a CSO is much easier if you are working to address Blue rights and green rights but you are bound to have serious confrontations with the government if you decide to touch on the red rights.

This observation has a bearing on how the CSOs are perceived and treated by the government of Zimbabwe. Peacebuilding is a broad term and encompasses aspects of development, human rights, justice, forgiveness and reconciliation. Therefore, the CSOs working on peacebuilding cannot avoid focusing on the various aspects of human rights in their programming. CSOs working on peacebuilding are generally viewed with suspicion and their work is closely scrutinized by governments. It is for this reason that government has maintained an eagle eye on all CSOs working on human rights, peacebuilding and civic education initiatives. The participants noted that the treatment that they get from government is totally different from the treatment that their counterparts working on food relief and disaster preparedness are getting. They are working on less sensitive issues and therefore they get lesser attention. They also noted that those working on these lesser sensitive areas hardly clash with the ZANU PF supporters in the communities.

The participating organizations indicated that they always meet the laid down criteria especially the three most important ones:

- i) Registration with the relevant ministry;
- ii) Signing of a Memorandum of Understanding with the respective District Council(s) and
- iii) An activity-based police clearance.

They, however, noted that the apparent lack of the rule of law in some government ministries makes it difficult for the two organizations to operate smoothly. One of the organizations indicated that they had their MOU with Guruve District council cancelled on allegations that they were distributing subversive materials in the communities that they operate in. The decision to cancel the MOU was pushed by a counsellor representing one of the political parties in the area. The other organization also indicated that a local Member of Parliament in the area in which they operate had openly told them that they cannot continue to operate in her constituency because the organization was de-campaigning her.

These are just a few examples of the many unfortunate experiences that the CSOs often face in their everyday work. The participants noted that they have had to cancel several activities owing to unfavorable working environments. The belief of the CSOs is that government is deliberately throwing spanners into their activities in order to maintain its hegemonic stranglehold on power whilst on the other hand the government believes the CSOs are not sincere in their work. The government believes that there is a sinister motive to undermine government authority through peacebuilding and human rights projects. These are some of the challenges that were discussed in the literature review chapter. The fact that peacebuilding

is defined in the liberal and neo-liberal contexts has meant that there will always be conflict between governments and non-state actors who are working in the field of peacebuilding.

The situation in Zimbabwe becomes even more complex as the government has continuously and conveniently used the need to safeguard sovereignty as a way of consolidating its stranglehold on power. Perhaps it is also to do with the purported crimes against humanity within the communities.

7.5 Fear and Internalization of oppression

The organizations working on peacebuilding initiatives also indicated that the communities are living in perpetual fear and have since internalized oppression as a reality in their everyday lives. The oppression is also both overt and covert: Overt in the sense that people can be directly harassed in their communities mostly by political party leaders as well as by other rogue elements in society. But the more difficult one is covert violence as some public institutions operate in a partisan manner.

The FGDs with the community participants revealed a well calculated scheme were government military institutions have been used to harass and intimidate people. The prevalence of fear was even evident among the participants. There was evidence of lack of trust especially in the initial FGD. Some of the participants did not trust my intentions. However, gradually they began to open up. Asked to identify the sources of conflict in their areas, the participants noted the following as the major drivers of conflict:

- Political differences
- Land boundary disputes
- Other minor issues like domestic violence.

There was no doubting the fact that the major causes of conflict in the two communities emanated from political differences. There is an apparent division between those supporters of ZANU PF and the followers of the MDC T. The participants noted that the clashes are rife towards elections. The participants noted that whilst the perpetrators are largely ZANU PF, the police usually refuse to make arrests on the grounds that these are merely political skirmishes and nothing serious but the truth of the matter is that the violence is real and has led to displacement. One of the participants, Kuzivakwashe narrated some of the challenges:

Muno matigere ukangonzi uri weMDC unenge waparara.Kazhinji panouya mayouth vokurova vopedza vokudzinga pamunda paugere.Kunonzi ZANU ndiyo yakaunza rusununguko ikagovera minda kuvanhu saka kana usingadi kutsigira musanagano

pako papera. Saka nekudaro vakawanda vanotonyepedzera kutsigira musangano kuti varambe vari paminda nekuti imwe nyaya inonetsa vakawanda vacho vakabva kuMalawi nekuZambia kare munguva yaSmith saka vakadzingwa muminda macho Havana kwekuenda (The situation here is very tense, once you are labelled an MDC supporter then you face all sorts of threat. The ZANU political commissars will always remind people that it is the party (ZANU) that brought political independence and hence people should support it whether they like it or not. The situation is made worse by the fact that most of the people here are originally from Malawi and Zambia and they have nowhere to go if they are chased out of the resettlement farms).

Another participant lamented the central role played by the security forces and the youth militia in perpetuating fear and intimidation among the communities. Talent highlighted that:

Vanhu pachezvawo havanyanyi kunetsana munharaunda dzatigere. Dambudziko rinouya kubudikidza nemayouth nemasoja vanouya vachizorova vanhu. Pamaelections akaitwa muna 2008 na2013 munedzimwe nzvimbo vanhu vairohwa kunzi vazive pekuvhotera. Mune dzimwe nzvimbo vaityityidzirwa kuti vakavhota zvisizvo tinotarisa number yepaper rawanyora uye kuti wavhota pechingani tokuteera kumbab kwako nekuti sabhuku anotarisiwa kuuya nevanhu vake kuzovhota. (The people in the communities are hardly hostile to each other. The problem comes with the youth militia and the soldiers who intimidate and beat people reminding them of the need to vote wisely. The village heads are usually ordered to lead their subjects to the polling station and are reminded that the identity of their votes can be easily tracked using modern digital technology, ballot papers serial numbers as well as the order in which they entered into the polling booth.)

The interviews with the CSO representatives corroborated the observations from the FGDs. The participants noted that indeed the communities have experienced extreme levels of violence at the hands of the youth militias and the military. These epochs of violence have left the communities heavily shaken and in perpetual fear. As noted by Spark (2002:201):

Overly fearful governments can lurch into panoptic governance, undermining the world they seek to preserve. In such situations, citizens come to be seen as actual or potential enemies, vigilantes prosper, civility withers and, ironically, ironically, the uncertainties and dangers that lurk within society become its defining and potentially terminating features.

7.6 The roots of the conflict

The issues here go back to the ideological and power contestations between the ZANU PF led government and the main opposition party, the MDC. The government sees its power as being heavily undermined and thus resorting to political violence and intimidation of the vulnerable electorate, especially the rural electorate in its desperate bid to retain power. The prospering of youth militia vigilante groups has had far-reaching effects on local communities. The greatest being the intolerable levels of fear even on the older people who should be enjoying their peace. The fact that the police are usually reluctant to act has meant that this is a well calculated government scheme to intimidate the electorate.

The ZANU PF narrative has been that the MDC T is a Western funded political project that is bound to undermine the gains of the liberation struggle. As a result, there is a feeling of entitlement and justification on the part of ZANU PF sympathizers to defend, by whatever means necessary, the gains of the liberation struggle. On the other hand, the MDC T and other civil rights movements view the prolonged ZANU PF rule as a sign of dictatorship and driven by systematic human rights abuse, corruption and the politics of patronage. They believe that the only way for change is to confront the regime. This confrontation has led to serious cases of violence.

The participants also noted that there are known incidences of violence which actually led to the death and disappearance of local people. Whilst the acts are well documented, it is rather surprising to note that there has been no legal action to address the situation. This culture of impunity has meant that the perpetrators are viewed as untouchable and above the law. I noted during the FGDs with the villagers that they were not comfortable to openly discuss incidences of serious violence in the communities. They would rather avoid the questions or in some cases refer to the Chiefs as the people with the authority to talk about previous experiences in the area.

7.7 Night Vigils as ‘Ideological Colleges’

The other issue that also came out strongly as a major source of fear was the night vigils better known as *pungwes* that are usually held in the run up to elections. The idea of *pungwes* was

originally introduced at the height of the second Chimurenga.² Then the freedom fighters, using the Maoist philosophy felt they needed the total support of the communities in which they operated in and as a result they had to raise awareness among the ordinary peasants regarding the objectives and strategies of the war. Now, according to the participants, the idea is now being used by the youth militia to perpetuate ZANU PF hegemony. The use of the *pungwes* as a mobilization tool is a well calculated approach by ZANU PF as this is aimed at ensuring total control of the ordinary citizens in the communities. It is apparent that ZANU PF is using a variety of strategies to continue to perpetuate violence against ordinary citizens. The *pungwes* are one such platform being used to ensure that people are kept in check.

The night vigils are now often referred to as '*Kunodzidziswa gwara remusangano*' meaning the indoctrination of political ideologies. The FGDs also reported that there is a lot of sexual exploitation at these night vigils. The participants from the CSOs, especially the one in Bindura that works with women, reported that they have handled a number of cases where young women reported that they experienced sexual exploitation. One interview participant, Tafadzwa, observed that:

There are a lot of young girls and women who have suffered sexual exploitation and humiliation at these political bases. Those who are brave enough have come to us and other like-minded organizations for help but the majority, and I repeat, the majority have suffered silently because sexual issues are difficult to explore. Those violated find it extremely difficult to open up. Perhaps it is cultural or perhaps it's the stigma and shame that comes with the whole ideal.

This observation corroborates with a Human Rights Watch Report (2008) which documented the widespread violation and intimidation of communities and their rights. The report cites an example of the "re-education" meetings that were conducted by ZANU PF "war veterans", youth militia and the army in various parts of the province with the worst cases recorded at Chaona School. The report noted that during one of the "re-education" meetings, six men were beaten to death. This undeniably left the communities in a state of trauma.

The fear is not only initiated at a community grassroots level. The FGDs and the interviewees from the CSO organizations also acknowledged that even the traditional leaders are exposed

²The term Chimurenga refers to the liberation struggles that the country has experienced over the years. In this context, the term refers to the Liberation Struggle of the late 1960s and the 1970s which eventually led to the attainment of Independence in 1980. The liberation fighters used what was known as the guerrilla tactics. Realising the superiority of the enemy, the guerrilla approach thrived on ambush attacks. The fighters also relied heavily on the Masses and it was the need for this reliance that they introduced Pungwes where the masses were taught the objectives of the war.

to intimidation in a well thought out scheme to maintain hegemony by the ruling party. The ruling party realizes the central importance of the traditional institutions in mobilizing their communities. As a result, there has been a deliberate attempt to patronize the traditional leaders and to remind them of the dangers of associating with the opposition. The chiefs are expected to reign in on 'errant' subjects who dare support the opposition.

The two participating organizations indicated that they had difficulties when dealing with traumatized individuals and communities. I have already referred to the nature of conflicts in Zimbabwe when I explored the political environment of peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. The conflict is a combination of violence and structural segregation of certain actors in society. The two forms of violence have brought unpleasant life experiences as well as deep emotional stress and challenges to the communities. The situation is further complicated by the serious economic challenges that the communities are going through.

In an interview, Tabitha highlighted the challenges that they face in the communities:

We have a serious challenge during workshops when we have some people breaking down as they try to narrate their ordeals in front of other participants. It's very difficult to help then and in some cases people don't want to share their experiences and will just end up crying.

The centralized and politicized nature of food aid in Zimbabwe has a negative impact on efforts towards peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. Because of fear of victimization, many of the affected people in the communities are reluctant to partake in the problem-solving workshops. They would rather withdraw so that they can be guaranteed of food aid. In fact, another interesting dynamic is that the people who usually dominate the peace committees as well as the workshops are those seconded by their political parties. The chiefs also expect the participants to show a lot of respect to them as they maintain that they are the custodians of societal values as well as peacekeepers.

The organizations indicated that they had very little grounding in dealing with trauma as their strength was mainly in general workshop facilitation skills only. It must be noted that the problems of violence in Zimbabwe date back to pre-colonial times but that the most recent incidents are traceable to the year 2000. This was after the formation of the MDC and ZANU PF's attempt to maintain a stranglehold on power. Violence flared and since then, elections in Zimbabwe have been marred with serious acts of violence. The period also saw increased patronization of some public institutions as ZANU PF attempted to entrench its stranglehold

on power. The organizations both noted that there was a gap in their training manuals as none of the two focused on counselling skills needed for dealing with trauma.

The violence and intimidation has not only been confined to clashes between the MDC and ZANU. There have been new political developments in the aftermath of the disgraceful dismissal of former vice president of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Joyce Teurai Ropa Mujuru. Mujuru has gone on to form a new political party, the Zimbabwe People First (ZimPF). Mujuru is from Mashonaland Province's Mt Darwin District and although her party is yet to officially launch its manifesto, she enjoys considerable support across Zimbabwe and more specifically Mashonaland Central as her home province. As a result, there have already been clashes of perceived Mujuru followers and ZANU PF youths.

The violence has come in the form of intimidation as well as inversion of properties (especially farms) of those perceived to be loyal to Mujuru. These clashes have continued to act out in the province ever since 2014. This disturbing development points to lack of political tolerance and a culture of violence which is slowly turning out to be synonymous with politics in Zimbabwe. The bigger challenge is that the communities are being subjected to a vicious cycle of violence, intimidation and perpetual fear.

7.8 Institutionalized/Structural Violence

The participants also noted that the biggest challenge was indirect or covert violence in the communities. During FDGs with local community members, it was noted that partaking in CSOs' initiated activities in the communities had the potential of leaving the participants exposed and prone to victimization by supporters of ZANU PF. One of the participants in the FDGs, Florence, indicated that:

Kuuya kwatinoita kuno kumaWorkshops kuzoshanda nemaorganisations anotibatsira kunotokonzeresa matambudziko mamwe akanyanya. Variko vanenge vachitiona vozonotaurira varikumberi topedzisira tanyimwa mbeu kan chibage chinouya serubatsiro (our participation in these CSO led initiatives is a great risk as some unnamed people are watching over us. In the end we are denied food aid or provision of farming implements).

The participants also noted that in some cases participation without the blessings of the local village head would attract serious reprimand. Therefore, participation by local communities is a big security threat. On the one hand they see a genuine opportunity to address past conflicts and to build a sustainable peace but on the other they fall foul to the problematic state-civil

society relations. Lederach (1997), notes that the middle-range actors (CSOs) are an important constituency in the creation of a skills-based infrastructure for peace. However, this has proved to be a difficult assumption in the context of Zimbabwe. The environment is a typical example of an intractable conflict and the state-civil society relations will require more sensitivity if CSOs are to enhance their effectiveness in peacebuilding. Whilst Anderson (1999) may have focused on how foreign aid may be used inadvertently to fuel conflict, it is important to note that the operations of the CSOs in politically troubled regions can also be a sure source of vulnerability in the communities in which they operate in. there is need for careful planning on the part of the implementers. Schirch (2013: 16) observed that local people are not just victims of the conflict but must also be involved in conflict assessment and peacebuilding. The greatest challenge facing communities in the two districts under study is fear. The people have been traumatized for a very long time and involving them requires special skills and higher levels of sensitivity. As noted by Schmeizle and Fisher (2009: 39) Non-Governmental Organisations often require the permission of government to operate in certain areas but many a times there are governmental constraints that almost make it impossible to operate. The operation of CSOs in Zimbabwe, especially those working in the area of peacebuilding and human rights is one such sad story.

Another major challenge with the conflict in Zimbabwe is its contested nature. The conflict is conceived differently depending on the category of people whom you are talking to. As previously noted by Machakanja (2010:3) the conceptualization of the conflict in Zimbabwe is dominated by conflicting narratives depending on political party affiliation as well as personal experiences. There are accusations and counter accusations about the real causes of the conflict. People who are sympathetic to ZANU PF will bring in the sovereignty narrative to the conflict causes and the opposition parties including most CSOs tend to view the conflict as largely political and emanating from a long struggle for political and economic democratization after years of dictatorship. This contested notion of the whole conflict makes it difficult to plan effectively for intervention.

The fears raised by the participants in the FDGs are congruent with the analysis made by Machakanja (2010:3) who noted that the politics exclusion and marginalization was a major reason why the conflict in Zimbabwe was increasingly becoming complex and difficult to manage. The conflict is more entrenched in political and economic structures and thus making it difficult to classify it as an armed conflict or let alone violent in some of its phases. A participant in the FDGs also noted that the challenges that they were facing as a community actually started at the top. Amon highlighted that:

Ndizvozvo kuti munharaunda matiri makaita matambudziko akawanda asi tikazvitarisisa dambudziko rakatanga nevakuru vedu kumusoro nekuti ndivo vanopa vanhu mari, zvekudya kana hwahwa kuti varove vanhu. (Indeed we have experienced various conflicts in our communities but when you look at it closely, the political elites are the ones who fueled the conflict by providing incentives such as money, food and beer to the perpetrators).

There is general agreement among the villagers and the CSOs who participated in the study that the conflict in Zimbabwe in general and Mazowe and Bindura Districts in particular is about political power contestations and that the intractable conflict that the country finds itself in is a direct result of the clashes between the political parties of the day; ZANU PF on the one hand and MDC T and other smaller opposition parties on the other hand. However, interviews with the local authorities underlined the serious contradictions as they emphasized the constitutional mandate of the government as well as the system of government that exist in the country. They noted that the country uses a unitary type of government and that the state retains total control of all levers of power.

The CSOs revealed that their relationship with the community ranges from cordial to hostile, depending on the ward, constituency as well as the district that they are operating in. The political environment in Mazowe District was described as difficult and largely polarized. The District is dominated by ZANU PF but previously the MP for Mazowe South Constituency was from MDC T. CSOs enjoyed a largely perfect working relationship with the former MDC legislator. However, the coming in of a ZANU PF legislator brought different fortunes for the CSOs. The CSOs indicated that they have endured a love-hate relationship with both the political leadership as well as the local governance institutions that always create what they termed difficult conditions when applying for Memorandum of Understanding to operate in the district.

However, the ordinary people have so much confidence in the CSOs that operate in their areas. The CSOs have a role to play in the communities. In fact, in light of the perennial failures of the ZANU PF government, the CSOs have stepped in to fill a very big gap by complimenting government efforts in areas of education, food provision as well as peacebuilding and reconciliation. The lack of visibility of the ONHRI have meant that local CSOs have taken the initiative in providing alternatives to the people who suffered serious violence especially during election times.

The violence has now gone on to take a different form. Most of the violence is no longer direct but rather structural. The local government structures are staffed with partisan officials who are more than willing to advance certain political agendas at the expense of sustainable

service delivery to the people. Suspected MDC T supporters, especially in the rural communities noted that they are being discriminated against especially when it comes to access to economic resources and opportunities. This finding is corroborated by Machakanja and Mungure (2013) who found out that "...the partisan treatment of citizens, depending on their political affiliations, directly affects their access to the law and to proper attention from public offices and public institutions including provision of emergency and humanitarian assistance."

7.9 Summary

The chapter discussed the peacebuilding environment in the two districts of Bindura and Mazowe. It reflected on the nature of the conflict, its drivers and effects. It was noted during data collection that the cause of the violent conflicts in the two districts is largely to do with political differences. The communities are divided along political party affiliation lines. Cases of direct violence are usually perpetrated by youth militia groups as well as the military who intimidate people. The violence also has a structural dimension. The traditional leaders are used to perpetuate the hegemony of the ruling class by keeping an eye on their subjects. Those found not to be towing the line are excluded from government farming and feeding schemes whereas the youth are usually excluded from empowerment schemes. The next chapter explores the approaches to peacebuilding by the two CSOs taking part in the action research.

Chapter 8: A Critique of the Local Peace Committees and the Workshop Approach in Peacebuilding

8.1 Introduction

This chapter is closely connected to the second objective of my study. The objective was to examine the models being used by the participating organisations. The study noted that the two organisations are using the concept of Local Peace Committees and the Workshop Approach as the major tools in peacebuilding. The purpose of the chapter was to explore the relevance of these two approaches in light of the peacebuilding environment which has been discussed in the previous chapter, Chapter seven. The chapter discusses both the strengths and weaknesses of the approaches in the context of Bindura and Mazowe districts. Peacebuilding at the local level must connect to the wider context and must as well relate to the cultural context. Murithi (2006:7) intimates that culture plays an important role in fostering peace and that people derive their sense of meaning and belonging from their culture. Culture is dynamic but an important mirror of how people respond to their conflicts.

8.2 The Local Peace Committees

Local Peace Committees (LPCs) are a growing phenomenon in many conflict ridden areas. The concept is also currently being used by the organisations who took part in the action research study. The participating organisations indicated that they basically rely on two approaches to peacebuilding and these are the Local Peace Committees and the Workshop Approach. They indicated that they use the concept of Peace Committees which is some kind of decentralisation to the various provinces and districts. One of the participants from the secretariat, Tafadzwa, had this to say:

We realised that Peace committees are best placed to deal with conflicts as they understand the local dynamics much better than us outsiders. The arrangement is sustainable and cost-effective because the committee members are all local people and our duty is to facilitate their institutionalisation.

The committees reflect a cross section of the communities in which they serve. The peace committees are made up of people who include the Traditional Leaders, church leaders, women, and the elderly in society as well as other important constituencies including CSOs.

The CSOs also indicated that they do capacity building workshops in areas like vegetable gardening, mushroom farming and general project planning and management. The interview participants indicated that the Zimbabwean conflict was too complex to understand and that they often face challenges in navigating both the political terrain as well as the bureaucratic structures as they attempt to address the issues affecting the communities. One of the interviewees, Rugare, noted that:

Matambudziko ari muZimbabwe akawandisa zvekuti zvinotonetsa kuti unatsinzwisisa pekutangira kuti apere. Zvakare tine dambudziko revetinoshanda navo sekuti pamwe tinorambidzwa kushanda mudzimwe nzvimbo uye mumwe macho mukanyorera vana mudzviti nemapurisa kunotoro nguva yakarebesa vasati vapindura kana kusatopindura zvachose. (Zimbabwe is facing multiple challenges and it is very difficult to establish an entry point to solve these multiple-challenges. Furthermore, there are a lot of bureaucratic challenges that we face when dealing with the District Administrators and other institutions like the police. They often delay the granting of permission to work in certain districts and constituencies.)³

Another challenge that was noted was the challenges faced when dealing with constituencies in the rural outposts of Zimbabwe. Participants indicated that some communities are still very conservative and value their culture to the extent that they don't respect any initiative that does not include the traditional institutions of peace and security in the respective areas. They gave several examples of activities that had to be cancelled because the traditional authorities had not been invited or where invited at short notice and thus could not turn out for the event.

Some of the key functions of the peace committee are to: act as watch dogs; providing early warning systems on conflicts within communities; deliberate on conflicts that would have arisen in communities as well as following up on resolutions arrived at during deliberations.

8.3 Problems with the peace committees

Whilst the peace committees are apparently a noble idea, they tend to pose more challenges in their operationalization. For example, as noted by Makwerere and Mandoga (2012) the integrity of the traditional leaders as been largely undermined by the politicization of their roles in society. The political conflict in rural Zimbabwe has seen the traditional leaders being used as agents of violence in some cases. It becomes difficult now for the same people with a

³ All Civil Society Organizations are supposed to get a police clearance before they carry out activities in Zimbabwean communities in both rural and urban communities.

contested history to suddenly become agents of transformation and players in the peace committees and yet it is equally difficult to ignore or sideline them because of their esteemed position in society. The traditional leaders often declare themselves leaders of the peace committees and thus attempt to influence the direction and flow of things.

This creates a difficult scenario because other members within the committee often find it difficult to freely express themselves as they will face the same leaders in other spheres of development within the community. There is often a conflict of interest as the traditional leaders attempt to maintain the status quo whereas on the other side the church leaders, who are part of the committee as well are determined to facilitate truth telling. The ordinary citizens, the women, youths and the elderly who also make the committees are also determined to bring out issues that they believe will heal the communities but again they have their work cut out as they have to deal with the traditional leaders who believe that they have supreme authority.

Furthermore, the peace committees appear to be parallel structures as the traditional leaders will still convene their traditional courts where they still deal with more or less the same issues again. They appear to be duplicating as well as usurping the functions of the traditional courts in the communal areas and traditional leaders have appeared to resist then sometimes directly and in some instances indirectly. The more conservative chiefs have insisted that the committees must report to their respective councils for finalization of issues.

A critical issue here is that the peace committees are now treated as adjudication committees who are supposed to bring finality to the conflicts emerging from the communities. This is and can never be the case because peacebuilding is in itself a process that cannot be rushed into finality. The idea sounds good but the implementation in the context of Mazowe and Bindura Districts have been problematic.

The organisations indicated that most of their efforts have been fruitful but they have faced challenges emanating from the fact that the conflict in Zimbabwe is largely indirect. This implied that the conflict dynamics in Zimbabwe have shifted from direct violence to largely indirect (structural violence) as well as cultural violence specially to do with the violation of women's rights. The nature of the conflict suits the conceptualisation of violence by Galtung (1996). The communities are seemingly peaceful but with a lot of indirect violence going on. One example given was the allocation of land, farming inputs, flea market stalls and other community schemes along political party affiliation lines. The great ZANU PF and MDC divide played out its ugly face in the communities with the supporters of ZANU PF apparently enjoying an upper hand over their MDC counterparts as most of their people are in occupation of the critical government offices in charge of resource distribution.

However, overt violence is still prevalent especially during national plebiscites. Supporters of ZANU and MDC often clash with most of the confrontations becoming bloody. The CSOs are often accused of being aligned to the opposition MDC party and that makes their intervention very difficult in the communities as they are accused of bias. The fact that the MDC has for long been accused of being an agent of neo-imperialism has not helped matters either. These CSOs receive most of their funding from the Western Donor communities and the ZANU PF led government has often found it convenient to label the CSOs as fronts in this neo-imperialist agenda. This has led to increased polarisation between the government and most of the CSOs working on peace projects in the communities.

Such a scenario has proved to be very difficult for the CSOs as reported by the participants. In fact, the organisation indicated that they have had their Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) cancelled on several occasions on allegations of dabbling in the political affairs of the district and that it was in violation of their scope of operation.

8.4 The Workshop Method

The other tool that has been largely used by the two participating organizations is the workshop approach. The CSOs organize workshops in their communities where locals are invited to discuss peacebuilding issues. The workshop approach is probably the most popular peacebuilding approach used by organizations and governments across the world. This has been the case with the two organizations. The participants noted that the workshops range from capacity building workshops to problem solving and evaluation workshops.

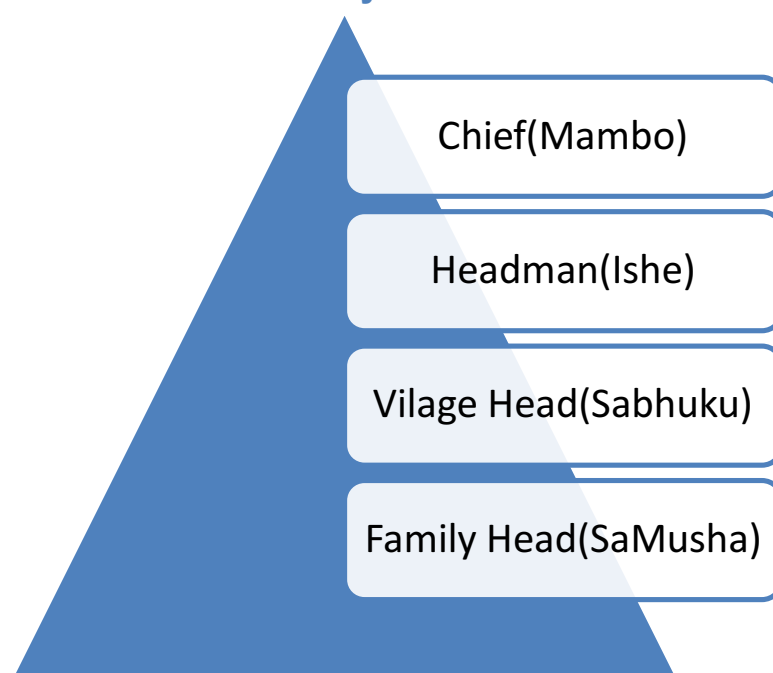
The challenge comes with the environment in which they are being implemented. There is no denying that the political conflict in Zimbabwe has left communities heavily divided. The CSOs have been caught in between as they try to implement their activities. The close relationship between the MDC T and the various CSO formations across the country has not helped matters. This has tended to create the impression that each time the CSOs come into the villages, they are up to advance the agenda of the MDC T as well as that of the west. ZANU PF has conveniently played the regime change card to their advantage. They use a combination of both threats and persuasions to alienate the masses from the MDC and its perceived allies.

8.5 The Cultural Dilemma

The participating organisations noted that there is still an important cultural dilemma especially when working in the rural and farming communities in Bindura District. The custodians of peace and security in the rural communities have remained largely the traditional structures as headed by the Chief, Headman and Village Head.

The diagram below illustrates the typical traditional hierarchy in Zimbabwean rural community.

Figure 7.3: Traditional Hierarchy in a Zimbabwean Community



Source: Fieldwork Notes

8.6 Traditional and Cultural Dimensions of the Conflict

The two major approaches to peacebuilding that are being implemented face major traditional and cultural barriers. The traditional institutions of peace and security in Zimbabwe are provided for in the constitution of Zimbabwe. The highest traditional authority is the Chief, followed by the headman, the village head and finally the family head. This traditional set up has always been in existence well before the colonial era. During the colonial era, the institutions remained in existence although in some instances they were compromised by the colonial authorities as they sought to consolidate their hegemony over the indigenous communities. However, the institutions remained in existence going into independent Zimbabwe.

Participants from the CSOs indicated that the challenge with the traditional leaders was more of a structural issue. They noted that the chiefs were heavily influenced and manipulated by the government structures as well as the dominant political structures as set up by ZANU PF. The participants bewailed the undue influence of the ruling ZANU PF party on the conduct and actions of the traditional leaders. One interviewed participant, Tafadzwa, stated that:

The traditional leaders are merely extensions of the political hegemony. They have lost their esteemed reverence in the eyes of the ordinary citizens in the communities. Some of them even sanction the use of violence on their own subjects and it's so disheartening. How can you sacrifice your own people for political expediency?

The participants were adamant that the chiefs worked hand in glove with the ZANU PF government to perpetuate acts of violence or to cover up the violence altogether. This observation corroborates with previous observations by Makumbe (2009) and Makwerere and Mandoga (2012).

However, the dilemma facing actors in peacebuilding in the rural areas is that with their chiefs perceived bias, they are still the custodians of the communities and are the gatekeepers into the communities. Traditionally one cannot operate in an area without the consent of the village head or chief. Therefore, the CSOs have no other way than to engage them in their peacebuilding work. It requires the CSOs to understand the cultural sensitivities in the areas in the respective communities that they are working in. There is an important point to take for the CSOs working for peace. The theoretical framework of the study, as illuminated in Chapter Two, is borrowed from Lederach's Conflict Transformation Theory as well as the Holistic Peacebuilding Approach. CSOs working on peacebuilding (as middle level actors) must therefore work to address not only the challenges (social peacebuilding) but also the system (structural peacebuilding). The Chiefs are an important part of the peacebuilding structure in communal areas in Zimbabwe and therefore must be given due attention.

Traditionally, the endogenous justice mechanisms served the communities well and effectively in Zimbabwe prior to colonialism and politicization of the institutions since it is by nature inclusive and consultative. Makwerere and Mandoga (2012:2) argued that whilst the traditional institutions of peace and security are an important component in conflict transformation and peace building. The structures have been seriously undermined by the political developments in Zimbabwe. This unfortunate development, especially in the 21st century has meant that peacebuilding has now become a tantalizing act which requires specialized and intricate skills. Dodo, Makwerere and Nyoni (2012:3) define traditional leaders as individuals occupying communal political leadership positions sanctified by cultural mores and values, and enjoying the legitimacy of particular communities to direct their affairs. Thus, traditional leaders derive

much of their authority from custom and not so much from tradition, and custom not tradition is the basis of appointment.

The position of traditional leaders in Zimbabwe is deemed royal and hereditary. The responsibility stays in the royal clan and leadership rotates among the royal families. The recognition of traditional leaders in the constitution of Zimbabwe means that an appointed headman, village head or chief must then be confirmed during a ceremonial process by the minister responsible for culture and traditional heritage and in consultation with the local District and provincial administrators. Dodo (2012) argued that the traditional institutions and culture in general are dynamic and practice leading to appointment is constantly being reviewed. The traditional institutions are a good form of decentralized governance. They resonate with local cultural values and provide direction and stability to the communities. As noted by Makumbe (2010) good governance and sustainable development can only materialize when the traditional leaders are given prominence and capacitated accordingly.

One way of capacitating the traditional leaders in the two districts has been the recognition of the influence of traditional leaders in the commercial farming lands as well as the resettlements. Previously the commercial farming areas were not affected by the influence of traditional leaders. However, the CSO participants noted that there have been attempts to configure the governance structure in these areas with a view to strengthen the influence of the chiefs in these areas. This development has implications on the work of the CSOs because the areas in Bindura and Mazowe Districts are pre-dominantly commercial farming areas. The reconfiguration means more interaction with the traditional institutions. The family head is in charge of family issues. If the issues get out of hand or if the family is wronged by other families, the head of the family can take the matter to the Village Head. The village head can preside over petty conflicts and if the matter is out of his jurisdiction, the village head is expected to take the matter to the Headman. If again the matter is insurmountable, the Headman refers the matter to the Chief. The constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment Number 20 provides for the role of traditional Chiefs in the social-economic development of communities across the country. They are also given supreme power in traditional and social activities happening in their areas.

There is no denying that peacebuilding is a largely political process. The Zimbabwean environment is no exception. The findings of the study noted that the terrain is largely polarized. There has emerged a trend where there is the politics of “otherness” and this has been a major driver of the conflict in Zimbabwe. It has turned out to be a protracted social conflict in that ever since the year 2000, the conflict is primarily about ZANU PF and MDC. It

is about political power contestations that are of an ideological nature as well as access to resources.

The MDC has been labelled an agent of the west and an agent of regime change in Zimbabwe. As a result, the multitudes of MDC supporters are viewed as *vatenges* (sell-outs) by the ZANU PF supporters. This view has been reinforced by the ZANU PF political leadership who has publicly referred to the MDC as a puppet of the west. Given the circumstances in which Zimbabwe attained its independence, ZANU PF followers have found this assertion to be valid and chose to be combative each time they clash with MDC supporters. The country's independence was delivered via a protracted liberation struggle which stretched from 1966 to 1979. The war period was an emotionally draining experience for the ordinary masses in Zimbabwe and it appears the ZANU PF government has been good at manipulating the people and especially the former liberation fighters. It is therefore pertinent that any peacebuilding strategy or approach should pay attention to these important dynamics which are also to a large extent grounded in historical epochs.

I noted that the CSOs working in the area of peace often struggle to maintain impartiality in the eyes of the ruling ZANU PF government. There is a great dilemma in the sense that almost all of the CSOs receive their funding from the western community and yet ironically, the ruling party officials have been under targeted sanctions ever since the year 2003. Given these unusual circumstances, peacebuilding in Zimbabwe is thus a complex and difficult undertaking. It requires conflict sensitive skills and programming.

8.7 Summary

This chapter looked closely at the two methods employed by the CSOs in peacebuilding in Bindura and Mazowe Districts. The organizations are using the Local Peace Committees and the Workshop method to try and address the conflicts in the communities. I established that the approaches, in as much as they enjoy global acclaim, have met with some serious challenges in this particular context owing to cultural and political sensitivities. I also established that there are some organizational issues that have led to the challenges being faced as a result of the use of the two approaches. The next chapter narrates and discusses the intervention that was made.

CHAPTER 9: DETERMINING THE TRAINING NEEDS, PHILOSOPHY AND PEDAGOGICAL APPROACH

9.1 Introduction

How can the insights gathered in the preliminary study be used to develop effective peacebuilding skills for the two organisations working on peacebuilding projects in Bindura and Mazowe districts? This was the central research question throughout the course of the study. This chapter discusses the key considerations that were taken in coming up with the intervention programme. The data gathering exercise was done through FDGs. Having established the nature of the conflict and the challenges being faced, the participants agreed on the development of a training manual aimed at developing context specific skills that would respond to the needs of the organisations as well as increase their effectiveness. This chapter explains the process leading to the identification of the training needs, the intervention programme as well as the philosophical and pedagogical assumptions that guided the intervention.

9.2 My Competencies as a Peacebuilder/Facilitator

As a facilitator my worldview and understanding of peacebuilding was largely shaped by three factors.

1. I am a holder of a Certificate in Conflict Analysis and Intervention from Africa University in Mutare, Zimbabwe. The training was done by the Institute for Peace, Leadership and Governance in partnership with the internationally renowned group, Responding to Conflict which is led by Simon and Jane Fisher in 2008.
2. I am also a product of the Alternative to Violence Project (AVP) UKZN Chapter and I did the basic, advanced and training of trainers' modules. These certificates were acquired between January 2014 and May 2014.
3. I am also a holder of a Bachelor of Science in Counselling Degree and I am a Teacher by training. The counselling and teaching background was of utmost importance because one of the modules that was contained in the training manual focused on counselling skills for peacebuilders.

A combination of these factors helped shape my philosophy about training in peacebuilding and conflict transformation. I have facilitated at several peacebuilding workshops in different

parts of Zimbabwe and the experience came in handy during this training workshop. Apart from that, I have also done several consultancy projects on curriculum development as well as research in peace and security studies. I have also previously worked as an assistant programmes officer with one of the CSOs in Harare and my responsibilities were on workshop facilitation, report writing and research.

9.3 The Action Research Participants

The Action Research Team (ART) comprised twelve participants. Eight of the participants came from the organisation that operates in Bindura District and the other four from the organisation that operates in Mazowe District. The unequal distribution of participants was a result of the composition of the two participating organisations. The one in Bindura is not a national organisation and all their employees were domiciled in the district. The one operating in Mazowe District is a much bigger organisation and has its secretariat in Harare. Thus, those who work in the province were limited and referred to as animators. However, this had no bearing on the validity and reliability of the study as the composition of the respective organisations was beyond my influence.

The reason why the ART comprised two organisations was as a result of the work that the two organisations are doing. Their approach to peacebuilding is similar (workshop method and Local Peace Committees) and they are operating in neighbouring districts of the same province, Mashonaland Central. The two organisations often collaborate on some initiatives and given this made it easy to combine the two groups into one action research team.

Table 9.1: Gender Distribution

Gender	Number of Participants
Female	9
Male	3

There was a significant gender disparity among the participants. This big difference was a result of the fact that the other organisation was a predominantly female staffed organisation and the fact that it provided the bulk of the participants. They had seven female participants and one male participant, apparently the only male who was employed full time at the organisation. The other organisation from Mazowe District provided a balanced set of two females and two males. Nevertheless, the involvement of more women was in actual fact a

welcome, though unplanned development, as it helped to increase the voices of women in the peacebuilding discourse. Of the twelve participants, eight were married and the other four were single.

Table 5.2: Age Frequency

Age Range	Number	Percentage
50+	1	8%
40-49	2	17%
30-39	5	42%
20-29	4	33%

The action research team was generally youthful. Only one participant was over the age of 50 and only two in the 40-49-year age range. A relatively larger number of 5 fell in the 30-39 age range. The other 4 constituted the 20-29 age categories. This is explained by the fact that most CSOs in Zimbabwe are not very old. Most of them came into existence after the year 2000. In this case one of the organisations was formed in 2009 and the other in 2004.

9.4 Organisational Responsibilities of the participants

These participants worked in the communities in Bindura and Mazowe districts. The participants were responsible for the facilitation of peacebuilding workshops; helping communities to build sustainable peace infrastructures that address both social and structural issues in the communities. They were also responsible for individual assistance and in extreme circumstances, they also provided safe houses for victims of political violence at their premises.

The group that constituted the ART was an important category because they are the people who are charged with the programming of peacebuilding activities. They were responsible for identifying the issues affecting the communities, developing intervention programmes, implementing the projects and also taking stock of the impact of the various projects that would have been implemented. Therefore, their participation was important as it would have a long term impact on the operations of the two organisations.

9.5 Existing Competencies

The best way to prepare for the intervention was to have an in-depth understanding of the peacebuilding environment whilst also having an appreciation of the already existing competencies among the participants. The information gathered from the preliminary objective was useful in providing an assessment framework for the intervention stage. The FGD that was held in Bindura revealed that the participants had received training in peacebuilding but focusing on gender and peacebuilding. Whilst this was relevant for the project that they were doing on women empowerment, I realised that the participants lacked a basic appreciation of some of the important aspects in peacebuilding. On the other hand, the FGD that was held in Mazowe established that the participants had done training in peacebuilding and had been introduced to basic concepts like conflict analysis and the related tools.

I discovered that most of the CSOs used problem solving workshops in peacebuilding. The workshop approach to peacebuilding entails the involvement as well as participation of citizens in a set-up which is conducive for all and interaction is the hallmark of the workshop approach to peace building. Thus, obtaining the active commitment of local stakeholders in peace building activities is crucial for their success. This requires workshop strategists that understand, respect and take into account the varying perceptions, needs, capabilities and experience of local communities and enhancing local will and capability for peace building.

Lederach (1997) observes that there is need to respect the local cultural values as well as to have the process locally owned. Shedrack (2006) highlights the need to understand a conflict in its three related dimensions, the distant past, which may span back to centuries or decades, the immediate past and the immediate events. As noted by Machakanja (2008), Zimbabwe's conflicts are multi-layered and a historical perspective is necessary so as to understand their dynamics. In Lederach's (1997) peacebuilding pyramid, the grassroots are an important constituency in peacebuilding. Their voices must be heard and their wishes upheld as well.

The participants also indicated that they had over the years gained workshop facilitation skills as this was the most common method that they used in their peacebuilding approach. The participants indicated that they had been carrying out workshops around the two districts of Bindura and Mazowe. However, during the discussions, the participants indicated that the workshops were more of a routine and a copy-paste approach of what they downloaded from the internet and from other organisations. The participants could not clearly articulate whether their workshops were capacity building and/or problem solving workshops.

The participants also noted that they had been doing effective conflict mapping and analysis and this had enabled them to identify key stakeholders such as traditional chiefs, government officials, women and youth in their community work. However, I had to point out to them that there seemed to be a particular trend in their mobilisation as mostly the same participants

attended their workshops over and over again. The participants argued that this was a result of the political situation prevailing in their communities.

Asked about conflict sensitivity, the participants indicated that conflict analysis was a strategy of ensuring conflict sensitivity in their work. They all admitted to not having conflict sensitive guidelines in their institutions though. The participants also admitted that they did not have a guiding ethical document for their peacebuilding work.

9.6. Determining Training Needs/ The gaps that needed to be filled

The planning phase had to take into consideration the emerging issues from the preliminary examination of the peacebuilding environment in Zimbabwe in general and the two districts of Mazowe and Bindura in particular. The focus was on the nature of peacebuilding, emerging issues from their peacebuilding models as well as how they relate with other stakeholders. Discussions also further considered what the two organisations deemed as capacity gaps in light of the issues that were brought out in the preliminary examination. Two FDGs were held separately with the participants from the two organisations. The purpose of the FDGs was to chart a way forward in light of the information gathered. Several ideas were suggested by the participants. For example, participants suggested that the information obtained should simply be used to develop internal guidelines for future practice whilst others pushed for a training workshop to take place. Eventually the initial construction of the development of a training manual was agreed to by all participants.

After the FDGs, I developed an instrument where I had to ask the participants to rank the most challenging peacebuilding issues in their community work. A significant number of issues were raised. After a thorough process of reflection, discussion and clarification, we drew up a list of what the participants felt were the most challenging aspects to their everyday work. The following aspects received the most attention:

- Difficult government and traditional authorities
- Dealing with traumatised survivors of conflict
- Creating and maintaining safe peacebuilding environments especially in the rural communities
- Handling political diversity
- Cultural oppression
- Gender violence
- Evaluating effectiveness of peacebuilding interventions.

- Managing donor expectations.

The purpose was to develop the participants at three important levels:

- i) The personal level
- ii) The inter-personal level and
- iii) The organisational levels

The organisation of the training module reflected an attempt at developing a holistic individual with the ability to act in his or her own capacity whilst also developing effective organisations that would produce or at least facilitate the desired change among the communities that they served.

i) The Personal Level

From the FGDs as well as the follow up analysis, I realised that there was a need to work on the personal effectiveness of the participants in order to make them more competent. There were issues to do with communication skills, knowledge about the field of peacebuilding as well as the use of certain tools that needed perfection. Therefore, in identifying the modules for the training manual, I had to ensure that there was a balance between the individual skills needed in peacebuilding as well as the other skills of an inter-personal and organisational nature.

ii) The Interpersonal Level

Another issue that came out strongly was the need to develop strong inter-personal skills among the participants. Peacebuilding requires great teamwork, not only within the facilitating CSO(s), but even with other outside stakeholders. Such teamwork can only be nurtured if participants are able to sharpen their inter-personal skills. Interpersonal skills have to be situated in the conflict context or environment. Interpersonal skills must relate to the social, political, religious and cultural dynamics within the field of peacebuilding.

iii) The Organisational Level

This came out as a critical issue during the FGDs. During the discussions, the two participating organisations revealed that they did not have conflict sensitive tools or policies and also that they did not have formal impact evaluation tools for the projects that they were working on in the communities. To add to that; the participants also indicated that they did not have an ethical policy on peacebuilding activities that they were carrying out. It is against this

background that we agreed with the ART that there was need to raise sensitivity on issues impacting negatively on organisational effectiveness in the training module.

Any project requires careful planning. Peacebuilding is especially complex because of the sensitive nature of the subject and thus requires proper planning and attention to all sensitive issues.

9.7 The Training Module

The information that was gathered during the FGDs with the ART was then used to develop a training module that would help bridge the skills gap that would link the participants to the peacebuilding environment in the two districts of Mazowe and Bindura. The contents of the training manual were adapted from other sources like CAMP and SAFERWORLD (2014) Caritas Training Manual (2002) and Schirch (2013). However the activities were derived from real conflicts affecting the two districts of Mazowe and Bindura so as to give the training a local context. The only difference was in the nature of activities undertaken during training as well as the organisation of the module. Due attention was given to five thematic issues that emerged during FGDs and interviews with the CSOs and these were then developed into modules. These were; Module 1: Perspectives on Conflict, Violence and Peace, Module 2: Listening and Communication Skills in Peacebuilding, Module 3: Conflict Sensitivity, Module 4: Culture, Conflict and Change and Module 5: Counselling Skills for Peacebuilders. The objectives of the training module were tailored to meet the focus of the intervention that was to develop relevant skills necessary for the work of the two participating organisations.

9.8 The Objectives for the Training Intervention

The following objectives were agreed on regarding the purpose of the intervention:

- ❖ To introduce the participants to the basic conceptual parameters of peacebuilding;
- ❖ To identify the basic conflict analysis tools available as well as to identify appropriate use;
- ❖ Analyse and link indigenous conflict transformation strategies and contemporary approaches;
- ❖ To develop conflict sensitive instruments in peacebuilding and
- ❖ To develop basic counselling skills among CSOs working in conflict zones.

9.9 Training Philosophy

The module was built on the core values of local ownership, responsiveness, sensitivity and ingenuity. The training aimed at responding to an immediate need and to plug the competency gaps that were highlighted during the preliminary exercise. It was noted that the conflict in the two districts was a largely political conflict that was unique and driven by serious levels of polarisation. The preliminary study also noted that other than the political conflict, the communities were also experiencing continuous tension as a result of land distribution and access to state-loans. Popular approaches to peacebuilding such as LPCs and Workshops had been useful but had undermined by intervening factors.

Local Ownership

The aspect of local ownership was an important component of the intervention. An important consideration was that the conflicts in the two districts required a well thought out intervention strategy that was sensitive to the local needs. Therefore, the major driving philosophy was to develop a module that would ensure local ownership and ensure responsiveness, sensitivity and ingenuity regarding the prevailing issues. Local ownership has been misinterpreted to mean cultural aspects of the intervention. Indeed, culture maybe an aspect of local ownership but there is more to local ownership than culture. Local ownership refers to developing an intervention where the input of the local people takes centre stage. Taken in this context, the development of the training manual depended much on the input of the participants themselves as well as the observations that I made from the preliminary assessment of the peacebuilding environment in the two districts. The extensive study of the peacebuilding environment as well as the existing competencies among the participants helped to shape the scope as well as the contents of the training manual. This was a major departure from the use of generic content to develop the skills among peacebuilders. This was aimed at responding directly to challenges being faced in the field with a view to improving the work of the organisations.

The training departed from strict adherence to theoretical issues in peacebuilding and conflict transformation. Rather, it was a reflective process where the participants took time to reflect on their approaches with a view to critique, propose new approaches and to improve on existing current practices. Lederach (2003) underscores the importance of reflective pedagogies in peacebuilding as this allows participants to reflect on issues in a more practical way. He points out that peacebuilders must “demystify theories and remystify practice”. The overall aim from this philosophical approach was to equip the participants with the necessary

knowledge, attitudes and skills to address conflict in a given context, in this case Bindura and Mazowe Districts.

Knowledge, in this context, refers to the understanding of the nature of the conflict, the conflict environment, its impact on the various stakeholders. It also implies understanding the implication of certain actions as initiated by individuals or organisations on communities. In other words, knowledge in this context was taken to mean total understanding of the various social constructs and how they interact in generating or mitigating conflict in Mazowe and Bindura districts. Attitudes on the other hand related to how the participants could improve on their interaction skills and this included aspects like listening and communication skills, tolerance, trustworthiness and honesty and sensitivity to beliefs and traditions of various groups within the conflict. The targeted skills included those that would enable the participants to lobby and advocate effectively for certain change to happen, conflict handling skills (social and psychological) as well as cooperative problem solving.

9.10 Summary

This chapter focused on the stages that were taken in order to determine the intervention that was to be taken. This was as much a scientific process as it was consultative. I had to relate the already existing competencies among the participants to the peacebuilding environment as articulated in the previous two chapters. The participants, as I discovered, had considerable skills in peacebuilding. However, there was still a lot that needed to be done. The competency gaps were discussed at three levels; the personal, inter-personal and the organisational levels. I also discussed the philosophy and pedagogical issues informing the intervention. The intervention was a three-day training workshop and the approach was as participatory as it was reflective. The intention was to tap into the vast experiences that the participants already possessed and to use the reflection to inform and improve current practices whilst also mainstreaming international best-practices as well as culturally-responsive considerations. The next chapter is a detailed narrative of the training intervention.

Chapter 10: The Intervention (Training)

Module 10.1: Perspectives on Conflict, violence, Peace and conflict analysis

10.1.1 Introduction

The action research team comprised 12 members from the two participating organisations as outlined in chapter 9. As already highlighted in Chapter 9, the action research team contributed to the content and structure of the training intervention. This chapter therefore presents a detailed account of the training. This was the introductory module of the training module. The contents in the module were not entirely new to the participants. However, the pedagogy informing the training was that it was easier to start from the known towards the unknown. Most of the participants had indicated an understanding of the concepts underlying the practice in peacebuilding but the challenge was that there were some serious misconceptions regarding some of the concepts. Therefore, I felt that there was a need to come up with this module to allow for a re-conceptualization of some of the already popular concepts among the participants as well as to introduce relatively new concepts to the group. The module, therefore, aimed at developing a common understanding of conflict, violence and peace; to develop practical skills in the use of the selected conflict analysis tools; and to apply the concepts in real life situations. The approach included plenary discussions, group activities and presentations.

10.1.2 Session 1: Understanding the concepts

This initial session involved a lot of group activities and presentations. In small groups of three, the participants were assigned tasks (as outlined in the training manual) to work on issues of understanding conflict, violence and peace. The first assignment focused on the concept of conflict. Participants were assigned the following tasks:

- i) To define conflict
- ii) Identify the characteristics of conflict
- iii) Types of conflict
- iv) To identify the stages of a conflict

On the definition of conflict, interesting answers were given. Below are some of the answers that were listed:

- conflict as tension
- mismatch of ideas and expectations
- power struggles
- conflict as violence
- lack of communication
- oppression

Almost all the participants had something to say about the meaning of conflict. However, a popular notion that was presented by the participants and was rather misleading was that conflict was equal to violence. I had to facilitate, through further probing and discussion to try and make the participants realize that conflict is not equal to violence. The participants were reminded that conflict itself could be said to be neutral. It depended on what the conflict was about, and how people responded to the conflict. A negative response would lead to violence and a positive response would lead to constructive relationships, constructive criticism and respectful relationship. Therefore, the point to note was that conflict was not equal to violence. This was then linked to the characteristics of conflict and participants, with the constant probing and facilitation of myself as the trainer that conflict is neutral, ubiquitous (everywhere in life from an individual, family, community, institutions, states, regions and the international community) and more importantly that it is inevitable. It was also important to note that conflict is dynamic. It is not static and the nature and dynamic of any given conflict is always changing. This exercise was important for the participants and anyone who is doing peacebuilding work. It is important to know the conceptual differences of these important concepts as building blocks in the field of peacebuilding as this has a profound implication on the actual practice in peacebuilding.

Using the model by Fisher et al (2000) on conflict progression, the participants were asked to identify the stages of conflict and to relate these on the work that they are doing in the communities. The participants noted that the five stages of conflict according to Fisher, i.e. the pre-conflict, conflict, crisis, outcome and post-conflict stages were also important in analysing, planning, implementation and evaluation of conflict intervention. It was noted during deliberations that it is not easy to identify the stage at which the various conflicts that they were dealing with in the communities were because they often go back and forth. One participant, Tapera summed up this dilemma:

Dambudziko riripo nderekuti kazhinji kazhinji tinowanzosangana nedambudziko ratinenge tafungidzira kuti tapedza naro. Pane dzimwe nguva mapoka atinoshanda nawo vanouya vachinja pfungwa pane zvamunenge mawirirana. (We often find it difficult to make smooth sailing progress on the programmes that we are implementing. Sometimes you think you have covered certain aspects of the project only for the parties to come up with new positions altogether).

What this meant was simply the fact that addressing a conflict requires more patience and there are many setbacks. Peacebuilders must be ready to embrace these setbacks because they were only natural when dealing with a conflict. Besides, there was a tendency for conflict to manifest itself in different ways. Therefore, peacebuilding was not expected to be easy. One pertinent example that was given was that the noted the challenges that are now being presented by the Peace Committees that they are working with. They noted that when they initially started, they thought that they were going to be a sustainable solution to peacebuilding in the communities that they served. However, they soon realized that they now provided a new challenge. Another participant, Tamuka had this to say about the peace committees:

Patakatanga nemacommittees aya taifunga kuti zvaizobatsira nharaunda dzatinoshandira nenyaya yekuti vanhu vakawanda vaipinda maari. But now taane dambudziko rekuti madzishe akutsigirana nevatsigiri a rimwe remapato arimo mumacommittees aya zvobva zvaunza victimization. (when we pioneered the idea of peace committees in these two districts we were convinced that the concept would be a success since it involved members from across the political divide, traditional leaders as well as ordinary members from the communities but alas, this was not to be as current dynamics have shown that fault lines have developed and thus leading to victimization).

I had to challenge the participants to try and use the conflict progression tool to try and find answers as to how they could respond to these challenges so as to bring about positive change.

10.1.3 Understanding types of conflict

After the activities to understand conflict and conflict progression, the participants were then tasked to identify the forms of conflict. The activities were drawn from the module and participants were asked to identify harmony, latent, surface and open conflict and to try and understand the relationship among the four forms of conflict. The participants were given the conflict squares as part of their group activities. The participants found the activity to be familiar

but as bringing new insights. One group argued that harmony and latent forms of conflict could be easily misunderstood.

The main purpose of this exercise was to enable participants to apply their understanding of the concept of conflict and reflect on how the various forms of conflict manifest. The participants had to look at the characteristics of each of the four forms of conflict. The table below summarizes some of the ideas that came from the participants.

Table 6.1: Understanding Conflict

Form of Conflict	Characteristics
Harmony	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • good relationships • tolerance and understanding of each other • Tranquillity • Order
Latent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • there is underlying tension but no obvious signs of a conflict • constrained communication lines • development of attitudes
Surface	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • breakdown in communication • open hostilities • plotting
Open Conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • killing • abductions • rape and sexual abuse • destruction of property • displacement • refugees • Hunger and poverty as a result of the poverty.

Source: Fieldwork Notes

This session was relatively easy and straight forward as participants now had a broader understanding of the concept of conflict itself.

10.1.4 Session 2: Understanding violence

The session focused on the meaning of violence and how it relates to conflict and peace. I used the same approach that we used when discussing conflict. Participants were divided into

small groups of three again. Participants were asked to provide responses on the meaning of violence. Some of the responses are listed below:

- Beatings
- Military intimidation
- Denial of basic freedoms
- Militia violence
- Verbal abuse

The dimensions of violence that were given largely related to the contextual experiences that the participants have met with in their peacebuilding work. The participants mentioned that intimidation and harassment by the military as well as beatings and harassment by the youth militia were the popular forms of violence in the areas that they worked in. The participants noted that the mention of 'MaBorder Gezi'⁴ in the communities always brought unpleasant recollections of the suffering that the communities had endured at the hands of these marauding vigilante groups. Their conceptualisation of violence was thus largely informed by the notion of direct violence. I had to give the participants a broader conceptualization by bringing in the three forms of violence as proposed by Galtung (1996). I had to challenge the participants to think beyond direct violence and to also think seriously about structural and cultural violence and to understand the interplay between these three forms of violence. The groups were thus tasked to identify at least two examples per category of violence.

Table 10.2: Group Responses on Violence

Group	Direct violence	Structural violence	Cultural violence
Group 1	-Verbal abuse -War	-Police brutality -Segregation on political party affiliation lines	-Practice of <i>kuripa ngozi</i> -Early marriages
Group 2	-assault -torture	- lack of basic social services -poverty and hunger	-gender discrimination - female genital mutilation and circumcision
Group 3	-physical and verbal assault -War	- Hunger -Poverty	-cultural practices that derive certain groups of their rights

⁴ MaBorder Gezi refers to the products of the flawed National Youth Service Training Programme that was instituted by the ZANU PF government in the early 2000s. There were youth training camps across all districts in Zimbabwe. However, the programme became so unpopular because the trainees were used to perpetuate violence against perceived enemies of the state. These acts of violence were all purportedly done in the interest of state sovereignty.

Group 4	-Physical abuse -emotional and physical torture	-Hunger -Discrimination	- <i>Kuripa ngozi</i> - <i>Chiramu</i>

Examples of the different forms of violence in Mazowe and Bindura Districts

The triangle (Galtung's violence model) helped the participants to process the information that they already knew although several of them struggled to make a distinction of some of the issues raised. Anenyasha had this to say:

Nguva zhinji ndaitarisa nyaya yekurohwa kwevanhu nekuuraiwa ndichitoti ndodambudziko guru ratinero mumacommunities atinoshandira. Asi ikozvino ndarangeridzwa kuti nyaya yemastructures ine chekuita mukushunguridzwa kweveruzhinji. Pada zvimwe kurohwa kukatova kushoma (For a very long time I had always believed that violence in Zimbabwe has always been largely direct, characterized by clashes between rival political parties. However, I have just realized that structural violence is equally widespread and a bigger threat to sustainable peacebuilding).

This confession underlined the fact that whilst the concept is popular, there are many misconceptions that peace practitioners need to deal with. There is a tendency to concentrate on the presenting challenge of direct violence. Nevertheless, it is important to also understand that direct violence is also probably a symptom of structural and cultural configurations and practices. The abuse of state facilities in Zimbabwe for example has made it possible for the same regime to turn the state apparatus against its citizens. However, the initial impression among the participants when the concept of violence was introduced was that direct violence was the most damaging of the three forms of violence in Zimbabwe. Direct violence in Zimbabwe is usually prevalent in the run-up towards elections as well as during and immediately after. Consequently, peace practitioners would have to ask themselves questions as to what was the context (structure) perpetuating this violence and how this could be transformed as well.

There is a greater interplay between structural, cultural and direct violence. The culture of impunity in Zimbabwe is the major reason why there is direct violence during election times in Zimbabwe. The culture of impunity is driven by state structures that protect certain individuals at the expense of the majority.

There was also interesting mention of a cultural practice linked to the conflicts in the two districts. The practice of *kuripa ngozi*⁵ is an old age practice in many Shona communities. Although the practice is slowly coming to an end owing to constitutional constraints as well as sustained human rights campaigns by rights groups, it has not actually disappeared. Sometimes the practice is done discretely. The communities across many districts in Zimbabwe still strongly believe that if a person is killed in cold blood, his or her spirit will come back to haunt the families of the killer. This widespread fear of avenging spirits has seen the practice of *kuripa ngozi* withstanding the passage of time up to the present day. Further discussion on this practice is done in Module 4, which focuses on Culture, Conflict and Peace. Yet, it might be interesting to note that the issue of *kuripa ngozi* is topical in the two communities as there was a lot of blood shed especially during the June 2008 election re-run. Several people were killed during this period. It is, however, not possible to mention the names for ethical reasons.

10.1.5 Session 3: Understanding Peace

I continued with Galtung's (1996) useful model in order for the participants to understand conflict, violence and peace. In this particular session the focus was on peace. The idea was to understand negative and positive peace. This was a relatively easy assignment for the participants. Participants were asked to conceptualize peace using the notions of negative and positive peace. The participants were then asked to give practical examples and illustrations. The examples and illustrations had to be linked to the work that they were doing in the communities that they worked in.

Table 10.3: Perspectives on Peace

Negative Peace in Bindura and Mazowe Districts	Positive Peace
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People living in fear • Forced order and tranquillity • Intimidation and threats of violence making people to be submissive and thus appearing as if there is order • Threats of eviction from the farms so that people can vote in a particular pattern 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to land • Sustainable agriculture • Harmonious co-existence in some areas especially when it's not election times.

⁵ Kuripa ngozi, is a practice in shone culture were if a person kills another, he or she is expected to compensate the family of the deceases. This can happen in the form of payment of cattle or in extreme circumstances the sacrifice of a girl child (usually a virgin) to appease the avenging spirits of the deceased.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of poverty and hunger as a tool to control the masses • Use of lack of information on basic rights being used to intimidate and abuse the communities. • Abuse of traditional leaders 	
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Source: Fieldwork training notes

Not surprisingly, all the groups had more issues to report under negative peace than positive peace. They all noted that the peace that is currently prevailing in Zimbabwe is negative and that quite often it reverts to violence when the nation switches to election mode. Taedzwa observed that:

Runyararro rwatinarwo rwuripo kubudikidza nekutya. Vakawanda vanotya kutaura zviripamoyo pavo nenyaya yezvinozovavinga mushure mekunge vataura. Plus runyararo urwu harusi rwemazua ese. Kana yasvika nguva yemaelections tinenge tadzoka kuviolece (The peace that is prevailing in Zimbabwe is largely as a result of fear as many people are afraid to speak out their minds for fear of reprisal. This artificial peace often regresses to violence during election times).

The people were silent and orderly not because they were happy and satisfied but primarily because of serious intimidation, fear and constant threats of violence. This has affected the country's efforts to move to the ideals of positive peace. Whilst I concede that attaining total peace (positive) is largely idealistic, it is however, noteworthy that there are certain minimum levels that are acceptable. The UNDP Human Development Report (1994) underscored the need for ensuring 'freedom from fear and freedom from want' as building blocks for sustainable human security and with this sustainable peace and human development. The communities under study were still a long way from achieving the ideals of positive peace. The people lived in fear and were vulnerable as they could hardly afford basic necessities for their daily needs. There was need to work tirelessly, therefore, on the structures that were sustaining violence in these two communities. But how were these identified? The next session focused on selected conflict analysis tools in order to help strengthen the skills on the participants in coming up with effective intervention strategies through a deeper understanding of the issues.

10.1.6 Session 4: selected conflict analysis tools

This was the fourth and last session of the module. The aim was to revisit the conflict analysis tools that were available for use in their work. The participants were all familiar with some of

the tools but there was a compelling need to get more grounding in some selected tools as they had a profound effect on the work that they were doing. For this particular session, the participants were put in the groups representing their organizational affiliation. The reason was to allow the organizations to critically reflect on how they analyse conflicts and develop interventions. The participants were given materials and guidelines as outlined in the training manual. The selected tools were the ABC Triangle, the Mapping (Graphic illustration) framework and the Tree diagram. The participants were asked to identify any three conflicts that they were currently working on and to try and use the guidelines as provided to track the dynamics of the conflict. The emphasis was on ensuring a critical reflection on the conflicts that the participants were working on in their respective organizations.

The participants came up with interesting comments on the conflicts. The topical issues that were brought to the fore are listed below:

- Community healing and forgiveness
- Access to state-assisted resources including vending stalls and youth loans
- Social accountability in local government institutions
- Involvement of traditional leaders in local government institutions
- Workshop mobilization and participation by local villagers
- Women participation in decision making and peacebuilding.

The two groups were given an opportunity to use the tools to work through each of the conflicts that they had identified. This was an interesting exercise as most of the participants again realized that it was not easy to use the seemingly easy tools to come up with a definite understanding of the conflict. The purpose of the exercise was to provide the participants ample time to apply the tools in mapping real life conflicts.



Participant presenting on one of the Conflict Tools

Source: Training workshop Photos

These remarks from the participants demonstrated the extent to which proper mapping of conflicts is often taken for granted. The tendency among the many CSOs working on peace-related projects is to design projects that are sellable to the donor community at the expense of projects informed by the realities on the ground. One participant revealed that most of their projects must suit the expectations of the funders for them to be assured of some funding. Effective peacebuilding work is centred on the proper diagnosis of the issues underlying the conflict, the drivers and the actors. This will provide a clear outlook of what needs to be done. Conflict analysis tools are important instruments towards achieving this ideal. It is only through a meticulous process of analysing a conflict that those organizations can be able to design effective and conflict-sensitive interventions (conflict-sensitive approaches and designing will be presented and discussed in module three).

The implications of the aspects covered in the module were to equip the participants with the relative peacebuilding techniques necessary for their work. Asked to identify major learning lessons from the module, the participants contributed the following:

- Better understanding of the conceptual and contextual meaning of conflict, violence and peace.
- The participants also noted that they now had a major understanding of the community conflicts that they are working on.
- Realized the importance of thorough conflict analysis in peacebuilding and that analysis provides a deeper understanding of the conflict and will help determine the strategies for transforming the conflict.
- Helps to identify the actors (both the obvious and the invisible actors in the conflict).
- Conflict analysis is a demanding process that requires due diligence and patience.
- That it is very easy to go along sentimental notions whilst ignoring the real issues regarding the conflict.

As I indicated earlier on, this module was introductory and only picked on a few selected topics as determined by the pre-training needs assessment. The issues covered are not comprehensive as they only related to the operational challenges that the two participating organizations presented during the problem identification exercise. The next module was on listening and communication skills for Peacebuilders.



Group Activities

Source: Training workshop Photos

10.2 Module 2: Listening and Communication Skills for Peacebuilders

10.2.1 Introduction

My initial impressions were that this aspect of peacebuilding was now over-subscribed. Much effort has been channelled into the aspect of peacebuilding training. However, the preliminary assessment of the peacebuilding work of the two organizations revealed that there is need to sharpen the skills of the participants in listening and communication skills. I felt there was a huge gap in terms of listening and communication skills. Some of the materials were borrowed from Fisher et al (2000). The objectives of the module were thus to; analyse the importance of listening and communication skills in conflict transformation and peacebuilding, identify barriers to effective communication and; examine the principles underpinning effective

listening and effective communication. The emphasis was to discuss listening and communication skills in a peacebuilding context.

10.2.2 Session 1: the concepts- Listening and communication

The participants set in a circular arrangement and as a brainstorming exercise, all participants were asked to pick a card from a basket. The cards had terms relating to listening and communication in peacebuilding. Every participant was given an opportunity to explain what he or she thought about the concept written on the card he or she picked. This was an exciting entry point into the module as a lot of interesting perspectives were brought into the discussion. Interestingly, most of the participants were able to relate the concepts to the scope of the session. They were able to explain the meaning of communication, at least in general terms.

As the facilitator, I had to guide the discussion so that participants would focus on the various aspects of communication as well as relating them to peacebuilding. I had to emphasize that communication was not merely the exchange of information. I had to challenge the participants to think creatively as to how effective communication can be linked to cultural, religious, political and technological variations. The purpose was to make the participants realize that communication always happens in a specific context and that as peace practitioners it was of paramount importance to realize this. I also had to remind the participants that both verbal and non-verbal forms of communication are important in an effort to understand the meaning of certain actions.

10.2.3 Session 2: Barriers to effective communication

After the initial session which was aimed at understanding the meaning and forms of listening and communication the participants were then divided into small groups of three. The purpose was to help the participants reflect on their everyday work and to see if they could pick on some of the barriers to effective communication in the context of peacebuilding. The participants were later given an opportunity to present on their deliberations. There were a total of four groups and below are some of the factors identified.

Table 10.4: Barriers to Communication as discussed in the groups

Group	Identified barriers
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Group 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of confidence • Political tension • Fear and anxiety • religion
Group 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fear • Polarization • Anger and emotions • Lack of confidence
Group 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fear and intimidation • Lack of understanding of basic rights and responsibilities • Religion • culture
Group 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fear as a result of previous experiences • Intimidation • Cultural orientation • Environment (especially political)

Source: Training Workshop Notes

From the answers that were presented by each group, it was clear that they were all contextual and related to the social, political and economic environment in which the two organizations operated in. A popular factor that was identified was fear. The participants noted that fear was a common characteristic in the communities that they operated in. they noted that extreme fear has meant that individuals and communities find it difficult to open up on issues during workshops and other community based initiatives. The participant pointed out that fear was usually prevalent in the run up to national and local government plebiscites. This relates the observation by Paine and Smith (2008:1) who argue that fear has become a motif for the human condition in the 21st century. Mazowe and Bindura Districts, just like any other district in the province have experienced serious epochs of violence that have left a trail of fear and uncertainty in the hearts and minds of many of the villagers. These experiences are in many cases traumatic (the aspects of trauma and emotional healing are discussed in detail in Module 5).

The fear which is characteristic of the communities around the two districts is a well calculated scheme by the incumbent ZANU PF government. The use of scare tactics to intimidate and dominate have been a major tool of the governing party in Zimbabwe. Commenting on the wide spread use of terror tactics against citizens, Paine and Smith (2008:1) observed that “bombarding the world with messages about new and renewed risks allows governments to capitalize on fears by governing through beliefs, behaviours and assent of the neurotic

citizens.” The pre-dominantly political conflict in Zimbabwe has had many narratives from different perspectives. The official government narrative is that the country is under siege from its erstwhile colonial masters and that there are neo-colonial machinations aimed at reversing the gains of the liberation struggle as well as those of the land reform programme. Consequently, the government often finds it prudent to use brute force (including the suppression of the will of the citizens) in the interest of the national interest. So this narrative about renewed threats to the country’s hard won independence have led to the use of terror tactics and more importantly an emotional appeal to the country’s liberation veterans and the youths to guard their country jealously. To this effect, violence in the eyes of the authorities can be condoned because it is for a national cause.

The aspect of fear is also compounded by the fact that the country’s intelligence network is ever present at the meetings that the two participating organizations conduct in the two districts. The participants lamented this arrangement and one of them, Anesu said:

Chimwe chinowedzera fear futi ndechekuti pese patinoita maactivities mumacommunities vekwaPresident vanenge varipo. Saka vanhu vanotya kutaura nenhau yekukuti vanotya kuti zvavanotaura zvinozoshandiswa kuvapnicha (Another contributory factor is that the members from the President’s Office better known as the Central Intelligence Organisation always maintain a heavy presence where ever we go and members always feel intimidated to express their feelings).

This issue of the presence of security personnel from the president’s office was also linked to intimidation which was also raised as a factor that was affecting effective communication at grassroots level. The participants noted that even on occasions where members of the president’s office mean well, communities felt uneasy and intimidated to express themselves. The issues that were discussed at these workshops were sensitive and people would not want to risk their lives by opening up in the presence of unknown security personnel.

The participants indicated that other than obtaining police clearance, they still had to be ‘escorted’ by a member(s) from the president’s office to all their activities in the communities. They said this was a security requirement and failure to do this had serious repercussions on the activities of the organization. They noted that in many cases, members from the president’s office acted as the advance team whenever and wherever they were having activities.

The issue of fear was also linked to the political polarization currently gripping the country. There was a general lack of trust of anyone who brought sensitive political issues into the communities. This general lack of trust was a great barrier to effective communication as well

as the process of peacebuilding because communication lays the foundation for effective and sustainable peacebuilding processes.

The issue of fear in Zimbabwean communities was underscored in the findings of a survey by the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (2015). The survey noted that the majority of ordinary citizens in Zimbabwe, especially those in the rural areas are afraid to discuss human rights issues. This has not been helped by incidents of violence across the country as well as the apparent involvement of state security institutions.

Other barriers to effective communication that were noted included cultural and religious issues. One group tried to elaborate the interface between culture, religion and communication. They noted that each time they work with women; they always face cultural and religious challenges. Tafadzwa noted that:

Vakadzi vakawanda havana confidence dzekunatsotaura zviripamoyo pavo nemhaka yekukura kwavakaita uye machurch echipositori avanoenda. Kwakawanda kwacho havabvumirwe kuparidza kana kuita vatungamiri vekereke. Kana vasvika kumba zvakare uye munharaunda varume ndivo vanotonga futi (Women in the communities have had their confidence to express themselves taken away from them because of the way they are brought up. You will realize that in Mashonaland Central, most rural communities subscribe to African Apostolic sects and at these churches, women are not allowed to preach or occupy leadership positions. This has a profound effect on their confidence and when asked to express themselves, they often struggle. This is further compounded by the situation at home and in the community in general which is male-dominated).

I will not dwell much on cultural issues as these issues are discussed later on in Module Four. But from a communication perspective, it is important to understand these barriers and to think creatively of ways of mitigating them in order to ensure effective peacebuilding.

The participants also noted that the communities sometimes resorted to silence. This silence was regarded as a healing procedure although it was damaging to one's emotional wellbeing. According to the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (1997: 25) in Shona⁶ they say 'kunyarara kunokunda kuraura' meaning that nothing beats silence or that silence is golden. Dodo, Nyoni and Makwerere (2013:1) noted that 'silence has often been associated with the coward, ignorant or the weaker party that fears that continued arguments can invite more conflicts which they are not able to contain.' The participants noted that they often meet with

⁶ Shona is the language that is widely spoken in Mashonaland East, Central, West, Manicaland, Masvingo, Harare and some parts of the Midlands provinces.

scenarios were participants from the communities often choose to remain silent even when it is apparent that they have a substantial contribution to make.

A major learning point for the participants was that there were significant barriers in the field of peacebuilding. It was not easy to facilitate communication because it required skill, patience and persuasion to facilitate the opening up of those locked up in silence.

10.2.4 Session 3: strategies for effective listening and communication

The third and final session for module two was on how to develop effective listening and communication skills. The participants were again divided into small groups of three. I had to ensure that the previous groups were not maintained. This was to allow for effective cross-pollination of ideas across all members of the group and to guard against the development of small cliques that would affect the wider group dynamics. The activities were almost similar to the previous tasks where participants would identify their strategies and present them on flip charts and then allow for a class discussion.

Table 10.5: Strategies for effective listening

	Strategy
Group 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be friendly • Concentrate and demonstrate that you are listening • The environment must be conducive • Pick the body language and expression
Group 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be considerate • Do not be judgmental • Allow the participant to tell his or her story without interruption
Group 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Listen attentively and paraphrase to gain clarity of issues • Clarify the problems with the participant or participants • Follow non-verbal clues
Group 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Listen attentively • Follow body language and gestures • The environment must be good • You must not intimidate the participant/client

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Show empathy
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Source: Workshop Notes

The exercise was relatively easy for most of the participants. They were able to pick on some of the important considerations for effective listening. The participants in the four groups gave near-similar answers on the strategies needed for ensuring effective listening. I had to refer the participants to the module for more activities and considerations for effective communication.

One of the key considerations that received significant attention during the plenary session was the choice of the environment especially in the context of peacebuilding. I reminded the participants that a certain venue can appear very appropriate for a workshop or peacebuilding activity but at the same time bring traumatic experiences to some of the participants. At the height of the Zimbabwean political conflict in 2008, youth vigilante and militia groups set up torture camps around the communities. The camps were not set up deep in the forests; they were set up at community boreholes, shops, dip tanks and other conventional places where villagers regularly meet. Thus, it was very easy for CSOs to identify these places as appropriate venues to carry out their peacebuilding and other community initiatives. Such venues could easily trigger traumatic experiences among some participants and thus blocking effective communication and participation. Participants need to feel safe and above all not to be distracted when telling their story.

The participants also reflected on the need to avoid leading discussions. The group was in agreement that participants must be allowed a chance to tell their story without prejudice. There was a tendency by many facilitators to try and relate the experiences of one victim to those of others whom they would have dealt with before. The emphasis was that victims or survivors of violent conflicts experienced the ordeal differently even with the same amount of torture or violation of human rights. Hence, it was essential for CSO members to allow for narratives to be told without undue interruption.

Other skills that were discussed and borrowed from the module included:

- Not getting emotionally entangled in the narratives and experiences of the participant.
- Avoiding being judgmental and using stock phrases like 'it was bad', 'I understand you very well.'
- To be able to empathize as opposed to sympathize.
- Not to interrogate or give advice.

10.2.5 Levels of Listening

The last activity of the session focused on levels of listening. The participants were asked to maintain the same groups from the previous task. The participants were given a task from the module and were asked to read and understand the four levels of listening. The participants were then asked to provide practical examples per each level. Each group was asked to focus on specific level and to report their findings. Below is a synthesis of the responses.

Table 10.6: Levels of Listening

Group	Level of Listening	What it means
Group 1	The Head	Be able to appreciate the meaning of the conflict at the individual, family, community and national and international levels. Peacebuilders must be able to appreciate conflict in its concentric circles. Triggers and drivers of conflict are often contextual with a huge inclination on historical antecedents. It is therefore important to understand the contextual meaning of a conflict and what it means to various actors in the conflict. The group noted that the perspectives on the Zimbabwean conflict totally differ depending on which category of people you are talking to. For example, members of the ruling ZANU PF Party believe the conflict is a continuous struggle for the emancipation of black people through the repossession of land and other means of production. Other groups argue to say it's a struggle for democracy against an unjust and undemocratic system. This is all important when trying to listen to the causes of a conflict. The understanding of a conflict must also include cultural dimensions (including religious beliefs and values) the key question here is what the cause of the conflict is? What are the drivers of the conflict?
Group 2	The Heart	Communication here must endeavour to understand the effect of the conflict. The purpose is to understand the meaning as derived from emotions and feelings of those affected by the conflict. Active listening skills must help peace practitioners to understand their clients by listening to their true feelings and how these

		feelings are blocking both the individual and the wider community from achieving sustainable peace. This is an important level of listening and requires a special art and patience. Sometimes feelings are hidden in emotions and thus people can be easily misled by emotions that are exhibited by the participant. It is therefore important to be able to separate feelings from emotions.
Group 3	The stomach	The group noted that Peacebuilders must be able to distinguish between basic human needs and other psychosocial aspects of a conflict. The group noted that human needs are of immediate concern and will require immediate fulfilment. The participants noted that it is important to deal with people whose immediate human needs are met so as to ensure effective listening and communication. The group noted that in many cases participants come to the workshops because they are guaranteed of a meal and possibly a t-shirt. The group noted that this was in a way a manifestation of human needs in the form of food and clothing.
Group 4	The Feet	This part encourages participants to be able to listen effectively what the conflict parties want. For example, they noted that the communities that they work with wanted compensation of their livestock which they lost in the name of 'war' in 2008. Others have said they want acknowledgement and forgiveness of the wrongs done. This connects with the fact that Peacebuilders should not impose solutions on the conflict parties. There is need to understand the wishes of the people. Sometimes these wishes do not come out clearly but if practitioners listen attentively, they will get to know the wishes of the people.

Source: Training Activities

This proved to be an insightful session as the exercise exposed the participants to the technical aspects of listening in peacebuilding. The four levels were an eye-opener to most of the participants. One participant was quick to note that this was useful and in a way closely connected to conflict analysis, an activity that we had done in the previous module. The participants appreciated the relevance of the module and some had this to say:

Yaaa iyi activity yandionesa zvakawanda. Dai tatine nguva I would have loved kuita mastages acho elistening ese. It's so challenging but zvobatsira and am realizing kuti zvinofambirana zvakanyanya neexercise yeconflict analysis yataita kuseneni (This is a very insightful activity and time permitting, I would have loved the challenge of doing all the four stages. It is very useful and I am realizing it is also closely connected to the conflict analysis session which we did earlier in the morning), Tarumbidzwa

Izvi zvakakosha for sure. Ndandisingazive kuti nyaya iyi yakakosha kudai (This is all very important. I did not realise that you one needs to employ the different techniques for effective communication), Anenyasha

Listening is a way of processing the causes, dynamics and possible settlement of a conflict. The four levels of listening provide the peacebuilder with an opportunity to process all this. Another participant indicated that the four levels should be integral in understanding their work environment as peace practitioners and to understand the need to tap from the communities when trying to find sustainable solutions to conflict and violence. On reflection, the participant noted that the challenges that they are facing with the Local Peace Committees was probably because the concept was brought to the communities by the CSOs. There was, however, debate on this notion as some of the participants noted that the LPCs were not a settlement issue but a tool to facilitate peace and development in the areas that they operate in. However, in the final analysis, participants noted that the LPCs might pose a problem as they were not in sync with the cultural and political configurations of the communities within which they were set up.

10.2.6 Major learning points from the module

The module was generally successful. Participants indicated that they had enjoyed the session. Below are some of the major learning points as indicated by the participants:

- I am happy to have covered this module and it has really enhanced my understanding of the role of communication in peacebuilding.
- I was particularly interested by the session on the four levels of listening. The session opened my eyes and minds to how best we can process information by dividing it into various levels and thus deriving useful contextual meanings to each of the levels.
- Another participant noted that the session was particularly important as it empowered the group on communication skills to handle both large groups as well as small groups.

The participant noted that although he and other participants had basic communication skills, they had lacked a contextual application of these skills in some instances.

- Another participant noted that everything covered in the module was particularly interesting but lamented the limited time allocated to some of the activities, especially the one on the four levels of listening.

The session was highly successful. The exchange of ideas was done in a free and relaxed environment and the participants always demonstrated great enthusiasm. We also took time to reflect on the day's proceedings and there were no major concerns from the participant. The only major issue was that the second module on communication skills for peacebuilders may have required more time. The session ended around 1700 hours.

10.3 Module 3: Conflict sensitive programming in peacebuilding

10.3.1 Introduction

Inspired by the conflicts that I picked between the participating organizations, as well as the communities that they worked in; this module focused on the need for conflict sensitivity. The notes for the module were largely adapted from Schirch (2013) and Anderson (1999). The main reason why this module was included in the training manual was because the two participating organizations reported serious challenges that they were facing when dealing with government authorities as well as the local communities. Further to that, the community individuals who participated in the FGDs also reported that they sometimes feel exposed by associating with these CSOs an issue that was emanating from the fact that the relationship between the participating organizations and the government was strained. Consequently, the aim of this module was to introduce participants to the concept of conflict sensitivity and to develop strategies for coming up with conflict assessment tools within their organizations.

The module was divided into three sessions, the first one looked at the concept of conflict sensitivity, the second one focused on a practical exercise of mapping stakeholders and how they influence a peacebuilding programme and the third one involved developing a practical guide for conflict-sensitive programming. The approaches to the module included plenary sessions, group activities, presentations and mapping exercises. The participants had to work in two groups representing their organizational affiliation. This was done in order to allow the participants to reflect on what they were already doing at organizational level.

The objectives of the module were thus to:

- Enable participants to understand conflict sensitivity and to mainstream conflict sensitive approaches in their peacebuilding work.
- To use conflict analysis tools from module one in order to develop conflict sensitive tools in their daily work
- Understanding the key considerations in the designing of peacebuilding and development in a manner that does not entrench undesirable aspects of conflict.
- Design a sample conflict-sensitive instrument for their respective organizations.



Being Part of the Group: Myself, seated third from the Left, listening to a presentation

Source: Workshop Photos

10.3.2 Session 1: What is conflict sensitivity and why conflict sensitivity in peacebuilding?

The first session was a plenary discussion on the meaning of conflict sensitivity. So I had to ask the participants to share their understanding of the concept. Although the participants had an idea of the concept, almost all the participants noted that they had not really probed this at an organizational level. They also conceded that they don't have conflict sensitivity instruments at an organizational level. However, most of the participants gave reasonable answers relating to the meaning of conflict sensitivity. Below is a list of some of the ideas that came up:

- Conflict sensitivity relates to being able to do your work without violating other people's rights or without violating cultural and group rights.
- Being able to respect the rights of both people and the environment.
- Working within the confines of one's own mandate.
- Being truthful- maintaining the truth even if it hurts the wellbeing of the organization and the communities that you are serving.
- Timely intervention to avoid unnecessary loss of life and property.
- Being apolitical.

These were the most common responses from the participants. However, I noted that whilst the answers were relevant to what we intended to cover in the module, they were rather abstract and the participants appeared to struggle to link their responses to previous modules and sessions especially the one on conflict analysis. I had to briefly explain the concept as well as help the participants identify the relationship between the module and the session on conflict analysis from module one. I had to explain that conflict sensitivity is an important part in peacebuilding as it provides the guidance and direction of what must be done and that which must not be done in a conflict environment. I had to explain that sensitivity requires understanding of the social, political, economic, cultural and technological context of the project intervention. It is related to organizational policy and intervention strategies in a particular context.

The participants were then given some questions to guide their reflection. The questions were adapted from Schirch (2013: 7). These were:

- Where will you work?
- Who will you work with?
- Why will you do what you will do?
- What will you do?
- How will you shift power sources in support of peace?
- When is the best timing for your peacebuilding efforts?

These questions were meant to trigger a reflection by the participants regarding their peacebuilding projects in the two districts that they are working in. this was an important exercise as the participants were forced to critically look at the work that they are doing or that they had already done, the stakeholders whom they work with and more importantly the environment in which they work. The participants demonstrated noteworthy enthusiasm and most of them indicated that this particular exercise was a very relevant one as it related to the challenges they faced in their everyday working environment.



Monitoring participants in one of the group activities, Source: Workshop Photos

I had to remind the participants that one of the complaints that came from the local participants in the FGDs was that they were now being victimized for their participation in some of the activities organized by the two organizations. I gave them the example of a group of young women who reported that they were constantly being threatened with eviction from a resettlement area because of their continued association with one of the organizations. The implication here was that the organizations may have overlooked the dynamics of the conflict and failed to exercise due diligence when implementing the activities in the communities. The complaints that were registered were also that the same participants benefited from the

various CSOs that operated in their area and therefore, some community members were simply becoming jealous.

I also had to challenge the participants to think critically about the LPCs. The LPCs have been celebrated as bringing sustainable peace in many parts of the world, Eastern Europe, Asia, South America and some parts of Africa like Ghana. They had become a fashionable tool and in their honest belief, the two participating organizations thought they would also make a huge impact in Mazowe and Bindura Districts. On paper; they were good because they appeared to be inclusive and sensitive to the cultural beliefs and practices of the communities. Nonetheless, their practice had some unintended effects in the communities of Mazowe and Bindura. As noted by Schirch (2013: 32) intervening in conflicts can easily lead to unintended effects.

Kuziva observed that:

MaLPC aya ari right asi after this exercise ndinoona sekunge asinganatsoita mucontext yetiri nenyaya yepolitics. Dambudziko nderekuti madzishe arikupihwawo mhosva yekushungurudza vanhu. Asi dai pasina nyaya yekuti vanhu vanotya madzishe pamwe zvaizofamba. Manje iye zvino vanhu vanongonyepedzera kufara nezviripo but chokwadi ndechekuti vanhu Havana kukanganwirana and hapana runyararo (the LPCs are a good initiative but perhaps taken in a wrong context. The Zimbabwean conflict is driven and sustained by structures and institutions affiliated to government and the fact that traditional leaders are a part of this structure has made it difficult to realize sustainable peace. People are being forced to celebrate and 'enjoy' peace because of the traditional respect accorded to the traditional chiefs but in actual fact there is no peace, at least in the positive sense).

This was an honest assessment of the work of the two organizations. The purpose of the module was to help them reflect on some of these popular misconceptions and help them redevelop the necessary skills and capacity to confront the challenges that they meet in the field of peacebuilding. There is need for local ownership, participation and consultation if the ideals of conflict sensitivity are to be upheld. Schirch (2013: 16) offers a succinct comment about this;

Insiders (local communities) are not just victims or implementers of someone else's peacebuilding plans. They are key actors contributing to conflict assessment and peacebuilding. Conflict assessment and peacebuilding planning that do not involve local people or that only involve token local representatives will significantly hamper the accuracy of the assessment and the effectiveness of peacebuilding.

This was one of the key considerations that was found to be lacking in the work of the two organizations. There was a need to develop and re-orient the participants on the best practices in peacebuilding. Another variable that was important when designing a conflict sensitivity programme was to analyse the power dynamics within the communities. Peacebuilding is a process of reconstruction of relationships and empowerment. Understanding the power dynamics is important as it helps in the designing of the project. Projects that create or perpetuate already existing power imbalances are likely to destroy any potential for sustainable peacebuilding. As a result, projects that are sensitive to these power imbalances and are designed to mitigate these imbalances are more likely to achieve greater positive impact.

10.3.3 Session 3: designing a conflict sensitive instrument for their organizations

The third and final session focused on a practical activity of trying to design a conflict sensitive instrument for their respective organizations. The participants maintained their organizational identity for the exercise. The guidelines for the design were adapted from Schirch (2013: 179).

Key Principles on Peacebuilding Design:

- Peacebuilding design must be based on empirical research
- It must be inclusive
- It must thrive to ensure local ownership and leadership
- It must be a participatory process
- The process must be transparent
- Maintain a balance and equity
- Ensure accountability
- Do no harm
- Support human security.

The question the participants had to address was on how they could design a conflict sensitive framework on any of the conflicts that they were currently dealing with in the communities that they were currently working with. I had to encourage the participants to be honest in their reflection as this was a good opportunity to improve on current practice. The participants were asked to use the guidelines as provided for in the module as well as the activities that we had already covered in the module.

The participants demonstrated enthusiasm throughout the activities. Most of the participants were honest enough to admit that this initiative of conflict sensitivity was important and yet they had never really given it considerable attention. The analysis and mapping of stakeholders proceeded smoothly. The two groups both admitted that their peacebuilding interventions are not really grounded in empirical research. In fact, they all indicated that research was not a big priority when it comes to programme designing and implementation. Their programme justification was usually built on secondary evidence from other sources or topical issues as reported in the local newspapers and internationally. Therefore, there was greater need to invest in research so as to understand the exact context and dynamics of any given conflict. They noted that projects design mostly follows funding patterns by the international donors. The motivation for the organizations was to stay afloat and to attract funding.

On local ownership and leadership, the participants noted that they have always tried to develop locally owned processes as evidenced by the local peace committees and other community initiatives where the locals take a leading role. However, the missing link was a lack of analysis of the power dynamics when pushing for local ownership. This was identified as one of the reasons why the LPCs were facing a serious challenge. They noted that their projects were highly participatory as locals were asked to do the mobilization, to choose conference venues and to decide on the most appropriate dates for activities. They also noted that in most cases they were gender sensitive as they seek to promote the equal participation of men and women. The concept of local ownership and local participation has been promoted and the strategies were clearly presented during the discussions.

However, the do-no-harm consideration was found to be lacking in some instances. The participants noted that lack of a thorough mapping of the local conflict dynamics may have contributed to this. As has already been alluded to earlier on, the organizations have failed to ensure sensitivity during local mobilization as well as in the operationalization of the LPCs. It must be remembered that the main purpose of peacebuilding is to advance the broad agenda of human security and any intervention must be seen to be working to promote this goal. This had not happened in some of the interventions. The change that must be brought by peacebuilding interventions must be well calculated and must reflect a well-connected process of research, design and implementation leading to the desired change. As noted by Schirch (2013: 166):

Strategic peacebuilding creates multi-stakeholder and multi-sector synergy by beginning with explicit theory of change to lay out a policy or programme rationale. It requires an explicit self-assessment of what any actor is and is not able to contribute

to peacebuilding. All stakeholders should make transparent and evidence-based decisions about their theories of change that will shape their peacebuilding planning.

An interesting dimension also propped up during the discussions. The participating CSOs were caught up in a big dilemma. They are there as facilitators of peacebuilding in the community and yet in some instances they are also projected as human rights defenders and promoters of democracy. The two organizations are affiliated to the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition (CZC) which is an umbrella body of CSOs working on promoting democracy and good governance in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the organizations have a dual mandate of facilitating peacebuilding whilst also working as agents of change. This dual purpose has had serious repercussions on the work that they do as peacebuilders. This also partly explained the hard-line stance that the government took with some of these organizations. The government did not take lightly any organization that wanted to push an agenda for democracy in the country and as a result these two organizations bore the brunt of government heavy-handedness.

This is an interesting point from a conflict sensitive perspective. Actors and facilitators in peacebuilding must be seen to be neutral but in this case and in the eyes of the incumbent government, CSOs are seen as an extension of the opposition political parties. This undermines the confidence of the government in the activities of the CSOs. The fact that the CSOs have been calling for a transitional justice process in Zimbabwe has meant that the government now views them with great suspicion, fearing that the CSOs were plotting to undermine the authority of the government.

10.3.4 Major Learning Outcomes

The purpose of the module was to introduce participants to the aspects of conflict-sensitive programming and how this relates to effective and sustainable peacebuilding. The module covered the whole morning session on the second day of training. The participants exhibited a lot of enthusiasm and participated well throughout the activities. The participants indicated the following as some of the major learning points:

- The participants indicated that this module will go a long way in strengthening their organizational capacity in terms of peacebuilding programming.
- The participants also noted that the exercise would also help mitigate the conflicts that often arise when working with government and community stakeholders.

- The development of a conflict sensitive tool will help us address issues in a manner that is sensitive and sustainable and this will benefit us and the communities. It is a win-win situation.
- This will help in developing a logical sequence to the activities that we implement in the communities.

The objectives of the module were successfully attained. However, some participants felt that the module should have been given more time to allow for an in-depth reflection of some of the issues that were raised. The participants felt that the contents of the module were central to their operations and needed to be discussed further. I had to indicate to the participants that the aim was to introduce them to the concepts and that any emerging issues could still be followed up on at an organizational level. The next module focused on culture, conflict and change.

10.4 Module 4: Culture, Conflict and Change

10.4.1 Introduction

This module focused on culture and how it can be a source of conflict as well as a source of change. As I have already noted earlier on in the presentation, the dominant peacebuilding approaches follow a largely western neo-liberal agenda. This liberal agenda is in many instances taken as a one size fits all when dealing with peacebuilding. The situation is made even more complex by the fact that most CSOs in Zimbabwe, including the two participating organizations, are funded by the West where this liberal agenda is coming from. As a result, the funding comes with conditionality. If there are no conditions to the funding, then at least the proposal for funding must meet certain expectations in terms of scope and methodology. However, studies have shown that the liberal agenda is not always compatible with every conflict situation owing to other variables like geography and culture. This module aimed at reflecting on local cultural values and how these can be used as valuable tools in peacebuilding.

The objectives of the module were thus to:

- Explore the meaning of culture in the context of conflict, violence and peace
- Examine how culture can be used as an instrument for sustainable peacebuilding
- Evaluate the challenges posed by culture

10.4.2 Session 1: the meaning of culture in conflict, violence and peace

The first session was a brainstorming exercise on the meaning of culture. The participants set in a circular formation and were asked to contribute what they understood about culture. Some of the answers that were given are listed below:

- Culture as living and working together
- Tradition
- Traditional values and practices including food, community set up and language
- Songs
- Rituals and ceremonies like rainmaking and other community activities
- Community courts as justice delivery systems
- Taboos
- Building plans
- Religion
- Beliefs about life and death
- Identity, ethnicity and totems⁷

⁷ In Zimbabwe families and clans are identified by totems. Popular totems include Moyo Chirandu, Shumba, Hungwe, Mhofu, Hanzu, Gwayi etc. totems are a powerful connecting factor in the Zimbabwean communities.



Picture: Participant Sharing on Culture and Conflict

Source: Training Workshop

The participants demonstrated that they were all familiar with the general meaning of culture. They were also able to link cultural beliefs and practices to social identity groups. The purpose of the module was to make the participants realize the importance of understanding cultural implications when dealing with a conflict.

10.4.3 Session 2: opportunities for using cultural values in peacebuilding

Culture is important in many aspects. The Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (2010: 6) notes that 'culture can be pictured as in iceberg- only the tip of the iceberg is visible above the waterline, but it is supported by a much larger and invisible foundation below the waterline'. This implies that the behaviour that people usually exhibit is built around cultural foundations that are seemingly invisible to an outsider and yet of paramount importance when trying to understand the behaviour of a particular group or an individual. It is against this background that I sought to help the participants develop competencies in cultural awareness and to merge this with the knowledge skills that they already have in order to nurture a complete peacebuilding practitioner. The Kofi Anna International Peacekeeping Training Centre (2010: 17) further notes that the aim of developing and articulating cultural awareness is always to promote the understanding of the 'self' and 'others' relations.

It is important to understand culture especially where the conflict is intractable and protracted. As noted by Schirch (2013: 103), understanding the various cultural and identity group dynamics is important in peacebuilding because it helps to explain more about the stakeholders in the conflict and how they see themselves and others in the conflict.

During the plenary discussion I had to challenge the participants to reflect critically on identity as an aspect of culture and as an aspect of conflict as well. The participants noted that culture plays a big role in shaping the identity of a person. This includes the language, dress and values that a person attaches to certain things. Situating peacebuilding work in a specific cultural context can be challenging because it might meet with resistance from certain identity groups within a community.

An intervention needs to read the cultural dynamics in a specific context and realize the values and practices that can work for peace and the values that can work against the ideals of a given project. The participants were challenged to reflect on some of the cultural barriers that they have encountered in their peacebuilding work. Almost all the participants pointed to the fact that the traditional set up of the communal society in the areas they were working in was both a challenge and an opportunity.

The opportunity side of it was that traditional forms of justice were restorative and consultative. The people went to the Chief's court on a given day and an issue was deliberated on.

The emphasis for this session was helping the participants to realize cultural values relevant to peacebuilding and to help them to link these positive values to peacebuilding. It is not always possible to adopt cultural practices in all peacebuilding contexts, but whenever necessary, it is important and ideal to integrate peacebuilding work with particular cultural values and practices.

10.4.4 Session 3: Challenges

However, the participants also noted that the same traditional court processes are highly patriarchal and women's voices are usually not heard. They noted that most traditional chiefs are male and this has created gender imbalances. They also noted that there were several practices that were not gender sensitive. These were:

- The practice of kuripa ngozi (spiritual appeasement) which in some cases violated the rights of the girl child.
- Culture as discouraging people from opening up on issues affecting them.
- Culture as being exclusive and favouring the older generation at the expense of other important constituencies in society.

The issue of culture being hierarchical and favouring the elderly is also captured by Francis (2002: 61) who argues that modern cultures, presumably the Western practices, emphasize issues of equality where as traditional cultures emphasize hierarchy. She further argued that this is important to understand in conflict transformation as this will go a long way in developing interventions that attempt to balance this dynamic.

10.4.5 Learning Points

The module introduced participants to the dynamics of culture, conflict and change. The purpose was to bring out the interplay between culture and conflict. The methodology for the module included plenary discussions as well as group activities. The objectives of the module were realized and unlike in the previous module where there were some time constraints, all the tasks were completed on time.

The participants indicated that they had always been aware of the need to understand the cultural dynamics in their peacebuilding work. They, however, noted that the module helped them to reflect critically and in practical terms the importance of understanding a conflict from a cultural perspective. The participants noted that culture provides both opportunities and challenges to the field of peacebuilding. They also agreed that there was a need to guard against advancing seemingly universal practices to a contextualized conflict as this was bound to fail. Culture is a dynamic force but for change to happen, the custodians must be prepared to embrace these changes, without this preparation there is bound to be resistance. The last and final module focused on counselling skills for peacebuilders.

10.5 Module 5: Counselling Skills for Peacebuilders

One of the critical issues that come out of the discussions with FGDs and interviews with CSOs in the Mazowe and Bindura districts was the fact that the violent conflict(s) that the communities had gone through had left a trail of destruction in terms of property and infrastructure and more devastatingly huge psychological scars among the survivors of these violent conflicts. This raised the need to at least equip the participants with basic counselling skills to deal with some of the situations that they are confronted with in their daily work. The psychology of conflict and trauma healing is an area that has not been largely explored (in the context of Zimbabwe). This module, I must admit was merely introductory but highly relevant, as it introduced participants to the basics of counselling skills needed to deal with persons who would have gone through psychologically challenging experiences or any other experience requiring counselling. Because of the complexity of the issues that were discussed, the module was given a whole day. The module was guided by three questions; what is counselling? What are the elements and qualities of a good counsellor and why counselling skills for peacebuilders?

The majority of the participants indicated that they had never done a course in counselling. Only two of the participants indicated that they had done counselling as a module during their undergraduate studies. The module was covered on the third and final day of the training workshop. The module utilized a variety of pedagogical approaches including plenary discussions, case study analysis, group discussions and organizational tasks.

10.5.1 Session 1: What is Counselling?

The opening session was a brain storming exercise on the meaning of counselling. The session also aimed at articulating the importance or relevance of counselling skills in peacebuilding. The participants set in a circular arrangement and I asked them to share their understanding of the concept with others. Some of the answers given included:

- Helping people to cope with their emotional issues
- Assisting people to understand what have happened to them and to cope with the future
- Helping people to forget their painful past
- Guidance (although I had to quickly explain to the participants that guidance is different from counselling. Guidance is more directive whereas counselling should be voluntary and non-coercive.

I had to explain to the participants that counselling is a well thought out process that requires special skills and is aimed at helping people to cope with stressful and emotional situations in their everyday lives. After the brainstorming exercise, participants were divided into small groups of three where they were asked to discuss the importance of counselling in peacebuilding. The participants were asked to identify only two important reasons why people must be helped through counselling.

The session also discussed other important and related terms such as trauma and victimization. The participants were able to provide answers that related to the concepts. On why they thought these concepts were important in peacebuilding, the participants indicated that they often dealt with people who would have suffered extreme torture and hence sometimes they are unable to help as they have limited skill to that effect. As the facilitator I also had to help the participants who were new to the concept by providing a more succinct definition as provided by the Centre for Non Violence and Social Justice (2010). They defined trauma as experiences that are emotionally painful and distressing and leaves people struggling to cope with their everyday life. Asked to identify some of the experiences that my cause stresses to the people whom they work with in the communities, the participants noted the following factors:

- Serious incidences of violence especially towards, during and immediately after elections
- Politically motivated abductions
- Harassment and intimidation by the youth militia
- Sexual abuse at political base camps
- Intimidation by the military and members of the intelligence organization

- Forced participation in political activities like rallies and demonstrations
- Denial of social services on the basis of political affiliation
- Domestic violence as well as witnessing acts of violence.

It could be noted that most of the violence was election related. Violence in the communities escalates during times of elections and de-escalates when there are no pending plebiscites. The participants reported that ever since the turn of the millennium, political base camps have been a popular feature in Mazowe and Bindura Districts. They noted that people were often force-marched to attend these camps. At their peak, they were turned into night vigils where people are forced to sing political indoctrination songs throughout the night. It was at these political base camps that serious incidences of sexual abuse and exploitation were reported. Young girls and women often fell victim to the violent youth leaders. Many of them had struggled to open up about the abuse that they had suffered at these camps and given this grim reality, counselling becomes an important aspect of peacebuilding in Zimbabwe in general and in the two Districts of Mazowe and Bindura in particular.

Table 10.7: Why Counselling in Peacebuilding?

Group	Answers given
Group 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To help people who would have been exposed to violent conflicts • To help people who witnessed violence and having been affected by the experience • To help people who suffer from constant intimidation
Group 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helping victims of political violence • Helping victims of domestic violence • To help people who are living in fear as a result of intimidation by other political actors.
Group 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helping people who were beaten at the peak of the political conflict in Zimbabwe • Helping the people displaced by conflict in the communities
Group 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helping victims of political violence • Helping victims of domestic violence especially women.

Source: Workshop Notes

During the feedback session, it was apparent that most of the participants' perceptions were highly shaped by what they were experiencing in the communities. They all pointed to the need for counselling in the communities primarily because the villages were ravaged by political violence and that the people continued to live in fear. They also noted that people are constantly being intimidated and thus making it difficult for them to live peacefully. Some of the participants also noted that counselling was necessary in their communities because domestic violence was highly prevalent and thus they needed these skills to help the families that were experiencing domestic violence.

I also realized that the participants had the belief that counselling was only necessary to the victims of violence, whether physical or emotional. I had to quickly remind the participants that even the perpetrators of violence needed to be understood and to be helped. Rehabilitating the victims only was not enough because the perpetrator was also emotionally affected by his or her acts of violence.

I also had to challenge the participants to look at some of the traditional coping mechanisms in the communities that they were working in. The participants noted that the family institution was probably the strongest bond providing a safety net for victims. They noted that sensitive issues were usually discussed at family level. The family in the communal set-up includes people like *tete* (aunt) *babamukuru* and *babamudiki* (uncles) *vazukuru* (nephews and nieces) *sekuru* (grandfather), *mbuya* (grandmother) *sahwira* (close family friends) and that each time a member of the family suffers a traumatic experience, these are the immediate support systems. However, it was noted that the family institution was no longer as intact in some of these communities owing to a variety of factors. Some of the factors noted included migration as a result of economic hardships, globalization and divisions emanating from religious and political affiliation.

The participants also noted that the church in some cases plays an instrumental role in supporting the victims of violence. Some churches even provide safe places for the victims. However, it was also quickly noted that the churches have also been affected by political polarization and some people have been victimized at some of these church platforms.

Therefore, given the challenges that the traditional psycho-social support institutions have faced in the communities of Mazowe and Bindura Districts, it was only necessary to help the CSOs working with the people in these communities to develop the necessary psychosocial support skills by introducing them to basic counselling skills for peacebuilders.

10.5.2 Session 2: Basic Understanding Trauma

The participants were given a case study of a girl who lived in a refugee camp and had suffered traumatic experiences during a conflict. She exhibited certain behaviours that were contrary to the expectations of a normal person. The participants were asked to carefully read the case study and to link this to what they were doing in their communities. From the case study the participants noted the following behaviours as exhibited by the victim:

- Contrasting emotions that included aggressive behaviour and nightmares
- Sleep disturbances
- Emotional breakdown
- Fear
- Emotional instability
- Numbness
- Eating disorders
- Lack of trust
- Being withdrawn and struggling to talk.

The purpose of the case study analysis was to try and put into perspective the characteristics of a person who was suffering from trauma and emotional breakdown. The participants were then asked to look into some of the behaviours of some of the people whom they dealt with in the communities and see if they tally or relate to the characteristics as identified in the case study analysis. Most of the participants agreed that the traits were the same especially when dealing with women who had suffered political violence.

The participants were then given another case study but this time of an individual who had eating and sleeping disorders as well as feelings of numbness. The purpose of the exercise was to demonstrate that trauma manifests differently depending on an individual's disposition. I also had to emphasize that some people had a way of internalizing pain whilst others struggle to cope and thus it becomes apparent to the outside world. It is therefore important for practitioners to understand the behaviour of different people and to try and help them. I also had to remind the participants that because of the individual differences, trauma can take days, months or even years to manifest. I also had to help the participants to process the fact that trauma can be physical or emotional. Some emotional signs of trauma include:

- Sadness or anger
- Emotional tantrums
- Feeling of denial

Physical signs may include:

- Fatigue
- Poor concentration
- Shaking, trembling
- Sexual dysfunction.

10.5.3 Helping survivors deal with counselling

There are various ways of helping people to deal with trauma. It is however important to note that dealing with trauma is not a quick-fix exercise and thus requires a lot of patience on the part of the helper. The most important consideration is to create an environment where the survivor of violence can feel safe. An assurance of safety is a foundation for a successful process of dealing with the effects of the traumatic experiences on the individual.

The two participating organizations admitted that they did not have a counselling desk. They noted that in extreme circumstances, they provide the victims with safe accommodation and food. However, they admitted to the fact that they don't have any special remedial action that they have tried to offer to the people. The challenge was thus for the organizations to think creatively of how they can utilize the counselling skills to help some of the communities that they work with.

10.5.4 Session 3: Qualities of a Good Counsellor

The third session focused on the qualities of good counsellor. The participants maintained their groups and had to discuss what they think were the qualities of a good counsellor. This was a relatively easy session for the participants as they were now familiar with the meaning of counselling. I challenged them to reflect on the meaning of counselling and to think creatively of the qualities that would make a good counsellor. Some of the qualities that were mentioned include;

- Compassion
- Being able to feel for the victim
- Being truthful and honest
- A counsellor must understand his or her own emotions
- Must be sensitive
- Must be patient

- Must not blame clients
- Must not be judgmental
- Must listen more than he speaks.

The plenary discussion that followed the group discussions was centred on the ideas that were raised by the participants. The participants were then encouraged to look into the module for further characteristics of a good counsellor. There was need to emphasize the fact that counselling was not equal to guidance. The counsellor must allow the victim to tell their story without being judgmental. Judging clients or blaming them for the experiences that they suffered was detrimental as this would only reinforce a feeling of guilt and blameworthiness on the victim. It was therefore, important for the counsellor to guard against these pitfalls.

The discussion also focused on the differences between empathy and sympathy. I emphasized to the participants that the worst thing a counsellor could do was to sympathize with the client. The counsellor could only empathize and not sympathize. Sympathy had the danger of making the client feel worse off than they initially felt and it also had the danger of blocking the counsellor's judgment as he or she became emotionally entangled in the problems facing the client.

The other issue that was emphasized was to guard against imposing one's own value systems on the client. Clients needed to be assured and to be re-affirmed that they were equal beings in society and are entitled to whatever beliefs that they have over certain issues. Imposing one's own value system had the danger of undermining the confidence of the client. Counsellors had to guard against giving advice as well as unwarranted assurance to the clients. The participants were also referred to the module for more detail on the Dos and Don'ts of a good counsellor.

10.5.5 Session 4: Ethics in counselling

The last and final session was a discussion on the ethics in counselling. I had to once again emphasize to the participants that the module was elementary and that we were focusing on the more generic benchmarks in counselling. Therefore, for the ethics the focus was on the general ethics like issues of confidentiality and informed consent. Ethics in counselling are important as they promote and protect the interests of the survivors of violence and traumatic experiences. Some of the values were adapted from the British Association of Counselling and Psychotherapy (2010: 2). These are:

- The need to respect fundamental rights and freedoms

- Maintaining dignity
- Upholding and protecting the safety of the client at all costs
- Ensuring a professional relationship between the counsellor and the client and thus maintaining integrity
- Alleviating personal distress and suffering
- Helping the individual to realize his or her individual potential without any sense of prejudice
- Enhancing the quality of relationships between people
- Appreciating the diversity of human experience, cultural and religious beliefs and practices.

10.5.6 Reflection on the necessity of counselling skills in peacebuilding

10.5.7 Lessons Learnt

This module did enough to introduce the participants to the concepts relating to trauma healing and peacebuilding. This was an important module in that the violent conflicts that are being experienced in Zimbabwe are both physical and psychological. There was an imbalance in the work of the two participating organizations as they focused more on the relational building aspect of peacebuilding at the expense of the personal psychosocial wellbeing of those affected by the war. Relationship building is only sustainable when a person is free from fear, anger and anxiety. The participants expressed a desire to pursue the psychosocial aspects of peacebuilding as they felt that these aspects had a bearing on their everyday work.

10.5.8 Summary

The training programme had a duration of three days. All the objectives of the training were successfully achieved. The participants showed great enthusiasm. There were, however, concerns about time especially regarding the last module that focused on counselling skills for peacebuilders. The participants felt that the module needed more time as most of them were new to the concepts in the module.

CHAPTER 11: AN ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS FROM THE INTERVENTION PROGRAMME

11.1: Introduction

This chapter focuses on the analysis of the emerging issues from the intervention. The intervention was in the form of a three-day training programme. The content and methodology was discussed with the ART well before the intervention and participants were agreeable to all the aspects of the intervention programme. As a result, all the themes that are discussed in this chapter are derived from the insights from the intervention programme. The intervention aimed at developing individual peacebuilding skills, inter-personal skills as well as organisational skills necessary for the effectiveness of the peacebuilding work as implementation. The application of action research in the development of peacebuilding skills among the participating organisations was a huge eye-opener to the complex world of peacebuilding.

11.2 Individual Capacity Development

Capacity development is a critical issue in organisational development. Banyan (2007:66) defines capacity building as “those sets of activities in which vested parties develop the ability to effectively take part in government.” The United Nations Economic and Social Council (2002) and Willen (2009) argue for a close connection between capacity building and local ownership. The impetus of this session grew out of the need to develop germane individual skills for peacebuilding. Individual capacity development was important as it helped to develop a wide-range of skills among the participants. A deliberate attempt was made to enhance the participants’ understanding of the key concepts informing peacebuilding, listening and communication skills as well as counselling skills for peacebuilding.

Communication is a key and integral part in peacebuilding. Search for Common Ground identified four levels of communication within a conflict environment and these are:

- Between individuals in conflict;
- Within a group where conflict exists
- Within groups or communities in conflict;
- Between communities and organisations such as multilaterals, government, and NGOs where cooperation and coordination are issues.

It was important for the participants to understand communication dynamics in the context of the two districts in which they were operating in. As Bar Tel (2004) argues, experiential learning is the best way to internalise new knowledge and skills. I ensured that the intervention was participant-centred and that through role-plays, simulations, group and pair activities, participants were introduced to new ideas regarding peacebuilding facilitation. Sommers (2003) and Jones (2005) also note that peacebuilding requires knowledge and skills to address creative problem solving, mediation, negotiation and other range of activities. Organisational effectiveness is only realised when there is a combination of institutional and individual skills. These skills must be both technical and organisational. Tarp and Rosen (2012:4) argue that capacity “is now conceptualised as an individual and collective capability.” Therefore, skills development must be understood from both an individual perspective as well as an organisational perspective.

What emerged from the preliminary assessment as well as the intervention stage was that the participating organisations were lacking in some critical thinking skills as well as organisational capabilities relating to sustainable peacebuilding. The intervention was thus tailor-made to address specific gaps as I have previously highlighted.

11.3 Peacebuilding Skills Taken for Granted?

Given the complex dynamics in peacebuilding, it is important to develop a range of skills to fulfil the demanding tasks that are associated with the building field. Of the twelve participants who formed the action research team, only a few had proper training on conflict analysis skills, communication skills and counselling skills and yet they are working in extremely volatile environments where these skills are more relevant. Learning is important for any individual or organisation. Thompson (2009: xv) reiterates that learning occurs at three levels that is thinking, feeling and doing.

Durable peace can only be realised when the facilitators of the grassroots peace processes are well equipped with the relevant skills. Conflict analysis in itself is a fine art and listening and communication in peacebuilding is also something that must be learnt. Kalathil, Langlois and Kaplan (2008) and Servaes and Malikhaio (2012) underlined the importance of communication in post conflict reconstruction, development and peacebuilding. As Neufeldt (2014:3) posits, “Peacebuilders become part of the fabric of the community”, and thus there is need to have the appropriate skills. Miller and Rudnick (2010:3) also highlight the importance of an ethical approach to peacebuilding and part of this includes being honest about what you can and cannot do.

Whilst the term peacebuilding has become popular with many organisations in Zimbabwe, it is also ostensible that many of these organisations have not invested in skills development. The confessions by the participating organisations demonstrated that a lot still needs to be done as part of capacity development. Britton (2005), Verkoren (2006) and Doring and Schreiner (2012) lament the lack of capacity among Southern civil society organisations and it appears this has remained a fact. Benner, Binder and Rotmann (2007:41) underline the importance of organisational learning and argued that it is “a process of cognitive change through the questioning of the means and or the ends of the problem.” Peace practitioners, whether at an individual or organisational level is a very important consideration. The process of learning should be cyclic and must continue to inform practice, Caplan (2005:178).

11.4 The Necessity of Counselling Skills in the Context of Bindura and Mazowe Districts

Part of the intervention was to help participants develop individual listening, communication and practical skills that would enhance the effectiveness of their everyday work. However, I have to clarify that the training on counselling was very basic given time constraints. A key issue relating to the conflict in the two provinces was that of trauma as a result of the violent nature of the conflict. Most of the villagers in these two districts have both experienced extreme torture and terror with others witnessing fellow villagers being tortured. Consequently, part of the capacity enhancement exercise was to at least introduce the participants to the broad subject of counselling. A powerful justification for the inclusion of the module was the issue of fear which featured prominently among the participants and this has been discussed in Chapter seven of the thesis. I felt that the organisations needed such skills in order to at least help the affected communities to deal with their challenges. Barnes (2005:21) and O’Gorman (2011:44) underscored the importance of understanding the conflict dynamic as well as having the relevant skills to respond appropriately to the presenting conflict.

The relevancy of counselling skills in the context of the Zimbabwean conflict cannot be over-emphasized. The nature of the conflict and its dynamics has left many people needed psycho-social support. Lederach (1997) and Abu-Nimer (2001) highlighted the need to build capacity around the affected people’s capacity. It is against this background that the contents had to be tailored around the existential realities around the two districts. The participants identified forms of violence such as abductions, harassment and intimidation by the youth militia, sexual abuse and intimidation by the military as being rampant in the two districts of Mazowe and Bindura. They also noted that as a result of prolonged years of abuse and suffering, most of

the people in the communities now find it difficult to openly participate in national activities. They now live with some kind of internalized fear and this is not good for their well-being.

As noted by Zelizer and Rubinstein (2009: 89), people who go through traumatic experiences usually suffer dramatic psychosocial changes in their behaviour and this may include a feeling of shame, victimization, guilt, anger, loss of trust and a desire to seek revenge. It is against this background that helping people who would have suffered trauma becomes important. The conflict in Zimbabwe has gradually developed into a protracted and intractable conflict with no end seemingly in sight. The formation of the MDC in 1999 ruffled the feathers of the existing establishment. For a very long time, ZANU PF had enjoyed political hegemony. However, the MDC emerged as a serious political force in independent Zimbabwe. ZANU PF responded by instrumentalising the issue of land and immediately labelling followers of the MDC as puppets of the West (Britain and America) and bound on reversing the gains of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. This was aimed at conveniently whipping the emotions of the liberation war veterans and the militant youths loyal to ZANU PF. The result of this strategy was the heavy polarization of the communities with the supporters of the MDC (perceived or real) being labelled as *vatenges*.⁸ This led to the politics of political identity and otherness. This kind of otherness has since permeated the government service divisions as structural violence has been taken to unprecedented levels.

A compilation of prevalence of political violence in Zimbabwe's ten administrative provinces by the Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum (2012) indicates that Mashonaland Province is one of the provinces that experienced the highest incidences of violence and politically related deaths. This reflection reflects a nation whose people have suffered traumatic experiences over a prolonged period of time. The coming in of the ONHRI failed to help the people to heal from their past wounds primarily because the ONHRI was hamstrung by political meddling and a top-down approach to peacebuilding that failed to deliver real peace to the people. The fact that ONHRI was composed of ZANU PF, MDC T and MDC N representatives meant that the polarization that the country has experienced since the turn of the millennium was brought into the organ. There were serious political differences and the parties to the ONHRI could simply not work together for the benefit of the ordinary citizens in Zimbabwe. The recently introduced National Peace and Reconciliation Commission is still struggling to get on its feet owing to financial challenges and lack of clear cut terms of reference for the commissioners. This leaves CSOs and other faith-based organizations with a bigger task of filling in the big gap. As noted by Hart (2008:3), peacebuilding in traumatized societies requires helping people to move out

⁸ *Vatenges* is a term used to refer to people who would have gone against the popular will of the people. However, in the context of the political conflict in post-2000 Zimbabwe, the term has been used to refer to supporters of the MDC.

of the cycle of violence, to recover from the traumatic experiences suffered and to live life meaningfully and contribute to human security.

Therefore, equipping peacebuilders with these basic counselling skills is of great importance in the context of Zimbabwe. An individual at peace translates to a community at peace. The participants were all in agreement that the psychological dimension of peacebuilding is an area that has been largely neglected in Zimbabwe. The Workshop approach and the LPCs, the two most popular approaches to peacebuilding have not been of great significance in terms of providing the needed help from a psychological perspective. The observation that traumatized victims of violence tend to have a propensity for retaliation is a cause for concern. If traumatic experiences are not addressed, then the country will always be in danger of receding into a violent cycle again. Clancy and Humber (2008: 10) observed that:

Extreme political trauma is not just a health problem, but a societal problem. Therefore, it is unsurprising that attempts to heal trauma have become closely associated with efforts to build peace and sustainable development in societies affected by political violence.

The discussions during the preliminary assessment of the peacebuilding environment in Zimbabwe centred on issues of political violence and how this has left the communities in Mazowe and Bindura Districts divided. The communities have experienced grim acts of political violence including rape, beatings and in extreme circumstances death. As noted by Machakanja (2010:2) the challenge with the conflict in Zimbabwe is that it has never been viewed as an armed conflict but a lot has happened leading to displacements and deaths. This classification of the Zimbabwean conflict as simply being political has created some misconceptions with efforts aimed at building political tolerance whilst ignoring the psycho-social experiences of the individual. The efforts of many CSOs in Zimbabwe, including the two organizations under study have largely been focused on the problem-solving workshops which are modelled along the western approach. Whilst these may have helped in raising awareness among the participants, they surely have not done enough in terms of addressing traumatic challenges relating to political violence in Zimbabwe.

The period of the GNU in Zimbabwe was celebrated as being relatively peaceful. There were no major incidents of political violence but again the past was never really addressed. There is need to address this for more sustainable peace. As Taylor-Ide and Taylor (2002:89) observe, 'a crisis weakens the community's vital resources. The wounds must be healed and strength rebuilt for forward progress. Otherwise, fracture lines may open up again, with crisis breeding further crisis.' This observation is not far-fetched in the contexts of conflict in Zimbabwe and in Africa in general. In Rwanda, the genocide of 1994 against the Tutsi ethnic

minority group was a case of history repeating itself. In Zimbabwe, it is no doubt that supporters of the MDC, who for a long time believe that they are being brutalized by ZANU PF supporters harbour intentions to retaliate.

A new dynamic is also emerging after the formation of ZimPF. The party is led by a former ZANU PF deputy president and is often viewed as a threat to ZANU PF power base. Mashonaland Central has for long been regarded as a ZANU PF power base but has since been shaken because Mujuru (ZimPF interim leader) hails from Mt Darwin District in Mashonaland Central and is considerably popular with the people in the province. She has held several rallies in the province and the turnout has been good. However this has triggered clashes with ZANU PF and the confrontations have often turned violent and brutal. Some ZimPF supporters have been forced out of their farms and others out of their homes.

The villagers who participated in the FGDs indicated that perceived supporters of MDC are denied access to government schemes like grain loan schemes, farming implements, flea market and vending stalls and Small to Medium Enterprises grants. Whilst some victims may not show a desire to revenge, studies have shown that victims of political violence and trauma always harbour a desire to retaliate. The participants indicated that in some cases the victims are forming vigilante groups of their own as a way of defending themselves. They however noted that these vigilante groups are always quickly destroyed by the police. This is a serious cause for concern because slowly the victims are reacting. This might be insignificant for now but this might escalate leading to a fully-fledged confrontation.

A related development which is already manifesting at a regional scale is the formation of the Mthwakazi Liberation Front in Matabeleland Regions in South Western Zimbabwe. Among the reasons for the formation of the group and the campaign for an independent Ndebele state has been the unresolved issue of Gukurahundi and the perceived notions of structural violence against people from the region. Whilst the government has managed to keep the activities of the movement under control, the question is for how long? The leaders of the movement are demonstrating a sign of entitlement emanating from unresolved issues from the past. Charbonneau and Parent (2012:7) note that 'trauma generates social polarization and the collective erosion of social ties between individuals, groups and communities.' There is therefore a need to develop and mainstream strategies for dealing with trauma and mainstream these strategies in the broader agenda for dealing with the challenge.

An interesting dimension is that trauma and trauma healing must not only be conceptualized from a largely Western Perspective. Karbo and Mutisi (2009) provide an assessment of the psychosocial healing effects of the traditional Gacaca court in Rwanda. Their findings acknowledge the massive role that the traditional approach played not only in facilitating the

reconciliation of the parties but also in providing a platform for trauma healing through a simple traditional process of truth telling and forgiveness.

The local cultures of Mazowe and Bindura districts are rich in traditional conflict transformation approaches that can be used to facilitate trauma healing. The challenge is for the two participating organizations to think creatively of how they can possibly integrate these values into their peacebuilding work.

11.5 Lack of prioritization of Conflict Analysis and Stakeholder Analysis

Another area which received considerable attention during the intervention stage was the issue of conflict analysis and stakeholder analysis. This exercise combined both individual and organisational capabilities for effective peacebuilding. The participants conceded that they have not prioritised effective analysis and stakeholder mapping in their activities. Sandole (2008) accentuates the importance of conflict analysis by noting that it helps to determine whether a conflict is structural or not, tangible or displaced. Freeman and Fisher (2012: 13) proceed to state that analysis in itself is useless unless it is used to inform interventions. Fischer (no year) added the idea that peacebuilding can only be effective if the conflict analysis is profound with a clear vision and strategy. Howard, Rolt and Verhoeven (2003) also note that the process must be guided by security, identity and development needs of the affected populations.

One of the participants noted that they hardly do meticulous analysis as an organization. Tarumbidzwa confessed that:

Isusu to be honest nyaya yeconflict analysis hatiwanzoiita zvakadzikadzika. Kazhinji tinongoshanda nezviri paproposal izvozvo and assume kuti ndozvinoshanda (We honestly have not done thorough mapping when planning intervention. We simply go by our initial plan because in many cases our activities are tied to the conditions set out in the approved funding proposal).

Anenyasha had this to say:

Haa kutaura chaokwadi nyaya yeanalysis inotoda nguva yakawanda and haisinyore sezvatinofunga and after taita this exercise ndirikutocherechedza kuti takasiya mastakeholders akawanda mumaactivities atinoita (this exercise is cumbersome, I would not want to lie that we go through such a vigorous process in the designing of

our programs and as I am already realizing, we have often left out important stakeholders in our intervention programmes).

Yet Kofi Annan (2004) advised that “we need to make sure that our efforts are well integrated, and failure in one sector can mean the failure of the rest.” A bigger challenge is usually associated with the friction that usually emanates from the international perspectives and local perspectives in peacebuilding. Freire and Lopes (2013), Hellmullr (2013), Schia and Karlsrud (2013) have all written extensively about the dichotomous relationship between the local and international peacebuilding expectations and given the asymmetric relationship between the Southern and Northern peacebuilding organisations, there is a tendency by practitioners in the south to “equate the financial and military power of peacebuilding with the power to shape outcomes, Ole (2015). This friction can be addressed if peacebuilding is approached from a strategic perspective where conflict analysis is given prominence.

This failure to prioritise conflict analysis and or stakeholder analysis has a negative effect on the facilitation of peacebuilding by the participating organisations. The idea therefore, was to help the participants realise the importance of conflict analysis in peacebuilding programming. The various conflict analysis activities that the participants carried out were aimed at ensuring that the participants develop the necessary skills through experiential learning. Conflict analysis is closely related to conflict sensitivity. In the next section I discuss the issues relating to conflict sensitivity and how they were addressed.

11.6 The Importance of Organisational Conflict Sensitivity

One of the objectives of the training interventions was to increase the level of sensitivity of the organisations in their programming. As noted by Woodrow and Chigas (2009:2) many development organisations hardly prioritise the provisions of conflict sensitivity. This is an important aspect as it enhances the effectiveness of interventions. Woodrow and Chigas (2009:4) further observed that:

Many peacebuilding programs are poorly conceived, demonstrating unclear goals, fuzzy theories of change about how their activities will in fact contribute to peace, vague indicators, imprecise accountability mechanisms and faulty evaluation measures.

International Alert (2004) defined conflict sensitivity as the capacity of an institution to:

- a) Understand the context in which it is operating;

- b) Understanding the interaction between the intervention and that context; and
- c) Act upon that understanding, in order to avoid negative impacts and maximise positive impacts on the conflict.

The two participating organisations had indicated that they do not have conflict sensitive guidelines for their programming. Almost all the participants highlighted that they have only heard of conflict sensitivity almost in passing and not in practice.

Kupakwashe was honest enough to say; “This is something totally new. We don’t discuss this in our programming and we had no intention of making this a priority.

Yet another participant, Takunda had this to say:

Conflict sensitivity is something new to me. Perhaps conflict sensitivity which we have covered in our previous session. This is something that I have just heard in passing but have never attempted to understand its implications on the work that we do.

Anesu simply said:

This is alien to me and certainly alien to my workplace. Although we always strive to maintain good rapport with our stakeholders, we have never really viewed this with conflict sensitive lenses.

Therefore, the exercises that were done aimed at developing effective organisational characteristics. As part of the experiential learning, the participants were asked to develop model conflict sensitive instruments for their respective organisations. The idea was to highlight the importance of working with a set of guidelines in programming. As noted by Lange (2004) for conflict sensitivity to be effective, it must not only be limited to the technical level but also to the strategic (operational) level so as to ensure the involvement of all stakeholders.

An issue that arose with the two organisations was that even in circumstances where they resorted to conflict sensitivity (albeit in a much more informal way), they only did it at the technical or organisational level and minus the input of the other stakeholders. The participants confided that they were not particular about the external environment for as long as they could mobilise participants and get clearance from the governing authorities. Key discussions on how to improve on organisational effectiveness and higher standards of conflict sensitivity were thus discussed and emphasised. The ideas of Lange (2004) relate to what was being discussed. Among other the issues, the writer proposes:

- Institutional commitment;
- Willingness to make changes in organisational culture and institutional structures

- Support for capacity development;
- Conducive external relationships and;
- Accountability mechanisms.

The observation was that the organisations were generally aware of the potentially complex and sensitive environments in which they operate in and that they were applying conflict sensitive approaches in some instances but it was disturbing to note that this was not happening at all levels. Participants noted that sometimes the operating environment is so inhibitive owing to political conflicts and traditional bottlenecks to the extent that they would rather focus on their organisational capacities only. The challenge therefore is for organisations operating in these difficult political and post-conflict environments to think creatively about how best they can develop conflict-sensitive guides for their programmes and projects. Woodrow and Chigas (2009:9) point out that the lack of a comprehensive conflict sensitivity plan can actually result in “islands of conflict sensitivity within a sea of conflict-blind institutional practice.” Therefore organisational investment in conflict-sensitivity is necessary.

Each conflict has its own dynamics as well as characteristics. It is against this background that the instruments for conflict-sensitivity must therefore be relevant. In the context of Bindura and Mazowe district, the thrust is probably to come up with instruments to manage political polarisation, contested national identities (the labelling of opposition political parties as puppets of the west or regime change agents as well as accommodating war veterans who believe that they have a de facto responsibility to safeguard liberation war gains). The issue of conflict sensitivity and or analysis has received considerable coverage. Landgraf (2000), Leonhardt (2002) and Tshirgi (2002) have all argued for the integration of conflict sensitivity in peacebuilding work.

The dilemma is even bigger because of what I will term the “dual purpose” of most CSOs in Zimbabwe. The CSOs occupy the role of change agents –were they are expected to put pressure on government to institute wide ranging changes like electoral reforms and various other constitutional provisions and on the other hand to reconstruct the social, economic, political thread which for years have been destroyed by the government by providing platforms that facilitate peacebuilding across the political and cultural divide. The dual purpose will mean that at some point the CSOs would need to collaborate and work collaboratively with the government and at some point confront the government in defence of rights of citizens. Peacebuilding has never been a favourite subject for the ZANU PF government.

11.7 Challenges

One of the participants had a particularly interesting reflection:

To be honest hatitsvage zvakawanda kana tichipinda mucommunity. Kazhinji tinofarira kuita zvinoenderana nemadonor funds even kana zvisiri popular mumacommunities acho atinoshandira (we don't usually do a critical reflection of all this. When there is a call for funding we simply prepare a good proposal without a situational analysis of what is obtaining on the ground. We are usually pre-occupied with pleasing the donor in order to get the funding than to reflect critically on the situation on the ground).

This reflection underlined the extent to which peacebuilding programmes can be easily lost because organizations are motivated by other outside factors than the real situation on the ground. During the exercise participants realized that they often leave out important actors because of lack of proper mapping of the intervention programmes. Another of the participants was quick to acknowledge the lack of a thorough approach when designing intervention programmes. Taedzwa had this to say:

I think as organizations we have been selfish to a large extent because we have sort of monopolized peacebuilding activities. We have made ourselves the funders, designers, implementers and evaluators of the initiatives without properly integrating other important stakeholders especially the local communities and the local authorities.

This acknowledgement of lack of proper consultation by the participants was important as it helped to put the issues into perspective. Informed by the findings of the preliminary interviews and group discussions, the discussion centred on possible explanations as to why the organizations were finding it difficult to work effectively and in collaboration with the local and traditional authorities. The idea of the polarized political environment was discussed in great detail. However, I had to challenge the participants to reflect on their approach and see if it was sensitive enough. The group conceded that their approaches had not been water-tight and this may have contributed to the tension that exists between them and the government authorities. So the emphasis was to encourage the participants to consider the designing and implementation of good policies that are conflict sensitive.

11.8 Strategic Cultural Integration

The challenges to do with the cultural expectations in which the organisations operate cannot be over-emphasised. Paris (2003), Richmond (2008), Walton (2009) and Schaefer (2010:2) made an important observation about the relationship between culture and strategic peacebuilding when they found out that cultural sensitivity is important in as much as it is

important to situate this in cosmopolitan values. As Rapport and Overing (2000:97) found out, it is important to recognise the symbiotic relationship between meaning (culture) and practice (programming). Tomforde (2010) however, notes that there is usually a gap between the conceptual level and practice.

The people are always satisfied with the outcome of the process. They also noted that communities tend to respect their traditional authorities more than they do to their political authorities. The communities strongly believe that the traditional leaders have a divine commission to preside over the affairs of the communities that they govern and this strong belief brings with it total respect and allegiance.

The participants also noted that traditional *shona* culture encouraged collectivism and relationship building at the expense of individualism. These ideals are in relation to the levels of conflict transformation as outlined by Lederach (2003). Lederach argues that conflict transformation occurs at four levels, the individual, relational, cultural and structural. The emphasis on relational building is thus a positive value in shona culture. The question therefore was on how the organizations have tried to harness this in their peacebuilding work.

The participants noted that the inclusion of traditional leaders was a way of ensuring culturally appropriate approaches in peacebuilding. Culture provides a grounded and sustainable way of dealing with some conflicts. It provides important epistemological directions about handling conflicts. It can provide the parameters for talking to each other as much as it can provide the wisdom to unlock challenging and difficult conflict scenarios. As noted by Franks and Richmond (2005:85) and Stroschein (2013:276), most peacebuilding interventions are grounded in western liberal ideology and thus tend to create conflict when applied to non-western contexts.

The participants noted that the *Korekore*⁹ culture observed the spirit of *ubuntu* just like most other cultures in Central and Southern Africa. The participants agreed that the positive affirmations of the *Korekore* culture provided an important building block in the field of peacebuilding. They noted the emphasis on restorative justice as an ideal worth pursuing. The participants also noted that the approaches were generally cost-effective and sustainable. The participants noted that the spirit of Ubuntu can never be underestimated as it has a transformative potential. The values of *ubuntu* include love, compassion, sharing and working together.

⁹ Korekore is a Shona dialect and a sub-culture of the shona culture. The dialect is widely spoken in some parts of Mashonaland Central and Mashonaland West. The communities in Mazowe and Bindura districts are predominantly Korekore.

Participants also noted that there are certain practices that they have tried to use for the good of the communities and peacebuilding. One practice that was noted as providing a platform for peacebuilding was *Nhimbe*¹⁰ or *Jakwara*. One of the participating organizations noted that they were piloting the use of the platform created by the *Nhimbe* or *Jakwara* to discuss women empowerment and conflict resolution.

The participants also noted that whilst the traditional court system is good, it lacked judicial jurisprudence and thus undermining its authority. The institution is also being challenged by constitutional developments. Whilst there is a provision for traditional leaders in the constitution, it appears most of what they do is largely ceremonial. This has seen them being overlooked by people especially those who are mostly in urban areas and only come to the rural areas during public holidays. So from this constitutional perspective, their influence can be seen to be waning as they don't have the powers to enforce decisions.

On reflection, the participants also felt that the challenges that the LPCs were facing could also be a result of a clash with cultural practices. Bringing in traditional leaders into the committees has presented an operational challenge. The chiefs are still expected to discharge their duties in the community as leaders and at the same time work with a committee were they are expected to collaborate with other players. There is a big possibility that the traditional leaders may feel that their powers are now being usurped by the LPCs. So the question that emerged from the participants was on whether to remove the traditional leaders from the peace committees or to continue with them as part of the LPCs. There was an interesting discussion that ensued. Others believed removing them would cause even more serious trouble whilst others noted that not all the traditional chiefs were difficult to work with. Eventually the group agreed that the situation obtaining in a specific context should determine the action taken. After all conflict transformation is not about prescribing solutions but eliciting the best out of a situation.

The participants also re-emphasized the fact that the traditional courts in the rural communities have been caught up in the vicious cycle of political polarization and that they tend to align themselves with a particular political formation at the expense of others. As a result, their impartiality is now heavily undermined. It is a fact that globalization is fast catching up with both the rural and urban communities in Zimbabwe just like anywhere in the world but it is also a fact that traditional institutions remain very strong and influential in shaping the societies.

¹⁰ Nhimbe or Jakwara in Korekore culture is a traditional ritual where people gather to do community work. They brew traditional opaque beer and drink as the work is being done. People can use the platform to discuss issues affecting their communities in a relaxed environment and nobody takes offence at what is said.

11.9 Collaboration with Constitutional Bodies (Commissions)

The participating organisations also publicly acknowledged that they have not made attempts to work with Government organs like the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission (NPRC) and Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (ZHRC). These constitutionally created bodies provide the legal framework for peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. The participants lamented that the various commissions were difficult to work with as they often failed to cooperate on matters of concern. To their credit, the participants also acknowledged that they had never attempted to bring them (the commissions) on board and that their planning is not linked to the work of the commissions. Smith (2004: 10) found out that there is “a strategic deficit” in many peacebuilding organisations because there is no connection between the national level strategy and those of other actors like CSOs. As a result, the interventions of the CSOs tend to run parallel with the national initiatives.

From a conflict sensitive perspective, this is very problematic because whatever the CSOs are doing, must be seen to be feeding into the national vision and into the ideals of the constitutional bodies. The argument by the CSOs and other civic actors has always been compromised because of political meddling and lack of constitutionalism. However non-state actors working in conflict environments must realise that the operating environment will always be compromised and that there is need to develop strategies to enhance effectiveness even as the environment is difficult. Bergof (2005:4) discussed the importance of understanding the conflict environment and suggested that “at the core of conflict sensitivity is an investment in learning about the conflict context and a responsibility to act upon that learning to make better informed choices.” Thus a thorough understanding of the context is not only a necessity but a functional consideration when designing interventions.

The quest for sustainable peacebuilding will always be elusive if organisations cannot fully understand the complex dynamics of the conflict as well as cooperating with the relevant government authorities especially the relevant commissions. In this regard, the modules on conflict sensitivity and on conflict, culture and change were done to develop competencies that would allow participating organisations an opportunity to be more effective in their programming.

11.10 Summary

This chapter focused on a discussion of the emerging issues from the intervention. The emerging issues were discussed in broad thematic issues focussing on individual skills

development as well as organisational capacity development in relation to peacebuilding. Key issues that emerged were that the organisations did not have skilled personnel for handling peacebuilding responsibilities especially on issues relating to individual and community trauma. The intervention also helped participants to appreciate the importance of conflict analysis, stakeholder analysis as well as conflict sensitivity in peacebuilding programming. The intervention also helped the organisations realise the importance of working with constitutional bodies like the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission, National Gender Commission and the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission in a bid to build into the national peacebuilding vision. Failure to collaborate with these commissions will create problems for the organisations as they often run parallel programmes with the government and thus creating undue tension.

CHAPTER 12: EVALUATION OF THE INTERVENTION PROGRAMME

12.1 Introduction

This chapter reflects on the intervention (training programme). It provides an evaluation of the training programme, i.e. the workshop (process evaluation) as well as the impact (outcome) evaluation. Evaluation in matters of human development and peacebuilding is not an easy task. It is especially complex where knowledge and skills generation are involved. The impact of such initiatives is bound to take long and thus short-term evaluation might not offer a comprehensive assessment. The process evaluation was carried out immediately after the training workshop whilst the impact evaluation was also held immediately after the workshop with a follow up evaluation being held three months after the evaluation. There are several approaches to evaluation. I will briefly outline some of the more relevant ones to this study before discussing how the evaluation process was carried out.

12.2 The concept of evaluation in Peacebuilding

Evaluation can either be quantitative or qualitative or mixed (a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies). My interest is on qualitative evaluation as it formed the basis of my post intervention assessment. Patton (2003:2) found out that qualitative methods are largely used in program evaluations because they capture and communicate the success stories as well as challenges of the project. Patton (2003:2) and the United Nations Development Programme (2006) observed that qualitative methods are naturalistic methods that may include in-depth interviews, direct observation, consulting written records or reports, multiple lines of evidence, 'most significant change' / 'story approach' and case studies.

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2007) view the purpose of evaluation as to improve learning as well as accountability. Evaluation provides an opportunity for individuals and organisations to improve the quality of policies, programs and interventions. The United States Institute of Peace (2014) found out that "the effective evaluation of peacebuilding programs is essential if the field is to learn what constitutes effective and ineffective practice and to hold organisations accountable for using good practice and avoiding bad practice. Galama and Van Tongeren (2002:22) and Mika (2002:3) indicate that evaluation must mirror "systemic impact" that speaks to political, social, economic and environmental impact.

The parameters for evaluation were defined by the provisions of the OECD (2007:81-82) on training evaluation in conflict prevention and peacebuilding training. From a theory of change perspective, the assumption is that building local capacity of organisations working on peacebuilding must be guided by the following questions:

- I. Specification of the important activities/functions that they need to perform more effectively
- II. Specification of the institutional capacities they need for preceding refinement and;
- III. Specification of the skills needed that can be provided through training.

The evaluation questions thus sought to reflect on the process and output of the intervention. Evaluation is strongly linked to the initial objectives of the intervention.

Lederach (1997:136) points out that conflict is cyclic and episodic in nature and that evaluation should be both short-term and long term in order to capture the dynamics of the conflict. It is also important to always consider the importance of continuous evaluation in peacebuilding. Karbo (2014: 33) observes that capacity development for sustainable development and peace is a continuous and long-term process. Harris (2014:77) indicates that evaluation can be on the effectiveness of the process itself or on the impact and measuring attitudes and the behaviour of the participants.

Evaluation of training interventions is not an easy task. As Curran (2013) notes, “the impact of training is always difficult to judge especially in peacekeeping and peacebuilding as methodologies are only emerging.”

12.3 Process Evaluation

By process evaluation I am referring to the degree to which the workshop objectives were achieved. Whilst I had to do the official evaluation at the end of the intervention, I must also point out that there was on-going process of self-reflection, feedback and interaction with the participants during the intervention. The participants were accorded the opportunity to provide feedback especially at the end of each module. The feedbacks were an effective hint on whether the objectives of the intervention were being achieved. Hunter, Bailey and Taylor (1996: 137) present two types of evaluation, soft evaluation and smart evaluation. They explained that in ‘Smart’ evaluation the outcomes are easily measurable whereas in the ‘soft’ evaluation the outcomes are not tangible. They further explained the ‘Softly smart’ evaluation approach which combines aspects of soft and smart evaluation.

The process evaluation was guided by a post-workshop evaluation questionnaire (see appendix). The questionnaire had thirteen questions. The questions spoke to the various aspects of the workshop and the four main aspects covered in the evaluation were; the appropriateness of the workshop content, design (including mode of delivery and learning materials), the qualities of the facilitator and the sensitivity of the program to individual needs. Responses were measured on a scale with variables of Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree and Disagree. The questionnaire also had three questions that allowed the participants to highlight their impressions regarding the training intervention. I present a summary of the process evaluation below.

The objectives of the workshop were achieved.

All the twelve participants indicated that the objectives of the workshop were strongly met. The key objective was to develop personal, inter-personal and organisational skills useful for both the individual and their organisations in their everyday duties. Out of the twelve, ten strongly agreed that the workshop objectives were met. The remaining two agreed that the objectives were met as well.

The Topics covered were appropriate.

All the participants indicated that the topics were relevant. All the twelve participants strongly agreed with this notion. The reason why the participants were in total agreement was because the participants placed a central role in determining the intervention programme as well as the topics that were to be covered. This involved cyclic processes of reflection, research and action which were done in close collaboration between the participants and me as the facilitator. The participants had clear anticipation of what was contained in the training module as this was discussed in during the consultation stages. Although I had to provide the content and the activities for the manual, the participants expressed total satisfaction.

Objectives were clear

The workshop objectives were rated as being very clear. The participants all strongly agreed to this notion. The training intervention was a culmination of a long process of reflection and feedback. All participants were clear about the ultimate goal of the intervention program. This was aided by the fact that I worked closely with the participants in determining the objectives of the workshop.

Content was logical and easy to follow

The participants all indicated that the content was well organised and was easy to follow. All the twelve participants strongly agreed with that. Again this is probably attributable to the fact that the participants had a bigger say in determining what needed to be done in order to improve on current practices.

The Learning Materials Were Useful

Eleven out of the twelve participants indicated that the learning methods and materials were very good. They strongly agreed. One participant indicated that they were just good. The participant agreed that the materials were relevant and useful. The preparation of the materials was inspired by the values of critical pedagogy which seeks to provide participants with an opportunity to reflect critically on real life scenarios. As a result, the group tasks and the case study analysis all provided the participants an opportunity to apply the concepts in a more practical way.

The participatory approach was important as it provided an opportunity for the cross-pollination of ideas; it is self-assuring in that participants become a part and a source of the learning process.

The Trainer was knowledgeable and well prepared

This question focused on the knowledge of the facilitator. All the twelve participants strongly agreed that the facilitator was knowledgeable. The enhanced effectiveness was a result of the thorough analysis of the peacebuilding environment in the two districts, mapping the conflict dynamics as well as the actors and a critique of the peacebuilding models that were being used by the participants. My role as an action researcher allowed me to look at the issues in a manner that was objective and rationale.

Participation and Interaction were encouraged

All the participants were happy with the proceedings during the training session. The twelve participants indicated that a strong affirmation regarding the participation and interaction during the training. During the introductory session I made it clear to the participants that the methodology was participant-centred and would involve a lot of activities. This helped prepare the participants and by the time of the evaluation, all the participants showed appreciation of the methodology.

Time Allocated for Each Module was sufficient

There were some mixed responses here. Six of the participants indicated that they strongly agreed that the time allocated for each of the modules was sufficient. Another three indicated that the time was just sufficient and agreed. The remaining three ticked the neutral box.

On reflection, I realised that the last module, counselling Skills in Peacebuilding attracted noteworthy interest and during informal interactions, the participants had indicated that the module probably required a bit more time. This probably explains why the three participants could not decide on whether the modules were given enough time.

The other module that may have attracted mixed feelings was the one on conflict sensitive programming. There were sentiments at the end of the module to the effect that the time allocated was rather limited. However, the majority reported satisfaction with the manner in which the five modules were managed and presented.

This training will be relevant to my work

All the twelve participants indicated that the training was very relevant and they all strongly agreed to the notion that it will help improve their efforts in peacebuilding.

The venue was comfortable

All the twelve strongly agreed that the venue was comfortable. The venue, which was one of the participating organisations' premises was big enough with a conference room which was used for training. The outside space was also big enough and suitable for other group tasks that required larger space.

What did you like most about the training?

The participants were allowed to express, in more detail, their impression of the intervention on the spaces provided on the evaluation form. All the participants had various observations about the training. The following themes emerged as the most popular among the participants:

- The intensity of the exercises
- The facilitator was knowledgeable and able to clarify the issues of concern that were raised by the participants
- The activities were participant-centred
- The learning environment was relaxed
- The layout of the modules was good and this kept the participants' interest
- The training was specifically modelled to respond to the conflict dynamics in the communities that the participants are working in.

The participants enjoyed everything during the training workshop as evidenced by the varied responses given. This was because everyone was anticipating the workshop as they had also taken a part in determining the structure and themes for the training.

The participants also acknowledged the importance of evidence-based approach to capacity development. The activities during training as well as some of the case studies were all borrowed from the work that the two organisations are doing. Linking the theoretical and practical issues was much easier because the participants could easily relate with the case studies.

What Aspects of the Training Can Be Improved?

The participants were also asked to suggest aspects of the training that could be improved. I summarised some of the responses below:

- Increase time allocation especially on Counselling Skills in peacebuilding
- Develop more content on counselling so that we better understand the emotional concerns of the people that we are dealing with
- The training should run during week days (it was done from Friday-Sunday)
- Bring in a co-facilitator to avoid monotony as well as burn out.

This question had two important aspects that were raised by a considerable number of the participants. The first one was that the workshop should be done during week days. The challenge that I had was that the participants all had a busy schedule during the week and likewise I also had work related commitments during the week. As a compromise, we ended up settling for Friday, Saturday and Sunday. However, responses from three of the participants indicated that they would have preferred to have the workshop during weekdays because of family and religious commitments during weekends. This was a big dilemma for me and the participants.

The other issue that was also raised was that of bringing a co-facilitator. I admit to the concerns of the participants that a lone facilitator might become monotonous and that fatigue might catch up with him. I tried to counter the issue of monotony by providing a lot of student-centred activities like group discussion, pair discussions and case studies. However, I will take note of the observation if I am to take charge of other training interventions in the future. On the issue of fatigue, indeed this could be true. The last day was a heavy one. The sessions after lunch showed signs of strain on both myself as the facilitator and the participants. Perhaps the idea of a co-facilitator is a noble one.

Another suggestion worth noting was to develop more content on counselling skills for peacebuilders. The participants demonstrated a keen interest in the module and their concerns are understandable. Perhaps these are some of the follow up issues that I should pick up on. The field is complex and will require seasoned counsellors and psychologists to also assist. This will require time and resources and might require a different study altogether.

How do you hope to change your practice as a result of this training?

The responses were varied but all relevant. Some of the more frequent responses that were given include:

- Working on improving the relationship with stakeholders
- The skills will help to develop a more robust approach in peacebuilding
- To improve the work of the LPCs
- Thorough preparation of community activities especially workshops.
- Proper evaluation of peacebuilding activities.

The participants all had an idea of how they intend to utilise the skills that they gained. The responses ranged from improving relationships with all stakeholders (especially government and traditional institutions) to thorough preparation and proper evaluation of work to be done.

12.4 Outcome/Impact Evaluation

The outcome or impact evaluation followed a largely qualitative pattern. It included follow up visits to the organisations to check on whether they were responding to some of the issues raised during the intervention programme. It also involved interviews with some of the participants to see if the knowledge that was acquired was having an influence on the way they execute their duties.

12.5 The Training Intervention as Knowledge Generation and Re-generation

12.5.1 The Personal/Individual Level

The successful completion of the training provided the participants with an opportunity to share their experiences, to reflect on current practices and to embrace new ideas about enhancing both individual and organisational effectiveness. Baud (2002:54) found out that a common

way of conceiving knowledge exchange is to create a platform where practitioners and researchers can interact because these people are both sources and users of knowledge. This is so because knowledge can be characterised as implicit and explicit, (Verkoren, 2006:30). The participants demonstrated that the intervention provided them with an opportunity to reflect on their current skills and knowledge in the field of peacebuilding.

One member of the Action Research Team reflected on the training and had this to say:

The training intervention helped to improve the intricate nature of peacebuilding. It has helped me to understand not only the role of communication but also to use the skills to facilitate processes of change.

The rich interaction between the participants as well as the group reflections on current practice was important in ensuring the reinforcement of the good practices whilst also helping the participants to discard the negative practices but in a manner that was as reflective as it was analytical.

The participants all acknowledged that peacebuilding practice, just like any other developments in the Southern Hemisphere have largely been influenced by western ideologies and values. This has often created moral and ethical dilemmas for the actors in the communities. This delicate situation requires thorough planning and sensitivity.

Another participant who took part in the intervention also noted that the most interesting aspect about the whole training was that it made him realise that everyone including the local people were important in peacebuilding. They have to be included at all levels. His words resonated with those of Galtung (1980: 396) who famously stated that there are “tasks for everyone” in the field of peacebuilding. This great seminal presentation has since come to pass as the successful implementation of peacebuilding hinges upon the involvement of everyone including even the children. Alger (2007: 551) also noted that from the time of Galtung’s assertion in 1980 and more specifically after the year 2000, there has been a gradual shift from state-led peacebuilding initiatives to community led initiatives. This training was at a community level and was a significant development in ensuring that the communities conform to international best practices in peacebuilding.

I quote some representative reflections from some of the participants:

Personally I had certain misconceptions about certain concepts in peacebuilding. I thought perhaps peacebuilding was as easy as organising and facilitating a workshop. Now I appreciate the fact that a lot of things come into play and only a well-planned activity will be able to capture these dynamics.

...I for one was one of the many people who are emotionally affected by the conflict in Zimbabwe and this has for long, clouded my fairness and honest assessment of what needs to be done to address this difficult situation. Thanks to this intervention, I am now much more empowered in terms of the important considerations in order to ensure the effectiveness of our programs

...I am now more confident than before, going into the communities to address the seemingly never ending conflicts. This training has rejuvenated me as well as giving me new direction in community engagement and conflict analysis

...This was refreshing. I knew most of the issues that we covered from previous other workshops that I attended. However, the intensity and context of the training made me realise that there is always something new to learn in this field.

This was worthwhile. I hope this renewed focus will help us unlock the many dilemmas that we face in the communities that we work with.

These sentiments underlined the impact the intervention had in terms of grounding the participants in the importance of proper analysis and planning of peacebuilding activities. One of the concerns that came up during the preliminary assessment was that the interventions by the participating CSOs was bringing unintended effects and further dividing the communities. One of the reasons was that the CSOs keep inviting the same participants over and over again at the expense of other villagers in the communities in which they work.

12.5.2 The Inter-Personal Level

The other objective of the training workshop was to enhance inter-personal effectiveness among the participants. Whilst the inter-personal effectiveness may have already been enhanced by the modules on listening and communication in peacebuilding as well as conflict analysis, the module on culture, conflict and change provided a more in-depth reflection of the interaction between culture and how people interact. The participants realised that in spite of the rapid progress in globalisation and the growing of a cosmopolitan culture, the communal set-up of the rural settlements in Zimbabwe (and these rural settlements constitute more than sixty percent of the Zimbabwean settlement) has meant that some traditional cultural practices have remained in force.

Understanding cultural sensitivities is important in enhancing inter-personal effectiveness in peacebuilding. There is always a danger of trying to superimpose certain values in the

communities. Participants showed appreciation of the importance of culture in both communication and programming. I present some of the comments from the participants:

I enjoyed the activity on the four levels of listening. It will help me to improve my understanding of people and the challenges they face. It will also help me to understand the different meanings of words in different contexts.

I feel that the exercises that we did throughout the training have strengthened my understanding of the link between culture and conflict on the one hand as well as culture and conflict on the other hand. I also now appreciate that cultural traditions and practices cannot just be wished away. We have to find a way of working with the communities without necessarily forcing our own values on them.

My inter-personal skills have been enhanced in more than one way. All the modules were very important to me. However, the one that stands out the most is the last one where we focused on counselling skills in peacebuilding. I now look forward to helping people who would have been violated during conflicts. I know I might not be the perfect helper overnight but surely, the skills that I have gained have provided me with a platform to further develop into a more effective practitioner.

12.5.3 Organisational/Institutional Capacity Enhancement

The work of the two participating organisations was also being hamstrung by the difficult operating environment that they find themselves in. The political environment is inhibitive and the communities themselves are split along political party associational lines. Peacebuilding requires a high degree of impartiality. Their work is also further compromised by allegations of working for regime change in a country whose ruling political party is obsessed with sovereignty and state security.

The session on conflict sensitive programme in peacebuilding provided the participants with an opportunity to reflect on their working environment, apply the conflict analysis tools to understand the peacebuilding environment and to think creatively about how they were going to strengthen the already existing positive ties whilst also considering how best to improve relations with organisations deemed hostile to their work. The participants noted that they may have unwittingly contributed to the tension within the operating environment by choosing alliances and yet their primary role is to facilitate reconciliation of the warring parties. Some of the informative responses from the participants are captured below:

Our greatest mistake is that we have labelled some people in the communities victims and others as perpetrators. Victims being those who are loyal to ZANU while victims are those loyal to the MDC and other smaller parties. Our efforts are largely concentrated on the victims whilst ignoring the bigger picture. I think by using conflict sensitive lenses we realise that you cannot achieve peace by working with the victims only or the perpetrators only. We need to find ways of dealing with this divide.

...All the modules were important but I believe the modules on Conflict Sensitive Programming and Culture, Conflict and Change will go a long way in shaping our organisational values and thinking in terms of peacebuilding project planning, intervention and evaluation. Every stakeholder is important and peacebuilding does not happen in a vacuum. We need the support and cooperation of everyone. Our language and terminology must be sensitive enough and we must strive at all costs, not to worsen the division between the antagonists as a result of us taking sides and having sympathies with a particular group.

.... Previously our planning has focused on our organisation, the communities and the donor. Hardly have we thought of the other stakeholders and how to reduce tensions as well as seeking to work together for the common good of the communities. I think this exercise has opened our eyes to a sensitive way of doing business. Our engagement with the stakeholders must now be more sustained.

.... the major learning point for us is that we simply cannot be effective without proper conflict assessment tools. We need organisational instruments on conflict sensitive planning and implementation. We also need to situate ourselves more in the cultural dynamics of the communities.

These reflections were clear evidence that already there had been a paradigm shift among the participants. This was the intended effect of the training workshop. There is a big challenge with many post conflict initiatives. The tendency is to focus exclusively on the victims whilst ignoring the perpetrator. This wrong approach to peacebuilding has the effect of further polarising the conflicting parties. The conflict in Zimbabwe as noted earlier on is largely political. There has emerged a tradition of 'them and us'. Its either one is ZANU PF or MDC and when an organisation or organisations choose to work with a particular group in the hope of rectifying past wrongs, the unintended effect is to have negative reinforcement of the same problematic issues that you intend to address. It was therefore imperative during the training workshop to highlight the importance of conflict sensitive programming and its advantages in peacebuilding. It was also important to highlight how the concept is closely linked to proper conflict analysis of the problem before designing interventions.

12.6 Follow up Visits

In January 2016 I made some follow up visits on how the participants had sought to implement and sustain some of the ideas that they got from the action research intervention.

One of the groups has indicated that they have since changed the name Local Peace Committees to Community Working Groups in each of the wards that they are working in in Bindura District. The decision was informed by the reflections that we had during the action research intervention where it was noted that the Local Peace Committees had operational challenges emanating from their name and Mandate as well as composition. They indicated that after careful consultation and consideration, they realised that the term peace itself was now highly politicised and it attracted undue attention from politicians and policy makers, they decided to settle on Community Working Groups whose mandate includes nurturing peace within the communities but also going beyond that by sensitising people on other developmental issues as well as mobilising resources.

This is a major tangible outcome of the action research intervention. They also revealed that they have already worked on the terms of reference for the CWGs and are hoping to get a budget line to capacitate these CWGs.

The participants also revealed that they are working on adopting conflict sensitive frameworks to guide their conduct and operations within the communities. The follow up visits showed that the action intervention had a positive influence on the work that the participants were doing.

12.7 Challenges

The evaluation also revealed that in as much as the action research intervention was a success, there were other intervening factors that had an impact on the operationalisation of the new knowledge and ideas about effectiveness. The participating organisations revealed that they have to stick to the funding provisions and in many cases they determine if they are to get more funding at the end of the project funding. An interview with one of the senior members at one of the organisations revealed this dilemma:

Project funding is highly rigid. We can only implement changes in terms of the practice but we have no power to change strategies regarding a project that was already funded. Continuity is also a big challenge because most projects follow topical issues. For example, we are currently running projects on Social Accountability in Local Government and it means slowly, peacebuilding funding is being phased out until the

donors call for proposals on that. So putting to test these skills as well as providing evaluation might be difficult in the long term.

This dilemma is popular in any donor assisted projects. Almost all the community based organisations in Zimbabwe are donor-funded. Lederach (1997:130-131) found out that the problem with funding for peacebuilding is that peacebuilding is now viewed as any other development or relief project that is viewed in concrete and measurable terms. This creates a problem as it seeks to provide a time cap within which peacebuilding activities must be carried out, completed and evaluated. Given my experience in working with communities, peacebuilding is an unpredictable and difficult process that can never be given a time cap.

12.8 Summary

This chapter provided an evaluation of the training intervention. The evaluation focused on the process (the organisation and delivery of the workshop) as well as the short-term impact of the intervention. The evaluation instrument was in the form of a questionnaire which was divided into two sections. The first section was quantitative with ten questions asking the participants to rate various aspects of the training intervention. The last section provided the participants with an opportunity to express themselves in greater detail and was qualitative. The evaluation also included follow up visits and observations. The responses from the participants noted that the workshop was well organised and that the training objectives were successfully met. The evaluation however revealed that the participants wanted more time allocation on the module that focused on counselling skills for peacebuilders. The impact evaluation revealed that the training had managed to change the mind-sets of the participants regarding the planning and implementation of peacebuilding initiatives in the communities. The short term impact evaluation that was carried out three months after the evaluation also showed that the participants in the process of mainstreaming some of the issues covered during the training workshop. The evaluation exercise however noted that peacebuilding organisations face the dilemma of funding that comes with rigid timelines and conditionality and thus making it difficult to effectively implement some of the lessons learnt. Overall, the intervention was a success.

Chapter 13: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

13.1 Introduction

This last chapter presents a summary of the whole study. I begin by recapping the research objectives and then summarize the key findings per each of the objectives. The chapter draws conclusions from the findings of the study. The chapter also presents my personal reflections on the dynamics of the study in terms of the challenges faced, strengths of the research design as well as areas for further study.

13.2 The Study Objectives

The specific objectives are:

- ❖ To establish the nature and scope of peacebuilding initiatives by civil society organisations in Bindura District, Zimbabwe;
- ❖ To examine the challenges facing civil society organisations working in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe;
- ❖ To design and implement a training module for civil society organisations for skills development in peacebuilding in Bindura District in Zimbabwe and
- ❖ To carry out a preliminary evaluation of the short term impact of the training programme.

13.3 Summary of the Study and Study Findings

The study was situated in the two districts of Bindura and Mazowe in Mashonaland Central, Zimbabwe. The study was grounded in the conflict transformation theory as propounded by John Paul Lederach (1997, 2003). The key assumptions of this theory are that conflict transformation occurs at four important levels, the personal, relational, cultural and structural levels. The personal level entails the inner peace within a person, the ability to understand oneself, introspect and control oneself. The relational level implies the ability to inter-relate with others and to be able to appreciate diversity. The cultural level implies transforming those aspects of culture that are a cause of conflict and cultivating a culture of peace. The last level, the structural, focuses on how societal structures and institutions, for example governments,

constitutions and other important public institutions can be transformed for them to be amenable to the needs of the people.

The section also discussed the conceptual debates around conflict, violence, peace, conflict management, resolution and transformation. I highlighted in the chapter that there is no general agreement regarding the concepts. There are various schools of thought informing the debates. However, since my study was conceptually grounded in Lederach's conflict transformation theory as well as the Holistic peacebuilding model, I had to settle for the conflict transformation school as the operational concept. The training philosophy was guided by the elicitive training methodology by Lederach again.

I also looked at the concept of civil society, its evolution, functional roles as well as a more focused discussion on civil society in peacebuilding focusing on global trends and lastly more specifically on Zimbabwe. A few case studies provided an in-depth reflection of action research studies in peacebuilding. The study noted that the action research methodology was not very popular among scholars in Zimbabwe and to a fair extent Africa in general.

The literature review showed that the area on civil society and peacebuilding has been extensively researched on. World Bank documents as well as publications by leading institutions and scholars such as the World Bank, The Berganhof Foundation, Paffenholz, Edwards and many other scholars had published widely on the area. In the context of Zimbabwe, there is a fair amount of literature on Civil Society and Peacebuilding. Studies by Ncube, Mwonzora, Chere, Centre for Conflict Management and Transformation, African Community Publishing Trust and a few others have also published a large amount of literature on Civil Society and Peacebuilding. However, I realized that literature on action research studies in peacebuilding in the context of Zimbabwe is still sparse. As a result, I struggled to get any meaningful resources to that effect. The few empirical studies that were available for consultation included a study by Ngwenya (2014), Muchemwa (2015) and Hove (2015). However, none of the above mentioned studies focused exclusively on CSOs and Peacebuilding. Whilst training in peacebuilding has been carried out in many organizations in Zimbabwe, this action research study was in a way breaking some new ground, at least in the context of Zimbabwe.

13.3.1 Objective number one: To establish the nature and scope of peacebuilding initiatives by civil society organisations in Bindura District, Zimbabwe

Findings for objective number one were presented in Section 4, Chapter Seven and Eight. The main focus in Chapter 8 was a discussion on the nature of conflict in the two Districts of Bindura and Mazowe. The major finding corroborated previous studies by researchers like Sachikonye (2009), Machakanja (2010), Ncube (2013) that the Zimbabwean conflict is multi-layered but largely driven by political contestations. The study found out that the communities are still heavily polarized and that this polarization has rubbed into the official arms of government. The communities are divided along political party lines.

The study also revealed that there is a new conflict dynamic in the provinces because of the emergence of Zimbabwe People First (ZimPF), a political party formed by expelled former ZANU PF and Government Deputy President, Joyce Mujuru. The intensity of the clashes is more pronounced in the two districts because this is Mujuru's home province. Supporters of the new political party are being targeted for political retribution as punishment for having followed the new breakaway party.

The conflict is on paper about ideological differences between ZANU PF (a party that claims to have a communist orientation and the MDC T (a party that claims to have a democratic orientation. The differences are further exacerbated by the fact that the country's leadership has been reeling under targeted travel sanctions from the USA and the EU Bloc. There has not been consensus among the antagonists as to the true nature of the sanctions. ZANU PF has persistently maintained that the sanctions are wholesale economic embargoes aimed at weakening the ZANU PF led government as a way of punishing them for embarking on the controversial land reform programme which was as chaotic as it was violent. On the other hand, the MDC T has continuously maintained that the sanctions are targeted and have not played a significant part in the challenges that the country has been facing since the turn of the century.

The chapter established that the issue of sanctions was being used largely as a bargaining tool by the ruling party. The real reason for the polarization and lack of tolerance among the communities is about political power and the quest for the control of the masses.

The ruling ZANU PF party has, since the formation of the MDC in 1999, sought to consolidate its power through using foul strategies that include the use of the military during election campaigns. The military has been used to perpetuate violence through the intimidation of voters as well as issuing of press statements that are aimed at instilling fear among the voting public. The chapter also revealed that the government ministries, especially the Ministry of Youth Development and Employment Creation, Ministry of Women, Gender and Community Development as well as Local District Authorities have been largely compromised as a result of the political polarization. The allocation of empowerment projects, youth projects loans,

relief food and other government initiatives is being done in a partisan manner with perceived members of the opposition being excluded from most of the schemes.

The chapter also revisited the issue of traditional leaders and found out that most of the traditional leaders in the area have been compromised politically. They have been forced to actively support ZANU PF and in the process discriminate against those who do not support the party and its activities.

The chapter noted that as a result of a combination of structural violence (as perpetuated by the state) and direct violence (as perpetuated by both institutions of the state and youth militias) this has led to many people living in fear. The fear has also been heightened by insecurities emanating from land tenure especially in re-settled farming areas where the villagers are often threatened with eviction if they don't support ZANU PF. Another compelling factor is poverty as most of the villagers rely on donations from the government and CSOs.

The study also found out that most organisations use the workshop method as a way of building peace in the communities. The study also found out that the two organisations that took part in the study also used the concept of the local peace committees. These two approaches have their merits and demerits. The major advantage is that the approaches make it easy to reach out to the communities and are easily sustainable and cost-effective. However, as a result of the prevailing polarised political environment in Zimbabwe, the approaches have run into some serious challenges as they have inadvertently aided to the perpetuation of the conflict.

The approaches have also created cultural dilemmas. The communal set up in the rural areas is dominated by traditional leaders and these leaders retain significant respect from the communities that they lead. Although these leaders have also been roped in into the peace committees, this has created operational problems for the committees as the traditional leaders often push for their own interests. The situation is even made worse by the fact that these traditional leaders are being manipulated by the political leaders to act in a partisan manner.

13.3.2 Objective Number 2: To examine the challenges facing Civil Society Organisations working in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe

The second objective was addressed in Chapter 8. The chapter looked at the peacebuilding models that the participating organizations were using. The study found out that the

participants were using the workshop method and the local peace committees. These approaches are popular in many places across the world.

A major finding in this chapter was that the two methods have had both successes and challenges in their operationalization. The workshop method has been a popular approach and has managed to raise awareness among participants regarding the issues leading to conflict in the communities. The workshops have been both problem solving as well as dialogue meetings. However, the major undoing has been that the workshops have also inadvertently fuelled the polarization in the communities. People who attend to these workshops are sometimes labelled and victimized as vatengesi (the sell outs).

The participants also fear that attending these workshops might attract serious reprisals during election time. The communities associate intense violence with the time of elections. They now believe that all 'wrongs' that are done during off election time, are recorded and then punishment meted towards, during and immediately after elections. The communities have experienced epochs of serious violence since the turn of the millennium. The violence is made even worse by the apparent militarization of state institutions as well as traditional institutions of leadership and conflict resolution.

Regarding the local peace committees, the study established that the committees are a good concept, at least on paper, but have also been hamstrung by operational dynamics to do with the peacebuilding environment as well as the composition of the LPCs themselves. The study found out that the LPCs run parallel with the traditional institutions as they are also charged with delivering justice at a local level again. I also found out that the CSOs promoting this concept are not keen on criticizing the concept as it was also bringing in funding from their donors.

Another issue with the composition of the LPCs is that they represent interests of political parties and this has seen them being heavily politicized.

I also found out that the state-civil society relationship is very problematic. The major finding being that the state relates well with those organizations that are working on developmental issues both social and economic. However, the state has a strained relationship with organizations working on rights issues, both civil and political. The relationship is characterized by suspicion and lack of trust. The participating organizations often run into similar challenges with the government as well.

Chapter 9 addressed objective number 2 as well as partially addressed the third objective by clarifying on the intervention that needed to be implemented in order to develop effective

peacebuilding skills among the participants. The approach involved FGDs to relate the challenges being faced, identify the existing capabilities and to identify areas that needed improvement.

The study found out that the CSOs face several challenges in their peacebuilding work. Chief among the challenges is the segregated political environment in which they operate. The CSOs are often referred to as regime change agents and are thus viewed as threats to national security. The situation is further compounded by the fact that most of these CSOs are funded by organisations in the west and at a diplomatic level, the government of Zimbabwe's relationship with the west is at its lowest level.

At the technical level, the CSOs operating in the area of peacebuilding face several challenges. The peacebuilding CSOs, just like many others operating in other sectors, emerged out of a crisis and as a result their evolution was not gradual and procedural. They lack knowledge in key areas of programming and implementation. Most of their personnel do not have skills training in the area. Some are learning on the job and this has many challenges.

Most of the organisations lack cultural awareness as well as conflict sensitivity in their programming. This has seen the organisations running into problems with traditional authorities as well as government authorities. The conflict in Zimbabwe is largely political and characterised by direct violence. This has left many people traumatised and requiring psychological help. Most CSOs does not have the expertise in this area. Therefore there is need to continue to invest in this critical area as well.

13.3.3 Objective Number 3: To design and implement a training module for Civil Society Organisations for skills development in peacebuilding in Bindura District in Zimbabwe

The designing of a training manual was informed by the findings relating to objectives 1 and 2. The aim was to develop a training intervention that would develop skills that are relevant to the conflict dynamics in the communities in which these organizations are operating. A collaborative process with the action research team led to the crafting of a training manual comprising five modules. The modules focused on a reconceptualization of concepts like conflict, violence, peace and peacebuilding, conflict analysis, communication and listening skills in peacebuilding, culture, conflict and change, conflict sensitive programming in peacebuilding and basic counseling skills for peacebuilders.

The workshop aimed at developing individual skills, inter-personal skills as well as organizational skills in order to enhance peacebuilding effectiveness within the participating organizations. A three-day training workshop was organized and delivered in Bindura. The training methodology was largely participatory. The ART team comprised twelve participants drawn from the two participating organization. The gender distribution had 8 female participants and 4 male participants. The gender disparity was inconsequential given the nature and composition of one of the participating organizations which works mostly with women. The intervention was successfully completed and the training objectives were met.

I facilitated all the five modules that were in the training manual. However, it must be noted that the training manual was a culmination of a series of consultative meetings and focus group discussions involving the ART. There was need to allow the participants to decide on whether they wanted a training workshop or to use the information to develop on their own, new practices. In the end, the participants agreed to a training workshop as they noted that it would serve more as a refresher course and will provide useful practical insights.

The thrust of the training was on developing peacebuilding skills at the personal, interpersonal and organisational levels. The modules on understanding conflict, violence and peace, listening and communication skills as well as counselling skills in peacebuilding all aimed at developing personal and to some extent interpersonal peacebuilding skills. The modules on culture, conflict and society and conflict sensitivity provided an understanding of organisational sensitivity to the operating environment.

13.3.4 Objective number 4: To carry out a short term impact evaluation of the intervention

After the intervention, a workshop evaluation was carried out and all the participants showed great appreciation of the intervention. The participants rated the workshop as highly successful as evidenced by the responses on the evaluation form.

The participants however noted that the last module on basic counselling skills in peacebuilding required more time as some of the concepts were largely new to the participants. The participants felt that the module was very relevant to what they were doing on a daily basis and they would have wanted more time to master some of the concepts. The participants also suggested that I should have brought a core-facilitator for the intervention in order to avoid fatigue and burn out. I took the criticism positively and I hope that next time when an opportunity to train people arises, I will consider bringing in a co-facilitator.

I also carried out a short term impact assessment where I sought to establish the extent to which the new skills were being utilized. I noted that one of the organizations had already initiated the process of renaming the LPCs and now referring to them as Community Working Groups. Generally, the responses given and the observations that I made demonstrated that the intervention had a positive impact on the operations of the participants. The evaluation proved that the intervention was highly successful.

13.4 Conclusions

I have drawn a number of conclusions from the study. An important insight from this study is that there is more to the development of peacebuilding skills than what meets the eye in many cases. Many organizations have a tendency to go for the generic manuals and materials that are easily available on internet. Whilst there is nothing wrong with this, it is important to note that each conflict is unique and happens in a specific context. Therefore, the skills that the peacebuilding practitioners ought to possess must also relate to the conflict context or environment.

13.4.1 Cultural Values, Knowledge Generation and Peacebuilding in Zimbabwe

The study concludes that the development of peacebuilding skills in Zimbabwe has been largely influenced by the more Dominant Western ideologies that are easily accessible on internet. The other factor is that these models are fashionable with the donors who support grassroots organizations, Zimbabwe included.

An attempt was made during the intervention stage to articulate the interaction between culture, conflict and change. Murithi (2009) has warned that there is a danger of romanticizing endogenous practices in conflict resolution. I agree with him but at the same time, I want to go further and state that in the context of Zimbabwe, the traditional institutions of leadership are recognized constitutionally. The challenges that the LPCs have faced in some communities in Zimbabwe is that they appear to run parallel with these traditional institutions. It is a fact that these institutions have been undermined by years of political manipulation and intimidation but it also remains a fact that they cannot just be wished away.

The challenge is to generate knowledge on how best to mainstream the positive cultural practices into the broader framework of peacebuilding. The two participating organizations have tried this by integrating the traditional leaders but this was nothing more than a symbolic

gesture as opposed to a well thought out process as to how they will add value to the process of peacebuilding.

Most conflict resolution and transformation values in the Korekore tradition and many other communities in Zimbabwe, just like in many other parts of Africa, are largely informal, unwritten and yet effective and relevant. The thrust of the intervention was to raise awareness in the manner in which the participants interact with the communities. There is therefore a need to rethink the relevance of LPCs in the context of Zimbabwe. From the study it was evident that the LPCs have created more challenges for the communities.

Whilst the work that CSOs are doing in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe is highly commendable, there is still room for further improvement by harnessing knowledge that is available both internationally and locally. As Powell (2006:521) points out, there are multiple forms of knowledge and that these knowledge forms are shaped by various aspects including language, culture, education and gender. The biggest challenge for peacebuilding actors in Global South is probably to manage the vast knowledge information on peacebuilding in a manner that will make it effective in their local context.

There is need to manage the three forms of knowledge that is tacit, explicit and implicit knowledge. Taping on tacit knowledge in the communities is especially difficult because of the cultural issues involved. It requires special inter-personal skills to harness the tacit knowledge that may be locked in cultural traditions. The most readily available form is explicit knowledge. It is easily available because usually it is codified and in written form. The other form is implicit knowledge and it relates to cultural relativism, social appropriateness and is usually context specific.

13.4.2 Organizational Capacity and Peacebuilding in Zimbabwe

My conclusion is that the CSOs are well managed and have people who are competent in all departments. Their record keeping provides easy tracking of the activities that they have been doing regarding peacebuilding work. The intervention managed to raise awareness on the need to manage the various forms of knowledge in the context of peacebuilding. Managing the different expectations as well as interests of the various stakeholders in peacebuilding is not easy at all. Part of the training focus was on strengthening organizational capacity in order to manage this diversity. Whilst I have already acceded to the fact that the organizations are well manned, the point that I am emphasizing is the development of skills to manage conflict sensitivity as well as other cultural and political sensitivities.

I noticed that there is a bid dilemma as organizations struggle to balance donor expectations as well as responding effectively to the realities on the ground. Peacebuilding is a process that requires time because of its various aspects. The relational aspect of peacebuilding is the most important indicator of whether an initiative was effective. However, relations may take long to be improved. There are a lot of factors that might hinder this. In the context of this study, relationship building has been affected by a lot of things and chief among them insecurity and fear as a result of the prolonged years of political violence and intimidation. The challenge is that peacebuilding initiatives are being run as projects that are expected to have a timeline.

The CSOs have tried to come up with a sustainability plan by creating structures within the communities. However, as the study found out, the structures, especially the LPCs have not had the desired effect. The training intervention managed to bring into perspective the challenges related to the current practice within the CSOs.

An interesting insight from the action research was that the organizations were able to share their experiences in terms of what works and that which does not work. It was noted during the study that the organizations run multiple community empowerment activities and that the peacebuilding projects were just treated as any other project in their programming. The action research provided an interface between the communities, other stakeholders and the participating organizations and was thus able to highlight the strengths as well as the shortcomings of the current practice. As a result of the intervention, the organizations were able to:

- Improve their organizational effectiveness.
- Participants also improved on their personal and interpersonal skills in relation to peacebuilding.
- Realize that the utility of peacebuilding models and approaches also depends on the cultural and political context of the conflict.

At the end knowledge generation was a close collaborative affair. The participants and I all played an active role. The participation of the stakeholders guarantees that the results of the study are taken seriously and implemented in order to enhance program effectiveness.

The overall conclusion is that there is need to harmonize the generic material on peacebuilding training and the local cultural values. This is not an easy task but it is necessary as it will help to improve the quality of the interventions. The study has shown that relying on the western concepts can be good but there are limitations to it. The structure of the rural communities in Zimbabwe is such that the traditional leaders take centre stage in every development that

happens in the community. As a result, the strategies for peacebuilding must find a way of integrating them. However, this is made complex by the fact that the traditional institutions have been politicized. Previously they were known to be agents of development in their constituencies. This has since changed as they are now more of political agents than custodians of peace and development.

13.5 Ending the Action Research Cycle

The action cycle was guided by the objectives set out in the study. As a result, the cycle ended with the short term evaluation. However, as the cycle ended there were some important issues emerging. The participants noted that there was a need to develop a collaborative enquiry again into how the issues relating to trauma can be effectively dealt with in post conflict environments. This insight was to a large extent informed by the nature of conflict and its effect in the two districts of Bindura and Mazowe. The conflict has been violent and has led to the death, disappearance and displacement of people in the communities. Apart from that it is also cyclic as it tends to be more pronounced towards election times.

The participants also noted that there was need to try out new approaches to peacebuilding and that these approaches should probably be centred on the available traditional local resources. Whilst the villagers did not form part of the action research team, those who took part in the preliminary data collection also indicated that they prefer a situation where they take a more active role in determining what is good for them and that which is not.

13.6 Action Research- Personal Reflections

I must admit that this was an interesting adventure. Action research challenged me to integrate theory and practice whilst also maintaining an empirical touch to the study. The experience was worthwhile and I believe it will have a profound effect on the manner in which the organizations do their work.

My diverse background which makes me a teacher, counsellor, peace practitioner and an academic also provided useful resources regarding the manner in which I shaped the study as well as the development of the intervention program. The collaborative work was interesting. However, I also realized that the CSOs are not always willing to share their experiences. Perhaps I understood their reservations. In Zimbabwe, unlike in the developed countries, CSO has become a major source of livelihood. When people get into an organization, the immediate concern is to earn a living. As a result, organizations are not always willing to acknowledge their weaknesses. It is against this background that one may

see many organizations doing peacebuilding even when the capacity is not there. Action research is one method of helping organizations develop capacity in a non-intrusive way.

13.7 Recommendations

In light of the findings, analysis and conclusions drawn from the study, I therefore proffer some recommendations. The recommendations focus mainly on CSOs. The main thrust of the recommendations is to help the practitioners in peacebuilding to develop more effective intervention strategies. Strategies that are localized and context-specific in order to enhance relevance and programme effectiveness.

- Civil Society Organizations working on peacebuilding projects must invest in more collaborative studies on how best to integrate local and western practices in peacebuilding in order to enhance effectiveness. This study has shown that it is best to adopt an eclectic approach in the programming of peacebuilding interventions. However, this eclectic approach is only possible if practitioners are fully aware of the strengths and weaknesses of each approach and to be able to integrate the values in a way that is conflict sensitive.
- CSOs in the field of peacebuilding must develop conflict-sensitive tools in order to guide their programming. Most of the conflicts between CSOs and other stakeholders was seen as a result of lack of due diligence on the part of the CSOs. Conflict sensitive tools will help the CSOs to be much more effective in their programming. I noted that although the concept is popular internationally, it is still not very popular with most of the CSOs locally.
- The CSOs must strive to be impartial and non-political. Some of the challenges that the organizations are facing are a result of lack of impartiality as well as siding with certain political formations. There is a proverbial saying 'you cannot have your cake and eat it' holds true to the expected conduct of the CSOs working on peacebuilding. The primary function of a peacebuilding practitioner is to facilitate reconstruction of the social fabric in a manner that is objective. The problem in Zimbabwe is that most CSOs want to be agents of political change on the one hand and agents of peace on the other.
- Traditional leaders are important actors in peacebuilding. Previously they were known to be agents of development but in the current dispensation they are more of political commissars. There is therefore, need to find a way to de-politicize these institutions.

CSOs can play a role by developing training programmes to help re-orient the traditional leaders.

13.8 Areas for Further Study

Future action-research oriented studies can extend on this study by focusing on three important areas:

- Traditional Leaders and peacebuilding- I realized that the nature of the Zimbabwean conflict is such that violence is largely manifested in the rural areas and that the traditional leaders have been used to perpetuate violence on their people. There might be need for a project that tries to rehabilitate the traditional institutions. Traditional institutions are important as they have a big influence in ensuring peace and reconciliation at a community level.
- Trauma healing and peacebuilding- one of the areas that I realized would need a significant focus is trauma healing in post-conflict communities. There have been very isolated initiatives across the country with the Counselling Services Unit leading the way but there is a lot that still needs to be done. There is also need to study the efficacy of traditional trauma handling mechanisms within Zimbabwean communities and see how these can be integrated with the modern approaches.
- De-politicizing the security institutions of the country- apart from the traditional institutions, there is also need to work on the de-politicization of the security institutions, the police, the army, air force and the Central Intelligence Organization in Zimbabwe. This might not be an easy area to study but it is very imperative if Zimbabwe is to enjoy sustainable peace.

13.9 Summary

In this chapter I presented the summary of the study. I provided the summary of findings per each objective, highlighting the key findings in the process. I also drew conclusions from the findings as well as recommendations as informed by the findings from the study.

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APPENDIX 1: Interview Guide for CSOs

Brief Introduction and Purpose of the Study:

My name is David Makwerere and I am studying for a PhD Degree in Peacebuilding with Durban University of Technology. I am undertaking an action research study titled **‘Challenges developing peacebuilding skills among Civil Society Organizations in Zimbabwe.’** The study is being conducted in Mashonaland Central Province, Bindura District but will also incorporate key informants from Harare.

Ethical Note

Would you agree to be interviewed for the study? The interview will take approximately 30 minutes. Participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without giving reasons, and without prejudice or any adverse consequences. The information you give will only be used for research purposes and will be aggregated with other responses and only the overall or average information will be used. Your identity and individual answers will be kept totally confidential. Should you wish to discuss this further please feel free to contact me or my supervisor Professor Sylvia Kaye, telephone: 031 201 4079 or SylviaK@dut.ac.za.

Interview Questions

1. What is the nature of the Zimbabwean conflict since 2000?
2. What are the major drivers of the conflict?
3. How is your organization responding to the challenges?
4. Does your organization have specific peacebuilding model(s)? Explain the model(s).
5. How did you develop the model(s)?
6. Which constituencies are you working with for your peacebuilding activities?
7. How effective are your interventions?
8. How did your staff develop the peacebuilding skills that they use?
9. Are you satisfied with the levels of peacebuilding skills that you have as an organization?
10. Do you think your organization will need more skills training to enhance their effectiveness?
11. If yes in 9 above, list some of the areas you may need to improve your effectiveness.

Thank you for your time.

APPENDIX 2: Focus Group Discussion Guide for Communities

Brief Introduction and Purpose of the Study:

My name is David Makwerere and I am studying for a PhD Degree in Peacebuilding with Durban University of Technology. I am undertaking an action research study titled **'Challenges developing peacebuilding skills among Civil Society Organizations in Zimbabwe.'** The study is being conducted in Mashonaland Central Province, Bindura District but will also incorporate key informants from Harare.

Ethical Note

Would you agree to take part in the focus group discussion (FGD)? The FGD will take approximately one hour. Participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without giving reasons, and without prejudice or any adverse consequences. The information you give will only be used for research purposes and will be aggregated with other responses and only the overall or average information will be used. Your identity and individual answers will be kept totally confidential. Should you wish to discuss this further please feel free to contact me or my supervisor Professor Sylvia Kaye, telephone: 031 201 4079 or SylviaK@dut.ac.za.

Instructions

- i) Group members to introduce themselves
- ii) Resepect each other and allow everyone to contribute.

Male	Female

1. Understanding of the nature of the Zimbabwean conflict since 2000.
2. What are the major drivers of the conflict?
 - To probe the major causes of conflict in Mazowe and Bindura districts.
3. Who are the civil society organizations carrying out peacebuilding activities in your area?
4. What are the strategies being used and how effective are they?
 - Probe on the specific strategies
 - Effectiveness
5. What are the advantages and disadvantages of these strategies?
 - Advantages- participants to give tangible examples
 - Disadvantages- participants to give tangible examples
6. What advice, if any, would you give to the CSOs that are doing peacebuilding work in your community?

APPENDIX 3: Interview Guide for Traditional Leaders

Brief Introduction and Purpose of the Study:

My name is David Makwerere and I am studying for a PhD Degree in Peacebuilding with Durban University of Technology. I am undertaking an action research study titled **‘Challenges developing peacebuilding skills among Civil Society Organizations in Zimbabwe.’** The study is being conducted in Mashonaland Central Province, Bindura District but will also incorporate key informants from Harare.

Ethical Note

Would you agree to be interviewed for the study? The interview will take approximately 30 minutes. Participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without giving reasons, and without prejudice or any adverse consequences. The information you give will only be used for research purposes and will be aggregated with other responses and only the overall or average information will be used. Your identity and individual answers will be kept totally confidential. Should you wish to discuss this further please feel free to contact me or my supervisor Professor Sylvia Kaye, telephone: 031 201 4079 or SylviaK@dut.ac.za.

1. What is your role as a leader in the community?
2. What is your understanding of the conflict(s) affecting your community?
3. How would you describe your working relationship with the CSOs operating in your area?
4. Are you involved in their planning and implementation of activities in your area?
5. Are the programmes relevant to your cultural values and beliefs?
6. What can be done to improve the impact of CSOs' peacebuilding projects in your area?
7. Do you have any additional comments?

APPENDIX 4: Focus Group Discussion Guide with the Participating CSOs

Brief Introduction and Purpose of the Study:

My name is David Makwerere and I am studying for a PhD Degree in Peacebuilding with Durban University of Technology. I am undertaking an action research study titled '**Challenges developing peacebuilding skills among Civil Society Organizations in Zimbabwe.**' The study is being conducted in Mashonaland Central Province, Bindura District but will also incorporate key informants from Harare.

Ethical Note

Would you agree to participate in the FGD? The FGD will take approximately one hour. Participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without giving reasons, and without prejudice or any adverse consequences. The information you give will only be used for research purposes and will be aggregated with other responses and only the overall or average information will be used. Your identity and individual answers will be kept totally confidential. Should you wish to discuss this further please feel free to contact me or my supervisor Professor Sylvia Kaye, telephone: 031 201 4079 or SylviaKaye@dut.ac.za.

Gender

Male	Female

Age

20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+

Marital Status

Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed

1. What are the capacity gaps (this is a follow up to the preliminary interviews with the organisations)
2. Can you rank the capacity gaps in order of preference?
3. How do you propose we address these challenges?
 - Participates to determine intervention needs.
4. What other options are available and which one is best in your situation?
5. What is the proposed timeline for the intervention?
6. What is the proposed venue?
7. What are the resources needed (material, financial and human)?

Appendix 5: Post-Training Evaluation Guide

Please rate the following from one to five where **1=strongly agree**, **2=Disagree**, **3=Neutral**, **4=Agree** and **5=strongly agree**

1. The objectives of the workshop were achieved.	1. 2.3.4.5.
2. The topics covered were appropriate.	1.2.3.4.5.
3. The objectives were clear.	1.2.3.4.5.
4. The content was logical and easy to follow.	1.2.3.4.5.
5. The learning materials were useful.	1.2.3.4.5.
6. The trainer was knowledgeable and well-prepared.	1.2.3.4.5.
7. Participation and interaction were encouraged.	1.2.3.4.5.
8. Time allocated for all modules was sufficient.	1.2.3.4.5.
9. This training will be relevant to my work.	1.2.3.4.5.
10. The venue was comfortable.	1.2.3.4.5.

11. What did you like most about the training?

.....

.....

.....

.....

12. What aspect of the training can be improved?

.....

.....

.....

.....

13. How do you hope to change your practice as a result of the training?

.....

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DURBAN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

**CIVIL SOCIETY PEACEBUILDING SKILLS
DEVELOPMENT TRAINING MANUAL**

Developed By

David Makwerere Student Number 21448868

**For an action research study titled ‘Developing
Peacebuilding Skills among civil society organizations in
Zimbabwe.’**

Email david.makwerere@gmail.com

Promoter: Doctor Sylvia Kaye

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PREFACE

This module was developed as part of the action research study that I did together with two participating organizations in Mashonaland Central Province in Zimbabwe. The contents of the module respond specifically to the capacity gaps that were identified in the two participating organizations and as such the utility of the module in other training contexts maybe problematic. I must point out that the contents are not entirely new. They are borrowed from already existing literature on training in peacebuilding (although the context was specifically Mashonaland central with all examples and activities borrowing from the context). The content was adapted from a training module by Caritas which is titled *Peacebuilding: A Caritas Training Manual (2002)*, and Saferworld manual titled *Training of trainers manual: Transforming conflict and Building Peace (2014)*. Other useful aspects on conflict sensitive programming were adapted from Anderson (1999) and Schirch (2013). However, it is the organization of the content and the delivery that was given contextual meaning and emphasis. The module speaks to the operational challenges that the two organizations raised and was developed in an effort to mitigate these challenges. Therefore, the module might not cover all aspects of peacebuilding as it was developed in a specific context. Conflict is a dynamic phenomenon and will require dynamism in responding to it. The African continent and the world at large continue to suffer from cultural, structural and direct violence. It is therefore important to continue to develop capacity among civil society organizations that are working on peacebuilding and capacity development.

Peacebuilding is an art that requires special skills. The skills are unique as most conflicts are unique as well. The development and institutionalization of peacebuilding in Zimbabwe has had its fair share of challenges. Chief among them has been a critical lack of the requisite skills to drive a more sustainable process.

AIM

- ❖ The module aims to build knowledge and practical skills among Civil Society Organizations working on peacebuilding in the communities around Zimbabwe.

Audience

The manual was specifically tailored for the two participating CSOs as part of the action research study to develop effective peacebuilding skills among civil society organizations in Zimbabwe. Therefore the manual speaks to the developmental and capacity needs of the two organizations.

OBJECTIVES

- ❖ To introduce the participants to the basic conceptual parameters of peacebuilding;
- ❖ To improve and sharpen listening and communication skills in peacebuilding;
- ❖ To identify the basic conflict analysis tools available as well as to identify appropriate use;
- ❖ To develop conflict-sensitive programming capacities in peacebuilding.
- ❖ Analyse and link indigenous conflict transformation strategies and contemporary approaches;
- ❖ To develop basic counselling skills among CSOs working in conflict zones and;
- ❖ Develop assessment tools in peacebuilding work.

Training Philosophy

The module is built on the core values of **local ownership, responsiveness, sensitivity and ingenuity**. The contents of the module are a result of a wide reaching field work over a period spanning five months between May 2015 and September 2015. The module borrows from various training materials on peacebuilding. However, efforts were made to ensure that the final product responds to the conflict dynamics in Mazowe and Bindura districts in particular.

Key Terms and Concepts Used in the training manual

Civil Society – refers to a wide range of non-state actors, groups and associations which represent the interests of society, providing checks and balances to the work of government as well as complementing the efforts of government.

Conflict – Contradictions at an individual, family, societal, institutional level arising from perceptions, cultural orientation, religion, political affiliation or resource allocation

Conflict analysis- is a rigorous process of examining and understanding the reality of a conflict from a variety of perspectives. This understanding will then be the basis on which strategies can be developed and actions is planned. Participatory analysis that is undertaken by groups that include participants from different sides in a conflict can also become part of how 'the other side' perceives the situation. Analysis becomes a way of reducing misconceptions and building trust and a common understanding between groups.

Conflict-Sensitive Approach- involves gaining a good understanding through conflict analysis of the context you operate (e.g. key conflict actors, drivers and dynamics) and understanding the ways in which your intervention might impact on these conflict issues (e.g.

what positive or negative, intended or unintended impacts might your activities have on these actors, causes and dynamics), and then acting upon this understanding in order to minimise the negative and maximise the positive impacts on peace and conflict.

Gender sensitivity- means that during activities such as communication, training, programme design and planning, the expectations, needs and particular circumstances of women and men are carefully thought about and engaged with. It might be that because of social inequalities, vulnerability, discrimination or violence that particular attention should be given to individuals or a group so that all benefit equally from a programme or training.

Good governance - Governance can be defined as a set of values, policies and Institutions through which society manages economic, political and social processes at different levels on the basis of interaction among the government, civil society and the private sector. It encompasses the activities of governments, power relations, and activities of both government and non-governmental actors. In other words governing is the totality of interaction between public and private actors aimed at solving social problems, creating social opportunities and establishing a normative foundation for all activities.

Identity groups -refer to groups of individuals who share the consciousness of a common bond, based on linguistic, cultural, social, regional or economic ties.

Negative peace- is a situation where there is no current violent conflict, but where structural and deep root causes of previous conflict might still be present and there remains potential for violent conflict. The focus is on re-establishing law and order, securing a ceasefire, preventing further outbreaks of violence, stabilizing areas that have been previously conflict-affected, starting post-war reconstruction, demining and disarming, demobilizing and re-integrating ex-combatants, and promoting and aiding peace agreements.

Negotiation- It is a process of talks between conflicting parties discussing ideas and options for a mutually agreeable agreement. Negotiation can take place in a face to face set up or through teleconferencing. People usually decide to go for negotiations when all the other options are not in their interests and when the situation is ripe for example when the warring parties are exhausted. Negotiation can also be a culmination of regional pressure and in circumstances where leaders have authority to speak for their constituencies.

Participatory Approach- to training means that it is not only the trainers who provide content for the participants to learn. A participatory-based workshop draws extensively from the participants' own knowledge and experience which then feeds into and strengthens the learning process. This is done using small group work, case studies, role-plays, discussions, and participant presentations. Such an approach means that the learning is more relevant and focused for participants' needs and expectations.

Peacebuilding- is a comprehensive concept that includes, generates and sustains the many processes, approaches and stages needed to transform destructive conflict towards more sustainable, peaceful relationships. The term thus involves a wide range of activities that occur before and after formal peace accords. In this understanding, peace is seen not merely as a stage in time or a static condition, but as a dynamic process. The process of peacebuilding can be likened to house building: it requires investment and material, architectural design, coordination of labour, firm foundations, finishing touches, as well as continued maintenance. Peacebuilding is a process to engage in, not a goal to arrive at.

Positive Peace -continues on from negative peace and is understood as tackling the sometimes less visible and deeper structural root causes of the conflict, and is therefore longer-term. Activities include: establishing a fair and independent legal and law enforcement system; tackling discrimination in education and health provision; building an accountable, inclusive and power-sharing form of government; fostering cooperation between groups;

challenging negative stereotypes and prejudices; and protecting human rights. Positive peace leads to sustainable peace.

Sustainability -indicates a concern not only to start peacebuilding and reconciliation initiatives but also to create a proactive process that is capable of maintaining its life over time. It enables a spiral of peace and development instead of a spiral of violence and destruction.

Transformation- represents change from one status to another. In relation to conflict progression, transformation is the movement from the latent stage to confrontation, to negotiation, and to a dynamic, peaceful relationship. Violent conflict arises when parties go beyond seeking to attain their goals peacefully and try to dominate or destroy the opposing party's ability to pursue their own interests.

Vulnerable- groups refer to certain groups in society who are especially discriminated against or neglected by the state and society as a whole. They often include poor people, minorities, indigenous peoples, refugees or people internally displaced as a result of conflict, and certain groups of children and women.

The definitions given above are related to the modules that are contained in the training manual. I must admit that they are contextual and therefore not comprehensive. They are open to scrutiny as well as revision because conflict is dynamic and contexts will always differ.

Welcome and Introduction

- To establish the ground rules for the workshop;

Greeting and orientation

Welcome participants

Introductions of participants

Introduction of trainer(s)

Aims of the entire workshop

Display workshop aims and give a brief overview of the modules on flipcharts for the entire programme. Make sure that these aims are visible for the entire programme.

Participant expectations and concerns

- Participants are expected to present their expectations as well as their concerns during the intervention.
- The session will be used to establish the learning contract.

MODULE 1: PERSPECTIVES ON CONFLICT, VIOLENCE AND PEACE AND CONFLICT ANALYSIS

This module was developed with a view to developing a common understanding among the participants regarding conflict, violence and peace. A broad understanding of the key terms in the work of the CSOs is important because it goes a long way in shaping the intervention strategies for the CSOs.

1.1 Aims:

- To develop a common understanding of conflict, violence and peace;
- To develop practical skills in the use of the selected conflict analysis tools; and
- To apply the concepts in real life situations.

NB: Display prepared flipchart with aims for Module 1.

1.2 Session 1: Developing a common language of conflict, violence and peace

1.2.1 Defining conflict

Participants are expected to brainstorm on the meaning of conflict. The facilitator must encourage the participants to say out as much on the meaning of the term and list all the responses on a flipchart. It is important to then relate to the responses and highlight the various meanings of the term conflict. It is also important to highlight both the violent and non-violent aspects of conflict and emphasis must be given on these differences. The facilitator must encourage each member to give his/her understanding of conflict.

Emphasis must be given to the characteristics of conflict, stages of conflict as well as types of conflict

Some Useful Notes on the Conceptualization of Conflict

Social conflict: Refers to an expressed struggle between two or more interdependent parties who perceive scarce resources and incompatible goals. Social conflict can occur both at the micro level and at the macro level.

Interest-based conflict: "Conflict is present when two or more parties perceive their interests as incompatible, express hostile attitudes, or pursue their interests through actions that damage the other parties. According to Lund (1997), interests can differ over:

- Access to and distribution of resources (e.g. territory, money, energy sources, land, food and how they should be distributed)
- Control of power and participation on political decision making
- Identity, concerning cultural, social and political communities to which people feel associated
- Statue, particularly those embodied in systems of government, religion or ideology

According to Laue (2003) conflict is and escalated competition at any system level between groups whose aim is to gain advantage in the area of power, resources, interests, and needs and at least one of the groups believes that this dimension of the relationship is mutually incompatible."

Relational conflict: This type of conflict involves strong emotions as well as misconceptions or stereotypes. It is also a result of poor or miscommunication and leading to negative behavior. Relational conflicts can emanate from cultural traditions. For example the Shona tradition is against girl children inheriting their fathers' estates. This can actually lead to some serious relational problems within a family.

Structural conflict: This is conflict caused or perpetuated by structural and institutional configurations in a given society. The structures and institutions usually lead to power asymmetries and unequal control of resources. Those in power or in control of the structures and the institutions are usually the beneficiaries.

1.3 Stages of conflict

Conflicts are not homogenous and thus they take different forms and go through different stages. As J.P Lederach (1997) points out, conflict is not a static phenomenon, but is expressive, dynamic and dialectical. Fisher et al (2008) identified five broad phases of a conflict as follows:

a) Pre-conflict Phase

At this stage the conflict is not well known because parties try to hide it from the public domain. Usually the tale-tale signs are the breaking down of communication, development of attitudes and contradictions against each other and signs of aggressiveness in the behaviour of the conflicting parties. Goals are evidently incompatible and this could lead to open conflict.

b) confrontation

The conflict becomes open or manifest. This is characterized by occasional fighting, low levels of violence, and search for allies by parties, mobilization of resources, strained relations and polarization.

c) crisis

This represents the peak of the conflict. In violent conflict, this is the stage of war and intense fighting leading to killings, injuries, large scale population displacements, and the use of small arms and light weapons etc.

d) Outcome

There is an assumption that all conflicts will pass through this stage, one way or the other, one side wins and another loses, or a ceasefire maybe declared in the case of armed conflicts, one may surrender, or the government or other third party intervening forces stronger than the warring parties intervene to impose a solution and stop the fighting. The critical issue at this stage is that the violence is decreased, which allows room for some discussion to commence, or alternative means of settling the conflict.

e) Post-conflict

At this stage, violence has either ended or significantly reduced, and the parties have gone past the crisis stage. This is the stage to address the underlying causes of the conflict, those incompatible goals which created the conflict in the first instance, such as the needs and fears of the parties. If they are not tackled at this stage, the conflict cycle may be re-enacted and a return to the pre-conflict stage, with consequent re-eruption of violence, is a possibility.

These conflict stages are also referred to by other names, such as “conflict process” or “conflict progression”. They nevertheless represent useful points of conflict analysis

1.4 Identifying forms of conflict

Introduction to conflict squares

Participants will refer to the conflict squares namely harmony (no conflict), latent (waiting), surface (visible) and open conflict. The facilitator will explain the meaning of each and every square whilst also giving relevant examples per each square.

Harmony / no conflict

There is general understanding of each other and respect for diversity.

Latent (waiting) conflict

There are disagreements but no clashes as yet. The tension is beginning to tell although there is yet to be direct confrontation.

Surface (visible or active) conflict

The conflict is now being acted in the open and there is direct confrontation.

Open conflict

This is more like the crisis stage where people are exchanging gunfire, verbal insults etc.

NB: Participants to provide relevant examples during activities.

Group work

Participants to work in small groups of three or four on real life conflicts that they would have identified and use insights from the conflict squares exercise to work on the conflict. Each group is expected to present their worked example with the whole class reflecting on each one of the presentations. Emphasis must be given on the complex issues that arose during the exercise with a view to highlighting and emphasizing the complex dynamics in conflict and conflict transformation.

Feedback and plenary discussion highlighting the key learning points.

1.5 Violence and peace

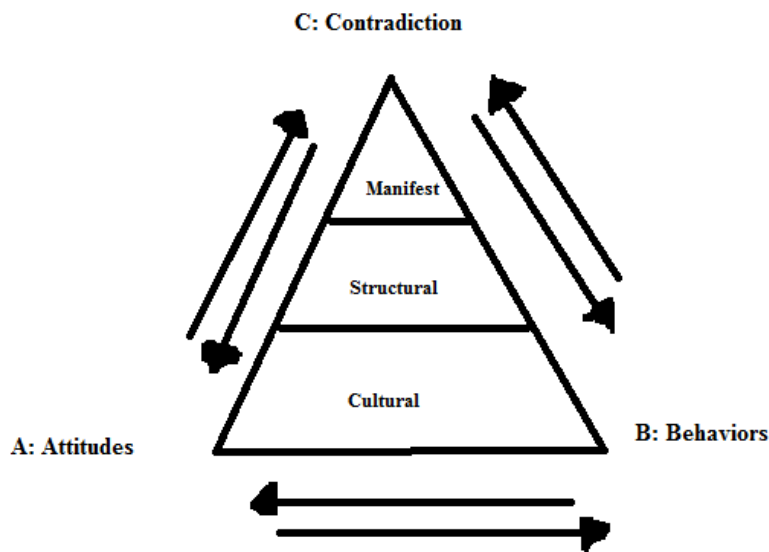
Defining violence

Brainstorm on the meaning of violence and list the answers on a flipchart.

Notes: Violence can be physical, emotional, structural and cultural. Emphasize that violence is defined by damage/harm and there are different ways that violence can take place. Emphasis must be given on the three forms of Violence by Galtung (1996) i.e. direct, structural and cultural violence. Participants must be able to distinguish the three types as well as give relevant examples in order to illustrate the differences.

Exercise: Identifying forms of violence

Introduction to the Violence Triangle Tool



Source: Galtung (1996)

Then introduce the participants to the violence triangle by drawing the Violence triangle and labelling the A (attitude); B (behavior) and Context (context) corners.

Attitudes: Relate to feelings, beliefs, values etc.

Behaviour: visible action in a conflict situation.

Context: Systems (governance, cultural religious or otherwise) that create an unjust system

Exercise: divide the participants into small groups of three or four and ask them to identify a real life conflict and identify the attitudes, behaviors and context informing the conflict. Attention must be given to the relationship between the three aspects and how they fuel violence.

1.6 Introduction to concepts of peace

In plenary, participants must attempt to define peace. Allow every participant to contribute to the discussion before reflecting on the answers given. Refer to the two notions of peace by Galtung (1996) i.e. **negative peace and positive peace**.

The facilitator must explain the difference between negative and positive peace and how they relate to peacebuilding.

1.7 Conflict analysis

Presentation: Introduction to conflict analysis

Brainstorm on the importance of conflict analysis in peacebuilding work. List the responses on a flipchart and discuss the points raised as you try to build a common understanding.

Notes for the Facilitator

- According to Paul Wehr (1979), conflict analysis is the first step in intervening to manage a particular conflict. It is crucial in that it gives both the intervener and conflict parties a clearer understanding of the origins, nature, dynamics and possibilities for the resolution of the conflict. It also gives a quick profile of a conflict situation. Elicit from participants a snapshot of their view of the conflict.
- Conflict analysis is a rigorous process of examining and understanding the reality of a conflict from a variety of perspectives. This understanding will then be the basis on which strategies can be developed and actions planned. Participatory analysis that is undertaken by groups that include participants from different sides in a conflict can also become part of how 'the other side' perceives the situation. Analysis becomes a way of reducing misconceptions and building trust and a common understanding between groups.

1.8 Goals for conflict analysis

- ❖ To understand the background and history of the situation as well as the current events
- ❖ To identify all the relevant groups involved, not just the main or obvious ones
- ❖ To understand the perspectives of all these groups and to know more about how they relate to each other
- ❖ To identify factors and trends that underpin conflicts
- ❖ To build a common understanding and reduce misconceptions between opposing groups in a conflict situation
- ❖ To learn from mistakes as well as successes

1.9 Classification of mapping

Conflict mapping can be classified into different categories. The key categories include relational, needs-based, political and transformative mapping. The nature of the conflict determines the type and approach to the whole mapping process.

Mapping Needs-based Conflict

Identify the 'satisfiers' for the needs in your selected community. Be aware of the gendered nature of needs. Food, Shelter, Clothing, work may be common to all societies. There may be changes in the other 'satisfiers' based on the society.

Discuss whether these "satisfiers" are adequately available to men, women and children...

Discuss whether the means of access (whether limited or not) are available for all members of society including men and women or controlled by a privileged few. The latter may be conflict generating.

Mapping Relational Conflict

- Identify the groups involved in the conflict you are monitoring.
- What is the history of their relationship?

- What is their geographical proximity to each other?
- What resource(s) do they share?
- How is access to the resource(s) controlled?
- Assess the level of prejudice between the groups. Is it intense or socially acceptable? What has been the trend of prejudice intensification?
- What is the pattern of communication among the groups? Whose language is used?

Mapping Political Conflict

There are several political factors that generate conflicts:-

Failed state, lack of regime legitimacy, poor governance, and competition between states as core factors behind political conflicts. These factors manifest themselves in the political, social, economic, and security realm of society.

Identify and list the political, social, economic, security manifestations of failed state, lack of regime legitimacy, poor governance, and interstate rivalry.

Mapping Transformative Conflict

- ❑ Discuss the role of change and structures in the conflict you are reviewing:
- Identify the political, economic, social, religious, and security structures of the society
- Are the structures effective for peace generation? If not, what is leading to their weakness?
- Which of the structures are under pressure for change?
- Is there resistance to change? Is it in policy, structures, beliefs, values, etc.?
- Where is the pressure for change coming from? Is the demanded change endogenous or exogenous?

It is important to note that conflict analysis is not a one-time exercise, it must be an on-going process, as the situation develops, so that you can adapt your actions to changing factors, dynamics and circumstances

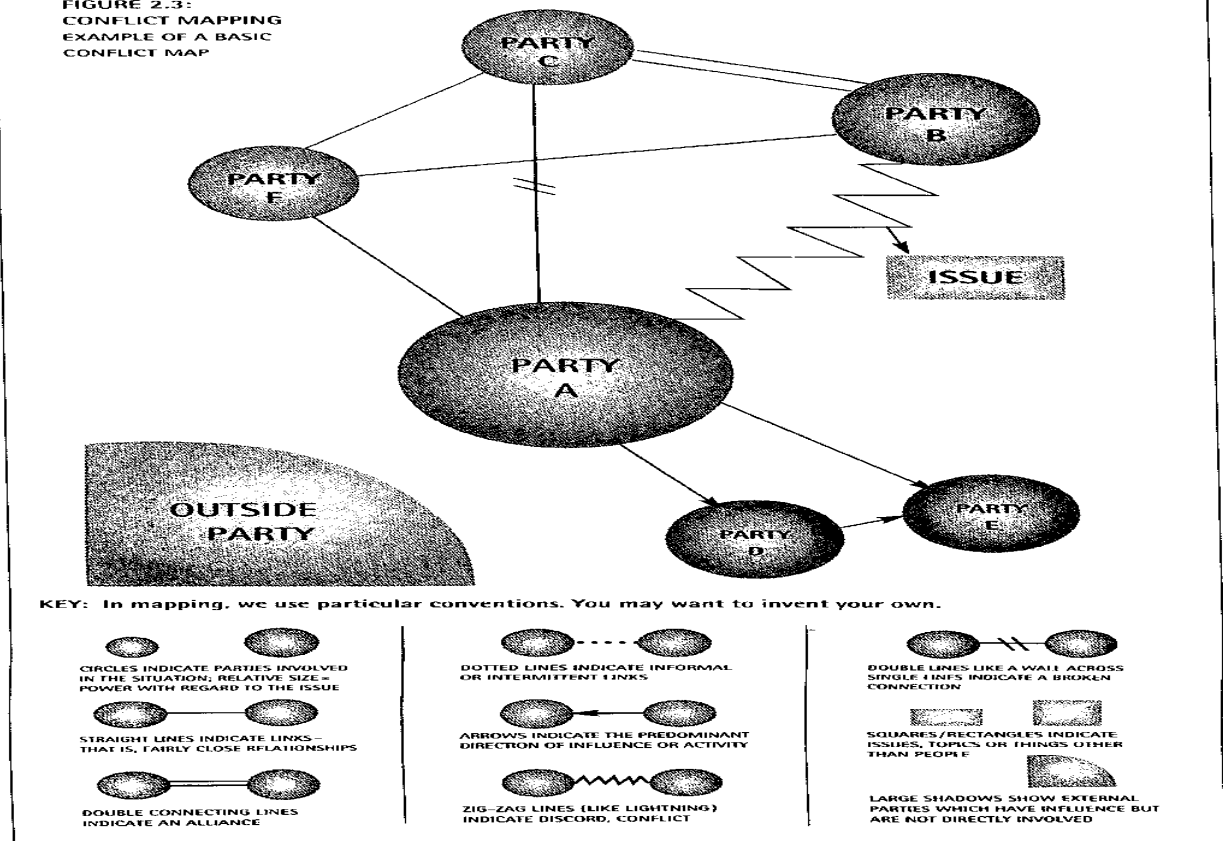
1.10 SELECTED CONFLICT ANALYSIS TOOLS

Presentation: Introduction to conflict context mapping

Introduce the participants to some selected conflict analysis tools (the graphic mapping, ABC Triangle and the Tree Diagram) and give each of the participants an opportunity to practice the use of the tools in real life contexts. This can be done in pairs or in small groups of three or four.

1.10.1 Exercise: Conflict context mapping

FIGURE 2.3:
CONFLICT MAPPING
EXAMPLE OF A BASIC
CONFLICT MAP



Source: Fisher et al (2000)

Give each group a flipcharts and writing materials. (To be provided during training)

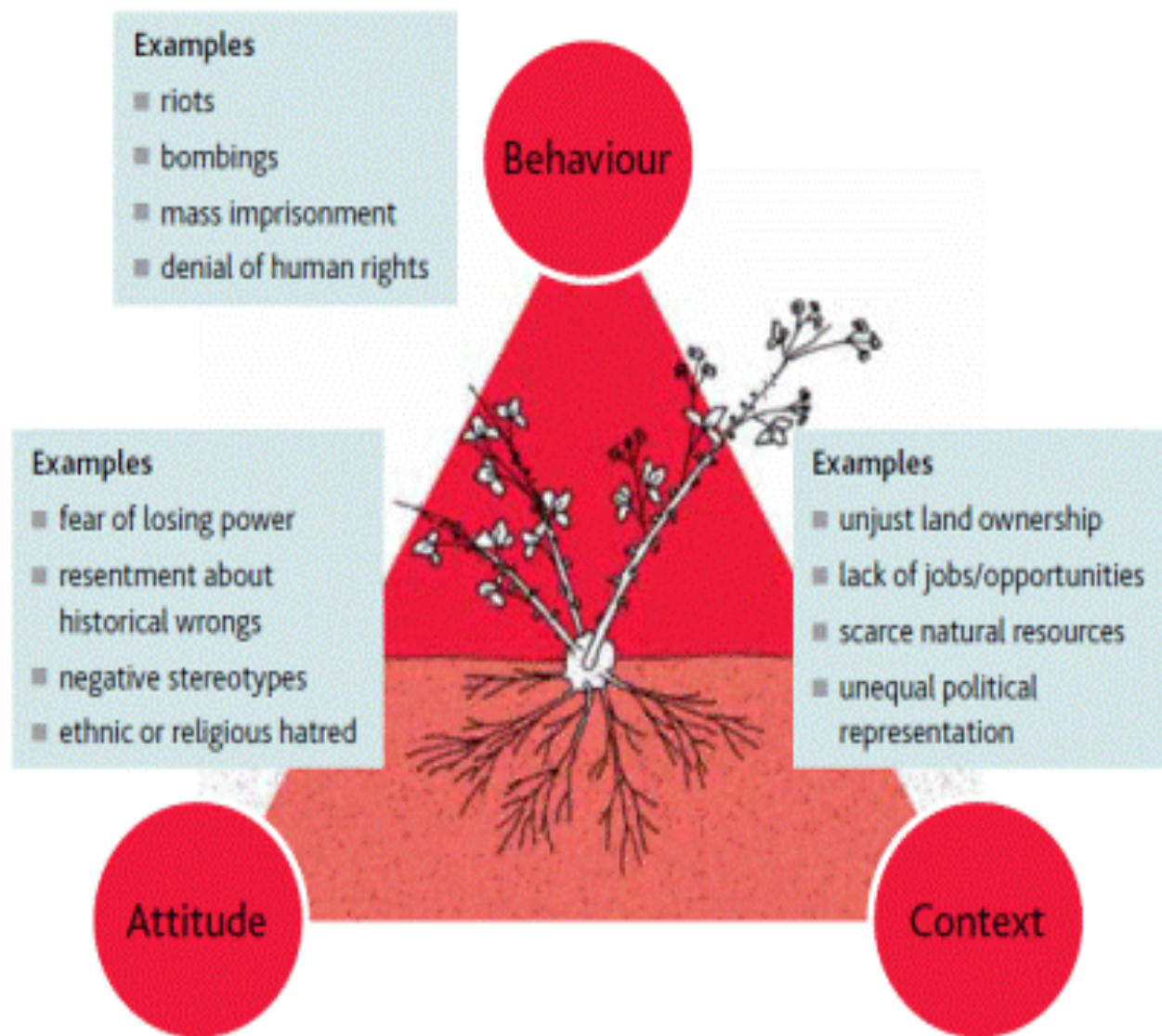
The facilitator must explain how the tool works before giving group instruction. Ensure that all participants are clear on how the tool is used. It is also important to emphasise that consensus is not a must as people can agree or disagree on the role(s) of certain actors.

Plenary and wrap-up

Allow the participants to give feedback and then discuss as a group highlighting the important points.

1.10.2 The ABC Triangle

Presentation: Introduction to the Attitudes, Behaviour and Context (ABC) analysis tool.



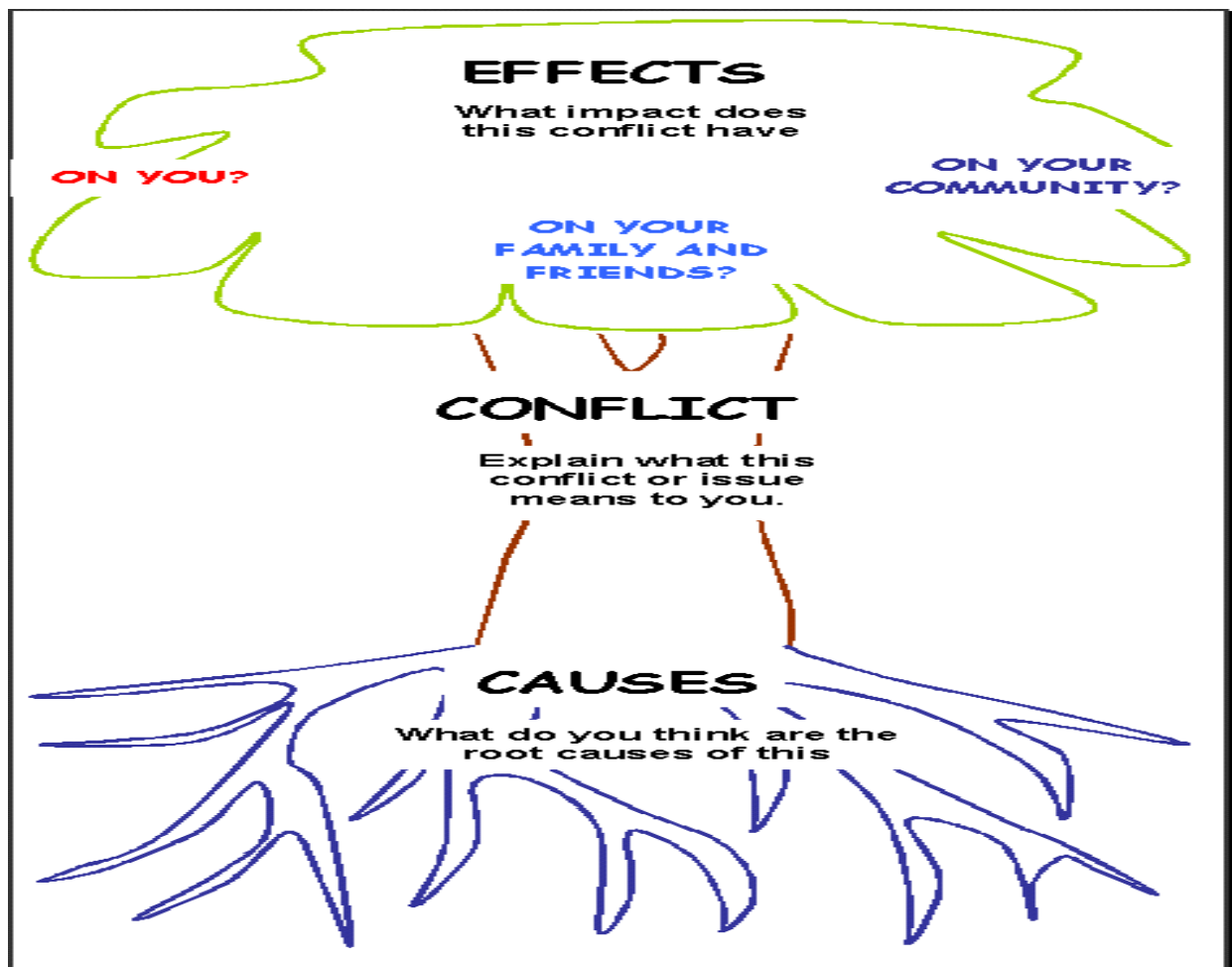
Advise the participants that the other tool that can be used is the ABC Triangle.

It is important to advise the participants that the tool is similar to the violence triangle although the application is different. The ABC Triangle in the context of conflict analysis helps us to understand the world of the conflict actors in greater depth. It helps to see the conflict from the actor's viewpoint.

Participants can then work on a real conflict (using the ABC Triangle) but in smaller groups and then give feedback. This can be followed up by a plenary discussion highlighting the important points.

1.10.3 The Conflict Tree

This is another of the numerous conflict analysis tools that can be used. Explain to the participants the meaning and use of the tree. I illustrate using a diagram (like the one below).



Adapted from Fisher et al (2000)

Exercise: Using the Conflict Tree

The participants can continue with the case studies that they were using in the previous exercise but this time using the tree diagram to analyze the conflict in terms of its roots, the drivers of the conflict and the effects.

Plenary

The groups should present their findings and discuss in plenary.

MODULE 2: LISTENING AND COMMUNICATION SKILLS IN PEACEBUILDING

2.1 Introduction

Communication is an important component in conflict transformation. There are certain skills that must be applied when dealing with conflicts. Quite often conflicts are entrenched not because of serious political, social or cultural differences but because of poor communication techniques. The Unit focuses on the different approaches that can be used.

2.2 Module Objectives:

- To define communication in peacebuilding.
- understand the various forms of communication in peacebuilding and conflict transformation;
- To identify the various levels of listening and communication;
- To examine principles underpinning effective listening.

2.3 What is Communication?

2.3.1 Activity 1: Defining Communication

Instructions

1. Explain the aim of the Activity
2. Ask the participants to sit on chairs in a circle, place a container with cards with key concepts on listening and communication skills in peacebuilding.
3. Ask each member to pick out a card, read out the concept and explain what he or she thinks it means.
4. Facilitate a discussion about all concepts by;
 - Asking other participants what they think about it
 - Giving practical examples of what it might mean in practice in relation to peacebuilding practice.
5. Repeat the process until all the participants have discussed all the cards

Some Notes for Quick Referencing

Communication is the simple exchange of meaning- the giving and receiving of feelings, opinions, ideas or beliefs. Communication lies at the heart of all interactions. It is especially important in conflict transformation especially when considering the fact that all conflict transformation processes are communication based.

Therefore it is central to all conflict because it:

- Causes conflict through miscommunication and misunderstanding
- Basis for all successful negotiations

One of the deepest needs of all human beings is to feel understood and be accepted by others. Offering understanding to another person is a potent form of empowerment. We need to agree with others to empower them in this way; we need only to make it clear through our eyes, body posture and tone of voice that we want to see the world from their perspective. Our interactions with others must come from a point of deep, non-judgmental interest.

The key is to grasp the why behind what is being said or done in order to gain insight into the deeper interests and needs of the person with whom we are communicating. From the moment that people feel someone is truly seeking to understand, they begin dealing with problems and other people more constructively. Good listening is, perhaps, the most significant skill a mediator or facilitator brings to assist parties to a conflict.

Types of communication

Empathetic listening – This is listening with understanding. This is when one tries to feel for the person who is speaking.

Paraphrasing- listening and restating in your own words what the other person said

Reframing- shifting the focus from a given position to the underlying interests

Communicating openness- perceptions and needs

2.4 Activity 2: Barriers to communication

Aim: to enable the participants to identify some of the barriers to effective communication in peacebuilding.

Instructions

1. Explain the aim of the activity
2. Divide the participants into small groups of four. Ask each of the groups to discuss and write some of the barriers to effective communication on a flip chart.
3. Ask each group to present on their deliberations.
4. Summarise the key points and relate them to the practice and realities in peacebuilding especially the local context

Facilitators Notes and Quick Referencing

- Language vocabulary
- Stereotyping/prejudice
- Attitude/body language
- Status
- Tradition
- Emotions
- Confidence
- Distance

2.5 Activity 3: Active listening

Aim: to enable the participants to the principles of active listening

Instructions

1. Explain the aim of the activity
2. Make a brief presentation on the concept of active listen
3. Divide the participants into small groups (avoid maintaining previous groups). Ask the members to identify forms and approaches to active listening
4. Allow the groups to make presentations.
5. Use a flip chart to note the important aspects.

6. Facilitate a discussion about what the chart shows and what it means in peacebuilding practice.

2.6 Facilitator's Notes

Active listening is a communication skill used by mediators and facilitators to aid communication by helping parties deliver clear messages and know that their messages are understood correctly. It is also an indispensable skill in interest-based negotiations.

Objectives of active listening

- To show the speaker that his/her message has been heard
- To help the listener gain clarity on both the content and emotion of the message
- To help speakers to express themselves and to encourage them to explain, in greater detail, their understanding of the situation and their feelings
- To encourage the understanding that expression of emotion is acceptable and that it is useful in understanding the depth of feelings
- To create an environment in which the speaker feels free and safe to talk about a situation

Procedures for effective listening

- Acknowledge that you are listening, through verbal and non-verbal cues
- Listen at all four levels and reflect your impressions through using the various active listening skills
- Let the speaker acknowledge whether or not you have reflected their communication and its intensity correctly. If it is not correct, ask questions to clarify

Principles underpinning effective listening

- Ensure that the environment created for the speaker to express herself or himself is safe, especially in terms of reducing the risk of future negative consequences for messages delivered
- That the listener is very focused on what the speaker is trying to communicate to him/her
- Ensure that the listener is patient and does not jump to conclusions about the message
- Ability to show genuine empathy to the speaker
- Ability to use techniques which permit the speaker to verify or correct the emotion and content of the message
- Do not judge or make value statements about what the speaker is feeling

Achieving the goals of active listening

- Be attentive
- Be alert and non-distracted
- Be interested in the needs of the other persons and let them know you care about what is being said
- Be non-judgmental and non-criticizing

The don'ts

- No to use of stock phrases like "it's not so bad", "just calm down" etc
- Do not get emotionally hooked, angry, upset, argumentative
- Don't let your biases and values interfere with what you understand is being said
- Do not rehearse in your own head
- Don't jump to conclusions or judgments
- Interrogate or give advice

2.7 Activity 5: The four levels of listening

This activity is closely linked to the other concepts discussed above.

Aim: To enable participants to understand the different levels of listening

Instructions

1. Explain the levels to the participants.
2. Ask the participants, in small groups of 4, to identify practical examples relating to these levels.
3. Provide flip charts and markers so that each group records key points.
4. In plenary, ask the groups to present their contributions.
5. Summarize the activity with reference to the facilitator's notes and taking note of the key points.

Active listening is not a one way process. It takes place four levels:

a) *the head*

Listening for facts and other forms of information

b) *the heart*

This relates to feelings as conflict is often associated with strong feelings such as anger, fear, frustration, disappointment, etc. strong feelings often block the way to rational discussions and therefore have to be identified and dealt with before proceeding to substantive matters. "Listening with the heart" is a conscious effort to liberate ourselves from the beliefs and experiences that shape our perception of the world and to immerse ourselves in the thoughts and feelings of the other. The process of active listening thus transcends both the barriers that separate groups or individuals from other groups or individuals and the barriers that exist within each of us. It becomes a process of personal transformation; and it is in this sense that active listening produces its most long-lasting effect.

The stomach

As a facilitator one must be able to listen for basic human needs. There is need to identify what basic needs are driving the conflict and distinguish between needs and satisfiers

The feet

This relates to the intention or will of the person who is speaking. Identify in which direction the person/group is moving and how strong their comments are.

Plenary

Participants to recap on the major learning outcomes from the module and relate them to their peacebuilding work.

Module 3: Conflict Sensitivity

3.1 Objectives:

- To define conflict sensitivity and its relevance to peacebuilding.
- Participants should be able to mainstream conflict sensitive approaches in their peacebuilding work
- To use conflict analysis tools from module one in order to develop conflict sensitive approaches to peacebuilding
- Understand the key considerations in the design of peacebuilding and development approaches in a manner that does not entrench the undesirable aspects of conflict.
- Design a sample conflict-sensitive instrument for their organisations.

3.2 Instructions

1. Explain the aims of the module.
2. The facilitator must provide an overview of the module and justify its importance in peacebuilding practice.
3. Ask the participants to work with colleagues from their own organization in order to identify the practical considerations they take when planning an intervention. Allow them to share with others.
4. Give the participants on the conflict assessment exercise and ask them to assess their own organization against the each of the items on the handout.
5. Participants to try and develop a model Conflict Sensitive Assessment Tool

3.3 Facilitator's Notes

What is conflict Sensitivity?

It refers to a full understanding of the causes of the conflict (both long term and short term causes), political, social, economic, cultural and even the technological context of the conflict situation and making an attempt to develop interventions that are sensitive to a given context. Conflict sensitivity attempts to minimize the negative effects of an intervention programmes and to maximize the positive impact.

Why conflict sensitivity?

- To improve organizational effectiveness
- It ensures that programming does not produce unintended consequences
- To ensure gender sensitive approaches to peacebuilding and development
- To come up with programmes that are culturally appropriate and context specific.
- It reassures and promotes accountability, transparency and inclusive processes.
- It ensures that resources are channeled towards the right cause.

3.4 Exercise 1: Conflict-Sensitivity Mapping

Participants must first brainstorm on the meaning of conflict sensitivity in peacebuilding. The guiding instructions for this exercise were borrowed from Anderson (1999) and Schirch (2013).

Schirch (2013:7) provided the following checklist for conflict sensitive programming in peacebuilding:

- Where will you work?
- Who will you work with?
- Why will you do what you will do?
- What will you do?
- How will you shift power sources in support of peace?
- When is the best timing for your peacebuilding efforts?

Participants to work in groups as they attempt to answer carefully the guiding questions above. Participants must give due attention to all the questions and must not rush to give answers. The purpose is for the participants to reflect carefully on the potentially conflict-sensitive areas in their programming.

3.5 Exercise 2: Designing a conflict-sensitive program

The guidelines for the exercise were adapted from Schirch (2013:179). The purpose of the exercise is to give the participants a practical feel of what it entails to design a conflict sensitive framework.

Participants must use the following guidelines for the exercise:

- Peacebuilding design must be based on empirical research
- It must be inclusive
- It must thrive to ensure local ownership
- It must be a participatory process
- The process must be transparent
- Maintain a balance and equity
- Ensure accountability
- Do no harm
- Support human security.

The facilitator must encourage the participants to use their programming experience and rate themselves in terms of the recommendations by Schirch. As a follow-up, participants must think of ways of improving their programming using the exercise. Participants will need flip charts, markers and working space for the exercise.

3.7 Plenary Session

Recap of the major issues relating to conflict sensitive approaches to peacebuilding.

MODULE 4: CULTURE, CONFLICT AND CHANGE

4.1 Objectives:

- To understand the dynamics between culture, conflict and change
- To explore ways of harnessing cultural resources for sustainable peacebuilding
- To come up with sustainable models for change management within a given cultural context.

4.2 Instructions

1. Explain the aims of the module.

2. The facilitator must provide an overview of the module and justify its importance in peacebuilding practice.
3. Ask the participants to work with colleagues from their own organization in order to identify the practical considerations they take when planning an intervention. Allow them to share with others.
4. Participants to try and develop a model Conflict Sensitive Assessment Tool with a specific focus on culture and peacebuilding.

4.3 Notes for the Facilitator

- Culture is an important variable in conflict. Culture can be both a source of conflict as well as a resource to transform the conflict.
- Culture influences the flow of conflict as well as the attempts at transforming the conflict. It influences how the conflict unravels, what events trigger violence as well as the interpretation of events and messages.
- Culture also affects how groups and individuals communicate and make meanings out of that.
- As a result of culture, men, women and children usually experience conflict differently. Understanding these differences is an important entry point for effective programming in peacebuilding.
- In most cases the role of women is almost pre-determined by cultural norms and values (all the roles may slowly be changing because of global forces of change as well as the nature of the conflict).
- As noted by Kumar (2000) in violent conflicts, women are often the victims of violent war crimes like rape, which is largely used as a tool of warfare to humiliate and terrorize groups. And because issues of sexuality are not easily discussed in public in some communities, most women find it difficult to seek help after the conflict.
- Women often take greater responsibility during conflicts and thus redefining their cultural roles.
- Men can also be victims of violence and war but in many cases they are viewed as perpetrators and thus are not given preference when it comes to rehabilitation after war.

4.4 Exercise

In groups of three or four, identify the cultural dilemmas that you face in your peacebuilding work and develop a conflict sensitive instrument to address the dilemmas without necessarily causing more harm to the communities.

MODULE 5: COUNSELLING SKILLS FOR PEACEBUILDING

Aim: to enable the participants to understand the basic counselling skills relevant in community rehabilitation and peacebuilding

5.1 Instructions

1. Explain the aim of the module.
2. Facilitate a discussion about the following;
 - What is counselling?
 - Why would people need counselling?
 - What are the elements of counselling?

5.2 Activity 1

Plenary discussion on violence, trauma and counselling. The purpose of the discussion is to introduce the participants to the field of counselling in peacebuilding. The idea is to underscore the psychological impact of violence (political or otherwise) on communities and how peacebuilders can respond to these psychological effects.

5.3 Notes for the Facilitator

What is counselling?

- Counselling is a dialogue involving an interpersonal relationship between a person or group of persons seeking help on a problem and someone willing to listen and assist in solving the problem.
- It is a process of helping a person to cope with his or her interpersonal, emotional and psychological problems.

5.4 Activity 2

Continuation of the plenary discussions but with a specific focus on the reasons why counselling is important in peacebuilding.

Notes for the Facilitator

Why counselling?

- People adapt to challenges using different support systems e.g. the family, church, traditional institutions etc.
- However sometimes people will turn to counselling for solutions to their challenges
- Providing an opportunity for a client to work towards living a more satisfying and resourceful was.
- Addressing and transforming conflicts
- Increasing self-awareness
- Improving interpersonal communication relationships.

Elements of counselling

- It involves responding to the feelings, thoughts and actions of the client. The counsellor should be able to deal with the attitudes and behaviors of the client
- Clients need the counsellor's understanding of their current situations
- Confidentiality and privacy are important considerations in counselling. Confidentiality implies keeping the information and issues discussed between the client and the counsellor.
- Counselling must be a voluntary process. If a person is not willing, he or she cannot be forced into the process.
- Counselling is about effective communication. Counsellors and clients alike continually transmit and receive verbal and non-verbal messages during the interview process and sensitivity to these messages is important for counsellor effectiveness.

Qualities of a good Counsellor

- Self-awareness and understanding
- Awareness of your needs and those of others
- Respect for self and others
- Need to give or to nature
- Good psychological health
- Sensitivity
- Open mindedness
- Objectivity
- Competency
- Trustworthiness
- Interpersonal attractiveness

Counsellors MUST

- Show empathy
- Respect your clients and their beliefs

- Show interest in their lives
- Effective listening
- Be trustworthy
- Be calm
- Be knowledgeable
- Allow clients to express their feelings
- Maintain shared confidentiality
- Move at your client's pace

Counsellors MUST NOT

- Sympathize
- Argue with clients
- Do not be judgmental
- Impose your own belief systems
- Give advice
- Interrupt the client
- Moralize, preach or patronize
- Ask questions in an accusing way
- Give unwarranted assurance

5.5 Activity 3

Participants to take part in practicing the role play of counsellor-client and vice-versa until every participant have gotten a chance to practice. This will be followed by a debriefing exercise and plenary reflection on what it feels to be in the shoes of both the counsellor and the survivor of violence.

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