

DURBAN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

**UTILISING ACTION RESEARCH TO
BUILD PEACE AT
NJOBOKAZI VILLAGE, KWAZULU-NATAL**

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Public Administration - Peace Studies
in the
Faculty of Management Sciences
at the Durban University of Technology**

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Declaration

UTILISING ACTION RESEARCH TO BUILD PEACE AT NJOBOKAZI VILLAGE,
KWAZULU NATAL

I declare that the thesis herewith submitted for the PhD Public Administration - Peace Studies at the Durban University of Technology is my own work unless otherwise acknowledged and has not previously been submitted for a degree at any other university.

Dizline Mfanozelwe Shozi

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to all Njobokazi people who were directly and indirectly affected by violence. People who died from this violence, their souls should rest in peace. I further dedicate it to my wife Londiwe Clarice Shoji (maMsimang), my mother Ntozakhe (Mkhoma) Shoji, my children and to late Malume Mthwabo Khwela and my late father Sidlodlo Shoji and late Mndoda Shoji (Skhuni Joji Langa) and their souls should rest in peace.

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List of acronyms

ACYCDP	African Child Youth and Community Development Project
ANC	African National Congress
AR	Action Research
AVP	Alternatives to Violence Project
DUT	Durban University of Technology
FGDs	Focus groups Discussions
FHO	Facing our History and Ourselves
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GPI	Global Peace Index
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
KZN	KwaZulu Natal
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRF	National Research Fund
PRAT	Peace Research Action Team
PSL	Professional Soccer League
SA	South Africa
TA	Thematic Analysis
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
USA	United States of America

Abstract

The rural community of Njobokazi at the remote border of the EThekweni Metro has been the scene of violent conflict for decades. Many people have been killed and many houses and community assets destroyed. Much of the violence was driven by a conquest mentality, informed by *ubunsizwa*, an aggressive form of masculinity where the winning faction is not satisfied with defeating their opponents but instead would drive them out of the village altogether. Violence has seeped into every aspect of life and was the only way people knew to deal with any dispute or difference.

Using an action research approach with strong participation from community members, my aim was to try to build peace in the community. The intervention involved training in conflict resolution skills and psychological support to handle trauma from past violence. People who used to fight before came together in groups; as a result, many relationships were repaired. A full evaluation conducted roughly a year later showed that the group training had a powerful effect in reducing violence in the community. A key factor in this was the contribution of women, who are a major resource for bringing peace.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and overview

1.1 Introduction

This chapter foregrounds what the entire research project will be about. It will present the background for the research, research approach, the rationale for the study, problem statement, theoretical frameworks, research questions, research design and methodology, data collection methods, conceptual framework, implications for the study, overview of the chapters and a conclusion to the chapter.

This study is a peace building research project that came about as a response to violence that took place in Njobokazi for more than seven decades. Njobokazi is a rural area 45 kilometres to the west of Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. It is often referred to also as Mntanotengayo, but Njobokazi will be the name used throughout the thesis. It includes a wide range of sub-villages such as Mntanotengayo, Magquzumane, Nkunzini, parts of Mophela, eZimbokodweni, Molo, Nguqwini, Deda, Ncobeni, Mfeni, Mabhezeni, Fayi and Hlengwa. This violence has historically been characterized as faction fighting and political violence. The study is of a village which has been bedevilled by traumatic violent conflict, to the extent that there is a traditional Zulu dance song which explains the violence in these terms: *Sathwala kanzima kaNjobokazi* (loosely translated as 'we experienced insurmountable problems in Njobokazi').

Violent conflict could not be allowed to thrive without attempts to curb it, therefore peace building initiatives are critical. Muchemwa (2016) reminds us that the holocaust in Germany, genocide in Rwanda and former Yugoslavia serve as classical cases of what can happen if peace building methods were not applied. Therefore, the research project will reflect on the interventions carried out in the community.

1.2 Background and focus

The history of South Africa is of a country that was under colonial rule and Apartheid. These two systems came with the dispossession and oppression of people, and the related wars. Reports indicate that there was faction fighting at Njobokazi as early as 1938 but conflict intensified during early 1980s, as will be explained in greater detail

below. It is important to note that, historically, in the middle of the last century, the province that is now known as KwaZulu-Natal was engulfed by violence amongst whites and Africans, Indians and Africans in 1949. In 2021, violence amongst ethnic groups resurfaced. There is increasing awareness of gender-based violence, while there is continuing political violence in the form of killings of sitting or potential office-bearers in government. We still experience xenophobic violence, high levels of homicide, service delivery protests. It is clear that violence is always there but sometimes it changes its colours and form. That is why it is important to deal with root causes of violence.

South Africa was engulfed by political violence, which even continued after democratic government had been elected. The violence did not spare Njobokazi, hence the focus of this study is on the full range of violence, whether that has been described historically as political violence and faction fighting or other types of violence like rape, robbery, physical and emotional abuse of women, forms of violence that affect communities in the country.

Violence is not necessarily well categorised. Mathis (2013: 424) argue that “large-scale political violence throughout the province of KwaZulu-Natal escalated during the second half of the 1980s. Despite this, uMbumbulu experienced an earlier escalation of violence that was referred to in newspaper accounts and in local parlance as a faction fight, or as the ‘eMbo-Makhanya war’. The causes of this faction fight were primarily local power struggles and the violence associated with this ‘war’ was never included in accounts of political violence in KwaZulu-Natal.

It is important note that the Njobokazi area was engulfed by faction fighting from 1938 onwards; this intensified during the early 1980s, but towards the end of the 1980s it changed to intense political violence. Many lives were lost and the entire community fled the area, hence the area was left vacant for some years. Residents fled to other parts of KwaZulu-Natal province and some other provinces. In the late 1990s, residents started to return and resettle in the area. However, the majority of these residents have not returned. Some of the people who are returning used to fight before and lost loved ones during the conflict. It is important to have a certain intervention to ensure peace building is cultivated in this community. Meintjies and Nhlengethwa, referring to the 1990s (2009: 1), argue that “following higher-level peace processes in

the province, levels of political violence initially increased dramatically. However, the effects of peace and reconciliation were not followed through at a community level. Ongoing cycles of violence including revenge attacks and so-called faction fighting between family clans continued and began to escalate.”

Njobokazi is the over-arching name for range of sub-villages such as Mntanotengayo, Magquzumane, Nkunzini, parts of Mophela, eZimbokodweni, Molo, Nguqwini, Deda, Ncobeni, Mfeni, Mabhezeni, Fayi and Hlengwa. Njobokazi-Mntanotengayo is one of the many rural areas that form part of the eThekweni Metro jurisdiction. Part of Njobokazi, which is Mangquzumane, falls under the Mkhambathini Municipality. It is a place of great beauty, with clear blue skies juxtaposed with verdant green hills and valleys. There are hectares of land, which are not occupied as a result of people fleeing the area. Social institutions like schools and churches, sports facilities were destroyed and it is only now that they are being rebuilt by the two municipalities and provincial government.

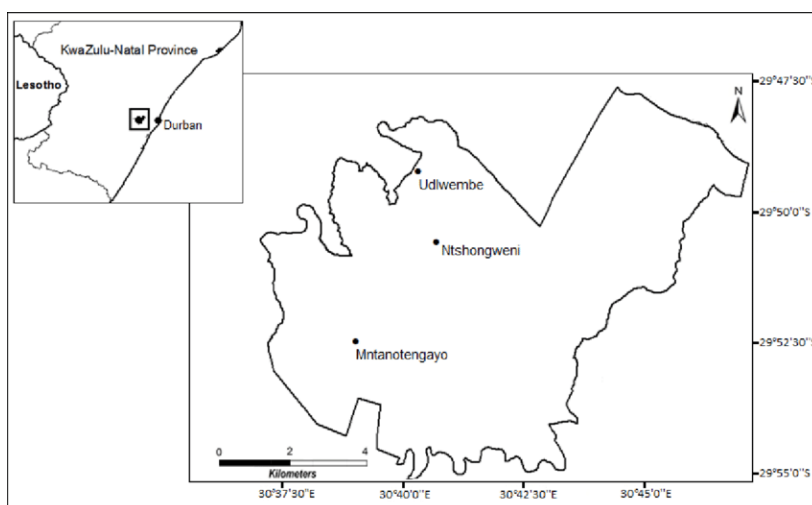


Figure 1.1 Source: eThekweni Municipality GIS website

Njobokazi used to have a good transport system that linked the village to Hammarisdale, Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Due to violent conflict the transport network was destroyed. People have to travel via Durban or Pinetown if they want to reach to reach Hammarisdale and Pietermaritzburg, hence there is no direct transport to these places.

The village falls under two Amakhosi ('chiefs'), which are Makhanya and Gwala. The Magquzumane-Nkunzini section falls under Umkhambathini municipality whereas the Mabhezeni, Mntanotengayo, Dlangezwa, Deda and eZimbokodweni fall under eThekweni. About 95 percent of the Njobokazi land falls under eThekweni. Rationale for the study

1.3 Rationale for the study

Most of studies on peace building have been conducted by scholars who are concerned about state building and violence that is occurring at national level, mostly between state and rebels. Contrary to this emphasis, Ember and Ember (1994: 621) argue "that one of the clearest findings to emerge from cross-national and cross-cultural studies is that war is associated with higher rates of interpersonal and intrapersonal violence." Interpersonal and intrapersonal violence were daily occurrences in Njobokazi. The Njobokazi situation is unique in the sense that violence did not happen along racial or ethnic lines or clan lines but was driven by other factors; the conflict was very complex and therefore it is important to understand the driving forces behind the violence in Njobokazi.

There is insufficient research on peace building relating to community related violence. The United Nations (UN) peace building architecture focuses on state and rebel violence with little focus on community violence. This is changing; Tschirgin (2015: 78) opines that "one of the issues that gained heightened attention among policy makers as well as the problem-solving research community [has been] the disconnect between international and local approaches to peace building."

There has been no study or research paper focused on the various layers of different types of violence that has taken place in Njobokazi, though there is mention of Njobokazi as an example of a place where conflict has taken place in various studies and research papers. Phimister and Van Onselen (1979) argue that faction fighting and urban disturbances have been prominent features of Southern Africa and central African ghetto life since the late nineteenth century, yet, with few exceptions, they have never been subjected to detailed scrutiny.

The traumatic and intensely violent conflict led people to flee the area and resettle in other parts of KwaZulu-Natal; some even resettled in other provinces. Some returned to the area during the early 2000s but there is a large portion of land that has not yet

been occupied. It is important to point out that these people are returning with no proper peace building initiatives having taken place. There has never been any process to deal with residents' memories of violence. There were some loose peace agreements and brief cleansing ceremonies that did take place, but these did not involve any in-depth peace building initiatives or programmes.

1.4 Problem statement

The problem on the ground is the aftermath of the many years of violent conflict. Since people are returning to the area there are no formal programmes that have taken place in the area. People who have and or are returning have fought before and there is a likelihood that members of the community could fight again if the previous conflict issues are not addressed. There has never been a dialogue to deal with the previous faction fighting, political violence and the root causes of violent conflict and how the conflict should be addressed. People are not prepared to speak about these matters but are returning to occupy the area. Potgieter and Zulu (2015: 7) argue that "in the course of pursuing justice and truth some pockets of society slide back to conflict, spoilers emerge and those who perceive their power as being threatened use often political manoeuvring to derail progress."

Studies have been made focusing on faction fighting and political violence but there is no study that has been conducted which has focused specifically on Njobokazi, its violence in general and on its peace building initiatives. Mathis (2013: 422), focusing on violence in uMbumbulu in the 1980s and 1990s, argues that local actors easily moved between their roles as war leaders in local faction fights and as freedom fighters participating in political violence between the African National Congress (ANC) and the IFP. Most notably, two of the prominent uMbumbulu war leaders discussed in this article were also ANC-affiliated, challenging the dominant narrative that attributes warlordism primarily to allies of the apartheid state.

Adedokun (2017: 39) argues that "while academics and practitioners working on conflict resolution and peace building have lately and increasingly emphasised the role of local ownership as a pre-condition for sustainable post-conflict peace building, yet understanding what constitutes local ownership still remain a challenge." Local peace building is important because it is informed by people who had been involved in the conflict who understand the drivers of violence and other factors that led to the conflict.

They are best placed to locate the history of the conflict, to provide linkages that could provide useful nuances in understanding the nature and root causes of the conflict and subsequently come up with local grown peace building initiatives. Pugh (2013) and others in Tschirgin (2015: 79) argue that “the strategies promoted by liberal peace building were flawed since they were out of sync with local realities, needs and aspirations and did not take into account the central issue of legitimacy.” In addition, Maebuta (2010: 1) further points out that “a peace research that ignores indigenous knowledge and practices is likely to be resisted. As such, peace building initiatives that are not culturally grounded would not contribute to sustainable peace.”

Although there is now no overt violent conflict in Njobokazi. It is obvious that violent culture is entrenched throughout daily interactions of the community; as a result, it is difficult for residents to peacefully resolve their conflicts. As argued above, this could be as result of the previous culture of faction fighting and political violence. For example, if there was conflict between young boys or between families, it is unlikely that conflict would be resolved peacefully. Young men would resolve conflicts through stick fighting or would stab each other at the local tavern or traditional ceremony, or attack members of the family at night using dangerous weapons.

Part of the research problem is that we know surprisingly little about faction-fighting and its relationship to political violence, as Phimister and Van Onselen have outlined, though we know something about the nature of violence in areas close to Njobokazi, for example, Sithole, Reader, Mathis and Cele have provided insight into these matters. While this gives us a sense of the dynamics of violence in the area, there are two key areas missing issues - the interpersonal and intrapersonal aspects of the violence, and the peace building interventions in such areas.

The key rationale here is that we need research in areas such as Njobokazi that helps us to understand in depth the nature of the violence, in terms of intrapersonal, interpersonal issues as well as the relationships between communities. Secondly, we need to know what forms of intervention could succeed in addressing these issues.

1.5 Research approach

It is important to note that the research approach was chosen based on the fact that violence in Njobokazi affected the Njobokazi community spiritually, socially, economical and psychological. People in Njobokazi still have memories of this

gruesome political and faction fighting violence and have various perceptions and experiences of this violence. The approach utilized in this research ensured that the experiences and memories of the violence are shared with the researcher. The research approach is qualitative in nature.

The research involved people who have fought and or affected by violence. The research involved people who have fought and or affected by violence. The qualitative approach has been chosen because it will ensure that people who have been directly and indirectly affected by Njobokazi share their views about the violence and provide relevant solutions. The qualitative study will tap into people's emotions, experiences and share their feelings about the study and understand their expectations.

"Most of the information that is required for the study is qualitative in nature and this information resides in people's experiences of violence and how they perceive violence. Hence, the qualitative approach to social science research is about researching human behaviour, looking for facts, opinions experiences and preferences on the subject" (Blake 2000). "Qualitative research illuminates 'persons' lives, stories, behaviour and interactional relationships" (Corbin and Strauss, 1980: 17). The compelling reason for this approach is the need to explore in depth how violence persists in people's actions, emotions and expectations. Njobokazi residents will be involved in the study through the PRAT (Participatory Action Research Team). Community meetings will be called to report on the research findings

As mentioned, a qualitative approach will be pursued in a quest to involve the residents of Njobokazi. The action research design provides for the community and the researcher to design an intervention programme on the basis of the participatory nature of study, where local leadership was consulted, community meetings were convened, findings were shared with community members and members of the community contributed to the focus group discussions questions. The research project utilized the following data collection methods: key informant interviews, observations and focus group discussions.

1.6 Theoretical frameworks

Violence in Njobokazi is complex and there is no one theory that could assist to explain its complexity. Chapter four will in detail discuss theories used in the study to understand Njobokazi's violence and further assist with possible intervention

programmes that would help the community to live peacefully. In understanding the complex, spiral and nature of Njobokazi's violent conflict, conflict transformation theory will be utilized to provide the theoretical framework, which will provide a framework on transforming violent communities to peaceful communities. Other theories like the theory of change, social learning theory and peace building, mental health and psychological approach will be utilized to enhance and support conflict transformation theory.

These theories are linked and interdependent to each other in terms of understanding the violent conflict and assisting in selecting and implementing the methodology, data collection methods, designing and implementing the intervention as well as evaluating the intervention.

Conflict transformation theory will assist in analysing the conflict, which will better prepare the community to come up with the intervention programme and the relevant evaluation tools for the intervention. Social learning theory will assist to understand how the community learnt to be violent. It is important to note that people were affected indirectly or directly by Njobokazi's violent conflict; these people have emotional and psychological scars. It is therefore important to adopt an approach that will ensure that during research these aspects are taken into consideration through utilising the peace building, mental health and psychological support approach.

1.7 Aims of the study, objectives and research questions

The main aim of the study is to equip the people of Njobokazi Village in KwaZulu-Natal, using action research, to build peace in their village in view of the complexity of the cycle of violence they experience.

The study objectives are these:

- 1) To understand the nature of the conflict and reconstruct the memories of community members who were affected by violence
- 2) Identify current forces that drive violence in Njobokazi community
- 3) Work with the community of Njobokazi to promote transformation and change
- 4) Enhance existing peace building processes and develop peace building intervention programmes
- 5) Strengthen the ability to facilitate a reduction in violence in the community

- 6) Provide recommendations for other stakeholders to intervene and further develop the Njobokazi community area.

Moreover, the **research questions** are these:

- 1) How does violence operate in Njobokazi?
- 2) What have been and continue to be the drivers of violence in the Njobokazi Community?
- 3) How can I strengthen my ability to facilitate a reduction in violence in the community?
- 4) What would be short and long-term interventions that would completely eradicate violence in Njobokazi?

1.8 Concepts

The following concepts are of critical importance to aid the understanding of violence and peace building. They form the backbone of the Njobokazi research study.

1.8.1 Faction fighting and political violence

The Dictionary of South African English (1992) defines faction fighting as “a group or clan of (especially rural) black people engaged in warfare with another group, often over a considerable period”. Furthermore, the Dictionary of South African English attributes the violence of faction fighting primarily to tribal divisions rather than to social conditions such as poverty or urbanization. Sithole (2009: 78) uses “izimpi Zemibango when defining faction fighting as rural conflicts and violence.” Thus, faction fighting is referred in Isizulu as izimpi zemibango which translated literally to mean fights or wars originating from disputes.

My understanding of political violence is that it is violence that takes place because members of the community could not tolerate or accept that members of their community support political parties of their choice, thus forcing the other faction to support their political party through violent means. If they refuse, they will fight with them. In some instances, it could happen when members of the community are not happy with a particular candidate and want their own candidate. They will use violent means to present their views. “Accounts of violence during the apartheid era frequently distinguish between faction fighting and political violence, where faction fighting is attributed to local-level disputes, and political violence is associated with national struggles over apartheid. This separation hides the continuities in these forms of

violence, making it more difficult to capture how local forms of political authority were shaped by violence, and how these forms continued into the post-apartheid period” (Mathis 2013: 422).

1.8.2 Concept of violence

The most obvious definition of violence includes threatening people, verbal abuse, sometimes inflict harm, physical abuse, beating and fighting. Adams (2012: 7) argues that, as many scholars have noted, the term “violence” defies clear-cut definition. The Oxford Dictionary says that it is “behaviour involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something.” Adams (2012: 7) adds that in 2002 the World Health Organisation defined violence as the “intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person or against a group or community, that either results in or has high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation.”

In understanding violence, it is important to relate Galtung’s conflict triangle to the situation of Njobokazi or use it as an analytical tool to understand the extent of violence in Njobokazi. In presenting Galtung’s conflict triangle, Ziyadov (2006: 32) explains that “it refers to a theoretical model developed by the Norwegian Researcher Johan Galtung, who analysed the causes of violence in three phases: before violence, during violence, and after violence.” Cravo (2017: 46) argues that Galtung “presents what can be considered as his greatest contribution to the theoretical assumptions of peace studies: the identification of the triangle of violence and the respective triangle of peace.”

In the triangle of violence, Galtung distinguishes three aspects, which are direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence.” For Galtung, direct violence is the intentional act of aggression with a subject, a visible action and object. Structural violence is indirect, latent and deriving from the social structures that organise human beings and societies for example, repression in its political form and exploitation in its economic form (Galtung, 1969). And lastly, cultural violence is a system of norms and underlying behaviours of and which legitimize-structural and direct violence; that is, the social cosmology that allows one to look at repression and exploitation as normal or natural and, therefore, more difficult to uproot (Galtung, 1990).

Ziyadov (2006) further argues each of these categories represents individual angles of the violence triangle, which Galtung argues has “built-in vicious cycles”. Hemson (2018:3) adds that “violence takes different shapes in this account, and these can be set out using Galtung’s concepts of direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence.” Direct violence in this approach refers to actual physical violence, sexual assault, or the threat of violence. Direct violence could also manifest itself in the form of interpersonal violence (see below). Further, he describes structural violence as referring to the structures of society (legal, social) that entail marginalisation or exploitation on one hand and privilege on the other. Cultural violence refers to the language and practices that serve to justify and normalise violence, both structural and direct violence. Galtung (1990: 291) adds that by “cultural violence we mean those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence – exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics)- that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence.” Galtung (1990: 292) further argues that “the study of cultural violence highlights the way in which the act of direct violence and the fact of structural violence are legitimised and thus rendered acceptable in society.”

1.8.3 Chronic violence

My own analysis is that chronic violence speaks to a situation where the country, province or village is engaged in a perpetual violence that is never ending. Chronic violence depicts a situation where social institutions are embroiled in violent situations and where the psychological impact on people’s lives is evident. There is a threat of violence where people cannot speak freely or engage fully in ordinary community activities. Adams (2012: 3) argues that chronic violence occurs in contexts in which levels of violence are measured across three dimensions of intensity, space and time. Adams (2012) further adds that a working definition is where rates of violent death are at least twice the average for the country income category, where these levels are sustained for five years or more and where these levels sustained for five years or more and where acts of violence not necessarily resulting in death are recorded at high levels across several socialization spaces such as the household, the neighbourhood, and the school, contributing to the further reproduction of violence over time.

Adams (2012:18) adds that chronic violence is driven by diverse and deeply entrenched forces, is embedded and reproduced in multi-social spaces, and can be transmitted intergenerational have significant implications for policy makers. In Njobokazi, the myriad and complex violent conflicts that had taken place fit the definition of chronic violence.

1.9 Trauma

It is important to mention that experiences of war and violence have a huge impact on communities and individuals. Community members carry with them the trauma of this experience. Trauma as defined by Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology in Hemson (2018) is referred to as a wound on the soul of each, perpetrator and victim, causing great anguish, guilt, and attempts to deny or forget, setting in motion psychological processes so strong as to affect all later experience. Experiences of violence are filtered through previous experiences of violence, which leads to transmission of trauma, and to further violence.

1.9.1 *Intrapersonal violence*

Redekop (2014: 32) states that “intrapersonal conflict can then be viewed as a product of interaction between and among the different aspects of self; just as interpersonal and intergroup conflict can be seen as products of interaction between and among the specified parties to the conflict.” Redekop (2014) presents that intrapersonal conflict resolution and transformation are then understood as a process of interaction that moves us toward a more peaceful, productive, and creative relationship with self, building toward personal growth and development. Redekop informs us that intrapersonal conflict can be understood as a normal and natural part of human experience that can be dealt with in constructive as well as destructive ways. In the context of Njobokazi, this is highly relevant to the traumatic memories of violence.

1.9.2 *Interpersonal violence*

Kimmel et al. (2005) in Dlungwane (2017: 31) indicate that “interpersonal violence takes place when one person uses power and control over another through physical, sexual, or emotional threats or actions, economic control, isolation, or other kinds of coercive behaviour. Steffgen Recchia, and Viechtbauer (2013: 300) found that “interpersonal violence at schools comprises of many different behaviours to intimidate or harm others emotionally and physically, and that these could range from intentional

physical attacks to less serious behaviours. Physical aggression and violence include acts such as hitting, kicking and stabbing.” Singh and Steyn (2014: 83) in Dlungwane (2017: 35) provides “examples of physical aggression and violence such as hitting, kicking, stabbing, shooting, pushing and shoving others as well as throwing objects.” A typical feature of the violence in Njobokazi is that violence erupts between two people as a result when two people quarrelled over something. The Mpisi-Malayi conflict, when the Mthethwa family fought over the business selling rights, started as conflict between two people but then escalated to the entire community.

1.9.3 Peace building

After the definition of violence, it is important to define peace building, which relates to such issues as conflict resolution, conflict management and peace making. Conflict resolution ensures that there is conflict cessation, which enables the conditions for peace making. Conflict management is important to ensure that conflict is stopped and controlled to allow peaceful interventions to take its course. Peace building takes into consideration all the above mentioned terms but ensures that there is transformation in all fronts for people to ensure that they think peace. Galtung (1969) cited in Cravo (2017) defines peace as the absence of violence; and defines violence as any situation in which human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential. Galtung in Kaye (2017) further conceptualized peace building as the transformation from conflict to peace by seeing peace building at two levels: negative or positive peace. He argued that a simple cessation of conflict does not imply that the problem is resolved. In such cases of negative peace, the problem may lay dormant for some time and then erupt again in violence or conflict. When looking at root causes of violence, Galtung suggested that violence could be direct, structural and cultural. Although not necessarily independent from each other, such perspectives provide a useful construct when attempting to understand the nature of a conflict.

Lambourne and Hero (2008: 277) report that “Boutros-Ghali defined post-conflict peace building as the action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.” Furthermore, Lambourne and Hero (2008) argue that in February 2001, the UN Security Council issued a statement recognizing that peace building is aimed at preventing the outbreak, the recurrence or continuation of armed conflict and therefore encompasses

a wide range of political, developmental, humanitarian and human rights programmes and mechanisms.

My understanding of peace building in relation to the context of Njobokazi is it relates to initiatives that will ensure that factions and various people who fought on the tickets of various political parties reflect on violence, unearth the drivers of violence, deal with their communication, build relationships and infrastructure for both development and peace.

1.9.4 Conflict transformation as a concept

Conflict transformation is a term used to describe new approaches to conflict resolution. This concept views peace building as that should transform structures, persons, strengthen communication amongst foes, assist how people should relate to one another to bring peace. This concept embraces all concepts that preceded it, such as conflict resolution, and conflict management. Shailor (2015:1) defines conflict transformation as a “comprehensive approach that addresses personal, relational, structural and cultural dimensions of conflict as a conflict, using the potential for conflict as a catalyst for positive change in all of these areas.” Shailor (2015) presents that instead of seeing conflict as a problem to be managed and resolved, the process of conflict transformation evokes, embraces, and explores differences. Shailor adds that it is closely allied to the related concepts of peace-making and conciliation. Schaap (2005:12) includes (among others) “repenting, restoring, punishing, apologizing, repairing, forgiving, redeeming, forgetting, remembering, promising and understanding.” Maddison (2017: 158) adds to this definition, arguing that “the multi-level conflict transformation approach suggests that reconciliation and conflict transformation are far more complex and open-ended processes than is sometimes acknowledged, involving a diverse and cluster of practices.”

1.9.5 Significance of concepts

The concepts presented illuminate different nuances of the study, to facilitate research and assist with understanding issues that might come during data collection.

1.10 Overview of the chapters

This research report has ten chapters.

1.10.1 Chapter 1: Introduction and overview

The introduction and overview chapter sets out the location of the area. The chapter alerts the reader to what is going to come in the subsequent chapters. It provides a very brief historical background of the conflict. Furthermore, the chapter presents the rationale for the study. The chapter presents the research problem, research aim, research objectives and research questions. The chapter further defines the following concepts which are chronic violence, interpersonal violence, interpersonal, peace building, conflict transformation,

1.10.2 Chapter 2: Historical background and context of the violent conflict

This chapter focuses on the historical background of the violent conflict in Njobokazi and presents trends in conflict internationally, regionally, in South Africa and in the Njobokazi area. This chapter presents a timeline of events demonstrating events that were taking place at a national level from 1938 to date comparing these events with Njobokazi's violent past. This chapter further highlights the historical background and the state of development which is important if peace is the priority for the village.

1.10.3 Chapter 3; Literature review relating to research on community violence and peace building

This chapter presents a literature review that focuses on community violence and peace building internationally, regionally, in South Africa and in Njobokazi. The chapter provides arguments as to how these issues have been addressed in literature and the implications of these

1.10.4 Chapter 4: Theoretical framework

This chapter focuses on the theoretical framework. This chapter lays the solid foundation for framing the study in terms of providing the theoretical base for the study. The study frames four theories, which are social learning theory, conflict transformation theory, theory of change and peace building, mental health and psychosocial support approach. Social learning theory shed light in terms of highlighting how the violent members of the community learnt to be violent over the years and what has sustained their quest to continue fighting for more than three decades. Conflict transformation theory is the main theory that glues other theories together in terms of this study. This theory was chosen because it could transform violent conflict situations in Njobokazi to be more peaceful.

The chapter also explains how of my theory of change was applied with other theories to effect changes that are desired. The peace building, mental health and psychosocial support approach assist to deal with trauma, psychological effects and the bad memories that came as result of violence.

1.10.5 Chapter 5: Methodology

This chapter frames the methodology that was followed during the study. The study utilised the qualitative approach to ensure that people are able to share their experiences and feelings about the violence in Njobokazi. The chapter explains the use of purposeful sampling and snowball sampling.

An action research design was utilised. The aim of using action research was to enable the community members to participate as research participants and come up with an intervention that would ultimately change the community to think peacefully, operate in a peaceful environment and build structures and relationship within the community.

The chapter reports how a Peace Research Action Team (PRAT) was appointed from the community to assist the researcher with data collection and mobilising the committee to support the study. The following data collection methods are described: key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and observations were used during data collection stage. During the intervention stage, two workshops were conducted which were AVP workshop and healing memories workshop.

1.10.6 Chapter 6: Community reflections on violence and peace building in Njobokazi

This chapter is the first chapter to present findings. Findings are presented from chapters six to chapter ten. This chapter focuses on community reflections on Njobokazi community violence. The issues discussed in this chapter range from general feelings of the community members, the impact of violence and steps that the community took to stop violence, to the gendered aspects of violence. Findings presented in this chapter coupled with the drivers of violence issues discussed in chapter seven helped to assist with the development of the intervention programme.

1.10.7 Chapter 7: Understanding the drivers of conflict in Njobokazi

This chapter presents the findings that relate to the three groups of drivers of violence. There are three groups of drivers of violence which are the root causes, enablers and triggers. These are fully described. Violence has had devastating effects which affect

members of community, economically, emotionally and psychological. The issue that came up very strongly is that the communities of Mntanotengayo and Njobokazi failed to deal effectively with issues of conflict hence there was a myriad of unresolved conflicts. Both chapter six and chapter seven identify issues that help community members to develop and shape the intervention.

1.10.8 Chapter 8: Intervention strategies to deal with past violence

This chapter deals with the intervention workshops. The cycle of violence and the fact that emotions of people were affected necessitated that the interventions workshops were conducted; these are fully described. Two workshops were run and people learnt many skills aimed to help communities to deal with violent situations.

1.10.9 Chapter 9: Evaluating the implementation of the Healing of memories and Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) intervention programme

This chapter focuses on the evaluation of the intervention workshops and discusses their effectiveness. This chapter demonstrates a number of non-violent skills that people learnt during the workshops. The workshops assisted to begin the process of building trust and relationships. Workshops assisted participants to enhance their listening skills and learnt to communicate appropriately.

1.10.10 Chapter 10: Conclusions and recommendations

The chapter assesses whether the study was able to address the research problem, meet the aim, and address the research questions. It provides the summary of all the key findings of the research, key themes and lastly provide recommendations for stakeholders.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter has foregrounded issues that this study has dealt with. The chapter has presented the background and focus in relation to the history of violence that engulfed the country, the province and Njobokazi village. Furthermore the chapter located the area of Njobokazi on the map. The chapter presented the problem statement, theoretical framework, aim of the study, objectives of the study and research questions. Furthermore, the chapter presented concepts that are used in the study. Lastly, the chapter presented the overview of chapters.

Chapter 2

Historical background and context of the violent conflict

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the historical background of the Njobokazi conflict. It is important to give the historical background so that people get to know about how this long pattern of violence developed.

To strategically locate violent conflict in Njobokazi, this chapter will deal with violent conflict first internationally, then nationally and finally focus on the local Njobokazi conflict situation. It will further list the histories of faction fighting and political violence in the area. The account is not exhaustive because there are other small conflicts that are not reported in this report.

The chapter will discuss how violence that took place across South Africa and in the province of KwaZulu Natal linked to Njobokazi's violent conflict. The historical background for the chapter further highlights the state of development which is important if peace is the priority for the village.

2.2 Trends in conflict internationally and in South Africa

This section briefly focus on conflict trends internationally, secondly on the South African context, and thirdly on the province of KwaZulu Natal. It is important to note that various countries have their unique violent conflicts. That is why countries have courts and police structures to quell and deal with conflict. However, in addition to systems of criminal justice, countries need to develop their own community violence combating strategies.

Steward (2002) acknowledges that, during the 18th and 19th centuries, the major conflicts took place between different nations but, during the 20th and 21st centuries, the trend conflict became less that of conflict amongst nations and more a matter of conflict within states. Steward (2002: 324) contends that "eight out of ten of the world's poorest countries are suffering or have recently suffered from large-scale violent conflict. Wars in developing countries have heavy human, economic and social costs

and are a major cause of poverty and underdevelopment. The incidence of war has been rising since 1950, with most wars being within states.”

The Institute for Economics and Peace (2022: 86) reveals that “since 2008, the level of global peacefulness has deteriorated by 3.2%, with 84 countries deteriorating and 77 improving in the GPI. The world has become successively less peaceful each year since 2014. • The average level of global peacefulness has deteriorated for eleven of the past 14 years. • The gap between the least and the most peaceful countries continues to grow. Since 2008, the 25 least peaceful countries deteriorated on average by 16 per cent, while the 25 most peaceful countries improved by 5.1 per cent.”

South Africa is ranked amongst those countries that are bedevilled with conflict. This situation is traced back to colonisation and apartheid as the main cause of South Africa’s violent conflicts. The 2022 GPI places South Africa at number 118. This has affected people, communities and relationships that the community and people have. The country has experienced political violence, violence against women, customary violence or faction fighting and taxi violence. This cycle of violence presents a society that is crippled by violence and does not have a strategy to deal with violence. Adams (2012) warns us that such societies are caught up in an ongoing pattern of relationships that she terms ‘chronic violence’. Adams (2012:6) further adds that chronic violence is driven by diverse and deeply entrenched forces, is embedded and reproduced in multi social spaces, and can be transmitted intergenerationally.

Beinart (1992: 455) argues that “violent conflict, though by no means unique to Southern Africa, has been central in its modern history. It is very difficult to write about the region in the 19th century without constant references to wars, conquest and violence. The state was at war with its citizens and thus both the state and its citizens never respected the rule of law. Laws were also oppressive to its citizens. There was structural violence imposed by the state.” Gould (2014) argues further that “until 1994 South Africans had little reason to respect the law, and no reason to believe in the rule of law.” Gould argues that during apartheid not only were many of the laws unjust and intended to entrench white domination, but unfair laws were also applied unfairly. In addition, the security forces particularly the police, were used by the state to ensure that all South Africans lived in fear of the state, regardless of their race.

Despite the end of apartheid, discontent and related violence has continued, for instance, Byerley (1989:1) mentions that, in recent years, “South Africa has experienced an unprecedented degree of popular revolt.” Byerley (1989) adds that an important characteristic of this revolt compared with past episodes of protest is its geographic spread and longevity. In addition, Gould (2014) argues that it should come as no surprise that crime and violence remains disturbingly high in South Africa. Gould further adds that what is surprising is that there is not even more crime and violence, considering how we have dealt with our violent past, how we have increasing poverty and inequality, and have failed as a country to secure confidence in and respect for the rule of law. For example, Gould (2014) argues that South Africans’ attitudes towards the law are demonstrated in small things such as the high number of people who drive without seat belts and who drive under the influence of drugs or alcohol, the many teachers who still beat children at school, police officers who break traffic rules even when it is not necessary and drivers who ignore red traffic lights.

A country emerging from and embroiled in subtle or violent conflicts needs to find ways of dealing with such challenges. No-one will come from outside to solve these problems; communities should be empowered to take charge of their own problems and be able to resolve them. Taylor (2002) points out that, as a country emerging from past characterised by violence and repression, South Africa faces new challenges with slow maturation of democracy. Taylor (2002) argues us that violence today is complex, dynamic and creative in form, shaped by both apartheid and the mechanisms of the transition itself.

In particular, violence in KZN has been rampant; Taylor (2002: 473) adds that “political violence in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, took, according to some sources, as many as 20000 lives lost from 1984. For example, in September 1987 open warfare broke out in the Pietermaritzburg region with a series of territorial battles between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front.” This was the period where Njobokazi violence was changing from being faction fighting to take a more political form, with people joining political parties and taking arms to fight with their opponents.

2.3 South African history and violent events in Njobokazi’s past

The information and data presented in this section was extracted from various sources. These sources included primary sources and secondary sources. Most of the

information presented in the South African events section was extracted from the South African Truth and reconciliation commission reports and some relevant academic articles. Due to the fact, there are few and limited academic articles that focused on Njobokazi violent conflict likewise very few newspaper articles reported about Violence in Njobokazi, the information and data highlighting Mntanotengayo and Njobokazi violent past was extracted or extrapolated from key informant interviews, community meetings, individual conversations, observations and focus groups discussions.

This section presents a timeline of events demonstrating events that were taking place at a national level from 1938 to date comparing these events with Njobokazi violent past. The purpose of this session is to contextualise Mntanotengayo and Njobokazi cycle of violence and assist the reader to understand the links between South African violence generally and Njobokazi's violent past.

Timeline	Events in South African History	Njobokazi events
1938-1947	<p>South Africa was member of the British commonwealth but completely self-governing under conservative white government.</p> <p>South Africa participated in the Second World War from 1939-1945</p>	<p>Sithole (1997) states that in the 1930s conflict was caused by succession dispute.</p> <p>In 1939, in Njobokazi and Embo, faction fighting resulted from the slaughtering of a Leopard.</p> <p>Reader (1966: 27) argues that between 1938 and 1939 there were violent incidents between the Embo and section of the Makhanya clan living in Camperdown District. The Makhanya area under Camperdown district was called Mntanotengayo.</p>
1948-1968	<p>In 1948, the Apartheid government came to power. The Apartheid government implemented repressive laws against the South African majority</p> <p>In 1960, political parties (ANC, SACP and PAC) were banned and political leaders belonging to the African National congress, Pan African Congress and South African Communist Party (SACP) were imprisoned.</p>	<p>In 1956 there was Sibhadamu faction fighting. This faction fighting was between Magquzumane, Roma, Nkunjini, Dlangezwa and Mabhezeni, on one hand, and Masakabulini (including Hlengwa, Shoji eZimbokodweni and Shoji ediphini) on the other.</p> <p>In 1960 there was faction fighting in eZimbokodweni and Ediphini where Zikhonzele was murdered.</p> <p>In 1965, there was faction fighting between new Mumbo and Njobokazi and this was after Dingicebo Shoji, Mlima Shoji and Jani Shoji group have gone back to join Njobokazi</p>

1969-1980

In 1970, the Bantu Homeland Citizenship Act was passed wherein the apartheid government effectively strips all Black South Africans of their citizenship by making them automatic citizens of one of the ten "Homelands".

In 1970, The Zululand Territorial Authority (ZTA) was set up with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as Chief Executive Officer. In 1972, the ZTA was converted into the KwaZulu Legislature Assembly with Buthelezi as the Chief Minister.

In 1971, Ahmed Timol died in detention on 27 October 1971, allegedly by jumping from tenth floor of John Vorster square police building. This was proven by the inquest to be false in fact; he was killed by the South African security police (Mabuza, 2017)

In 1972 Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Lebowa are granted self-government status. There are widespread student protests and expulsions of students take place at many universities in May, followed by student demonstrations, which are broken up by the police.

1973 a wave of strikes beginning Durban and spreads to all major urban centres marking the re-emergence of political protest and independent trade unions.

In 1974, the UN withdraws the credentials of the South African delegation, which loses voting, but speaking rights in the general assembly were allowed. The ANC and PAC are granted observer status

In 1975 Inkatha Cultural liberation movement is formed. Mozambique and Angola became independent.

In 1975 the SADF takes over responsibility for the counter insurgency war in Namibia

In 1976, on 16 June 1976, the Soweto uprising begins. Police open fire on approximately 10 000 pupils protesting against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Resistance spreads nationwide and continues for several months. The first members of the class of 76 leave South Africa for training in armed resistance.

In 1976, nominal independence is granted to the Transkei in October, under the

In 1975, the men from Masomini (which is small clan from Njobokazi) came to pay lobola (bride dowry) at Gwala woman homestead (another clan under Njobokazi) who had fallen in love with Phuzetsheni Msomi and Khomos from Nkunzini (another area under Njobokazi) came and snatched her whilst the lobola negotiations were carrying on. The woman was snatched when gone to buy groceries.

The Gwalas told the Msomi people to relax as they were going to go to the Khomos to snatch their daughter back in order to return her to the Msomis. Both Gwalas and Msomis went to get the woman and the faction fighting took place on that day (Key informant Gwala February 2020)

leadership of Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

In 1977, KwaZulu gains self-governance in February. Winnie Mandela is banished for 80 years to Brandfort in the Orange Free State

In 1977 Black consciousness activist, Bantu Stephen Biko dies in detention in Pretoria on 12 September, following his detention in Port Elizabeth. Numerous other deaths in detention occur during 1977 and in subsequent years.

In 1978 anti-apartheid academic and activist, Rick Turner is killed in Durban in January. In that year, the Azanian people's organization (AZAPO) is launched in May.

In 1979, Venda becomes independent. MK special unit is formed. COSAS (Congress of South African Students) and AZASO (AZANIAN Students Organisation) later renamed SASCO (South African Students Congress) are formed. The national security management system (NSMS) is implemented. Colonel JJ Victor establishes the Security Branch Vlakplaas Unit.

In 1979, Chief Buthelezi and ANC leadership in exile meet in London.

In 1980, the SASOL oil refinery plant in Secunda is blown in April by MK special operations unit.

The independence of Zimbabwe is proclaimed.

The Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADC) is formed.

In 1979-1980, there was faction fighting in Empandwini in uMbumbulu between the Shanges and Bhengus. These groups had relationship with the Njobokazi residents and used to borrow and exchange guns from one another.

Mathis (2008: 12) argues that "violent conflict in KwaZulu-Natal was during the 1980s and 90s was characterized by the central role of powerful male leaders who came to be known as warlords (Ophumasilwe)." This was the case in KwaNjobokazi.

1981-1985 In 1981, Joe Gqabi, ANC Chief representative in Zimbabwe, is assassinated in July

In 1981 self-governing status is conferred on KwaNdebele

In 1981, Inkosi Phuzukumila Makhanya recalls Phuphu Khomo as Induna. The reasons being that he was not attending meetings and not providing feedback to the Makhanya Traditional Authority (key informant Mthethwa) about matters concerning Mntanotengayo.

Mr Khomo was recalled in 1981 and Jani Shoji was installed in 1982.

In 1981 Durban Lawyer Griffiths Mxenge is assassinated by security police in Durban on 19 November

In 1982, Nelson Mandela is transferred from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town in March. A worldwide free Mandela campaign begins.

In 1982 ANC/SACP member Ruth First is assassinated in Maputo on 17 August by a parcel bomb despatched by South African Security Police.

In 1983, the national launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF) takes place in Mitchell's plain on 20 August. The immediate goal is to oppose the introduction of the Tricameral parliament consisting of the three legislative houses for whites, coloureds and Indians. However, the tricameral Parliament was instituted.

In 1983 in the Ongoye on 29 October, Inkatha aligned warriors at the University of Zululand kill five and injure many in clashes between students and approximately 500 Inkatha supporters.

In 1983, Diakonia took up residence at the Ecumenical Centre in Durban when it was established by the mainline churches in 1983 to provide office and meeting space for religious organisations committed to build peace.

In 1984 UDF Million Signature

Campaign against apartheid is launched.

In 1984 mass student protests and disruption, intensify existing unrest caused by community protest activities and conflict with black local authorities.

In 1985, Mandela and other political prisoners are offered release in January if they renounce violence and most refuse.

The Shoji-Hlengwa faction fighting starts in 1982, immediately after Jani Shoji's installation as an induna. It happened during the Shubhuza traditional ceremony that took place on 26 June 1982.. As part of the Shoji-Hlengwa faction fighting the following faction fighting took place between 1982 and 1985.

In 1982, the Shozis attacked the Hlengwas in Nkunzini.

In 1983 Shoji-Hlengwa faction fighting fought in the place called Hlungwini (Hlungwini is small place in Njobokazi where the fight took place). In 1984, there was the Shoji-Hlengwa faction is called Matslolo faction fighting (where Shoji-Hlengwa faction fighting met).

In 1985 the Msombuluko (Monday) and final faction fighting happened where Ntshoshe Shoji died. The Shozis moved to combine with Ngcamu group who were fighting with Ndimande and Buthelezi group. There was another faction fighting and the Ngcamus were defeated.

In 1985, the Ngcamus and Shozis went to Zwelibomvu to join and support the Khwelas who were fighting with the Magcabas and Nenes. The Khwelas were also defeated and the entire Shozis, Gcamus and Khwelas fled the area. Likewise, the triumph pact, Hlengwas Magacas and Ocingweni group remained behind because they were victorious.

In 1985 there was faction fighting between Zulus and AmaMpondo in Malukazi. Malukazi is relevant because at a time under Inkosi Makhanya and parts of Njobokazi is under Makhanya traditional authority. The Malukazi

	<p>The Congress of Trade Unions (COSATU) is launched in November 1985.</p> <p>In December 1985 and January 1986, intense conflict broke out between Zulus and Pondos living in uMbumbulu, particularly in KwaMakhutha and Malukazi.</p> <p>In 1985, Gandhi settlement at Phoenix is attacked and destroyed in August. Seventy people died (forty-three at the hands of the police and more than 200 were injured).</p>	<p>faction fighting grouped all Zulu men who were living in near areas including men from Njobokazi to fight AmaMpondo.</p> <p>In 1985, a meeting was held in Ulundi to discuss Mntanotengayo and Njobokazi faction fighting where both Inkosi Gwala and Inkosi Makhanya could not provide reasons for the faction fighting and gruesome killings in Njobokazi.</p>
1986-1990	<p>In 1986 in Gugulethu, seven MK operatives are shot dead by security forces in an apparent ambush on 3 March.</p> <p>In 1990, there was the lifting of the state of emergency and unbanning of the ANC, PAC, and AZAPO.</p>	<p>Between 1985 and 1986, the entire area of Njobokazi, Zwelibomvu and Mangangeni experienced faction fighting. Khwelas, Ngcamus and Shozis went to uMbumbulu to join the Mpandwini and Zigeni group that was fighting with Ntinyane and Ocingweni group.</p> <p>During 1987 and 1988 a transition from faction fighting to political violence took place. Political violence broke out only after this period. In 1989, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and United Democratic Front (UDF) violence broke out. The political violence took place at Gconi (Majuba Khomo and Mbekwa Meyiwa died) and the second one took place at Skotshi where 15 people died as per the report of the TRC. However, key informant interviewees said there were 16. The Skotshi one took place on 18 March 1990 where Induna Skotshi house was attacked and torched. TRC report indicates that two KwaZulu special constables died.</p> <p>According to the TRC report, Zakhona Meyiwa lost her home when she was forced to flee from Njobokazi after her husband had been killed in a petrol bomb attack on an Inkatha Induna's house. In this violence, several people were killed and houses were burnt.</p>
1991-1995	<p>The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) began with plenary session on 20 December 1991.</p> <p>Political violence was at its peak nationally.</p>	<p>In 1991, the ANC group that remained behind after the defeat of IFP split again into groups, one supporting the IFP and the other supporting ANC. The second political violence took place, which is known as Mpisi-Malayi violence.</p> <p>When the conflict between Malayi Mthethwa and Mpisi Mthethwa</p>

escalated, the group from the IFP side that was defeated in 1989 joined Mpisi faction and drove the Malayi faction out to Ntshongweni. (key informant Mthethwa, April 2020)

In 1991, the Mkhizes, Mabhidias and the Shozis that were still in the area offered to help Malayi Mthethwa to fight Mpisi Mthethwa. Because Mpisi Mthethwa was joined by IFP, his faction was called IFP and the fact that the Malayi Mthethwa faction supported by ANC members was called ANC. This was sometimes referred to as ANC-IFP political violence and sometimes as Malayi -Mpisi faction fighting.

On the 25 of August 1991, there was an encounter for this faction fighting which happened at Deda Shoji site where Bhulukwe Khomo and Bahadi Ngubane died. The Malayi faction attacked in Hammarsdale at section 4, where Gece Shange and about seven more unknown men from Mpumalanga died. Another encounter happened at Dlangezwa and Bheko died. Then Malayi Mthethwa and Mpisi Mthethwa factions fought at Fayi river where Fana Cele died.

The new form of violence emerged where those who had fled the area where being hunt and killed in their places of refuge. The winning side would look for the strongest members of the defeated group and kill them (ukuntshontshana)

Another faction fighting ensued where the ANC members fought amongst themselves and this is called Shoji-Mkhize faction fighting.

In 1992, the first encounter between Shozis and Mkhizes happened at Matsheni Amhlophe and Ncapheni area where Mndeni Shoji, Spirit Shoji, Manjelwa Shoji, Manna Shoji, Sombangela Mkhize, Ngaka Mkhize, Febe Khwela (known as Killer) were killed.

In 1992, the second encounter happened at Maqguzumane in the water stream where Mntwakhe Shoji, Qhamto Shoji, Musi Mkhize (from Ntinyane), and Jackie Gumede (from Etholeni) died. Then the third

encounter happened at Nguqwini where Jika Shange died.

In 1993, the fourth encounter took place at Nguqwini where Ngqangendlela Blose died. The Shozi group moved to Ntinyane in uMbumbulu next to uMbumbulu police station. Early in 1993, the Shozi group regrouped and went back to fight, first at Esontweni place (Mntanotengayo) and then to Fayi primary school site. This was the end of the faction fighting between the two groups and the political violence last violent encounter in the area.

In 1994 and 1995, there was no overt faction and political violence but both groups continued to kill one another secretly (Ubugebengu/gukuntshontshana) up until Nogqa Mkhize and Ntombilolo Mkhize died.

	In April 1994, the first national democratic elections were held	
1996-2000	In 1996, the South African Constitution was adopted by Parliament	In 1996, discussions started by Fanana Ngubane and other prominent Njobokazi men tried to broker peace In Njobokazi.
	The National party withdrew from the government of National unity	In 1997, meetings were held in Magaba (in Mpumalanga township), People from various places came together to discuss the peace processes.
		In 1999, the cleansing ceremony for the entire Njobokazi that involved all groups who had fought, took place..
2001-2010	Democratic government is in power	In 2002, the Shozi extended family had their own cleansing ceremony
		Some members of the Njobokazi community began the process of going back to Njobokazi and reconstructing their structures.
2011-2021		In 2016 Makhanya Primary school has been constructed. In 2019 a sports field was constructed at Deda, and IManathi private school is constructed at Njobokazi Magqzumane. There is now a community hall at Njobokazi Mangqzumane area.

2.4 Linking factional and political violence to the situation in Njobokazi

The community of Njobokazi has been engulfed by violence from 1938 to 1994. This was understood as faction fighting until and during 1987, when the community violence became political violence. Faction fighting had cultivated a fertile ground for political violence to take place. As the table above demonstrates, there was a rough transition from faction fighting to political violence.

As the Njobokazi timeline indicates, it is important to understand the link between faction fighting and political allegiances in the context of Njobokazi.

Although the Njobokazi were well known to people who were close to the village, people from other areas did not know that there was violence taking place there. This was a deliberate lack of public record by government and the media. The South African media paid little attention to the political violence and faction fighting that bedevilled Njobokazi community.

Different sources indicate that Njobokazi experienced violence around the 1940s but intensified during the 1980s. Violence in Njobokazi started as faction fighting because of many triggers of violence. Reader (1966: 27) mentions that “between 1938 and 1939 there were violent incidents between the Embo and section of the Makhanya living in Camper down District. Makhanya area under Camperdown district is Njobokazi.” However, Dr Reader did not provide details of that faction fighting and its causes. It is clear that there was sporadic violence in the late 1930s and early 1940s but this was characterized by as faction fighting.

Prior to 1985, faction fighting was rife at Njobokazi but there is no record of it; even the police records do not give full account of this. When requesting information to collaborate data gathered in this research, the police did not agree to participate. Likewise, records of political violence at Njobokazi do not give full account of this violence. Byerley (1989: 51) asserts that “the media in South Africa was under heavy restrictions as to what it can report on and how critical an interpretation it can provide. Even before the state of emergency was declared in 1985, the press was severely restricted under the Public Safety Act of 1953; since July 1985 however, there were a number of proclamations that constrained the press even further.”

Gauging from the key informants and focus group discussions, faction fighting was at the highest peak in Njobokazi, uMbumbulu and Zwelibomvu around the mid-1980s. During the late 1980's and early 1990s was the highest peak of the political violence in Njobokazi. In general, this coincided with high political violence in the country and with violence in Mpumalanga township nearby. Nevertheless, there was lot of coverage of the violence in Mpumalanga.

Due to intense political violence, in other areas at that time, no one paid attention of what happened in Njobokazi. One regrettable event of violence was between Africans and Indians; Byerley (1989: 80) notes that in "1985, most of the media reports focused on the antagonism between Africans and Indians in the Inanda/Phoenix area, which raised the spectre of 1949 riots in which many Indians have been killed by Africans. Shops and businesses were looted and burnt out and Indians fled their homes and businesses in Inanda. The question needs to be asked why the media did not report on faction fighting which was taking place in Njobokazi found at the South West of Durban but was able to report violence that was taking place in the north of Durban."

However, in August of 1985, however Durban exploded with protest and violence and all observers were taken by surprise. Byerley points out that this situation was repeated towards the end of 1985, and with continued strife in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, Natal began to move into the forefront in the geography of social protest. Although Njobokazi at the time relied on subsistence farming, there were people, especially men, who worked in Durban and Hammarisdale and community members who bought their groceries in Durban, Pinetown or Desai. Njobokazi used to be connected with Durban, Hammarisdale, Pinetown and Desai but due the impact of the faction fighting and political violence, public transport was disrupted and stopped functioning optimally once people fled to other areas.

Both Inkosi Gwala and Inkosi Makhanya, who were responsible for Mntanotengayo and Njobokazi respectively, paid little attention to local residents. There is no record that they tried to resolve faction fighting from taking place. Chief Makhanya in particular was concerned about Malukazi faction fighting. The Pondo-Zulu violent conflict the conflict in Njobokazi involved men from Makhanya tribal communities but Makhanya paid little attention to the Njobokazi faction fighting and focussed all his energies on the Pondo-Zulu conflict. Byerley (1989: 85) adds that in "1985, over

Christmas, conflict between about 3000 Zulus and 2000 Pondos broke out in section 5 and Malukazi settlements South of Durban.” Talks aimed at ending the conflict broke down when the local Zulu Chief Makhanya demanded the expulsion of all Pondos living in Malukazi, a conflict that continued into the New Year (Byerley 1989). Makhanya’s comments did not help the situation and it took focus from Njobokazi while everyone focused on the conflicts in Malukazi and Inanda.

As South Africa witnessed the escalation of political violence, violence in Njobokazi took the shape of political violence, which happened around 1986 and 1987 and continued into the early 1990s. Cele (2016: 2) argues that meanings of the fight should be sought from broader social, political and cultural settings in which local affiliations, rural leadership privileges, gendered relations of power and patriarchal control over individuals determined people’s responses to questions about the fighting and how experiences of violence would be remembered.

There was a continuum changing from faction fighting to political violence. The most notable point about violence in uMbumbulu and Njobokazi, as Tushini (2011:4) explains, is that “the Embo-Makhanya war was followed by, and at some stage was concurrent with, political violence in the uMbumbulu area... This similar trend was followed in Njobokazi faction fighting and political violence. For example, the Shozi-Hlengwa was a faction fight whereas the Mpisi-Malawi violence was a political violence and Mkhize-Shozi was a mixture of faction fighting and political violence.”

In case of Njobokazi violent conflict, it is always difficult to separate faction fighting and political violence. Mathis (2008: 2) argues this about men’s involvement in both the faction fighting and the political violence: “The intensity of the violence during the mid-1980’s challenges the often-made separation between faction fighting and political violence during the 1980s and 1990s. Indeed, for most of the residents in uMbumbulu, Zwelibomvu, Njobokazi, they experienced these two decades as a continuum of violence, with the primary change being the justification used by fighters for the violence. “

Current authorities acknowledge faction fighting and political violence posed a real threat in the province and communities of Kwazulu-Natal because a community that lives in fear has a destabilised economy and children could not grow healthily in that environment. Although political violence and faction fighting happened in Njobokazi,

the entire province was affected by violence.. In addressing the media on the outcomes of the cabinet Lekgotla, KZN Premier Willies Mchunu (2017) expressed his concern that the province's reputation was not without its challenges because violence in hostels, political and taxi violence and faction fighting continued to cast a shadow over government's efforts. Mchunu argued that no province in this country except ours own has faction fights in our traditional communities, and no province in South Africa has the extent of taxi violence like the one we have in our province. It is therefore important to find solutions to the violent tendencies that are affecting KZN.

The comment by the premier that KZN is the only province that is still engulfed by faction fighting adds to the reason that faction fighting needs to be studied to understand its driving forces of the warring communities.

2.5 Developmental perspective on the Njobokazi area

It is also important to assess the current situation in relation to peace in Njobokazi and how government entities and non-governmental organisations interact with this community.

There have been peace building initiatives that took place in the area. For example, Premier Senzo Mchunu, on the 27th October 2013 in Ogagwini, uMbumbulu participated in a cleansing ceremony. The Premier together with traditional leaders from various clans in the uMbumbulu area and Sinani an NGO dealing with survivors of violence participated in peace initiative at ending decades of violence in the area. Sinani has been involved in the opening dialogue with communities who were previously involved in conflict. The cleansing ceremony involved amabutho (regiments) who underwent the cleansing ceremony. One of the traditional leaders who participated in this event was Inkosi Makhanya who is also Inkosi for Mntanotengayo-Njobokazi, but the community of Njobokazi and Izinsizwa (warriors) did not participate in this event or cleansing ceremony even though it was supposed to be a cleansing ceremony for Izinsizwa that had participated in the fighting.

There are attempts to curb the emerging taxi violence in the area. It is important to highlight that in 2018 that KZN MEC Mr Kaunda for transport called a meeting that was geared towards ending tax violence in uMbumbulu. African News Agency (ANA) (2018) argues that there were more than 80 reported killings in the uMbumbulu area and surrounding parts (that include Njobokazi) from January to April of 2018.

ANA (2018) further reports that MEC convened a special stakeholder's meeting with the main objective to bring about lasting peace and stability in the ongoing taxi war in the uMbumbulu area. ANA reports that MEC Kaunda wanted to engage Inkosi Khethukuthula Makhanya and other stakeholders with the main aim of bringing about peaceful co-existence in the area. Inkosi Khethukuthula Makhanya is also an Inkosi for Mntanotengayo. Although there is no overt political violence and faction fighting, taxi violence and other criminal activities are still bedevilling the area.

Despite the intense violence, there is still no police station in the area. There are meant to be initiatives taken by the Minister to deal with violence in Njobokazi. The then Minister of Police, Fikile Mbalula (27 January 2018), said the following when he was handing over a mobile community service centre to the people of Njobokazi. He stated (2018: 1) that the communities of Njobokazi, Sankontshe and Mophela are situated 35 kilometres away from the Mpumalanga/Hammarsdale police station (the nearest police station is 20kms away in KwaNdengezi). This has posed a great challenge for the community, as they had to travel long distances to access a basic service of policing. The services that will be rendered by the mobile community service centre are taking of affidavits, certification of copies and reporting of crime and to enhance community-policing relationship to the people in line with the Batho Pele principles. The satellite office is not operating in the area, even though Mbalula (2018:1) added that the communities around the areas of Mntanotengayo have been troubled by stock theft, murders, people that were killed elsewhere and dumped in the areas and car hijackings.

The EThekwini weekly bulletin (2018: 3) argues that the municipality has commissioned the construction of a state of the art sports and recreation facility for R4.5m. The development project was expected to create 30 employment opportunities for resident during the construction phase. The sports complex will also have six combi-courts to play a variety of sports like basketball, volleyball and netball. The sports centre will also have a football and rugby combo-field facing arena, ablution facilities, change rooms as well as a parking lot. Councillor Mkhize quoted by the eThekwini Weekly Bulletin presented that the facility would help to steer young people away from drugs and crime. They would now have something constructive to keep them busy. Yet the sports centre was not completed and is becoming a white elephant.

There is no government structure in the community. The clinic is found in the nearby village, which is Zwelibomvu. There is a newly established primary school and the road is a gravel road. However, the nearby community of Zwelibomvu has three primary schools and two high schools. Running water is a challenge in the village, but electricity has recently been installed. The South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) pay point used to be in KwaShabalala store at the centre of Njobokazi but now has been moved to Kwatoni which in Zwelibomvu, bordering Njobokazi.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a brief background of the Njobokazi conflict, which was very complex and difficult to resolve, though it has ended on a positive note with local development initiatives. The historical background indicates that there is no longer overt political and faction fighting but violence continues to manifest itself through violence against women, rape, taxi violence, killing of innocent people and other criminal activities.

The next chapter will review literature relating to violent conflicts and to peace building.

Chapter 3

Literature review on community violence and peace building

3.1 Introduction

This study focuses on a community that has experienced major violence, as result of which processes and initiatives are needed to end violence and build peace. It focuses on the contribution that literature can provide in responding to the research questions, which are:

- 1) How does violence operate in Njobokazi?
- 2) What have been and continue to be the drivers of violence in the Njobokazi Community?
- 3) How can I strengthen my ability to facilitate a reduction in violence in the community?
- 4) What would be short and long-term interventions that would completely eradicate violence in Njobokazi?

As will be demonstrated, there is almost no literature relevant directly to violence in Njobokazi, though there is on that issue in the neighbouring areas. Thus the chapter will address more fully what literature says about community violence and peace building. Furthermore, it provides a foundation of existing knowledge on the research topic, describes the relationship of each work to the others under consideration and identifies new ways to interpret current research. This chapter will focus on community violence and peace building in community contexts. In each case, the review will follow the format of starting internationally, then presenting the South Africa perspective and lastly the local context.

3.2 Research on violence in community contexts

This section will take an international perspective, followed by the South African perspective and then the local perspective. The perspective on violence in community context will inform the questions used in data collection stage and will further inform the analysis stage of the study.. Adedokun (2017:3) asserts that “perhaps one of the central reasons why our knowledge regarding the processes of transition from war to peace remains not only fragmented and incomplete but also poorly understood is that

the strands of literature on civil war on the one side and peace building on the other have largely lost sight of each other.” Adedokun asserts that “perhaps one of the central reasons why our knowledge regarding the processes of transition from war to peace remains not only fragmented and incomplete but also poorly understood is that the strands of literature on civil war on the one side and peace building on the other have largely lost sight of each other.”

Goodhand and Hulme (1999: 13) argue that in recent decades the nature of large scale violent conflict has fundamentally changed from an era of ‘wars’ to one that is characterised by complex political emergencies. Goodhand and Hulme further argue that it is clear that the shift in patterns of wars between states to conflicts within states, which began around the middle of the twentieth century, was not reversed by the end of the cold war.

3.2.1 International community violence perspective

Violence is not reducing worldwide, instead it is increasing and peacefulness is falling. My view is that there is a need to study issues relating to violence to understand processes causing it to escalate, in order to craft strategies that will assist to reduce it, if not completely wiping it out. The Institute for Economics & Global Peace Index (2022: 2) reports that in the past fourteen years, peacefulness has fallen. In addition the Institute for Economics & Global Peace Index (2022: 4) argues that “The world has become successively less peaceful each year since 2014.”

Communities that have been embroiled in violent conflict have institutions that do not function properly. Victims of violence get affected either psychologically, emotionally or physically. The World Report on Violence and Health (2002: 1085) presents a view that violence occurs at biological and/ personal level, in close relationships and in community contexts. The report argues that both biological and personal factors influence how individuals behave and increase their likelihood of becoming a victim or perpetrator of violence. Violence occurring at close relationships such as those with family and friends; having friends who engage in or encourage violence can increase a young person’s risk of being a victim or perpetrator of violence.

Violence happens at community context and levels, for example in schools, workplaces and neighbourhoods. The World Report on Violence (2002: 1085) argues that risk at these levels may be affected by factors such as the existence of income

inequality, the strength of the social welfare system, the social acceptance of violence, availability of firearms, the exposure to violence in mass media, and political instability.

There is a tendency amongst perpetrators of violence to justify their actions and they sometimes do not account for their actions. In order to eradicate violence we should not allow a situation where perpetrators justify their violent actions. Likewise, research studies have found out that instigators of violence find excuses in justifying violence through referring to economic issues, socio-cultural issues and political issues. Mijah (2005: xix) has conducted a study focusing on ethics of violence in Nigeria, the study examined that the high scale and increasing frequency of violence in Nigeria today. The study further examined how peoples of Nigeria evaluate the rightness and wrongness of violence. The study further determined that there are socio-cultural, political, ethnic, psychological or religious reasons the different groups of people use in justifying or rejecting violence.

It is important to note that violence generally continues after war or violent conflict because criminal activities continue. This means that the end of war or overt violent conflict does not necessarily mean all types of violence have ended. The aftermath of wars results in domestic violence, increase in crime levels and femicide levels; as Ember and Ember (1994:621) argue; one of the clearest findings to emerge from cross national and cross-cultural studies is that war is associated with higher rates of interpersonal violence. Furthermore, Archer and Garner in Ember and Ember (1994) compared changes in homicide rates of various nations before major wars versus after major wars. They found that homicide rates tend to increase following a war, whether the nation was defeated or victorious. Ember and Ember further add that this result is consistent with the idea that a society or nation legitimizes violence during wartime. After all, it is permissible to kill enemies during wartime, afterwards; homicide may go up because inhibitions against killing have been relaxed.

The history of conquest wars, colonial rule and, in case of South Africa, apartheid serve as origins of what we see in the modern times. These wars were institutionalised and in some instances backed by statutes. Based on research findings, Beinart (1992: 465) argue that explaining and understanding African political violence as a response to conquest, dispossession, and the authoritarian of colonial rule or apartheid has not been particularly problematic for radical historian and social scientists. More difficult

has been the related issue which Fanon raises that of violence within and between African communities.

Countries are experiencing new formats of violent conflict and these are emerging due to economic disagreements and economic control. There are recent wars that have been taking place in 2021-2022, for example, in Tigray, one of the regions in Ethiopia. There are so many causes for this war which access to land, grazing land, access to natural resources, access to state resources like funds jobs, investments). Ethiopia has been until now a relatively peaceful region. Joseph (2015: 136) in his research states that the conflicts were caused by tribal leaders. Land remains a much contestation and very sensitive matter. Access to grazing land is one of the issues that caused and is causing conflicts in these areas.

The war in Ukraine between Russia and Ukraine has impact thorough out the world. Russia is mercilessly shelling Ukraine. Countries like USA and European Union are assisting Ukraine with weapons. Although these other countries are not physically participating in the war, they are engaged in the war. This war is affecting all nations who depend on oil from Russia and Ukraine. Another form of conflict is that within Mozambique. Sokupa and Gumbi (2021: 113) warn that the Cabo Delgado region is struggling with extremism and terrorism. As a result, in 2021 a SADC summit decision was taken to support the request from the Mozambican government to send a SADC mission to the area to assist in combating terrorism and violent extremism. Furthermore, there is UN force intervention brigade in the DRC aimed at fighting armed rebel groups.

These emerging wars and violent conflict continue to displace people and deepen levels of hunger. Mantoos (2002) reports that UNHCR, the UN refugee Agency, is deeply concerned about the urgent and large scale needs of more them 72 000 people who have been displaced by fighting in recent days in North Kivu province, Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Since 19 May 2022, intense fighting has shaken Ritshuru and Nyiragongo territories as Militias claiming to be part of the M-23-armed group clash with government forces in a continuing struggle North of Goma, the provincial capital.

At least 170 000 civilians have been displaced often repeatedly since an escalation from November 2021. The latest wave of violence has driven tens of thousands of

people from their homes in search of relatives safely in different parts of the province including Goma. Since May 2022, over the 7,000 have also reportedly, crossed over to neighbouring Uganda -a country already hosting more than 1,5 million refugees.

“Research conducted in post-conflict countries indicates that sexual violence after peace agreements continues or even worsens. The economic, cultural and geopolitical changes resulting from conflict, ‘as well as gender inequalities in education, social and economic domains as a result of the conflict have evidently disempowered women and girls with a profound impact on their sexual and reproductive health/rights’ (Tankink, Bubenzer, and van der Walt,.2017:30, citing John-Langba, John-Langba & Rogers, 2013: 63).

“All wars eventually end, but what follows differs widely. While some post-war societies see a substantial reduction in violence, others, like the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Northern Ireland, and Timor-Leste, continue to experience various forms of political and criminal violence for years after the formal end of hostilities. Residual violence endangers fragile peace agreements, destabilizes the political situation, and threatens to plunge societies back into war” (Van Baalen and Höglund, 2017: 2). ‘

The next section will focus on South Africa’s perspective on community violence.

3.2.2 South African perspective on community violence

South Africa has been affected by conquest wars which was followed by colonialism and Apartheid. Faction fighting developed in that context. Because South Africa was under apartheid and colonialism, some progressive white liberals, blacks in general, and Africans in particular rose against the oppressive state. In response, the state unleashed its physical and structural violence; the situation divided community and black on black violence started. “The violent conflict in South Africa took place at different levels and reflected different types of conflicts. Conflict in the late-apartheid and transition years has often been described as politically motivated; however, many conflicts have arisen from a complex array of factors” (Malan, 2008: 111).

Furthermore, Malan (2008: 110) adds that “for decades, the people of South Africa were locked in this violent conflict, which seemed to be without an end.” Malan argues that essentially, it is a story of a government that was willing to use force to deny people basic human rights and a people that were willing to stand against that force to have access to these rights.

Studies provide different reasons for the cause of violence in South Africa. For example, Joseph (2015: 136) conducted a research focusing on violent conflict in Msinga and argues that respondents expressed different views on the reasons for tribal conflicts. Respondents blamed apartheid for conflicts. Respondents noted that the regime fostered divisions among traditional leaders in order to create instability and rule the homeland. However, while all these respondents agreed that apartheid played a major role in destabilizing the 'homeland' some put the blame on traditional leaders' greed that made them open to manipulation by the apartheid regime as well as the IFP and ANC.

In addition, Mathis (2008: 17) argues that violent conflict in KwaZulu-Natal during the 1980s and 90s was characterized by the central role of powerful male leaders who came to be known as warlords. Mathis (2008: 21) further argues that residents of the region suggest that fighting was prolonged by the ability of these leaders to profit from it through the collection of protection money and other local sources of funding.

De Haas (2019: 43) further argues that in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), the province dubbed the killing fields in the early 1990s; all post-1994 elections have been marked by intimidation and violence. In the past decade, intra-party conflict especially over the nomination of local government ward candidates has increased. De Haas (2019: 43) further advance the idea that the violence that engulfed KZN in the 1980s and early 1990s continued for several years after the 1994 elections, with an estimated 4 000 deaths between 1994 and December 1998.

Jones (2005:154), writing about violence in KwaZulu-Natal, opines that the media is failing to hold the police to account as reporting had deteriorated to such an extent that it did not consistently provide information to counter deficient police reports, nor did it hold the police accountable for the provision of regular and accurate information. All police information was accepted uncontested, and so their version of the unrest became an unequivocal, uncontested definition of Natal violence. Jacobs (2001) in Jones (2005: 157) further argues that our understanding of the Natal violence was shaped by the way in which the newspapers represented and thus made sense of such statements, for the readers. Thus, what becomes the newspapers' violence discourse is a result of structural production features, such as newsgathering and news construction.

Violence started as intra political party violence, for example in Njobokazi, violence broke between Inkatha and the ANC. But now research indicates that we are witnessing killings within political parties where party members fight over tenders, positions and political power. For example, on the 30 May 2022, the ANC eThekweni region issued a statement stating that the ANC in eThekweni Region has noted reports of the arrest of a ward councillor and other suspects. This is in connection with the murder of Comrade Siyabonga Mkhize (ward councillor candidate) and Comrade Mzukisi Nyanga in Cato Crest last year November 2021. Moerane, Gounden and Potgieter (2018: 5) in their investigation report put forward an argument that “the apparently never-ending murder of politicians in KZN is a symptom of a serious pathology in the province’s body politic. These political killings became prevalent in KZN since 2011 and had escalated rapidly during 2016 with adverse consequences for governance in the province.” In addition, Moerane, Gounden and Potgieter (2018: 417) report that “there was also evidence that suggested that a culture of violence had taken root in the province and that this culture had its roots in the colonial and apartheid eras. The murder of politicians is not a new phenomenon in KZN. The killing of Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge is one of the most high-profile cases of the murder politicians. They were respectively assassinated in 1981 and 1985.”

There are also other forms of violence such as gender based violence, looting and destruction of property and torching of cars and trucks, that continue to affect various communities that have been affected by violence. In understanding this new spate of violence, Africa, Sokupa and Gumbi (2021: 12) conducted an investigation to understand the July 2021 unrest, where they found out that “South Africa experienced violent civil unrest, mainly in parts of the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng from 8 July 2021 until it was brought under control around 17 July 2021. The unrest was characterised by social media mobilisation leading to looting, destruction of property and the destruction of property, and the disruption of economic activity. Thousands of people were injured, an estimated 354 people died and over 50 billion lost to the economy.” In addition, Africa, Sokupa and Gumbi (2021: 110) report in their investigation report that “long after the unrest that devastated, parts of KwaZulu Natal and Gauteng, many still wonder how the looting, destruction and violence could have crept up and occurred undetected, spread so rapidly and wreaked such havoc. The results of the looting and riots are palpable: lives have been lost and many injured;

jobs and livelihoods have been erased, many businesses- small and large, informal and formal – have been broken or destroyed; food and security has been affected and some instances, people having to fork out transport costs to get to far away places where they can buy food.”

3.2.3 Local research experience

This section deals with studies that have been conducted to focus on the subject matter in question. Most of these studies were conducted in the villages surrounding Njobokazi but did not have an action research or peace building element.

Reader (1966) published a doctoral thesis that was entitled *Zulu Tribe in transition: The Makhanya of Southern Natal*. The dissertation focused on how the Makhanya tribe came to live in uMbumbulu and made mention of various uMbumbulu faction fights, especially one between Timoni and Nkasa and other various faction fighting in the area. Dr Reader’s research indicates how Qwabes defeated the Celes and descended to Isipingo. For example, Njobokazi is under two Amakhosi, which are Makhanya and Gwala. But Reader (1966: 27) is the only researcher who mentioned that “between 1938 and 1939 there were violent incidents between the eMbo and section of the Makhanya living in Camperdown District. Makhanya area under Camperdown district is Njobokazi.” However, Dr Reader did not provide details of that faction fighting and its causes.”

Mathis (2008) conducted a study in Embo that looked at warlords who turned into political leaders. The research focused on faction fighting in the mid-1980s and the subsequent violence that surrounded two warlords affiliated to the African National congress in a region that was mostly dominated by Inkatha supporters. The study is useful because it begins the process of linking political violence and peace building and how these processes reinforce each other. This study did not attempt to include or focus on a peace building programme or to even suggest peace building mechanisms that could be followed to resolve the conflict in Embo.

Another interesting study is the one that was conducted by Sithole (1997); Sithole has also conducted a study on land disputes and izimpi zemibango in uMbumbulu. Sithole (1997:79) argues that we can best understand why African communities resorted to violent conflict by analysing the material and political context in which tension originated, together with the events that triggered violent conflict. Sithole (1997: 82)

further argues that violence should be seen within its social setting, and we should try to understand how and why people turn to it. Sithole (1997: 105) adds that the case study has shown that rural conflicts and violence were not mindless faction fighting. Instead, violence was a political strategy which the reserve dwellers resorted to in order to achieve clear objectives such as revolting against the system of apartheid, fighting the land question as well as dealing with racism and sexism.

Cele (2016) conducted another recent study in Zwelibomvu, where she focused on examining memories of violence. Cele's research also does not focus on peace building but examines causes and memories of violence in Zwelibomvu. Cele (2016: 2) adds that the study aims to "establish meanings of the fight from a broader social, political and cultural settings in which local affiliations, rural leadership privileges, gendered relations of power and patriarchal control over individuals and facts about it determined people's responses to questions about the fight, and how experiences of violence would be remembered. Cele (2016: 23) argues that the "Social scenery in which historical reconstructions of the past take place provides multiple agents with different positions and purposes. Such a backdrop puts forward conflicting interpretations of events, rendering memory reconstruction broad and controversial."

The reflection on Njobokazi's violence will assist to give a voice to victims of violence and community members and help perpetrators to reflect about their role in the violence and provide suggestions on relevant peace building programmes that the community should embark on. Van Baalen and Höglund (2017: 2) conducted a study that focused on the determinants of such post-war violence, that is, organized violence perpetrated by a group or the state after and armed conflict has come to a formal end. Their research focused on uMbumbulu, Bhambayi and Richmond. Despite the fairly peaceful conduct of the elections in uMbumbulu in April 1994, tensions remained high and violence continued well into the 2000s. Van Baalen and Höglund (2017: 14) argue that the violence of the early 1990s initially decreased dramatically, but soon escalated again, particularly around the elections in 1996 and 1999. Between May 1994 and December 1998, at least 78 people were killed in uMbumbulu according to the HRC reports, but the actual number of casualties in uMbumbulu was most likely higher. Van Baalen and Höglund (2017) argue that, when violence between the ANC and the IFP escalated in KwaZulu-Natal around 1990, local conflicts in uMbumbulu became increasingly political and eventually divided the area into ANC and IFP zones.

Not all the above researchers used action research as part of their research methodology paradigm. These studies did not integrate issues of violence with peace building, and thus did not attempt to involve local communities in resolving violent conflict.

3.3 Research on peace building in community contexts

This section focuses on research that deals with peace building in community contexts. The first part of this chapter focused on community violence and this section will deal with peace building research and interventions relating to the objectives of the study. Balthasar (2017: 476) argues that early successes of international peace building in places like Nicaragua, Cambodia or Namibia appear to have inspired an institutionally programmatic model of peace through democracy, even though the stabilisation of Namibia, for example, has been traced back to underlying political dynamics that little to do with liberal democratic institutions. However, Balthasar presents that in places such as Angola, Liberia, Rwanda, Somalia and the former Yugoslavia, illusions about liberal peace building were shattered altogether.

Adedokun (2017: 39) further maintains that much of our knowledge on the transition from civil war to peace building is heavily drawn from post conflict failures. As a result, our knowledge is quite detailed on why peace processes fail. However, there are far fewer case studies and far fewer large studies on why peace building sometimes succeeds. Adedokun (2017) further states that of course, this is not to underestimate the contributions of scholars who have written on why peace fails, but only to point out that a sharp focus on cases where 'sustainable peace' has been achieved could further contribute to our understanding of peace process. This is the reason why peace building programmes and research into them are needed in villages like Njobokazi, as does the perpetuation of violence after peace accords.

3.3.1 *International perspective*

Most of the international, regional and local peace building initiatives have been reactive rather than being proactive. This means that there are no obvious preventative measures developed to curb violent conflict. Peacebuilders may try to resolve the conflict during the course of the conflict and/or after the conflict has ended. This relates to Gacaca courts set up in Rwanda to deal with issues of reconciliation, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa and number of

initiatives established to normalise relations between Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe. Community peace building initiatives tend to work if employed with the help of community members. Lederach and Lederach (2014: 51) report that research has shown that the imaginative and abundant resources for peace in the African context have and continue to have a profound impact on both the practice and theory of peace building.

Goldman and others (2014: 153) argue that, despite sustained efforts to build peace on multi scales across various countries in Africa, little attention has been paid to the customary mechanisms in African societies that can contribute to such efforts. In many places, customary mechanisms and the institutions associated with them should not be seen as frozen in time, but rather as evolving socio-cultural systems. Goldman and others' research further focus on the role customary institutions and civil society organisations can play in building peace from within at the community level.

Goldman and others (2014: 159) applied this approach in resolving the conflict between the Maasai-Sojo conflict study, which was an ongoing conflict between the predominantly pastoral Latla Maasai and the agro-pastoral community, the Sonjo (locally known as the batem) in Ngorongoro district. The research by Goldman and others indicate that relations between the two communities have been plagued by serious conflicts related to ethnic, clashes, land disputes, livestock theft and cultural attitudes. Even when conflicts escalated state officials and outside liaisons failed to reach lasting solutions. Meanwhile, customary leaders (LLaiwanak) worked towards creating peace but needed support to enhance the breadth and depth of their actions. Goldman and others argue the Sonjo and Loita conflict resolution between the two groups has been attempted since the 1970s as the conflict continued to escalate and grow more complex, various interventions failed to achieve lasting peace.

Goldman and others (2014: 163) argue that mediation efforts were often initiated and led by formal government leaders. The mediation team thus initially followed the route of working through the formal leadership of the community. In the end, this route did not lead to any settlement between the two sides or the demarcation of boundaries. They found that villagers have much more belief in and support for informal (customary) leaders in their community, than they do for formal government leaders.

What they also found was that several mechanisms that worked were implemented by informal leaders who proved particularly successful at mediation. One such technique is based on local oath-taking rituals. These rituals are feared and observed by villagers. The implications for this study is to check the role that was played by local leaders to implement mediation mechanisms as a peace building strategy to try and resolve the conflict.

Goldman and others (2014: 168) further argue that building peace from within helped to resolve the conflict between the two communities through utilization of the following approaches, blending mediation and peace building initiatives with understanding and using people's customs, tradition, and histories. Goldman and others further argue that relying on outside interventions to resolve conflict and bring about peace is unlikely to work in the long run and cannot build peace from within.

Magara conducted research in Kenya focusing on post-election violence. Magara (2016: 9) argues that, following post-election violence (PEV) of 2007-8, which almost plunged the country into civil war, Kenya put in place a number of transitional justice mechanisms, such as truth telling, as a peace building strategy. Magara (2016:28) found in his research findings that transitional justice measures are more likely to succeed if Kenya puts in place strong democratic institutions. These democratic institutions include fundamental reforms of critical sectors of government such as the judiciary, parliament, the security sector, electoral process and the public service. Magara further argued that Kenya should relentlessly continue in the path of reforming structures of governance through designing institutions responsive to current demands of peace building, reconciliation, and national cohesion. The implications for the study would be the need to assess the role of governance structures in reducing or completely dealing with violent conflict. Recommendations relating to the various structures of government will need to be provided, in order to ensure that peace building is mainstreamed within government.

Muchemwa (2017), writing about Zimbabwe, argues that despite all the public pretences of projecting a united country, it is a divided country and this has made genuine peace and unity very difficult to attain. The bruised and polarised relationship between the Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups is deeply rooted in the annals of history, which makes it a protracted social conflict. The Gukurahundi campaign

between 1982 and 1987 was part of a chain of catastrophic events, which have emanated from a well-established culture of violence and intolerance between Shona and Ndebele. Efforts to address this culture using a top down approach under the auspices of the 22 December 1987 Unity Accord did little to curb hostilities. Even though these efforts were commendable, they were not sufficient to make any significant inroads into the polarised relationship of mistrust between the two groups.

Muchemwa (2017: vii) conducted a “study exploring the possibilities of building mutual respect and understanding among Shona and Ndebele participants. The research found that creating intentional platforms for interaction could have a positive transformative effect on relationships. It is not too late to create more spaces and transformational platforms for people to dialogue, to listen to each other, to share stories, and carry out projects together. Engagement using dialogue can create new synergies, which can make a worthwhile difference to the long journey.” Literature indicates that relationships and mutual trust get destroyed during violent conflict. Njobokazi could not be immune from that, therefore an intervention programme should also take into consideration issues that would assist to build relationships and strengthen trust.

3.3.2 *South African perspective*

Peace building initiatives in South Africa have lacked local community involvement. Literature demonstrates that, in most cases peace building have been imposed with people who are coming from outside and do not take into consideration critical community aspects. Sometimes local community members are afraid to share critical information to strangers.

Stedman (2012:5) argues that the wars of the 1990s confirm basic finding from the study of civil war termination, that peace making is a risky business. The greatest source of risk comes from spoilers-leaders and parties who believe that peace emerging from negotiations threatens their power world and interests and use violence to undermine attempts to achieve it. Stedman adds that by implementing a peace agreement, peacemakers are vulnerable to attack from those who oppose their efforts and most important the risks of peace making increase the insecurity and uncertainty of average citizens who have the most to lose if war is renewed.

John (2018: 55) argues that, 24 years into democracy, South African remains a country searching for peace. High levels of interpersonal, gender based and political violence together with structural violence continue to plague the country. Schools are sites of regular violent conflict, mirroring problems in the wider community. Despite this, peace education has not received priority attention.

As Joseph (2015: 138) argues, from the apartheid regime to the democratic dispensation, government has imposed its peace making and conflict resolution approach. Joseph (2015:138) argues that respondents in his research noted a lack of transparency and community involvement in peace building processes. Joseph adds that communities have been involved as observers rather than role players. Furthermore, women have not been included in the peace-making process, despite being represented in local government and the common house of traditional leaders. Government's approach to peace making and conflict resolution was influenced by a political agenda.

Given that schools are sites for regular conflict in the form of bullying, corporal punishment and gender based violence (Burton and Leoschut 2013; Mncube and Harber 2013), it is surprisingly that peace building has not been made a priority within education. Instead peace building mechanisms get imposed from authorities. Local people and organisations are not given space to share their own peace building programmes. This study should ensure that local peace initiatives are encouraged.

Harris (2014: 74) did an evaluation of the restorative justice programmes of the Phoenix Zululand organization and found that in contrast with retributive justice, restorative justice focuses on building a sense of self-worth and personal responsibility among offenders, and often involves efforts to build or rebuild the relationship between offenders and their victims. This may occur through mediation sessions where stories can be told and heard, apologies made and forgiveness asked for and given. In instances where there are families or individuals who need restorative justice, as in Njobokazi, these channels should be opened for individuals and community members who might need them.

According to Accord (2015: 92) research indicates that numerous countries in Africa have implemented some form of post conflict transitional justice mechanism. These include Algeria, Burundi, DRC, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda and South Africa. However, Accord (2015:15) argues that the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission was the first commission to attempt to rectify the balance between truth and reconciliation. Liebenberg and Pillay (2000:21) report that the Truth and Reconciliation commission was established by the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995. Its main mandate was to investigate “gross violations of human rights” and to grant amnesty on condition of a full, truthful disclosure of acts with political objective.

Liebenberg and Pillay (2000:21) report further that, while the TRC’s main focus was gross violations of civil and political rights, it also had a mandate to investigate systemic patterns rights, it also had a mandate to investigate systemic patterns of abuse, and the causes, circumstances and context which led to gross violations of human rights. Liebenberg and Pillay (2000: 21) opine that TRC held public hearings on forced removals, the Bantu Education system, and the role played by different sectors under apartheid such as the health and legal professions, the media and business. Many aspects of the final TRC report deal with violations of social and economic rights under apartheid. Liebenberg and Pillay further argue that in its final report, the TRC acknowledged that individuals qualifying for individual reparation grants are members of communities that have been subjected to systemic abuse. It therefore recommended the establishment of rehabilitation programmes at community and national levels. In reality, the TRC process seems effectively to have bypassed Njobokazi.

My analysis of the literature makes it obvious that the government of South Africa does not have a clear peace programme except that is embedded in various government departments. However, there are civil society organisations who are focusing directly or solely on peace building like Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP), Institute for Healing of Memories, Facing our History and Ourselves (FHO) and peace club projects.

3.3.3 Njobokazi peace building processes

There is no specific research that has been conducted in the village or surrounding villages that pertains to peace building. However, based on the discussions one has had with the Njobokazi Induna and the Camperdown Station Commander, perusal of newspaper reports and a few discussions with Njobokazi resident, there were very low-key peace building initiatives that have taken place. These are not covered in the literature and are addressed in Chapter 6.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed literature relating to community violence and peace building in community contexts and highlighted studies that focused on peace building in various communities. What has been reviewed in the literature reveals that, in most cases internationally, local people are not involved in peace building in community contexts. The full implications of what have been reviewed in the literature I identify as these:

- That this study should involve community members and relevant stakeholders in all the phases of the study
- It should address the nature and the extent of Njobokazi's violence
- It needs to understand the relationship between violence and peace
- It should assist and enhance the development of focus groups, key informant and observation guidelines
- It should foreground a holistic discussion on the theoretical analysis.

Literature provides a perspective on how violence and peace are two sides of the same coin; it is important to understand the nature of violence and drivers of violence before intervention programme is implemented. The intervention programme would be influenced by findings which will come as a result of community members' participation in the research project.

My analysis is that it is obvious that the government of South Africa does not have a clear peace programme except that is embedded in various government departments. This raises the questions as to what other resources are available in civil society for peace building initiatives. It is notable that the research design of studies in areas surrounding Njobokazi did not include an action element. This study will ensure that the peace building element responds to the drivers of violence.

Chapter 4

Theoretical framework

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter addressed and reviewed literature on community violence at international, regional, South African and local levels. To address the research problem, a framework is needed that will guide the research process into both understanding the nature of violence at Njobokazi and into building peace in place of violence. This chapter will thus outline and discuss the theories that have informed the Njobokazi study. This study is guided by conflict transformation theory but is complemented by social learning theory, by my theory of change and theory on the integration of peace building with mental health and psychosocial support.

The first theory that forms part of the theoretical framework is social learning theory, which will assist in providing an understanding of how violent behaviour is learnt. Bandura's social learning theory, according to Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg (1999: 226) "explores the ways in which behaviours are learned and expectations to develop." This will inform how data is collected and analysed in the first stage of the study.

The second theory will be conflict transformation theory, which will provide perspective on how to change violent communities to be peaceful communities. Miall (2004: 4) states that "conflict transformation is ...a process of engaging with and transforming the relationships, interests, discourses and, if necessary, the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of violent conflict." Conflict transformation theory will be utilized as the principal theory that will inform and guide the processes of intervention.

The third theory will be the theory of change adopted by the researcher. This will assist in identifying the aspects that will need to change if indeed the community wants to transform its violent culture. Lederach, Neufeldt and Culbertson (2007: 25) "posit that a theory of change simply an explanation of how and why a set of activities will bring about the changes a project's designers seek to achieve. Furthermore, the theory of change will assist in designing and assessing the intervention."

The research will also draw on work that integrates peace building with mental health and psychosocial support. Tankink, Bubenzer and van der Walt (2017) argue that the significance of this approach is that it seeks to integrate analysis and action at community level with analysis and action at personal and interpersonal levels.

Due to the complex nature of the Njobokazi conflict, no one theory or approach could explain and help to analyse it. This study draws from both social learning theory and conflict transformation theory in the analysis of the nature of the violent conflict. Furthermore, conflict transformation theory will help inform the intervention programme. In applying these theories, the study will also draw on the integration approach to peace building and mental and psychological support. The theory of change will help frame the intervention programme.

The critique of each theory presented in this chapter will be presented to ensure that, when the theory is applied in the field or during the course of the study, its criticisms are avoided or taken into consideration to enhance the credibility of the study.

The chapter will present each theory, with a discussion of how they will be drawn on in the research process. Possible limitations of these theories will be discussed. It will move between explaining the theories and explaining how they are to be used to inform the research project.

The next section will tackle social learning theory.

4.2 Social learning theory

4.2.1 *Introduction to social learning theory*

It is important to point out that most of our learning happens when people observe or imitate other people. Children learn their language through interacting with family members and neighbours and observing occurrences in the environment around them. Bandura (1999) claims that “much of our behaviour is learned by observing other people and modelling our behaviour after theirs.” Behaviour is learned through not only the direct experience of reinforcement but also through the observation of the reinforcement obtained by others (vicarious reinforcement) and self-enrichment-self-observation, self-evaluation and feelings such as pride, satisfaction and guilt.”

Reed et al. (2010), cited in Mohamed-Katerere (2014), argue that “social learning is a collaborative learning process between actors in a network (including communities) to

develop new understanding, improve a situation and take collective action.” Mohamed-Katerere (2014) further argues that social learning can facilitate the sharing of knowledge about environmental change as well as about the social factors relevant to conflict, in particular, vulnerability.

Social learning theory is the theory that certain behaviours are learnt through observing the actions of others. These actions are moulded by the environment you find yourself in. This in essence shapes the mind to think in a particular way guided by what happens around you. For example, generally, people who grow up in peaceful environment will grow up being peaceful. Children who grow in an environment where there is war are likely to become violent in future.

“Social learning theory emphasizes the prominent roles played by vicarious, symbolic, and self-regulatory processes in psychological functioning; Social learning theory approaches the explanation of human behaviour in terms of a continuous reciprocal interaction between cognitive, behavioural, and environmental determinants. With the process of reciprocal interaction between cognitive, behavioural, and environmental determinism lies the opportunity for people to influence their destiny as well as the limits of self-direction (Bandura 1977: vii).”

Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg (1999: 226) advance the view that social learning theory is an approach to behaviour and personality that attempts to combine the principles of learning derived from behaviourism with the contributions of cognitive psychology. In addition, Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg (1998) like “behaviourism, argue that the social learning theory focuses on observable behaviour rather than inner dynamics (...). ”

The next section focuses on the limitations of social learning theory.

4.2.2 Limitations of social learning theory

Social learning theory assumes that people are homogenous but in actual fact people are not homogenous and learn different things even when growing up in the same context. In reality, many children do not end up following their parents – a major source of learning - in terms of such key aspects as jobs, sexuality (assuming this is a learned behaviour) or religion. This may be the result of a conscious rejection of their parents’ pathways or it may just ‘happen’. Nor do they inevitably follow their teachers or their

peers. Many children – including those from the same family context - grow up as individuals and make individual choices.

4.2.3 *Relevance of social learning theory to Njobokazi*

This theory will assist the researcher to understand how the community has learnt to be violent over the years and what has sustained their quest to continue fighting for more than three decades. Likewise, the theory will help to unearth why there was perpetual violence in the Njobokazi village. This theory is relevant because it assists the researcher to understand violent conflict in manner that will bring to question the socialization of men into acquiring violent behaviour that enable to destroy Njobokazi village completely.

This social learning theory was applied in developing relevant questions that would form part of the focus group discussions and key informant interviews. This theory is relevant during the first stage of the study. For example, the framing of the following question was used during the key informant interviews and focus group discussions: How do you think violent behaviour is learned in this community?

The responses to these questions would assist to get information that would lead us to understand how people in Njobokazi learnt to be so violent, kill and harm each other, the way they did. In reverse, though, it will also be shared that if positive and peaceful attributes are demonstrated, the community could learn to be peaceful. It would also be important to engage key informants and focus groups about how communities should learn to be peaceful which is a reverse of learning to violent. In this instance a possible theory of peace building could be generated by the research.

4.3 Conflict transformation theory

4.3.1 *Introduction to conflict transformation theory*

Conflict transformation theory started to be used before 1990s but it gained popularity around early 1990s. It began to gain popularity within the conflict resolution and peace studies environment. Shailor (2015: 1) describes conflict transformation as “a concept that emerged from the social, political, and cultural struggles of the later 20th century.” Muchemwa (2017: 26) adds that “we can trace its growing acceptance and recognition from the end of the cold war and John Paul Lederach is credited for pioneering and popularizing it as a theory. ...During the 1990s a number of theorists like Galtung (1995); Rupesinghe (1995); Schwerin (1995); Spencer and Spencer (1995); Väyrynen

(1991), have assisted in solidifying what Lederach (1995a: 201) called “a shift” toward conflict transformation in the language used in the field and practice of peace research and conflict resolution.”

Conflict transformation theory begins by attempting to understand the causes or drivers of violence, by seeking solutions to the problems and attempting to design a peace building programme that will be acceptable to all parties. Hendricks (2009: 48) reminds us that “conflict transformation is about change, if not change limited to a certain form or determined direction then change with certain values – justice, non-violence, and participation.”

Lederach (2003: 39) points out that “conflict transformation theory deals with presenting problems and the content of the conflict, seeking to find mutually acceptable solutions to conflicting or warring factions.” In addition, Lederach (2003) states that conflict transformation also aims to rebuild trust through fostering forgiveness, healing and reconciliation. Conflict transformation theory is the main theory that will be utilised to transform violent conflict situations in Njobokazi.

Conflict transformation theory is chosen because it does not only deal with the resolution of the immediate conflict but directs my attention as a researcher to the possibilities of transforming relationships, the context and social and economic activities of the community.

4.3.2 Description of conflict transformation theory

Some writers have described conflict transformation as a continuum from conflict resolution, conflict management, conflict making to peace building. Adams and Iwu (2015: 439) advance the idea that “conflict transformation encompasses all the post conflict activities geared towards sustaining the successes of conflict management and resolution efforts.” What makes the conflict transformation more unique is that it incorporates aspects of conflict resolution and conflict management.

Conflict transformation theory informs attempts to change people and build relationships amongst the fighting individuals so that they cannot fear one another and can instead work together. Furthermore Wallenstein (1991: 130) connects conflict transformation resolution and transformation, noting that a “successful case of conflict is one where the parties, the issues, and the expectations are changed so that there is no longer a fear of war arising from the relationship.”

This theory is unique because it focuses attention on the root causes of the conflict, which assist different structures to confront the causes. Harder (2011: 134) in Reimann (2004) argues that “conflict transformation theory aims to address the social root causes of collective violence by creating human security, catering to basic human needs and supporting justice and reconciliation.”

Botes (2003: 15) presents the view that “a number of authors explain conflict transformation as an extension or a part of conflict resolution and conflict management, while others make clear distinctions between terms of conflict resolution, conflict management, conflict transformation.” Lederach (2003: 39) points out that “conflict transformation theory deals with presenting problems and the content of the conflict, seeking to find mutually acceptable solutions to conflicting or warring factions.” In addition, Lederach (2003) states that conflict transformation also aims to rebuild trust through fostering forgiveness, healing and reconciliation.

In describing conflict transformation theory, I will discuss in detail the levels of leadership, four dimensions of conflict transformation and an integrated framework for peace building as the main phases that give effect to the functioning of the conflict transformation.

The next discussion will focus on levels of leadership.

4.3.2.1 Levels of Leadership

Lederach’s theory of conflict transformation presents levels of leadership which are top level, middle range and the grassroots level. Some writers refer to the levels of leadership as actors. These actors are important to analyse, to understand their role in perpetuating violence or promoting peace.

Lederach (1998) identifies three levels that need to be impacted within his “holistic’ approach to conflict transformation within the affected population:

Types of Actors

Approaches to Building Peace

Level 1: Top Leadership

Military/political/religious leaders with high visibility

Focus on high-level negotiations
Emphasizes cease-fire
Led by highly visible, single mediator

Level 2: Middle-Range Leadership

Leaders respected in sectors
Ethnic/religious leaders
Academics/intellectuals
Humanitarian leaders (NGOs)

Problem-solving workshops
Training in conflict resolution
Peace commissions
Insider-partial teams

Level 3: Grassroots Leadership

Local leaders
Leaders of indigenous NGOs
Community developers
Local health officials
Refugee camp leaders

Local peace commissions
Grassroots training
Prejudice reduction
Psychosocial work in postwar trauma

↑
Affected Population
↓

Derived from John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), 39.

Figure 4.1 Levels of leadership

4.3.2.1.1 Level 1: Top level Leadership

The top-level leadership is regarded as including policy makers, opinion makers, people that are in government and opposition parties. This group has an influence on society. This group possesses political leverage and power. Top level leadership has influence on society whereas Lederach (2008) explains that this comprises the high level political and military leaders. In dealing with peace this level focus on ceasefire and high-level negotiations. In most cases peace processes are led by one negotiator. The study will reveal the role that was played by this level of leadership to either perpetuate or curb violence. This level would be important because the external top leadership might have an objective view in resolving such conflict within Njobokazi without being influenced by their family ties and or other types of family relationships.

4.3.2.1.2 Level 2: Middle Range leadership

As the term outlines, this type of leadership is found in the middle of the top-level leadership and grassroots level leadership. The middle range leadership, because of its proximity to the top-level leadership and its proximity to the grassroots leadership is able to link both the top-level leadership and the grassroots leadership. The middle-range includes professional people like businesspeople, teachers, nurses and influential and strategic organizations. Lederach (2008: 41) argues that “middle level leaders are positioned so that they have significant connections to the broader context and the constituency that the top leaders claim to represent.” In other words, they are connected to both the top and grassroots levels. Similarly, according to Lederach, they vicariously know the context and experience of people living at the grassroots level, yet they are not encumbered by the survival demands facing many at this level. These members may use professional resources in their approach to conflict resolution and peace building. For example, they may be able to, or have access to those who are able to, run problem solving workshops, training on conflict resolution and in some instances sometimes enable processes to resolve particular issues. This level of leadership might be able to advise both top leadership and grassroots leadership about the peace building route that they would likely to take.

4.3.2.1.3 Level 3: Grassroots Leadership

The grassroots level leadership includes leadership that operates on the ground and is in touch with ordinary citizens. Lederach (2008: 42) argues that “the grassroots leadership represents the masses and the base of the society. Life at this level is characterized, particularly in settings of protracted conflict and war, by a survival mentality.” The population at this level is involved in a day-to-day effort to find food, water, shelter and safety. Lederach (2008: 43) advances the idea that “unlike many actors at the highest levels of the pyramid, however, grassroots leaders witness first-hand the deep-rooted hatred and animosity on a daily basis.” The researcher will come into contact with most of the leaders from this category. The integrated approach to peace building, mental health and psychosocial approach (Bubenzer and Tankink 2015) uses one or more methods such as local peace commissions, grass roots training and psychosocial work in post war trauma. In summarizing the discussion on the three levels, the three levels would assist to analyse and give information about the role that each of these levels played in Njobokazi and this study will be explored

to understand how they influence the peace process in the community. The information gleaned from the study will assist the range of leadership in the area to learn from good practice as well as learning from the pitfalls of the past to strengthen current and future peace building initiatives.

4.3.2.2 *Four dimensions of conflict transformation*

Lederach (2008) argues that conflict transformation theory provides four dimensions of conflict transformation. These four dimensions are personal, relational, cultural, and structural. The four dimensions relates to relationship building during the intervention. The diagram below explains each dimension.

Personal	Relational
Conflict changes individuals personally, emotionally, spiritually	Refers to people who have direct, face-to-face contact. When conflict escalates, communication patterns change, stereotypes are created, polarization increases, trust decreases
Structural	Cultural
Conflict impacts systems and structures – how relationships are recognized, and who has access to power – from family and organisations to communities and whole societies	Violent conflict causes deep-seated cultural changes, for example, the norms that guide patterns of behaviour between elders and youth, or women and men

Figure 4.2 Four dimensions of conflict transformation. Adapted from Lederach et al. (2007: 18)

The four dimensions will assist to analyse the conflict and understand how the four dimensions of conflict relate to the Njobokazi conflict. Lederach, Neufeldt and Culbertson (2007: 18) argue that “in a variety of studies, many authors suggest that social conflict causes changes in four dimensions: the personal, the relational, the structural and the cultural. Botes (2003: 9), citing Augsburg (2009), claims that “conflict transformation, as opposed to conflict management or conflict resolution, occurs when there is a metamorphosis, at least considerable change, in one of three different elements.” The process of transformation first transforms attitudes by changing and redirecting negative perceptions. The second transformation happens when relationship building happens at all the four-conflict transformation and this will ensure that there is peaceful existence amongst members of the community. Thirdly,

elements like communication and respect should work hand in glove with the four dimensions of conflict transformation.

During data collection, key informant interviews and focus groups discussions provided information on the role that was played by the three levels of leadership. These levels were addressed in that all levels were informed (with the exception of the top level) about the purpose of the study and the research process that the study was going to follow. The top level leadership will be given a final research report to study. The four dimensions relate to my study because social conflict causes changes in one more of the dimensions therefore for any community to resort back to normal and be peaceful there is a need to ensure that interventions and peace building mechanisms focus on all the dimensions and ensure that they are restored. The theory provides an analysis on the shifts that have happened as a result of the conflict.

The implications for the four dimensions are that they will assist to define and describe the kinds of changes that will surface as a result of the conflict. It will further help the researcher to define the changes he wants to see. Furthermore, the implications are that if these dimensions are not addressed there is a likelihood that there could be a relapse into the violent conflict.

The next section deals with conflict transformation theory as the integrated framework for peace building.

4.3.3 Conflict transformation theory as an integrated framework for peace-building

The importance of figure 4.3 below is that it adds the dimension of time. Conflict transformation theory as the integrated framework identifies different lenses, which describe level of response and level of prevention. Once the drivers of violence have been identified and once the conflict has been analysed, interventions on social change are implemented, the intervention becomes critical and the time frame in doing all this becomes critical.

Lederach (2008: 83) argues that “conflict transformation theory represents a comprehensive set of lenses for describing how conflict emerges from, evolves within, and brings about changes in the personal, relational, structural, and cultural dimensions, and for developing creative responses that promote peaceful change within those dimensions through nonviolent mechanisms.” Lederach argues that the

integrated framework provides a platform for understanding and responding to conflict and developing peace building initiatives. Utilising action research and applying conflict transformation theory assisted in linking “the research design which follow the action research stages and which are process of observe-reflect-act- evaluate-modify-move in new directions... generally known as action-reflection (McNiff and Whitehead 2012: 10).

The next diagram presents an integrated framework for peace building.

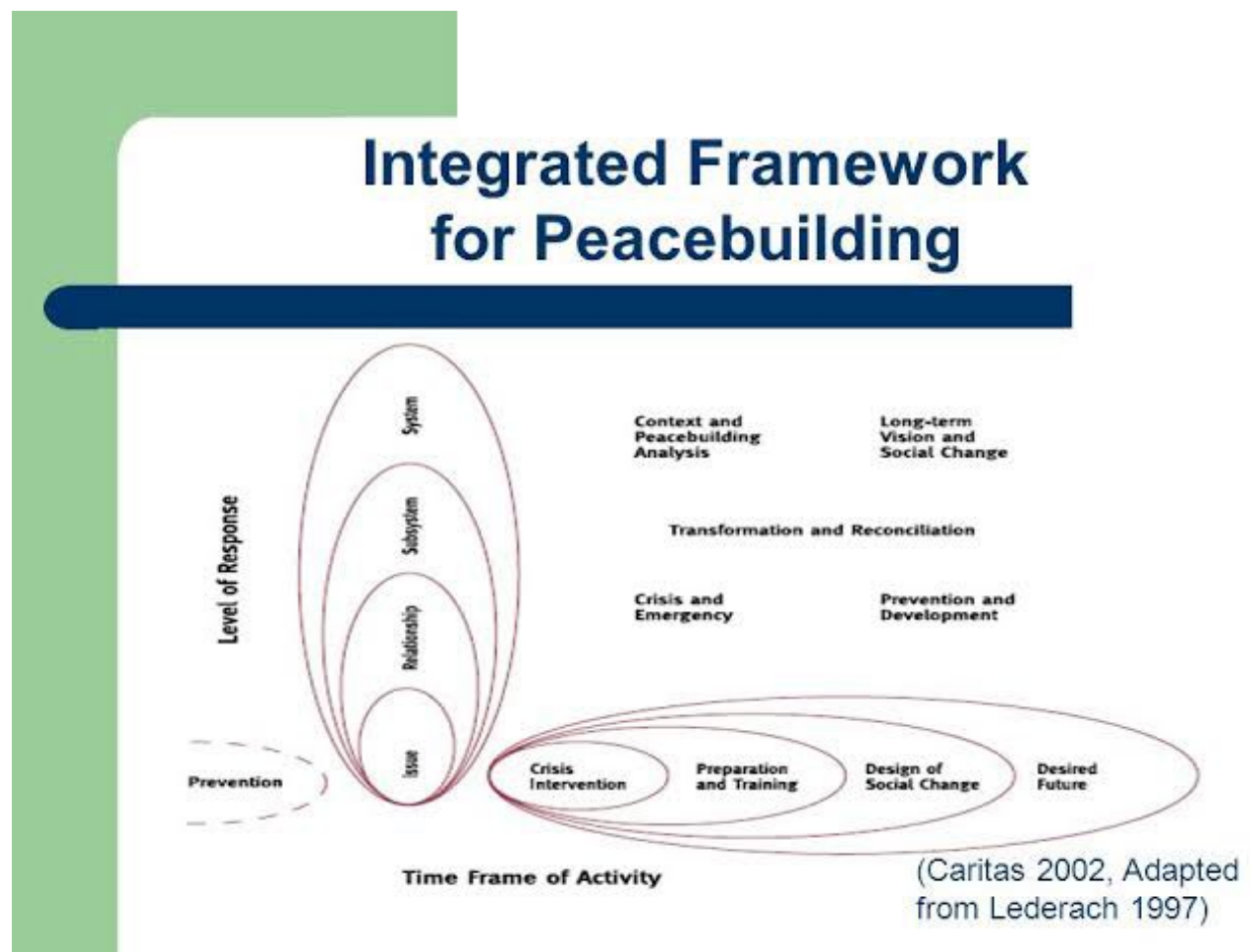


Figure 4.3 Integrated framework, drawn from Caritas (2022)

Lederach (2008: 76) suggests that “the transformation approach has a nested paradigm, which is part of the Integrated Framework for Peace building, which present the lenses that relate to prevention and lenses that relate to the level of response which help to transform and have long term vision and social change.” The first circle or lens on the far left represents a short-term crisis intervention. This means that the

conflict should be resolved and relates directly to conflict management. The crisis intervention will come as result of the data collection stage and come up issues that will need to be addressed. The second circle or lens relates to preparation and training. If indeed there is a need for training as part of the intervention, training will be prepared taking into consideration issues raised during crisis intervention circle. There is a link between this stage and conflict resolution; Lederach (2008: 76) states: "training in this context responds to the question: What are the approaches and skills needed to better assess and deal with crises resulting from violent internal conflicts?" This phase is responsible for dealing with or building a capacity to deal more constructively with conflicts before they become full-blown crises. Lederach (2008) argues that such preparation envisions a period of one to two years, within which a broader array of approaches and skills can be developed and criteria for assessment can be incorporated.

The third circle or lens involves the design of the social change. In this case, the community of Njobokazi will be involved in designing a social change programme and implementing it. The fourth circle or lens on the far right of the diagram takes a longer-term perspective; Lederach (2008: 76) argues that it is "often adopted by people who seek to prevent conflict and to promote a vision of a more peaceful and socially harmonious future." This circle deals with the post-conflict stage. At this stage, it is important to ensure that peace is sustainable and all structures of peace would have been created. This study would not be able to achieve this because it is long term view. But this study would enable to evaluate the intervention and recommend future interventions that could be implemented to ensure that peace prevails in the community.

Boulding, in Lederach (2008:76), "describes this vision as 'imaging' the future." Boulding suggests that in reference to peace that we need to have an image, a vision of what we are trying to achieve in order to build toward and reach that vision. Lederach (2008) argues that thinking about the future involves articulating distant but nonetheless desirable structural, systemic, and relationship goals: for instance, sustainable development, self-sufficiency, equitable social structures that meet basic human needs, and respectful, interdependent relationships.

In the level of response presented vertically in Figure 4.3, the focus is on the issue, on relationships, on the subsystems and on the system. Lederach (2008: 84) argues “that in more specific terms, a process-structure for peace building transforms a war system characterised by deeply divided, hostile and violent relationships into a peace- system characterized by just and interdependent relationships with the capacity to find nonviolent mechanisms for expressing and handling conflict.” According to Lederach, such an infrastructure is made up of a web of people, their relationships and activities, and the social mechanisms necessary to sustain the change sought and this takes place at all levels of the society. Conflict transformation theory helps to analyse the complex web of relationship that might have contributed to the prolonged violent conflict. The theory will help to understand the systems that operated in the area that completely failed to deal with the conflict which resulted in everyone leaving the area.

“The integrated Framework for Peace building focus on the root causes of the conflict which assist in terms of reflecting back on the long history of the current crisis to analyse and explain the broader systemic factors that must be taken into account”, (Lederach 2008:80). In this study, the drivers of violence will be explored, to explain the complex web of Njobokazi’ s violent conflict and its root causes.

Lederach (2003) cited in Hendrick (2009: 46) states that “there is a slightly different image to encourage flexibility in response to the complexity of conflict. What is required is a change of focus. This relates to Lederach’s perception that often conflicts are episodes within a larger pattern of relationships that tend to reproduce over time. It is necessary to address the conflict that presents itself but it is also necessary to pull back and become aware of the context out of which it has grown and the potential for the underlying relationships to lead to conflict episodes in the future.” Hendrick (2009) adds that it will not be possible to see these multiple layers of complexity by relying on one lens only. “The first lens allows us to focus on the immediate situation, the presenting problems as it were, which could be a symptom of an underlying or intractable conflict. The second lens will allow us to see past the immediate problems and view — what is happening in human relationships at a deeper level (Lederach, 2003).” Thirdly, “we need a lens that helps us to envision a framework that holds these together and creates a platform to address the content, the context, and the structure of the relationship” (Lederach, 2003).

“The integrated Framework for Peace building focus on the root causes of the conflict which assist in terms of reflecting back on the long history of the current crisis to analyse and explain the broader systemic factors that must be taken into account”, (Lederach 2008: 80). In dealing with the issues confronting the Njobokazi community, it is important to go deeper and analyse more deeply. The chapter on the drivers of violence will assist in explaining the complex web of Njobokazi’s violent conflict and its root causes.

The two sets of lenses depicted in figure 4.3 above demonstrate the level of response and prevention. The prevention aspect assists in terms of preventing conflict and things or strategies that you need to employ if confronted with conflictual situation. The level of response presents the systems and sub-systems that are involved if one attempts to deal with conflict. Lederach (1997:80) cited in Angom (2018:66) further suggests “two sets of lenses of action and thought and five points- the root causes of conflict, crisis management, crisis prevention, vision of a desired future, and transformation.” (Lederach 1995) cited in Miall (2004: 4) argues that “conflict transformation must actively envision, include, respect, and promote the human and cultural resources from within a given setting. This involves a new set of lenses through which we do not primarily see the setting and the people in it as the ‘problem’ and the outsider as the ‘answer’. Rather, we understand the long-term goal of transformation as validating and building on people and resources within the setting.” The Njobokazi peace building programme and the intervention programme should look into the issues of prevention and ensures that prevention becomes an integral part of peace-building programmes. The development of the peace building programme should also be informed by issues of human rights and respect of the victims and vulnerable groups like women, children and elderly. The Njobokazi peace building programme should include respect, tap into local cultural resources and respect local residents.

4.3.4 Criticisms of conflict transformation theory

The conflict transformation theory presents a variety of issues that are advocated. For example, it deals with levels of leadership, four dimensions of conflict transformation and the integrated framework for peace building. With this broad range of issues, it

becomes difficult to evaluate the changes that have taken place and whether it is because of the theory interventions or other external interventions.

Muchemwa (2015: 31) reports that “conflict-transformation as a concept has, however, been criticised by some who view it as value laden, too idealistic and ambitious.” Botes (2003:11), cited in Muchemwa (2015), argues that “the link between conflict transformation theory and its practical application still appears weak. This is probably because conceptually conflict transformation is still young and growing and still undergoing structural metamorphosis.” Muchemwa (2015) adds that the emergence of conflict transformation does not make it a sacrosanct concept nor does it denigrate other existing conflict handling mechanisms.

Conflict transformation theory does not tackle issues of gender equality in relation to conflict transformation. During violent conflict such as in Njobokazi there were gender related issues that need to be tackled. Surely during data collection some respondents would share information relating to gender equality may be hard to relate to the theory of the framework. Confortini (2006) thus advocates “the incorporation of feminist theories into peace theories, by analysing what is missing by not confronting feminist contribution to a theory on violence”, and that (ibid.: 333) “feminist contributions have important implications for peace studies. Only by taking gender seriously as a category of analysis can prescriptions for a violence-free society be more than temporary solutions to deeply ingrained attitudes to accept violence as “natural”. There is a need to incorporate notions of gender as a social construct embodying relation of power. Confortini (2006: 351) warns that violence reproduces the gender order and language is a medium through which this process is enacted. It is clear that women take the reproductive roles of cooking, ploughing the field, looking after cattle as well performing other domestic duties whilst men political violence, fighting in the war and or faction fighting.

In Njobokazi, it will be important to understand the gender implications and impact of the conflict and the roles that have been played by boys, girls, men and women during the conflict. For example, does the involvement of women serve to prolong the conflicts or serve to restrain them? The criticisms presented will be taken into consideration when the theory is applied during research to ensure that the output of the research is enhanced.

The next section will discuss the relationship between conflict transformation theory and Njobokazi' s violent conflict.

4.3.5 Relation of conflict transformation theory to Njobokazi violent conflict

The choice of conflict transformation theory is important because it attempts to transform the community from being violent to being peaceful and “seeks to understand social conflict as it emerges from and produces changes in the personal, relational, structural, and cultural dimensions of human experience” (Lederach 2003: 26).

Conflict transformation theory deals with patterns of change, build relationship amongst members of the community and instigators of conflict with the aim to transform the community or communities to be violence-free. Furthermore, Botes (2003: 5) notes that conflict transformation points to the inherent dialectical process, the ability to transform the dynamic of the conflict and the relationship between the parties - indeed to transform the very creators of the conflict.

Lederach' s leadership levels are applicable to situation of Njobokazi because the role played by each of the levels during the violent conflict in Njobokazi is critical. The involvement of the three levels of leadership (top leadership, middle range and grass roots) becomes critical because they have divergent influence on the violent conflict. People listen to leaders and in many instances heed their advice. That is why the three levels of leadership are crucial in conflict resolution, conflict management and conflict transformation.

During data collection, this theory will also be relevant because key informants will be drawn from different levels of leadership. The implications for the study are that it will be difficult to get the top leadership to participate in the research because people at that level do not reside in Njobokazi. The research team would only be able to share the research report with them. The conflict between levels of leadership, such as the elected and traditional leadership, is problematic because both want to control the process of the research. This calls for the researcher to be able to gain support for the objective of the research in multiple contexts.

The middle-ranged leadership and grassroot leadership participated in community meetings and some members of both grass root and middle ranged leadership would be elected to the PRAT. Furthermore both middle ranged and grass root members

would participate as key informant interviews and focus group discussions. They would further participate in the intervention workshops.

The grass root leadership levels and ordinary citizens at Njobokazi will be much more relevant because the violent conflict affected and displaced ordinary people. During the data collection stage, information will be collected from grassroots leadership level and ordinary citizens through focus groups, key informant interviews and observations. As Hampson (1996: 23) in Angom (2008: 69) advises, “the grassroots are the most important actors because of the imperative for them to own the peace processes; it is they, after all, who bear the direct costs of conflict and violence.”

The limited literature available demonstrates that the Njobokazi conflict has affected ordinary people and the grassroots leadership therefore the grassroots leadership should play a great role in the peace process. The study will reflect on how the grassroots leadership and ordinary people engaged in the violent conflict and how in future grassroots leadership will become future peace advocates. Large (1998: 157) in Angom (2008: 72) agrees that to ensure sustainability of the peace process, many authors have also placed emphasis on the ownership of the peace processes by local constituencies, along with using the unique resources that local actors bring to the process. Hampson (n.d) adds a successful peace-making and peace building intervention which should enable “indigenous leadership and activity, rather than importing other expectations or packaged solutions.” Diamond (1999: 84-85) in Angom (2008: 72) argues that “practical change can only be brought about by local peacemakers and peace builders. Indeed, local people understand the origins, drivers and root causes of the conflict and they have the capacity to change their quest for perpetrating violence to being grassroots that advocate for change.”

4.4 Theory of Change

4.4.1 Introduction

Rogers (2008), cited in Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) report (2017: 29), explains that a theory of change (TOC) is a road map outlining what transformation an organization (in this instance organization will be substituted with community) has been trying to accomplish in the short and long term, charting the pathways through which these changes were expected to occur, and identifying the indications of progress. This theory of change is influenced by the other theories used in this study

- conflict transformation, peace building, social learning and peace building, mental health and psychological approach. In addition, Vogel (2012: 3) argues that a theory of change draws its methodological credentials from a long-standing area of evaluation which deals with programme theories. It is also informed by an equally long-standing development practice – reflective practice for empowerment and social change.

Commission for Gender Equality (2017: 29) states that “rather than projecting outcomes from activities, a TOC reverses that process by focusing first on what outcome is being sought (goal) and then thoroughly considering all preconditions necessary.” Commission for Gender Equality (2017) argues further that this should then inform the interventions and activities to be implemented. It importantly provides a system with built in indicators to enable tracking of outcomes in the short to medium term and influences over time.

4.4.2 Description of the theory of change used in this study

The aims of the theory of change applied in this study were to

- Ensure that the environment is conducive for infrastructure for peace to be developed
- Build trust and reopening communication channels amongst foes.

A key issue is how we would know if the theory was successful, and these were the indicators I adopted:

- Communities will freely reflect about violent past and quest to become peaceful
- Free movement of the people without fear in the community.

The outcomes intended were these:

- Develop positive community relationships and help the community to resolve conflict, work as a community to resolve community problems.

A theory of change in relation to Njobokazi needs to influence change processes throughout the study. As researcher, I drew on the following elements as my theory of change:

- 1) The researcher used community participants understanding the drivers of violence in Njobokazi community and on why existing resources for peace have been insufficient

- 2) A collective decision on an intervention programme for the Njobokazi community that includes attention to the psychosocial aspects of the violent conflicts, and its implementation
- 3) Processes of reflection involving the researcher in collaboration with the community members.

This theory of change has drawn heavily on conflict transformation theory and social learning theory. It is important to note that conflict transformation theory involves making changes in the conflict-ridden communities and therefore the theory of change will help understand the change processes that need to happen to ensure that there is peace and stability that need to take place in Njobokazi.

There is interesting link between the theory of change and the four dimensions of conflict transformation theory; for example, Lederach and et al. (2007: 26) argue that “...peace building requires changes in multiple dimensions, which are personal, relational, structural and cultural. Thus, the theory of change reflects on the four dimensions and deals with project planning, monitoring and evaluation.” In utilizing these dimensions, one purpose of utilising the theory of change is to encourage participants and the community of Njobokazi to develop their own theories of change as the research and intervention programme continues or progresses. The Njobokazi study will focus on working with the community to reflect on the violence of the past and begin a process of coming up with the issues that they want to change to become a peaceful community. Ashton (2007: 40) adds that “community will bring and develop ways of bringing peace, or ways to change violent attitudes and behaviours to the use of nonviolent methods of solving personal and social problems.” It is important to note that not community members theories of change but community members will come up with action in response to interventions; the theory relies on their participation.

During the evaluation stage an assessment will be conducted to indicate whether the theory of change has addressed all four dimensions. The theory of change works on the basis that by implementing psycho-social services, conflict transformation activities like healing of memories and AVP. the community will find ways of securing additional support which will help them deal with past memories and grief.

4.4.3 Limitations of the theory of change

Vogel (2012) argues that, generally, the criticism of the theory of change is that it does not specify exact issues that need to be changed. After war or conflict, it is always important to build relationship amongst warring factions, improve communication skills, help the community to think and implement peace process and last not least to cultivate a conducive environment for peace building and community development. Often, the statement of theory does not include the monitoring and evaluation mechanisms that would assist to assess violent or peaceful changes occurring over time. This criticism will be addressed because there will be a monitoring and evaluation chapter which will evaluate the research process.

4.5 Integration of peace building, mental health and psychosocial support

4.5.1 Introduction

The key point is that this is not a separate theory that competes with the theory of conflict transformation. Rather, it directs our attention to the fact that we tend to separate out theories and analysis that focus on the interpersonal and intergroup, on the one hand, and the intrapersonal on the other. Tankink and others (2017: 9) argue that psychological elements and societal reconstruction must be incorporated simultaneously to adequately address social suffering and enable individual and interpersonal healing. Based on this premise, societal healing becomes part of the process of social transformation. The approach is presented as a way of checking that we are in reality integrating an understanding of trauma and the need for psychological transformation into our work of building peace in the community.

Peace builders are also worried about the effects and prospects of violent conflict and there is a tendency to relax when the conflict has ended and or peace builders claim victory. Very often people talk about mental and psychological effects of violence, this is only discussed when you begin the process of engaging citizens when they count the cost of violence.

It is important to note that during conflict people get affected emotionally, psychologically and socially. Conducting research in the community like Njobokazi invokes forgotten emotions in the residents. Therefore, intervention should include elements of transforming violent tendencies to peaceful tendencies. Peace Direct (2019: 25) argues that “psychological trauma caused by exposure to conflict – as

perpetrator, victim, and person at risk, survivor or witness – inflicts an immense burden on individuals, families, communities and societies, often persisting long after the violence ends.”

Shobna (2008: 25) suggests that “a great variety of interventions including counselling, psychoeducation, interpersonal skills development, social expressive activities, mobilization of social networks, supportive practices for child development, vocational skills training, livelihood support, micro-credit, spiritual work, human rights interventions and so on tend to be included under the label ‘psychosocial’”. Although the Njobokazi intervention programme will not deal with all of the above-mentioned interventions, it must be mentioned that there are all relevant in the Njobokazi scenario. The theory of change works on the basis that by doing some of the above mentioned skills development, the community will find ways of securing additional support which will help them deal with past memories and grief.

4.5.2 Description of the integrated approach

The purpose of the peace building, mental health and psychological approach is to ensure that whilst the issues of peace building where conflict is managed, conflict is prevented, conflict is transformed and socio-psychological effects of conflict are not left in the cold. If these issues are not addressed, Rokhideh (2017: 226) warns that “increasing cases of suicide, domestic violence, substance and alcohol abuse, child neglect and criminal violence would affect communities that have engulfed by violence.” In support of Rokhideh, Wessells (2008: 23) notes that “psychosocial support helps to reduce some of the most severe forms of vulnerability and dysfunctionality that impede effective work on development.”

The psychosocial approach is carried out as reflective dialogues; Wessells (2008: 25) presents that “a reflective process is needed to help people to understand their collective wounds. This reflective process may originate from within an affected population, yet outside support for it may be helpful in some situations. Living in very difficult situations, it may be very difficult for people to understand the various ways in which they have been affected by chronic war or poverty or centuries of colonialism and oppression. As people reflect on their past and present, they construct new narratives not only about the past but also about their future, thereby enabling constructive action.”

4.5.3 The integrated approach to Njobokazi research project

The key point is that peace building, mental health and psychological approach is not a separate or competing theory of conflict transformation, social learning theory and or theory of change. Rather, it directs the attention of the research to the fact that some researchers tend to separate out theories and analysis that focus on the interpersonal and intergroup, on the one hand, and the intrapersonal on the other, but in reality, integrating an understanding of trauma and the need for psychological transformation into our work of building peace in the community is critical.

Thus it was planned to utilise a dialogue during the reflective sessions to address root causes of the violence. During the intervention programme session, the root causes of violence will be discussed and the strategies will be developed on how the community will tackle root causes. Use of this approach led to an emphasis in the intervention phase on two workshops that specific dealt with traumatic memories of violence. The approach will also influence the delivery of Alternative Violence Project (AVP). Njobokazi and have been affected by gruesome and terrible violence. Christie, Wagner, and Winter (2001: 21-22) reminds us that “failure to include psychosocial assistance in programs of post-war reconstruction is likely to leave wounds and social cleavages that invite additional conflict.” Then peace building initiatives would be a waste of time and resources.

4.5.4 Limitations of the integrated approach

This approach deals with many issues which are peace building, mental health and psychological and would be difficult to simultaneously integrate all these aspects of this approach when gets implemented. Furthermore, the literature does not really provide practical examples of how it is going to be implemented and integrate these three issues all at the same time. Potentially, the approach does not take into consideration cultural and indigenous approaches to trauma, as Taylor (2001), Gozdziaik and Shandy (2002), Smith (2004) cited in Shobna, (2008: 23) state: “the preferred coping strategies and the resources available to traumatised individuals are also culturally determined.” Sonpar (2001) cited in Shobna (2008) argues that “spirituality, religion, and personal values have been neglected components in understanding trauma response and relief in the West Religious belief, prayers, and pujas are important coping strategies in South Asia and have strong cultural endorsement.”

Rokhideh (2017: 225) warns that “a prevailing factor that respondents attributed to the shortcomings of MHPSS interventions was the lack of sustained efforts and funding.” The full implementation of this approach requires not only scarce skills but also funding.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the theories that shaped and influenced this study. and showed how each theory relates and is applicable to the Njobokazi situation. Furthermore, criticisms of each theory were presented, in order to be aware of these criticisms so that when the theory was applied, the researcher would be aware of the limitations of each theory.

The primary choice of the social learning theory is to understand how Njobokazi people learnt to be violent and which social factors that influence them to behave violently. This would help shape the intervention.

The crucial element of conflict transformation theory is that this theory helps to transform violent communities to be peaceful through transforming the four dimensions of conflict transformation, which are personal, relational, structural and cultural. Furthermore, conflict transformation theory helps to make the researcher understand which leadership level or levels would be targeted. Lastly, conflict transformation theory describes an integrated framework for peace building, which assisted in framing the role of the intervention in responding to and preventing violence.

The theory of change explained the assumptions underlying the planned intervention. The integrated peace building, mental health and psychosocial support approach has been presented, to provide further insight into how to make peace building sustainable.

These theories have been used to inform the action research phases which are collection of data (discovery stage), intervention (action stage) and evaluation and reflection. For example, the questions developed for interviews and focus group discussions were shaped by the concerns and principles of these theories.

I conclude that the utilization of the theories has the capacity to build relationships, bring peace, reconciliation and stability at Njobokazi.

The next chapter will discuss the methodology of the study.

Chapter 5

Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter frames the research approach that was undertaken in the study. It sets out the data collection and data analysis methods employed during the study, and addresses the study's delimitations and limitations, issues of trustworthiness and validity, and the ethical considerations...

Data collection happened during three segments of this study, first the discovery stage where the main actual research happened, secondly, the intervention stage and then the evaluation stage. This includes information on the role of Peace Research Action Team (PRAT), documentary evidence, key informant interviews, focus group discussions, observations and transect walk. Quantities of dataset were received and a thematic data analysis process was followed to analyse data. The analysis of data ensured that information that gets reported in the study is aligned in response to the research problem, research questions and objective of the research. Literature supporting statements made in this chapter will be quoted.

This chapter sets the methodology that allows unbiased collection of data, an objective process of data collection and analysis of data that makes it possible to tackle and deal with the below research questions.

To recap, the study is tasked to answer the following research questions:

- 1) How does violence operate in Njobokazi?
- 2) What have been and continue to be the drivers of violence in the Njobokazi Community?
- 3) How can I strengthen my ability to facilitate a reduction in violence in the community?
- 4) What would be short and long-term interventions that would completely eradicate violence in Njobokazi?

Finally, a summary of important points will be presented. The next section will deal with the research approach.

5.2 Research approach

The research approach is qualitative in nature. The qualitative approach to social science research is about researching human behaviour, looking for facts, opinions experiences and preferences on the subject (Bless and Higson-Smith 1995, Blake 2000). “Qualitative research illuminates persons’ lives, stories, behaviour and interactional relationships” (Corbin and Strauss 1980: 17). Dawson (2002: 14) argues “that qualitative explores attitudes, behaviour, and experiences through such methods as interviews or focus groups.” In contrast, Dawson (2002: 15) advances the idea that “quantitative research generates statistics through the use of large-scale survey, using methods such as questionnaires or structured interviews.” This study engages quantitative methods only where this could provide a helpful background to the study – for example, there are instances where numbers have been used to describe the number of people who died during violence, households that fled the area, number of people who attended workshops which included their respective demographics.

5.3 Research design

The selection of action research (AR) as the design was because AR is particularly concerned with action, which induces positive, progressive, remedial, and corrective social change or transformation; this concern represents a major characteristic distinguishing it from other research designs.

“Action research is defined in terms of action and research, which means taking action to improve practice, and research, which is finding things out and coming to new understandings, that is, creating new knowledge. In action research the knowledge is about how and why improvement has happened” (McNiff and Whitehead 2011:10). Similarly, Kemmis (2010: 421), citing Kemmis and McTaggart (1988:1), defines “action research as a form of collective self-reflective enquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of their own social or educational practices, as well as their understanding of these practices and the situations in which these practices are carried out.” Hence, McNiff and Whitehead (2012: 9) argue that “there is general agreement among the action research community that action research is about acting to improve practice and research:

finding things out and coming to new understandings, that is, creating new knowledge. In action research the knowledge is about how and why improvement has happened.” All definitions of action research should encompass the following four themes which are “empowerment of participants; collaboration through participation; acquisition of knowledge; and social change” (Masters 1990: 2).

I felt it necessary to adopt action research as the design because it provides the intersection of theoretical framework with action and further enables social change in the community. Action research empowers and changes people’s lives through empowering participants and ensuring that social change happens, linked with the utilisation with theories on conflict transformation, peace building, the integration of mental health and psychological support, and the theory of change, which are all concerned with change towards peace

It is also important to link the methodology to the literature review and the research problem, to inform an appropriate peace building intervention programme. In developing an understanding of the in-depth nature of violence in relation to intrapersonal, interpersonal violence, intergenerational of violence and trauma, the study applied, as data collection methods, interviews with key informants, observations and focus group discussions. These methods combine with issues raised in the literature review which assisted in resolving the research problem, answer research questions and meet the objectives of the research.

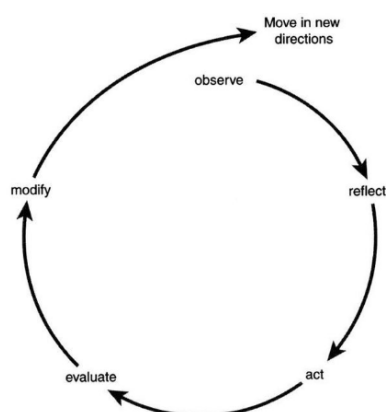


Figure 5.1 An action–reflection cycle (McNiff and Whitehead 2012)

“The research design will follow the process of observe-reflect-act-evaluate-modify-move in new directions, generally known as action-reflection” (McNiff and Whitehead 2012: 10). Discussion now focuses on how the action reflection cycle is integrated in the research. The research design requires different strategies because of the stages within an action research project. Different methods are needed at different points. All these stages have their own processes which include key informant interviews, focus group discussion questions, data analysis and evaluation processes.

The next session focus on the phases of the research design.

5.3.1 *Phases of the research design*

There were five phases of the research design. The above figure in figure 1.1 will be used to explain each phase of the research design.

Phase one is the observation stage where document and literature are consulted. The research proposal is drafted and then data is collected. At this stage the Peace Research Action Team (PRAT) is elected and formed. In terms of the research questions, this phase will deal with this; how does violence operate in Njobokazi? Part of the observation included reading literature, visiting the area of Njobokazi and having informal discussions with people from the community.

Phase two involves reflection. It is important to note that reflection happens throughout the research process. It is at this stage where data is analysed and findings identified and reported. PRAT meetings were convened on a monthly basis to reflect in part on the research process.

Phase three: This involves the action identified after the reflection on the issues that came up from the research findings. The intervention chapter deals with this phase. The Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) workshops and Healing of Memories workshops were specific actions undertaken in the community. This phase addresses the research question: How can I strengthen my ability to facilitate a reduction in violence in the community?

Phase four includes the evaluation of the intervention strategy (see figure 5.1). In this phase, the intervention strategy is evaluated critically. This phase will deal with two research questions: How can I strengthen my ability to facilitate a reduction in violence

in the community? What would be short and long-term interventions that would completely eradicate violence in Njobokazi?

Phase five: In terms of figure 5.1, this is the stage of modification (modify) and moving in new direction. Phase five included compilation of the report and presenting the report and its recommendations to the community and interested parties. Relevant bodies will implement recommendation of the report. The entire study involved an intervention in the community and its impact of the intervention ensured that the community take new directions.

5.4 Population

“In research the word population is used to mean the total number of people / groups or organisations who could be included in the study” (University of KwaZulu-Natal 1999: 64). The significance of the population in social science research is that unless the total population is identified in advanced, it is difficult if not impossible to access the adequacy of the sample (Bailey 1994). In this study, the target population consists of community members who grew up and lived in Njobokazi during violence and who either remained there after the conflict or came back, and those that grew up and left because of the conflict.

5.5 Sampling

The significance of sampling is that it breaks the population into small chunks that will be manageable during data collection. “In research it is also difficult to speak to everyone within your research population. Researchers overcome this problem by choosing a smaller, more manageable number of people to take part in their research, this is called sampling” (Dawson, 2002: 47). A researcher could not conduct research on the entire population. Before getting into the types of sampling and how sampling was done, I need to explain the kinds of people I brought into the study. These are people who grew up in Njobokazi and organisations that are found in Njobokazi. People who left Njobokazi or due to political violence and faction fighting formed part of the population because they have in-depth knowledge of the conflict.

Organisations that do not operate in Njobokazi participated directly or indirectly in the study only if there were invited to perform a particular service that would have assisted the community.

It is appropriate for you to select your sample based on your knowledge of the population, its elements, and the nature of your research, aims in short, based on your judgement and the purpose of the study, (Babbie and Mouton,2008). Therefore, participants were selected according to the aims of the study and purpose of the study.

After reading literature, visiting the area of Njobokazi and having informal discussions with people from the community as a researcher, I realised that people who fitted the criteria to be key informant interviewees and to participate in the focus groups covered a broad range. There were people who were fighters during the conflict, who provided any supportive role to the fighters, people who grew up during conflict, children and grandchildren of members of the community of Njobokazi, new people who have settled in the area and key experts involved in conflict resolution and peace building.

The key informant interviews were conducted before the focus group discussions. The significance of conducting key informant interviewees before focus group discussions is that most of the key informant interviewees (KIIs) have in-depth knowledge and or experience violence in Njobokazi. The KIIs were conducted first so that the researcher will have in-depth understanding through engaging with individual participants. Lokot (2021:3) supports this statement and argues that (...) a “researcher would develop a relationship with a key informant (...), conducting multiple interviews to understand an issue, the original use of KIIs is important because of how KIIs were grounded in community perspectives and based on long-term relationships.”

Two types of sampling that were used during research were purposeful sampling and snowball sampling, primarily the former. Coyne (1997: 624) argues that this approach aims to select “information-rich cases, that is, cases that are selected purposefully to fit the study.” In this case people who fit the purpose to participate were people who have an in-depth knowledge of the conflict. In some instances, snowball sampling was used where key informant interviewees indicated to the researcher that some of the questions could be best answered by a particular participant who was knowledgeable about violence in Njobokazi. These people were recruited and visited and interviewed at their places of residence.

In initiating this action research project, the researcher started to engage the municipality and local headmen (izinduna) from 01 April 2018. On the 20 June 2018, the gatekeeper’s letter was received from Councillor Mbuyiseni Percival Mkhize who

is the ward councillor for ward 100, which incorporates Deda. Councillor Bongani Gwala who is councillor for ward 4 of Mkhambathini municipality which forms part of a certain section of Njobokazi, and Induna Ndulini also assisted. Induna Meyiwa was engaged to ensure that he recruits the traditional section of his community.

The list of stakeholders is mentioned below. All these stakeholders were engaged because the research team did not want to exclude any sector. The engagements with stakeholders lasted from 01 June 2018 to December 2019. All these engagements culminated into a community meeting that took place on 23 December 2019. Inclusive of 56 people who attended the community meeting on the 23 of December 2021, there were about 80 people who were consulted.

5.5.1 Categories of people involved in the study

Participants	Key informants	Stakeholders
Participants include people who participated in the study by attending a workshop, by participating in a focus groups, key informant interviews, or were people who attended community meetings observed by researcher.	These are categories of people who have in-depth knowledge of the conflict and were interviewed. These people grew up in Njobokazi either fought, affected directly or indirectly by violence (There will be more discussion under data collection methods).	Stakeholders include organizations who participated or aided the study to be successful which are business forums, chiefs, the traditional council, community policing forums, the local magistrate court office, the SAPS, local government representative, leaders of warriors (amabutho), local women's organisations, local faith based organisations, the eThekweni and Mkhambathini municipalities, ordinary residents, school governing bodies, professional organisations in the area, representatives of organized labour in the area, sports and recreational groups, local political parties, independent politicians, transport leadership and passengers, passenger leadership in the area, local political parties participated in the study. Members of the stakeholders were requested to participate in the workshops and some were elected to serve in PRAT.

Table 5.1 Categories of people involved in the study

The process of consulting the above-mentioned participants was overwhelming. Consultations took time, but I learnt that if done adequately when the time for actual implementation of the study, field work becomes smooth. I learnt that you must also provide all the research details to participants and if there are diversions you need to explain it to the community. Then community members will embrace the research.

5.5.2 Sampling for the intervention programme

The list of people who were interviewed as key informant interviewees and focus group participants were drawn from the list of people who attended AVP workshop and Healing of Memories workshop. Some participants who form part of the key informant interviews are members of the PRAT. These participants participated in either the focus group or key informant interviews. No one was allowed to participate in both the focus group discussion and key informant interviews because of the overlap of questions used in both methods of data collection.

Of the ten who were selected to participate in the focus group interviews, seven came, two of whom were women and five men. Likewise, seven participants were selected to participate in the key informant interviews, of whom five were females and two were males, and all attended.

5.6 Dealing with bias in the Njobokazi action research

As a researcher, I grew up in Njobokazi and personally experienced and affected by the violent conflict in this community. Growing from the area might be beneficial to the study or could sometimes serve as an impediment. Some participants might view the researcher as someone who comes from a particular faction or group of people who were fighting. The advantage is that the researcher left the area when he was 12 years old and had not personally inflicted any pain onto any member of the community. Some participants might open up because they know that the researcher is not a stranger to Njobokazi and community issues.

Shenton (2004: 63) postulates that, to achieve confirmability, researchers must take steps to demonstrate that findings emerge from data and not from their own predispositions. Likewise, Rajendran (2001) argues that it is important for researchers to try to transcend some of their own biases with the aid of methods they use in the process. The researcher thus explained to the community and research subjects that he will be objective in using research methods to collect data and establish the facts. The study utilised a variety of data collection methods and a systematic process of data analysis and reporting, backed by literature and seminal social change theories, to ensure that the study is as unbiased as possible. Bodgan and Biklen (1982) assert that data collected with care and responsibility provides a much more detailed

rendering of events rather than even the most creatively prejudiced mind might have imagined prior to the study.

The next section focuses on data collection methods.

5.7 Data collection methods

The following research methods were utilised during the study to collect relevant data: observation of community meetings, document reviews, focus groups discussion, PRAT meetings, key informant interviews, and transect walk. Babbie and Mouton (2001) contend that such convergent mixed approaches had a dual purpose of simultaneously collecting data and collaborating with the participants in coming up with the desired results. In addition, Fudu (2017:18) maintains that instruments used as the ones used in this research allow for organic, in-depth interaction and feedback in comfortable sittings where participants felt free to share their insights. The following sections will discuss data collection methods.

The next session will deal with the role of the Peace Research Action Team (PRAT) in data collection.

5.7.1 Role of Peace Research Action Team (PRAT) during data collection

To assist with the research processes, the community elected a Peace Research Action Team (PRAT) to assist and work with the researcher to do its work. The role of PRAT was critical in the collection of data. The PRAT's role was to assist with the roll out of the research will community representation on the research team. The purpose of establishing the PRAT was to manage the working relationship amongst the researcher and community members. This was regulated by a social contract that was developed and was signed by PRAT members (see Appendix One). The social contract provided the following functions of the PRAT: members are to assist with data collection, assist the researcher to reconstruct the history of violence in the community, assist with initial data collection, which will strengthen the research methodologies and data collection methods, assist with mobilising for intervention programmes and other research related activities, assist with reviewing documents relating to Njobokazi and areas, manage the working relationship with the community, oversee the rolling out of the entire research project and assist in validating findings.

The original plan was to elect at least ten people to serve on the PRAT. There should be at least three alternate members who will fill in the gap if one or two of the PRAT

members cannot attend the meeting. The community met at Induna Ndulini house on the 03 November 2019 to elect the PRAT. As not all parties attended the first meeting, it was resolved that an interim PRAT should be elected. Only four members were elected to serve on the interim PRAT. No woman was elected to the interim PRAT; members of the community who attended the meeting raised this as a concern and offered to work hard to ensure that a meeting representing all sub villages of Njobokazi and would be convened to elect a more representative structure.

On the 23 December 2019, another meeting was convened and held which was attended by 56 people. About 40% of people who attended were women. Amongst the issues that were discussed was the election of PRAT members. The interim structure gave a report and a 13-member team was elected which comprised five women and eight men. Three of these members were alternate members. To balance the equation all alternate members were males. Therefore, the committee had ten permanent members of which five were women and five were men.

In electing the PRAT members, the community was made conscious of the international and domestic laws that govern our country. The members of the team satisfied the 50% gender representation in terms of gender. 60% of PRAT members were people who were directly and indirectly affected by violence in Njobokazi. About three members were young people who had experienced violence as kids. I learnt about these PRAT members' plight when they were introducing themselves during the first meeting. Only two members of the committee did not grow or experience violence in Njobokazi, because they are new residents.

Before the election of the PRAT, those present were briefed to understand the tasks and what is expected of the PRAT members. After the members had been elected, training was undertaken on the 20 January 2020. This included members' understanding the research proposals, methods of conducting research and their role as PRAT members. Members of the committee signed a PRAT member consent form (see Appendix One) which has an opt out clause where members of the PRAT may resign, simply through informing the researcher and or Induna of the area.

One of the advantages in using local community representatives as PRAT members is that they have first-hand information. According to Bergold and Thomas (2012), local community representatives have first-hand knowledge of the field and community.

Therefore, they understand the way people think and may be able to obtain better and faster access to the desired informants.

The following were the PRAT meetings that were held during the study:

Date	Attendees (no.)	Issues discussed
03 November 2019	4	After the first community meeting and the four interim PRAT members were appointed, they were asked to remain behind after the meeting has ended. Members were briefed about the purpose of the research and the schedule of future meetings was developed.
17 November 2019	04	The first meeting of the interim PRAT meeting was held to receive the progress report from the researcher and plan future community engagements and PRAT meetings.
20 January 2020	8	The meeting presented the rationale for the study to the PRAT and discussed the roles of members. The consent form was also discussed. Furthermore, the meeting discussed how focus group discussions were going to be organised. There was an in-depth discussion on the key informant interviews conducted.
09 March 2020	10	The meeting discussed the organisation of the Healing of Memories workshop which was scheduled to take place in March 2021. The Healing of Memories workshop was postponed because the country was put under lockdown.
23 August 2020	8	The Healing of Memories workshop took place in August 2020. That is why another PRAT meeting was organised in August 2020 to prepare for the Healing of Memories workshop. The meeting discussed logistical arrangements and the programme for the workshop.
20 November 2020	7	The purpose was to discuss the logistical arrangement of the AVP workshops and discuss the workshops arrangements of the said workshop.
21 November 2020- 21 August 2021	Nil	The country was under severe lockdown and could not hold face to face meetings. There were no face to face meetings and this was caused by lockdown regulations. Telephone calls and short message service (SMS) were used to communicate amongst PRAT members.
22 August 2021	6	The purpose of the meeting was to reflect on community reflections chapter and discuss the programme for the evaluation workshop. The meeting finalised and refined the six evaluation questions.

Table 5.2 Record of PRAT meetings

5.7.1.1 Challenges in holding PRAT meetings

At the beginning of holding of the PRAT meetings, few people attended. One member pulled out without notifying the induna and or the researcher. When this member was asked the reasons for not attending meetings, they spoke of work commitments. Another member attended few meetings and never attended other meetings. The other challenges was caused by Covid 19 restrictions, where subsequent workshops and meetings necessitated that participants needed to sanitise, observe social distance and wear masks. This affected the research processes and the budget, because masks and sanitisers had to be bought.

5.7.1.2 Recording of PRAT meetings

The meetings were convened by the researcher. There was no chairperson; the chairpersonship rotated amongst members and the researcher is de facto secretary. Meetings were convened through sending invitations through short message service (SMS) and or cell phone voice call. There was also an agenda and attendance register for every meeting held and field notes were kept during the meeting.

The next section will discuss documentary evidence.

5.7.2 Documentary evidence

The researcher reviewed research documents relating to the subject as well as relevant documents relating to violence in Njobokazi. The challenge though was that court material was not available to assist in the study. There were academic materials relating violence in surrounding areas, which provided useful information, but there was little mention of Njobokazi, but there is very interesting documentary which was developed by Velile Mkhize which is about Njobokazi and violence (Mkhize, 2017).

On 21 November 2018, I wrote a letter to Lt.-Colonel Riley requesting to get information from Camperdown police station in relation to Njobokazi and faction fighting and political violence. On the 14 March 2019 I wrote a follow up letter to the station commander following up on this letter. The station commander on the same day responded as follows: your letter was forwarded to our legal department and said that his office was still awaiting feedback.

On the 09 of July 2020, I wrote to the KZN SAPS Provincial Strategic Unit to request the information. I received feedback on the 14 April 2020. They mentioned that my

application will be processed according to national instruction which the same office sent to me. I am still waiting the national office to give me direction.

Although it was difficult to get information from SAPS, but this was partially overcome by obtaining information through talking to victims, warriors and Njobokazi community family members. In some instances, family members shared documentary proof like death certificates, told of people who had been injured during the conflict and showed graves of people who died during the conflict. Furthermore, the Truth and Reconciliation reports relating to Njobokazi assisted to provide information. These reports and documents assisted in framing the historical background chapter and contributed to the literature review and data analysis section. In the end I succeeded in getting death certificates, TRC reports, hospital admission information and information about people who got injured.



Figure 5.2 Graves of people who were killed in 1982

5.7.3 Key informant Interviews

Key informants are critical to the Njobokazi study because they provide in-depth information. Interviews were conducted to gain valuable initial information on the subject (scanning the field). This was done to reconstruct the extent of the conflict. Interviewees included warriors, people who participated in the conflict, Njobokazi and war veterans, headmen (izinduna), community policing forum members, school-governing body members and leaders of the faith-based organisations. Babbie and Mouton (2008) maintain that interviews with local informants are often viewed as an important source of information – especially for a change agent to educate him or herself about the context within which a proposed PAR project to be implemented. With key informants, narrative enquiry and semi-structured interviews were used.

There were four sets of key informant interviews: the first set being pilot key informant interviews, the second those that dealt with the main research questions, the third type the follow-up interviews and the fourth set being interviews that were carried during evaluation of the intervention stage. The pilot key informant interviews took place from 20 to 31 May 2019. Two of the five interviewees were women and the remaining three were men. The pilot brought useful information which helped to refocus and reset both the focus group discussions questions and later key informant interview questions. Furthermore, some of the information gathered during the pilot stage helped to inform the findings in the research.

The second series was the informant interviews that dealt with main research questions which took place from 01 June 2019 to December 2019. 22 key informant interviews were conducted. Eight of the key informant interviewees were women and 14 of these key informant interviews were men. All these key informant interviews were conducted face to face.

The third type of key informant interviews were follow-up key informant interviews where two key informant interviews were interviewed. These were carried out because other key informants referred me to these key informants because they had in-depth knowledge of violence in Njobokazi. These were carried out on the 02 January 2021 to 28 February 2021 via cell phone communication because these took place during the Covid 19 lockdown. The fourth type of key informant interviews were conducted during evaluation of the intervention strategy. Seven members were interviewed.

In undertaking key informant and focus group interviews, narrative enquiry, complemented by the use of semi-structured questions, was used to understand the history of the conflict and other issues relating to the research problem, aims and objectives of the study. Duff (2002: 209) argues that “narrative inquiry involves working with people’s consciously told stories, recognizing that these rest on deeper stories of which people are often unaware. Participants construct stories that support their interpretation of themselves, excluding experiences and events that undermine the identities they currently claim.” Mieroop (2021: 4) states, “what narrative enquiry consists of is stories that are ubiquitous in human interaction, as people make sense of their lives through storytelling”. Venuleleo et al. (2020: 4) argue that “narratives are important because they are means by which people understand and live their lives and because they are ways to participate actively in the practice of a particular culture.” I could sense that when people were sharing their experiences of a violent past, they became emotional about it. In some instances, you could feel that they had been helpless and knew that they had not been able to do anything else to stop the fighting. Some key informants had witnessed the killing of their relatives. The narrative of participants was captured in field notes because most key informant interviewees did not like to be recorded.



Figure 5.3 Key informant interviewee, Mabhececi September 2021

The key informant interviews utilised a semi structured interview schedule (Appendix Two). May (1993; 111) states that “semi structured questions are normally specified, but the interviewer is freer to probe beyond the answers in a manner in which the narrative would appear prejudicial to the aims of standardization and comparability.” During the actual interaction with key informant interviewees, the researcher was able to seek both clarification and elaboration on the answers given. This enabled the interviewer to enter into a dialogue with the interviewees.

5.7.3.1 Challenges associated with the key informant interviews

Almost all key informant interviewees were not comfortable with tape recording but were not opposed to the researcher taking notes. As Paradis et al. (2016:263) argue, interviews are often recorded and transcribed. Only two key informant interviewees agreed to be tape recorded.

One of the key informant interviewees was busy and could not be interviewed and he later died through natural causes before the interview could take place. One day when the researcher was travelling to interview four key informant interviewees, the car broke down and I had to return to Durban to fix the car. I later went back to the site to finish three remaining key informant interviews. Two key informant interviewees could not be interviewed face to face due to coronavirus restrictions and the cell phone was used as a device through which the interview was conducted, but only follow-up key informant interviews were conducted through the cell phone.

5.7.4 Focus group interviews

The reason for using focus groups is to ensure that research participants engage on issues of the research process, remind one another of significant points and develop relevant ideas collectively. Thomas et al. in Rabiee (2004: 656) define “the focus group as a technique involving the use of in-depth group interviews in which participants are selected because they are a purposive, although not necessarily representative, sampling of a specific population, this group being ‘focused’ on a given topic.” The rationale for using focus groups is that, “The important point is that the participants interact with each other rather than with the interviewer, such that the views of the participants can emerge- the participants’ rather than the researcher’s agenda can predominate. It is from the interaction of the group that the data emerge”, (Faculty of Education, 1999:254).

The plan was that there would be between eight and ten people per focus group. There were four focus groups. The first focus group consisted of men, the second focus group of women and the third a mixed group of all categories. The fourth was the evaluation of the intervention programme focus group which drew on a sample of participants who attended the intervention. Youth was represented in all categories. The reason for having different sectors was to ensure that the full range of people take part in the discussion (see guidelines, Appendix 3)..

The focus group participants were selected from these areas: Driehoek, Deda, Manqquzumane, Emabhezeni and Toni. The men’s group took place in Driehoek on the 26 January 2020, over the weekend because most men could not be found during the week. This is because some men look after cattle during the week and some go to work. Over the weekend boys are back from school and could relieve their relatives.

There were 13 participants. The men group was critical because it was able to give us much information about violence. It included men who participated in the fighting and were able to give graphic explanations of what happened during the conflict. This was a separate focus group because men might be unable to share graphic information in the presence of women. During reflection, all men members of the focus group conceded that things that led to people fighting and killing each other are things that they could have been resolved through dialogue and negotiations.

At the beginning, participants were reluctant to talk, one reason being that the group mixed people who had fought before but lived in the same area. During the introductions, there was a concern that it would be difficult to share some of the issues. I explained to the participants that their responses were going to enrich the study, thus ensuring that the research response and intervention would assist the community. The information letter and the consent form assisted in allaying participants' fears. As the focus group progressed, participants started opening up and freely participated.

The women's focus group was conducted on the 28th January 2020. It was conducted during the week because more women find time during the week, and around midday when youngsters were still at school and husbands still at work and or looking after cattle. Seventeen women attended – more than needed, but it was very difficult to chase them away as they were enthusiastic. We had mooted the idea of asking six to leave, but women were not agreeable to it. I requested a master's student, Zanele Ncwane, to assist with the facilitation as I found it odd to be with women as a male researcher without the help of a qualified woman. Participants were comfortable with that. All 17 women remained and attended. In dealing with the big number of participants, the focus group was broken into smaller groups, with some questions being discussed in groups and reported back to focus group plenary.

During the focus group discussions, some women raised the issue that during violent conflict, women were excluded from the peace discussions. They indicated that it was a pleasure for them to participate as they had never given an opportunity to talk on and reflect about violence. The study has given them that opportunity to participate in peace building discussions.

On the 1 February 2020 the third focus group was conducted in Magquzumane. This was a mixed group and only seven participants attended the meeting. This focus group

was conducted during the weekend. This took a different format because in a normal society women and men stay together; it would not always be real to separate them and it makes perfect sense to mix them and let them process and argue issues in this environment. Finally, as part of the evaluation of the intervention strategy, a focus group discussion was conducted on 12th September 2021 (see Appendix 4 on the evaluation design).

5.7.4.1 Observations and learning during focus groups discussion

I learnt that facilitating a focus group discussion like this requires encouraging shy people chance to speak. I realised that they possess a lot of information about Njobokazi's violent conflict but sometimes are scared to share. There was a need for ample time, to think and process their responses, since this was a fraught discussion. The discussions took three hours for the first focus group; the others were within two hours. I had underestimated the number of people who would attend these focus groups and they were oversubscribed, in particular the men and women's groups.

People kept on referring to their school experience, saying they hope the focus group discussions were not going to resemble that experience which were going to ask them for the 'right answers'. What mitigated this was the fact that the focus group was conducted in a space familiar to them, that of a homestead, in a rondavel, and the facilitation was very interactive.

During the focus group discussions, participants wanted to raise current issues that face the community. This required careful facilitation to remind participants of the purpose of the focus group. There were instances where participants remained silent, it seems to avoid opposing one another, until it was agreed that people could always provide alternative views. While it was obvious that people are still reluctant to oppose one another, it was discussed that it should be acknowledged that people would sometimes differ and that should be accepted in the community.

5.7.4.2 Easy and difficult issues during focus group discussions

All participants kept time and were willing to share their perspective. People were also sharing jokes. All focus groups included people who supported different factions and different political parties; these are people who used to fight before. Although previous community meetings helped to defuse the tensions, it was the first time that various factions sat at the table discussing and reflecting with the sole aim to find solutions.

The discussions started very slowly but gradually the tempo increased and discussion became very interesting.

Participants spoke about their situations, often during the introductions. Men were the most reluctant to speak at the beginning but women were free to talk. Women indicated that although they had been part of a community during the violent conflict, they had still been able to communicate with women from the other sections. This is an important point about gender and the potential for resolution of conflicts. In other words, if women are excluded from discussions, you are left to deal only with those who have taken the most divisive positions in relation to others.

5.7.5 Observations

The most important point about observations is that during observation, you can observe people in their natural setting operating as normal, rather than in a focus group and key informant interview, where the process is managed and controlled. There is a that people to behave or act differently from usual in such contexts.

Observations assist in producing information on the context and on how people are ordinarily doing things. “The importance of observation is that the researcher obtains first hand data rather than reported data. Observations means that the researcher can see things that may not be talked about” (Faculty of Education 1999: 90). Observation formed part of the data collection methods; hence an observation instrument was developed as a means to record information (Appendix 5). Holloway (2005:2) argues that “the reasons for particular types of behaviour can only be understood when it is observed and people are asked about it.” There were two types of observations that were conducted, direct observation and a transect walk.

5.7.5.1 Direct observation

ACAPS (2015: 6) argues that “observation is often underrated as a data collection method... employing direct observation as an effective assessment tool requires consciously using, and recording, what is seen, heard, and smelled to help shape our understanding of a situation of a problem.” I observed five events in the area to ascertain peace building initiatives being used or conflict resolution mechanisms undertaken and observe triggers of violence. The observation schedule was developed and used as a structured guide during observations (see appendix 5).

5.7.5.2 Observations

There were two types of meetings, community meetings and individual meetings. I attended these meetings, which had been organised for other purposes but proved to be data gathering tools because people voluntarily shared information that was relevant to research objectives. During these meetings people tended to discuss critical information relating to the objective of the research.

The following direct observations were made:

Date	Purpose of the meeting	Male	Female	Ages	Issues discussed
07 August 2019	The purpose of the meeting was to take stock of the private sector involvement in the Sobonakhona tribal authorities.	15	4	30-70 years	The meeting discussed private sector involvement in the tribal development and contribution that it should make to the community. Amongst the other issues that the meeting discussed was the study and what the study means for the entire community.
20 October 2019	An Isikhebhe meeting was convened to elect leadership. Isikhebe is a structure that deals with stock theft. It punishes people who steal goats and cows through beating them.	70	Nil	40-75 years	The meeting involved people from Njobokazi and Zwelibomvu. The meeting discussed Isikhebe's objectives. Some people asked about how Isikhebe was going to operate in the area and wanted more information about its constitution. The interim leadership structure was discussed and members to serve on the structure were elected.
01 November 2019	The meeting dealt with land dispute between two family members	8	3	18-65 years	Observed the traditional court which presided over the issue of land. A brother and sister quarrelled over land ownership and the local traditional council found against the lady.
25 January 2020	The meeting discussed developmental initiatives in the area.	15	Nil	39-75 years	Although there have been meetings with Councillor Gwala and Induna Meyiwa, I observed the meeting of leaders discussing their community development related activities. Some of the issues discussed related to upcoming meetings of the headmen to brief them about development in the area. The other issue related to the road and water provision in the area.
04 February 2020	There was a murder case at Pinetown magistrate court. This case involved a Deda man charged with attempted murder.	5	3	35-55 years	The prosecutor indicated that the alleged perpetrator was suspected to have shot someone and was charged with attempted murder. Following up on the outcome of the case, I learnt that the case was later withdrawn.
15 February 2020	The traditional wedding ceremony between Ms Hlongwa and Mr Hadebe	About 70	About 75	19-80 years	Warriors (amabutho) came to perform traditional procedures but everything was peaceful. During this ceremony one warrior captain spoke to young men about the importance of peace and how peace should be sustained in the community.

Table 5.3 Meetings observed during research period

As part of the evaluation of the intervention programme, I participated in the participant observation exercise on 10,11 and 12 September 2021. On all three days, I slept in Deda. Furthermore, on the 11th September 2021 I participated in the Shembe Church morning service. On 12th September 2021 I also walked along the Richmond Road to observe what happens during the course of a morning. Midday, I also went to Mophela with people from Deda to briefly attend a Shozi traditional ceremony where about 10 goats had been slaughtered. On the afternoon of the 12 of September 2021, I observed a Zulu traditional wedding combined with and followed by with a Shembe church wedding ceremony.



Figure 5.3 Mseleku Shembe traditional ceremony, September 2021

5.7.5.2.1 Transect walk

Kramer, Krauss, and León (2020: 5) define a transect walk as a walk taken through a specific area of interest with local participants and professionals. The walk includes actions such as observing, asking questions, listening, looking for problems and possibly identifying solutions. Stade et al. (2006), cited in Kramer, Krauss, and León (2020: 5), concur that transect walk enables researchers to gather qualitative information and to explore existing conditions in the project area. Transect walks help

the researcher to experience movements and the behaviour of people and to understand their emotions. In this study, we also saw how structures had been destroyed and are or were being rebuilt.

Kramer et al. (2020) add that the participants in transect walks are asked to express and share their knowledge about the existing conditions and circumstances. Keller (n.d.) cited in Kramer et. al (2020: 5) confirms that all information collected during the walk is to be documented and observations should be noted on a diagram or a map at the end of the walk. Thus, to understand the extent of the damage and see what Njobokazi looks like, on 23 December 2019, after community meeting, the transect walk was conducted. A structured observation schedule (see Appendix 6) meant that as researcher I was able to know what I was looking for when I was observing, and also know how to record the information.

The first transect walk, which took place on the 23 December 2021, was undertaken in partnership with three PRAT members, researcher and the co-supervisor. It was short, under 500 metres, while the driving was about 3 kms. This was conducted at Ediphini area, Dlangezwa, Deda, Mabhezeni and Ncobeni. The transect walk enabled us to observe the impact of violence and check the state of key institutions which were destroyed by the violence in the area.

During the first transect walk, we observed that there were graves of people who were killed; the area is abandoned and forest and grass have grown to such an extent that footpaths are no longer recognisable. The graves observed have not been taken care of. Much of the topsoil have been washed away. Soil erosion and environmental degradation has taken place in the area.



Figure 5.4 Abandoned area

Another transect walk was conducted on 29 March 2021. The second walk was three kms, without any driving. Forests have covered places where there had been houses. We saw areas vacated, ruined dwellings and grave sites. The transect walk made me to gain deeper understanding of the impact of the violent conflict and how violent conflict ruined the environment.

The significance of the observation would serve as a conformation of the information that was shared during key informant interviews and focus group discussions. Holloway (2005: 84) explains that “observation can be seen not only as a useful method in its own right but as a valuable complement to the other gathering procedures.” In some instances, it became a verification process where we saw graves, schools, dipping tanks and ruined houses. Such evidence could then be explained at the focus group discussions and key informant interviews. Thus, observations were supplemented by conversations with members of the community where necessary. “Observations often supplemented by conversations with social actors that ask them to explain meanings, procedures and experiences which have

been observed and perhaps not fully understood,” Holloway (2005: 73). In a nutshell, these data collection methods reinforce and reciprocate one another.



Figure 5.5 Ruined dipping tank

5.8 Intervention workshops

After data from these methods had been generated and analysed, findings from this phase of the study and discussions with community members, in consultation with PRAT members, led to two interventions which were implemented in the community. These interventions include Community Healing of Memories workshop and Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) workshop. The table below depicts participants that attended the workshops

5.8.1 Participants in workshops

	Pseudonyms	Gender	Age	Home area	Alternatives to violence project	Healing of Memories
1	Msobho Ndlovu	Male	45	Nguqwini	X	X
2	Nginga Buthelezi	Male	41	Deda	X	X
3	Yebo Ndulini	Male	47	Ncobeni	X	X
4	Slindile Ngubane	Female	19	Mabhezeni	X	X
5	Zethu Ndlovu	Female	27	Toni	X	

6	Zanele Gwala	Female	25	Faya	X	X
7.	Ntombizonke Cele	Female	41		X	
8.	Nolwazi Khubeka	Female	21	Mnatnotengayo	X	X
9.	Zodwa Nyathi	Female	41	Deda	X	
10.	Phumula Shoji	Male	49	Deda	X	X
11.	Nako Ngubane	Female	33	Mabhezeni	X	
12.	Sgwiliya Shoji	Male	57	Deda	X	
13.	Zwakele Zuma	Male	45	Mabhezeni	X	X
14.	Zidle Dumakude	Male	48	Deda	X	
15.	Nomsa Nene	Female	36	Encobeni		X
16.	Mbali Mabhida	Female	26	Encobeni	X	
17.	Zanele Mabasa	Female	39		X	
18.	Lungele Mbhele	Female	45		X	X
19.	Fikile Mthembu	Female	41		X	
20.	Ayabonga	Female	24		X	
	Gathseni					
21.	Londiwe Nxasana	Female	27	Ncobeni	X	X
22.	Sphamandla Buthelezi	Male	53	Deda	X	
23.	Bheki Mkhize	Male	40	Deda	X	X
24.	Buyi Mbovu	Female	48	Mabhezeni	X	X
25	Sanele Khabazela	Male	22	Njobokazi	X	X
26	Nontobeko Phambuka	Female	20	Njobokazi	X	X
27.	Nomzamo Buthelezi	Female	40	Deda	X	X
28.	Thobile Siyethemba	Female	34		X	X
29.	Vulani Meyiwa	Male	61	Njobokazi	X	X
30.	Themba Gwala	Male	68	Njobokazi	X	X
31	Nomthi Blose	Female	31	Njobokazi		X
32	Bhozo Mabhida	Male	61	Ediphini		X
33	Shlahla Mthethwa	Male	51	Fayi		X
34	Buki Buthelezi	Female	44	Mabhezeni		X
35.	Bheki Zimu	Male	50	Tony		X
36	Mzwe Khwela	Male	55	Ncobeni		X
37	Ningi Blose	Female	60	Ncobeni		X
38	Nombuso Ngcongo	Female	57		X	X

39	Zindela Shange	Male	52	Njobokazi	X
40.	Vela Khomo	Male	61	Ncobeni	X
41	Shozi Nansindaba	Male	39		X

Table 5.4 Participants in the intervention workshops

As Ngwenya and Harris (2015: 41) maintain, dialogue typically plays a central role in PAR because participants are thus enabled to better their own particular situations and problems. There were two intervention workshops, the first one being Healing of Memories workshop which took place, during Covid restrictions, on 31 August 2020 at Tre Fontane Guest House, in Mariannhill Monastery. The workshop was initially planned to take place at Mntanotengayo but, due to the fact the research team had to comply with COVID 19 protocols, it was moved from to Marianhill. This was a bigger venue where protocols of social distancing, wearing a mask and ensuring that participants sanitise frequently were observed.

The second was the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) workshop which was conducted on the 26/27 November 2020. It was organised at Induna Ndulini's house at Mntanotengayo.

As shown in the table of participants, there were 41 participants: 19 men and 21 women. In total, each workshop was attended by 30 participants; 18 attended both. In age, 11 were between 18 and 35, 19 between 36 and 50 and 11 between 51 and 75.

Participants were engaged in informative, reflective and interrogative discussions concerning their experiences and actions during the sessions and were able to devise solutions or actions. The intervention chapters will provide full detail on this subject.

5.9 Evaluation of the intervention workshops

The evaluation of the intervention was conducted utilising various research methods. There were one focus group discussion, seven key informant interviews and an observation conducted. The evaluation was conducted from 10 September to 15 November 2021, in other words roughly a year after the intervention workshops. This meant that responses were gathered a substantial time after the workshops, avoiding a weighting towards more immediate and possibly more positive feelings.

There were six evaluation questions that were used. These were developed together with participants during the intervention workshops, where participants were asked about how these interventions workshops should be evaluated. Proposals that were discussed during intervention workshops were also discussed and refined at PRAT meetings. The intervention evaluation discussion guidelines are attached (Appendix 4). The evaluation chapter will provide more details on the evaluation.



Figure 5.6 Focus group discussion at KE Shozi house, Deda area (September 2021)



Figure 5.7 Key informant interviewee, Mabhezeni area September 2021



Figure 5.8 Key informant interviewee, Ncobeni area, September 2021

5.10 Data analysis and presentation

Data was collected from various sources, as has been explained. Focus group interviews were tape recorded, community meetings were recorded as field notes, two key interviews were taped recorded while others were recorded with notes, some key informant interviews were recorded on the interview schedule and the transect walk was also recorded on the transect walk schedule. The recording was transcribed in Isizulu and was later translated into English.

Thematic analysis (TA) was utilised as a method for data analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006: 6) explain that “Thematic Analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data.” It minimally organises and describes the data set in rich detail. However, Boyatzis (1998), cited in Braun and Clarke (2006: 79), adds that TA also often goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic. Braun and Clarke (2006: 15) confirm that “Thematic Analysis involves the searching across a data set – be that a number of interviews or focus groups, or a range of texts – to find repeated patterns of meaning.” “The guiding principle in ensuring that there is consistency in the analysis, the research questions and research

problem will act as a guide for the analysis as it helps to determine what is, and what is not relevant in terms of potential clusters of patterned meaning,” (Willig and Rogers 2017: 27). “Qualitative data analysis is primarily an inductive process of organising the data into categories and identifying patterns (relationships) among the categories” (McMillan and Schumacher 1993:479)

The analysis followed this process: familiarising with data, code the data, identifying emerging themes, reviewing themes and writing. There were six phases; this section will show how these six stages were utilised and applied in the study. The first phase is familiarisation with the data. In this study, this process started during data collection with key informant interviews, focus groups, observations and community meetings. Willig and Rogers (2017:23) state that the “first phase of TA, familiarising with data, is a process that can begin with data collection.” Familiarisation with data in this research happen at three levels during data collection. The first was a focus on the initial research findings, the second being data that emerged at the intervention and the third was data from the evaluation of the intervention programme.

Familiarisation first took place during the transcribing of interviews from audio recording and later translation of the IsiZulu transcripts into English. Repeated listening to audio data was a way of familiarising myself with data. Nowell, Norris, White, and Moules (2017: 5) state that “familiarising yourself with your data and becoming immersed in the data involves the repeated reading of the data in an active way searching for meanings and patterns.” During this stage, I found that some of the information was not relevant to the research questions. I made sure that I took notes or marking ideas to inform the coding stage is fine. “Once you have done this, you are ready to begin the more formal coding process. In essence, coding continues to be developed and defined throughout the entire analysis” (Braun and Clarke 2006: 87).

The second phase was generating initial codes. Braun and Clarke (2006) argue “that the second phase begins once researchers have read and familiarised with the data, and having ideas about what is in data, having ideas about what is in the data.” I generated codes by a way of reading through the voluminous data set and make sense of it. Whilst reading, I was able to relate them to research questions and research problems whilst starting to identify codes in terms of phrases. Coding involved reading all the data and identifying similar patterns and relations within the dataset and

apportioning phrases. I wrote catch phrases and highlighted relevant sections and sometimes written phrases were written on the margins of the exercise book. Similarly, Braun and Clarke (2006) highlight “that there are a number of ways of actually coding extracts.” For example, I was coding manually, I coded data by writing notes on the texts that I was analysing, by using highlighters or coloured pens to indicate potential patterns, or by using “post-it” notes to identify segments of data. Braun and Clarke (2006) further remind us that “you may initially identify the codes, and then match them up with data extracts that demonstrate that code, but it is important in this phase to ensure that all actual data extracts are coded, and then collated together within each code.” Furthermore, Willig and Rogers (2017: 26) confirm that “coding involves identifying those relevant data within each data item and then tagging them with few words or pithy phrase.”

The third phase was searching for themes, after all data have been initially coded & collated, and there was a list of the different codes I had identified across my data set. “This phase, which re-focuses the analysis at the broader level of themes, rather than codes, involves sorting the different codes into potential themes, and collating all the relevant coded data extracts within the identified themes” (Braun and Clarke 2006: 89). Familiarisation with data and excellent coding of data provided an excellent foundation for the searching of themes. The research problem and research questions became guiding principles for what constitutes the data that should be included in the analysis.

In trying to connect the themes, I drew up diagrams and connecting structures that help to explain relationships between different themes. Nowell, Norris, White and Moules (2017: 9) argue that “we also need diagramming as a way to make sense of the connections between themes and further interrogate the themes and this is used to visualise the themes and creatively think about how the parts fit together.”

The fourth phase was the review of themes. “During this phase, it was evident that some candidate themes are not really themes (e.g., if there are not enough data to support them, or the data are too diverse), while others might collapse into each other (e.g., two apparently separate themes might form one theme). Some themes needed to be broken down into separate themes” (Braun and Clarke 2006: 91). In almost all the findings chapters, I had to review organise themes and ensured that there are

coherent and linked to each other. The themes will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

At one stage of the study, I became aware of a theme or sub-theme that I had not previously noticed. While working on the community reflections chapter, I realised that the chapter reflected so many themes but these themes were reduced after the review. For example, *death toll* was a stand-alone theme but, after the review, it was relegated to a sub-theme under the impact of violence theme. In the very same chapter enmity was discarded as a stand-alone theme but was made a sub-theme under the *nature of violence* theme.

It was also critical to develop an argument that ran through all the themes. It is during this stage that I identified whether each theme had sufficient supportive data. There were instances where there were interesting themes but a lack of sufficient data to support them. Braun and Clarke (2006) cited in Nowell et al. (2017: 9) posit that “it may also become evident that some themes do not have enough data to support them or the data are too diverse. Some themes may collapse into each other while other themes may need to be broken down into separate themes.”

During the PRAT meetings, the emerging possible themes were presented and discussed with members present. Furthermore, before the start of the intervention workshops, the themes and supporting data were discussed. During this stage members had an in-depth discussion on various themes and made suggestions. The supervisors provided guidance and explanation to shape and give direction to the themes. Lincoln and Guba (1985), cited in Nowell et al. (2017:10), agree that the “process of peer debriefing with someone who knows a great deal about the substantive area of the inquiry and the method of thematic analysis, will help expose the researcher to aspects of the research that might otherwise remain unspoken.” Braun and Clarke (2006: 92) argue that at the end of this phase, you should have a fairly good idea of what your different themes are, how they fit together, and the overall story they tell about the data. The PRAT and peer students’ discussions ensured that themes were named and defined. There were instances where some key informant interviewees were consulted to verify the interpretation and meanings of the information, including verifying the proposed themes.

The fifth phase includes defining and naming themes. “Defining and naming themes begins when you have a satisfactory thematic map of your data (...) at this point, you then define and further refine the themes that you will present for your analysis and analyse the data within them. “By defining and refining we mean identifying the “essence” of what each theme is about (as well as the themes overall) and determining what aspect of the data each theme captures” (Braun and Clarke 2006: 92). Braun and Clarke (2006) describe “defining and naming themes and involves ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme and the overall story the analysis tells; generating clear definitions and names for each theme.” During this phase, Nowell et al. (2017: 10) argue that a detailed analysis should identify the story that each theme tells while considering how each theme addresses the research questions. Findings related to specific themes are reported in different chapters, specifically chapters 6, 8, 9 and 10.

The sixth phase of analysis was reporting. The reporting included refining themes with supporting data quotations and referring to the literature that supported it. The drivers of violence chapter, community reflections, evaluation of the intervention chapter are examples of how reporting was carried out. Braun and Clarke (2006) remind us that “the sixth phase consists of selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.” King (2004), cited in Nowell et al. (2017: 11), suggests that direct quotes from participants are an essential component of the final report. Braun and Clarke (2006) further confirm that extracts of raw data need to be embedded within the analytic narrative to illustrate the complex story of the data, going beyond a description of data and convincing the reader of the validity and merits of the analysis. Nowell et al. (2006: 11) note that “the final analysis should create an overall story about what the different themes reveal about the topic.”

5.11 Delimitations and limitations

Delimitations are those characteristics that assist you to choose an area to be part of the study or assist you to exclude the area from being part of the study. Simon and Goes (2013) argue that delimitations of a study are those characteristics that arise from limitations in the scope of the study (defining boundaries) and by conscious exclusionary and inclusionary decisions made during the development of the plan. Every study, no matter how well it is conducted and constructed, has limitations. Simon

and Goes (2013) posit that limitations are matters and occurrences that arise in the study that are out of the researcher's control. They limit the extent to which a study can go, and sometimes affect the result and conclusions that can be drawn.

The emergence of coronavirus-19 posed a threat to the completion of the study. The intervention workshops were postponed for nine months. Two key informant interviews were conducted by cell phone due to travel restrictions imposed between March 2020 to August 2021. The entire research programme was pushed back. This necessitated the change of research methods, for example, where there was going to be a face to face interview, a cell phone interview was used. Meetings with PRAT members, focus group discussions and key informant interviewees needed to observe Covid-19 protocols like social distancing, the need to buy sanitisers and wear masks.

The KZN and Gauteng unrest (from 9 July to 21 July 2021) affected the areas like Njobokazi and because for three weeks there was uncertainty in the district. Because of this disturbance it was difficult to organise the PRAT meetings scheduled to prepare for the evaluation of the interventions.

Most researchers agree that generalisation is not achieved in qualitative research. The issue of generalising on findings found in and Njobokazi study could present challenges in generalising all its findings but there are some that could be replicated in other contexts. The issues and the context of the study might provide a helpful scenario for comparison.

In the literature, there is a debate about whether action research generalisation is possible or not. Some believe that generalisation is only applicable to quantitative styles of research, whereas some qualitative researchers refute this claim. Petticrew and Roberts (2006: 149), cited in Guenther and Falk (2019: 1016), concur that reviewing the results of a number of studies of course itself provides a test of generalizability; if the results have been replicated in several settings with different populations, then this gives an indication of whether the results are transferable. Conversely, Ali and Yusof (2011: 35) differ, "since qualitative studies have found it difficult to achieve generalisation, these studies have continued to be criticized for their lack of generalizability." This is despite the many positive aspects of qualitative research and there are other types of generalizability which qualitative research may still satisfy." For example, the findings of the Njobokazi action research study on the

drivers of violence, community reflections on the violence, learnings from the intervention and the evaluation chapter are some of contributions and learning that other people and practitioners might use to explain more or less their situations. Some scholars and people who are in same situations could tap into the strategies used in the research and apply them in their own situations.

The next section will discuss trustworthiness and validity.

5.12 Trustworthiness and validity

Research projects need to follow certain agreed processes that will ensure that experts in the field recognise them as pieces of work that are acceptable within the research community. This means that they should have credibility and validity. Trustworthiness refers to credibility and how believable a study is; validity is concerned with the extent to which a study accurately reflects or evaluates the concept or ideas being investigated. Golafshani (2003:600) asserts that “qualitative and quantitative research need to check that their study is credible. While credibility in quantitative research depends on instrument construction, in qualitative research, the researcher is the Instrument that is credibility of qualitative research.”

The corresponding terms used in quantitative research are reliability, validity and generalisation. Literature is split on whether these terms can be used in qualitative research or not. Moreover, researchers and experts do not agree on the exact definitions of reliability, validity and generalisation. Ali and Yusof (2011: 34) point out that reliability in qualitative research is achieved through the examination of trustworthiness of data and this process ensures that research findings are trusted. Likewise, Ali and Yusof (2011: 33) contend that “the validity which these terms refer to is concerned with researchers actually capturing what they intended to study and accurately reporting what they have seen or heard. Engaging in various methods such as focus group discussions, interviews, observations, recordings and field notes will lead to more valid, reliable and diverse construction of realities.” Moreover, Noble and Smith (2015: 34) maintain that “utilization of various methods will allow the researcher to make judgement about the ‘soundness’ of the research in relation to the application and appropriateness of the methods undertaken and the integrity of the final conclusions.” Soundness is based on reaching conclusions based on facts derived from analysed data. Soundness is based on good judgement.

The systematic utilization of action research techniques was intended to ensure that the research is trustworthy and sound. As part of this discussion, this section will present a table (5.5, below) of the strategies for attaining validity (soundness) and reliability (trustworthiness) and a discussion on triangulation.

5.12.1 Strategies for attaining validity (soundness) and reliability (trustworthiness)

Strategies	Meaning
Rationale for methodology	Qualitative methods were used as an appropriate way to address the research question(s).
Multiple methods (triangulation)	Various methods were used including focus group discussions, key informant interviews, transect walk, observations and these methods were able provide data that when triangulated backed by literature which provided rich and authentic findings.
Respondent description	Description was given to respondents who were selected or sampled to participate in the study and the explanation is given in the study why they were selected.
Interview quotations	Quotations (words of the respondents were quoted at verbatim) were interwoven with literature to support an identified themes, theories and literature.
Interview practices	Interviews were conducted utilising semi structured interviews. Responses were recorded on the interview schedule depending on the agreement with participants some of these interviews were audio recorded.
Procedures for analysis	There is a description of how data were converted or condensed into themes.
Immersion of lengthy fieldwork.	Field work started from September 2019 to December 2021. It is observed that long fieldwork develop rapport with respondents and / or enable deep understandings of the research situation.
Revisits	The telephone calls, discussions with PRAT members, fellow master's and PhD students were made to clarify meanings and build and strengthen rapport.
Verification by respondents	Respondents were contacted to verify interpretations or meanings. Three additional key informants interviews were visited to clarify and verify some of the key findings.
Appeals to interpretive community	The conflict transformation theory, theory of change and social learning theory are supported by the findings presented in the drivers of

	violence chapter, community reflections chapter and the intervention chapters.
Rationale for verification	Rationale for showing that there is agreement between constructs or interpretations and the meanings held by respondents is provided

Table 5.5 How validity and trustworthiness were achieved in the study (drawing on Ali and Yusof 2011: 37).

5.12.2 Triangulation

The wealth of information gathered through different methods of data collection is evidence of the success of triangulation in this study. Noble and Heale (2019: 67) define triangulation as a method used to increase the credibility and validity of research findings. Some literature refers to triangulation as where quantitative and qualitative methods are mixed, but, in this research, triangulation applies to mixed qualitative data collection methods. In this study, triangulation applies to making findings based on the use of different qualitative data collection methods. Jick (1979: 603) reminds us that the effectiveness of triangulation rests on the premise that the weaknesses in each single method will be compensated by the counter-balancing strengths of another. For example, this study employed the following data collection methods: focus group discussions, key informant interviews, observation of meetings and events and transect walks.

5.13 Ethical considerations

This study is ethically complex and challenging because it involves people who went through appallingly violent conflict; they were asked to share and reflect on their experiences to a stranger. Some of these people lost their loved ones and property and all of this contributed to the ethical complexities of the study. There are instances where people who used to fight before found themselves in the same workshop or the same focus group.

The researcher grew up in the area and some participants might be uncomfortable with that; my own family had been involved in some of the violent conflicts. There are psychological and emotional issues that were raised by participants that led to the researcher to debrief with fellow students, supervisors and the PRAT. Sanjari et al. (2014) state that researchers face ethical challenges in all stages of the study, from designing to reporting and considering the nature of qualitative studies, the interaction

between researchers and participants can be ethically challenging for the former, as they are personally involved in different stages of the study. Therefore, formulation of specific ethical guidelines in this respect was essential.

“The protection of human subjects through the application of appropriate ethical principles is important in any research study. In a qualitative study, ethical considerations have a particular resonance due to the in-depth nature of the study process. The concern of ethical issues becomes more salient when conducting face to face interview with vulnerable group of participants” (Siti and Mohd 2018: 30).

Hence Mwanje (2001: 64) identifies the following ethical issues to be considered when conducting ethical research: “informed consent, confidentiality, freedom from coercion and feedback of results.” This section will discuss the following ethical considerations: formal approval, informed consent and voluntary participation, respect for community and participants, anonymity and confidentiality, feedback of results, and Covid-19 ethical considerations

5.13.1 Formal approval

For research to meet research requirements and be accepted in the community where it is conducted, it is important to get formal approval from the university ethics committee and the community under which the research is going to be conducted.

The gatekeeper’s letter was received on the 20 June 2018 from ward 100 councillor for eThekweni municipality (Appendix 7). Ethics approval was granted on 30 May 2019 at ethics level 2 by DUT Management Sciences: Faculty Research Ethics Committee (Appendix 8).

When I was about to start engaging community members, the traditional authorities would not allow me to start engaging with the community because they indicated that they had not been formally consulted about the study. This resulted in postponing the focus group discussions. I met with the local Induna who advised me to present the matter to the Sobonakhona Tribal Council and I was given permission to conduct the study. The presentation was made to the Council, which approved the request. The traditional authority emphasised the point that they wanted to understand the objectives of the workshops.

5.13.2 Informed consent and voluntary participation

It is important for participant to give informed consent and to participate voluntary in the study. Vanclay, Baines and Taylor (2013 :246) confirm that “participation should be the voluntary choice of the participants and should be based on sufficient information and an adequate understanding of the research and the consequences of their participation.” There was a meeting that was held on 3 November and 23 December 2019 wherein the objectives of the research were explained. The interim and permanent PRAT, respectively, were elected at this meeting. The objectives of these two meetings were to brief the community about the study and explain to them that some members might be selected to participate in the study in the form of being part of the key informant interviewees and focus group discussions. It was explained at this meeting that people were not forced to participate and they could withdraw at any time during the course of the research. One participant did not arrive during the Magquzamane focus group, although he had agreed that he was going to participate. I learnt that community members do not like to say no as an answer but will find excuses if they do not want to participate.

Before the actual interview or focus group discussions, people were contacted by cell phone and those that could not be contacted were visited the day before. It was explained to them that they can voluntarily participate and withdraw at any time if they wish so. During the actual interview, the information letter was read out and or participants who could read were asked to read the information letter (Appendix 9) and later were asked to sign the consent form (Appendix 10).

5.13.3 Respect for participants and community

I demonstrated respect for the community and community protocols. Some participants shared during the evaluation of the intervention programme that everybody and their views were respected during the research and their views were taken seriously. For example, during the women’s focus group session, some women requested to sit on the grass mat as well as sitting on the left-hand side of the rondavel; this was respected. This is significant because chairs were available but the researcher chose to respect community protocols and let participants to observe community protocols. If these protocols are not respected and or observed, these might lead to the participants pulling out of the research project or requesting the traditional authority to completely withdraw from the study. Furthermore, during the

AVP workshop some participants could even eat in front of their in-laws. Some could not even be included in the same group with their in-laws. This was accepted as well.

5.13.4 Anonymity and confidentiality

The Njobokazi study presents very sensitive information, including information that could incriminate some of the participants. Some information demonstrates graphic information about how various groups attacked one another and killed one another. There is a need for people to remain anonymous and ensure that information is kept confidential. Vanclay, Baines and Taylor (2013: 247) concur that “anonymity and confidentiality are important because they ensure that all private or personal matters or views shared will be protected and there will be no adverse consequences to any person who share his or her views. This means that a person must not be harmed as a result of their participation.”

Pseudonyms were used, but familiar family Njobokazi surnames are used as pseudonyms, except in chapter two, which deals with the historical and background information, where real names and surnames of people are used. This was agreed with the PRAT members as otherwise it would distort the history of the violence. Some of the information is public, published in the newspapers, TRC reports and government documents. Chapter two does not deal with sensitive information.

Interviews of key informant were conducted in a private space where there was no one watching, eavesdropping, and or listening. There were participants who also requested not to be audio-recorded and this request was heeded respected. Even transcribing was conducted in a private room and earphones were used in the process. The hard copies and written materials of the data are kept in locked cupboard and I am the only one who has access to it. The data will be disposed following DUT data disposal policy or procedure.

5.13.5 Feedback of results

As part of the respect for the community and research participants, participants need to get feedback on the results. The findings were shared with the PRAT and these findings were further discussed in the AVP Healing of Memories workshop. A final community meeting was called on 28th September 2022 where the results of the research were presented. One copy of research report will be donated to two local libraries, Njobokazi library and MaMdekazi Library as well electronic version of this

report will be given to Durban University of Technology (DUT). Durban University of Technology will display the final report on its website and hard copies will be available at its libraries.

5.13.6 COVID 19 ethical considerations

I did not make any decision relating to Covid 19 restrictions when the study was conceived and rolled out in 2018 because there was no Covid at a time. Covid 19 ethical considerations were considered in March 2020 when the virus hit South Africa for the first time. The observance of covid 19 protocols like ensuring that people wear masks, sanitise and respect social distancing and these were some of the protocols that were incorporated after March 2020 in order to implement and roll out the research. The researcher and PRAT did not want to put research participants at risk. Buckle (2021: 433) reminds us that “the pandemic has had vast global impacts... Due to these extreme circumstances, conducting research at this time can have unforeseen challenge.”

5.14 Conclusion

The methodology chapter has presented how data was collected, analysed and shared with the community. It has also demonstrated the variety of methods utilised to collect data from various sources. The utilisation of various methods ensured that triangulation was a reality, making findings more reliable and valid. The issues of validity and reliability were considered and corresponding examples explaining how they were practically utilised during the study. The chapter has presented challenges that the research team encountered during the course of the study. It has also presented ethical considerations and the challenges encountered when these considerations were being observed.

Chapter 6

Community reflections on Njobokazi violence and peace building

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings are in response to the following research question: How does violence operate in Njobokazi? In addition, it addresses what was learnt about the fragile efforts to build peace in the past. The information gathered assisted to unearth and provide answers by describing what went on in the area. The information came as result of conducting key informant interviews, observing community meetings, focus group interviews, transect walk, PRAT meetings and field notes.

The analysis was made using a thematic method of analysis, where data was categorised into various themes. The following themes will be discussed in this chapter:

1	Memories of peaceful community life
2	Njobokazi within a broader context of violence
3	Njobokazi engulfed by the spirit and impacts of violence
4	Warrior culture, ubunsizwa and brutality
5	Violence as the solution to violence: normalisation
6	The revolving door of violence
7	Targeting and killing of key leaders
8	Division of family members and family blocs
9	Izinkabi: The production of hit men
10	The gendered nature of violence
11	Relation of other crimes to the Njobokazi community violence
12	Strategies to stop war and build peace – and their limitations

Table 6.1 Themes from the initial data exploration

After presentation of these themes, the chapter will set out their significance in informing the selection of the intervention then undertaken. As a result, the researcher will be able to develop an intervention that is attuned to deal with Njobokazi's violent conflict.

6.2 Memories of peaceful community life

Residents had been embroiled in the devastating faction fighting and political violence and displaced from their own village. However, the community members residing in Njobokazi still hoped that their village would revert back to normality. There is an overall impression amongst research respondents that this had been a good and peaceful place where people were ploughing and had strong families. Initially Njobokazi had been seen as a village where culture and discipline was promoted. There were no criminal activities in the area. Most participants interviewed who lived in Njobokazi had loved the village.

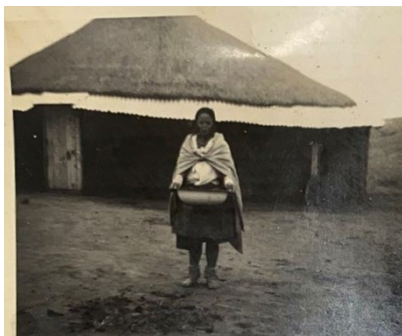


Figure 6.1 Njobokazi in peaceful times

Njobokazi people had goats, cows, chickens, sheep, and houses. Although there were very few people who owned cars and trucks, as part of the community infrastructure there were churches, schools, dipping tanks and a few shops.

Key informant interviewee Buthelezi (October 2019) added that living in Njobokazi and was nice and everything was happening according to Zulu culture. There were standing Zulu rules and protocols at Njobokazi. The community relied on traditional way of doing things, for example, when goats, sheep and cows have been slaughtered, the whole community celebrates:

I love this village, which belonged to UMthaniya. As a sign that we love this place and it is nice, we fled to uMbumbulu and later came back because we were born here and we are committed to make this village peaceful (men's focus group participant, January 2020).

Key informant interviewee Ngubane (October 2019) commented that:

We were ploughing and had cows and goats. We had fields and grazing land. In Njobokazi, we did not have funeral policies (Umasingcwabisane), people worked together to ensure that the departed were buried. People were contributing and bringing cooked food to the deceased

family. People who were vulnerable and who could not fend for themselves were assisted in the community.

All that had been dislodged by faction fighting and political violence.

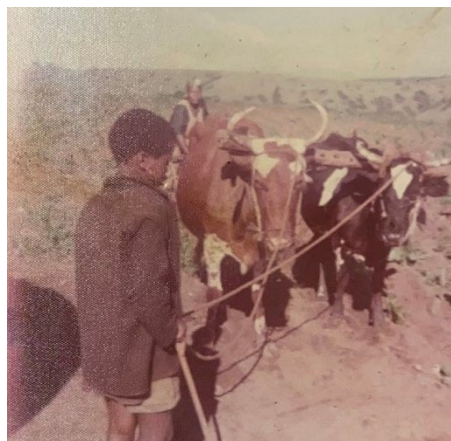


Figure 6.2 Ploughing before the violence of the later 1900s

6.3 Njobokazi within a broader context of violence

The violence within Njobokazi was related to the broader social violence described in chapter 1. However, Njobokazi is and was surrounded by fighting villages which had their own faction fighting and elements of political violence. This has entrenched the culture of violence in region. Violence in Njobokazi was linked to similar violence that was taking place in the region, for example, in Zwelibomvu, uMbumbulu, Ntshongweni and Hammarsdale (De Haas 2019). This complicated matters, because people from these regions supported groups who were fighting in the region and would lend regiments to fight and or lend each other guns and weapons. Key informant interviewee Shezi (September 2019) said that his group requested support from other villages and some people procured weapons for them. During the mid-80s Khwelas were fighting with Magcabas, in uMbumbulu Makhanya was fighting with Embo, in Hammarsdale there was political violence.

Participants shared that people who have been defeated in Njobokazi and resettled in different places, which made the defeated group difficult to regroup. For example, during the Shoji-Hlengwa faction fighting, the Shoji group that was defeated settled in numbers at Mkhizwane, Ntshangwe, Ndwedwe (Thafamasi), Maphephetheni and other areas. Other groups that had been defeated afterwards settled at Nkandla (Mpumalanga Township), Ntshongweni and Hammarsdale. These groups were

Msende IFP group and Mpisi group. The Mkhize group settled in Hammarsdale whereas the other Shozi group resettled in uMbumbulu at Ntinyane village.

As people left Njobokazi, this conflict then involved neighbouring areas such as Zwelibomvu, uMbumbulu, which were also engulfed by violence. People from fighting villages would garner support in order to strengthen their army (Impi). The Shozi supported certain sections of uMbumbulu and Zwelibomvu; likewise the Hlengwa group supported other groupings in those areas. This led to faction fighting across the region in 1985; scores of people died and many more people were injured.

The entire region was engulfed by violence and this reinforced the notion of building alliances with various groups who would support a particular faction in terms of supplying warriors to fight, supplying fighting warriors, exchanging of machine guns and military knowledge.

6.4 Njobokazi engulfed by the spirit and impacts of violence

The people who lived at Njobokazi had strong views about the violence. There is not even a single one who supports what happened; even people who were leading various factions and different political parties did not support the gruesome violence. People had intense feelings about the Njobokazi faction fighting, the political violence and the process that was followed to attain peace. At the beginning, from the early 1900s to 1937, the village was relatively peaceful. Then, according to the language frequently used in focus group discussions and key informant interviews, people felt that 'Satan engulfed the area', because they did not see and understand what had happened and the things that they ended up fighting for were not worth the bloodbath that engulfed the area. Almost all participants conceded that they had been stupid to engage in the gruesome violence. They all agreed that almost all the issues that were the main cause made them to fight are issues that could have been resolved through dialogue rather than resolved through the barrel of a gun. They were very emotional about what happened and counted the cost of violence in terms of social capital, development, economy and other issues.

The violence had devastating effects, affecting all community members who were residing at Njobokazi. The violence destroyed social wealth and social capital. The ultimate price that everybody paid was to leave the area and emigrated to other parts of the province.

In a very emotional state, one participant shared during the January 2020 men's focus group that:

Both political and faction violence destroyed the area and many people died. Our lives would have been very far by now. I do not like to see violence occurring again in this community. Our lives were violated. Violence really pulled us down. We are affected psychologically, mentally, socially and emotionally; we are all injured. We ended up schooling in foreign places and I ended up schooling in Clermont in 1992. This is very painful. As children we lost opportunities of furthering secondary education. Young people lost years of schooling and ended up dropping out of school.

6.4.1 Death and injury toll

The most devastating aspect of the violent conflict is that so many people lost their lives and some ended up being disabled. Scores of people were injured, some became disabled, and some even lost their limbs and eyes. There were people who died during the violence. Participants provided a depressing state of affairs, that the measure of the winning side would be the number of bodies that the winning side would have killed from their opponents' side. The higher the number of people killed, the more powerful was the side that did the killing. This encouraged all sides to launch fierce fights that ensured that their opponents were killed in large numbers. Thus far, the death count is at about 150 people for all the fights combined, the majority of whom were males. The mass graves are painful reminders of the impact of violence that took place.

Key informant interviewee Buthelezi (November 2019) asserts that violence was terrible and people lost their lives. People's cows were stolen and slaughtered. Some people lost their jobs because they were afraid that if they go to work, they might be killed. Attackers would wait for them whilst coming to work and kill them.

Vulnerable groups like women and young children also died or were killed, for example, there were two young boys which came from ANC Meyiwa family aged at the time 11 and 13 years, who were killed.

6.4.2 Persistence of violent memories

The impact of the loss of life, division of family members, destruction of property and injury of different individuals imposed emotional stress and psychological impact on the community. An element that contributes to the persistence of violence is the traumatic memory of past hurts that fed into enmity. Participants during the women's

focus group in January 2020 said that they become emotional and tearful when they think about what happened in their community. The memories of their land, relatives that lost their lives, belongings that they lost and opportunities that they lost because of violence. Participants shared that they would need to deal with these memories.

Adding the sentiments of the general feeling of the Njobokazi and residents, key informant interviewee Meyiwa (February 2020) said that:

I feel sad, emotional because people who left Njobokazi are ill-treated wherever they went or immigrated to. Some could not come back but those people who left Njobokazi are always called immigrants and foreigners (Abantu bokufika).

6.4.3 Loss of community and personal property

Njobokazi people had goats, cows, chickens, sheep, and houses. Although there were very few people who owned cars and trucks, as part of the community infrastructure there were churches, schools, dipping tanks and few shops.

Participants shared that people lost their homes, livestock, their belongings and some people had to resign from work fearing that their enemies would follow them and kill them. Violence brought poverty to the community in the form of losing work and losing livelihoods.

Infrastructure was also destroyed. Observations and the transect walk laid bare how the infrastructure was destroyed, for example, the Faya Primary School building is now invisible and the Roman Catholic Church building is completely flattened. The cow-dipping tank was destroyed. In Magquzumane, the Dlidli secondary school was completely destroyed and has now been turned into a private boarding school. The Mbutho primary school was destroyed but has been renovated and reopened.



Figure 6.3 Ruins of former Roman Catholic church

Houses were destroyed, livestock was stolen and those who left was moved to new areas. Families and community sources of livelihood were destroyed, women could not plough, and that indirectly brought poverty to the families. This was coupled with the fact that some men resigned from work fearing that they might be killed. This violence affected Njobokazi people economically, psychologically and emotionally. The conflict transformation theory identifies one of the its four dimensions as Lederach (2007: 18) notes that “conflict impacts systems and structures – how relationships are recognized, and who has access to power – from family and organisations to communities and whole societies.”



Figure 6.4 Remains of Fayi Primary School

There are instances where specific groups have stolen property from other group and keep these as their belongings. After the fight or violence has ended, the other members would approach people who had stolen their property and claim it back. For example, during the Shozu-Hlengwa faction fighting, a certain Mbili woman went to claim her stolen bed from a certain family member.

6.4.4 Enmity

Research findings demonstrate the continuation of deep feelings of enmity; often the cause for violent conflict was being two or more people who have quarrelled over something. The hatred was limited to those people; people who were supporting the warring groups or individuals did not hate one another. But during the period of the

actual fighting, members of the community could not go to the other party of the village to visit relatives or pass through to go to the city or shops. School children could not go to school if the school fell on the other side.

A question was posed during key informant interviews and focus group discussions, on how to build trust to ensure that there is forgiveness, healing and reconciliation. One key informant interviewee puts it crisply: Shezi (September 2019) answered that people who were fighting each other do not hate one another because they never had an issue with one another. Hence, the political violence and or faction fighting was something that involved everybody and the entire community. Once the violence is over, there was no overall hatred amongst the members of the and Njobokazi. There are few incidents where some members of the community had personal problems with one another due to the fact that they knew whether they killed their family members or violated their family members.

So generally, Njobokazi people did not hate one another but the fight would be triggered by various things and would lead particular individuals to support a particular group. Currently there is no hatred amongst those members who were not responsible for starting the fight, as they have fought before and there is an understanding that this was faction fighting and political violence. In some instances where family members are aware who killed their next of kin, they would find it difficult to forgive perpetrators.

6.4.5 Abandoning the area

The nature of violence and its devastating impact forced people to flee the area. People were displaced on a large scale. The fighting that took place between Shozis and Mkhizes was the last one and very devastating. Both sides left the area. Inkosi Mlaba Zibuse (November 2019) when interviewed stated that the violence was terrible as scores and scores of Njobokazi and residents moved to KwaMlaba village and these people had lost their property and their belongings, and some were injured.

The situation was untenable and many people lived in fear. Men and women who were in hiding had to look over their shoulders when they go to work or doing daily tasks. One participant said during the men's focus group discussions (January 2020) that:

During the conflict we had to endure the following, sometimes their enemies would look for you in your place of work. When you enter or leave your place of work; you always stay vigilant because you know that they can come to attack you any time. You must make sure that the

place that you hide in, your enemies would not find it and they must not know where you are hiding. Therefore, you must be careful that no one sees you because if they do see you, you must change the place of hiding because, it is obvious that they would come to attack you.

Key informant interviewee Zibuse Mlaba (November 2019) informed us that:

My experience relates to the violence in Njobokazi because I was still working in Hammarsdale with people from Njobokazi and I could sense the fear of people whom I was working with. This was evident when they were getting to work in the morning and leaving the place of employment in the afternoon and some had to resort to sleeping inside the factory. This was caused by the fact that those who have fled Njobokazi and areas were attacked in their places of refugee and work.

Key informant interviewee Msomi (November 2019) contends that he thinks of the faction fighting in 1985 that killed Ntshoshe Shoji, who was one of the leaders of the Shoji group. This faction fighting caused the Shoji-Ediphini, Shoji-Edotsheni, Shoji-Ezimkhulu, eMfeni and some Osuthu residents to leave the area and the Hlengwa side remained triumph. After the attack, the Shoji side was driven out of Njobokazi and the Hlengwa side occupied the Shoji territory, which made it difficult for the Shoji side to return to their houses or homesteads. Research findings indicate that Hlengwa side sent a message to Shoji side to leave the area of Njobokazi for good and informed them to never come back. The violence was terrible; scores of Njobokazi residents moved to KwaMlaba village; these people had lost their property and their belongings (Zibuse Mlaba, November 2019).

6.4.6 Chronic violence

These findings, taken together, are evidence of a situation of chronic violence. Adams (2012: 3) argues that “chronic violence occurs in contexts in which levels of violence are measured across three dimensions of intensity, space and time.” To understand the violence in the area of Njobokazi and it is notable that one ostensible form of violence seems to flow into another. What was faction fighting became political violence, what was political violence became violence related to resources (e.g. taxi wars). Adams (2012: 18) adds that “chronic violence is driven by diverse and deeply entrenched forces, is embedded and reproduced in multi-social spaces, and can be transmitted intergenerationally.” Since social learning theory informs us that behaviour is learnt through observing, the intervention programme needed to ensure that it would

provide ways of working from which the community of Njobokazi could observe and learn peaceful behaviour.

6.5 Warrior culture, ubunsizwa and brutality

Warrior culture is characterized by a conquest mentality where men have the determination to win and conquer the other group. Each faction or group would ensure that they arm themselves and mobilise friends so that they became a powerful block that would conquer the opposing side. This mentality means that enemies need to be eliminated. In most cases, those who are supposed to be eliminated are key leaders in the community and warriors. Those who are defeated need to leave the area. Likewise, the conquest mentality meant that those who are defeated should pack, go and leave the area for good because, if the winning side does not do that, the losing side could regroup, restrategy and attack again. The strategy used by all winning sides was to drive the losing side out of Njobokazi and to ensure that they resettle somewhere. Carton and Morrell (2012: 31) argue that “Zulu soldiers are renowned for decimating a British army at the Battle of Isandlwana in 1879. This military victory not only entrenched a legacy of merciless conquest long attributed to King Shaka, but also sensationalised the idea that Zulu men are natural-born killers.”

The men’s focus group (January 2020) advised that sometimes you undermine people and you would think that they do not have strong masculinities or do not possess fighting power or they are not warriors (Izinsizwa) enough; however, when you fight with them, they end up defeating you. People should realise that anyone who is intelligent, possesses strong men’s qualities. He is an insizwa (warrior) as well.

These were minor issues, which could be resolved. However, because of ego, warrior mentality, warriors wanted to be seen as a warriors and powerful beings. These people were not prepared to resolve their differences peacefully (Mlaba Zibuse, November 2019).

The following are key elements of this culture. Study findings indicate that the warrior culture causes men to be intolerant. There was intolerance where members of the community did not respect each other’s political choices. The ANC and IFP political violence in the area came as result of members refusing to accept each other’s political parties. There was a culture in Njobokazi where people who have quarrelled over something would not tolerate each other’s views, actions or advice. Political fighting

occurred because people could not tolerate that other people were supporting a different political party or faction (key informant interviewee Msomi, November 2019).

Stubbornness (Banenkani futhi abatsheleki) was displayed in almost all the Njobokazi violent conflicts. Njobokazi and structures could not be persuaded by facts and evidence to abandon their fighting trajectory; when they have decided to attack the other group, they do so regardless. Alternatively, they would stubbornly pursue the decision besides the majority prevailing views.

For example, the Makhanya traditional authority installed Jani Shozi as induna but the majority of people were not satisfied with this decision. The Shozi family was divided over the issue. The community did not have a consensus on the matter. Even if the authorities wanted to elect him to the chieftainship position should have reached through peaceful means imbued with consensus (key informant interviewee, Gwala, 2019). Although there were pros and cons of installing or not installing Jani Shozi, the traditional authority and Mpumalanga magistrate court should have considered the issue of peace. Likewise, the conflict between Malayi Mthethwa and Mpisi Mthethwa showed the characteristic of stubbornness when the matter was considered in all the traditional structures and magistrate court.

6.5.1 *ubunsizwa*

Most of the participants and respondents cited a form of strong masculinity as the most powerful root cause that drove men to fight at Njobokazi. *Ubunsizwa* is the term used to refer to the masculinity that drives rural men to believe that no one will conquer them. Key informant Gasheni (January 2020) said “It is a problem to deal with strong masculinities (*ubunsizwa*) but as things move, people have realized and experienced where this *ubunsizwa* syndrome led them to at the end. Sometimes you undermine people and you will think that they do not have strong masculinities or they are not *izinsizwa* when you fight with them end up defeating you.” Morrell (1998: 10) argues that such a “masculinity is a reaction against passivity and powerlessness and, with it comes a repression of all desires and traits that a given society defines as negatively passive or as resonant of passive experiences. In South Africa we have ample evidence of both responses to men's vulnerability. In the case of the former we see violence against women, business rivals (for example, taxi wars), political opponents and sometimes anybody who is a reminder of past oppressions or humiliations.”

6.5.2 Brutality of the violence

The study findings reveal that Njobokazi political violence and faction fighting was very brutal, for example, it is common knowledge in the community that Bhekani Gwala was stabbed with an assegai and was never buried. Furthermore, Msende Gwala's private parts were cut off and were left under the cliff and his wife had to go to pick them up. This indicates the graphic and brutal nature of the violence.

Families have accepted the situation and said that if you opt to go and fight during political violence and faction fighting, you must also accept that your child or relative might be killed as well (key informant interviewee Hlambisa September 2019).

Furthermore, when Mansense Ngubane was killed during the Shoji-Mkhize violence, his head was cut off and his family buried him without his head. Although the family is sad and emotionally affected by this matter they stated that they have since forgiven the killers because they are aware that he also went to fight.

6.6 Violence as the solution to violence: normalisation

There was a culture of violence; young boys were socialized to be fighters through stick fighting. Men would fight during traditional ceremonies. The level of acceptance of violence was indicated when community members spoke as if they understood that dying in the battlefield is normal because you have gone to fight and you become unlucky and die.

Galtung's concept of cultural violence (1990) does not paint a whole culture as violent but identifies the ways in which elements of culture legitimise violence. The culture of violence in Njobokazi includes both the 'cultural violence' of the language and legitimisation of violence and the direct and structural violence that relate to that legitimisation. The element of this culture that most directly demonstrates this is that insulting names of people, dogs and goats demonstrated a community which is in a fighting mode. Confortini (2006: 339) reminds us that "cultural, structural, and personal violence are the three corners of a violence triangle, which is meant to graphically illustrate that all types of violence breed each other in many ways and that violence reproduces itself across all dimensions." Confortini (2006: 339) further adds that cultural violence, can be found in all areas of social life (religion, law, ideology, science, etc.); it serves as a legitimizing factor for both direct and structural violence, as it

“motivates] actors to commit direct violence or [it] omit[s] counteracting structural violence”; and it can be either intended or unintended.”

The culture and cycle of violence was depicted through language. The language of war was prominent in the community. Families gave names to their children that were associated with war. Even names of people, goats and dogs were linked to war. These names included the following people's names Sibabangayiphi (Why are we fighting), Makhalempi (spaces of war), Vikezakhe (Shield your own fighting sticks), Muntuwenkani (A person who is stubborn and or who likes to fight), Ndukushaya (the stick must always fight), Funimpi (searching for war), Vusimpi (start the war), and Dlokodla (incite violence). Dillabough (2004) in York (2014: 59) postulates that “masculine domination is embodied in languages, texts, knowledge, policies and human practices, and thus, these forms of domination are neutralized to such an extent that they become unconscious and sometimes unrecognizable.” Furthermore, Ngubane and Thabethe (2013: 1) argue that “personal naming in any society is not detached from the socio-cultural environment. Rather, personal naming and culture are inextricably linked to socio-political conditions at any historical moment.” During traditional ceremonies and or during funeral, when a man has died, regimental ballads (Amahubo empi noma izaga) are sung. These regimental ballads encouraged people to fight.

Inkatha Freedom Party supporters indicated during the research that they were called othelweni (derogatory terms referring to Inkatha supporters as people who always spoil the party or seen as misguided people). Inkatha members had derogatory terms for ANC supporters as well.

Cultural violence is an intrinsic part of the ongoing cycle of violence. Shaik (2005) in Khuzwayo (2013: 45) describes “the cycle of violence by emphasising that exposure to violence leads to extreme fear, hurt and anger.” Khuzwayo (2013) further adds that “if the person is not supported after the violence, one of the three things may happen; the anger may be taken out (displaced) onto others, for example in the form of domestic violence, sexual violence.” Khuzwayo (2013) adds that “the anger may grow inside the person and turn into hatred and desire for revenge. This is common where a person's dignity has been damaged, and where close family have been attacked or killed.” The cycle of violence then continues.

Whenever Njobokazi members had a problem they reacted to it violently. The study found that there is a practice of solving problems through violence, hence the theme of violence as the solution to violence. Social learning theory becomes relevant in understanding why people would always want to solve their problems through violence. If you want to be warrior captain you must be able to be an acute and sharp fighter. People in the area did not want to be led by a person who is seen as a coward.

Violence in Njobokazi was complex, gruesome and problematic. The community thrived on violence. The village was led through the culture of violence and culture of fear. If there was an argument between two individuals and or these individuals could not see eye to eye, this was resolved through fighting. In some instances, family members would split and fight in support of different groups or factions. Even issues that could be resolved through dialogue but were resolved through violence and fighting. This is not to say that all conflicts were resolved through fighting because there were some that were resolved through dialogue but in the main conflicts were resolved through violence.

What contributed to using violence as a remedy to solve problems was that families who have given birth to lot of boys would boast about them and see themselves as people who have a strong army that would help them to continue instigating violence and becoming powerful.

One interesting aspect is that school had not been seen as an oasis of peace. During focus group discussions, focus group participants kept on referring to their school experience, saying they hope the focus group discussions were not going to resemble that experience which were going to ask them for the 'right answers'. Even in a context where violence is everywhere, school was experienced as violence. This is striking, given the evidence of how deeply entrenched violence is within South African schooling (Burton and Leoschut 2013, Mncube and Harber 2013).

6.7 The revolving door of violence

To understand the violence in the area, the ostensible form of violence needs to be considered. What was faction fighting became political violence, what was political violence became violence related to resources (e.g. taxi wars). There was sometimes a hybrid type of violence which included both political and faction fighting. For example, Mangquzumane had fought with eZimbokodweni and eZimbokodweni had

fought with Mabhezeni people. Hence, Njobokazi faction fighting and political violence presents a revolving door of violence that had different manifestations like Kasbhadamu Mzulwini faction fighting (Shozi and Roma war, 1956), Embo-Njobokazi war (1939), Hlengwa-Shozi (1982), Mpisi-Malayi war (ANC-IFP, 1991), ANC-Inkatha war (1989) and Shozi-Mkhize war (1992). Secondly Khuzwayo (2013) adds that the anger may grow inside the person, and thirdly turn into hatred and desire for revenge. This is common where a person's dignity has been damaged, and where close family member has been attacked or killed.

The difficulty of pinning down the violence into categories such as 'faction fighting' is that the violence could take new turns, with faction fighting transmuting into political violence and in turn into taxi violence.

6.8 Targeting and killing of key leaders

A specific aspect of the Njobokazi violence was the target and killing of key leaders. Key leaders were killed and this led community members being law unto themselves. For example, it is common knowledge that the following leaders were killed: Muntuwenkani Buthelezi, Zikhonzele Shozi, and Msende Gwala and many more. These people were respected in the area and had the capacity and skills to broker peace. Targeting these leaders ensured that there were no leaders who would assist with the peace process. Some weak leaders who tried to broker peace were called cowards and ended up abandoning their peace initiatives. The killing of these leaders contributed and or made it difficult for the conflict to be resolved. Participants shared an example on how Zikhonzele Shozi was killed:

Zikhonzele Shozi (who was headman for eZimbokodweni, Ediphini, Dlangezwa and Emfeni) was requested by the Ediphini group to attend a meeting which was going to be held at KwaShezi (Chobo's house). Induna Qaphela was also invited but refused to go. However, Zikhonzele Shozi went and was stabbed to death by a known assailant (key informant interviewee Gwala). It is common knowledge that the following people were arrested and convicted for killing Zikhonzele Shozi: Mlima Shozi (Xhawulani), Mkalo Zimu, Fede Hlengwa, Bhelukwenza Shozi, Nkalibe Shozi and Ndlwembi Shozi. They were sentenced to eight years but released after serving four years in prison.

Most participants stated that the death of Zikhonzelwe marked the beginning of problems in the community and divided the community to this very day. His death divided the Shozi family.

One impact of the killing of leaders was that there was no level of leadership that could pick up the challenges of underdevelopment, as community members were naturally reluctant to put themselves forward. It is a reason why there is only a middle range of leadership and grassroots leadership. This is the reason the researcher struggled to interact with the top level of leadership.

6.9 Division of family members and family blocs

There are instances where violence divided family members, when different family members supported different warring factions and political parties. According to the data, families that were divided included Shozi, Hlengwa, Msomi, Mkhize, Meyiwa, Khomo, Cele, Ngubane, Gwala, Buthelezi, Mthethwa, Mabasa, Ndimande; the list is endless. In some instances, close family members were in the forefront of spying on and killing their own family members who supported different groups. Some family members were not able to visit or bury their close family members because they belonged to opposing warring factions or groups. This destroyed families and relationships within families and community social cohesion.

Terms such as faction fighting and political violence tend to give the impression of different groups consistently set against each other, one family against another family, and so on. However, the division went deeper than that, setting brother against brother often in brutal conflict. An important implication is that this deprived family members of a sense of having any safe space, as people became alienated from members of their own families.

In contrast, a few families remained internally cohesive and imposed themselves on others, undermining them.

6.10 Izinkabi: Production of hit men

The ongoing conflict has produced fighters, leaders of warriors who plan and execute these fights. When the violence had ended, if these people have not been demilitarised they would want to continue fighting elsewhere. The impact of this violence is that Njobokazi's violent conflict have produced hit men, which are used in other parts of KwaZulu-Natal and beyond. Key informant interviewee Meyiwa (September 2019)

added that most people who fought in Njobokazi had learnt the skills of killing and shooting. These people are hired elsewhere to kill other people (Izinkabi). During the late 90s, a case involved Njobokazi men who were arrested after they had attacked someone inside the Durban High Court. Goldstone (2010) who states that Phineas Meyiwa and Maxwell Ngubane (both from Njobokazi) were hired to kill a taxi owner, Muzi Khumalo, who was on trial for the murder of taxi owner Moses Gcaba and his father Simon. Goldstone (2010) further states that Ngubane and Meyiwa were involved in the case following a shootout at Durban High Court on May 21, 1998, during which five people including SAPS sergeant Craig van Zyl of the Durban Dog Unit were killed and six people injured. On October 5, 1998, Ngubane and Meyiwa were given three life terms plus another 60 and 75 years, respectively, for the killings. Key informants' interviewees have shared during discussions that Ngubane had since died in prison and Meyiwa has been released on parole.

Furthermore, most key informant interviewees indicated that taxi violence that is currently engulfing Zwelibomvu and Hammarsdale/Mpumalanga also involved some warriors from Njobokazi. Learning to be violent in Njobokazi has impacted far beyond the area, with negative consequences for the whole society.

6.11 The gendered nature of violence

The violent conflict in Njobokazi took a gendered dimension, with sharply differing expectations on women and on men. Women tended to underplay their both sufferings and their role during the fighting. Women did not share their sufferings with their families but suffered a lot. Some women lost husbands or boy children, observed their children not going to school, lost property and sometimes were ridiculed by men from the other factions. As this section will show, however, women played a role in delivering messages to the opposite side about violence and issues of peace building. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1998: 315) reports that "while many women told the Commission of what happened to them, thousands came to the Commission to tell of what had happened to others-to their husbands, their children, their parents and their friends. These women tended to underplay the suffering that they had themselves experienced as witnesses and survivors of these tragedies."

6.11.1 Boys and their socialisation

Fighting was only allocated to men, and women were not supposed to fight, though there were instances where teenage girls would fight in their places of work. The socialisation of boys around stick fighting is a good example of how one applies social learning theory. The young boys' upbringing was based on observing the violence that was revolving around them. Ntuli (Interview, 1996) cited in Coetzee (2002) postulates that "Zulu stick fighting provides an opportunity for men to build courage and skill, to distinguish themselves as proficient warriors, and to earn respect in the community." Furthermore, Carton and Morrell (2012:31) assert that "in South Africa stick fighting has long been a popular form of peer-based male socialisation. Zulu boys in the countryside are among the keen exponents of this martial recreation, which moved with migrant labourers into urban areas by the twentieth century. Many stick fighters, particularly those in rural communities, revel in a sport that evokes the challenges of future manhood and glories of bygone battlefields."

The young boys would be trained through stick fighting and would fight the other young boys from the opposing faction. Carton and Morrell (2012: 40) report that "Ndukwana elaborated on the dimensions of male socialisation underlying this responsibility: 'Boys. (Little boys) [sic] would go out with boys who herded calves, and so learn.'" Carton and Morrell (2012) add that even a small boy carries his stick. It would be cut for him by his elder brother. Hence, the stick served as a signifier of generational deference and homestead security; only under certain fleeting circumstances did it symbolise something martial. Unlike their neighbouring Xhosa and Sotho counterparts, Zulu boys did not enter manhood after a painful rite of teenage circumcision. Instead, they crossed another 'ceremonial' threshold over a longer period through cohort-based, rule-bound competitions like stick fighting. This culture of violence has been passed on from generation to generation (from elderly people to young people).

6.11.2 Domestic duties

The violence in Njobokazi further took a gendered role where women played a supportive role. Gender roles and division of labour were switched where women assumed work of men during times of fighting. Normally, women of Njobokazi would collect wood, get water from the river, raise children, wash clothes for everyone, cook and do other ordinary domestic duties. Men would work in town, milk the cows, do

hunting as a sport and look after cattle. Over and above performing their own responsibilities, women would during the conflict take over men's duties as well.

Cheldelin and Mutisi (2016:119) confirm that "during conflict, gender roles are profoundly disrupted and, in the process, they are opened up for reconstitution and the strategies that women deployed were part of the wider conflicts that allowed for the interrogating of existing and pre-existing constructs." In relation to the cultural dimension of the conflict transformation theory, Lederach et al. (2007: 18) argue that violent conflict causes deep-seated cultural changes, for example, the norms that guide patterns of behaviour between elders and youth, or women and men.

Carlton and Morrell (2012) posit that raising livestock (mainly goats and cows) was largely the domain of males, while crop cultivation was mostly the responsibility of females. Boys watched over herds, passing the time by sparring with sticks. The change of gender roles is an interesting observation because it challenges patriarchal tendencies that women cannot perform certain tasks. Cheldelin and Mutisi (2016: 108) note that "violent conflict entails social upheaval, which impacts on all sectors and spheres of society.

6.11.3 Women as spies

Women with relatives on the opposite side were not trusted and sometimes seen as spies. Key informant interviewee Gumede (November 2019) stated that, when men were talking about faction fighting or political violence, women were chased away. Gumede further stated that men believed that women are liars and spies and should not form part of the discussions of planning and execution of attacks. However, she was quick to mention that this was prevalent during faction fighting but less during political violence, when women formed part of the discussions but were excluded from the actual fighting. Despite the general agreement that women would not be targets of the conflicts, there were instances where women were shot due to the fact were seen as spies. Some women were accused of spying and sharing critical and intelligent information with the opposing side and even killed if they were in love with someone from the opposing side.

6.11.4 Women as peace builders

Women formed an integral part of the Njobokazi community. It is important to note that women were not involved or invited in the peace-making and peace building

discussions – nor were they allowed to fight. Whenever women tried to ask men about violence, men used to dismiss them.

Men were not telling us what should happen. Why were they fighting? But as women because we were concerned about the impact of the violence, we would in our corners confide to our husbands and boyfriends that they must stop fighting, but men would never listen. (key informant interview Shozi October 2019).

Women were not involved in the planning and execution of the fight. But one woman indicated that woman had a chance to influence the discussion when they interacted with their husbands or stop the fight. Beyene (2019: 260) states that “women have roles in conflict resolution, women played a counseling role to their husbands, brothers, sons and their relatives and friends.” They further indicated that when women saw that lives were lost and property was destroyed, children were not going to school, women used their power to flee the area and their families and husbands had to follow them. Men could not continue fighting because they needed women to give them food and look after cattle.

Women’s appearance and bodies symbolized peace and when a woman had said no, no one would continue to fight or kill someone. Inkosi Chiliza said in one of the radio interviews that during faction fighting women were not touched when straddled between two fighting groups because they were regarded as sacred. He said that during faction fighting it was a shame to kill women and this was avoided in all costs.

There was a feud between the uMzimkhulu and Sisuzo boys (men), as one of the key informants shared that Wu Shozi was badly hit by the uMzimkhulu faction but Wu’s sister Gijo Shozi saved him and straddled over his body and prevented him from being killed by the Mkhize and uMzimkhulu group. This was respected before and no one was supposed to touch or stab a man when a woman has straddled over his body (key informant interviewee Msomi, November 2019). However, there were a few instances where women would be found in the crossfire. For example, key informant interviewee Ntuli (May 2019) reflected that:

During uMzimkhulu and Ediphini violence which happened during the Umbondo ceremony wherein the bride (Masibiya) presenting presents to the family of the bridegroom (Mobeni Shozi-Skhumbehe’s brother); Mobeni Shozi, faction fighting ensued where women from the Mzimkhulu side assisted their side by throwing stones at the Diphini Faction. In addition, during

the same ceremony when MusaweNkosi and Dlokodla were fighting, a woman who straddled over his body saved Msawenkosi and Dlokodla could not kill him.

Generally, women are seen as peace makers. But during the violence in Njobokazi, women were excluded from the execution of conflict resolution and peace building discussions. If women had participated earlier, they might have come with different ideas that might have saved Njobokazi from the devastating effects of violence. Given the opportunities, women argued that they would have helped to avert the calamity that took place in Njobokazi. For example, Njobokazi women regard themselves as very strong in their localities. One woman during the women's focus group (January 2020) explained how she ensured that her husband stopped being a perpetual fighter.

That is what she said:

I am married to a person who liked to fight and if ever he had an argument with someone, he would resolve that through hitting or beating him. Even his brothers trusted him that if they had an argument or fought with someone he was always there to help them fight that person or come to their rescue. He was a good fighter and he would win almost all his stick fighting bouts.

This woman further explained:

One day I confronted him; I spoke to my husband and told him that I do not like his behaviour and informed him that I did not love a perpetrator of violence and fighter. I further told him that if he continues with beating people with no apparent reason. I would leave him and go back home. Now he is the one who will always say he does not like a person who beats and kills other people. It is clear that, after my discussion with him. He stopped doing that; even now he does not like to see our community engulfed by violence.

6.11.5 Women as communicators

There were instances where women opened up communication channels for peace building to take place. During times of conflict, women broker and link the warring sides. This happened when it was difficult for warring factions to communicate with one another, but women would play a role of mending ruined relationships. Women who have fiancées or boyfriends or close family members on the opposing sides are sent to deliver the news of a meeting or on how the violence should be resolved.

One woman shared during the women's focus group (January 2020) that one day she was brave and took public transport to Ntshongweni because there was a letter that

she received from community members where they asked her to deliver it to the warrior captain (Induna yezinsizwa) of the opposite side. The letter was proposing a meeting which should be held to discuss the peace building process.

Because of that letter the opposing sides were able to meet and start the discussions.

6.12 Relation of other crimes to the Njobokazi community violence

The nature and complexity of the Njobokazi violent conflict provided fertile ground for other individuals to exploit the opportunity and commit other crimes. Political violence and faction fighting are a crime but other people saw an opportunity to commit other crimes which were never paid much attention to, because there was chaos in the area. Almost all participants shared that political violence was accompanied by criminal acts. These criminal acts included stealing from other people's properties, killing of some few women, abuse of widows by family members, abuse of women, stock theft and burning of other people's properties.

The findings indicate that people have accepted the culture of violence and its relationship with high levels of criminality and did not even see the need to report these matters to the police or push the criminal justice and police to prosecute people who have committed these criminal activities. During the women's focus group, one woman (January 2020) indicated that she remembers the group of armed men who were burning their houses in Mabhezeni, taking cows away saying that Umboniswano (which means warriors slaughtered other people's cows and eat them without any reason. These men further smashed calabashes and plates.

Furthermore, key informant interviewee Meyiwa (October 2019) shared that during ANC/Inkatha political violence, she went to fetch Thombi Mzulwini's belongings when she found out that a faction belonging to a certain political party had stolen Thombi's goats, which were tied on the trees. She took the remaining belongings to Ntinyane. Key informant interviewee Ndimande (October 2019) adds that during the Shozi-Mkhize faction fighting, his three cows were lost or stolen. His corrugated iron was also stolen from the roof of his house.

Although both faction fighting and political violence have ended in Njobokazi, criminality is now the biggest problem. During the women's focus group, Nene (26 January 2021) stated: "From where I am sitting, I do not think that violence will ever come back. Now there is a new trend where we see young people killing each other

secretly. But this would not lead to the universal outbreak of political and faction fighting.” A major problem now in the community is stock theft, and there are now car hijackings that happen along the road heading to Pietermaritzburg and Richmond. Moreover some mutilated bodies have been found in the area, without information as to who has dumped these bodies. Key informant Mthethwa (October 2019) warns that there are people who deliberately steal electricity cables and stock in the area.

To deal with the stock theft problem, Njobokazi, and Zwelibomvu have established Isikembe, which is a vigilante group which sentence people who have been found to have stolen goats and cows through beating them. During the observation of the Isikhebe group meeting, it was obvious that this committee will inculcate the culture of violence because people who have been found guilty would be beaten up. Indeed, people who have been suspected to have stolen goats and cows were killed. There are suspects who have been charged by mob group for this crime. In relation to this crime, the Times newspaper (2020) reports that victims aged between 17 and 24 were shot dead at Zwelibomvu reserve on 26 September 2020. Information from the community indicated that the men were accused of stock theft which may have contributed to their death. The Times (2020) further reports that three men are expected to appear at the Kwandengezi magistrate’s court on 5 October 2020 for murder.

The establishment of Isikhebe by Njobokazi, and Zwelibomvu community came as result of members losing scores of goats and cows. These matters were reported to the police as a result, not even a single person has been arrested for these crimes. The failure of the police to deal with these cases forced community members, in their view, to establish Isikhebe.

6.13 Strategies to stop war, make peace and build peace

Despite this recurring pattern of violence, residents had undertaken various initiatives to stop war, make peace and build peace. These had some degree of success, but also were marked by significant limitations. Most participants indicated that the attempts to stop the fights at the beginning were superficial but became serious and genuine only after almost all people had left the community. Although there was a culture of solving problems through violence, there were also attempts made to deal with violence. However, it became clear that there were no mechanisms to prevent

violence from happening. As key informant interviewee Mabasa (October 2019) stressed, if ever there was a person who wanted to resolve the conflict they would hate him or her and call him or her a coward (Umntu owethi akuxoxwe babe mbuka kabi nokubulawa wengabulawa).

During the study, various participants shared a number of conflict resolutions and peace building initiatives that have taken place during Njobokazi's violent conflict. Accord (2015: 20) stresses this need for "strategies that are coordinated at multiple levels and across sectors, including ensuring that there are coordinated at multiple levels and across sectors, including ensuring that there is funding and proper communication and coordination mechanisms between humanitarian assistance, development, government, security and justice."

The clearest impediment to the roll out of peace building initiatives was conflict of interest. Some traditional leaders and family head would preside over issues even if they were conflicted. Key informant Khomo (2019) states that families supported their children, family members or relatives even in instances where their children were wrong (Ukuvunana yikho nje akwakuba yinkinga).

The strategies to stop, make and build peace will be discussed following the following subheadings which are, three perspectives on brokering peace, meetings initiated to broker peace, family cleansing ceremonies, and overall Njobokazi peace building initiatives.

6.13.1 Three perspectives on brokering peace

There are three perspectives on how peace came about in Njobokazi. The first view is that there were attempts to stop violence through peace building initiatives. The second view is that Njobokazi people got tired of fighting and ended the conflict. This view is supported by the fact that all groups left the area and there was no group which remained in the area. People from all sides were not interested in continuing sleeping or spending nights in the bush. The third view is that the entire community left the area and came to their senses when they were in 'exile' and wanted to return to their place of birth. This is the view that was supported by key informant interviews and focus group discussions. It suggests that the timing of the intervention was right. Ramsbotham (2007: 171) argues that "every war must end – but there are many ways in which this can happen. One side may win outright, the fighting may peter out

sporadically, or there may be a military stalemate leading to a formal peace agreement.”

The peace building process is based on the local traditional methods and most of these methods were confirmed during the key informant interviews and focus groups interviews.

It is important to note that relatives and extended family members who were separated by the violent conflict have had to reconcile and start attending each other functions, begin the process of peace making on their own and the process of burying the hatchet.

6.13.1.1 Knowledge about violence and peace

I learnt that violence in Njobokazi manifests itself at different levels. Likewise, peace building activities take place at within these pillars. This section deals with the levels at which peace building could occur; it provides some specific examples of what actually took place. The concept of “bottom-up” peacebuilding has been popularized by Lederach (1997), who argues that long-term grassroots peacebuilding is not only necessary for sustainable peace but may be the necessary starting point when official leaders are stuck in intransigent conflicting stances. Like Montville, Lederach (1997) argues that politicians may have difficulty moving toward peace without public support but adds that leaders who benefit from conflict are likely to be insensitive to the opinion of the populace anyway. Furthermore, in intra-state conflicts, top-level negotiations may be troubled by the lack of an easily identified and accessible negotiating partner who has sufficient control to guarantee that a top-level negotiated agreement will be implemented

6.13.1.1.1 Individual level

In most cases, violence erupts through two individuals who have a misunderstanding, these two individuals would either quarrel or exchange words. Most of the issues that drove violence in Njobokazi are a fight over a woman, leadership positions (including headman, leader of music group), political affiliations, ownership of shops, money and greed. The two individuals would try to handle the situation amongst themselves. In some cases, there would be two men who have a long-standing enmity but were able to discuss and resolve their own issues.

6.13.1.1.2 Family level

If the two individuals fail to resolve their matter, the family leadership intervenes. At a family level, this will include elders, close family members, prominent and respected individuals in the area. In most cases when the family is involved compensation is paid by the guilty party. The guilty party would be asked to pay a goat, chicken, cow and this would depend on the severity of the case. There is a case where a family member had a quarrel with his brother and stabbed him to death. The family discussed the matter and some family members wanted this man to be killed, applying the eye for an eye principle, but elders in the family requested that this man should be given an opportunity to apologise to his brother and subsequently cleanse the entire family with a goat. However, he was further apprehended and sentenced in the court of law. Another member shot someone and two family members discussed the matter and resolved and the other member was asked to pay a cow.

I have painfully learnt that prison sentence does not always help to resolve a problem but traditional methods should be applied to ensure that a violent act is ended and all parties are happy that they have been cleansed and the matter is resolved. This is painful, because there is a belief out there that prison sentence would help to stop violence because perpetrators would have been arrested and sentenced.

6.13.1.1.3 Traditional authority level

The traditional level is the most peace building mechanism that is used in Njobokazi. If traditional authority level is used fairly it could yield impactful results. There are various levels entrusted to deal with cases within the traditional authority. What was observed from Njobokazi situation is that most cases that ended up in fierce and brutal conflict went through three traditional authority structures. However, sometimes presiding officers were accused of being biased.

6.13.1.1.4 Warrior leaders

If conflict happens during the traditional ceremony, the immediate solver is the warrior leader and indeed in some instances, warrior leaders play a peace maker role outside traditional ceremonies and assist headmen to resolve conflict. For example, the Mthembu people attended a traditional ceremony at Gemfe Mkhize's homestead and fought with Ndimande people. The Mthembu people were from EMgoqozini. During the fight, Udindi (Dumezweni Ndimande) and Bhekizwe Shange were injured. Warrior leaders played a pivotal role in ensuring that the fight did not escalate.

After the traditional ceremony the warrior leaders, family members and traditional leaders approached the Mthembu people whom they found out in the process that Mthembus were related to the Ndimandes. The resolutions were that Mthembus should pay compensation in the form of a cow and a goat. The matter was resolved.

6.13.1.1.5 Headman level

If the matter could not be settled at the individual level or family level, the matter is escalated to traditional authority level, generally to Induna level. In the conversation with Mr Mgwegwe, it was apparent that Headman Zikhonzele Shozi convened a meeting after the Sbhadamu Mzulwini faction fighting, Zikhonzele Shozi convened a meeting where in consultation with other elders informed Njobokazi community that traditional weddings were a cause, source and trigger of faction fighting and he issued a decree that no traditional weddings would ever take place on a Saturday. All traditional weddings should take place on Friday and only the whistle blowing ceremony (IMpepe) should take place on Saturday. This was an attempt to curtail and stop faction fighting that took place during traditional weddings. Another example mentioned by key informant Zumekile Shozi (November 2019) was the fight between Dlokodla and Musawenkosi, which was resolved at the headman's house (Zikhonzele's house).

In 1989, elderly men in Gconi oSuthu and Nkunzini were concerned that there were people who went to Hammarsdale and Mpumalanga and came back to introduce political parties in the area. Headman Skotshi Khomo convened a meeting at the request of elderly men to speak to leaders of different political parties in the area to stop inciting violence or insulting one another. Although Skotshi Khomo ended up being attacked, he tried to resolve the matter. In 1991, the Malayi-Mpisi matter was referred to Mthwekani Buthelezi who presided over the matter and gave a verdict. The verdict was that the family should resolve the matter.

Another example is when the two Headmen from two different traditional authorities (Gwala and Makhanya) resolved a matter that involved men from both Makhanya and Gwala traditional authorities. What was more interesting was that these two headmen come from two different traditional authorities (Gwala and Sobonakhona), which means there were under the authority of two different chiefs (Gwala and Makhanya)

but were able to take an initiative on their own to resolve this conflict. They made all those involved to pay ten Rands each as a form of a fine.

6.13.1.1.6 The Chief or Inkosi level

There are two levels where people who are not satisfied with the headman decision will appeal to Inkosi or Chief of the area. Depending on the severity of the case, there are cases that are referred directly to the chief and headman. Inkosi Makhanya handled the dispute of installing Headman Jani Shoji directly. The faction fighting between Ndulini people and Buthelezi people was referred to Inkosi Makhanya or Chief Makhanya because it involved the family of Induna Jamelibhuqu Buthelezi. Because the matter involved his son and headman, Jamelibhuqu Buthelezi could not adjudicate the matter.

These are all examples of existing practices of peace building that are drawn from the study.

6.13.2 Overall Njobokazi peace building initiatives

This section addresses the major peace building initiatives undertaken in Njobokazi, some with a degree of success, others impaired in one way or another.

To start the process of reconciliation and cleansing, there was a major cleansing ceremony at Matsheni Amhlophe. This was a holistic Njobokazi cleansing ceremony which included all people who fought in the various faction fighting and political violence. The cleansing ceremony came as result of the meetings organized by Fanana Ngubane. It involved all groups that fought at Njobokazi and was attended by all groups including warriors, young people, elderly men, women, church leaders, government leaders and traditional leaders.

As a sign of unity, reconciliation and peace building and commitment, all warring groups contributed to buy cattle and goats. Key informant interviewee Msomi (November 2019) adds that elderly men met and agreed that cows and goats should be bought by all various warring faction for ceremonies to cleanse Njobokazi. Although Njobokazi and residents did not believe in prayer before and during violent conflict. It was agreed that cleansing ceremonies should be presided over by a Shembe priest. The cleansing ceremonies were both performed in conjunction with the prayer. Prayer in this instance was adopted as the healing therapy.

Five cows were bought and one sheep which was donated by Inkosi Mlaba. In this cleansing ceremony, all groups who fought before met and cleansed the area. After the cows had been slaughtered, elderly people had to wander about and speak to the ancestors. Key informant interviewee Gwala adds that people like Mlima Shoji, Fanana Ngubane, and Ntshushe Shoji spoke to the ancestors. On the following day, regiments came, singing the songs of war, and trumpets were blown as sign of unity. Everyone contributed (Kwanikelwa) coins and asked whatever he or she wanted to ask to ensure that the area was cleansed and became peacefully. Everyone including women and children contributed and Xhawulani Shoji and Ntshushe Shoji spoke about what actually happened and what caused the fighting and pleaded with the ancestors that violence should never happen again.

Key informant interviewee Msomi (November 2019) added that the Shembe religion was requested to officiate during the cleansing ceremony. Key informant interviewee Msomi further said that the Shembe sent a Mr Ngubane to officiate or preside over the cleansing process. Cows were slaughtered and each person was supposed to dip the coins and their hands into the blood. The Shembe representative or priest admonished them and warn them of the dangers of repeating violence acts. The Ngubane family added another cow as a gift. After the cleansing ceremony, Njobokazi people organized a Maskandi music festival, which was aimed at promoting and celebrating peace in the area.

The cleansing ceremony symbolized the sign of reconciliation, peace building and unity. The prayer during the ceremony signified the beginning of the healing process and the need to deal with bad memories. The individual contribution of coins signified the process of individual prayers to God and ancestors requesting them to protect the area, so it not slide back to violence.

6.13.3 Family cleansing ceremonies

As noted above, during the violent conflict some families were divided and ended falling on different warring factions. In some instances some family members killed one another.. After violence ended families needed to come together and make peace with one another.

Participants agreed that there is overwhelming agreement that families need to play a critical role in dealing with conflict. If families had dealt with these conflictual situations decisively, violence and conflict would not have spread throughout the village.

Thus, necessitated the family cleansing ceremonies. After the overall Njobokazi cleansing ceremony, families were also allowed to reconcile and cleanse themselves. Family cleansing ceremonies followed suit. As part of the family cleansing ceremony, key informant interviewee Shoji (October 2019) reported that the Shoji clan met in Ediphini area where cows and goats were slaughtered, which was a cleansing and reconciliation ceremony for the clan. Other families or clans who were affected by various faction fighting and political violence had their own family peace building cleansing ceremonies. Families like Shoji, Meyiwa, Msomi, and many more conducted their separate ceremonies, though some families are yet to do their cleansing ceremonies.

One Gwala representative during Mangquzumane focus group (February 2020) stated that they had not done anything. The Gwalas had moved, some to eMakewini and some to eZigodweni. As they are now united and the family doing Zulu dance together a family cleansing ceremony is required (Njengoba kushaywa ijadu Ndawonye).

6.13.4 Assessment of peace building processes

These examples all illustrate the significance and potential effectiveness of such traditionally recognised approaches to resolving conflicts peacefully. However, there are two key limitations. The first is that often the processes were done in ways in which there was perceived or evident bias, leading to further conflict. Secondly, the whole area of attention to the traumatic memories of violence was not addressed. People were left with their feelings.

6.14 Significance of the findings in relation to the intervention

After sharing the research results with the community of Njobokazi, the community considered the implications of these findings and indicated that there is need for a further intervention that would result in people being emotionally healed and being trained in peace building skills. If one considers the implication of these findings, it was evident that although through the discussions, meetings and later cleansing ceremonies, families resolved their issues, the gruesome memories were never dealt with and people were not trained in skills to address violence. It seemed necessary to

address in particular these issues to have a peaceful Njobokazi. As a result, the researcher in partnership with the PRAT developed an intervention that is attuned to deal with Njobokazi violent conflict situation. It is important to note that although there had been a process of conflict resolution, in terms of the integrated approach to peace building and psychological support (Bubenzer and Tankink 2017), only one aspect has been addressed which is cleansing ceremony. The emotional and psychological effects of the conflict were never addressed. "War and conflict fragments societies and weakens the social fabric that governs relationships and the capacity for recovery... The natural ties, rules and bonds between people and within communities, that strengthen coping and resilience, are also often destroyed. However, the ability of individuals and societies to cope with such extraordinarily painful experiences and the consequential distrust and fear is limited, with the breakdown of coping strategies often triggering psychosocial trauma. Furthermore, restoring the social fabric that binds and supports people is essential for those who have experienced serious traumatic events. Feeling connected to others is essential for sustainable peace, Peace building (PB) and mental health and psychosocial support (MHPSS) processes are essential and need to be integrated" (Bubenzer and Tankink 2017: 192).

Therefore, the researcher decided to undertake two workshops in Njobokazi, a Healing of Memories workshop and an Alternatives to Violence workshop (AVP). The third initiative was the distribution of food parcels which came as a result of the request by community members during Covid 19.

6.14.1 Healing of Memories

During the community meetings and PRAT meetings, community members reflected that cleansing ceremonies have been conducted at community level and at family level, hence community members have understood that it was wrong for them to fight, injure and kill one another.

Although cleansing and prayers have been done, memories of violent past still linger on. Members of the community have constant reminders of the violence, the orphans that they see on daily basis, structures destroyed during the violence, untarred roads, lack of service delivery and many other more issues. Participants indicated that memories of violence engulfed them on a daily basis. Those who lost their beloved

ones and property will not forget about what happened. In some instances people that they lost were instrumental to the lives of the families; some were bread winners.

During the women's focus group (January 2020), one-woman participant advanced an idea that "sometimes my husband would think deeply about his two brothers who passed on during faction fighting and political violence. Sometimes my husband would cry as a result, I would always comfort him and make him understand that violence has come and gone and there is nothing that could be done now".

Communities felt that members of the community were still engulfed with emotions of the past. They needed to address past negative emotions. To sustain this process, members of the community would engage with the local social worker to assist their community after the study has ended. Community members requested the researcher to approach the Institute for Healing of Memories to run a workshop. This would put into action the ethos of the peace building, mental health and psychosocial support approach as the intervention chapter will reveal. Likewise, Gutlove and Thompson in Tankink, Bubenzer and van der Walt (2017:12) note that, without working on psychological needs, the root causes of the conflict are not addressed; relationships are the entry to bring healing and peace into a society. The intervention chapter would deal with how the Healing of Memories proceeding workshop was conducted and the evaluation chapter will assist in terms of evaluating either the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the intervention.

6.14.2 Alternatives to Violence project (AVP)

The research findings point to a situation where there was culture and cycle of violence. The impact of violence was devastating, resulting in all the residents leaving the area. People were devastated and lost almost everything that they had.

After all residents have left the area, peace-making and peace building initiatives were started, which included discussions about restoring peace in the community, the cleansing ceremony and prayer ceremonies that took place. Peace building, stability, cleansing ceremonies were all important and helped the community to partially deal with violent conflict. The limitation had been that this could not deal with violent behaviour. Research participants shared that it was very important that the village was cleansed and the community members resolved the conflict. But they indicated that all these initiatives did not deal with the tendencies that encouraged people to be violent.

Members of the community had adopted a culture of solving their problems through violence. Although they have seen the impact of violence but there had been no intervention to deal with the tendency to solve violence with violence.

Members of the community indicated that all these community grown interventions did not deal with the culture and cycle of violence but managed to assist with ending the physical fight, so people were able to return to the area. As those who were in the area have not been trained in conflict resolution, the community felt that Alternative Violence Project (AVP) training should be adopted and implemented in Njobokazi.

As result of this finding, community members and PRAT members realized that they need to be trained in skills to address violence, as members identified that most of the issues that caused the community to fight were issues that could have been resolved through dialogues. Research participants, community members and PRAT members recommended that an AVP programme should be undertaken to deal with the pattern of solving violence through violence.

6.14.3 Food parcels

Although it was not part of the research plan, during PRAT meetings and community meetings, members requested the research committee to engage with civil society organisations and or government to provide food parcels to them because Covid 19 restrictions adversely affected community members, especially women who are in the informal sector. A number of organisations were approached but only one agreed to provide the food parcels. The leadership of the African Child and Youth Community development project (ACYCDP) agreed to deliver grocery packs to 30 family members. Most of the families who benefitted were ravaged by violence and had lost their breadwinners. These families were doing self-help projects but due to Covid 19 they could not continue doing work.

6.15 Conclusion

Although there are worries that violence might return, almost all participants indicated that political violence and faction fighting would never return to the area. What is most interesting is that the community has learnt many lessons during the conflict. The experience of violence has taught everyone a lesson to prevent violence and resolve violent conflict in a peaceful manner. “The process and progress towards peace provide valuable lessons for resolving conflict and also for learning how groups

embroiled in intense violence and conflict can learn to live with their former enemies” (Malan 2008: 20).

This chapter has presented eight themes that arise from the analysis. These are:

Memories of peaceful community life; Njobokazi within a broader context of violence; Njobokazi engulfed by the spirit and impacts of violence; Warrior culture, ubunsizwa and brutality; Violence as the solution to violence: normalisation; The revolving door of violence; Targeting and killing of key leaders; Division of family members and family blocs; Izinkabi: The production of hit men; The gendered nature of violence; Relation of other crimes to the Njobokazi community violence and Strategies to stop war and build peace – and their limitations.

It then set out the implications of these themes for the intervention.

The next chapter reflects on the understanding the drivers of violent conflict in Njobokazi village.

Chapter 7

Understanding the drivers of violent conflict in Njobokazi village

7.1 Introduction

This chapter follows the exploration of the community members' perceptions of peace and violence in Njobokazi by focusing on the drivers of violence. The analysis here influenced the intervention. The chapter presents an analysis of what are seen as three groups of drivers of violence, the root causes, enablers and triggers. Brainfood (2016: para 2) argues that drivers describe the reason why change is required. Triggers considers whether a response to the driver is possible and enablers determine the pragmatics of the innovation."

As will be indicated later in this chapter, these drivers of violence are not all separate from each other but closely inter-related. These terms are used in ways similar to the language of a study by Dube and Harris (2021: 534) "on reducing the prevalence of spectator violence in Zimbabwe's PSL through social preventative measures which drew on the expertise and motivations of members of a supporters' club." In addition, Dube and Harris (2021: 538) in their "analysis of the findings distinguish between causes of violence, immediate causes which trigger specific incidents of violence and facilitating factors such as alcohol." In this Njobokazi study root causes are similar to Dube's and Harris's causes of violence, immediate causes which trigger specific incidents are similar to Njobokazi's study triggers and facilitating factors are similar to Njobokazi's study enablers

Towards the conclusion of this chapter, it will be demonstrated how the drivers of violence informed the intervention programme that would assist the community to reflect on violence. The issues raised in this chapter will enable the PRAT to select the intervention.

7.2 Analysis informing the identification of drivers

This analysis behind this description followed the data collection methods: focus groups, key informant interviews, focus group discussions, transect walk, observations, community meetings and field notes. Participants in the focus group discussions and key informant interviews were asked: What have been and continue to be the drivers of violence in the Njobokazi Community? These findings relate to

these research questions: How does violence operate in Njobokazi? What have been and continue to be the drivers of violence in the Njobokazi communities? Braun and Clarke (2006) in Nowell and others (2017: 2) "argue that the analysis of data was conducted through "identifying, analysing, organizing, describing, reporting themes found within a data set of key informant interviews, observations, focus group discussions, and through the transect walk."

The analysis demonstrated that drivers of violence could be categorised into three which are root causes, enablers and triggers. The root causes are underlying causes of the violent conflict. Sometimes these could not be obvious but could only come clear in the process of investigation. Hamber (2008) argues that root causes are psychological in nature. The root causes are psychological in nature. Hamber (2008) argues that enablers are mostly caused by ineffective system of governance, weak policing and prosecution of perpetrators and troublemakers. Enablers are related to ineffective implementation of policies. Triggers are instances or sparks that will cause the actual fight to take place. Triggers are accompanied by motions and physical action.

7.3 Overview of the drivers of violence

What becomes clear is that drivers of violence exacerbated violence at Njobokazi and there is no record indicating that the community has ever confronted the issue with a view to resolve it. The drivers of violence are depicted in the diagram below.

Root causes	Enablers	Triggers
Warrior culture/ Strong Masculinities/ (ubunsizwa syndrome), including stubbornness, intolerance and conquest mentality	Underdevelopment	Trading disputes
Long history of violence and cycle of violence	Disputes over boundaries	Alcohol
Profiting from ongoing violence	A fragmented traditional leadership structures	Fighting over women
The relation between faction fighting and political violence	Ready availability of guns and dangerous weapons	Zulu dance and Imvumo oral music
Strong family blocs	Impunity in terms of the law	Traditional ceremonies
	Witch doctors and or Traditional healers (Izinyanga)	Traditional restrictions

Trading disputes

Demonstrating fighting skills and personal praises

Slaughtering of a leopard (ingwe)

Traditional ceremonies

Traditional restrictions

Fake news

Troublemakers

Figure 7.1 Drivers of violence: root causes, enablers and triggers

This section will present root causes, triggers and enablers as subset of the drivers of violence. The next discussion is on root causes.

7.4 Root causes

Root causes are fundamental causes and the main cause of the conflict. The root causes are very complex in nature. The root causes drawn from the analysis are these: a warrior culture (strong masculinities), long history of violence and cycle of violence, profiting from ongoing violence, the relation between faction fighting and political violence and strong family blocks.

7.4.1 Warrior culture/strong masculinities (ubunsizwa syndrome), conquest mentality, stubbornness and intolerance

As reported in 6.4, a constant thread through the Njobokazi violence was the warrior culture, which was so central to life that it connected with the forms of power in the community. People who are warriors end up being given positions. If you are a warrior, people will fear you and sometimes respect you. If you are a warrior, others will abandon existing traditional structures and report matters to the warriors. This drove people to aspire to be warriors. During the 1960s and early 1970s, this was attained through fighting through stick fighting and assegais, which was violent but not as deadly. The introduction of guns led to mass destruction of people's lives.

It is important to note that masculinities/warrior culture is characterised by intolerance, stubbornness and conquest mentality (men's focus group and women's focus group, January and February 2020). Mathis (2008:12) also argues that "longstanding enmity

and existence of feud or revenge ideology have also been cited in both popular and academic discourses as common causes of faction fighting.”

If these men have been conquered or defeated, they will still garner support from their close friends to revenge. Men’s focus group and key informant Gwala (2020) state this was evident during the Shozi-Hlengwa faction fighting where the Hlengwa group requested help from the uMbumbulu-Ntinyane warriors, which yielded results; hence, the powerful Shozi group was subsequently toppled and defeated.

The warrior culture mentality affects men such that they develop a culture of vengeance and revenge which was evident and engulfed the community of Njobokazi. The conquest mentality entails those who have been defeated must leave the area. During both faction fighting and political violence, groups who were defeated left the area until there was virtually no one left to occupy the land. One participant indicated that this strong warrior culture (*ubunsizwa*) is problematic. As things developed, the impact of violence led to the realisation that the warrior culture brings destruction to communities and to their families.

The word *ubunsizwa* speaks to the form of masculinity in which men were taught to be violent, all in the name of manhood. Men’s socialization in Njobokazi was that men should solve their problems through violence. This has negatively affected the psyche of the men of Njobokazi. For example, positions of leadership that required leading men had to be attained through the achievement of being a warrior yourself.

During political violence, Engonyameni and uMbumbulu men supported their friends, the violence reached uncontrollable levels and people left the area. I refer to this as mass violence where the region was engulfed by violence.

The conquest mentality was strengthened by the fact that, in most cases, the defeated group would be followed to places of work and people would be killed there. Some people from Njobokazi did not die at the battlefield but were murdered in their places of refuge or when there were going to or coming back from work.

An experienced expert on the study of violence indicated that the warlords outside the area would come in and instigate violence. This partnership necessitated that different groups would procure arms together and ensure that each faction has enough personnel, guns and weapons to aid their army. This deepened the conflict and makes

it very deadly. It also ensured the Njobokazi was a critical element in the networks of violence in and beyond the province.

7.4.2 Long history of violence and cycle of violence

The second root cause is Njobokazi's long history of violence and cycle of violence. The area was engulfed by faction fighting, political violence, combination of political violence and faction fighting and sporadic attack and killing of people at work and places of refugee, over long periods of time. Research indicates that the community of Njobokazi and thrived on violence from 1938 to 1996. The community resolved its conflict issues through violent means. The leadership structures like government structures and traditional structures exacerbated this.

Research findings demonstrate that the Njobokazi villages leapt from one violent conflict to the next. "The village did not develop a culture of resolving disputes through peaceful means. A particular culture was developed in the area that you need to be respected and feared. You should inflict violence and rule through inflicting violence to others. Violence was seen as a normal way of doing things and something that was not supposed to be reported" (key informant Mthethwa, May 2020). Chief Mkhize (Byerley 1989: 155) commented on the Zulu-Pondo violent conflict by saying that, in our custom it is not bad to fight, it shows which group is the strongest and the strongest group has the first choice and is the easy way to finish an argument.

Most participants shared during the interviews that people would respect you if you were a hero and warrior. No one would respect you if you cannot fight or suspected to be a coward. The culture of the village was premised on the culture of violence where prominence and leadership are gained through fighting people or being feared. This could only be attained through being a skilful stick fighter or being someone who can shoot and kill people. Leadership was not gained through displaying great leadership skills. The only exception to the rule was the position of headman (Induna) because it follows lineage and there were specific people and particular clans who in terms of customary law hold the headmanship position.

Violence in Njobokazi was complex, gruesome and problematic. If there was an argument or two individuals could not see eye to eye, this was resolved through fighting. In some instances, family members would split and fight. Even things that could be resolved through dialogue but were resolved through violence and fighting.

This is not to say that all conflicts were resolved through fighting, because there were some that were resolved through dialogue, but in the main conflicts were resolved through violence.

The history, culture of violence and cycle of violence would affect groups other than men. There were instances where teenage girls would fight in their places of work. Young boys would be trained through stick fighting and would fight other young boys from the opposing faction. Research participants shared that even schoolboys used to have their own small faction fighting mimicking the older man faction fighting. These boys would bring sticks at school and would fight after school. Carton and Morrell (2012: 40) refer to "...the dimensions of male socialisation underlying this responsibility... even a small boy carries his stick". This culture of violence passed on from generation to generation (passed on from elderly people to young people)." Men have given birth to many boys would boast about them and see himself as a person who has a strong army that would help him to fight.

Triggers of violence could easily be resolved through dialogue and negotiations but due to the warrior culture, intolerance, stubbornness, triggers of Njobokazi and violence, conquest mentality compound and lead to the unending cycle and culture of violence.

7.4.3 Profiting from ongoing violence

Respondents reported that there were people who were profiting from the ongoing violence and were reluctant to end the violence. Van Baalen and Höglund (2017:16) argue that "local elites were profiting from the on-going violence in uMbumbulu and surrounding areas like Njobokazi and therefore actively resisted attempts to establish peace." Van Baalen and Höglund (2017) add that because these local elites were not integrated into the IFP and ANC organizational structures, attempts to enforce compliance often failed. The former commander of the uMbumbulu police station specifically put Mkhandi Shoji at the centre of such attempts. "Shoji profited from racketing and selling muthi, a traditional Zulu medicine that is believed to make the user stronger in battle."

These are of the reasons why some leaders who are leaders would not want violence to end violence.

7.4.4 The relation between faction fighting and political violence

The third root cause is the relation between faction fighting and political violence. The relation between faction fighting and political violence is one of the root causes. The militancy acquired during faction fighting and the violent behaviour acquired and learnt during faction fighting translated into political violence. Due to the history of faction fighting members of various political parties would come to recruit community members to join their political parties with the view to first increase political membership and secondly to get people who are warriors who to assist the parties to fight their opponents. Njobokazi was an easy target for political parties to recruit already trained warriors.

Key informant interviewee Ngcongo (November 2019) told the researcher that the Msende and Skotshi conflict involved political violence between ANC and IFP. People from Njobokazi joined different political parties in Hammarsdale. This led to the death of Msende Gwala, which this led to the Makhanya people joining the ANC faction and assisting the ANC to fight. Muntuwezindaba Shoji had a fiancée who was Gumede and the Gumedes were ANC. Inkatha and ANC fought at Skotshi Khomo's place. Mbekwa Meyiwa died during the Msende political violence but Mbekwa was ANC. Msende was with eGobhozini and Osuthu (IFP) and ANC had members from Gconi, Nkunzini, eMakwangini and eZimbokodweni villages.

Headman Meyiwa (February 2020) added that the political violence has its origin in the factories where Njobokazi people were working. A certain Cenge woman who was IFP recruited people from Njobokazi who had shooting skills (Izinjoli). She recruited these people to be able to fight in Hammarsdale and assist Inkatha. The ANC also had Impondo warriors who also looked for men who would help with shooting (Izinjoli) to support their faction.

The weapons used during faction fighting were different from weapons used during political violence. During faction fighting, warriors in the main used traditional weapons whereas during political violence guns were used. Van Baalen and Höglund (2017: 15) supports this point and argues that “eMbo-Makhanya war was largely fought with traditional weapons and according to tribal custom, the national political parties introduced heavier weaponry and facilitated military training for local supporters.”

Participants argued that people who lived in Njobokazi tended to prefer faction fighting to political violence because they say faction fighting was fair and square. The faction fighting would be in the field and would end there. Participants indicated that political violence brought and caused people to steal. Key informant interviewee Buthelezi (October 2019) noted that political violence came with foreign traditions where people were stealing. Buthelezi adds that during political violence people came and stole Mtuza Mabhida (Skebhe's son) blankets during the Malayi-Mpisi violence.

It is clear that the outside forces were also pushing local people into violent action.

7.4.5 Strong family blocs

The previous chapter reported that in the main, there were divisiveness within families. However, there were a few families which not divided and which tended to build strong family blocs and defended their family members. There were blocs that were very powerful in the area who undermined other people. They saw other people as useless or being idiots. The men's focus group (January 2020) called on all Njobokazi people and other people to always know that everybody is intelligent and can fight if he or she is forced to do so. All participants agree that in some instances other groups undermined and took other people for granted thinking that they are not real men or do not possess strong masculinities or warrior culture features.

7.5 Enablers

My analysis is that enablers are conditions that allow violence to continue. If the enablers have been dealt with and various structures have done their work, this would have completely eradicated violence in and Njobokazi. The enablers that are discussed are under-development, boundaries, fragmented traditional leadership structures, ready availability of guns and dangerous weapons, impunity in terms of the law and witchdoctors and traditional healers.

7.5.1 Underdevelopment

The underdevelopment, and unavailability of resources like schools, unemployment and faith-based institutions fuelled the violence and caused it to be more intense. Key informant Msomi (November 2019) reiterated that the area did not have highly educated individuals. Educated people were going to assist the community to understand the impact of violence and educate the community to promote peace and

education. There were no recreational facilities and enough schools to train young and upcoming people into responsible beings.

7.5.2 Disputes over boundaries

The lack of agreement over a boundary could result in people fighting. In particular, the transfer of the Gwala Traditional authority land to Makhanya traditional authorities caused a lot of confusion where people did not know which area they belonged to.

A conversation with Mgwegwe (May 2020) demonstrated that, after the Sbhadamu faction, fighting all the Shoji clan moved to Embo but when Sgenu Shoji was suspected to have killed an Mkhize man from Embo, Sgenu Shoji, Mlima Shoji and Dingicebo Shoji group moved back to Njobokazi and the other part of the Shojis from eZimbokodweni remained in Embo. Since then the Shojis never became united and joined different factions. The movement of these men complicated the boundary between Embo and Njobokazi because you would find that there would be households found in Njobokazi but belonging in Embo in terms of the demarcations.

7.5.3 Fragmented traditional leadership structures

Research indicates that no structures of government, whether traditional authorities or provincial or national government entities, did little to end violence in Njobokazi. The structures were not proactive to deal with violence. Even where the perpetrators are known, criminal justice authorities failed to act. Literature indicates that lack and weak leadership exacerbates political violence and faction fighting.

It is important to note that Njobokazi villagers believe in traditional leadership. Most of the conflict was resolved through violence, but some of the conflictual issues should have been referred to traditional leadership structures for the issues to be resolved. Njobokazi is under both Gwala traditional leadership and Makhanya traditional leadership respectively. However, Njobokazi is mostly managed and ruled by lower structures of the traditional leadership which are Izinduna and headmen because both Amakhosi (Chiefs) do not reside in the area. The Amakhosi (chiefs) live far away, and Njobokazi is ruled by all structures as a foreign land. This was evident when the two chiefs were invited to a meeting in Ulundi to explain the violence that was taking place in their respective areas during the early 1990s.

There is no structure that has a physical presence at Njobokazi. As key informant interviewee Ndlovu (October 2019) notes that “if we had a police station in Njobokazi.

If we had had our Chief Makhanya and Chief Gwala's visible presence, we were not going to have such a gruesome faction fighting and political violence." These amakhosi were not involved in responding to the conflict, instead, there were instances where Chiefs (Amakhosi) fuelled some tensions and took sides.

For example, key informant interviewee, Buthelezi (October 2019) notes that "the very same Chief Makhanya demoted Jamelibhuqu Buthelezi because it was suspected that his son was problematic. My father was never put through a fair process but his demotion came as result of the following incident, which did not involve him. We were at Bhuzela house where Zenzele Ndulini (Bhuzela's son) wanted to hit me. We went outside where Zenzele beat Thimane Buthelezi and myself. Fortunately, Thimane Buthelezi had a sharp object (Intshumentsu) which I used to stab Zenzele Ndulini. Bhuzela Ndulini did not like this. We all fought and the Ndimande group supported us (Buthelezi, October 2019)."

The community had the leadership of Izinduna (headmen), warrior captains and heads of different families to assist in resolving conflicts. Boys also had their leaders who led them in the fields. There was no structure that was created to organise women except for women who married first-born sons who are supposed to lead other women in their families. These structures were not effective in terms of dealing with the conflict. This suggests that the gender imbalance is also part the problem of persistent violence.

Participants indicate that traditional leaders should have worked together to stop the violence. However, there was no coordinating structure established to resolve the violence. At times the traditional leaders seen to be supporting a particular faction, for example, during the meeting (1982) at Makhanya traditional authority which was called to resolve the disagreement about who was supposed to be Headman in Masakabuli, Dlangezwa and eZimbokodweni, The Inkosi even provided catering, food and alcohol for the Jani Shoji faction. The other group was not catered for.

Key informant interviewee Ngubane (October 2019) states that Njobokazi did not have trustworthy headmen and Chiefs. They all lacked credible leadership skills. Ndimande (October 2019) echoes the same sentiments, that Deda and Njobokazi were affected by the fact that we did not have people who had a backbone, truthful leaders and who should had stuck to principles. We did not have trustworthy people. Njobokazi had weak leadership ranging from family heads to traditional leaders.

Both national and provincial structures, especially the police, failed to play a critical role in ending violence. Key informant interviewee Ngubane (September 2019) stated that Camperdown police only came when they are supposed to come and collect dead bodies. Cele (November 2019) echoes Ngubane's sentiments that there was no role of police officers except to pick up the corpses. Gwala (October 2019) alleged that police failed to assist and people even ended up shooting the police, the police were afraid to enter the area.

7.5.4 Ready availability of guns and dangerous weapons

The carrying of unlicensed firearms and other dangerous weapons, even in the absence of war, is one of the enablers of violence. Research findings indicate that early faction fighting was fought with sticks, sharp objects and assegai. There were a very few homemade guns. As violence intensified, more guns entered the area and these led to devastating effects. Political violence was the most devastating part of the Njobokazi conflict. This was the case because more guns entered the community. One participant during the men's focus group indicated that drinking heavily; the issues of handling weapons, carrying guns in public, carrying knives contribute to the escalation of violence.

Ndulini, during the men's focus group, stated that (January 2020) "When I was still young, there were the IFP and ANC. The problem is that political parties distributed weapons to their members, which they did secretly and hid the distribution of arms. If we had an argument a person would look for weapons and these weapons were supplied by their own political parties of their choice. Some people in the community would know that a particular political party is supplying the community with guns." Participants accused both the ANC and IFP of distributing firearms in the community. The political violence has its own origin in the Hammarsdale factories where Njobokazi people were working.

The Njobokazi political violence has been strongly influenced by political violence in Mpumalanga. In the 2018 video documentary produced by Mkhize, Bongani Gwala, who is ward councillor of ward 4 and current speaker of Mkhambathini municipality, said that "the political conflicts between ANC and IFP in the area of Njobokazi started in Mpumalanga location, when people from Mpumalanga recruited people from Njobokazi to help them in their fights (killings). They took those that they knew were

on their teams or faction. ANC would recruit ANC and IFP would recruit IFP until people who were from Njobokazi realized and saw each other on the battlefield. Njobokazi people who fought in Mpumalanga came back in Njobokazi, fought there, and started killing each other. The first person who died there was a Magutshwa person who was ANC and violence started.”

Violence continued between political parties and these communities were supplied with guns, though political parties and government at the time denied this. Thus, Taylor (2002: 506-7) argues that “political leaders have been able to maintain the fiction that the Inkatha-ANC war was, a war that never was. Political leaders continue to deny responsibility for thousands of acts of political violence in KZN. Former State President F.W. De Klerk has stated; I reject without qualification that my government was ever behind the violence. IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has never acknowledged the existence of an armed wing of Inkatha, and President Thabo Mbeki has maintained that at no stage did the leadership of the ANC take a decision or give instructions to conduct an armed struggle against the IFP.”

Over and above the guns being supplied by various political parties, likewise, there was a family in Mtshingwane that was known to be manufacturing homemade guns. These guns were used to fight in Njobokazi. In an engagement with a family member who is serving life in prison, he indicated that his family indeed manufactured guns which assisted the family to buy livestock and paid lobola. In fact, the business was lucrative but they did not see the devastating effect that the homemade guns (oqwasha) had on the community.

One of the key informant interviewees indicated to me that the police also contributed to the instigation and spread of violence through supplying guns and ammunition. Mary De Haas (2019) said that in Maphumulo police station 42 guns went missing in the storeroom, which ended up being used in the taxi and political violence. One key informant interviewee during the research indicated that there was a certain white former police officer who brought ammunition and guns to Njobokazi to assist a particular group during the political violence.

Minister of Police, Mr. Bheki Cele, in an SABC interview (14 October 2019) conceded that indeed guns get lost in the SAPS. For example, former Police Colonel Christian Prinsloo was entrusted with destroying firearms, but instead sold them to Western

Cape gangs. He sold 2400 guns between 2007 and 2017. Minister Cele further indicated that the police are now considering installing technology that is supposed to be used to trace guns. He also mentioned that other guns are stolen from the police through attacking the police. Keegan (2005: 7) indicates that the number of licensed guns in private hands increased from about 2.5 million in 1986 to 3, 5 million in 1996 and to 3.7 million in 2004. The number of illegal guns in circulation is unknown. Estimates range from 500,000 to 4 million. However, signs are that the pool of illegal guns has been constantly growing and it is reportedly easy to get an illegal gun anywhere in the country very cheaply.

Guns played a significant role in the liberation of the country where the ANC and other progressive parties embarked on the armed struggle. The apartheid government also intensified its violent tactics to get rid of all progressive movements. As Keegan (2005) warns us, the demand for guns is complex. Guns were not sold to black South Africans until 1983. There was fear amongst the apartheid government leaders that if guns were in the hands of black people and black people were in the majority it would be easy for the progressive movements to overthrow the apartheid government. Keegan (2005:16) adds that “Black access to and ownership of guns was stepped up after 1990, as many SDU and SPU members acquired firearms from political formations or by smuggling them into the country.”

The democratic government of course ended the racial imbalance in access to guns but all gun owners are expected to follow strict regulations. Keegan (2005: 8) responds that “the South African government responded by developing a comprehensive firearms strategy and policy framework. Part of this is national, notably the Firearms Control Act, passed in 2000 and promulgated in July 2004. Although the act is new, it has already had a profound impact in a dramatic fall in the number of firearm license applications received and licenses issued.”

7.5.5 Impunity in terms of the law

Due to the cycle of violence and the fact that the police did not play an important role to investigate arrest and convict perpetrators of violence, some participants indicated that police officers tended to support particular sides and were not objective. In the video (Mkhize 2018), Bongani Gwala, the Ward 4 Councillor, indicated that there were 16 people who died during Skotshi attack, two of whom were KwaZulu-Police

constables. The question needs to be asked why the two constables were part of the IFP group that fought with the ANC group in the area. In most cases during the political violence, police sided with Inkatha members. During the faction fighting between Shoji-Hlengwa, police sided with the Hlengwa faction. This caused such people not to be afraid of the police and to continue killing people knowing very well that police would be on their side (key informant interviewee Ndimande October 2019).

On the basis of the key informant interviews and focus group discussions, I built up a register of deaths. The register indicates that there are more than 140 people (between 1982 and 1994) who died at Njobokazi and the only genuine arrest and conviction happened after the death of Zikhonzele Shoji. Taylor (2002: 483) reports that “at the funeral for victims of the Shobashobane massacre, Thabo Mbeki openly blamed the ‘third force’ for the killings, and at one stage Bheki Cele, the KZN Safety and Security Portfolio Committee chairperson, openly accused the police of being responsible for the murders.” Taylor (2002) adds that the police failed to take adequate action, despite being forewarned. Along with allegations that certain police officers were complicit in the attack, this caused the ANC led government, in February 1998, to appoint a commission of inquiry under Durban Advocate Marumo Moerane. Keegan (2005: 16) shares that the IFP often worked in collusion with or with the direct support of the police whose covert operatives came to be seen as a third force. Because people were not arrested and guns were not confiscated and the cycle and culture of violence increased and people become law unto themselves.

7.5.6 *Witchdoctors and traditional healers*

Traditional healers played a role in terms of providing traditional medicine that made men to believe that they are strong, can fight anyone and can destroy everything. The medicines conditioned the minds of warriors that no one would be able to conquer them. Some traditional healers promised warriors that due to their powerfulness of their traditional medicine, guns of the opposing sides would not even be able to go off. This made warriors to have great confidence and encouraged them to fight. For traditional healers to be paid, money was collected from individuals and households. Most groups took courage from the traditional medicine and attacked fiercely.

Key informant interviewee Meyiwa (September 2019) shared that he felt that if Skhakhane (traditional healer) was still alive, Sikhakhane should take traditional medicine out of the system of the warriors (Ukukhipha Intelezi).

7.6 Triggers of violence

It is important to dwell on triggers of violence to ensure that in the future these are avoided at all costs and do not exacerbate the root causes of violence. The triggers of violence are different from the root causes and enablers of violence. The triggers are visible whereas the root causes are systematic and sometimes covert, making them somewhat difficult to identify.

Small quarrels culminate into or deteriorate into faction fighting and political violence. There is a very thin line between triggers and root causes of violence. There are instances where some elements bear both the trigger and root causes of violence. Phimister and Van Onselen (1979: 13), writing about faction fighting in Bulawayo, contend that “the origin of the trouble could not be attributed to any single cause and concluded that the fighting ‘was due to the cumulative effect of small incidents, some real and some imaginary. Some result from false rumours, apparently deliberately circulated in order to inflame tribal passions. This is also true for political violence.”

7.6.1 Trading disputes

Key informant interviewee Mabhida (September 2019) argued that as people were starting to venture into business, trading disputes began to affect the community. For example, during the Mpisi and Malayi faction fighting, relatives fought over who should trade at Mabhezeni area (some participants saw this as political violence. The trigger was the trading dispute but the drive was a political motive where people who were part of the Msende/Skotshi group joined the Mpisi Mthethwa group, which was IFP, to fight the Mkhize, Malayi Mthethwa and Shozi group, which was ANC. The matter was processed by local headman, referred to the Makhanya traditional authority and later entertained by the Mpumalanga magistrate court.

7.6.2 Alcohol

Almost all the respondents (2019 and 2020) have identified alcohol as triggers of violence. When people are drunk, they tend to incite violence. Whether homemade beer (umqombothi) or western beer, consumption was seen as affecting people’s level of thinking. It has been proven that it is very difficult for people to think rationally when

they are drunk. Key informant interviewee Dlamini (October 2020) stated that sometimes when drunk, people tend to remind their enemies of previous feud.

People tend to be troublesome when they are drunk. Most of the factions fighting tend to take place during traditional ceremonies when people are drunk. Beinart (1992: 476) adds that “weddings, beer drinks are often cited as microcosms for these conflicts. But in rural communities, the nature of the gathering, with its hierarchies, complex seating arrangements, oratory and oppositions, there to be affirmed and contested as much as the effects of alcohol, could lead men to challenge one another. Beer drinks celebrated community and sociability, but also brought out the conflicts and hostilities within local communities.”

7.6.3 *Fighting over women*

There are instances where men fought over women. Key informant interview Mpisi Mthethwa (May 2020), reporting on the Sbhadamu faction fighting, said that it is a shame to mention its cause. Qadi Msomi from Njobokazi under the sub village called Roma had two wives. Both his wives had an extra-marital affair with Dlokodla Shozi and Mancwanyana Khwela, from from Masakabuli sub-village and eZimbokodweni sub-village, respectively. During traditional wedding men are expected to show their fighting skills. But during Sbhadama traditional wedding, Qadi Msomi showed his fighting skills (Ukugiya) and praised himself (babonga) as someone who links and combines eZimbokodweni sub village (wathi dlala hlanganisa izimbokodo namasakabuli). Mr Msomi was now aware that his wives had an affair with Machwanyana Khwela and Dlokodla Shozi. The regiment from Hlengwa, Ezimbokodweni and eZimbokodweni were angry and asked why, if his wives had these affairs, did he involve all the other village members? Therefore, the eZimbokodweni and Masakabuli did not like this. Everybody was concerned why he was using this Sbhadama traditional ceremony incident. Because of this, the areas of Roma and Masakabulini fought.

In addition, during the Mangquzumane focus group (February 2020) members reported that in 1975, men from Enkunzini area came and snatched a woman whilst lobola negotiations were carrying on at the woman's homestead in Masomini. The family members of the woman told men from Masomini area to relax as they were going to be the ones who were going to go to snatch their daughter back. Both Gwalas

and Men from Masomini went to get the woman and the faction fighting took place on that day. Cele (2016: 4) citing Mrs T Magcaba interview (February 2010) reinforces this analysis by reporting a case “between 1984 and 1987, within Zwelibomvu... a woman from Ndimande clan dated a Magcaba man. After that she decided to marry a Khwela man. Magcaba and Ndimande family members collaborated to remove [her] from the home of her Khwela husband, to give her back to the Magcabas This resulted in tensions which later involved families and eventually violent clashes between clans, and thus the Khwela-Magcaba fight.

7.6.4 Zulu dance and Imvumo oral music

Zulu dance and imvumo music act as recreational activities that take people away from drugs and criminal activities, but both these recreational activities have also been a cause and trigger of violence instead of being a unifying factor at Njobokazi. Shezi (September 2019) stated that “Mabhezeni area also had fights with Faye people. We quarrelled when we were from eNgunqweni and we fought over Imvumo. Our lead singer was Dodo Mabhida and the lead singer for Faye people was Khehla Khomo. The conflict in such situations was always about which group was performing well. “

Similarly, during the Shoji-Hlengwa faction fighting, the split between Shoji Ediphini and Hlengwa Zulu dance and Imvumo group triggered the violence. The split came as a result of an allegation that one of the Hlengwa lead singers had raped an elderly woman. The Shoji informed the Hlengwas that the lead singer was supposed to step down from his position. The Hlengwa group opted to form their own group and the violence ensued. Another Imvumo feud occurred as key Informant interviewee Buthelezi (October 2019) reported; it involved a feud in the Ndulini Imvumo group that led to faction fighting between Ndimande-Buthelezi and Ngcamu.

Some of the triggers relating to Zulu dance and traditional ceremonies were the singing of dehumanizing songs or songs that incite violence. Imvumo music and Zulu dance and some regimental ballads had tendency to incite violence. Some of these songs would mention people’s names and sometimes sing about people who died in a particular faction fight.

7.6.5 Traditional ceremonies

Traditional ceremonies serve as triggers of violence. The Shoji Hlengwa faction fighting started at KwaShubhuza Meyiwa coming out ceremony (Umemulo) where five

people died from the Shozi side. Many research participants have shared that Shubhuza was warned about imminent danger but refused to postpone his ceremony and said he was not going to postpone his function because other people force him to do so. Beinart (1992: 474) contends that “weddings provide an arena for structured hostilities.” Beinart explains the ideology of vengeance, which developed in Msinga and the far more open and destructive violence, which took place there, by pointing to the absence of Umngangela in this district. Umngangela means open stick fighting is allowed during traditional ceremonies. If you have a problem with someone, you would request izinduna zezinsizwa (warrior leaders) to allow two people who have a problem to fight and Izinduna zezinsizwa (warrior leaders) would agree to referee the fight.

7.6.6 Traditional restrictions

There were traditional restrictions that exacerbated faction fighting. For example, people from different villages fall under different Amakhosi (chiefs) and would not be allowed to enter a kraal if the traditional ceremony (amacece) does not occur under their Inkosi jurisdiction (Ukungena esibayeni custom). According to one participant from the men’s focus group (2020), Amakhosi had a rule that if there is a traditional ceremony, only the regiment of the same chief would enter the kraal and other regiments or groups of men would stand outside the kraal. Then those who are not allowed to enter the kraal in terms of the customary law would forcefully enter the kraal and fights would always ensue. Key informant interviewee, Ndlovu (October 2019) reinforces this point that this exacerbated the faction fighting.

Respondents have shared that Isilo (the Zulu King) had since discontinued this customary rule and urged all Amakhosi to combine warriors from varying Amakhosi jurisdiction under one kraal.

7.6.7 Demonstrating fighting skills (Ukugiya) and personal praises

Men demonstrating their fighting skills (Ukugiya) would sometimes be praised in ways that would not be liked by some people who are attending a particular traditional ceremony and this would trigger a fight between different groups. This was the case when Qanda Msomi showed his fighting skills and the Sbhadamu faction fighting started.

7.6.8 Slaughtering of a leopard (*ingwe*)

The slaughtering of a leopard triggered simmering tensions between Embo and Njobokazi community members into faction fighting. In Zulu culture, someone who slaughters a leopard becomes a hero. He should deliver the leopard to the King of the Zulus or local chief who should in turn give him about 100 cows as a sign to recognize his warriorship or recognize him as a hero/ warrior.

During the Mangquzamane focus group (February 2020), participants shared that during the Embo-Njobokazi faction fighting, a leopard was stabbed by a Shozi man but an Embo warrior shot and killed the injured leopard, hence Embo warriors took it with them. As a result, faction fighting broke out between Embo and Njobokazi people, there was faction fighting, and scores of people ended up being killed.

7.6.9 Fake news

Liars and fake news caused people to fight. When there were groups that have quarrelled over something, some individuals would spread fake news that a particular group would come and attack. Key informant interviewee Mkhize (November 2019) explained how this perpetrated violence. Louw (1995: 17) reports that “a Goldstone Commission report about violence near Mooi River in December 1991 between ANC and Inkatha supporters revealed that the violence started as a result of inaccurate and unchecked information and rumours, which were disseminated by both ANC and IFP spokespersons.” This was regularly reported in the newspapers. (Louw 1995: 17) advanced an idea that “the commission recommended that political and other organisations take cognizance that inaccurate reports of violence in themselves frequently result in escalation of violence.”

7.6.10 Troublemakers

There were known troublemakers in the village but these people were not stopped; instead their supporters and family members supported them even if they knew that they were in the wrong. As Buthelezi (October 2019) indicated, people from the same clan do not tell each other when they are in the wrong but instead support one another even if their member is in the wrong. During the key informant interviews and focus group discussions, participants mentioned names of all troublesome people that caused problems at Njobokazi. They averred that if these people were stopped from inciting violence, violence was not going to be escalated to highest proportions. Key

informant Shoji (November 2019) warned that these people would always undermine, humiliate and insult other people.

7.7 Significance of the findings for the proposed interventions

The above drivers of violence assisted the research team (PRAT) to decide what interventions to work on. The following questions were flagged to assist the intervention: Which of these drivers can the team work on most effectively? And or where in the cycle of violence can you intervene?

Violence has had devastating effects that affect members of community, economically, emotionally and psychologically. The evidence is very strongly that the communities of Njobokazi failed to deal effectively with issues of conflict, hence there was a myriad of unresolved conflicts. "All wars eventually end, but what follows differs widely. While some post-war societies see a substantial reduction in violence, others, like the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Northern Ireland, and Timor-Leste, continue to experience various forms of political and criminal violence for years after the formal end of hostilities," (Van Baalen and Höglund (2017: 2).

During the men's focus group, one participant mentioned that the problem is that "We do not forget who killed our brothers. Our children know that we grew up in a violent community and they know that we were defeated if indeed we were defeated. Our children still insist that they will not be defeated and still want to continue fighting." The problem is that people who killed each other are relatives and know each other. Not only do they know each other but people have lost loved ones and they need some counselling and need to have their memories healed.

The leadership and community members were never trained in alternative dispute resolution mechanisms. Research findings demonstrate that the community needs to be trained on alternative dispute resolution mechanisms and furthermore the healing component needs to be included to address the emotionally and psychological aspect of the violence. Thus, to assist the community of Njobokazi and to deal with drivers of violence, the community through PRAT meetings agreed to focus on the Healing of Memories workshop and training in Alternatives to Violence Programme to assist with alternative dispute resolutions.

During the various engagements with the community, it came out that Njobokazi and people should be given space to vent out and talk about their pain. Therefore, the

healing of memories as an intervention programme is necessary. The healing process needs to happen. Khuzwayo (2013: i) argues that “current studies in peace building suggest that effective peace building approaches comprise intervention strategies that value the interconnectedness of trauma and peace building.” Khuzwayo (2013:29) further points out that “it is important to understand that unresolved trauma serves to perpetuate unresolved social issues for many generations of people who may be very unaware of these dynamics.” Similarly, Riemann (2001), cited in Accord (2015:92), argues that “when trauma is not dealt with, survivors withstand the worst of its consequences because strain begets violence, and this has more pronounced impacts on women than men have. Sometimes the oppressed become oppressors and former armed combatants may resort to both physical and sexual violence as a way of dealing with their own trauma.”

Accord (2015) suggests that it is essential for peace builders to be aware of possible cycles of abuse and their influence in perpetuating conflict. It is also worth noting here that sexual violence against men (for example, when a man is raped in an attempt to undermine his gendered identity) can also feed into this cycle. Accord (2015: 93) adds that “if trauma is not addressed in relation to both women and men, then cycles of violence may continue. This ultimately affects reconciliation and peace building programming.”

With regard to skills in dispute resolution, AVP (2002: a4) presents conflict management skills that enable individuals to build successful interpersonal interactions, gain insights into themselves and find new and positive approaches to their lives. The AVP programme offers experiential workshops that empower people to lead nonviolent lives through affirmation, respect for all, community building, cooperation and trust. Ngwenya (2017:168) states that “dialogue typically plays a central role in PAR because participants are enabled to better understand their own reality by critically analysing their own particular situations and problems.” As Ngwenya explains participants at Njobokazi and need to be engaged in informative, reflective and interrogative discussions concerning their experiences and actions during the sessions and to be able to devise solutions or actions.

7.8 Conclusion

This chapter presented drivers of violence. Evidence for the identification of the root causes, enablers and triggers of violence is supported by quotations articulated by research participants. The chapter managed to connect and link drivers of violence as overarching category with its subcategories which are root causes, enablers and triggers of violence. The research findings have assisted the researcher and PRAT members develop an intervention programme that is fully described in the next chapter.

Chapter 8

Intervention strategies to deal with past violence

8.1 Introduction

The chapter will present the two parts of the intervention, the first being the Healing of Memories workshop and the second the AVP workshops. The two interventions came as a result of the suggestions by community members and PRAT members. The action research cycle present the following cycle which is observe-reflect-act-evaluate-modify-move in new directions. In this cycle observation includes literature review and data collection, reflection was done after data was collected, which assisted the research team and the community to come up with two interventions. The two interventions were later evaluated to inform the conclusions that can be used for new such studies and action. The community will now move in the new directions. This chapter describes the actual interventions.

Violence has had devastating effects which affected members of the community economically, emotionally and psychologically. This necessitates the healing of the memories of this violence. Furthermore, the leadership and community members reflect that community members were never trained in alternative dispute mechanisms, and this led to the selection of the Alternatives to Violence Project as a resource.

Hence, the intervention programme, which included both workshops, to assist the community of Njobokazi. Wessels (2008) notes that the aftermath of war, the systemic violence and rapid social change, some of which is promulgated by humanitarian efforts, erodes patterns of culture and meaning that often provide a sense of continuity and well-being. The two interventions were intended to address these issues.

8.2 The Healing of Memories

The Healing of Memories workshop took place on the 31 of August 2020 at Tre Fontane Guest House, in Mariannhill Monastery. The workshop was initially planned to take place at Njobokazi, but, due to the fact the research team had to comply with COVID 19 protocols, it was moved to Marianhill. This came as a result of the research findings where key informant interviews, observations, focus group discussions revealed that the community of Njobokazi need to deal with drivers of violence and triggers of violence and the community. Bubenzer and Tankink (2015:6) remind us

that “after the conflict there is a risk that individuals and communities affected by traumatic events pass elements of their hate, anger, fear, and trauma on to the next generation, resulting in that violence and trauma manifesting – often in new ways – in the second generation.” In this context, healing must be social, culturally grounded, and oriented toward systemic, collective change for peace. Unfortunately, few roadmaps exist for how to effect social healing on the scale demanded by complex emergencies.

This intervention fulfils participatory action research ethos where “action research has always been understood as people taking action to improve their personal and social institutions, and offering explanations for why they do so, Institute for healing of memories” (McNiff and Whitehead,2005:14). The intervention programme was identified and planned by the community and PRAT.

The data utilized in part one was extracted from thirty participants who attended the community healing workshop. The information was recorded by the researcher and the information was also extracted from the three reports which were written by the three facilitators which Sanele Makhathini, Zibukele Mqadi and Leena Maddens.

Furthermore, participants were also requested to hand write pledges which also became source of data. Furthermore, at the end of the community healing session participants were requested to fill in the evaluation form to gauge their journey in terms of community healing dialogue.

The chapter will first present the purpose of the workshop and process of the workshop, secondly it will present the dialogue discussions and findings, thirdly it will present the pledges of the community members who attended the workshop, fourthly the evaluation of the dialogue will be discussed. Lastly the conflict transformation theory will be utilized to analyse data generated during the community healing workshop.

8.2.1 Purpose of the community healing dialogue

The purpose of the dialogue was to bring participants together to discuss issues affecting their communities in relation to violence, peace building and healing. Participants shared and discussed healing strategies that would help individuals and community to heal. Davis, Nsengiyumva and Hyslop (2019:4) argue that Community healing reduces trauma, revenge tendencies as well as anger, and builds positive

psychological resilience, social trust and tolerance. Furthermore, Davis et al. (2019) add that community healing has direct benefits for individuals and broader society in terms of increasing general psychological wellbeing, economic participation and social cohesion.

8.2.2 Theories relating to the community healing dialogue

The utilization of the community healing dialogue was an attempt to heal the inter-generational trauma inflicted by faction fighting and political violence hence the theory of change is applicable.

In order to transform the tendencies to conflict, the healing of memories session should also be informed by peace, mental health and psychosocial support approach. “The approach to peace building and mental health and psychosocial support (MHPSS) overlap in their transformative intentions of building healthy, peaceful and stable societies” (Tankink, Bubenzer and Van der Walt 2017:4). Furthermore, Gutlove and Thompson, in Tankink, Bubenzer and Van der Walt (2017: 12) note that “without working on psychological needs, the root causes of the conflict are not addressed; relationships are the entry to bring healing and peace into a society. Hence the community healing dialogue is critical to deal with trauma.”

8.2.3 Process of community healing dialogue

This session will describe the process that was followed during the community healing workshop. Participants were given handouts describing the Njobokazi drivers of violence. The researcher presented the drivers of violence which included root causes, enablers and triggers of violence. Participants indicated that they would ensure that their community deal with the drivers of violence highlighted by research.

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After the researcher’s presentation, Ms Nothile Ndlovu from ACYCDP presented on the role of indigenous systems in relation to healing. Mr Zakhele Mqadi presented the history of the Institute for the Healing of Memories. During plenary, Mr Mqadi presented the following questions: What do we as the community know about the

different forms of violence? The second question was, What is a new form of violence that they are experiencing in the community? How have they been able to cope?

The process that then followed was that community members were given space to speak about their pain. This involved how violence affected Njobokazi community members. The session was aimed at transforming the community by creating an environment where communities could speak about their trauma. Participants were divided into three groups and discussed the following questions:

- How do we end up/ break cultural norms that perpetuate violence?
- Does the justice system protect us as individual/community/ nation?
- As a community how we work together to restore healing, equality and justice in our society?

Participants chose a scribe, chairperson and the person who reported during plenary.

For the way forward Ms Leena Maddens asked community members to write pledges which were posted on the wall. Thereafter a community member was tasked to speak on behalf of the community. The evaluation was administered.

The session that follows will narrate cluster issues that emerged during discussions. The meeting agreed that sensitive information was shared and therefore it would be proper to give a presentation that will summarise responses in themes rather describing the process because that might reveal sensitive information.

8.2.4 What emerged from the community healing workshop

The next session will summarize the issues shared by participants and themes that emerged during community healing dialogue in answering the above questions.

8.2.4.1 Reserved members of the Njobokazi community

At the community healing dialogue members of the community were initially very quiet and reserved. But this changed as the dialogue progressed. One of the community members indicated that the community was engulfed by brutal violence. The participant further stressed that people were killing each other (Hayi ukuthi kwakunodlame abantu babebulawa). The community experienced intergenerational sustained forms of violence that would start between a few individuals and escalate to involve groups and the whole community.

8.2.4.2 Indigenous cleansing

Participants stated that after the violence had ended they could not come to terms with what had happened. They were also aware that the traditional ways of healing could not assist them alone. They indicated that they needed a community healing session to enhance the traditional indigenous healing processes. The latter had been conducted when Njobokazi was cleansed through the Shembe ceremony, when different family clans cleansed their families and when the Shoji family cleansed themselves, but there is still a gap in individual and community healing. The community from Njobokazi under Inkosi Gwala felt that the Makhanya area needs to be cleansed, which would include cleansing of the Gwala chief which is buried under Makhanya area.

8.2.4.3 Sense of respect for human life

Participants indicated during the dialogue that community healing dialogue instilled a sense of respect. The dialogue assisted members to begin the process of appreciating neighbours, pledged to assist one another regardless of which faction and side they fell on during political violence and faction fighting. One aspect was, where they have made mistakes, to talk to the ones that they wronged and apologise. Participants indicated that in the room there were people that they used to fight with but with whom they are starting the process of healing. The power of healing is to see people that you fought with in the past, some have killed your beloved ones, destroyed your property but being able to forgive them, do not hold any grudges and even attend their traditional ceremonies.

Participants shared that after the workshop they will not take life for granted and will in future cherish to preserve life. They indicated that listening to the stories of other people and talking about the long history of violence in Njobokazi was a great therapy in itself although it was traumatic (Mbatha, Mncwabe and Mqadi 2015: 121).

8.2.4.4 Collective trauma

One recurrent theme was that, although individuals were affected by violence, so was the entire community and that the community healing dialogue should assist the entire community to heal past experiences of violence, as indicated by the internal displacement of all Njobokazi residents. Suarez-Orozco and Robben (2000: 24) in Bubenzer and Tankik (2015:5 state that “collective trauma damages the social issue

of a community, ruptures social bonds, undermines communality, destroys sources of support and even traumatizes those members of a community, society or group who were absent when the traumatization took place.”

8.2.4.5 Taking law into their own hands

Participants indicated that the issue of police taking sides, continuous impunity and the unwillingness of the criminal justice system to apprehend perpetrators of violence led people to take revenge, but that the community healing dialogue encouraged them to trust the criminal justice system. Consequently, participants will refrain from taking law onto their own hands. They mentioned that the former Minister of Police Mbalula had now given them the mobile police station which had begun operating in the area.

8.2.4.6 Social and community tolerance

Participants indicated that community healing dialogue provided them with space to reflect about the past. Participants indicated that in the training venue there were two people who have fought with one another and some lost their beloved ones during the conflict. Participants indicated that they must accept that violent conflict did take place and they should stop wanting to revenge. As Davis, Nsengiyavumva and Hyslop(2019: 19) outline, “community healing dialogue provided a safe space to start the process of healing their wounds, gave them the opportunity to build trusting relationships with people of different backgrounds through solidarity and sharing in these safe spaces, then they would increase their tolerance of people of different backgrounds and experiences than their own.”

The building of trust and relationship enhanced what is termed social and community tolerance. This where communities’ members able to live side by side and begin resolve conflict peacefully. Davis et al. (2019:19) note “that social tolerance is the social proximity of participants to people of other backgrounds in their communities. If there is social tolerance, relations between community members begin to improve.” For example, there was traditional ceremony at Gwala house and Meyiwa house which involved everyone who had fought before but they stayed together without any problem. Furthermore Wessels (2008:27) states that “solidarity and improved social relations can create social networks and support structures that advance healing.”

8.2.4.7 Building trust

The community healing dialogue started as a process of building trust amongst the community members to reflect and talk about violence. Although there has been traditional cleansing but the community has never sat down and reflected on the violence. The research process and the workshop have presented this opportunity. Mbatha, Mncwabe and Mqadi (2015:141) stressed that “counselling for stress and trauma was unheard of.” This has made people in Njobokazi to carry these wounds throughout their entire life. Davis, Nsengiyumva and Hyslop (2019:21) adds that “community healing dialogues allowed participants to openly discuss sensitive issues, settle differences, overcome wounds of the past and work together towards a common vision for the future. Participants added that even though they could not forget what has happened, the community as a whole has to forgive one another including those who got injured and lost their beloved ones. For example, one participant whose son was killed and his head was amputated shared that she forgave all those people who killed his son because even he went to the war to fight and unfortunately was killed.

Bubenzer and Tankink (2015) add that the underlying idea is that by strengthening the social bonds of people in affected communities and by improving the psychological wellbeing of individuals, people are more likely to take care of themselves and of one another.

8.2.4.8 Role of traditional healers and witch doctors

As the research findings indicated, the traditional healers and witchdoctors played a role in giving traditional medicines warrior to remain strong. Participants said that healing should ensure that strong muthi should be taken out that was injected by traditional healers during violence. This should be done by family members. This will ensure that there will be no one in the community who will want to go and fight wil nil.

8.2.4.9 Availability of guns

One of the issues highlighted by the research findings is the availability of guns in the area. Participants argued during the community healing dialogue that they need to take the issue of the ownership of guns seriously. They need to promote a community that does not rely on guns for its existence. The community should trust and respect one another and resolve their conflicts peaceful.

Participants indicated that they would engage about this matter in the traditional gathering and community meetings. They argued that the healing of wounds is important but it is difficult for this to happen if people still rely on guns. They also mentioned that the police need to do its work to arrest people who have illegal firearms. They must also discourage people from owning guns, even lawful guns. But this should go hand in hand with the construction of the police station to ensure that perpetrators of violence are criminally charged and justice should prevail in the area.

8.2.4.10 Resilience

Due to the fact that the political violence, faction fighting and associated trauma had assisted the community to develop coping skills wparticipants shared that the participatory research process which involved the community and the community healing dialogue have assisted community members to be resilient. Menkhaus (2013) in Bubenzer and Tankik (2015: 8) conceptualised resilience as a transformative term as it has the potential to transform negative peace to positive peace as well as shift the status quo of a vulnerable society to a stronger and more robust society. Bubenzer and Tankink (2015: 8) further add that “many people are able to cope reasonably well in hardship situation; they show resilience.”

Moreover, resilience is an important concept that recognizes the ability of individuals and societies to cope, adapt, and bounce back from adverse events. Participants indicated that their resilience was psychologically, physically, emotionally related. Porter (2009) reminds us that spiritual, psychological and social wellbeing are strong indicators for success in recovery from war and natural disasters. Wessels (2008: 31) adds that “the relative prevalence of people’s resilience and ability to function by filling appropriate civilian roles is attributable to the prevalence of protective factors and the coping resources, both collective and individual, of war affected people. Furthermore, Wessels (2008) notes the highly valued protective factors in African societies, ranging from support from extended family, neighbours and elders to participation in local activities and traditional practices.

8.2.4.11 Significance of religious institutions and prayer

Participants indicated that before the Njobokazi community were displaced there were religious institution structures that were destroyed. They identified this loss as a major challenge for community healing, because prayer is regarded as another form of

healing which plays a significant role in personal and community healing. The few structures in the area are located far away from the community and it takes time and money to access them since community members have to use public transport to reach them. Participants indicated that indeed healing is happening and dialogues like these are important. For healing to be sustained religious institutions are critical. There is a need to reconstruct the Roman Catholic Church and ensure that other religious groups that were in the area restored. Wessels (2008: 31) adds that “the destruction of schools, markets, homes, and places of worship are not physical losses but also losses of the social supports and life meaning derived from the activities in these places.” Hart (2009: 3) states that “trauma healing best takes place in a context where both the tangible issues of rebuilding homes, schools, mosques and churches happens while also addressing (...) intangible issues related to psychological, spiritual and identity needs.”

Construction and maintenance of religious institutions is paramount important because these institutions are custodians of prayer. Although there are indigenous ways of peace building like cleansing, participants indicated that they were pleased that the dialogue started with a prayer and ended with a prayer because prayer is another means of healing of memories. Kharishmawan (2009: 6) adds that “a collective society has symbolic places that can be used to speed recovery. Mosques, churches, temples, synagogues, and other worship places are symbolic places that give strength to individuals and the community, and they should be given priority during disaster recovery.”

8.2.4.12 Role of individuals as peace builders

The community healing dialogue has instilled the sense of being a peace builder rather than an on looker. Participants indicated that in the past there were on lookers and did not get involved in peace making process but all pledged to take part in peace building activities. Members indicated that in the past violence was started by a few but ended up affecting everyone.

Women added that in the past they were also excluded and did not take part in peace building activities. Participants indicated that for peace building and healing to take place the role of women is critical and should play a pivotal role. This is because most households in the community are headed by women.

8.2.5 Pledges

The impact of the community healing dialogue was demonstrated when participants shared the pledges indicating what they want to do for their community. In summary some pledged to diligently deal with conflict without taking sides. Some offered to train youth people about the impact of violence and others indicated that they want to start reflecting about the journey of healing. Most people reflected about their role as individuals and their role as community members.

Community members made the following pledges during the workshop.

Pledges	Pledges	Pledges
Commit to help and work with community to resolve violence peacefully	Pledges to build my community	Pledges to communicate with the community and need to establish a group that will monitor crime. We need to establish cooperatives that will assist us to start community projects. We need to find and resolve community problems.
Pledges to eradicate violence in my community	Pledges to advice young people and inform them if they go astray	Pledges to communicate with my community so that it does not go back to violence if there is confrontation or conflict between community members
Pledges to help and love my community	Pledges to build the nation	Pledges to speak to new community members who were not part of the -Njobokazi violent conflict to engage them and talk to them about if we do not want to encounter problems how can we work together to build a community that is peaceful.
Pledges to unity my community	Pledges to be humble in my community and promote peace	Pledges to contribute to the development of my community and also take part in the developmental activities that concern the community
Pledges not to take sides and spread fake stories	Pledges to be trustworthy in my community and work to ensure that my community moves forward in terms of development as well as assisting my community to resolve problems	Pledges to show and demonstrates respect so that other people will emulate me.
Pledges to train the youth to resolve their conflict peaceful	Pledges to avoid confrontational situations if this happens will address these situations calmly	As youthful prepared to ensure that I am part of the developmental initiatives and be part of the structures that promote peace.

Pledges to be a good parent to my children	Pledges to work with the community, to listen to their problems, and let everybody provide his or her views	Pledges to promote peace in the community
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Table 8.1 Pledges made in the workshop

8.2.6 *Evaluation of the community healing dialogue*

The evaluation had seven questions which participants had to respond to after the dialogues. What follows are responses responding to the seven questions.

Community members should play a critical role in peace building and work together to resolve conflict	Learnt to be tolerant
Individual members of the Njobokazi area sharing views about peace building	Respect for other people should be the backbone for healing and peace building
For peace building to be effective members of the community will have to work together	Looking down, despising and undermining poor neighbours should the thing of the past. Respect, listen to all views of community members regardless of class, community status, gender, age and other discriminating categories is important.
The healing session empowered us to heal and forgive people who wronged us before	Conflict should be resolved through dialogue rather violence
As individuals we need to be calm when we are not seeing eye with our counterparts and resolve our problems amicably	Listening to others forms part of the healing journey
Need to refrain from spreading lies because that could trigger violence	For peace building and healing to happen, it needs affected individuals to forgive one another
Report crime related issues to the police, Induna and other community related crime combating structures and refrain from taking law onto their own hands	Consensus is critical in dealing with conflict and peace building
If there is something troubling, you must talk about it and this will help you to heal.	Individual members of the community should play their part in ending violence in their communities

Table 8.2 What new insights about yourself that you gained from this community healing dialogue?

Violence cause underdevelopment whereas peace enables development. Where there is peace development happens	Need to respect one another
Need to control and have manners when we speak to one another which means we need to be diplomatic	Control your tongue and donot spread lies
Violence is triggered by minor incidents that could easily be resolved	Violence affects education of children
Violence takes people back and leads to underdevelopment	Need to work together as community members to resolve conflict

Need to report crime to police and traditional structures	Violence left widows, orphans, and destroyed property
If my community is peaceful we can have development in my community	

Table 8.3 What have you learnt about violence and non-violence?

Have a role to play as individuals to resolve conflict	Learnt to be humble, forgive, respect one another and listen to other people if they advise me
Need to play a meaningful role in promoting peace	Need to respect all people who live in my community regardless of their status
important to love your community	Need to advise our husbands if they start violence to refrain from doing that.
Learn to work and engage community members on community development issues	Need to be vigilant and know what happens in your community
Do not spread fake news	Need to forgive
Need to heal first and then heal my community	Healing needs to be part of everyday activities

Table 8.4 What are the fruits of this community healing dialogue for you?

I need to be a peacemaker in my community	Need to preserve and confront problems
I need to be brave and be able to speak in public	My actions could cripple the entire community. Then I should do good things
Need to talk to people who are troublesome and ensure that they do not cause violence.	Life is precious and we need to respect life and refrain from violence that led to loss of life and impair and harm people
Need to respect neighbours	All people are equal before the law
Need to talk to my community members about importance of peace and respect	Learnt that the members of community are intelligent can resolve their own problems
Need to be objective when resolving or intervening on the matter and should at all times not take sides but resolve the conflict for the benefit of the two individuals and the community	Need not be happy if people are in trouble and assist them
Learnt how violence starts	Should not look down upon one another

Table 8.5 What is that you will take back to your home context that you did not have before?

Need to mind how we use our language	Share your problems
To raise young people to be peaceful	Manage my anger and deal with conflict calmly
Need to stand for the truth and be truthful	Need to be trustworthy
The community healing dialogue opened my eyes	Should not discriminate against people
Need to develop and Njobokazi community	talk nicely and control my tongue
Prepared to help my community	Importance of being objective before you judge other people

Need to raise our children with respect	To be positive about our community projects
Will fight robbery, deal with stock theft	

Table 8.6 What goals would you set for yourself that you did not have before?

We were allowed to dialogue about our pain	The workshop made me to have good dreams about my community
We were able to say what we do not like	The workshop really healed us
We were able to raise problems that confront our community	The spirit of respect, reconciliation, forgiveness that was in the room was amazing
I appreciated the time when the individual members of the community were sharing their views and were listening to what they said	

Table 8.7 What was the most exciting part of the community healing dialogue process?

It was an eye opener that community violence is a broad subject	The time for the workshop was long and got tired
The workshop opened old wounds because I lost members of my family but is necessary for us to reflect about violence	Listen to other people's problems was emotional and heavy but was necessary for the healing process to commence
I liked the methodology and how we were engaging	Happy that they were reflecting about violence and thinking deeply about peace

Table 8.8 What was the most difficult, frustrating part of the community healing dialogue process?

8.2.7 Analysis of the workshop findings using theories used in this study

The integration of peace building and mental health and psychosocial support (MHPSS) overlaps well here with the transformation theory. The community healing dialogue followed principles and ethos of healing whilst the conflict transformation theory seeks to understand social conflict as it emerges from and produces changes in the personal, relational, structural, and cultural dimensions of human experience. "The conflict transformation theory will assist to identify and build upon resources and mechanisms within a cultural setting for constructively responding to and handling conflict" (Lederach 2003: 26).

It is important to note that the community healing journey is rooted in a peace building framework influenced by the work of John Paul Lederach, therefore the community healing dialogue is analysed using conflict transformation principles, which are relationships, community systems and culture.

The first level of conflict transformation is individual. Swartz (2014:16) argues that transformation of the individual person involves starting with individuals and their journey of personal transformation. During the dialogue and the focus group discussions acknowledged that Njobokazi people need to change and transform as individuals. The cleansing ceremonies brought back the hope of healing and the community healing dialogue instilled and ignited the healing journey. Participants shared during the dialogue that the language of war should not form part of their vocabulary. When they raise their kids should ensure that they are raised in a community where there is no violence, faction fighting and political violence. Individuals shared that they need to respect everyone and respect human life and refrain from harming it.

This involves the realisation by participants that they need to be independent and take responsibility for their lives. "This implies not being stuck in victimhood and waiting for others to make things right for them" (Swartz 2014:16). Most people who attended the community healing dialogue indicated they need to be independent, deal with conflict objectively. They shared that they need to take part in the development of the community. Participants indicated that they need to be proactive and identify risks that could engulf their communities.

The second level of the conflict transformation is relationships. Swartz (2014:16) argues that "we live in community with people and need to embrace our interdependence. To make changes in our lives and in those around us we need other people, groups, organisations and institutions to strengthen the journey to independence." Participants indicated during the dialogue that they need one another, need to support one another and should not look down upon one another. That is why these organisations were invited to participate to strengthen the journey for peace building which are African Child Youth and Development Centre, stokvel clubs, Ikhwezi Lokukhanya Community Resource Centre, African Child and Youth Community Development Project, eThekweni and Makhathini municipalities, and traditional structures (Indunas from Makhanya and Gwala). These institutions are part of the peace building and healing journey of the village. Peace building and healing discussions become part of the daily discourses of these institutions, if relationships are transformed for the development of the community harnessing the skills of healing.

The third level of conflict transformation is community systems. Swartz (2014:16) states that the various social, economic and potential systems need to be transformed to support the development and reconstruction of the country to a more caring one. Systemic transformation process is supported when you have people that are able to grasp the need to and have the vision to transform system to support the basic needs and development of all citizens. A process of reconstruction has started in the area where water pipes have been installed and water has started flowing in the area and the former Fayi BC School has been replaced by Makhanya Primary School. New homesteads are being constructed and even new people who were not there before are settling in the area. The economic sphere is, however, still lagging behind because there is no vibrant economic activity in the area; people work in Durban and Pinetown.

Furthermore, the community systems present two most important components to this transformation process: justice and mercy. Working for a just society that treats people with mercy minimizes the possibility of harming people physically, emotionally and spiritually (Swartz 2016). Members of the community agreed that before members did not report crime to the police and did not trust the police but now resolved to report criminal activities to the police. They also engaged in discouraging members of the community to own guns.

The fourth level of the conflict transformation as per Swartz (2016) is cultural, the need to have a long-term commitment to the process of change takes time. During the community healing dialogue, participants pledged what they want to do for their community. All members of the community understand the impact of violence and do not want to go back to the violent situations. Swartz (2016) asserts that the development of a new culture of inclusiveness, nonviolence and equality supporting the optimal development of all people living sustainable livelihoods is important. Participants indicated that poor people should not look down upon one another and should be included. It was agreed that women and young people should be part of the developmental agenda.

8.2.7.1 Pillars of healing

Njobokazi presents a three-legged community healing trajectory. The first pillar is the traditional indigenous system where the cleansing and the slaughtering of the animals happen. The second pillar is the involvement of prayer, where the Shembe church has

been involved and blessed most of the cleansing and healing ceremonies. The third pillar is the training on alternative dispute resolution and the sessions on healing of memories. The third pillar is a new dimension that came as result of the study which instilled the sense of belonging, improving community skills and instilling non-violent ways of resolving the conflict, including dealing with psycho-social impact of violence where communities begin the process of sharing their experiences of violence, get professional existence, develop coping skills and strengthen community and family resilience. Walsh (2007: 223-224) reports that “communities have shown that they could endure the worst forms of suffering and loss, and with time and concerted effort, rebuild and even grow stronger. Multisystemic, resilience-oriented practice approaches help families and communities expand their vision of what is possible through collaboration, not only to survive trauma and loss but also to regain their spirit to thrive.”

Theory of change

The theory of change worked during the Healing of Memories workshop in the following respect.

Community members offered to use psychosocial programmes going forward.

The workshop created a conducive environment for infrastructure development

Building trust and reopening communication channels amongst foes

Communities to freely reflect about violence past and quest to become peaceful

Developed positive community relationships and helped the community to resolve conflict, work as a community to resolve community problems.

Build relationship amongst people

8.2.8 Conclusion

The community healing dialogue has instilled a culture of peace activism where everyone sees the importance of promoting and advancing peace through engaging with their communities.

The next part will focus on part of the intervention which is the AVP workshop.

8.3 Part 2: AVP

8.3.1 Introduction

The report will focus on the AVP workshop which was conducted on the 26 and 27 November 2020. The workshop was organised in Induna Ndulini's house in Njobokazi. The recruitment of participants was done through the help of PRAT members. The venue was a big rondavel, and had enough space as required by COVID19 for different exercises during the workshop.

The workshop was attended by 30 people. People who attend the course come from the following Njobokazi villages: Mabhezeni, Drihoek, Enguqwini and Ncobeni.

8.3.2 Facilitation team

Our team was made out of two experienced facilitators, namely: Mbongiseni Mtambo, Buyile Mpungose and two new facilitators, the researcher and Zanele Ncwane. We managed to have a successful planning on Zoom since two facilitators were from Pietermaritzburg and two facilitators were from Durban

With everybody being aware of what was being done and how it was to be done, the workshop went according to plan and everyone was given a role to play.

Some participants had illegible handwriting. The researcher had to observe different individuals during sessions and make sense of what they say and present. During analysis stage, the researcher sometimes had problems and would call or meet with specific individuals to get clarity of some of the issues raised during the sessions.

8.3.3 Recording and data collection

The recording of the workshop relied on photos taken, newsprint which were written on and notes taken by the researcher. There were instances where participants did activities individually, as a group and sometimes work in plenary. Some participants had illegible handwriting. The researcher had to observe different individuals during sessions and make sense of what they say and present. During analysis stage, the researcher sometimes had problems and would call or meet with specific individuals to get clarity of some of the issues raised during the sessions.

8.3.4 Limitations to the workshop

The workshop was carried out in a rondavel. the area still maintains the Hlonipha (respect) code to the fullest, whereby a female sits on a particular side of a rondavel

and some names are not pronounced if they are the same as any in-law's family members. So, some women were not supposed to cross to the other side, which made some of the activities to concentrate on one side of the rondavel. However, males enjoy the privileges of being honoured and treated with respect by females regardless of any formal relationship. There were one or two participants who could not speak to one another due to cultural issues. The bride is not supposed to communicate with the father in law up until certain rituals have been concluded.



Figure 8.1 Participants engaging in groups

Despite these limitations, there was a very united and respectful group of participants throughout the workshop. The same number that came on the first day remained and maintained the same energy throughout the workshop.

8.3.5 Observance of Covid 19 protocols

The planning of the intervention was conducted via Zoom and discussions were conducted through Zoom. Facilitators indicated that they had never planned a workshop over Zoom. Other preparations and discussions were conducted through

WhatsApp. The participants were organised through a PRAT meeting that was organised two weeks before the actual workshop. This was followed by telephone calls and WhatsApp messages. During workshop the following Covid 19 protocols were observed: social distancing, occasional sanitising and wearing of masks. After each section, participants and their seats were sanitised.

The following section will look at the actual workshop where it will be presented in terms of sessions. The workshop had different sessions. Different facilitators were given different topics to facilitate: -

8.3.6 Session one

8.3.6.1 Welcome, introduction and expectations

Mr Mfanozelwe Shoji welcomed participants. Thereafter participants introduced themselves and shared their expectations.

Expectations	Expectations
Building peace in the area	Need to learn to avoid violent conflict
Present our community problems	Learn to completely end violence in our community
Need to learn to resolve conflict in a peaceful manner	Need to learn skills for fighting crime
How people should handle themselves in order to end violence	Learn to understand how peace is attained, built and sustained
Learn to live peacefully with your neighbours	Living together peaceful is paramount
Ensures that we do not have a place that is riddled by violence but instead transform it to be peaceful	Learn to defeat violence
Learn about excellent way of behaving	Learn ways of identifying potential conflictual situations
Learn about things that will happen in this meeting	Learn how to forgive and make with your enemies
Learn about violence	Learn methods of forgiving someone who wronged you
Learn conflict resolution skills	Learn methods that will allow us not to go back to violence

Table 8.9 Expectations voiced by participants

8.3.6.2 The Alternatives to Violence project opening talk and history

Mbo explained that the Alternatives to Violence Project, Inc is a private non-profit education corporation funded entirely by private sources. In its origins and philosophy,

it has ties to the religious society of friends (Quakers), but it is not a sectarian organisation. The programme began in 1975 in the New York State prison system, and still continues to work there. Its first workshop was held in Greenhaven prison when an inmate group, the Think Tank, felt the need for nonviolence training in preparation for their upcoming roles as counsellors in an experimental program in a division for Youth institution for underage offenders.

The need grew from other sectors and countries experiencing violence began to utilise this philosophy. AVP (2002: A3) states that as “the AVP programme has grown in experience and sophistication and has broadened its outreach to include many communities, we have responded to a growing need to revise and expand the manual to include the lessons we have learned.”

8.3.6.3 Opening session

These were the guidelines agreed upon:

Cell phone on silence

Keep time

Excuse yourself to go to the toilet

Right to pass if you do not have something to say

Wear mask, keep social distancing and sanitise

Respect each other's idea

One meeting

Zanele Ncwane went through session one agenda and linked it to the expectations. Mbo introduced the team to the group. Zanele went through the community agreement or ground rules pointing to the written version on the newsprints. Zanele Ncwane further explained the procedures, rules and significance getting of certificates.

As an icebreaker, participants were asked to put adjective before their names that symbolises positive elements or peace. For example, my name is Dizline and would put an adjective called delightful Diz. Participants enjoyed this exercise. Although some had negative names but were happy to put positive sentiments before their names.

Busi led an affirmative exercise where she divided participants into pairs. One person in the pair was asked to talk for three minutes on the topic, what I like about myself, while the other person listens. At the end of the three minutes, pairs exchange roles after the facilitators has called “time” and the listener become the speaker. After participants have spoken they went to introduce to the whole group.

Participants started the exercise and some people in the pairs shared negative information and were stopped. Most of the negative information was about losing loved ones and the poverty and violence that engulfed the area. Although they were stopped from saying this but it was obvious that these issues occupy participants’ minds. During the reflection, participants indicated that they are used to sharing negative stories and the exercise instils a sense of being positive about life and finding a positive way of dealing with negative things. The exercise managed to transform the thinking of participants to begin the process of embracing positive live.

Participants were requested to brainstorm what is non-violence and violence?

Trust	Respect
Communication	Job opportunities
Peace	Sports
Development	Cultural activities
Forgiveness	Building of schools
Unity	Churches
Patience	Praying
Self-sustainability	Patience
Love	Freedom to get education
Helping each other	

Table 8.10 What participants identified as nonviolence

People associated nonviolence with almost all positive things and things that might happen if there is no violence in the community.

Discrimination	Orphans
Basic needs	Blood
Conflicts	Rape and GBV
Loss of learning	Death of relative without being sick
Guns	

Table 8.11 What participants identified as violence

Violence is associated with all negative things and all people who attended the workshop saw the need for advocating for peace.

Finally, the first session was evaluated and closed. Participants evaluated the session and reflected on the first session which they believed instilled the sense of self-worth and restoring of their dignity. They indicated that non-violence should be promoted all the time.

8.3.7 Second session

Participants were divided into five groups and requested to share experiences that they have resolved non-violently to make the group aware that this is something that the group they already have the capacity for. Participants were asked to share with the small group an experience that (s)he has had of resolving a conflict non-violently. After all members of the small group had their say, one story was selected by the group for sharing with the larger group.. “When all groups are ready, have people re-join the larger group. Facilitators used the following questions to elicit feedback. How did you feel about the stories? Does not it feel good when you are able to take control of the situation,” AVP (2002: E46). Participants were asked to discuss the above and these accounts were to be shared in the next session.



Figure 8.2 Presentation by participants

8.3.8 Third session

Zanele asked participants to share something that they like about themselves. Some people shared that they are trustworthy, love themselves their family members and neighbours, assist other people, work hard, are very straightforward, raise children on their own, have cattle and are respectful. The research then went through the agenda.

The following stories were shared which were discussed in the previous session and this what the group presented.

Group 1: Nsizwa Shezi had fallen in love with Ntombi Mbili woman who left him and fall in love with Vusi Mbhele. When Vusi Mbhele and Ntombi Mbili were standing on the side of the road, Nsizwa came and wanted to forcefully kiss Ntombi in front of Vusi Mbhele. Nsizwa did this knowing very well that they had already fallen out of love with

Ntombi Mbili. They quarrelled and insulted each other. But they did not fight physically. Nsizwa informed his family about this. During the same month Vusi Mbhele's homestead had traditional ceremony for one their daughters. If there is a traditional ceremony, all regiments and warriors come to traditional ceremony to grace the occasion. Regiments and warriors have specific tasks that they need to perform. During the traditional ceremony, the Mbhele family said that the Shezi men should not enter their kraal or homestead. Both camps, Shezi and Mbhele, drew guns. The Shezi men did not listen and wanted to forcefully enter the homestead. The regiment head or leaders (Izinduna zezinsizwa) resolved the matter peacefully. Otherwise, this was going to cause a long faction fighting that was going to be difficult to resolve.

Group 2: Lovers did not see eye to eye. The situation was tense and could have resulted in loss of life. I took my friend and we went to the homestead of my girlfriend and we resolved this matter amicably. During the discussions, it was possible to speak the truth. People that were in the wrong were supposed to be informed of their wrongness. Speaking the truth was the only weapon to arrive at the solution that was going to favour both parties. Due to the discussions between the two families, the matters were resolved peacefully.

Group 3: The story is about two people who were in love up until they got married. The problem started in the marriage between the bride and bridegroom when the married woman started to fall in love with another man. When the man found out, hell broke loose. The man told the woman that she must pack and go and he does not want anything that will make their paths cross ever again. He asked his in-laws to take their daughter and keep cows that were paid in fulfilment of dowry conditions. Because of this decision, the family avoided conflict that could have arisen in the area such as faction fighting and loss of life.

Group 4: The taxi was travelling from Isipingo to Makhutha and people started paying. After all the monies had been collected. It was discovered that the money was short of one rand (R1). The driver asked the person who did not pay the full amount. Nobody came forward. The driver told passengers that if they do not want to reveal the person who did not pay the full amount and he would return the taxi to the tax rank. The problem was that no one wanted to come forward. When the driver was doing the U-

turn to return to the taxi rank, one of the passengers offered to pay the one rand and the taxi proceeded to Makhutha

Group 5: Also an unpaid taxi fare: We were on board a taxi to Pinetown and one of the passengers refused to pay. The driver said that his money was short of one person. Passengers quarrelled and accusing one another of not paying the taxi fare. It was obvious that the taxi had to return to the taxi rank. One passenger who was rushing to work offered to pay the taxi fare. Most of the people who were in the taxi are neighbours and this was tantamount to ruining community relationships.

In the discussion that reflected on these stories, the point was made that human beings have capabilities to resolve conflict peacefully but sometimes choose to go the violent way. Communities have already embedded structures that could solve violence and these structures are respected by community members. The nonviolent stories made participants realise that they have capabilities to resolve conflict peacefully. Members who attended the workshop shared that they are encouraged and they would need to replicate similar peace building strategies if ever violence tendencies present themselves in future.

The community of Njobokazi needs role models who will need to model non-violent behaviour repeatedly, now and again. Similarly, Bandura (1999: 226) postulates that “much of our behaviour is learned by observing other people and modelling our behaviour after theirs.” Furthermore, Bandura (1999) stresses that behaviour is learned through not only the direct experience of reinforcement but also through the observation of the reinforcement obtained by others (vicarious reinforcement) and self-enrichment-self-observation, self-evaluation and feelings such as pride, satisfaction and guilt.”



Figure 8.3 Participants during an exercise

Next was the Broken Squares exercise. Participants were given a complete set of squares consists of five envelopes containing pieces of cardboard which has been cut into different patterns and which, when properly assembled, form 5 squares of equal size. One set is provided for each group. Participants were tasked to assemble them. Participants indicated that the activity forced them to work together and made participants aware that they need each other in resolving community conflicts.

The exercise brought to the fore Lederach's levels of leadership and its approach to peace building. There is a need to ensure that top leadership, middle range leadership and grassroots work together to solve a problem that might arise in society. Participants shared that when they were assembling squares they forgot their positions in society and focused on the task at hand. It should be like that in real life situation. All leaders should work together to solve community problems.

Participants stressed the point that they would work together at Njobokazi to solve problems. Cooperation and involvement of all stakeholders is paramount and the

following stakeholders should be involved which are disabled people, children, women, youth, top leadership, middle range leadership, and grassroot leadership.

Participants were asked to choose a partner and one person was supposed to lead and other was supposed to follow. Those who will follow must close their eyes. The training team arrange the chairs and asked leaders to lead and followers to follow and navigate around the hurdles. Participants were asked to swap roles. Women who are married to family where the workshop was held were not allowed in terms of culture to go to certain areas inside the rondavel. People who were leading them during the game were sensitive to this fact.

After the game, participants reflected on the role of the leader, that as you lead you need to be able to guide people during hurdles. There will be times when you will need to guide people. Those who lead are led, must amenable to receive guidance and help their followers understand the problem. Followers also responded that there were instances where they could not trust the leader.

Participants indicated that trusting is very difficult phenomenon in Njobokazi because enemies have turned into friends and friends have turned into foes. There was chronic violence and the cycle of violence that never ended but participants indicated that, for them to transform their community to be a peaceful one, they need to work on trust related matters. Lederach states that the relationships and trust amongst the warring factions decreases during violent conflict. Participants shared that the exercise has assisted them to understand the importance of working together to build trust amongst community members.

The one presenter spoken on the concept of transforming power. The transforming power talk included examples from the speakers' experiences. He explained that transforming power is the central philosophy of AVP, and the hardest to describe. There are as many interpretations of it as there are AVP people. "One thing that experience has proven is that in order for transforming power talk to be convincing, the person who gives it must believe in it with complete sincerity, preferably through having lived through an experience involving it," (AVP 2002: B2)



Figure 8.4 Presentation on transforming power

The group was asked to give examples of things people do that irritate, anger, or hurt them. Participants indicated that the following things anger them, irritate or hurt them: those who gossip about other people, people who do not apologise when there are not going to come to the meeting, people who like violence, people who support their children when there are in the wrong and people who like to borrow money.

Mbo explained that 'I messages' are a way of avoiding or escalating conflicts so that communication, rather than confrontation, starts taking place. I messages blame the behaviour rather than the individual and encourage the speaker to focus on his/her feelings and reactions and speak from the heart. Participants were asked to use the formula (when..... I feel because and what I ad like to see happen is.....)

Participants thus practised the I messages in pairs. Participants had problems in applying the formula but after practice they ended up mastering it.

In the reflections on this exercise, participants indicated that they are used to blaming people rather than blaming the behaviour of people. The issue of communication and how to respond to other people was problematic. People who were in higher authority responded harshly to people in lower positions. In some instances, people in lower positions retaliated with violence.

The workshop equipped participants with skills of communication. Participants indicated that they will use these communication skills to the community. Participants mentioned that during conflict or discussion they always wanted to win and never thought that a win-win scenario is possible. Participants indicated that society encourages them to compete with one another rather than work and cooperate with one another. Instead, the workshop entrenched the spirit of solidarity amongst community members.

The evaluation of the first day was conducted through asking people to write one word about something they will not forget discussed during the workshop. The following words were written: win-win, respect, working together, cooperate, listen, peace, non-violence, good neighbors. Participants wrote positive words which was a good sign that participants want to transform their community.

8.3.9 Session four

On the second day, Zanele Ncwane gave an agenda preview and Mbo then continued with the transforming power talk presentation and asked participants to share a scenario where they were involved in a conflict where they will use I messages. He indicated that conflict is resolved more easily if you focus on your own feelings and do not try and control the other person. When the other person feels empathy for what you are feeling, the conflict can be transformed. Participants did the role play. Thereafter, participants debriefed on the role play and felt that it is difficult to use I messages but mentioned that is something that they need to practise.

8.3.10 Session five

Participants were then asked to brainstorm stories that were going to share. Most groups took the stories that were presented on the first day and wanted to role play them. They were asked to choose a story that could lead to a nonviolent and fair

resolution of conflict, to decide on the characters and to select fictitious names for the characters. Mbo indicated that no person should play his own role in a conflict which he or she has experienced in real life. The players play the roles and stay in their roles “on stage” until the facilitator has debriefed them.

Group 1 presented their roleplay, which involved a wife and husband; the husband was working but refused to bring money home. He was not supporting his children. The wife confronted the man. There was also a family member. The wife was able to state her issues, that she is the one who look after children and find things that children will eat. The man started as an angry person but managed to cool down at the end. The role of the family member was to listen to both sides and assist with the opinion.

Group 2 took the same scenario as identified above, of the relationship between a Shezi man and an Mbili woman.

Group 3's story was between two families who were fighting because cattle has destroyed the field of another family. The matter was reported to local traditional chief. They were families who were supporting either side. The matter was discussed at the traditional authority and was resolved amicably.

In reflecting on these role plays, participants identified that they have the power to encourage peaceful values but they have not used this power because socialisation meant that you are only a warrior through fighting and conquering people. Instead, they have learnt that they must change their attitudes spread the spirit of peace making and peace building in the community. These principles are critical if the community is serious about building a peaceful Njobokazi. Lederach (1997) presents four dimensions of conflict transformation, one of which is the personal dimension that needs to be changed. The transforming power stories deal with change in personal relations because during violent conflict changes individuals personally, emotionally, and spiritually. Furthermore, Lederach presents the dimension of deep-seated cultural change, for example, to the norms that guide patterns of behaviour between elders and youth, or women and men. Thus, change should also begin with changing the community not to think that when you are resolving conflict peaceful, it is because you are a coward but because you want community members to live peacefully.

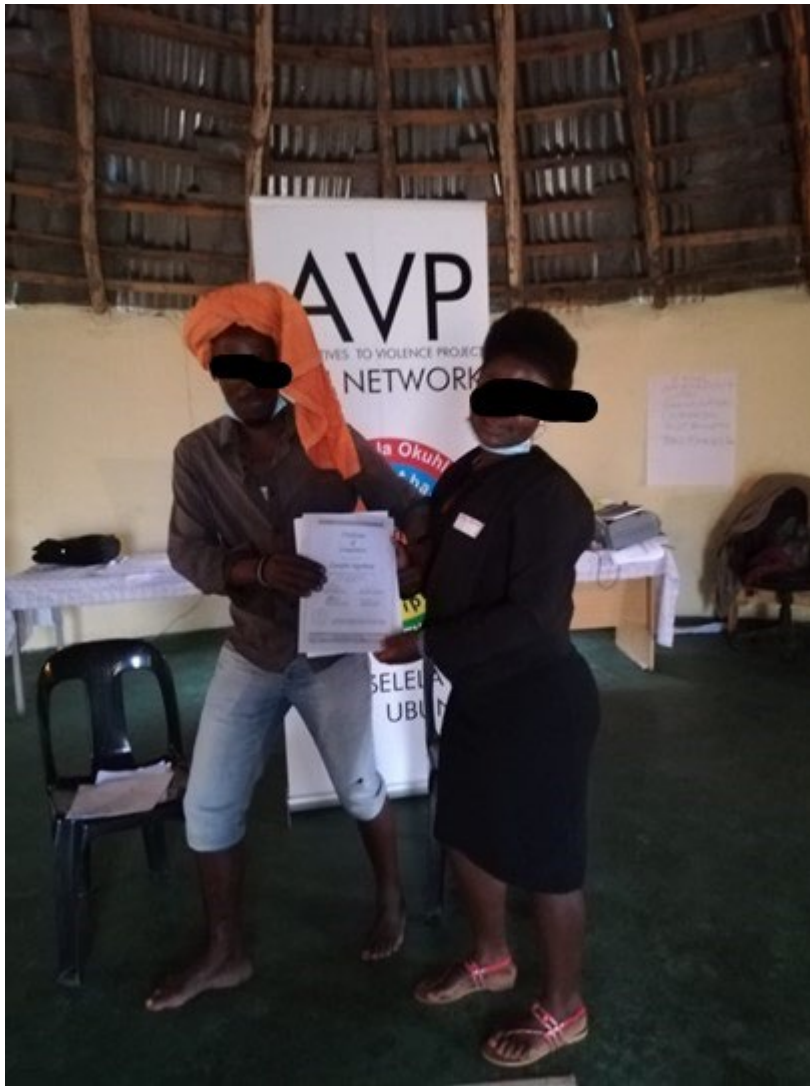


Figure 8.5 Characters involved in a role play

As a break, the fruit salad game was played where a one chair was removed and one person remained standing. He or she will call for example people who are wearing black clothes to change chairs and the only person who will remain standing will be the one who next issues the instructions.

Next was an affirmation exercise: each participant was given a handout, which was a large sheet of paper and magic marker. Participants were tasked to tape the blank sheets to each other's backs with masking tape, so that everyone is wearing a poster. It was explained that each participant was going to mill around the room, and that they are to make affirmation posters. Participants were requested to put a paper on each other's backs, and write positive, affirmative statements about the wearer of the poster. Facilitators indicated that the rules are that only positive comments are to be written

and only true things are to be written and facilitators emphasised that this is not the time for criticism but for constructive affirmation. This became a very lively exercise. When people had all written on the poster they were called together and have participants remove and read their posters. Facilitators went around the room and ask each participant to share one comment, what she/he appreciates about his or her poster and read their posters. Zanele explained that comments will be made on the next session and people broke for lunch.

People were all moved by the comments written on their posters. Most comments included statements that the people are good hearted, hardworking, industrious, respectful, helpful, peaceful, good leader, good mother, good father, exemplary, good organiser, trustworthy, motivational, good facilitator, problem solver, objective and many more. Participants were asked to take their affirmation posters with them as a souvenir of the workshop and a record of what wonderful people they all are. This was given to them during graduation.

In analysing this exercise, the theory of change is relevant. A theory of change in relation to Njobokazi influenced change processes throughout the study and AVP programme. The theory of change I used ensured that change happened through the processes:

- Processes of reflection involving the researcher in collaboration with the community members.
- The researcher and community participants understanding the drivers of violence in Njobokazi community and on why existing resources for peace have been insufficient.

Participants indicated that they are used in criticising and not seeing good things about other people. The theory of change here is to learn and change from criticising people and start seeing good things that people do in your communities. Participants indicated that when they start doing good things about their fellow workshop participants, more and more good things were identified. Participants indicated that participants need to think positively about these issues.

Mbo then dealt with unanswered questions. The most unanswered question was the mobile police station that used to assist the community but was later withdrawn. The other matter related to the seven AK 47s that were dug by the bulldozer at the old

Mkhize homestead. The other issue is what happened to those AK47s and the police were able to get hold of them and who is keeping them. The leadership indicates that the police will be engaged in this regard to get at the bottom of this issue.

The other unanswered question was the installation of the deceased Induna as the throne is vacant. This will be discussed with the Makhanya traditional authority to verify some of these issues.

Participants requested to know the possibility of spreading AVP throughout the uMbumbulu and Njobokazi region to train community members to be ambassadors of peace. The issue was raised of new community members who have not resettled at Njobokazi and are being victimised by outsiders who claim that the areas that they once occupied do not belong to them.

8.3.11 Evaluation of the workshop

The overall impression given by participants is that the workshop instilled positive values and restored their human dignity. They knew now the role that they can play in peace building and nurturing communities and families that resolve conflict in a peaceful manner. The value in igniting positive values was critical. Participants were happy that they are going to graduate. A combination of evaluation and closing was done where a large person was drawn on the newsprint with a head, two feet and the body. The head represented the thoughts, the body represented the feelings and comments were placed next to the person heart and feet represented the tools.

Feelings	Thoughts	Tools
We were all in good spirit	Reminds of how difficult life is	I will use the affirmation exercises in my daily lives
It was very tressing to be in the workshop	Instil the values of obeying laws and regulations	The mandala framework would always be useful in my life
Very happy	Need to be sensitive about other people's feelings	Have thoughts about instilling ubuntu principles in my community
Respecting each other	Thoughts about changing people who are unchangeable	Tools to solve the problems amicably
Affirming one another was a nice feeling		
Motivational		
Interesting		

Table 8.12 Evaluation exercise

There was then a graduation ceremony at which participants were given certificates and affirmative posters to take home.

8.3.12 Reflections on the workshop

The workshop provided a platform for participants to communicate and affirm self and each other to build community and trust. The manner in which the group assisted each other when there was a writing problem showed cooperation among all for the success of the workshop.

One of the realisation from this engagement that participants are not always affirmed positively. Positive affirmations instilled the culture of hope and dignity. The exercises on adjective names, affirmation exercises made this possible. Each individual saw that everyone has an excellent contribution that he or she could make in the community. They also realised that for the community to succeed they need to cooperate and work together. Participants indicated that if there is problem in the community between community members they will work together to resolve that issue. They will resolve their problems utilising community structures if that fails they will use the courts to resolve the matters.

A particular realisation concern the undermining of other people and looking down upon other families. For example, people who were warriors did not have any regard for other people. Participants shared that families should raise their children with the view to instil respect for all people whether poor or rich. If there are problems in the community, all must be involved regardless of their status or family status in the community.

The AVP workshop is a step in the right direction to let people engage and talk to one another about violence. In the meeting there were people who have fought before but the workshop was able to instil the culture of building trust and start engaging on these matters. A specific point made that, when there is a conflict amongst community, they need to be objective without being influenced by kinship or relationship. If the matter is resolved objectively all parties accept the outcome but if power and warriorship influence the conclusion of a matter, people do not accept the outcome and that leads to violent conflict.

Participants indicated that lack of communication or improper communication was also one of the contributing factors to a myriad of root causes of violence. Some people

distort facts to suit their selfish ends. Communication amongst members of the community is critical because participants of the workshop reflected that they never thought about how they relate to one another. The I message activity taught them about the expected ways of addressing the problem. Members realised that communication is key to not igniting or fuelling a violent conflict. Communication skills were punted as one of the required skills that need to be sustained throughout life.

8.4 Overall conclusion

The workshop instilled positive conflict resolution, prevention, peace-making and peace building values. These skills were impacted by going through the following activities: adjective names, affirmation exercises, nonviolence, sharing a conflict, cooperation, community trust and building, transforming power, trust walk, I messages, developing a poster and building trust.

Participants realised that they have the power to build peaceful communities. If they can fight likewise they also have power to end violence, to prevent violence and to live peacefully alongside each other.

Chapter 9

Evaluating the interventions

9.1 Introduction

The reason for choosing action research was to change the violent situation in Njobokazi to be a peaceful environment. Meyer (2000: 9) explains that “the success of action research is not whether change can be positively demonstrated, but more what was learnt from experience of trying to change the experience.” This chapter will evaluate whether any change as a result of intervention did occur and whether participants, community members and researcher learnt from the workshops.

Furthermore, Somekh (2006: 23) states that “no research is ever neutral, but action research because it embodies an imperative for change is always explicitly value laden.” The workshops were not neutral because they were biased towards changing the community to be peaceful. In trying to change the community the study aimed to promote values of objectivity, goodwill, trust, hope, justice, oneness of humanity.

The first part of this chapter will discuss the main responses to the six evaluation questions that were asked during the evaluation session (these questions are in the methodology chapter). Here is the list of the six questions:

Are there any differences in the community now as a result of the intervention ?	4. What do you think you have learned personally as result of the workshops?
Can you think about something positive which happened during the workshops?	5. What are the fruits of these workshops for the community?
Can you think about anything negative which happened during the workshops?	6. How do you see the future in terms of community conflict?

Table 9.1 The six evaluation questions

In addressing the six questions, this chapter will firstly present the differences that came as result of the intervention. Secondly, the section will demonstrate how the intervention workshops benefitted participants. Thirdly, the section will address negative things that participants observed during workshops. The fourth issue that this section will also present, is what participants learnt during the intervention. Finally, the focus will be on the fruits of these workshops.

A further part of this chapter will focus on the issues identified during observation. Before the conclusion, a summary of key findings will be presented. The conclusion will summarise the most important points raised in this chapter.

The purpose of the evaluation was to evaluate the impact of the intervention programmes and to evaluate the knowledge acquired during the intervention and how this knowledge was practically used in the community. As this chapter evaluates the workshops, it contributes to an understanding of the following research questions:

How can I strengthen my ability to facilitate a reduction in violence in the community?

What would be short and long-term interventions that would completely eradicate violence in Njobokazi?

The process followed in conducting the evaluation was set out in Chapter 5.

9.2 Responses to the six questions

This section will summarise the responses from key informant interviews and focus group discussions to demonstrate the impact of the intervention and other learnings in relation to the programme.

9.2.1 Differences in the community now as a result of the workshops

The first question was: Are there any differences in the community now as a result of the intervention? Focus group discussion members were divided on this question. Some indicated that they could see the impact of the two workshops and some did not see the impact of the workshops. In contrast, all key informant interviewees identified differences in the community as a result of the intervention. Participants who did not see differences reported that the workshops should have been carried for all Njobokazi, Deda and community members, to ensure that there is universal understanding of the peace issues that were raised in the workshops.

Those who indicated that workshops made a difference and were impactful claimed that the workshops instilled courage and encouragement in individual community members, which helped them to initiate peace-related discussions and further helped community members to be confident about convening meetings that would discuss peace-related matters. Hence the workshops entrenched and encouraged the spirit of togetherness, spirit of promoting peace and spirit of friendship. As a result, some

members indicated that after the workshops they had informal discussions with community members about issues discussed during the workshops.

Subsequently, a few participants reported that there was a decline in the number of cases of gender-based violence, of the abuse of women and children, after they had attended these workshops. This is an achievement; as Gallo-Cruz and Remsberg (2021: 80) citing Jones (2011) remind us, “in many cases, violence against women grows stronger in the post-war period, as international eyes turn away and as wartime sexual violence carries over as a behaviour more strongly habitualised during the conflict.” This was not the case in Njobokazi after participants have gone through the workshops. They were quick to point out that this is an achievement that could be celebrated in the short term but that needs to be sustained. In addition, some participants indicated that they did not hear or witness any act of violence in their community after they have attended the two workshops.

Everything is quiet. I have never heard that there is someone who has quarrelled with someone and ended up fighting. I think people learnt how they should control themselves and this will help stop violent conflict in my community, (key informant Khomo, Mabhezeni area, September 2021)

Before the workshop, participants had shared that they had not trusted people who were coming from outside the community, but after they attended the two workshops, they were able to easily accept people who were bringing development in the area, such as development workers who are not part of the broader community

Before we were uneasy about accepting people. As a consequence of this, we were not free to talk about what happened and were not trusting outside people. Even people who have come to settle in our area, we had not told them of what has happened in the past. But now we are amenable to receiving people who can introduce developmental projects. There are now community projects being started in the area. We are attending agricultural workshops; we have started ploughing in Mabhezeni. We are also attending workshops educating us about starting and managing businesses (key informant interviewee Gasa, Deda area, September 2021).

In addition, another key informant added the following.

There is a lot, Shoji, that we are doing, where we are teaching people to plough, raising chickens (poultry farming,), and involving people to do lot of agricultural products like

ploughing dagga [marijuana]. What happens is that if you want to get involved in agricultural products you need to attend a workshop or training. Our community members have gone through the workshops. After the workshops you will go and implement what you have learnt during the workshops (key informant interviewee Shange, September 2021).

The workshops educated participants to work together as community members. Participants reported that working together and forge unity and social cohesion among community members was vital. Gaarder and Annan (2013:15) state that “the importance of social cohesion, or the (re)building of interpersonal or intergroup networks, trust, and reciprocity, as a crucial factor for peace building and conflict prevention could not be over emphasized. ”

These workshops brought a lot to the communities even new entrants to our community are now informed that our community is being transformed through these workshops and are beginning to love our place. If these meetings did not start, there were some of us who could still be uncomfortable moving around the community. The mistrust between different factions could have continued but these workshops made us to realise that these issues of fighting one another and bearing grudges do not take us forward. Instead the workshops paved a way for people to think in developmental way and have started to work together and now we can speak about agricultural projects that have started. Workshops have excellent spinoffs that deal with misconceptions amongst the members of the community and pave way for community members to work together. The difference is enormous (key informant interviewee, Gasa (September 2021).

The workshop empowered and gave courage to local leaders to convene meetings dealing with peace; for example, Mr Mbovu convened a meeting in Mabhezeni where he engaged the community about a series of housebreaking incidents that were engulfing the area. As a result of these meetings some young boys were caught and were not killed, as often happened in the past, but were handed over to the police. “Since these boys have been arrested it is quiet in the community. As result the house breaking incidents have abruptly stopped. We have never heard that there have been house breakings.” (key informant interviewee Meyiwa, September 2021)

The above points demonstrate notable differences in the community, where community members are working together to convene meetings dealing with peace related issues, notable difference in the decline of gender-based violence, community members beginning to initiate peace building initiatives, encouraging social cohesion

and allowing outside help in terms of humanitarian organisations giving help and food parcels.

The next section will deal with positive occurrences that happened during the workshop.

9.2.2 Positive experiences of the workshops

The next question was: Can you think about something positive which happened during the workshops? Most people enjoyed the fact that they were part of the workshops, because, in most cases, ordinary members do not get a chance to attend such workshops and as a result the information remained with leaders. The workshops offered an opportunity to talk about and reflect on Njobokazi's violent past. As a collective, workshop participants were able to reflect on the impact of violence, discuss how peace will be made and sustained and ensure that it does not slide back to violent conflict. It was surprising and humbling to hear participants testifying, acknowledging and realising that they made a mistake by fighting as a consequence of the violent past. They do not want to go back there:

We should not go back to violent conflict; instead we should solve our problems peacefully and or through dialogue. We should never go back to violence because what was ruling this community before was that if you have a problem with someone you must settle it through stick fighting and or through the barrel of a gun. Although we have already started with peaceful activities but the workshops strengthened our quest for peace in the area. Now we have a protocol that Njobokazi, Makhanya and Mkhize warriors when they enter the kraal during traditional ceremonies, they enter the kraal without being discriminated on basis of the chief that they come from, (key informant Gasa, September 2021).

During data collection and discussions of the findings with PRAT and community members, participants highlighted that they should get a healing workshop to assist the community with healing historical wounds:

As community members it is something that we identified and realized during research that we should do because our spirits were dampened, had emotional scars due to past historical violence and it was obvious during interactions that we need to be healed. The healing workshop introduced us to healing as important element to deal with traumatic experiences. Workshops allowed participants to reflect deeply about scars and trauma and slowly begin the process of cleaning the wounds, scars and healing (Gasa Ntombi during focus group discussion, September 2021).

Due to the fact that some people had lost their loved ones and family members, the entire community fled the area and some lost their property. The responses from participants demonstrated that workshops made them to reflect and begin the process of embracing and learning to forgive those that have violated one another in the past.

Whilst it is important to forgive, it should be coupled with healing. In short, the workshops were able to impart the following skills which are art of learning, being able to apologise, engage on a healing programme and learning to forgive your enemies or people that you have quarrelled with (key informant interview Dlamini, September 2021).

The workshops had imparted skills like the art of apologising, which was something that the community had never been socialized to do, because, during times of faction fighting and political violence, if you apologise you were seen as a coward. Now the community has realized through the help of the workshops that one of the pillars of peace making and peace building is to acknowledge if you are wrong and apologise to the other party. Furthermore, participants reported during the evaluation that the workshops imparted the positive communication skills which assist community members to be able to respond appropriately and be able to negotiate if there is a conflict.

These communication and conflict resolution skills assist participants to be able to resolve conflict peacefully; to confirm this, focus group discussions and key informant interviews recounted that if there is a conflict in the community, people need to sit and talk about issues and resolve them peacefully rather than through fighting (Buthelezi, Key informant interviewee, Nxasana September 2021).

Kellet and Matyok (2017: xi) similarly state that “communication is the primary praxis of non-violent conflict transformation and peace building.” Sitting down and resolving issues peacefully is the way to go. As they and Nxasana mention, it could solve many problems of the community of Njobokazi if people could learn to talk and resolve their issues peacefully.

Because participants learnt from previous political violence and faction fighting that minor or small arguments might result or escalate to fierce or violent conflict.

As two people quarrelling you need to sit them down with their opponent and resolve the matter before each of them attract supporters who will perpetuate violence (key informant interviewee Mabhida, September 2021).

Participants indicated that, in most cases, in the past, workshop provided in the area had been attended only by the leadership of the community and these leaders do not normally report back to them. What was unique and exemplary about these workshops was that they were attended by various classes of the community like women, young, old, izinduna, leaders of warriors and other men.

These workshops impacted and or equipped participants with skills to resolve community conflict. As one participant noted, “now I know that I should play a role. when two people are quarrelling, I need to talk to them, separate or talk to them before they could engage in a physical fight. I know I need to get involved.”

We do not want to go back to violent conflicts. If people have problems, they must solve them peacefully or we do not want to see violence again (faction fighting and or political violence). If a person has quarrelled with somebody they need to sit down or ask other people to resolve their problem and those will prevent us from fighting resulting in the faction fighting and political violence. The one who is in the wrong should be asked to apologies. Because we are in this situation because people undermined other people and did not deal with conflicts in a peaceful manner (key informant interviewee Nene, September 2021).

These workshops did not discriminate between people of different status and, as result, they helped to ensure that discussions about peace take place at all levels of the community. Ordinary people were able to air their views freely.

Although participants shared that there were able to meet and engage and mix with people that they fought with before but could not trust each other fully, workshops changed and transformed individual thinking about peace and the role that each individual should play in promoting peace, for example:

There are two people who attended the Mariannhill workshop and had long been unable to talk to each other for such a long time because they had quarrelled with one another. After a few presentations I saw them sitting together on one table talking. I think because they heard and learn about issues that were being discussed during workshop and realized that they must smoke the peace pipe and stop whatever that was going on between them. I could see where they were sitting exchanging views and opinions. After the workshop everything was fine. Even now they are no longer enemies and they are friends. I can see that they resolve their matter whilst sitting down during the workshop (key informant interviewee Cele, September 2021).

The quotation above indicates that one of the critical areas of conflict transformation is to transform relationships. Similarly, Mitchell (2002: 14) writes of "...the need for changes in the 'relationship' between the adversaries, and that a lasting transformation of the conflict must involve such a restructuring if it is to be successful. Some advocates do talk about the need to create or restore a relationship but this expression seems to me to miss the point that adversaries are already involved in a relationship, however unsatisfactory as this might be, so that the adversary relationship has to be fundamentally changed before one can speak of the conflict being transformed."

To summarise, the workshops were not discriminatory because they included all sectors of the society. They provided an opportunity for participants to reflect on violence, enhanced communication skills and the art of apologising, assisted participants to begin trusting one another, assisted participants to build and transform relationships, equipped participants with skills to resolve community conflict, and transformed individual thinking about peace and the role that each individual should play in promoting peace.

The next session will discuss negative occurrences which happened during the workshops.

9.2.3 *Negative experiences of the workshops*

This section deals with following question: Can you think about anything negative which happened during the workshops? The overall impression of the workshops was that there was nothing wrong with the workshops, with the exception of logistical arrangements of the workshops. The sentiments were that there was nothing wrong on issues that were discussed during the workshops. But participants raised the following concerns. Key informant Mabasa, who was a participant in the focus group discussion, stated that all topics discussed during workshops were interesting but the problem was that the workshops could not be rolled out to the entire community.

Participants questioned the issue of keeping time, starting on time and finishing on time amongst attendees. Participants advised that future workshops organized by the community should stick to time. Furthermore, some participants complained that the workshops took too long.

Some participants complained about transport in relation to the AVP workshop. Some participants were not happy with how transport was arranged because extra people turned up, resulting in some people not attending the workshop. We learnt that in future we need to manage the numbers and ensure that the required number of people gets transported. Thus the only significant issue where participants commented negatively were such issues as logistics, incomplete participation and duration.

9.2.4 Participants' individual learnings as a result of the workshops

This section attempts to answer the following question: What do you think you have learned personally as result of the workshops? The workshops assisted some participants to understand and learn about the history of violence and develop a peace pact for the community. Individuals from the community understood that it is the responsibility of everyone to initiate, keep, make and sustain peace. They acknowledged that, in the past, only leaders were given the responsibility for peace and ordinary people did not attend such workshops.

Most participants shared that the workshops communicated that each and every other's point of view is important, regardless of the position people hold in society. Participants shared that this taught them a lesson to value and respect each other point of views. This was against the backdrop of previous practice, where ordinary people's points of views had been taken for granted and the views only of people of high status had been listened too, respected and followed as policy. Participants added that, if people's views are listened to and not taken for granted, that on its own will improve peace and community development in the community. Participants reminded each other that violent conflict was exacerbated by people undermining and disrespecting other people.

Some participants noted that the facilitation style especially during the AVP workshops was informal, friendly and using problem-solving skills that enable them to reflect and share very emotional experiences, traumatic experiences and difficult issues.

At AVP workshop I liked the facilitation style, facilitators used activities that made us to go through very heavy and serious stuff being unaware that we were off loading a heavy burden of traumatic experiences without any hurdles and it was easy. Being serious sometimes cause problems and unnecessarily tension and this way of imparting knowledge made people to

relax as a result they did not take things seriously and simultaneously learn at same time (Focus group member Deda, September 2021).

Community members were reluctant to report violent acts and criminal acts to police and had been socialized to resolve conflicts through violence. The workshops stressed the importance of resolving conflicts through peaceful means; if these methods have failed and criminal acts have been committed in the community, members need to report criminal acts to the police or criminal justice system. The workshop assisted the community to gain strength in reporting criminal activities if there are any.

The workshops trained community members to understand that respect for others is something that should be promoted all the time. In our community people were only respected if they were feared, then people wanted to be warriors so that they could be feared and respected. Participants understood that respect should be earned through good things you do for the community, not through killing and inflicting violence.

Respect is something that should be promoted all the time; people need to respect one another. For example, if you have wronged someone and you should have the guts and balls to go and apologise to him or her in order to avoid that when you meet in the street, you do not fight with one another (key informant Dlamini, September 2021).

Lederach (1995) cited in Miall (2001: 4) similarly emphasises that respect is important in conflict transformation and argues that “conflict transformation must actively envision, include, respect, and promote the human and cultural resources from within a given setting.”

There is a gender element relating to violence, where boys and men are always encouraged to fight to resolve conflict. Participants resolved during evaluation sessions that more workshops and discussions need to target men and boys.

Women are not used to fight and it is not in their DNA to promote violence. Boys and men are the ones who usually promote the culture of fighting one another. Men bear grudges and women are capable of talking to one another and negotiate and resolve their issues peacefully (Focus group participant, September 2021)

One key informant interviewee, Mkhize (September 2021), stated that “as a woman if someone has wronged you, you will wait for one and or two days and you will go to her and tell her that you did not like what she said to you and then we will talk over it,

and that will be end of the conflict. It is our nature as women, we do not want to inflict pain and fight with no apparent reason.”

Participants resolved that there is a need to target boys and train these boys on peace building and conflict resolution. One key informant interviewee stated that we need to target young boys so that they know that peace should be something that should be promoted. Young boys should learn about peace and should know that you need to resolve conflict in a peaceful manner and smoke the peace pipe whenever there have been arguments.

Boys are the ones who are problematic and young boys need to attend meetings so that they will stop to go and drink. When you speak to the young boys, tell them how they should behave. Young boys should be educated all the time that they are not supposed to fight (key informant interviewee Ndimande, September 2021)

Furthermore, discussions encouraged participants to respect culture and practise customs that promote peace and stability and do away with cultures and practices that perpetuate violence. For example, one of the participants during the focus group discussions said that we need to be responsible and respect our cultures and use our cultures respectfully.

Some participants during the evaluation indicated that part of the healing process involves forgiving those who wronged you in the past.

We learnt a lot about when you are a person what happens in life. We learnt about healing and forgiving other people. We also learnt that if there is a conflict you need to sit and talk about issues and resolve them peacefully rather than through fighting (key informant interviewee Nyathi, September 2021).

Key informant Ndulini (September 2021) adds that “whilst forgiving it is important to observe the relationship between respect and forgiveness. If people do not want to forgive and respect one another, that takes the community backwards and slides the community back to violence because there will be always an element of wanting to revenge.”

I learned that we need to acquire the skills of being able to forgive. Because violence in our community, it was ordinary people and community members who started it and not foreign individuals. The very same people who fought before have come back again to stay together. The workshop taught me that if I know who have wronged me or killed a member of my family,

that might result in people taking revenge, but because of these workshops, I know that we should promote peace. Because we stay together now, the issue of peace is not negotiable and we should smoke the peace pipe and forgive one another. We must not always think about which sides you belonged during the gruesome and violent past but encourage everyone to live in a peaceful place and a peaceful environment (key informant interviewee Buthelezi, September 2021).

The issues of respect, healing, forgiveness and trust were intensely discussed during the course of the workshops. For example, there are some participants who did not trust one another and were anxious that they might attack one another, as they knew what had happened during violence. Participants stated that there had been cleansing ceremonies and meetings convened by political and traditional leaders but never an in-depth discussion and reflection about violence and peace building similar to that undertaken during this study.

Mfokashozi, I learnt a lot in these workshops. One prominent issue is that travelling to these meetings I was with people that I did not trust, thinking that one day they might turn against me and kill me due to the previous faction fighting and political violence that has taken place. But the workshops that you came with and the other sister trained all of us to be tolerant and accept one another and bury the hatchets. What these workshops and bringing us together demonstrate, is that we will not go back to violent past because these workshops taught us about the importance of peace and what peace could do in our community. It demonstrates that we will never fight or kill one another. These workshops brought changes and transformed our communities to think about peace and promote peace (key informant interviewee Mthethwa, September 2021).

It is clear from this session that participants learnt a lot, including learning about the history of violence, understanding the responsibility of everyone to initiate, keep, make and sustain peace, recommending that more workshops and discussions need to target men and boys, and lastly emphasising that the issues of respect, healing, forgiveness and trust are important pillars of any peace building initiatives.

9.2.5 The fruits of these workshops for the community

This section answers the question: What are the fruits of these workshops for the community? A key element seemed to be the communication and listening skills as skills that would help prevent conflict from happening and sustain peace. Participants shared that the communication and listening skills continue to help participants to

listen to other people's views and understand other people's point of views. This will enhance community dialogue whenever they are dialoguing on community issues.

Although communities have on their own learnt to live side by side, workshops cemented this relationship. The workshops helped to strengthen the community and neighbourly relationships. Strengthening community and neighbourly relationships enhanced the functioning of resources for peace, such as religion, new schools, non-violent traditional leadership, leaders of warriors and rich cultural celebrations of culture.

The evidence from what was said by participants is that professional help like seeking counselling is something that the community has underestimated but the healing workshop introduced this element, which was indeed helpful when people are depressed and traumatized. Although professional help is something foreign to the community, participants resolved to seek professional help if there is a need. One participant during focus group discussions shared that "we need to learn to listen to new information and get exposed to things that we have never experienced before."

Community members are relieved to be able to talk freely about past violence without being afraid that they will revoke past pains or divide the community:

Before the workshop proceedings, it was difficult to freely talk about past violent conflict since no one was sure what would be the response of other party. What exacerbated this is the fact that people left for different areas but are now coming back to resettle in the area (key informant interviewee Shoji, September 2021).

In summary, the fruits of the workshops include developing communication and listening skills of community members, building and transforming relationships, helping to enhance infrastructure for peace. Furthermore, community members can freely able to reflect about violence and there is greater willingness of community members to participate in psychosocial services.

9.2.6 The future in terms of community conflict

This section deals with the question: How do you see the future in terms of community conflict? All focus group members and key informant interviews agreed that political violence and faction fighting are unlikely to take place in the future.

As a person who grew up in this area of Njobokazi we will not in future witness political violence or faction fighting but that does not mean that there will be no conflict but one on one violent conflict and general criminal activities will continue to happen (Buthelezi, December 2021).

Participants said that the previous (apartheid) government allowed violence to thrive in the community of Njobokazi. The democratic government will not allow people to instigate and perpetuate violence. But criminality and sporadic killing of people will continue to take place. The issue is that people continue to own legal and illegal guns in the community and this makes a conducive environment for criminality to take place. Minnaar (2001) writes about the new vigilantism in post April 1994 and asks whether it is crime prevention or an expression of lawlessness. "The late 1980's and early 1990s years when political violence was at a high level and prior to the April 1994 elections, there occurred many incidents where township residents took law into their own hands. Vigilantism in post 1994 South Africa remains a highly emotional and contentious issue not only politically but also on a community and policing level," (Minnaar 2001: 01).

The evidence from workshops demonstrate that the workshops played a critical role in transforming the community to think peace. Thinking peace involves "creating awareness, natural discourse through education, conflict is avoided by looking things or situations at face value instead of deeper interpretation, positive thinking, perceptions and feelings that enhance love, understanding and clarity in human relationships. The approach of building new things generates creative platforms that simultaneously address the surface issues and change the underlying social structures and relationship patterns" (Mwanzia 2019: 1). As participants are now thinking peace, participants shared during workshops and the evaluation session that faction fighting and political violence are unlikely to take place in Njobokazi.

These workshops brought changes and transformed our communities. The workshops created a conducive atmosphere for people to be able to dialogue, talk about community issues, reflect about violence and peace. Community members indicated that they were talking about workshops and peace in almost all the corners of the community (key informant interview Gasa and Mabhida, September 2021).

To deal with criminality, participants indicated that people should be kept busy in terms of working and having things that will occupy them and this will help in terms of reducing criminality, if not eradicating it completely.

In summary, all participants agreed that the large scale political and faction fighting are unlikely to happen in the future, because, through various interventions, community members are now thinking peace. It is worrying though that criminality will continue to thrive in the community.

9.3 Participant observation and transect walk

Here on this section, I am reporting on the observation element of the evaluation and this section respond to the following research questions.

On the morning of the 11th of September 2021, I observed the Shembe church service which started at 9h00 and ended at 11h00. The researcher's observation is that the church is new and did not exist during the times of faction fighting and political violence. There were about 47 people who attended the church service – 20 women, ten men, ten girls and seven young boys.

The church has a charity programme which makes contributions to various poor people. The headquarters of the church in eBuhleni receive donations from various branches and distribute these donations to various poor people. As part of its charity work, members of the church were asked to contribute R200 and 10 kg rice which were going to be transported to the headquarters of the church. The church service was great, in the sense that the scripture read on the day promoted peace and unity in the community. The leader of this branch offered to speak to other members of other church denominations to begin the annual church service to pray for peace.

As a researcher, I have spent time in the community in terms of observing and walking around the community of Njobokazi and interacting with various people in the community, which provided me with a sense that the community is now a fairly quiet and relatively peaceful area. 'Peacefulness' could be attributed not only to the research intervention but also to other interventions made by various institutions like the church. I know this through interacting with research participants and academic sources that provided information about attempts that were implemented in the community to try and resolve conflict.

I also observed a stokvel meeting where participants were checking the stokvel's expenditure books and engaging one another about who is paying well and mentioning defaulters. This is a community building initiative; it includes people who were enemies before but now are community members working together to assist one another.

I observed the Mophela traditional ceremony, where about ten goats were slaughtered. The family who had slaughtered the goats used to fight and joined opposite sides. The spirit that prevailed in this ceremony, was the spirit of unity, togetherness and friendship. People were singing songs, performing Zulu dance and enjoying Zulu beer. I also visited Mseleku traditional wedding, likewise, the Mseleku traditional wedding was peaceful and there were no incidents of people quarrelling or fighting.



Figure 9.1 Mseleku traditional ceremony, 12 September 2021

9.4 Summary of findings of the intervention

This section summarises key findings discussed in this chapter. The most important finding was that participants acknowledged that in the past they were not given opportunities to attend such workshops.

The observation assisted to observe and see the resources for peace that are in the community like religious institutions, school, traditional structures, community development projects, and stokvel initiatives.

The results of the evaluation demonstrate that it is unlikely that faction fighting and political violence would take place due to a number of interventions that have taken place like cleansing ceremonies, this peace building study and its workshops. However, criminal violence continues to be a problem.

The workshop instilled and enhanced communication skills, listening skills, and the art of forgiving and trust. People realised that peace should be attained through observing and practising some of these skills.

The issue of healing is something that participants took for granted but, after the community healing session, most members saw the importance of this and even wanted to enrol their family members. The workshops made people of Njobokazi to realise the need for engaging in psycho-social services. Members of the community demonstrated that they will now approach local social workers if they need help.

People who used to fight before came together and conversed about violence and realised the importance of resolving conflict through peace. This means that the workshop was able to enhance and build relationships amongst members.

The evaluation highlighted that women are not violent but there should be workshops that target boys, because they are seen as people who are violent. The workshop stressed the point of resolving conflict through peaceful means and reporting to the police.

9.5 Conclusion

This section provided information that the interventions were impactful and will one way or the other contribute to Njobokazi and peace building initiatives. Observing people who participated in the evaluation, it was very clear that they were confident and committed to building peace in their community.

Chapter 10

Conclusions and recommendations

10.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to take stock of what the study has presented. First, this chapter will reflect on the research problem and set out the research process that was followed to address the research problem. Secondly, this chapter will briefly reflect on the key findings, discussion of which will demonstrate how these findings answered or addressed relevant the research questions. Thirdly, the major themes will be presented. Fourthly this chapter will discuss insights into the research process and implications for theory on action research. The fifth point will further discuss the strengths and limitations of theories on violence.

The last section will focus on recommendations, which will focus on two areas, which are those for action and those for research.

In conclusion, key points will be summarised.

10.2 Research problem, the aim of the study and research questions

This section focuses on the research problem, aim of the study and research questions.

The study set out the *research problem*, which was to understand in depth the nature of the violence in Njobokazi, in terms of intrapersonal and interpersonal issues, as well as the relationships between communities. Once the study has been conducted, the forms of intervention would be developed to address issues. The entire research process was set out to analyse the research problem, implement the intervention and do the analysis of the action The aim of the study is to increase the ability of people in Njobokazi to bring peace to the area.

This chapter will present evidence that the study increased the ability of people of Njobokazi to bring peace in the area and in particular that the intervention workshops helped to enhance community members skills to bring peace in the area. Further, the process of the study helped the Njobokazi community to reflect on the impact of violence and to reach agreement that there was no need for the community to fight. The aim of the study was, it will be argued, thus achieved.

The study addressed the following four research questions.

- 1) How does violence operate in Njobokazi?
- 2) What have been and continue to be the drivers of violence in the Njobokazi Community?
- 3) How can I strengthen my ability to facilitate a reduction in violence in the community?
- 4) What would be short and long-term interventions that would completely eradicate violence in Njobokazi?

After completion of the study, I believe that these questions were appropriate and effective in being able to provide a guide to data collection, analysis and the interventions. Research question 3 was perhaps most challenging as it involved the self. These questions were helpful because, they were able to be linked back to the theories.

10.3 The major findings

This section presents the key findings of the study. Some findings are found in chapter 2, chapter 6, chapter 7 and chapter 9. In this chapter, the findings are categorised and linked to the four research questions. This section aims to demonstrate that the study was able to address all the research questions mentioned in section 10.2 above.

10.3.1 How does violence operate in Njobokazi?

Chapters 6 and 7 in this study report have attempted to address this research question. Chapter 2, which sets out the historical background, provides the nature and the extent of the conflict and demonstrates how conflict operated in the community. The points that will follow relate to key findings relating to this research question.

10.3.1.1 Impact of violence

The findings are that violence has had devastating impacts. As result of the violent conflict, structures such as schools, homes, dipping tanks, and the Roman Catholic Church were destroyed. Furthermore, people lost lives, scores of people were injured and many more were displaced. About 2500 homesteads were displaced, which could translate to approximately 25 000 displaced people.

10.3.1.2 Violence as solution to violence

The study found out that there is a practice of solving problems through violence. This has led to a cycle of violence where two groups would fight and conquer one another; the irony though was that, once the one group has left, the remaining group would fight amongst themselves.

10.3.1.3 Profiting from ongoing violence

Violent conflict is very destructive in all respects and this was the case in Njobokazi but the study found out there were people who benefitting financial and otherwise from violent conflict. There were profiting from contributions made by individuals and homesteads where they buy ammunition, buy traditional medicine, grocery for the armed forces.

10.3.1.4 Production of hitmen

The study has found out that the conflict trained scores of people to be warriors and fighters, with some being experts in using automatic weapons. Hence this conflict produced hitmen who are hired in other areas to kill other people and perpetrate other violent crimes.

The cycle and long history of violence trained men to be criminals and once the violence has subsided, they were hired in other parts of the country and became hit men. Ngubane, Mkhize and Olofinbiyi (2020: 88) argue that “Mafia-like tactics, including the hiring of hitmen, are often used by rival association members to eliminate competition in the taxi industry.” Ngubane et al. (2020) cite Khosa (2020:88) and argue that some of the people in an association hire hitmen to kill drivers who are contesting with them for the same route. Dugard (2001b) in Ngubane and others (2020) remind us that “taxi association members even go as far as hiring hitmen from remote rural areas in the country and neighbouring countries to make it difficult for those people to be apprehended. These are people with military training and played significant roles in violence during the apartheid era. Their modus operandi is two-fold: they kill and they vanish.”

10.3.2 Intense divisiveness of family members

Violence divided family members, in that you would find close family members like brothers joining different factions and political parties. These divisions of family members exacerbated the intensity of the violent conflict. Families are institutions that

are supposed to instil discipline and cohesiveness of the community. The division of family members compromised peace building initiatives because the conflict would continue inside the homes of family members, until they relocated somewhere else.⁴

10.3.3 What have been and continue to be the drivers of violence in the Njobokazi Community?

Conflict transformation theory helped to analyse the drivers of violence and the following drivers of violence emerged during the analysis of the information that was gathered during the study. Chapter 7 presents key three categories of drivers of violence which are the root causes, enablers, and triggers. As explained in chapter 7, the following are the main root causes of violence.

10.3.3.1 Conquest mentality, warrior culture and the ubunsizwa syndrome

Parties wanted to conquer their opponents whether they are right or wrong. This conquest mentality was characterised by stubbornness, intolerance, and a conquest mentality. The following aspects are interrelated: a conquest mentality, a warrior culture and the strong and deep masculinity (ubunsizwa syndrome). Conquest mentality is the mentality where people want to solve conflicts through violence and not through peace making and peace building mechanisms, in the belief that no one would conquer them. The cycle of violence was caused by people who wanted to conquer and attack other people.

The study found out that those who attack and conquer people would be feared, hence they would exert power over and control those that they have conquered. The conquest mentality breeds the culture of revenge and vengeance to ensure that these people end up fighting everyone. Mazrui (2008: 67) argues that “African struggles against colonial rule did not begin with modern political parties and western trained intellectuals but originated in those early primary resisters with their spears poised against western military technology. The warrior culture is rooted in this history.”

The long history and cycle of violence is one of the root causes of violence because people grew up in a violent community and they did not have other options of survival because the community was riddled with violence. The long history of violence presents a continuum of violence activities where faction fighting, political violence, combination of political violence and faction fighting and sporadic attack and killing of people at work and places of refuge took place over long periods of time.

Research also established out that there were leaders of warring factions who profited from ongoing violence hence they were reluctant to end the violence.

A further root cause is the relation between faction fighting and political violence; this is because militancy acquired during faction fighting and the violent behaviour acquired and learnt during faction fighting translated into political violence. Due to the history of faction fighting members of various political parties would come to recruit community members to join their political parties with the view to first increase political membership and secondly to get people who are warriors who to assist the parties to fight their opponents.

10.3.3.2 Enablers of violence

Some of the enablers of violence were ready availability of guns and other dangerous weapons. The study revealed that home-made guns were available and some community members carried unlicensed firearms. Another important enabler is witchdoctors and traditional healers who provided traditional medicine that made men believe that they are strong, can fight anyone and can destroy everything.

The underdevelopment, and unavailability of resources like schools, unemployment and faith-based institutions fuelled the violence and enabled violence it to be more intense.

10.3.3.3 Triggers of violence

When people are drunk, they tend to incite violence. Traditional ceremonies were also events that triggered violent actions. Fighting over women was another such.

10.3.4 How can I strengthen my ability to facilitate a reduction in violence in the community?

This section will deal about what I have learned about my abilities to reduce violence and what I would do in future in such a context. This was done through mobilising community resources, inclusivity and key outcomes of the intervention workshops.

10.3.4.1 Mobilising community resources

The study equipped me with the ability to facilitate a reduction in violence in the community through learning the importance of mobilising community resources. After doing preliminary research on the area, I started putting together a research programme. I visited traditional leaders, community leaders and community members

to explain to them about the objectives of study. I convened community meetings. The above community engagement changed me and I learnt new skills about engaging traditional leaders and community leaders. This enhanced my ability to understand protocols that need to be followed when conducting a meeting in a rural area in the presence of traditional authority leaders.

I studied materials that relate to peace building. I work with PRAT members to identify key informant interviewees and identify focus group members, and developed data collection methods that enable me to surface key findings that enabled us to construct an intervention programme. Since the intervention required external help, I approached two non-governmental organisations to assist with the interventions. These organisations were Alternatives to Violence Project and Institute for Healing of Memories. These two organisations facilitated two separate workshops which were healing of memories workshop and AVP workshop. I was part of the facilitation team that facilitated the two workshops. The evaluation of these two interventions demonstrate that the two interventions were very impactful. The two intervention workshop that the community requested could not have been possible if outside non-governmental organisations were not invited to facilitate them. I learnt that if local resource are non-existent, it is important to source external support, as this was the case with the Healing of Memories and AVP workshops.

I learnt that if there are weak community resources geared towards promoting and protecting peace, there is fertile ground for peace to be compromised. I learnt that community resources aid community members to deal with a barrage of community problems and social ills. Through conducting this study, I have acquired abilities to mobilise community members, to facilitate workshops and invite non-governmental organisations to assist the community to deal with issues relating to violence and healing of memories. This was done as contribution to ensure that violence is reduced. I realised that as a researcher, I was sometimes caught between political and power struggles. I learnt to navigate around these power struggles. In dealing with these issues, I realised that it is important to observe and ensure that you respect participants and do not become biased in the process.

10.3.4.2 Inclusivity

I have learnt to strengthen my ability to facilitate a reduction in violence in the community through ensuring that participants who participated in the research as key informant interviewees, focus groups participants, participants in the intervention workshops and evaluation sessions are included, through the study, as different sectors of the community of Njobokazi. If this is done, all sectors of society understand why certain decisions and resolutions get taken; this would in return reduce retaliation and violence. In organising the intervention workshops, I ensured that participants come from diverse groups. This was echoed by participants during intervention workshops. It came out during the study that traditional leaders in the community did not give an opportunity to ordinary people, young people and women to attend workshops and peace building meetings. Understanding the significance of this approach was a significant learning.

10.3.4.3 Bringing resources for peace to Njobokazi

I learned that community members liked the external help and participated fully. They tend to utilise concepts and information gained in their real life situation. There were outside facilitators for both workshops and these facilitators learnt about the plight of Njobokazi violence and they are still eager to go back and continue with peace building workshops. I facilitated the intervention workshops and these workshops yielded positive results. One of the excellent outcomes of the intervention workshops is the demonstration of the understanding of two concepts of violence and nonviolence. The understanding by participants demonstrated that in future they will more likely resolve conflict in a non-violent manner.

People that have returned to Njobokazi have had a trust deficit amongst each other but the workshops assisted them to incrementally build trust and strengthen relationships, whilst assisting with listening skills and ensuring that the culture of forgiveness and communication skills are observed in the community. During the healing memories workshops participants presented their commitment that they would start appreciating each other more, assist one another if they have problems, build local institutions and build relationships amongst themselves.

The community healing workshops empowered participants to take charge of their lives, acknowledge where they have made mistakes, talk to the ones that they have

wronged and apologise; this is indeed respect for human life in action. Individual members realized the importance of taking part in resolving community problems.

The next discussion will focus on the short- and long-term interventions that would completely eradicate violence in Njobokazi.

10.3.5 What would be short and long-term interventions that would completely eradicate violence in Njobokazi?

The research findings have highlighted the following points as short term and long-term interventions that would reduce or completely eradicate violence in Njobokazi.

10.3.5.1 Psycho-social support

Research found out that community members were emotionally and psychologically affected by violence. Members of the community demonstrated that community members took for granted the psycho-social effects of violence. Addison and Brück (2009 : 2) warn “war (community violence in this case) is fundamentally a breakdown in moral values (...) war (community violence in this instance) is, at its heart a degeneration of the individual and common values of society.” Furthermore, the workshops helped community members to deal with these issues; there is a need for government and or non- governmental organisations to continue with psycho-social support. Karbo and Mutisi (2008:2) opine that “the psychological aspect of healing is imperative because those who have experienced the horrors of violent conflict are often scarred emotionally and left traumatized. In addition, healing at the psychological level allows for the rebuilding and mending of broken relationships, which is necessary for the human society to remain intact.”

As the data from various participants indicates, the memories are indeed traumatic and this is a major area for social action to build peace.

10.3.5.2 Local development

In addition to specific psycho-social support, there is a need for socio-economic support. Psycho-socio support could not happen effectively unless the socio-economic needs of people are taken care of. If the socio- economic conditions of people are not improved. There might be relapse back into conflict because the study has revealed that some war lords were benefitting from the conflict. Local development will focus on development and building the future of their community rather than destroy it. KZN Provincial government, eThekweni municipality and Mkhambathini Municipality should

trace people who were displaced and start a restitution programme for the members who left the area. The Department of Social Development should visit the area on occasional basis to deal with issues affecting the area, including assisting community members with psycho-social issues.

Further initiatives are described below in the recommendations.

10.3.5.3 Cleansing ceremonies, prayer and workshops

The study findings highlighted that there were attempts by Njobokazi leadership to implement peace-making and peace building mechanisms which were cleansing ceremonies and dialogues amongst community members. Further to the peace building mechanisms, prayer was one of the powerful tools used to heal past wounds and scars. This was confirmed by participants who attended the Healing of Memories workshops and AVP workshops and were happy that the workshops started and ended with prayers.

The study found out that, as much these peace building mechanisms like traditional peace building mechanisms, prayers and cleansing ceremonies were important and necessary but were on their own insufficient to deal with behavioural changes and transformation of community members.

We do not have a programme or way or somebody who will come from government and educate people about violence, its effects and how people in this community should behave and live peaceful (Khabazela focus group, January 2019).

It is important to point out that the study revealed that people who left Njobokazi because of the violent conflict are returning with no proper peace building skills. There were some loose peace agreements and brief cleansing ceremonies that did take place, but these did not involve any in-depth consultation and change of behaviour. Such interventions as AVP continue to be run in other villages; during the evaluation of the intervention participants indicated that the workshops should be extended to other villages. A core team from these villages should be trained to conduct these workshops. Furthermore, it is important to conduct special peace education workshops in the schools found in the community.

10.3.5.4 Graves

During the observation, it was established that the graves of people who died during violence are eroded and are not well kept. Participants during the focus groups and key informant interviews insisted that something must be done to ensure that the graves are in proper and respected state. The identification and continuous maintenance of the graves by Umkhambathini and eThekweni municipalities, taking care of graves that fall within their districts is something that the two municipalities should carry out. The already identified grave sites are Gconi, Mbuthu, Ediphini, Deda and eZimbokodweni. Kontsevaia (2013 : 17) argues that “the bodies of the deceased and their associated meanings continue to have an effect on the relations within the community of the living. First, dead bodies occupy a specific physical space, claiming the territory for the group of people who are related to the deceased. This means that territory remains an integral part of people’s identities as many people are tied to the physical space that surrounds them through their ancestors.” Furthermore, Kontsevaia (2013: 18) adds by manipulating the perceptions of the dead and re-creating collective memories, communities try to arrive at some sort of truth and justice. The collective memory is what guides the perceptions of the community.” The graves would be a constant reminder of the violent conflict and deter other people who might want to follow the violent path.

10.4 Key themes

Key themes are presented in this section, which are drawn from the themes developed from the initial data collection (chapter 6) and from the assessment of the interventions (chapter 9). The latter provided some additional themes related to both the identifiable continued problems of violence and the possibilities for peace that emerged through the intervention.

First, the themes identified in chapter 6 are revisited briefly. These are:

1	Memories of peaceful community life
2	Njobokazi within a broader context of violence
3	Njobokazi engulfed by the spirit and impacts of violence
4	Violence as the solution to violence: normalisation
5	Warrior culture, <i>ubunsizwa</i> and brutality
6	The revolving door of violence

7	Division of family members and family blocs
8	Targeting and killing of key leaders
9	Izinkabi: The production of hit men
10	The gendered nature of violence
11	Relation of other crimes to the Njobokazi community violence
12	Strategies to stop war and build peace – and their limitations

The additional themes that will be presented in this section are these:

13	Criminality and vigilantism as remaining problems
14	Women's role in peace building
15	The need to continue work with boys and men
16	The significance of an intervention.
17	Existing resources for peace building

10.4.1 Memories of peaceful community life

Residents had been embroiled in the devastating faction fighting and political violence and displaced from their own village. However, the community members residing in Njobokazi still hoped that their village would revert back to normality. There is an overall impression amongst research respondents that this had been a good and peaceful place where people were ploughing and had strong families. Initially Njobokazi had been seen as a village where culture and discipline was promoted. There were no criminal activities in the area. Most participants interviewed who lived in Njobokazi had loved the village

10.4.2 Njobokazi within a broader context of violence

The violence over the past decades in Njobokazi has always been connected to violence in the surrounding areas and beyond, both influenced by what happens in other areas and influencing them – through the movement of people, through organisations that spans areas, such as political groupings, and through the export of hitmen who learnt their trade in the area. This complicated matters, because people from these regions supported groups who were fighting in the region and would lend regiments to fight and or lend each other guns and weapons

10.4.3 Njobokazi engulfed by the spirit and impacts of violence

The people who lived at Njobokazi had strong views about the violence. There is not even a single one who supports what happened; even people who were leading various factions and different political parties did not support the gruesome violence. People had mixed feelings about Njobokazi faction fighting, political violence and the process that was followed to attain peace. Everybody agrees that violence had devastating impacts. The study found, first, that violent conflict had been allowed to thrive; in recent history, about 150 people have died and scores of people were injured. Social institutions like churches, dipping tanks, local shops in the area and schools were destroyed.

10.4.4 Violence as the solution to violence: normalisation

Njobokazi used to be riddled by faction fighting and political violence where there was violent conflict after violent conflict. Violence was a norm at Njobokazi because of the unending cycle of violence where the defeated group would flee the area and the victorious group would remain, would quarrel amongst themselves and fight until there was nobody left. The level of acceptance of violence was indicated when community members spoke as if they understood that dying in the battlefield is normal because you have gone to fight and you become unlucky and die.

Bar-Tal, Abutbul-Selinger and Raviv (2014: 369) argue that the long lasting conflicts with the prolonged and imprinting collective experiences lead to the development of a culture of conflict. The evolved culture of conflict with the continuous violence is the key feature of intractable conflicts. Men in Njobokazi wanted solved everything through the barrel of a gun and solving problems through fighting was a norm. People did not like to resolve issues through discussions and talking (Gidela, November 2019).

The normalisation of violence as the method to resolve problems is reported in the following chapters: two, six, seven, eight and nine.

10.4.5 Warrior culture, ubunsizwa and brutality

A deeply entrenched conquest mentality has dominated social relations in the area, inflicting deep misery on all. This has relied on ubunsizwa, a 'tough' form of masculinity that emphasises the use of violence and of not losing to anyone. Boys are inducted into it through stick-fighting and through witnessing the involvement of youths and men in direct violence. It has fostered an idea of power as domination over others as the

basis for gaining respect. The winning faction would not be satisfied by defeating their opponents but instead would drive them out of the village to ensure that they were completely conquered and they would never return to their homes.

10.4.6 The revolving door of violence

Violence acts as a pervasive but shifting force and is thus not simply categorised. There are difficulties in defining this in categorical terms such as ‘faction fighting’ or ‘political violence’ and therefore not also something else (such as gender-based violence or conflicts over resources). The form violence predominantly takes will vary from time to time, but there is a continuity across time and space. This is consistent with Adams’ (2012) theory of chronic violence.

10.4.7 Division of family members and family blocs

Conflict in Njobokazi has never existed solely between stable groupings. The term ‘faction fighting’ has often been understood to mean that clans have long-standing feuds that emerge into violence. However, for decades violence has taken place with family members pitted against each other, ensuring that for great numbers of people, ‘family’ is not a place of safety. In some instances, close family members were in the forefront of spying on and killing their own family members who supported different groups. In contrast, there have also been more secure family groupings whose internal unity gave them greater power in local conflicts.

10.4.8 Targeting and killing of key leaders

Leaders were systematically attacked, whatever side they were on, preventing the emergence of a layer of leaders who could command respect except through force. This has prevented any initiative to address development in the area.

10.4.9 Izinkabi: The production of hit men

A specific product of the socialisation and experiences of men, combined with the lack of economic opportunities, has been the emergence of skilled and confident hitmen, who are in demand elsewhere for settling conflicts or scores. The ongoing conflict has produced fighters, leaders of warriors who plan and execute these fights. When the violence had ended, if these people have not been demilitarised they would want to continue fighting elsewhere.

10.4.10 *The gendered nature of violence*

While boys were systematically inducted into violence through stick-fighting and immersion in the culture of violence, women were almost entirely excluded. Women tended to underplay their both sufferings and their role during the fighting. Women did not share their sufferings with their families but suffered a lot. Some women lost husbands or boy children, observed their children not going to school, lost property and sometimes were ridiculed by men from the other factions. However, during violent conflict women would take over some of the typical gender roles played by men. They were also possible channels, through their relationships with women on the 'other side' for attempts to resolve conflicts.

10.4.11 *Relation of other crimes to the Njobokazi community violence*

The nature and complexity of the Njobokazi violent conflict provided fertile ground for other individuals to exploit the opportunity and commit other crimes. Political violence and faction fighting are a crime but other people saw an opportunity to commit other crimes which were never paid much attention to, because there was chaos in the area. Almost all participants shared that political violence was accompanied by criminal acts.

The focus on the predominant form of community violence potentially under-registers the continuing presence of criminality that could seldom be addressed under conditions of deep insecurity and inadequate policing.

10.4.12 *Strategies to stop war and build peace – and their limitations*

Despite this recurring pattern of violence, residents had undertaken various initiatives to stop war, make peace and build peace. These had some degree of success, but also were marked by significant limitations. Most participants indicated that the attempts to stop the fights at the beginning were superficial but became serious and genuine only after almost all people had left the community. Although there was a culture of solving problems through violence, there were also attempts made to deal with violence. However, it became clear that there were no mechanisms to prevent violence from happening.

Secondly, there were problems of real or perceived bias, and, further, there had been no attempt in the initiatives to include women. There was no attention to the issue of how to deal with traumatic memories.

The additional themes were developed through and on reflection on the interventions described in chapter 8.

10.4.13 *Criminality and vigilantism as remaining problems*

With the reduction in community violence, what has come into sharper focus is the underlying, more individualised criminality. The response has been the formation of a vigilante organisation, Isikhebe, that has primarily addressed stock theft, until recently, through violent action. This group inculcates the culture of violence because people who have been found guilty would be beaten up. Indeed, people who have been suspected to have stolen goats and cows were killed. The lack of an established police station has contributed to the reliance of such initiatives. Various participants in this research have testified that the issue of criminality will continue to engulf the area but mass political and factional fighting are unlikely to happen in future.

10.4.14 *Women's role in peace building*

Women formed an integral part of the Njobokazi community. It is important to note that women had not been involved or invited in the peace-making and peace building discussions – nor were they allowed to fight. Whenever women tried to ask men about violence, men used to dismiss them. This transformation informs the future resolution of the conflict because the study found out the transformation of gender roles would help in ensuring that women get involved in peace building activities. Women were immediately responsive to the opportunities presented for engagement in the two intervention workshops. This pointed to the opportunity for interventions to start with women, given their responsiveness to peace initiatives. As the research progressed, my sense of women as peacebuilders came out very strongly and sharply. I realized that if women would have been involved during the early stages of the conflict that the peace building process and direction that the conflict took could have followed a different path which would have been peaceful. If women are excluded from discussions, you are left to deal only with those who have taken the most divisive positions in relation to others

“Women are the most suffering part of populations in conflict. They are required to fulfil different responsibilities during, end and after conflicts. Considering this fact, participation of women at peace building efforts in post-conflict areas has been considered as sine qua non requirement. However, active participation of women at

these efforts, particularly decision-making activities has been hampered due to diverse reasons. The barriers that block women involved in peace building processes as decision-makers should be re-examined and eliminated by eradicating inequalities (Erzulum 2014: 236)."

10.4.15 *The need to continue work with boys and men*

The interventions were valuable but there was no specific attention to the ways in which a hegemonic masculinity has been a central feature in the violence of the area (Carton and Morrell 2012; York 2014). The possibilities for a sustainable reduction in community violence are that much greater if boys and men are mobilised towards care and mutual support instead of towards a conquest mentality and power through the enactment of violence.

This calls for the involvement of such resources as Sonke Gender Justice (n.d.), which work with men in ways that affirm masculinity but in ways that do not encourage privileging and imbalances of power.

10.4.16 *The value of an intervention programme*

One consequence of the Covid-19 pandemic was the long delay between the intervention workshops and the evaluation on the interventions. This unintentionally provided evidence as to the sustainability of the interventions, as the strongly positive comments at the conclusion of the workshops were echoed roughly a year later.

This attests to the significant impact even a short-term intervention may have, though no claim is made that these brief interventions will necessarily reduce violence in future years. No attempt was made in this study to measure in economic terms the value of social change in the area, but the study seems to have engendered a sense of hope and confidence in the possibility of change.

Furthermore, the process of the study, even before the intervention phase, seemed to be a positive experience for participants. During data collection methods, key informant interviewees and participants in the focus groups shared that the study provided them the opportunity to thoroughly reflect about violence and wanted to come up with solutions. They saw the study on its entirety as an intervention on its own right.

During the evaluation, participants indicated that they have initiated a process where community leaders and community members mainstream in community meetings and

programmes wherein community structures and traditional structures take the lead. For example, during the Hadebe traditional ceremony one of warrior leaders had to say this:

As warriors you need to respect one another. In this village we fought and killed one another but we did not gain anything out that. It is therefore important to respect one another as warriors and if we have problems we must report our own issues to warrior leaders so that they will resolve them (warrior leader, February 2020).

The study assisted the community to continuously question and reflect on violence tendencies and identify pitfalls in the previous conflict and used that experience to framework peaceful ways of engagement.

I thus judge the intervention to be effective. The impact of the intervention made community members realise the role that should be played by women in peacebuilding and conflict resolution initiatives. The discussions and resolutions of the intervention workshops enhanced and instilled a culture of finding alternatives methods that could be used to solve problems other than violent means. Since the justice system is weak, resolving problems peacefully lessens the burden on police and magistrates to deal with such cases.

The interventions empowered people to take charge of their lives. They understood that they have a duty to prevent and broker and resolve the conflict. People know that when they have made mistakes, they should talk to the ones that they have wronged and apologised.

The workshop helped to deal with intrapersonal conflict within individuals as well as interpersonal conflict. One participant (Mabaso, November 2021) said that violence affected individuals and these individuals had conflict within themselves which had to be resolved which affected relations with other groups. The workshops assisted to begin the process of dealing with this. The healing of memories workshop assisted to begin the process of dealing with intrapersonal violence, intrapersonal violence and trauma. Organisations who are in the psycho-social space should continue helping the community.

If the community is peaceful, it is easy for the community to develop and that is significance and contribution that the intervention has made to help community members to think about peace and begin the process of developing their community.

The two workshops were shown to have been impactful and to have contributed to Njobokazi peacebuilding initiatives. People who used to fight before came together, conversed about violence and realised the importance of resolving conflict through peace. The study was able to enhance and build relationships amongst members and help them to think peace in all community endeavours. The community began reflecting about the psychological effects of violence and on their own conflict resolution; they will need to continue and sustain these initiatives.

Through the intervention a non-governmental organisation called ACYCDP sat up its head office in the area to deal with community problems relation to psycho-social issues, deals with children rights and poverty related programmes.

10.4.17 *Existing resources for peace building*

The study revealed that there are existing resources for peace building. There are traditional authorities like chief, headmen, warrior leaders and leaders of the religious structures. These existing resources for peace building allow the Njobokazi community to resolve conflict internal using their own skills and resources. it became apparent that there were people who tried to broker peace but there was no support. The community relied on traditional methods of peace making which worked in some instances but they could not tap into modern ways of resolving conflict. Van Tongeren (2011: 50) posits that bottom up approaches seem to work best because they have a replication effect: from remote regions in a country, the peace structures can spread thorough out the country and ultimately become national policy.

The intervention programme has assisted in terms of strengthening local community by training them on AVP which assisted them to be able to deal with violence, resolve conflict, prevent violence and build consensus over contentious issues in an inclusive and credible manner, (Van Tongeren, 2011). The existing resources for peace building which are traditional methods are important but limiting in some instances because they do not tap into behaviour change.

10.5 Insights into research process

The research process started with the development of research proposal, requested the gate keeper's letter, entered the field, conducted focus groups and key informant interviews, collated findings and engaged PRAT members to decide on the intervention, intervention workshops were run and then the evaluation of the intervention was conceived and got implemented.

Entering the community of and Njobokazi was rather difficult. There was tension between councillor and headman. But eventually I was given permission to conduct research. Chigwata (2016: 69) advances an idea that "traditional leaders are often in conflict with state structures, particularly rural local governments, which is largely attributed to competition for power, resources and legitimacy.

The research methods (key informant interviews, focus groups and observations) employed within the action research process encouraged participants to be vocal and to transform their thinking about violence. These research methods are transformative in nature and encouraged participants to reflect about violence and develop their own strategies in sustaining and building peace in Njobokazi.

I learned that using different methods helped to remedy possible pitfalls in the findings; for example, there was a case during the focus group discussions where there was an apparent but false consensus, when one dominant participant's opinion was not challenged. However, his views were challenged in the key informant interviews, which presented alternative views. This is indeed confirmed the need for triangulation in research. Litosseliti (2003: 23) argues that "focus groups participants often do not want to tell certain things to a group of people, particularly if they perceive these things to be too personal or embarrassing, or they may think the language they want to use is inappropriate for that group setting." Some members were not comfortable in sharing personal views during the focus groups because everybody in the group would know about their private affairs or issues.

It is heavy to conduct violence-related research. It is heavy because you have to listen and take participants with you to understand the research process. Participants relive the violence past through the research process and as a researcher you also live their violent past. I have used Master's and PhD students to provide support and to help me reflect. This team meets quarterly to review share experiences on various research

projects conducted by various teams. I reflect with my supervisors about issues that I come across during the research progress.

The crux of the research was the representation of the community by the PRAT, which consists of members who come from the community. Their involvement in the PRAT activities ensured that peace related activities got mainstreamed in other community programmes. Butterfoss (2006: 323) explains that “first, communities shape behaviour through a system of exchange and influence.” The discussion that ensued on agreeing on the type of the intervention was interesting and where members of the community and committee convinced each other why AVP and the Healing of Memories workshops were critical.

Action research is rich in process and empowers communities to deal with their own issues. It forces people to think about their own situation and come up with solutions to their own problems. It requires both the community and researcher to be flexible and open minded about the issues being researched. It provided space and new strategies for the community to yearn to approach things differently and challenge the status quo. McNiff and Whitehead (2011:15) state that “when to use action research, use action research when you want to evaluate whether what you are doing is influencing your own or other people’s learning, or whether you need to do something differently.” Using action research assisted the community to use action research principles when dealing their own issues. The interventions and reflections helped the community realize that the violence in the community was a mistake and it should never have happened. This was an acknowledgement by community members that peace making and peace building are in their hands. This reflection of the community members came during the workshops.

Participants however felt that action research would sometimes be repetitive and repeat things that have been discussed in the previous stages, for example, something could be discussed during exploratory stage, come again during the intervention stage.

10.5.1 Implications for theory on action research

I have learnt about peace building whilst I was practising it through conducting research and also facilitating intervention workshops. Through action research I was able to identify weaknesses and areas that need improvement in the community.

Action research helped to improve the understanding of the root causes of violence in the community. It has increased knowledge and literature to deal with faction fighting and political violence. I learnt that if a certain section of the community like women and ordinary people are involved in decision making process like peace building discussions and this will assist to ensure important decisions are not only influenced by a certain proportion of the community but become inclusive decisions.

There is no one method that could solve conflict related problems but the eclectic utilisation of peace building approaches, including dialogues, involving traditional structures and interventions like the workshops used are remedies for various situations of community conflict.

I also learnt that neutrality and objectivity when entrusted with the responsibility of resolving a conflict is crucial because the study findings revealed that some headmen and community peacebuilders took sides when they were adjudicating on some of the matters. In some matters they did not rescue themselves even though they were related and or had various interest on the matters that were before them.

The findings, I hope, will contribute to the improvement of knowledge base that guides the practice and theory of peace builders.

The involvement of the community through the PRAT where the community had a say and contributed to the formulation, execution of the study and made contributions to the analysis and drafting of the final report. Everybody was excited that s/he owns the process. This indirectly and directly caused the community to embrace the concept of peace building.

Utilisation of four theories to inform, influence and analysis Njobokazi violent conflict was helpful in the sense that where one theory could not deal with a particular phenomenon, the other theory will come at its rescue.

10.6 Insights into theory (strengths and limitations of theories on violence)

This section will discuss insight into theories of violence and peace building with a special focus on strengths and limitations of these theories. These theories are conflict transformation theory, social learning theory, the integrated approach peace building and psychosocial support, and my theory of change.

10.6.1 Conflict transformation

Using conflict transformation theory was useful in the sense that people realized that there are other methods of resolving conflict but there were not exposed during the times of fierce violence conflict. The strengths of this theory in the study happened at the application of levels of leadership and four dimensions of conflict transformation.

10.6.1.1 Levels of leadership

Utilising conflict transformation theory enabled me to use levels of leadership to analyse violent conflict in Njobokazi. The only limitation was that top level leadership was not accessible. Top level leadership will only access the research report. The research and conflict transformation theory assisted to understand the power of grassroots leadership in relation to the other two levels of leadership which are top level leadership (senior government officials, politicians, international organisations, national political leadership) and middle range leadership (local political leadership, professionals in the area and Amakhosi).

Results of the evaluation and results of this study demonstrate that top level leadership failed to resolve violence in Njobokazi. As a result of the failure of top-level leadership and middle range leadership, the grassroots leadership who attended the intervention workshops took the decision to own peace processes and to ensure that community members embrace peace-related measures and spread peace across the community. Kezar (2011: 472) argues that “power and oppression become particularly salient concepts when describing and trying to understand the conditions that grassroots leaders experience in their efforts to create change. Furthermore, Kezar (2011: 472) citing (Hill 1994; Morgan 1997) argues further that “the two groups may see themselves at odds with each other, and the type of changes that grassroots leaders are interested in might challenge the status quo or existing norms of the organization or community.”

The study thus affirms the need to consider carefully the roles of leadership at all levels.

10.6.1.2 Four dimensions of conflict transformation

The evaluation demonstrated that the four dimensions are useful perspectives that aid research to transform the community of Njobokazi and the conflict transformation theory is applicable to the Njobokazi situation. Violent conflict affects the four

dimensions of conflict transformation for the research work at Njobokazi which are personal, relational, structural and cultural. Violent conflict tends to destroy these four dimensions.

Personal: It is important to note that people did not see before that there is a role that they can play as individuals in bringing peace. Participants during the evaluation demonstrated that they never thought that they as individuals should be involved in peace building.

As result of the workshop held dealing Healing of Memories, two neighbours who were not in speaking terms sat together on a table during the workshop and talk about their own issue and continued to build their relationship after the workshop (key informant interviewee Shange, evaluation session, December 2021)

Relational: During conflict, trust and relationships got destroyed. The AVP and Healing of Memories workshops helped to restore trust and relations amongst community members. There are instances during workshops where people who were not seeing eye to eye discussed their issues and resolved them. "Together with capacity building, relationship building forms one of the major parts of Lederach's transformational approach to conflict and peace building and is, he argues, that aspect of the process that "...responds to the longer term and coordination requirements needed to sustain peace building..." (Mitchel 2002: 15).

Members from eMabhezeni sub village in Njobokazi work together in the gardens and some members were not part of the gardens and only attended after the AVP and Healing of Memories workshops because there were afraid to associate themselves with people that they used to fight with. Furthermore, warriors attend traditional ceremonies together regardless of whether they fought before or not (focus group evaluation session, December 2021).

Structural: During the stage of violent conflict, physical structures get destroyed. It is important to note that these structures are about institutions. These institutions require buildings, if these buildings get destroyed for example the institution of the local church had been destroyed, for example in Njobokazi, there was a Roman Catholic church which was destroyed, Fayi primary school was destroyed, dipping tanks and some shops were destroyed.

Although it will take some time for these structures to be rebuilt, there are some that are being built like the new school which is called Makhanya Primary School and the

Roman Catholic church. Miall (2004: 9) opines that “structural transformations refer to changes in the basic structure of the conflict that is to the set of actors, their issues, incompatible goals and relationships, or to the society economy or state within which the conflict is embedded.” In addition, Mitchell (2002: 7) adds that “structural transformation change certainly seems to conform to what many other writers mean by ‘conflict transformation’.” Furthermore, Mitchell (2002:9) adds that “some of the things that have to be changed radically are the structures giving rise to conflict in the first place.” The preliminary results were shared with community members and after the presentation ACYCDP approached the local leadership and offered to establish a non-governmental organisation that is focusing issues relating to children development and psycho-social issues.

Cultural: Violence tends to destroy cultural beliefs and make lot of cultural changes. Lederach states that violent conflict causes deep seated changes. During violent conflict traditional ceremonies tended to be triggers of violence as a result of the intervention they are now used as cultural celebrations. All regiments now are expected to go inside the kraal regardless of which village they come from. There is no stick fighting allowed during traditional ceremonies. War songs that might trigger violence are no longer sung. Lederach (2008:83) confirms that “the cultural dimension refers to the changes produced by conflict in the cultural patterns of a group, and to the ways, that culture affects the cultural patterns of a group, and to the ways, that culture affects the development and handling of conflict.”

10.6.2 Social learning theory

I have learnt that the family plays an important role in raising children. The family is at the forefront in socializing the child. The family could train a child to be peaceful. Family members can play a critical role in educating their family members about peace. If someone is wrong the family should play a critical role in advising him her about what s/he is supposed to do. Families played a critical role in either perpetuating and or reducing violence or completely wipe violence out.

Social learning theory links to the Healing of Memories workshop and AVP workshop because it helped participants to unlearn violent tendencies acquired during the period of the conflict. Participants shared during workshops that there are on the transformative journey where the entire community is geared towards nonviolence and

peace. Despite the impact of violence, the shift has happened over the years which was affected and or influenced by cleansing ceremonies, research workshops interventions which have accumulatively assisted the community to think positively about peace.

10.6.3 The integrated approach peace building, mental health and psychological support

The use of psychological services and the acknowledgement by the community that they should continue using psych-socio services. They mentioned that the Healing of Memories of workshops helped them to feel better and forgive other people. This is an indication that the peace building, mental and psychological approach influenced and shaped the Healing of Memories workshop which was specific in terms of dealing with bad memories of violence. The approach as well influenced the delivery of Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) and Healing of Memories workshop.

10.6.4 Theory of change

The theory of change that was used in this study is that change will happen: through understanding the drivers of violence and Njobokazi community reflections deciding on the intervention programme for the Njobokazi community evaluating the intervention programme to tell the researcher that the intervention programme and theory of change worked and further map out the change processes that need to take place.

Indeed drivers of violence were used to come up with the intervention programme. The intervention programme was run and was successful. They are changes that took place which are reported in the evaluation chapter eight and nine. Chapter nine outlined that the interventions worked and were very impactful.

10.6.4.1 Linking theory of change to other theories

It is important to note that the entire Njobokazi peace building project is about a positive theory of change with the apex objective, yearning to attain everlasting peace. Lederach et al. (2007: 26) argue that “since peace building requires changes in multiple dimensions, which are personal, relational, structural and cultural. It is therefore important to reflect on theory of change for each of these dimensions as part of project planning, monitoring and evaluation.” In utilizing these dimensions, the key

purpose of utilising the theory of change is to encourage participants and The community of Njobokazi to develop their own theories of change as the research and intervention programme continues or progresses.

For change to happen, all theories worked together to transform the community from being violent to be peaceful. The theory of change connects and intersects with social learning theory, the peace building, mental health and psychosocial support approach, and conflict transformation theory, in various ways, for example, the learning of violent behaviour could be unlearned through infusing teachings and underpinnings of conflict transformation theory. Bad behaviour could be learned like violent conflict, which was learnt at Njobokazi through observing people who were violent. "Social learning guides a person's behaviour so that it is in accordance with societal norms, values and beliefs, thus enabling the person to adjust to society. Such learning assists him in becoming socialized, so that what he does is congruent with the norms and expectations of his society*" (Mwamwenda 1995: 203). Likewise, violent conflict could be unlearned and the very same theory of social learning could be utilized to teach community members peaceful ways of coexistence and unlearn violent conflict tendencies.

10.6.5 Limitations of theories on violence

Concerning the conflict transformation is to test and evaluate the actual transformation because the theory deals with variety of issues and the changes are wide. It is therefore difficult to evaluate the changes that have taken place and whether it is because of the theory interventions or other external interventions.

Conflict transformation theory does not tackle issues of gender equality in relation to conflict transformation and these issues came up and the theory fell short in dealing with this matter. I had three focus groups, one for men only, one for women only and the combined focus group. There were instances where women could not freely participate in the combined focus group due to cultural issues. There were women could not sit on the other side of the rondavel which made it difficult to participate in some other activities. Conflict transformation theory could not assist in this situation. Muchemwa (2015:31) critiqued conflict transformation as a concept and said that some view the conflict transformation theory as value laden, too idealistic and ambitious.

The criticism of the theory of change is that it does not specify exact issues that need to be changed and these issues get collected as the research goes on and this was the case with the issues that came up.

The peace building, mental health and psychological approach deals with many issues which are peace building, mental health and psychological and in turn fail to simultaneously integrate them. During the study I do not remember once dealing with the issue of mental health but there were issues of peace building and psycho-social issues but even these two concepts could not be practical used. It sometimes lacks specific focus and attempt to deal many issues all at the same time. Although it is useful but it needs to be implemented by people who are professionals and qualified. Rokhideh (2017:225) warns that “a prevailing factor that respondents attributed to the shortcomings of MHPSS interventions was the lack of sustained efforts and funding.”

10.7 Insights into myself (in particular, how did I change through this process)

This section will answer this question. How did I sense of myself as researcher change through this process and why? During the different stages of the study, I had different emotions and feelings. There were times when I was happy, sometimes disappointed, and sometimes got encouraged. During the stage of preparing the proposal, I got excited that I was going to be able to contribute and assist the community of Njobokazi and to reflect about violence and find local grown solutions to their violent conflict.

Conducting conflict resolution and peace studies requires a lot of reflection. After each and every data collection event like conducting key informant interviews and observing different programmes, I reflected and wrote everything down. This provided an opportunity for me to express emotions, make sense of what may initially seem to be inexplicable and relate the participants ‘ narratives to their own lives.

Entering the field was exciting, challenging and scary at the same time, not knowing how the community and people will receive me as a researcher. People who participated in the study fought with one another in the past and this kept my mind thinking about how these people would behave in PRAT meetings, focus group discussions and intervention workshops as well as community meetings.

During data collection stage, there were highs and lows. At the commencement of the study, to be more precise, at the stage of engaging gatekeepers and community members, a few powerful people in the community were hostile to me because they

did not understand the purpose behind this study. Pearce and Loubere (2017) cited in Markowitz (2021: 94), warn researchers that “working on violence requires that we possess – and ceaselessly cultivate – humility, perspective, prudence, and grit, in addition to disciplinary and cross-disciplinary tools and skills, but none of those qualities or abilities changes the fact that researching violence implies experiencing it, at least emotionally, if not physically.”

I also thought about my safety and my overall wellbeing. One of the small sub villages is still very tense, which is the Mangquzumane area. At the commencement of the study, it was difficult to initiate discussion about research and to actually conduct the study. After quite some time and after having a series of discussions with the local councillor and headmen, the community accepted my research and were participated in the study. Markowitz ((2021) advises that on an individual level, SVRI advises researchers to have safety plans in place, build strong relationships with colleagues to avoid feeling isolated, allow for space and time between encounters with traumatic content, lead a healthy lifestyle, and look for humour where possible.

As the study progressed, I became emotional when I witnessed the impact of the violent conflict and how violence affected Njobokazi people emotionally, socially and psychologically – for example, during the transect walk, when I saw graves, dilapidated and abandoned homestead, old footpaths and environmental degradation. All this dampened my spirit and I felt very demoralized.

I rethought myself as somebody who asked so many questions about why people should destroy their livelihood. I had these thoughts up until I run the workshop where I saw community people committing to non-violence and that assisted me to uplift my spirit. Fontes (2004: 168) explains that “researchers participate in research along with participants, and therefore, their well-being is also a legitimate ethical concern.” In addition, Bloor et al. (2010) cited in Taylor (2019: 192) advance an idea that “often, researchers who are suffering from emotional and psychological trauma do so in silence, giving rise to a perception that such issues are absent from research and that there is little need for post-fieldwork institutional support or formal redress.” I dealt with my emotions thorough sharing my emotions with the 2018 DUT cohort group. Through this reflection made me to realise that violence will indeed bring such destructions and environmental degradation.

During the intervention phase, I felt very excited when participants during workshops reflected about their experiences of violence and how as individuals and collective pledged to promote, build and sustain peace in their community and villages.

During the evaluation process, I was encouraged and cheered up when I heard participants recounting the importance of the study and how the study has helped and is helping the community to promote and build peace in the community. Participants saw the entire study as an intervention geared towards ensuring that they reflect about violence, develop strategies that will ensure that violent conflict is completely eliminated.

During the entire research process there were days when I got excited when research participants share their peaceful visions that they have for the community. This vision was buttressed by community projects that they have already initiated in the community. In contrast, at time I felt helpless when I saw poverty, underdevelopment, deprivation engulfing the community and large tracks of land which was abandoned due to the violence.

As not much literature and information were written about the area, the anxiety was always about the accuracy of the information hence I wanted to check accuracy of the information gathered through using various methods like focus groups, key informant interviews, observations research methods and transect walks.

I realised that as a researcher, I was sometimes caught between political and power struggles and in the process, I learnt to be humble enough and I was able to navigate around these power struggles. In dealing with these issues, it is important to observe and ensure that you respect participants and do not become biased in the process.

I have been changed throughout the researcher process because I came in not knowing the extent of the impact of violence. In engaging with PRAT members and community members I realised that these people have knowledge and have capacity to change their solutions.

I can facilitate AVP and healing memories workshops and assist other communities who face similar situations. My understanding of issues relating to violence, political violence and faction fighting have changed and transformed to understand various nuances relating to it. Applying the four theories which are social learning theory,

conflict transformation theory, peace building, mental health and psychological approach during research equipped me to use these theories in real life situation when resolve ordinary community and family conflict.

Furthermore, workshops on Healing of Memories and AVP helped me to reflect about how I have been handling conflict and provided me with new conflict resolution skills which instilled skills of forgiving, respect and genuine reconciliation.

From now onwards I will seek psycho-social help if I need it because I am convinced that it could help me to heal.

10.8 Recommendations

Two set of recommendations will be discussed in this section, which are for action and for research. The scope of the recommendation relate to Njobokazi but could be utilised in areas facing similar violent conflict. These recommendations have implications for other similar areas.

10.8.1 For action

There is a need for other stakeholders to intervene to ensure that the community sustains peace and become peaceful. The stakeholders that the research team engaged with numerated the following recommendations.

10.8.1.1 Interfaith prayer

There is a need in the community to have annual interfaith prayer to pray for peace. The prayer must be led interchangeable by prominent faith-based organisations found in the area. The site for the annual prayer should be at Esontweni site or Old Shubhuza homestead or at the premises of these faith-based organisations which can take turns in hosting the church service. Chitando (2022) reports that “a video of an interfaith prayer outside a hospital in Cape Town, South Africa, went viral in early 2021. People from diverse communities of faith, who were observing the COVID-19 protocols, were praying for those who were in hospital, and for those who had died because of the pandemic (News24, 10 January 2021)”. Chitando (2002) adds that this interfaith solidarity and presence in the middle of a devastating pandemic reminded many viewers of the role of religion and spirituality in human life. Lewis, Cohn and Sherbok (2019: 170) argue that “religious leaders across the world believe that while there are many differences between religions, we also all support the work of peace and reconciliation for the sake of a better world and for the preservation of our planet.” The

prayer is crucial in peace building and millions of billions still believe that prayer therefore peace building initiatives and social cohesions should be influenced by faith-based principles.

10.8.1.2 Social cohesion programmes

There is need to ensure that there are social cohesion programmes to help the community members interact more about their own issues. Villages should be encouraged to attend each other's traditional events. Cox and Sisk (2017: 4) argue that "in response of such criticisms of peace building in divided societies, international development practitioners have begun to advance the concept of "social cohesion" as both a necessary ingredient for progress toward violence reduction and sustainable peace and as an important outcome of development efforts. Social cohesion has become an attractive approach to peace building among a wide of international organisations and development practitioners." These programmes would help to bring community members together. These programmes should involve heritage-related activities like sports (all sporting codes) and music festivals. If people are involved in these social cohesion programmes, literature demonstrates that they are less likely to engage in criminal activities as well as engaging in violent activities.

10.8.1.3 Police station

Whilst government toying with the idea of constructing a new police station in the area, the mobile police station that was operating in the area needs to be reinstated.

10.8.1.4 Psycho-social services

The Department of Social Development should visit the area on occasional basis to deal with issues affecting the area including assisting community members with psycho-social services.

10.8.1.5 Service delivery

Provincial government and eThekwin, and Mkhambathini municipalities in partnership with Inkosi Makhanya and Inkosi Gwala should trace people who were displaced and start a restitution programme for the members who left the area. This should include a housing programme, basic amenities (water, sanitation and electricity), small museum for the area, excellent road infrastructure, sports centre, a library and a high school. Those who want to come back should go through peace building workshops and conflict resolution programmes.

10.8.1.6 Peace programmes

The KZN community safety department, the two municipalities, KZN cooperative government and or interested non-governmental organisations should conduct special peace education workshops in the schools and community structures. Peace clubs in schools should be established. There should be tailor-made training for boys on anger management and peace building

10.8.1.7 Fund to help victims of Njobokazi and victims

A trust should be established to assist children of people who were affected by Njobokazi residents. The trust fund should assist the children who were affected by violence to further their education. Struggling families are said to be struggling because of its impact to violence should be assisted in terms of affordable shelter, provided with help in terms of the South African indigent policy.

Organisations that are Interested to contribute to assist should approach DUT ICON and or ACYCDP (NGO operating in Njobokazi) to engage on the assistance of the community members. Some PRAT members would need to be co-opted to assist with formulation of the approach to establish the trust.

10.8.1.8 Film makers

Creating a video of both the conflict and the peace building would be a valuable resource, involving community members and film makers, to educate the public.

10.8.1.9 Mainstreaming of peace programmes

Njobokazi peace issues should be mainstreamed within the existing structures and ensure that peace related matters forms part of the traditional authorities, political party discussions, ward committees, school governing bodies, peace clubs at schools, and religious structures.

10.8.2 Recommendations for research

10.8.2.1 Research on peace building and local development

Participants indicated that there are yearnings for peace but violence destroyed the infrastructure in the area. There should be a study that will investigative and provide a model that will ensure or integrate peace building and local development in Njobokazi and other areas facing similar situations.

10.8.2.2 Research on crime

Research findings demonstrated that even though political violence and factional conflicts are less likely to happen again in future, it is apparent that new research should investigate and come up with strategies that could be used eradicate crime in such areas.

10.8.2.3 Longitudinal research

A longitudinal study should be conducted in areas facing similar violence focusing on understanding the implementation and sustenance of the peace project.

10.8.2.4 Research on looting and service delivery

There are new forms of violence that are emerging, such as issues of looting and service delivery protests. A study should be conducted to look into linkages between issues of looting, peace building, service delivery and unemployment.

10.8.2.5 GBV and other forms of violence

Study on how GBV interacts with the persistence of other forms of violence in such areas.

10.9 Limitations of the study

The study does not generalise to all South African communities with similar history, though it can inform research histories, guiding researchers in what to probe for. It does not assess the sustainability of the intervention over a period of time, as it focuses on a relatively short time period. It does not enable us to understand the position of all in the community, for example, it does not capture information on the experiences of socialisation now, from children. By its use of a qualitative approach, it has not focused on quantitative measures such as crime statistics. The National Department of Police does not provide statistics specific information for Njobokazi and therefore information that was on the researcher's disposal was inadequate.

My concern though is that, although the community is no longer caught in mass intense violent conflict, is not out of the woods yet, since almost all participants agree that criminality will continue to engulf the area. Solutions need to be found to deal with this, which is outside the scope of this research.

10.10 Conclusion

This chapter set out how the research problem was addressed. This chapter presented key findings and these findings were presented as responses to each corresponding research questions. Furthermore, this chapter summarised key themes surfaced by the study. It then focused on the insights, research process and implications for theory on action research, insight into theory, looking into strengths and limitations of theories on violence. The last session discussed sustainability of the findings.

The overall conclusion of the study is that Njobokazi community members have committed themselves and pledged to work tirelessly to sustain peace in their community. This is because research has managed to help them to think peace and mainstream peace in their community programmes rather than solving problems through violence. They need to be supported by various levels of leadership and structures to realise their goal.

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Appendix 1 PRAT member consent form



Name.....

Surname.....

Signature.....

Date.....

Cell number.....

Name of the committee

1.1 The Name of the committee is Peace Research Action Team (PRAT)

Membership

2.1 All members were elected by the community in a meeting that was held on the 23 December 2019.

3. Objectives

3.1 Members will undertake their duties in fulfilment of the research objectives which are:

3.1.1 to understand the nature of the conflict and reconstruct the memories of community members who were affected by violence

3.1.2 Identify current forces that drive violence in the community

3.1.3 Work with the community to promote transformation and change

3.1.4 Enhance existing peace building processes and develop peace building intervention programmes

3.1.5 Strengthened the ability to facilitate a reduction in violence in the community

4. Roles of PRAT members are to:

4.1 assist with data collection

4.2 assist the researcher to reconstruct the history of violence in the community.

4.3 assist with initial data collection, which will assist to perfect research methodologies and data collection methods.

4.4 assist with mobilising for intervention programmes and other research related activities

4.5 assist with reviewing documents relating to Njobokazi areas

4.5 manage the working relationship with the community

4.6 assist to validate findings.

4.7 Undertake to oversee the rolling out of the entire research project

5. Opt out clause

5.1 Member may resign through informing the researcher and or Induna

5.2 Matter will be tabled in the next PRAT meeting

Name and Surname of the researcher.....

Signature of the researcher.....

Date.....

Appendix 2: Key informant interview schedule



:Key informant interview schedule guidelines:

There should be 15 key Informant interviews

General introduction of the researcher and the objective of the study should be done before the discussion begins

Key informant interviews will be face to face

The key informant interview discussions will take 30 minutes

The main issues of discussion should be stated clearly

Invitations will be sent out at least five days before the interview

Discussions will be recorded in the Key informant interview schedule as well the researcher will also keep notes

Participation is voluntary

Participants are at liberty or reverse their right to answer certain questions

Questions and suggestions from the participants about the research process should be recorded

These questions will be modified on the basis of information coming from interviews.

Key informant Interview questions:-

What do you like about living in this community?

What do you dislike about living in this community?

When you hear about the words violence, Political violence and faction fighting what comes to your mind?

What are you hearing people say about violence and faction fighting in Njobokazi?

Think back to any experience you have had with violence, political violence and faction fighting. Describe it (encourage story telling)

To what extent do these experiences have to do with whether you are a woman or a man, in other words, with gender?

How do you think violent behaviour is learned in this community?

What is the nature of violence in the context of Njobokazi?

What are the cultural patterns that contribute to the rise of violent expressions of conflict?

What have been and continue to be the drivers of violence in the Njobokazi Community?

How were these attacks faction fighting and political violence planned and executed?

Think about all that we have talked about today. What do you think is most important for lasting peace to be established in Njobokazi?

How do we end enmity amongst members of the Njobokazi Community?

How can we build trust to ensure that there is forgiveness, healing and reconciliation.

How can we build relationships amongst the parties that have fought?

In your view what are the root causes and social conditions that give rise to violent and other harmful expressions of conflict?

What has been the impact of violent conflict in Njobokazi?

How can the community promote nonviolent mechanisms that reduce adversarial confrontation, minimise, and ultimately eliminate violence?

Are aware of criminal elements that accompanied faction fighting and political violence?

What are the peace building strategies that are currently being used in Njobokazi?

In your view what was the role of women during conflict?

How would you enhance these initiatives?

How can I address these issues more effectively?

What else would you suggest as a way to build peace in this area?

What was the role of police and department of Justice?

Do you know people who were arrested and convicted because of their involvement in perpetrating trting voilece in perpertrating trViolence in Njobokazi.

Do you remember the length of sentence?

Appendix 3: Focus group discussion guidelines



Instructions

There should be three focus group discussions:

1. Each Focus Group should have at least 8-10 members and dialogue will have 20 members
2. Invitations will be sent out at least five days before the meeting
3. Researcher to facilitate and record the proceedings
4. General introduction of the researcher and the objective of the study should be done before the discussion begins
5. The main issues of discussion should be stated clearly
6. Discussion should not exceed two hours in respect of focus groups and will not exceed 4 hours in respect of the community dialogue
7. Where a group is not able to complete the discussion during the session, a repeat could be done
8. Questions and suggestions from the participants about the research process should be recorded
9. The focus group and dialogue facilitator should spend a large portion of the discussion time probing participants' experiences, asking them to share and compare experiences and discussing the extent to which they agree or disagree with each other
10. These questions will be modified on the basis of information coming from interviews.

Questions

What do you like about living in this community?

What do you dislike about living in this community?

When you hear about the words violence and faction fighting what comes to your mind?

What are you hearing people say about violence and faction fighting in Njobokazi?

Think back to any experience you have had with violence and faction fighting. Describe it (encourage story telling)

To what extent do these experiences have to do with whether you are a woman or a man, in other words, with gender?

How do you think violent behaviour is learned in this community?

What is the nature of violence in the context of Njobokazi?

What are the cultural patterns that contribute to the rise of violent expressions of conflict?

What have been and continue to be the drivers of violence in the Njobokazi Community?

Think about all that we have talked about today. What do you think is most important for lasting peace to be established in Njobokazi?

Think about all that we have talked about today. What do you think is most important for lasting peace to be established in Njobokazi?

In your view what are the root causes and social conditions that give rise to violent and other harmful expressions of conflict?

How can the community promote nonviolent mechanisms that reduce adversarial confrontation, minimise, and ultimately eliminate violence?

What are the peace building strategies that are currently being used in Njobokazi?

How would you enhance these initiatives?

How can I address these issues more effectively?

What else would you suggest as a way to build peace in this area?

Appendix 4: Intervention evaluation discussion guidelines



1. Introduction

Meyer (2000:9) explains that success of action research is not whether change can be positively demonstrated, but more what was learnt from experience of trying to change the experience. This document presents the evaluation guidelines which will be followed during the evaluation of the interventions. The evaluation guidelines present the following issues as the guiding procedure which will be followed during the evaluation of the intervention. The evaluation guidelines will focus on the following issues which are the purpose of the evaluation, stages of the evaluation process (focus group, key informant interviews and participant observation), analysis of data, observing covid 19 protocols, principles to be observed during evaluation. Lastly the guiding discussion questions during focus group discussions and key informant interviews will be presented.

2. The purpose of the valuation is to: -

Evaluate the impact of the intervention programmes

Evaluate the knowledge acquired during the intervention and how this knowledge was practically used in the community.

Evaluate the overall research project

3. Stages of the evaluation process

The evaluation is going to be rolled out in three stages which are focus group, key informant interviews and participant observation. The narrative inquiry and or narrative approach will be used as method to collect data.

3.1 Focus group

Focus group members will be recruited from people who attended both the Healing of Memories workshop and AVP workshop. Participants will be drawn from PRAT members and ordinary people who attended both workshops. The focus group will come together to discuss questions mentioned underneath. The focus group will be recorded via cell phone recording. The ideal number of the focus group members is nine or eleven.

The following incentives will be provided, which will be transport, tea, soft drinks and sandwiches. Free masks will be provided to all participants. Focus group discussions will be tape recorded.

3.2 Key informant interviews

Seven participants will be interviewed from people who either attended a Healing of Memories workshop and or AVP workshop. There were about 30 participants who attended each workshop. There are two attendance registers that were taken during the Healing of memories workshop and AVP workshop. Members will be recruited from the attendance register. Every 10th person on the attendance register will be interviewed as key informant interviewee.

An interview schedule will be used and filled in.

3.3 Participant observation

The researcher will be using participant observation because the researcher will want to understand whether the tendency of solving violence about violence has ended or not. The participant observation schedule has been developed to assist with the recording of the participant evaluation.

4. Analysis

I will read all the information from participant observation schedule, key informant interviews and focus group discussions. I will record the main themes emerging during evaluation data gathering stage.

5. Observing covid 19 protocols

During the evaluation of the intervention all covid 19 protocols will be observed. Sanitisers will be utilized, social distancing will be applied in all gatherings, masks will be worn all the time. Participants will be sanitised every 30 minutes.

6. Principles to be observed during evaluation

During evaluation process the following principles will be observed and these principles will apply to the three stages of the evaluation: -

Principle	Explanation
Efficiency	How strategically and efficiently were interventions implemented in the community.
Effectiveness	<p>To what extent did intervention address issues of violent conflict, peace building and Healing of Memories?</p> <p>Was the training delivered effectively?</p> <p>Did the training reach the targeted community members?</p> <p>Did the activities result in the transformation of participants to understand issues of peace building as paramount important?</p>
Impact	<p>The impact of the Intervention programme on:</p> <p>The well-being of different stakeholders.</p> <p>People, institutions and community development environment.</p> <p>Changes occurred during the Intervention programme.</p> <p>Changes attributed to the Intervention programme.</p> <p>Integration of peace building issues into community activities</p>
Sustainability	<p>Consistency of the peace building programmes</p> <p>Evidence of innovation, use of peace building initiatives, dealing with and prevention conflict in the area.</p> <p>The compatibility of the programme with local conditions.</p>

Principle	Explanation
	The involvement of stakeholders in the planning and implementation of the peace building programme activities.
Relevance	<p>Program's response to real problems/needs.</p> <p>Identification of problem areas.</p> <p>Level of satisfaction of the local stakeholders with the programme.</p>
Others	<p>Analyse other factors that might have some influence on and may be influenced by the interventions:</p> <p>Supporting policies</p> <p>Men and women engagement in the programme.</p> <p>Socio-cultural issues.</p>

7. Guiding discussion questions

These guiding discussion questions will be used during the key informant interviews and focus group discussions

1.Are there any differences in the community now as a result of the intervention ?

.....

2. Can you think about something positive which happened during the workshops?

.....

3. Can you think about anything negative which happened during the workshops?

.....

4. 4 What do you think you have learned personally as result of the workshops?

.....

.....

.....

5. What are the fruits of these workshops for the community?

.....

.....

.....

6. How do you see the future in terms of community conflict?

.....

.....

.....

Appendix 5: Participant observation guidelines – Evaluation of the intervention



1 Purpose of the participant observation

The researcher endeavors to gain an in-depth insight into effectiveness of the interventions

Record observations on the schedule

2 Process

The participant observation will include observing interactions in the community and sometimes attend ceremonies taking place in the area including religious group.

Researcher will actively participate in a daily routine and tasks of the community members

As part participant observation, there will be informal discussions with community members (casual conversation among acquaintances as well talking talk to people like you are in a conversation)

As an art of the observation, Researcher will observe and write up notes and take a passive rather an assertive role in participant observation

The observation will be captured on the spot and reflection will immediately take place after the observation has taken place

3. Schedule of the participant observation

This schedule will be used as a recording instrument

Issues to be observed	Yes	No	Comment
Commitment to help and assist the community to prevent and resolve violence peacefully			

Conflict resolution and peace building initiatives
being undertaken after the intervention

Conflict resolution and peace building
workshops undertaken by community members

Individual peace building initiatives

Clans interaction

Neighbours interaction

Development in the area

Government agency visibility like police, social development, department of Transport and other community development

Intervillage interactions

Impact of interventions:

The impact of the Intervention programme on:

The well-being of different stakeholders.

People, institutions and community development environment.

Changes occurred during the Intervention programme.

Changes attributed to the Intervention programme.

Integration of peace building issues into community activities

4. General observations

.....
.....
.....

5. Reflection after the participant observation

.....

.....

.....

.....

Dates of the observations.....

Appendix 6: Transect walk guide and participant observation schedule



Transect walk guide

A transect walk is systematic walk along a defined path (transect) across the community/ project area together with the community/project area together with local people to explore the impact of Violence in Njobokazi by observing, asking and listening.

A.1 Purpose of transact walk

Familiarize ourselves with Njobokazi area

Scan the impact of violence

Record any piece of information relevant to the study

A.2 Principles and guidelines of the transact walk

At the beginning of the Transcet walk, Researcher will explain the process, allow questions and handout necessary documentation and at the end of transect walk, a reflection session will be held to reflect on the transact walk

An example direct observation

The thread of peace will run through the transect walk

Clearly define the scope of the area

Select the appropriate start point

Provide plenty of time for the group to walk their territory and record their observations

Agree on what to observe

An experienced Njobokazi elderly will lead the transact walk, explain and provide explanation where is necessary

Transect walkers will be allowed to take photos and ask questions to anyone who might have relevant information

Reflect afterwards about Violence in Njobokazi

A.3 In relation to environmental scan, comment about the area in relation to roads, electrification, schools, shopping complexes, places of work and any other important information.

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.....
.....

A.4 describe the area as you see it.

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.....

A.5 Comment on the Interactions of community members including observable roles played by men, women, elderly people, youth and school children

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.....

A.6 Observe the mood whether is tense or relaxed

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A.7 Observe notable impact of violence

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.....
.....

A.8 Any other issues you want to note

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.....

B. Participant Observation guidelines

B.1 Purpose of the participant observation

The researcher and praat members endeavour to gain an in-depth insight into the manifestations of the reality

The use of participant observation allows for the building of greater rapport, better access to informants and activities, and enhanced understanding of the phenomena investigated using other methods

B.2 Process

The participant observation will include observing the traditional ceremony, court case involving a Njobokazi offender, the sporting event or traditional court sitting where a conflict is resolved or family gathering where a dispute is being resolved by the family.

The researcher will engage the PRAT members and identify sites where the observation will take place.

Actively participating in a daily routine and extra-ordinary activities with people who are full participants in that context

Once the site is visited, the intention will be explained to the site leaders and the observation will take place and where the public representatives are allowed to attend the researcher without official authorization and the researcher will do so.

In some instances one or two PRAT members will accompany the researcher to do the participant observation

Informal interviewing will be utilized which is like a casual conversation among acquaintances

Using everyday conversation as an interview technique (just talk to people as if you are in conversation)

As part of the observation will observe and write up notes and take a passive rather than assertive role in participant observation

The observation will be captured on the spot and or immediately after the observation has taken place

There will be no observation schedule that will be followed

Recording observation in field notes (usually organized chronologically)

B. 3 Summation

Participant observation captures the context within which people interact.

Field notes will be used as recording method

Appendix 7: Approval to conduct research



Councillor

Mezzanine Floor Sheli House

Cnr. Anton Lembede & Samora Michell Street, Durban, 4001

PO Box 1014, Durban, 4000 Tel: 031 322 7030, Fcx: 031 31 1 3827
www.durban.gov.za

Enquiries: Approval to conduct Research

Dear Mr Shozi

I, Cllr Mkhize and the Ward Committee of ward 100 grant you permission to conduct research in Njobokazi.

I hope the research findings will help to eradicate higher levels of violence engulfing my ward especially Njobokazi village.

I have read from your letter that your research will develop an intervention programme which will help the community to deal with violence. I hope the intervention would be effective and the research will assist the Municipality to understand these issues from the informed position.

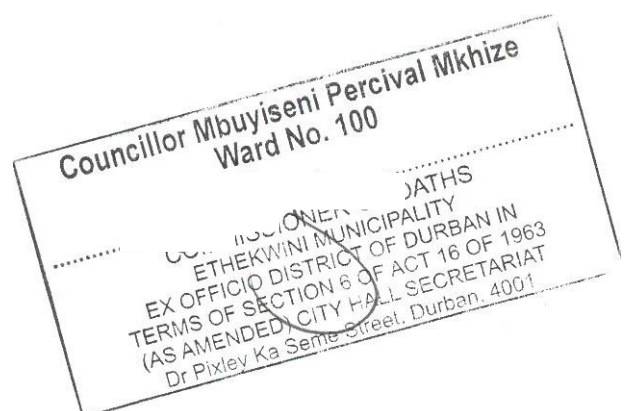
Should you have any queries please contact the writer.

Yours faithfully

Councilor M.P Mkhize

Ward - 100)

20 June 2018



Annexure 8: Faculty Research Ethics Committee

MANAGEMENT SCIENCES: FACULTY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (FREC)



30 May 2019

Student Name: Mr D M Shozi

Student No: 19802622

FREC REF: 33/19FREC

Dear Mr D M Shozi

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION (PEACE STUDIES)

TITLE: UTILISING ACTION RESEARCH TO BUILD PEACE AT NJOBOKAZI VILLAGE, KWAZULU-NATAL

Please be advised that the FREC Committee has reviewed your proposal and the following decision was made: Approved – Ethics Level 2

Date of FRC Approval: 29 May 2019

Approval has been granted for a period of two years from the above FRC date, after which you are required to apply for safety monitoring and annual recertification. Please use the form located at the Faculty. This form must be submitted to the FREC at least 3 months before the ethics approval for the study expires.

Any adverse events [serious or minor] which occur in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration must be reported to the FREC according to the FREC SOP's.

Please note that ANY amendments in the approved proposal require the approval of the FREC as outlined in the FREC SOP's.

Yours sincerely

Prof JP Govender

Chairperson: Faculty Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 9: Letter of information



LETTER OF INFORMATION

Title of the Research Study: Towards a Violence free Njobokazi Village: Utilising Action Research to build peace at Njobokazi village

Principal researcher: Dizline Mfanozelwe Shozi

Supervisor: Crispin Hemson

Co-Supervisor: Prof Geoff Harris

Brief Introduction and Purpose of the Study:

The title of the research is: - Towards a violence free Njobokazi village: utilizing action research to build peace at Njobokazi Village and the purpose of the research *is to conduct a participatory action research to assist the Njobokazi community to analyse the causes of violence and come up with an intervention programme that will ensure that there is effective and sustainable lasting peace in Njobokazi*

Dear participant

I am a doctoral candidate from Durban University of Technology (DUT) in Durban. My research activities focus on participatory action research, which will involve participants from Njobokazi village. The research will engage community members through a community meeting which will elect a Peace Action Research team, which will assist and support the researcher, conduct observations, interview key informants, later facilitate focus groups and community dialogues. The research will come up with the intervention programme, which will be later evaluated.

Outline of the Procedures: I will be conducting research in your community, which will involve community members and ensure that community members share their

experiences in relation to topic mentioned above. I will request you to participate in one of the following research techniques, which are a key informant interview, focus group discussion and/or community dialogues. Once information and data has been collected from participants and the community, an intervention and evaluation programme will be implemented. Finally, the report will be compiled and shared with stakeholders

Risks or Discomforts to the Participant: This is a very low risk study and there are no discomforts to you expected.

Benefits: The only ways in which you and researcher will benefit from this study is in terms of greater understanding of the issues in the community. You will not be paid.

Reason/s why you May Withdraw from the Study: you should participate voluntarily. You have the right to withdraw from the inquiry at any time and for any reason without any adverse effects.

Remuneration: There is no remuneration for you and no form of inducement will be offered for participation in this study. But snacks will be provided to the participants.

Costs of the Study: Participants are not allowed to cover any costs of my study.

Confidentiality: Anonymity and confidentiality will be guaranteed through the use of acronyms. Access to data will be limited to study personal and information collected will be locked in a safe place and destroyed after five years. You will be told about the concepts of anonymity and confidentiality which will be applied to this study and if participants would like to be named, then they will be named as agreed.

Research-related Injury: Should there be any study related injury, the psychologist skills will assist the researcher in remediating to the situation.

Persons to Contact in the Event of Any Problems or Queries:

Please contact the researcher +, my supervisor +or the Institutional Research Ethics administrator on 031 373 2375. Complaints can be reported to Prof. C. E. Napier - Acting Director, Research and Postgraduate Support. Contact number is 031 373 2577.

Appendix 10: Consent form



CONSENT FORM

Statement of Agreement for your participation in the Research Study:

I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, Mr Dizline Mfanozelwe Shoji, about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study - Research Ethics Clearance Number: _____,

I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.

I am aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials and diagnosis will be anonymously processed into a study report.

In view of the requirements of research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerised system by the researcher.

I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent of participation in the study.

I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to take part in the study.

I understand that significant new findings developed during this research, which may relate to participation will be made available to me.

.....
.....

Full Name of Participant Date Time Signature / Right Thumbprint

I, Dizline Mfanozelwe Shoji, herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

.....
.....

Full Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Full Name of Witness (If applicable)

Date

Signature

Full Name of Legal Guardian (If applicable) Date

Signature