



the contribution of community development to peacebuilding:

World Vision's
Area Development
Programmes

Siobhan O'Reilly
World Vision UK



final report

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Policy and Research Department,
World Vision UK, 599 Avebury Boulevard, Milton Keynes MK9 3PG

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Siobhan O'Reilly
Policy and Research Department
World Vision UK
November 1998

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Siobhan O'Reilly is Conflict and Reconciliation Officer in the Policy and Research Department of World Vision UK. She has a BA (Hons) in Geography, Nottingham University, and an MA in Development Studies, University of East Anglia. She has travelled extensively in Africa and has worked in Uganda.

Cover and inside photos taken by the author during field research.

abbreviations

ADP	Area Development Programme
CC	Cluster Committee (Kwahu ADP)
CHE	Complex Humanitarian Emergency
CHW	Community Health Worker
CIIR	Catholic Institute for International Relations
COPE	Complex Political Emergencies Project
CPE	Complex Political Emergency
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DEC	Disasters Emergency Conclusion
EU	European Union
IDPM	Institute for Development Policy and Management, (University of Manchester, England)
IDS	Institute of Development Studies, (Sussex University, England)
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation (used to refer to humanitarian NGOs that have multi-national membership and are based in the North)
INTRAC	International Training and Research Centre, (Oxford, England)
Kebele	Ethiopian lowest level of government administration
LC	Local Council (Ugandan unit of local government)
LCC	Local Council of Churches
LCPP	Local Capacities for Peace Project
MED	Micro-Enterprise Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation (used to refer to all humanitarian organisations that are not international in membership)
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
ODI	Overseas Development Institute, (London, England)
PA	Peasant Association (Ethiopia)
PDC	Parish Development Committee (Masaka ADP)
PDW	Parish Development Worker (facilitator in Masaka)
PTA	Parents and Teachers Association (Kwahu ADP)
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
TDC	Town Development Committee (synonymous with Village Development Committee in Kwahu ADP)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VDC	Village Development Committee
VDW	Village Development Worker
WV	World Vision
Woreda	Ethiopian administrative district

executive summary

The aim of this research is to investigate the contribution that World Vision's Area Development Programmes can bring to peacebuilding, most notably in reducing the potential for and the effect of violent 'identity' conflicts. In so doing, it hopes to identify key elements within the ADP approach that have a capacity to encourage peacebuilding, whether that be in the prevention, management or reconciliation of such conflict. Consequently, we hope to strengthen awareness and understanding of how community development can and does contribute to the building of peace in the developing world both for World Vision's benefit and that of the wider NGO community.

rationale

The motivation for this research came from multiple sources. Chiefly it emerged in response to the crisis in confidence that humanitarian international NGOs (INGOs) have been undergoing this decade as they struggle to respond to the increasingly demanding and complex impacts of modern intra-state war.

Such a climate has provided healthy challenges to INGOs. Serious questioning is emerging in relation to the efficacy of aid, the manner in which it is offered and how it needs to be integrated into a more comprehensive response that advocates for a political resolution of conflicts. Additionally, many INGOs who also engage in long-term development are questioning how they can promote the prevention or resolution of such conflict and the process of reconciliation amongst divided societies. In so doing, an array of initiatives and programmes have been adopted both by INGOs and conflict consultancy NGOs that seek to better equip them to respond appropriately and professionally to such challenging circumstances.

Such a response has not been without its fair share of criticism, the most common being that INGOs are not sufficiently equipped or accountable to engage in such work. In addition, 'peacebuilding' has become ghettoised, put in a box, conscribed to workshops or specific programmes to be implemented alongside other rehabilitation or development programmes.

Yet what has been overlooked in the rush to deal with the problem at hand is the inherent peacebuilding capacity that already exists within current development methodology. It is common knowledge that development practice has the capacity to build social capital, networks of trust, co-operation and organisation. Yet this has not been translated into research into what generic community development methodology has to offer in this regard and how it can be strengthened and consciously used as a peacebuilding tool. This is what this research aims to do.

bridging the gap

In choosing to examine the contribution of community development to peacebuilding, this research is an attempt to bridge the gap between the disciplines of natural resource management and current peacebuilding approaches. The former tends to focus on local community dynamics whilst the latter examines broader, macro dynamics. Although it is recognised that factors behind violent intra-state wars are often macro political and economic, many of them rely on grass-roots support and even participation for their momentum. They also often use emotive issues such as differences in identity (ethnicity or religion, for example) or economic insecurity as levers to incite conflict. Thus, influences on grass-roots understanding and attitudes toward such differences are of crucial importance. Additionally, INGOs have always propounded that their comparative advantage is at the grass-roots level. It would therefore seem appropriate to examine what INGOs can contribute at that level. The case for proposing an approach at this level is therefore clear: scaling up the role of community level peacebuilding requires examination.

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reconciliation
programmes**

there appears to be a direct link between effective, participatory grass-roots development and peacebuilding

why ADPs?

Area Development Programmes are a specific type of integrated rural community development programme, unique to World Vision, which has become the principal channel through which we seek to assist the poor throughout the world. Currently, there are some 238 ADPs in 35 countries around the world, with more being added each year.

Anecdotal evidence from within the World Vision partnership indicated that Area Development Programmes held peacebuilding potential. ADPs are sustainable, integrated community development programmes that cover an area the size of an administrative district. Despite their size they are implemented at the micro, village level and rely on a network of committees formed of elected community members to oversee the running of the programme at various levels throughout the district.

Owing to their geographical size and the fact that they rely on the principle of interaction and co-operation between all beneficiaries, they cause a wide number of people groups with different religious, ethnic and political identities to work together towards one aim, that is community development.

Theoretical and analytical work which has been undertaken suggests that there may be a significant role for such integrative programmes in building peace – whether it be in pre- or post conflict situations. Additionally, the fact that they grew out of the desire to scale up community development adds further reason to study how community level peacebuilding can be similarly scaled up.

methodology and approach

The research has taken two dimensions: field study and literature review. The former involved visiting five ADPs, two in Asia for the pilot research and three in Africa for the final research, in order to examine the actual and potential peacebuilding impact of current ADPs. The literature review was conducted in order to provide a theoretical foundation for the research. Theories of conflict, causes of modern conflict, civil society, reconciliation and peacebuilding were all examined in order to do two things. First to provide an overview of the current thinking as a backdrop against which the findings could be examined. Secondly, to clarify the meaning of these concepts and to present World Vision's understanding of them. It was also necessary to define the meaning of peacebuilding, a term that has become nebulous with frequent use.

Owing to the fact that this type of research is new and, to the author's knowledge, has not been attempted before, the methodology for the field research had to be developed during a pilot study. The fact that no base-line indicators existed also meant that different methods had to be tried out, including tests to see if it were possible to obtain community-based indicators. Primarily, Participatory Rural Appraisal techniques were used and control groups were also studied in order to compare the findings with communities beyond the ADP. Because the methodology proved to be largely appropriate and was changed little, and because the ADPs in Asia were found to have some strikingly different characteristics, the pertinent findings of the pilot research have been included in the analysis.

The indicators used to measure the peacebuilding capacity were based on the hypothesis that: *ADPs contribute to peacebuilding by encouraging increased, meaningful interaction, co-operation and interdependence between all people groups.*

findings

The insight gained from the research has been illuminating, encouraging and challenging for the fields of peacebuilding, community development and natural resource management.

- **Peacebuilding & good development practice**

First of all, it is clear that peacebuilding and transformational community development are intimately linked. There appears to be a direct connection between effective, participatory grass-roots development and peacebuilding. A dual lesson is, therefore, to be learnt and peacebuilding should not be seen as an irrelevant activity that is a distraction from the business of poverty reduction.

- **Capacity to create 'peacebuilding environment'**

ADPs clearly have a strong capacity to generate a culture of mutual understanding,

interdependence and trust amongst diverse people groups. This emerges as an indirect result of the development process, the approach used and the structure around which the ADP operates. The participatory, all-embracing approach in which all beneficiaries are encouraged to work together towards one aim, the structure of committee networks that connect communities throughout the ADP, and the role of an independent co-ordinating agent all combine to create a powerful 'peacebuilding environment'.

By this we mean an environment in which conflicting parties can become reconciled, disputes are more easily resolved or managed peacefully, and the likelihood of violent conflict reduced. The latter refers to the increased interdependence and building of solidarity between diverse ethnic or religious groups and their leaders that the ADP brings about. This, in turn, reduces the leverage for manipulation of prejudices or differences by conflict entrepreneurs who frequently exploit such differences. It also builds local capacities for peace should war break out.

General outcomes found in the ADPs researched were: the erosion of ethnic and sectarian prejudice, mistrust and division; transformation of inter-community dynamics; reconciliation of conflicting parties; the growth of deep respect for human dignity; and a certain measure of ADP-wide solidarity.

- **Catalysts**

Certain peacebuilding 'catalysts' have been identified. These are: the formation of heterogeneous, voluntary development committees that are representative of all the different communities and which are connected from the village to district level; the all-embracing approach of World Vision; the role and example of village development workers or facilitators; the strengthening of local churches; racially mixed education; and the role of community celebration.

- **Capacity varies and depends on structure, approach and process**

The existence of these catalysts in each ADP depends on the exact structure, approach and process used. However, because ADPs are not homogeneous and details of design vary from region to region, the degree to which they encourage peacebuilding is variable.

- **Lessons for natural resource management**

One area of peacebuilding in which ADPs are demonstrating excellent competence and which needs little extra attention is local dispute management. By building the capacity of local leaders and above all, by causing them to become familiar with each other, the ability to resolve local disputes has markedly improved. This has important lessons for natural resource management.

- **Potential greater than reality – the need for a peacebuilding perspective**

However, in spite of the above, it must be stressed that the peacebuilding capacity of many ADPs so far lies more in their potential than their actual performance – the full extent of their capacity remains untapped. This is because their peacebuilding capacity has neither been recognised by ADP managers nor consciously been managed towards that aim. Therefore, for the peacebuilding capacity of ADPs to be substantial or influential they require specific and careful management towards this aim. Peacebuilding using the ADP model requires few extra financial resources; what is required is a peacebuilding perspective.

Secondly, there is an important aspect of the ADP model not being fully employed or taken advantage of, which has enormous potential not only for peacebuilding but also for community development.

the existence of peacebuilding catalysts depends on the exact structure, approach and process used



the true challenge is to integrate a sensitivity to conflict into the vision of development

This is the opportunity for coalitions and forums at the level beyond the village or parish, which provide an excellent platform for economies of scale and collective advocacy on issues of common concern.

- **Eight points for peacebuilding**

In order to fully exploit the peacebuilding potential of ADPs, and indeed many other community development programmes, certain key insights and lessons would need to be applied. Most of these involve merely applying a peacebuilding perspective to the design and management of ADPs but there are also some specific concrete measures that would need to be taken:

- 1 The more participatory, the more peacebuilding.
- 2 Slow, gradual entry with emphasis on relationship building.
- 3 Influence of the agent of change: the need for impartiality.
- 4 Formation of committees – representative, voluntary and district-wide.
- 5 Coalitions and apex groups – tapping into the potential to ‘think ADP’.
- 6 Training and education in civil society for the beneficiaries.
- 7 The need to integrate the non-poor into the process.
- 8 Regionalisation of ADPs to be considered.

- **Limitation of ADPs**

It is important to note the limitations of ADPs in peacebuilding, of which there are many: ADPs cannot hope to influence the full range of types of conflict or the complex factors that affect them. We recognise that this can only be a *contribution*.

ADPs cannot influence the top-level actors: macro factors such as the political economy or historical formation of the state, predatory leaders or political associations, globalisation or global systemic poverty. The crucial importance of targeting these contributors to modern conflict, where possible, is increasingly being recognised. This is not, however, an area that ADPs can influence unless the concept of regionalisation of ADPs is considered.

Secondly, as long as ADPs do not integrate the local rich or non-poor into the process, they do not have the ability to restore full dignity to the poor and to defray latent conflict inherent within unjust economic relationships. If we are to apply the holistic understanding of peacebuilding as defined in this report, ADPs would not match up.

- **Areas for consideration**

Due consideration must be given to the fact that this research is relatively preliminary – the ADP sample was modest and the ADP concept is comparatively young. The true test for this research has to be time. One can never prove the success of a programme in conflict prevention until the region undergoes a serious threat to peace. However, it is clear that strong potential exists within this approach. The challenge is to incorporate a more deliberate approach to the implementation of ADPs, and community development, that exploits the inherent peacebuilding capacity to its fullest potential.

This requires facing another challenge, and is neatly summarised in the following quote: “*The true challenge is to integrate a sensitivity to conflict into the vision of development*” (World Bank 1998).

We hope that this research has gone some way to begin this process.

structure of paper

The structure of the report is as follows. It begins with a chapter examining the driving force behind this research – the post-Cold War context of conflict that has forced humanitarian NGOs to radically re-think their approach. It then moves on to define theoretical concepts and the justification for seeking a community development approach to peacebuilding. Clarification of the definition of ADPs, the rationale for choice of ADPs for the field research and the contexts in which they reside are given in Chapters 3–5. A description of how the methodology was devised, along with a comprehensive account of the results, is provided in Appendix A. Chapters 6–8 analyse the findings and draw out policy and programming lessons both for World Vision and the wider NGO community, concluding with Eight Points for Peacebuilding.

one background

I geo-political changes and the new world ‘disorder’

Since 1990, the toll of intra-state conflict has been immense: over 4 million people killed, 24 million internally displaced and 18 million more refugees.¹ Between 1989–1996, over 70 wars occurred in 60 locations² and in 1997 no less than 34 wars and 70 low-intensity conflicts were being waged.³ Most of these were in the ‘developing’ world and eastern Europe.³

Contrary to common belief, the post-Cold War period has not witnessed a dramatic increase in numbers of wars.³ What has changed, however, is the *type* and *nature* of these conflicts: conflicts are typically intra-state characterised by guerrilla warfare, separatist movements and ethnic violence over issues of governance and territory, and are primarily manifested as ‘identity conflicts’, as classified by Regehr.⁴ A particularly distinct characteristic is that non-combatants are the main victims – around 90% of victims are civilians as compared with 15% in World War I.⁵ This is because they are commonly the target of control by the main players and used as weapons in conflicts that rely on the manipulation of ethnic ideology more than defending geographical frontlines.

Yet although these wars are ‘internal’ by definition, their impact is often international as neighbouring populations are drawn in and refugees flood across borders, often spreading into Europe and the Americas.⁶ As a consequence, the international community is increasingly being expected to use its diplomatic and military prowess to resolve crises which threaten regional stability, drain UN resources and are morally repugnant to a world audience that is fed a daily diet of crisis news by the media and internet.

Instead of enjoying a ‘new world order’, as heralded by the major powers at the fall of the Berlin Wall, the legacy of the Cold War has been closer to a ‘new world disorder’.⁶ The demise of the Cold War effectively lifted the lid on long-running, latent, yet contained conflicts in Africa and Eastern Europe and unleashed a frenzy of violence and social breakdown for which the global community was ill-prepared. The highly sophisticated arms networks and training of governments in warfare rather than governance left the soil ripe for continued, less disciplined warfare.⁷ The fundamental impact of globalisation has also been identified as culpable of creating and maintaining the momentum for wars that are waged over control of resources.⁸

2 the problem of conflict and the birth of the new ‘conflict’ orthodoxy

The effect this has had on non-governmental organisations, governmental and UN agencies, diplomats and politicians has been pervasive and wholesale. Humanitarian agencies have found their activities and resources being increasingly consumed as they respond to the impact of violent conflict, whilst the fruit of years of development work has been drastically destroyed as communities are physically and emotionally uprooted. UN agencies struggle to obtain sufficient funds to meet humanitarian appeals as total ODA⁹ declines whilst dwindling UN resources are being channelled into peacekeeping missions,⁹ too many of which have become notorious for their failure.¹⁰ Additionally, increasing proportions of overseas aid are being committed to emergency funding.¹¹

^a ‘War’ is defined as armed conflict in which at least 1,000 deaths have resulted in one year, and ‘low-intensity conflicts’ are those in which 100–1,000 deaths have been caused. Source: PIOOM Databank, 1997.

^b According to UNDP sources, 65 out of 79 countries that experienced war in 1993 were in the South.

^c The number of refugees has soared since 1960 with 16 million refugees in 1995 as compared with 2.5 million in 1960. Source: United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report*, 1997, p66.

^d A view propounded by Duffield in his paper *Warlords, post-Adjustment Rulers and Private Protection* presented at a DEC seminar in London, Feb 1998. See Chapter Two, Section 1.2.4 for a fuller explanation.

the demise of the cold war unleashed a frenzy of violence and social breakdown for which the global community was ill-prepared

the result of this self-analysis and critical review has been a seismic shift in INGO and NGO thinking

The new political landscape has also meant that engagement by the international community in preventing or resolving conflicts is hesitant, incoherent and piece-meal, often resulting in failure, for example UNISOM in Somalia. With the replacement of bi-polar geo-political ideology with the crusade for neo-liberal free markets, western powers have become less inclined to participate in foreign conflicts. Furthermore, the complexity of these crises that are multi-actor, regional, and involve non-state actors has rendered conventional diplomatic and analytical skills inappropriate. As a result, the international community has tended to be complacent, ill-equipped or reticent in responding to these crises. Instead, humanitarian aid is offered as a moral palliative, causing humanitarian NGOs to 'become the front-line troops for governments which prefer humanitarian help to political solutions' (World Disasters Report, 1997). Such exposure has led to criticism from media, politicians and NGO practitioners and theorists as international humanitarian NGOs (INGOs) have attempted to fill the gap.¹² Criticism also arose from the realisation that what were now out-dated approaches were feeding the warring parties as much as the victims themselves.¹³

The need to fundamentally review INGO and government policy was therefore clear. The most poignant outcome of this criticism launched against the international response has been the major review and restructuring undertaken by some governmental and non-governmental organisations in order to adapt to the new reality. Following in the footsteps of the gender and environment issues that became fashionable and permeated governments and NGOs alike in the 1980s, the 'conflict' mantle has been taken up by most self-respecting humanitarian agencies and government departments, with varying degrees of sincerity. Departments, units, and jobs have been tailored to the conflict context from the World Bank to small NGOs, and resolutions have been passed by the EU in attempts to make policies more 'conflict sensitive'.¹⁴ Conflict consultancies have boomed as non-operational peace NGOs have responded to the demand for the need for advice, training and assistance in conflict management.¹⁵ Research units and specialists have blossomed, providing quality analysis and training.¹⁶

The need to pursue alternative forms of diplomacy from those based on the traditional ideological paradigms has pushed INGOs and NGOs into further prominence in the area of conflict resolution and into greater areas of partnership with governmental organisations. Indeed, the need for multi-track and preventive diplomacy have begun to be recognised by the UN, EU and national governments on account of their own inability to conduct unofficial networking and mediation away from the glare of media lights.¹⁷ This has, furthermore, brought about a quiet revolution in accepting the valid and effective role of the church and religious individuals in mediation work.¹⁸

3 impact on humanitarian NGOs – the new peace agenda

Within the humanitarian industry, the impact has been equally challenging. As the new environment has challenged their very credibility and effectiveness, INGOs have been forced to do much soul-searching over what their role should be and how to operate without compromising the principles of humanitarianism. More importantly, INGOs have sought to examine how they might take a proactive role in preventing or resolving violent conflict.

The result of this self-analysis and critical review has been a seismic shift in INGO and NGO thinking. For many, the experience has shaken corporate self-confidence in the ability to provide humane, beneficial assistance in an increasingly complex world. But for some, it has also led to much needed review and reform that is strengthening and consolidating their service, the outworking of which has been three-fold. First, current emergency programmes have been examined for ways in which they might prevent exacerbating conflict or at least 'do no harm'.^e Secondly, many INGOs and NGOs have sought to expand their role to include engagement in specific conflict resolution, reconciliation and peacebuilding programmes. And thirdly, early warning and advocacy aimed at achieving conflict prevention and resolution at macro political levels have been aggressively pursued.¹⁹

^e Mary Anderson's paper *Do No Harm: Supporting Local Capacities for Peace through Aid* and work through the Local Capacities for Peace Initiative has championed this philosophy. It seeks to encourage humanitarian agencies to analyse how their interventions affect local dynamics and to draw on local capacities which have the ability to build peace.

The former development has caused many INGOs to attempt to further integrate emergency and rehabilitation approaches with those of community development programmes in recognition of the cyclical nature of these crises. The COPE and IDPM studies that examine the impact of these efforts are indicative of the degree to which this has been taken seriously by UK INGOs.

The second development has led to a range of initiatives that aim to promote the prevention or resolution of violent conflict and the process of reconciliation amongst divided societies. These include democratisation, demobilisation of soldiers, strengthening of civil society, developing respect for human rights, psycho-social trauma workshops for victims, and training of staff in grass-roots conflict management. Examples can be found in Table 1 (see page 16).

This move into previously uncharted territory is based not merely on a reaction to the new working environment, nor is it merely 'jumping on the bandwagon' as some have described it. (At least, for some it is not.) Rather, many INGOs and NGOs see reconciliation and peacebuilding work as something closely rooted to their vision and mission – a natural outworking of their community development work that encourages social empowerment and change in peace time, and interdependence and co-operation in the wake of violent conflict.^f Non-violent conflict, as a phenomenon of social change, is therefore accepted as a natural progression of effective development^g which is destabilising by nature.²⁰ It is violent conflict that stands as the anti-thesis to what we work for²¹ and which drives so many NGOs and INGOs to prevention, resolution or reconciliation.

Secular-based INGOs recognise the phenomenon of violent conflict as a central reality in the lives of the poor amongst whom they are working and therefore fits in with their mission of strengthening the capacity of the poor to deal with forces that impoverish them. Indeed one INGO report writes, "As a development agency it is our task to ensure that our understanding of conflict is built into our programme design and that poor people are given increased capacity to prevent or deal with conflict related crises."²² Meanwhile, Christian or faith-based organisations like World Vision will also point to the fact that the concept of reconciliation lies at the heart of the gospel, which itself centres on restored relationships.^h

Lastly, the affiliation and proximity of development organisations to grass-roots organisations, the ability to network and their non-governmental status, are all attributes that are pointed to as rendering INGOs to be well placed to make a contribution.²³

In summary, agencies are attempting to "institutionalise reconciliation"²⁴ and to integrate a wider sensitivity to conflict amongst its programmes and staff.

4 criticisms of the new peace agenda – the 'ghettoising' of peacebuilding and the need for mainstreaming

This adoption of the peace approach by INGOs has received its fair share of criticism from internal and external sources. Those who recognise the roots of conflict to be predominantly structural (macro economic or political in nature) have criticised INGOs for focusing too heavily on developing what has come to be defined 'local capacities for peace' and for attempting to strengthen civil society in the absence of viable states.²⁵ An oft cited criticism is that INGOs too often design their responses without a thorough analysis of conflict, a case of 'practice preceding theory', which Voutira blames as the explanation for some INGO interventions worsening conflicts.²⁶ Constructive criticism from Carl gently warns against romanticising the Local Capacities for Peace approach.²⁷ Many INGOs have themselves asked serious questions about whether or not outsiders can contribute.²⁸ For example, World Vision Bosnia has expressed great reservation on any initiatives that are not localised and fully integrated into the local context.²⁹

^f This thinking formed the basis of World Vision Bosnia's decision in 1997 to adopt a deliberate peacebuilding dimension to its reconstruction work.

^g Most UK NGOs state that they believe conflict to be an inherent part of social change and not necessarily negative. However, due to the common use of the word 'conflict' to mean 'violent conflict', the perception is created that conflict is inherently negative.

^h See Chapter 2, Section 6.2 for a fuller discussion on the Christian understanding of reconciliation.

non-violent conflict is accepted as a natural progression of effective development

it is violent conflict that stands as the antithesis of what we work for

Table I: Examples of INGO peacebuilding initiatives

- **Oxfam Sudan requested Responding to Conflict, a UK-based training NGO, to conduct a workshop for its staff in Khartoum in 1996 to assist them in analysing and identifying their role in conflict and how they might design their programme accordingly.**
- **World Vision Sudan, Germany, Senegal and Rwanda have hosted a number of Local Capacity for Peace workshops to sensitise and equip NGO staff from the regions in the negative impact of aid delivery to conflict contexts and the use of indigenous communities' capacity to build peace.**
- **ACORD is running a programme aimed at strengthening local capacities for building peace in Uganda by expanding and strengthening the role of traditional chiefs in conflict management.**
- **ActionAid has gained a reputation for its innovative projects in Burundi and Somaliland, the former using the simple game of football as a means of encouraging interaction and team-work between unemployed young men. Formation of colline committees which included young people were encouraged to be set up to discuss and facilitate community needs. Football matches were used to as part of the effort to create friendly interaction between Hutus and Tutsis.**
- **African Evangelical Enterprise facilitates religious-based reconciliation workshops for church leaders in Rwanda.**
- **World Vision's work with ex-child soldiers and traumatised children, notably the Traumatized Children's Programme in Gulu, north Uganda, and the Creative Activities for Trauma Healing (CATH) schools project in Bosnia.**
- **Oxfam has launched a major three year public campaign in the UK, Cut Conflict, to seek governmental policy change in four areas: to curb the arms trade; to bring war criminals to justice; to promote peace through general aid, trade and economic policies; and to uphold the right of refugees. This is a high profile public campaign that brings the issue of conflict and its centrality to development issues to the domain of its members.**
- **Oxfam is also promoting the idea of Conflict Impact Assessments to be adopted by governments, companies and NGOs in order to assess the risk of aid, trade, or policies to unstable countries around the world.**
- **World Vision Bosnia's micro-enterprise programmes are designed to increase economic relations between Muslim, Croat and Serb groups and also to restore and develop civil society. The programmes have attracted attention from the World Bank for their innovatory, sensitive and effective approach to peacebuilding.**
- **The Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR) is running a three year advocacy and research project on the role of civil organisations in peace and democratisation processes in Colombia, Guatemala, South Africa, Angola and East Timor.**
- **The UK Working Group on Landmines (UKWGLM) is a coalition of 50 UK-based NGOs set up to lobby for the global ban on anti-personnel landmines by the world's governments. It supports the work of the International Coalition. As such it represents the move on the part of NGOs to lessen the impact of armed conflict on civilians.**

The most common complaint is that little or no evaluation has been done to prove the effectiveness of humanitarian or peace NGOs in this field, particularly in the light of the hyperbole that surrounds it. Indeed, the relative lack of accountability and the fact that it has become fashionable to be seen to be 'doing conflict work' warrants careful examination of impact. As a result, several major research projects have been set up in

the UK, and funded by the Department for International Development, that attempt to set out common points of departure, definitions, conceptual frameworks and methods of analysing impact.¹ Once completed, these are set to have a substantial impact on the credibility, development and assessment of INGO initiatives. They are also likely to profoundly impact the direction of funding.

Such a reaction is unsurprising – like a new pair of shoes, new paradigms usually seem unnecessary at first, are uncomfortable and have yet to be tested for their effectiveness.

Yet, the critics have a point. Whether one agrees that peacebuilding is not part of our mandate or capability, the fact is that INGOs are overlooking the role of that which is their comparative advantage – long-term community development. The majority of the debate and work tends to focus either on the response and influence of humanitarian agencies immediately before, during or after CHEs (Complex Humanitarian Emergencies), or on specific peacebuilding programmes to be implemented alongside other community development or rehabilitation programmes (in this, ActionAid is an exception). The fact that the two major research projects currently being conducted in the UK on the peacebuilding impact of INGOs are both focusing on the performance and capacity of INGOs in CHEs demonstrates this. Some work has been done on the design of community development projects to minimise the risk of natural resource-based disputes,¹ but nothing has been done of which the author is aware on improvements in the design of community development projects towards minimising the risk of violent, ethno-political identity conflicts. Yet this is an area that has been identified by others as necessary.³⁰

What has been neglected is the study of the inherent peacebuilding capacity that already exists within current development methodology.^k Examination of the contribution of generic processes, techniques and approaches that have been used for years in community development have attracted little attention in the peacebuilding drive, despite the fact that this would appear to be an obvious place to start. Bush identifies this tendency to neglect investigating the constructive impact of development projects as 'ghettoising' peacebuilding work, stating that the greatest peacebuilding impact will come from 'these mainstream activities'.³¹ Aside from the fact that this is probably our strongest area of expertise, it has been overlooked largely due to the rush to deal with the problem at hand, ie emergencies, or to turn to the peace 'experts'.

Oddly enough, the place of social and economic community programmes in building renewed trust, developing the dynamics of partnership and creating a stake for future co-operation is recognised in much of the literature on the subject.¹ Yet few people have translated this into practical research or programming. One reason, of course, is that the emphasis is invariably on what can be done in the CHE response, not in community development, and the perspective is that of specialists in peace and security studies and mediation. The fact that peace-related funding tends to be ad hoc and focused on immediate concerns further explains this tendency.³²

Criticising the approach taken by NGOs and INGOs to date is not the subject of this paper. On the contrary, the author recognises that this reflects the legitimate and necessary attempt of the international aid community to tackle the issue of conflict with a multi-dimensional, multi-sectoral approach. Pushing for reform at the macro, structural level is an example of a crucial area for INGOs to be active in if the analysis of the likes of

the study of the inherent peacebuilding capacity within current development methodology has been neglected

ⁱ These are: the two-year IDPM project, NGOs and Peacebuilding in CPes; the three-year COPE project, also an NGO-academic co-operation; and the ODI review of evaluation studies of peacebuilding projects.

^j See ODI Manual on Alternative Conflict Management.

^k The definition of 'peacebuilding' and its application with regard to ADPs is dealt with comprehensively in section 7 of chapter 2. However, for now, it will suffice to say that we use it in the broadest sense of the word, implying initiatives which develop a culture of peace, whether deliberately or as a by-product of a different activity, and which can be either before, during or after conflict.

¹ For example, see Oxfam & Saferworld paper on The Future of EU-ACP Relations and Conflict Prevention (1997); Oxfam International Position Paper on the Great Lakes (1998); the Machel Study on Children in Armed Conflict; UN Secretary General report on *The Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace* (1998); and *Peacebuilding from Below* by Geraldine McDonald (1997).

in theory
it was seen
to hold the
potential to
encourage
peacebuilding
between
people
groups

Duffield, Ellis and Keen are to be taken seriously.^m Lederach's theory of peacebuilding as a comprehensive array of stages and approaches, incorporating grass-roots, middle-level and top-level actors provides further legitimacy.³³ The complexities of modern conflict predicate the need for a multifarious approach.

However, what is clear is that this peacebuilding patchwork being developed by NGOs and INGOs is not complete; indeed, we would argue that a crucial piece of the patchwork is missing. The aim of this research is therefore to critically examine what generic community development methodology has to offer in this regard, and how it can be strengthened and consciously used as a peacebuilding tool. In doing so, it is hoped that both World Vision and other NGOs will gain better insight into how to utilise the capacity and resources that we already have. It also aims to help the focus to become more long-term.

5 why Area Development Programmes?

The concept and nature of ADPs is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. However, for now, it is necessary to outline the reason for selecting them as an appropriate target for research.

Some of the theoretical and analytical work which has been undertaken suggested that there may be a significant role for programmes which have integrative components, drawing diverse communities together to work towards community development who are from different ethnic, religious or social groups.³⁴ World Vision's Area Development Programme (ADP) is one such programme which holds this characteristic by virtue of its geographical size, its participatory and impartial approach, and its broad structure of networks. Therefore in theory it was seen to hold the potential to encourage peacebuilding between people groups as a by-product of another objective. As a result, and following anecdotal evidence from within the World Vision partnership concerning the ability of ADPs to unite diverse communities, World Vision UK saw the need to examine this in more detail.

Furthermore, ADPs are a relatively new and unique type of community development programme.^o Little research has been conducted on their impact beyond the grass-roots level and the learning that could be derived from them for benefit of general development policy. This was seen as a further reason to investigate.

6 the need for theoretical analysis

The research aimed to conduct this investigation primarily through field-based research using World Vision's Area Development Programmes as its focus. However, the need to review theory on conflict, peacebuilding and other associated concepts was also deemed essential to this peacebuilding study for two reasons. First, to explain the theory and rationale for community development to be used as a peacebuilding tool and secondly, to discuss and clarify World Vision's perspective on the complex concepts of reconciliation, peacebuilding and conflict. Without this, the reader cannot understand our perspective.

As a result, a theoretical overview has been conducted in Chapter 2. This does not attempt a thorough analysis of the literature on the subject, as this is the aim of another current research project.^p However, it does hope to contribute to INGO discussion on the meaning of conflict, civil society, reconciliation and peacebuilding and the role they can play in this arena.

^m These leading development political economists argue that the loss of the control of the state in the face of globalisation, liberalisation and de-centralisation has directly contributed to the emergence of private, predatory actors who wage war to gain control of key markets. As such, these forces are the key instigators of violent conflict.

ⁿ Economic groups have not been included owing to the fact that communities which the ADP assists are usually from similar economic groups. This is an important factor when considering the ability of ADPs to address economic injustice which so often lies at the root of conflict and is discussed in Chapter 9, section 2.

^o ActionAid's 'Area programme' is the only other programme similar to World Vision's ADP of which the author is aware.

^p For example, the IDPM work in progress by Goodhand & Hulme. See also the COPE project, conducted by Leeds University, ACORD and IDS.

It was hoped to conduct a substantive overview of what other UK-based INGOs are doing in the field of peacebuilding, however, owing to difficulties in obtaining information, this has been limited to a short overview (see section 4, above).

7 aim of research

The aim of the paper is to document and analyse the peacebuilding impact and potential of ADPs for the benefit of two audiences: the World Vision partnership and the wider NGO community. The benefit to the partnership will primarily be to provide ADP managers and policy makers with an alternative perspective on the utility of ADPs and to encourage them to strengthen those aspects identified as peacebuilding. For the wider NGO community, the research aims to draw out peacebuilding approaches and processes that are replicable for non-World Vision programmes and so provide other NGOs with another peacebuilding tool.

It is important to point out that this research is in no way conclusive. A limited number of ADPs were researched (three in Africa, two in Asia as part of pilot research) partly due to the fact that many ADPs are no more than five years old and therefore are not mature enough to be assessed for their impact in this regard. Additionally, this is the first study of its kind, the methodology being developed as the process gathered pace. Another fact to be taken into account is that none of the ADPs studied has yet stood the test of national conflict – all were either set up after a major national conflict or have only experienced local violent conflict.

However, what this research does provide is some strong insights and lessons into principles and approaches, and it should be viewed as the instigator for more work in this area.



endnotes

- ¹ NCDO (1997).
- ² Lederach, J P (1997), *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, p4–5.
- ³ *ibid.* Lederach bases his conclusion on statistics from a number of sources, most notable being Wallenstein and Axell (1993) *Armed Conflict at the End of the Cold War 1989–92*; *Journal of Peace Research* 30, no.3; and Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Yearbook 1995, *Armaments, Disarmament and International Security*.
- ⁴ Regehr E, *War after the Cold War: Shaping a Canadian Response*, Ploughshares Working Paper (1993) cited in *Building Peace* by Lederach (1997).
- ⁵ *ibid* p65.
- ⁶ Edwards & Hulme (1994), p2.
- ⁷ See Lederach (1997); Minear & Weiss (1995); Carnegie Report on Preventing Deadly Conflict (1998); etc.
- ⁸ According to the UN Department for Humanitarian Affairs, the amount of UN Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeals received has fallen from 75.8% of total requested in 1994 to 64.6% in 1997. Meanwhile, DAC aid levels have declined from 0.33% of GNP in 1992 to 0.25% in 1996.
- ⁹ In 1997, 16 UN peacekeeping missions and 11 other non-UN peacekeeping missions were active.
- ¹⁰ Somalia, Rwanda, and Bosnia (UNPROFOR) are the most notorious examples.
- ¹¹ Adams and Bradbury (1996) *Development & Conflict: Situating the Debate in Anthropology in Action*.
- ¹² One of the conclusions of Relief and Rehabilitation Network paper *Humanitarian Action in protracted crises: the new relief “agenda” and its limits* (1998) by Dylan Hendrickson. The paper is a synthesis of the outcomes of the DEC seminar in London, Feb 1998.
- ¹³ Notably by authors such as Alex de Waal, see *Humanitarianism Unbound? African Rights* (1994) and *Famine Crimes* (1998) A de Waal.
- ¹⁴ For example, the *Communication from the EU Commission to the Council of Ministers, The EU & the Issue of Conflicts in Africa: Peacebuilding, Conflict Prevention and Beyond*.
- ¹⁵ Examples in the UK are International Alert, Conciliation Resources, INCORE, Responding to Conflict.
- ¹⁶ UK examples are Saferworld; Department of Peace Studies, Bradford University; INTRAC. The 1998 NCDO Directory provides a comprehensive list of NGOs and academic organisations engaged in conflict work of any sort. The list fills no less than 300 pages.
- ¹⁷ For an understanding of these types of ‘diplomacy’ see International Alert’s discussion paper, *Towards a policy framework for advancing preventive diplomacy* by K Rupesinghe (1995) and Chapter One of the 1998 NCDO Directory *Prevention and Management of Violent Conflicts: An International Directory* (1998).
- ¹⁸ For an interesting analysis on this see *Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft* (1994) by Johnston and Sampson (eds).
- ¹⁹ One example of such advocacy initiatives is the EU & Conflict Forum which comprises a group of specialist and operational UK NGOs lobbying the UK and EU governments to introduce policies that are more sensitive to internal conflicts around the world. World Vision is part of this. An EU Code of Conduct on Arms Trade is the current issue being lobbied for.
- ²⁰ Bush, K (1996) p14.
- ²¹ Ram and Westwood (1996) *NGOs and Reconciliation*, World Vision.
- ²² From introductory remarks by Robert Dodd in *Understanding Peace and Conflict Management*, report from ActionAid workshop in Ghana, 1995.
- ²³ See *Prevention and Management of Violent Conflicts: An International Directory* (1998), p23.
- ²⁴ World Vision International (1998), p59.
- ²⁵ Lane (1996), Carl (1996) in *Anthropology in Action*.
- ²⁶ Voutira & Brown (1995), p25.
- ²⁷ Carl, A (1996).
- ²⁸ Ram & Westwood (1996).
- ²⁹ See *Assumptions* section of *World Vision Bosnia Framework for Reconciliation and Peacebuilding*.
- ³⁰ Warner & Jones (1998) *Natural Resource Perspectives*, ODI, No. 35.
- ³¹ Bush, K (1996) p14.
- ³² Renner, M in Spencer, T (1998).
- ³³ Lederach, J P (1997).
- ³⁴ See McDonald (1997). Also J P Lederach (1995), Whaites (1996), and Goodhand & Hulme (1998).

two theoretical basis for a community development approach to peacebuilding

Before the report examines the field research and its findings, it is important to review theories and clarify definitions of the relevant concepts in order to justify the basis for seeking a community development approach to ‘peacebuilding’. This provides the frame within which the findings of the research can be viewed, allowing one to make an informed judgment about the utility of community development in preventing, mitigating and reconciling the impacts of violent conflict. Conversely it is important to highlight the limits of the approach. Indeed, it is important to demonstrate that we are aware that the contribution of community development is exactly that – it can only be part of other important, proven approaches.

We will begin by examining theories on modern conflict, social capital, civil society and reconciliation, highlighting those which have particular salience to the research.^a This will lay the foundation for discussing definitions of peacebuilding and assist understanding of the concept in relation to community development.

I conflict: nature and definition

As a direct result of the changing geo-political realities discussed in the previous chapter, the word ‘conflict’ has become a common feature of humanitarian and political discourse. Used frequently to mean ‘violent conflict’, it has become an inherently negative term and synonymous with all that the ‘international community’ claims to stand against. However, the reality is that its traditional meaning is far richer and is an essential dynamic of ideals that the Western world champions, namely ‘progress’ and ‘development’.¹ Conflict becomes a problem, however, when it cannot be managed or resolved productively and violence is used as means to achieve this.² Furthermore, modern intra-state conflict poses a particularly unique problem in that civilians are increasingly being used as targets, pawns and weapons of war.

This over-simplified use of the term makes it important for this section to define the different types of ‘conflict’ and to clarify the type that this research will be examining. The Overseas Development Institute (ODI) recently produced a manual on alternative conflict management for natural resource projects. This has attempted to clarify simply the different types of conflict that exist and these are outlined below:

- a debate or contest
- a disagreement, argument, dispute or quarrel
- a struggle, battle or confrontation
- a state of unrest, instability, turmoil or chaos.

‘conflict’ has become an inherently negative term

^a It is important to note that the IDPM final report will include a thorough overview of the various theories and concepts which should be referred to for more in-depth discussion. Other authors which cover this subject authoritatively include: Van de Goor et al (1996), Cairns (1997).

The manual goes further and lists the full spectrum of social interactions and behaviour where conflicts can be present (see Box 1 below).

To make this 'full spectrum' complete, conflict between religious groups and churches must be included.

Box 1: Spectrum of social interactions where conflict is present

1. within an individual
 2. between husband and wife
 3. within the household and extended family groups
 4. among community groups (councils, associations, co-operatives, landowners)
 5. between community groups and external organisations (NGOs, government agencies, commercial companies)
 6. between different ethnic groups
 7. between political parties
 8. between countries and groups of countries
- Source: Manual on Alternative Conflict Management for Community-Based Natural Resource Projects, ODI

2 causes of intra-state conflict: risks and triggers

The causes of violent conflict are rarely simple or straightforward, nor is the same interpretation given for any one conflict. However, as Adams and Bradbury rightly point out, the causes are multiple and often interconnected. Too often this is not recognised, causing confusion and over-simplification.

There are several levels and types of causes, direct and indirect, most of which are better defined as *risks* (that which may give cause for aggravation indirectly) or *triggers* (acts or events that give rise to violent reactions).³ An example of a factor that acts as a risk for violent conflict is ethnic prejudice or hatred, based on past injustices. This in itself is often cited as the reason for intra-state wars of the 1990s; Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda all come to mind. However, this factor was one amongst many other risks and mostly were triggered by manipulative leadership.

Analysis on this subject abounds as academics and practitioners have realised the need to critically examine the cause of modern conflicts in order to respond appropriately. Theories also vary according to the context (African, Latin American, European and Asian). As a result, this section will present a summary of the main ideas highlighting those that are particularly relevant to the field of community development and to the context of Africa.

2.1 Ethnicity, ethno-nationalism and identity conflicts

According to some estimates, in the 1990s a total of 70 different ethnic groups sought greater political autonomy on ethnic grounds.⁴ These statistics led the media to label them as 'ethnic conflicts'. Indeed, it is accepted that the desire for political recognition amongst ethnic groups around the world is on the increase and what is termed ethno-nationalism is an apparently inexorable post-Cold War trend.⁵ However, political theorists generally do not accept that the primary motivating factor behind these wars is 'ethnic' per se. The common issue at stake may be ethnic identity, but the force behind the struggle is usually related to social and economic insecurity. It is for this reason that some call these conflicts 'identity conflicts'.⁶

2.2 Conflict entrepreneurs and identity politics

It is becoming increasingly recognised and acknowledged that many contemporary wars are triggered and maintained by manipulative leaders who often use ethnic prejudice, religious fundamentalism, and national sentiment to pursue their own political cause.⁷ Insecure and opportunistic political figures take advantage of the increasing trend towards

ethno-nationalism and encourage exclusive 'identity politics' amongst the population, thus creating popular support for war. Classic examples are the wars in the former Yugoslavia, Sudan, Somalia, Rwanda, and Uganda. Some commentators point to less obvious examples such as the Hindu fundamentalist political party, the BJP, which is inciting anti-Christian sentiment throughout northern India for its own political purposes.

2.3 Historical processes of state formation in developing countries

Societies in transition, such as those in the developing world, inevitably undergo periods of conflict and tension as an infinite number of political, social and economic changes are made. State formation in medieval Europe was a violent process, a fact that is often forgotten. However, this process is particularly acute for developing countries, especially in Africa, whose states have not evolved gradually over a period of time but were created and orchestrated by colonial powers. Traditional structures remained in place and no time was allowed for 'binding factors' to take root, thus preventing the natural generation of a unifying national force.⁸ In addition, modern values such as sovereignty, territorial integrity, and good governance impede the natural process of state formation. The result is the creation of 'weak' states who are without popular legitimacy and are unable to govern effectively.

Consequently, instability and violent conflict in these contexts can be viewed in some cases as instrumental, and even necessary, in the formation of the state but also a result of weak, corrupt and unjust government.

2.4 Weak states, poor legal structures, and unequal distribution of power

On examining the role of these factors in more detail, many sources cite the impact of corrupt, ineffective states with poor legal structures and their mis-use and abuse of power against the interests of a section of the population.⁹ Where that section of the population is mobilised and equipped to oppose the government, the risk of conflict is great. Thus, wide-spread war in the former Zaire, where President Mobutu's regime was notorious for decades of kleptocracy, did not erupt until 1997, when the Banyumulenge, Mai-Mai and Tutsi tribes gained resources and political advantage from the effect of the war in neighbouring Rwanda.

Those states that do not have independent legal structures or political will to execute justice also fall into a vulnerable category. Their inability to manage conflicts of interest and the generation of a culture of impunity (Burundi and Rwanda) or injustice (Sudan and pre-1990's Ethiopia) builds a shaky foundation for governance that can breed dissent and dissatisfaction. Of course, there are numerous countries which hold or have held these characteristics but have not declined into wide-scale violent conflict, (Nigeria, Malawi, Bolivia, to take but a few examples) demonstrating the role of other influencing factors.

Similarly, groups or political parties that hold a monopoly of power in a state (through patronage and clientism) create a situation ripe for political dissent, armed insurrection and guerrilla warfare.

2.5 Competition for scarce natural resources

Population pressures, increasingly scarce natural resources and the legacy of unjust land distribution are all well-known sources of friction. However, when these are combined with a lack of a legal framework and the ready availability of light weapons (see section below), the potential for violence and even widespread unrest is compounded. One of the major sources of contention at the basis of the Rwandan genocide was the extremely high population pressure and the competition for land.

2.6 Poverty and social exclusion

Although most of the above factors create or exacerbate poverty, and therefore poverty can be attributed as creating a risk of conflict, the problem of poverty, real and perceived, must be recognised separately as a significant force behind many conflicts. The fact that the majority of violent conflicts are occurring in some of the poorest countries of the world is a testimony to this.¹⁰ Where people perceive that they are marginalised and have no 'stake' in the future, there is less inclination to maintain the *status quo*. Poverty is a problem that is frequently used as the motivation behind secessionist or ethno-nationalist demands and thus must be factored in, as an integral part of many conflicts.

the common issue at stake may be ethnic identity, but the force behind the struggle is usually related to social and economic insecurity

the causes of violent conflict are rarely simple or straightforward, but are multiple and often interconnected

2.7 Liberalisation leading to dis-empowerment of the state – globalisation, SAPs and predatory political formations

A strong school of thought propounds the critical effect of economic globalisation (particularly on poor countries), which disempowers the state from economic control and leaves weak economies vulnerable to global price fluctuations. The sudden collapse in world coffee prices is recognised by many as a crucial dynamic in encouraging the ensuing genocide in Rwanda in 1994-5 owing to the jolt it gave to the economy and welfare of the vast majority of its population.¹¹ Certain commentators point to the fact that it is no coincidence that most Complex Humanitarian Emergencies have occurred in the marginal areas that have not been integrated into trading blocs.¹² Structural Adjustment Programmes, which are often prescribed as the remedy by the international economic masters (World Bank and IMF), tend to exacerbate the situation by increasing the margin between poor and rich within a state.

Certain theorists see this trend as the motivation behind the creation of “predatory political formations,” whereby illegal power bases are set up that use the freedoms of the market to pursue illegal trade, (arms, drugs, commodities) and to assert power over the state.¹³ Violent conflict is in the interests of these leaders’ power bases which rely on national instability and turmoil. Classic examples include Liberia and Somalia.

2.8 Structural debt & ‘global god complexes’

The impact that structural debt is having on the developing world and the relationship between these nations and the Western banks fits neatly into J Christian’s theories of “god complexes” (discussed below in 2.11). The debt of the developing world renders it subservient to the IFIs whose power is absolutised through the economic stranglehold it has over these countries; namely the servicing of debt and compliance with western economic models of development (SAPs). These unbalanced state relationships and systemic inequities are pointed to by others as aggravators of modern conflict in Africa.¹⁴

2.9 Failure of modernist developmentalism

Following on from this theme, certain commentators point to the failure of “developmentalism” i.e. the pursuit of economic growth, and Western ideas of modernisation and progress, that has created a context ripe for violence. The fact that Gross National Product (GNP), as the favoured economic indicator of development, has its origins as a measurement of war and economic progress is telling. Schrijvers argues that violence is not the failure of development; but the success of a model and process of development that is inherently violent.¹⁵

2.10 The arms trade and military expenditure

Statistics on the flows of armaments, conventional and ‘light’ weapons, into the developing world are shocking. Between 1987–1991, more than US\$176 billion was spent on weapons imported to the developing world and over US\$ 200 billion is spent every year.^{b 16} Although it is difficult to say that the availability of arms *per se* causes conflict, it is widely acknowledged that they play the significant role of enabling conflict to become violent, intensifying existing conflict, and, as regards small arms, promoting the process of state-breakdown and broadening the scope of involvement in violence, (hence the rise in numbers of child soldiers).¹⁷ Additionally, heavy military expenditure can tilt the balance of power and distort distribution of resources.¹⁸

The issue of small arms is particularly pertinent owing to the vast majority of wars now being fought almost entirely with small arms.^c About 13% of the total worldwide trade in conventional weapons is in small arms and their ammunitions – about \$22.2 billion.^{d 19} This signals a kind of ‘reprimativisation’ of war, or ‘warrior societies’ in which the state no longer holds the monopoly of violence.²⁰

^b Taken from United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers, 1991–92. Definition of ‘developing world’ here is broad and does not include countries of the former Soviet Union however, it does include Asia, Africa, Latin America and Middle East. The latter is unfortunate, as it is the major importer of weapons in this classification.

^c According to the SIPRI yearbook, (1993), all but four of the conflicts documented were fought almost entirely with small arms and light weapons (Van de Goor et al, p27).

^d Statistics are from the same source as above.

2.11 Conflict as a product of the abuse of power and ‘god complexes’

World Vision subscribes to all the above theories on the causes of modern violent conflict. However, a Christian philosophy and perspective would view this picture as incomplete without a theory that takes into account a more holistic understanding of conflict and its causes – that is, one which includes spiritual factors.

Jayakumar Christian, an Associate Director of World Vision India with long experience in rural community development in India, has written incisively on this subject.²¹ His theories on the nature and causes of intergenerational poverty provide a persuasive and radical understanding of conflict that is particularly helpful to this debate. He argues that systemic poverty is caused and maintained by ‘god-complexes’, networks of the powerful which seek to play god in the environment in which they operate (ie absolutise themselves, have ultimate control). These reinforce each other, thus creating power reservoirs and god complexes in which the poor, or those without authority, find it impossible to break out of.

Christian uses this concept as a tool by which to understand the dynamics of structural poverty, with particular reference to the Indian sub-continent. However, it is also a powerful model by which to understand the dynamics of power and, by his association, conflict. Several levels and types of conflict emerge from this abuse of power.

Firstly, latent conflict is created between the poor and rich when the rich exploit the poor and demand their allegiance. An example is the power that moneylenders and landlords have over many communities in rural India. This conflict is rarely expressed and instead usually takes the form of harmony between the exploiter and exploited; the rural poor do not know any different and accept their situation as a natural part of the world order. This sense of ‘fate’ is particularly strong in India where the caste system dictates position in society. The second type of conflict is overt and emerges when the poor become enlightened of their exploited position. This enlightenment may come through Marxist philosophy, (as it did in post-war India) or participatory community development.^e Thirdly, power that is divisive and relies on the fragmentation of the community also creates conflict between the poor.

Christian’s theories are helpful in demonstrating that conflict is an inescapable outcome of the monopoly of power, that conflict is not necessarily expressed, and that it is inherent within structural or systemic inequity. It also demonstrates that relationships are central to an understanding of conflict. To quote him: “Humans oppose humans in the struggle to attain, share, or influence power” and “An important feature of all poverty situations is broken relationships.”

Furthermore, this understanding shows that unequal power relationships and resulting conflict assume a spiritual dimension as god complexes demand extreme control and allegiance over communities, they effectively seek to deify themselves.

In summary, one cannot hope to achieve much in transformational development without recognising and addressing unequal power relationships. By the same token, therefore, one cannot address issues of conflict without looking at the impact of community development on these power relationships.

This thinking defines the philosophy behind Transformational Development, the vision behind ADPs, and defines our understanding of reconciliation and peacebuilding. (These are discussed further below.) However, using this conceptual thinking, the link between community development and peacebuilding begins to become clearer.

3 interpreting the causes of conflict and approaches to conflict management: the case for bridging the gap

How one interprets conflict and its causes will have a direct impact on how one attempts to deal with it.

The ODI manual makes an important distinction between the two approaches that have emerged from the discipline of conflict management: that which deals with issues relating

^e The need for managing this process with sensitivity and integrating the non-poor into the process is recognised and seen as essential if violent conflict is not to be a consequence of this enlightenment. This is discussed further in Chapter 8, section 2, when examining these theories in the light of the research findings.

how one interprets conflict and its causes will have a direct impact on how one attempts to deal with it

the local community is the arena in which many modern conflicts are fought, contending for people's hearts and minds

to natural resource management and that which deals with peacebuilding. The latter tends to focus on overt, violent conflicts at the macro level (between political parties, state actors, ethnic or religious groups, guerrilla organisations – as identified in Box 1 p.22, levels 4–8). That which deals with natural resource conflicts and competition over access to finite resources tends to focus on conflicts at the more local, domestic level (levels 1–3), characterized as disputes and contests rather than war or instability. The rationale for the approach used by the peacebuilding school is rooted in its understanding of the causes of violent conflict, which tend to be systems or state oriented, as articulated above.^f Yet the Manual points out that both approaches have much to learn from each other, particularly the advantages of community level peacebuilding from natural resource management. In fact, Warner and Jones identify the current need for research into how to design community development programmes so that they minimize local dispute conflict.²²

This distinction is important and helpful for the purposes of this research paper which aims to examine the contribution that community development programmes can bring in reducing the potential for, and the effect of, violent, widespread, 'identity' conflicts. As outlined above, issues relating to ethnicity, religion, political leadership and group interests are those which have played a key part in many such conflicts. However, what many peacebuilding theorists and INGO/NGO practitioners tend to overlook in assessing the cause of modern conflicts, and the consequent solutions is the fundamentally important dynamic of conflict at the community, micro level.

Goodhand and Hulme have recognised this in their study which has deliberately chosen the level of analysis to be at the community level, on the 'inside-out' as they call it.²³ The rationale for their choice is similar to that of this study: firstly, in most modern conflicts to which INGOs/NGOs are responding, the local community is the arena in which many are fought, contending for people's hearts and minds – the manipulation of issues relating to identity, and perceived economic and political poverty must be executed at the grass-roots level for effectiveness. Secondly, INGOs/NGOs claim that their comparative advantage is at the grass-roots level.²⁴ If this is the case, then this should be the most appropriate level at which to respond.

One of the key characteristics of Area Development Programmes is their large geographic area of operation which relies on the interaction and co-operation of a wide number of people groups with different religious, ethnic and political identities. As such this research is an attempt to examine the impact of a micro-level approach (village level community development), that is employed at a medium or meso level (throughout an administrative district), on 'causes' of widespread violent conflict which depend on grass-roots ownership, (eg wars relating to identity, political leadership and manipulation, economic security and group interests).^g

In this way, it is an attempt to bridge the gap between the disciplines of natural resource management and current peacebuilding approaches. This is achieved by examining issues that underlie macro conflicts at the grass-roots rural community level and 'scaling up' the role of community level peacebuilding.

4 civil society

Civil society is usually held to be the collective intermediary between the individual and the State. However, the practical interpretation of its form in society suffers, like many other terms, from wide variations, and consequently leads to confusion. Applied to INGOs/NGOs, community groups, media, and even business, confusion often exists as to what is meant by the word. This confusion is not new and has been an issue of debate since the inception

^f Van de Goor et al (1996) refer to this "state-oriented" approach as one which has reflected the normative perspective in the discipline of international relations but is beginning to shift as the nature of modern conflict changes (see p23).

^g It is important to explain here why the study does not specifically examine the gender aspects of conflict ie conflict between different genders. This is not because this is not seen as an important variable within modern violent conflict. On the contrary, the abuse of women by men as a weapon in violent conflict is recognised. However, gender-based conflicts do not usually give rise to widespread instability of the kind that INGOs respond to.

of the concept in political science last century by Hegel and De Toqueville. The rise of its popularity in the 1980s and its association with aid conditionality, good governance, democracy, and the 'participation' orthodoxy by donor governments has made it an issue of particular pertinence, most especially to INGOs.²⁵

Owing to the function that INGOs/NGOs profess to be good at – empowering grass-root civil organisations – the term 'civil society' has been associated closely with their work, not only by themselves, but also by multi-lateral and bi-lateral donors. In the rush to build civil society and democracy, the debate over what actually strengthens constructive civil society has been overlooked, as Whaites has pointed out.²⁶ He argues that De Toqueville's understanding of civil society is one which INGOs/NGOs can easily subscribe to – one in which associations are formed primarily for constructive, altruistic concerns to pursue 'small issues', (which includes community development). As a result, they are more likely to form on the basis of these small issues rather than primordial issues such as ethnicity, language and religion, and therefore be a unifying agent for a heterogeneous group. This compares with the selfish, destructive concerns that Hegel proposes.

However, as Whaites argues, what INGOs/NGOs overlook in applying this to community development is that this unifying, positive impact of small issue groups is not insured, according to de Toqueville, when the group is homogeneous. This is because it becomes vulnerable to moving on to strengthening the group's comparative position, particularly when in a context of clientism and patronage. Therefore, we should be wary of assuming that all civil associations naturally build civil society.

ADPs, on the other hand, invariably work with a heterogeneous community (due to the size of the area) and depend on the formation of grass-roots groups for the different development activities and thus have a strong propensity to develop civil society in both the literal and academic sense of the word.

Oxfam and Saferworld clearly recognise this by the recommendations they made to the EU on development policies that would help prevent conflict. "EU development co-operation... should promote social cohesion by meeting common concerns through programmes which *transcend group interests*" (italics added). Furthermore, they suggest that facilitating "the development of representative groups from civil society is a necessary means of contributing to sustainable peace".

The degree to which ADPs do strengthen civil society is the hypothesis that this paper wishes to test.

5 social capital

Theories of social capital and its relevance to development thinking are well known and are closely connected to civil society theory. Putnam defines it as "features of social organisation, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit" and is therefore categorised as a resource or endowment.²⁷

Goodhand and Hulme have appropriately attempted to contextualise this concept into the debate on conflict in their first Working Paper (1998). They suggest that "societies with substantial endowments of social capital have greater civil security and less conflict than those with less social capital".²⁸

However, in a similar vein to Whaites' caution regarding the positive role of civil society, it cannot be assumed that high levels of social capital necessarily lead to a higher chance of security. The World Bank itself recognises that social capital can be misused or abused to be a channel for organised violence.²⁹ Exactly how social capital is generated and what form it takes is therefore important and in line with the same argument given above about civil society.

As mentioned above, ADPs rely on social organisation and the setting up of networks for them to function effectively and for communities to be empowered. As such, there is a strong indication that in theory ADPs contribute to the development of social capital which, in turn, could build the foundation for developing a culture of peace.

6 reconciliation

Reconciliation, like civil society, is a word that is liberally used in the discourse relating to peacebuilding and is assumed to have a common meaning. However, as with all these concepts, the literal meaning may be straightforward but its interpretation and application is as varied as the concept is rich and complex.

in the rush to build civil society and democracy, the debate over what actually strengthens constructive civil society has been overlooked

a broader understanding of the meaning of reconciliation and its role in peacebuilding is needed

The Oxford English dictionary definition of reconciliation is “to adjust, settle, bring to agreement; to make compatible with; to bring back into peace, favour”³⁰, hence the use of the word in conflict situations (violent or not) where activities and initiatives aim to ‘reconcile’ the differences of the parties or the people themselves. These range from workshops to national sponsored institutions (eg South African Truth & Reconciliation Commission) and are usually specific, organised events. The word ‘reconciliation’ tends to be emotionally loaded, owing to the fact that it is often associated with the meeting of enemies, facing of pain and implying forgiveness.

Yet, as this section will argue, a broader understanding of the meaning of reconciliation and its role in peacebuilding needs to be adopted that portrays its richness, going beyond that of workshops and painful emotional experiences to incorporate concepts of harmony, ‘shalom’, and justice.

6.1 Reconciliation as relationship

Fundamental to any understanding of reconciliation is its dependence on relationship. J P Lederach uses this concept as the central tenet of his model of peacebuilding.³¹ Lederach bases this on several important assumptions. First, this is a fundamental law of nature: relationships are at the basis of life and the entire cosmic system which cannot, according to quantum theory, be understood without examining the relationships of its parts. Reconciliation of those parts, and of that which is causing conflict, must therefore be found through relationship.

Second, encounter is the means by which the building of relationship can take place; a place has to be created for enemies to meet and dialogue.

And third, the focus of this encounter must include the dealing with the past and looking to the future. In fact, Lederach says that “envisioning a common future creates new lenses for dealing with the past”.

Reconciliation is therefore a locus (physical place) and focus (on each other, on past and future), where relationships are allowed to develop through encounter, and where looking to the future creates new perspectives for dealing with the past. Furthermore, reconciliation is sustained by relationship.



Jayakumar Christian’s theories on poverty and power (as outlined earlier) offer further understanding on the pivotal role of relationships – power relationships – in causing both poverty and conflict. This understanding of the dynamics of poverty affirms the need to respond with an approach that focuses on restoration of relationships not only within the community, but also between the poor and rich. It therefore supports the thesis of this paper that community development is an appropriate medium for reconciliation (the restoring of relationships).

6.2 The paradox of reconciliation – Christian theology

Those who engage in any reconciliation process often struggle with the seemingly incompatible concepts of justice and mercy, both of which are necessary components of true reconciliation. For, as it is frequently said, justice is an essential forerunner to true peace. Yet how can the two be accommodated?

Christian theology holds much of the answer, for reconciliation is the axis around which the entire Christian faith is based. Three areas of reconciliation are articulated: reconciliation between God and (wo)man through the Cross; reconciliation between humans; and that between humans and the environment, the latter two coming as a result of the former. A reconciled world

is also prophesied for the next world when “the wolf will live with the lamb and the leopard will lie down with the goat”.³² The basis of this reconciliation is the atoning sacrifice of God’s Son, Jesus Christ, upon whom just punishment for man’s sin was satisfied, and by which we receive mercy, thus breaking the barrier of enmity between us and God.³³

Here we see the paradox of justice and mercy meeting. Similarly in Christs’ teaching which calls for “a radical love of enemies on the one hand and a forthright confrontation with the perpetrators of injustice on the other” we see this dialectic at work.³⁴ Lederach’s own experience with peacebuilding work led him to a profound insight into how this works out practically in real life reconciliation work. Using the wisdom of Psalm 85:10, he describes how reconciliation is the place where “Truth and Mercy have met together; Peace and Justice have kissed”.³⁵

J Christian’s theory that unjust economic or political relationships are at the root of conflict, whether realised or latent, further supports this understanding of reconciliation. In so doing, it implies that reconciliation may involve deep seated reform of power structures for it to be true and meaningful. This is, in effect, what participatory development is, or should be, about.

But underlying this theology is the understanding that ‘human fallenness’ is a cause of disharmony, breaking of relationship and conflict. It is for this reason that we recognised this as one of the causes of conflict.

The recognition that conflict can be latent and that peace is not just about the absence of conflict, further affirms the decision to study ADPs that are not suffering overt conflict.

6.3 Reconciliation as ‘shalom’

This understanding of reconciliation is one that is captured by the Hebrew word ‘shalom’ which is also frequently misinterpreted. Commonly it is used to mean ‘peace’, however, the full interpretation is much richer and originates in the Old Testament account of the creation in Genesis. Here ‘shalom’ described the perfect state of being that existed between man, God and creation in which each one existed in harmonious and right relationships. Metzler and McAlpine both point out that the unifying theme throughout the Old and New Testament is of God continually working towards restoring ‘shalom’.³⁶

This idea of ‘shalom’ being understood to be more than peace but restored relations at the human, environmental and spiritual levels broadens our understanding of reconciliation. When integrated with J Christian’s notion of transformational development being the breaking of god-complexes that oppress the poor, we have an holistic understanding of reconciliation which supports the notion that reconciliation and community development are closely integrated. Moreover, it supports the notion that a spiritual perspective is necessary in understanding conflict, reconciliation and, therefore, peacebuilding.

6.4 Summary

In summary, reconciliation is a process that is catalysed by the forming of relationships, and through a place of encounter where, among other things, common futures are formed and new perspectives consequently developed for dealing with the past. Moreover, reconciliation is sustained by relationships. The need for reconciliation is one which is not just confined to obvious conflicting parties, but includes those areas where power suppresses and causes poverty of body, mind, spirit and heart. As such, reconciliation is a universal need, lies at the heart of what community development is striving to achieve, must include striving for justice, and as ‘shalom’, defines the meaning of World Vision’s transformational development goal.

7 peacebuilding

Of all the definitions, this is possibly the most confused and opaque. Baxter calls it “perhaps the most elusive and complex concept in the theoretical and practical sense”.³⁷ Organisations and individuals use it to describe a wide variety of initiatives that may have preventive, mitigative, resolving or reconciling aims, thus creating the general confusion that has arisen. Goodhand and Hulme’s attempt to bring clarity on this is therefore much welcomed.³⁸ As a result of this confusion, it is essential that time is spent here identifying what this paper defines as ‘peacebuilding’.

Certain definitions and concepts exist that are particularly salient to our understanding of the meaning of the word.

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there is a profound case for community development to be the focus of greater attention in the drive to seek preventive and reconciliatory approaches

Johann Galtung, the Swedish sociologist, makes the important point that it is a process, not an event, which provides alternatives to conflict through *equality* and *interdependence*.³⁹ A number of authors recognise the fact that it is a process, with Ryan (1990), Fisher (1993), Harbottle, and Evans (1996) all perceiving it as a) an outcome of social change b) a focus on the attitudes and relationships of communities (Ryan) and c) all-embracing, including pre-conflict and post-conflict years. Most importantly, they all recognise it as a process which concentrates on the context of the conflict rather than the issues itself, namely the socio-economic and political circumstances of the people.

This understanding is one that World Vision Bosnia has come to adopt as a result of much hard thinking and discussion and forms the basis of their understanding of the role of an NGO in peacebuilding "...to facilitate and encourage contact, dialogue and co-operation between ethnic groups in non-threatening areas of 'commonality' or 'linkages', such as in economic co-operation and in addressing non-political problems common to all sides such as health issues, business development and refugee returnee issues."⁴⁰ As mentioned in the section on reconciliation, WV Bosnia primarily view peacebuilding as a perspective, a framework which must be built on the foundation of improved physical conditions and security.

7.1 Research definition

The above definitions and insights into conflict, reconciliation, civil society, social capital and peacebuilding all indicate that this cannot be confined to the 'peace NGOs' who conduct training workshops in conflict management, psycho-social healing, and reconciliation. Indeed, a persuasive case exists for a broader understanding of conflict, reconciliation and peacebuilding which is not confined to short-term events but recognises a broader context and wider perspective of what peacebuilding is, and how and when the building of peace is 'done'. In particular, there is a profound case for community development to be the focus of greater attention in the drive to seek preventive and reconciliatory approaches.

In the light of this, and the theories already discussed, the following definition of 'peacebuilding' has been composed (see Box 2).

As can be seen, this definition is broad in terms of process, length of time, sector of society and level at which peacebuilding is exercised. However, as the title of this paper suggests, the hypothesis of this research is that ADPs can bring a *contribution* to this peacebuilding process – it does not pretend to assume that ADPs or community development have the power to bring about all of the changes listed.

However, what we do wish to argue is that firstly, peacebuilding is a much broader, holistic concept than it is usually perceived to be, and that secondly, community development has a significant capacity to be able to contribute to this process.

Box 2: Research definition of peacebuilding

"Peacebuilding is the outworking of a perspective or vision that seeks restoration of broken or unjust relationships be they economic, political, social, emotional or spiritual. It is a process rather than a discrete event and its outcome is a culture of peace that permeates all levels of society. It is catalysed by activities that rely on the interaction, interdependence and equitable treatment of diverse people groups whose purpose is social or economic and whose focus is the future. Indicators of successful peacebuilding are the erosion of traditional prejudices, reconciliation of enemies, peaceful resolution of conflict, and the development of solidarity and understanding between diverse people groups. It is therefore a process that cannot be labelled as either part of conflict prevention, management or reconciliation but encompasses all these as a whole."

endnotes

- ¹ Warner & Jones (1998).
- ² Kapila (1996) in Goodhand & Hulme (1998).
- ³ Creative Associates International (1997) p28.
- ⁴ Halperin & Scheffer (1992) in Cairns (1997) p61 and Regehr (1993) in Lederach (1997).
- ⁵ De Silva, K in Van de Goor et al (1996).
- ⁶ Regehr in Lederach (1997).
- ⁷ Allen (1996), Cairns (1997), Adams & Bradbury (1995).
- ⁸ Van de Goor et al (1996) p7.
- ⁹ Clapham (1990), Pronk & Sciarione (1997), Saferworld & Oxfam (1996), Cairns (1997).
- ¹⁰ Adams & Bradbury (1995).
- ¹¹ Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda: Executive Summary (1996), JEFF.
- ¹² O'Neill and Ellis in Anthropology in Action (1996).
- ¹³ Ellis (1996) & Duffield (1998).
- ¹⁴ Schrijvers (1996)) in Anthropology in Action (1996); Duffield (1998).
- ¹⁵ Schrijvers (1996).
- ¹⁶ Krause, K (1996) in Van de Goor (1996) p173.
- ¹⁷ Van de Goor et al (1996), p27.
- ¹⁸ Krause, K (1996) in Van de Goor (1996) p185.
- ¹⁹ *ibid*, p173.
- ²⁰ Van Creveld (1991) in Van de Goor (1996) p27.
- ²¹ Christian, J (1997, 1998).
- ²² Warner & Jones (1998), p1.
- ²³ Goodhand & Hulme (1998) p6.
- ²⁴ Edwards, M & Hulme, D (1992).
- ²⁵ See Harvey's discussion on the role of civil society in post-conflict rehabilitation (1998).
- ²⁶ Whaites, A (1996), p240.
- ²⁷ Putnam (1993a) in Goodhand & Hulme (1998), p9.
- ²⁸ Goodhand & Hulme (1998), p9.
- ²⁹ World Bank (1998).
- ³⁰ Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, Vol II (1983).
- ³¹ See Lederach (1997) Building Peace.
- ³² Isaiah, Chapter 11:6, The Holy Bible, New International Version.
- ³³ Some relevant bible verses include: Colossians, chapter 1:20-22, Matthew, ch 27:1, Romans, ch 5:8.
- ³⁴ See Wells (1997), in Baum & Wells, Chapter 1.
- ³⁵ See Lederach, Building Peace p28-29.
- ³⁶ Metzler (1995) and McAlpine et al (1998).
- ³⁷ Baxter, L (1998).
- ³⁸ Goodhand & Hulme (1998).
- ³⁹ Galtung, J (1976) in Baxter, L (1998).
- ⁴⁰ World Vision Bosnia (1997).

three area development programme concept

I historical context

Area Development Programmes (ADPs) were developed by World Vision in the late 1980s out of the realisation by field offices throughout the world of the advantages of 'scaling up' community development programmes funded through child sponsorship. By covering a larger geographical area, working in a wide number of communities whilst retaining a micro-level approach, it was seen that community development had the potential to become more integrated and sustainable. This involved addressing the health, socio-economic, training and educational needs of an administrative district. Macro issues as well as micro issues would be able to be addressed, such as improvements to the physical infrastructure, local economy and provision of government services. Moreover, the basic principle and aim of World Vision's work – transformational development – was seen to have greater chance of success by encouraging the development of networks and coalitions of community groups so as to mobilise the community to tackle wider root causes to problems. In this way, the work has greater chance of sustainability and communities are transformed into less dependent, empowered stakeholders in the process.^a The following extract from World Vision Australia's ADP Final Report sums this up:

*"In discussion with the fields it was realised that no matter how good the development going on in communities was, it could not be complete. Communities were not sufficient unto themselves and the causes of poverty were not usually confined to the community context. If their needs were to be adequately met, the context of the area/region in which they were situated must be taken into consideration."*¹

A further advantage that was identified in adopting a more integrative approach was the opportunity it created for a more flexible funding approach through a mix of private and public funding. In this way long-term stability is secured through sponsorship commitments while short-term sector-specific government grants allow for specialised assistance and flexibility.

Area Development Programmes are the outworking of this rationale.

2 defining ADPs

Owing to the large number of countries in which World Vision operates and the cultural diversity that this entails, the exact approach of each ADP varies somewhat according to context. Their specific design, goals and content also vary according to the specifications of the stakeholders who participate in the design and implementation of the programme.

As a result it is difficult to define absolutely the exact nature of each individual ADP. There is no single comprehensive ADP model or paradigm, rather ADPs are a strategy for implementing a development paradigm. They are a framework; a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Although this paradigm varies according to context, certain fundamental goals and approaches exist in all ADPs.

The table below lists the principle factors common to all ADPs and the main dimensions that vary.

**there is
no single
comprehensive
ADP model
or paradigm**

^a Stakeholders include all or a mixture of the following: local community/beneficiaries, traditional leaders, local and regional government authority, line ministries (Ministry of Health, Education, Agriculture, Development), local church leaders, and of course, World Vision (ADP staff, national office and support office).

Table 2: Principle defining features of Area Development Programmes

Similar features	Variable features
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integrated community development • Large, contiguous geographical area • Child Sponsorship is major funding source but sources are multiple • Long-term commitment (10–15 years) • Prioritises women and children • Relies on empowerment, capacity building and participation of stakeholders (beneficiaries and/or local government) • Emphasises and builds strategic alliances and networks to impact macro causes of poverty • Process with various stages of intervention, funding and programmes aimed at increasing the ownership of the stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nature of bilateral relationship between support and field office • Geographic size • Administrative functioning • Legal status • Degree of partnership with local government • Staffing (number of staff, type of roles and interaction with community) • Structure (number, type and distribution of development committees) • Transition process (whether it begins as a new project or is a consolidation of several existing projects)

Source: ADP Standards Document, outcome of 1996 ministry standards workshop on developing a common understanding of ADPs.

Taking this into account, one can define ADPs as follows:

Child focused, sustainable, transformational development programmes covering an area the size of an administrative district, with about 10,000–50,000 people. Activities are focused on improvements in health, education, agriculture, micro-enterprise and leadership skills addressed through training, credit provision, infrastructural improvement and capacity building. The operation and community ownership of the ADP largely depends upon a network of committees formed of elected, community members who oversee the running of the programme at various levels. As a result, the exact approach and nature of the programme varies. Facilitators, or Village Development Workers, who are indigenous to the region are trained and placed in the community to build relationships, mobilise the community, facilitate training, co-ordinate responsibilities of government extension workers, encourage networking and co-operation between community leaders and groups. Where Christian churches exist, the facilitator co-ordinates training and capacity building of church leaders. The timescale is long-term, covering a period of 10–15 years.

3 ADPs and peacebuilding

One of the key characteristics of Area Development Programmes is their large geographic area of operation which relies on the interaction and co-operation of a wide number of people groups with different religious, ethnic and political identities. Furthermore, their decision-making structures, networks and propensity to involve the entire community as equal participants creates an unprecedented opportunity to draw together heterogeneous groups to work towards one aim.

As a result, they represent considerable potential for encouraging the formation of constructive civil society and the scaling up of the positive impacts of social capital. They create excellent arenas for developing a future focus and locus that is essential in reconciliation processes, and for increasing the capacity of local communities in dispute resolution. Lastly, they are managed by an impartial, non-governmental agent. Their potential to encourage peacebuilding is therefore substantial.

To what degree such an approach has the ability to generate and sustain a culture of peace at the local, but more importantly, at the regional or national level is the subject for investigation.

¹ World Vision Australia ADP Final Report, April 1995.

four rationale for choice of ADPs and country profiles

A limit of three countries was set for final case study research in accordance with the time available for research. An appropriate geographical, political, cultural and historical balance was sought in the selection of countries to reflect the different experiences of this complex and varied continent. In the light of the fact that root causes or aggravators of conflict are varied and complex it was also considered important to try and reflect this in the choice of countries. Various constraints such as field office availability and age of ADP (many are less than five years old) also had to be taken into account.

Consequently, the three countries Ethiopia, Uganda and Ghana were selected. Map 1 shows their location in Africa. This section aims to discuss the thinking behind the choice. In doing so it is necessary to conduct a short profile of these countries, looking at the historical background and political-economic context in which these ADPs are set before explaining the country choice.

The criteria for selection of ADPs was based on the level of social, political, ethnic and religious heterogeneity within the ADP, the degree of traditional interaction, and the prevalence of pertinent issues such as power struggles relating to chieftancy, ethnicity or religion. The level of violent conflict experienced in the past was therefore not a key priority, although those ADPs that had experienced a certain level were sought. The three ADPs selected were Omosheleko, southern region (SNNP), Ethiopia; Kwahu South ADP, Eastern Region, Ghana; Masaka ADP, Buganda region, south west Uganda. Maps 2, 3 and 4 show the location of the ADPs within their respective countries (see Appendix B).

I Omosheleko ADP, Ethiopia

I.1 Country profile

Located in the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia is a land of vast contrasts and contradictions. Bordered by Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya and Sudan, it sits within a region that has experienced some of the most violent wars at the end of the 20th century. Economically, it is rated amongst the world's poorest nations with a GNP per capita of US\$130 in 1994,^a infant mortality at 123 per 1,000 live births in 1996, and the national debt burden lying at a full 110% of GNP in 1994.^b Yet culturally and historically it boasts one of the richest traditions in the world, claiming to be the cradle of mankind and holding one of the widest variety of racial and ethnic groups. Politically, it has been governed by a dynasty of Emperors for centuries, until the latter part of this century when Haile Selassie I fell to a people's rebellion.

Ethiopia is also one of the most misrepresented countries in the modern world, with the infamous famine of 1985 portraying harrowing images of drought and hunger that have left indelible impressions of infertility, heat and dependency on the world's mind. The fact that much of country is about 1,830m above sea level and has an average temperature of 22°C, is often forgotten.

^a World Bank, 1992–94 prices.

^b UNDP Human Development Report, 1997.

an appropriate geographical, political, cultural and historical balance was sought

The ethnic make up of the country is highly complex and diverse as a result of racial and linguistic integration that began in ancient times. Most of its 57 million inhabitants originate from the Semitic or Cushitic race, but more than 80 ethnic groups are scattered across the country. The Oromo are the largest people group followed by the Amhara and Tigrean who account for another 30% and occupy the highlands in the north and west. Other major groups include the Somali, Shengalla, Adfar, Sidama, and Gurage. The Christian/Muslim split is almost 50/50 with the majority of Muslims living in lowland areas and the Christians inhabiting the highlands. Animist traditions still remain strong, but the Christian Orthodox church which has enjoyed cultural and religious dominance for centuries is beginning to lose its authority in the wake of Protestant and Islamic revival.

Amharic identity and language has, for the most part of this century, been adopted as the national identity as Haile Selassie I and later Mengistu, sought to unify and stabilise the myriad of ethnic groups through forced homogenisation.¹ Amharic became the national language and medium through which education and white collar jobs were run, and since has become synonymous with nation building.

The tendency of Ethiopian political tradition to bestow power and authority on individuals and to confuse administrative plurality with disintegration and anarchy has been pointed to by observers in order to explain the leaning towards centralism that has been, and continues to be, the guiding force in Ethiopian politics.² Selassie's dismantling of the federal system and arbitrary delineation of boundaries demonstrated this, as did Mengistu's totalitarian government that caused untold horror and harm to thousands of suspected dissidents in the late 1970s and 1980s. Both of these governments laid the foundations for widespread dissatisfaction, poverty, inequity, and loss of dignity throughout Ethiopia which prompted the demise of both Selassie in 1974 and the notorious Derg regime in 1991. The latter war was waged by a large number of different ethnic liberation groups and thus became typified as an ethnic war by international commentators, despite the fact that many of the recent and current conflicts in Ethiopia have not ultimately been about ethnicity, but rather, governance and administrative and economic breakdown.³

The new government, formed by a coalition of the main liberation fronts called the EPRDF, came to power in 1991 with promises of democracy, regionalisation, and economic and political reform. Under pressure from the World Bank and IMF, from whom President Meles Zenawi has garnered much favour, multi-party elections took place for the first time in 1994. Although international observers declared them free and fair, opposition parties chose to boycott them in protest at restrictions on freedom of expression and increasing hardline governmental policies. Compared to the atrocities of the Derg regime, the EPRDF is indeed an improvement, however, it suffers from much criticism for inconsistency and double standards, many of which have been founded on a history of weak judicial and administrative structures.⁴

The most pertinent criticism relates to the government's notorious restructuring of the administrative and political structure which the government claims is to assist peaceful decentralisation but many critics view as essentially a 'divide and rule' policy. In the new system, the old administrative boundaries have been discarded and redrawn, introducing fourteen semi-autonomous regions under which authority lies with the dominant ethnic group. This 'ethnicisation policy' stretches down to the lowest administrative level, where political authority and recognition is awarded to the dominant ethnic group. As such many observers, Ethiopians included, view it with extreme fear for the potential it has to stir up ethnic division and dissent. This "opening up of a Pandora's box" as it has been described by one Ethiopian commentator, therefore poses one of the biggest threats to Ethiopian stability.

More recently, Ethiopia has become embroiled in a border conflict with Eritrea, its former ally, in an antagonistic conflict over issues of trade, sovereignty, natural resources and national pride. Such a development has brought into question the emergence of the so-called 'African renaissance', a term coined by the international community referring to the move away from political systems characterised by nepotism, corruption and tribalism towards liberal democracy and 'good governance'.

1.2 Rationale for selection

Many factors in Ethiopia's current and historical background render it an excellent country for peacebuilding research. These include the fact that it is a highly ethnically

diverse country; it has recent experience of national conflict which has typically been a people's war involving grass-roots movements, and of course, its historical use of ethnicity as a channel and guise for violent conflict. However, most pertinent is the current ethnicisation policy which is raising such concern amongst development workers and causing ethnic groups to demand political recognition. The potential for Area Development Programmes to reverse this process through its tendency to encourage unity amongst people groups rather than division is, therefore, something that requires research.

Omosheleko ADP was selected by World Vision Ethiopia owing to its maturity, the high degree of heterogeneity within the ADP and the traditionally limited level at which interaction between people groups has occurred. Problems associated with ethnic rivalry and prejudice towards minority groups were also key factors in the selection. For a full profile of Omosheleko, please see the next chapter on *Context and Activities of ADPs*.

2 Kwahu ADP, Ghana

2.1 Country profile

Bordered by Togo, Cote d'Ivoire, Burkino Faso and the Atlantic Ocean, Ghana is located in West Africa with a population of over 17 million (1996 estimate). Formerly known as the Gold Coast, a name given it by the European powers who exploited its rich mineral reserves, Ghana was the first colony to achieve independence in sub-Saharan Africa in the year 1957 after 113 years of British rule. Cocoa was its main export, helping to create one of the strongest economies in Africa. However, years of successive corrupt and inefficient governments, both military and civilian, served to cripple the economy and its international standing. The economy was radically turned around during the first decade of Flight Lieutenant Rawlings' rule, who, despite his socialist philosophies, agreed to the radical reforms demanded by the World Bank and IMF in the 1980s to liberalise the economy. The drastic measures taken in public spending cuts, price controls, state ownership and currency devaluation did, however, bring sustained growth, boosting the services and mining industries, and renewed confidence in foreign investment.

With a per capita GNP of US\$430 in 1994, Ghana had twice the output of West Africa's poorest nations and one of the best educational systems in the region. However, its main export, cocoa, has not recovered to the level of output it once enjoyed before independence owing to persistent low world commodity prices. Fears exist for the sustainability of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), the manufacturing industry is struggling to cope with foreign competition, and a special programme, PAMSCAD, has had to be introduced by the World Bank to mitigate the negative social impacts of SAPs.^c Furthermore, subsistence agriculture continues to account for the majority of GNP, and total external debt stood at 102% of GDP in 1994, keeping Ghana within the ranks of the world's low income countries.^d

Despite suffering such a roller-coaster ride in political and economic conditions, Ghana now enjoys relative prosperity and stability in a region that has recently undergone a critical phase of political instability. Liberia, Mali and Sierra Leone have all suffered recent civil wars whilst Nigeria's military rule is under increasing scrutiny and pressure from the West. Multi-party elections were first held by Rawlings in 1993 in response to pressure from the World Bank and IMF, leading to an end to bans on political parties and a greater freedom of the press. Rawlings, who originally clinched power through a coup in 1983 that enjoyed popular support, has retained his popularity sufficiently to retain his position and be re-elected in the latest elections in January 1997.

Ethnically, Ghana is fairly diverse with some 60 languages spoken by 6 major ethnic groups. The Akan are the dominant group, comprising about 40%, whose most famous tribe, the Ashanti became internationally famous for their trade in gold and slaves pre-independence, and for their traditional arts and crafts more recently. The Fanti, Akwapim, and Kwahu are other members of this group who mostly live in south and central areas. The Ewe and Ga also live in the southern parts. The north is dominated by the Gonja, Dagomba and Hausa tribes. Exact statistics of numbers adhering to religious faiths is difficult to come by,

^c The SAPs in Ghana have gained particular notoriety amongst SAP critics around the world for their negative social impact on the population of Ghana.

^d UNDP Human Development Report, 1997 p191.

the new system of administration has potential to stir up ethnic division and dissent

years of successive corrupt and inefficient governments served to cripple the economy

issues of land, ethnicity and chieftancy can lead to violence in the most peaceful nations

particularly in the light of recent dramatic growth in the Christian faith. Nevertheless, 60% are estimated to be Christians, 30% Muslims, most of whom are concentrated in the north, and the remaining 10% continue to follow traditional religions. It is believed, however, that a large number of Christians are better classified as Christian-animists.

In part owing to policies introduced by Ghana's first president, Nkrumah, which aimed at developing a strong national consciousness amongst these diverse groups, Ghana has not experienced ethnic conflict on the scale that many of its African neighbours have since independence. The additional fact that none of its leaders since Nkrumah, though corrupt and incompetent, sought to divide or show favouritism towards certain sections of the population also goes some way to explaining Ghana's relative calm. However, 1994 witnessed the sparking off of a long-standing conflict between several ethnic groups in the north that led to at least 500 deaths in ethnic clashes, a state of emergency declared and 200,000 people displaced. The conflict between the immigrant Konkombas from Togo and indigenous Nanumbas, Dagombas and Gonjas revolved around chieftancy, land entitlement and ethnic identity issues, a common source of contention throughout Ghana and indeed Africa. A resolution to both the conflict and the violence was achieved in 1996 through the mediation of an inter-NGO consortium in which World Vision took an active part and which was part funded by DFID, and has been viewed as a successful example of NGO-led mediation work.

2.2 Rationale for selection

Ghana is one of the few sub-Saharan African countries not to have experienced civil war over the past 30 years. However, various other factors outweighed this fact when considering it for research. Firstly, it was considered important to conduct research in a context where chieftancy issues are particularly strong owing to this, and issues relating to traditional leadership, being a salient feature of many African conflicts. West Africa is well known for the pervasive role of chiefs in society and so this region needed examination. Secondly, the conflict in the north of Ghana stands as a testimony to how such contentious issues as land, ethnicity and chieftancy can lead to violence in the most peaceful nations if not monitored or managed in such a way as to prevent violence. One of the lessons learnt as identified in the final report of the inter-NGO peacebuilding effort was the need for NGO staff to acquire training and knowledge in conflict management (prevention and resolution).⁵ In the words of the report:

"More than ever before, NGOs are faced with the dilemma of having to deal with conflicts, either structural or otherwise, in their day to day attempts at improving the quality of life of the disadvantaged communities they support."

Such an acknowledgement identifies the need not to ignore such apparently peaceful nations nor to be complacent in such situations. Indeed, the third reason for selecting Ghana was the progressive attitude of the national office which is constantly aware of the need to maintain the peace that it enjoys in such a turbulent region.⁶

3 Masaka ADP, Uganda

3.1 Country profile

Uganda is a nation that has gained international fame as much for the protracted and brutal conflict that it suffered for much of the 1970s and 1980s as for the dramatic recovery it has made since President Museveni has come into power. On the surface, ethnicity appeared to be at the heart of it, but causes more closely rooted to divisive and psychopathic leadership, the legacy of the colonial past and decades old Christian sectarian divides have been given as better interpretations of its tumultuous history.⁶

The state of Uganda came into being in 1896 after several decades of European exploration and fighting during the notorious scramble for Africa. The British declared the kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro and northern regions up to the border of Sudan as a protectorate. In doing so, the British amalgamated two distinctly different people groups, the Bantu and Nilotic races, into one state. The British also chose to favour the Baganda Kabaka (king), whose loss of sovereignty over Buganda required recompense. As a result,

special status was granted to the kingdom of Buganda. Furthermore, social and economic investment was channelled into the south which was deemed to have greater potential than the north owing to its location, while northern, warrior tribes were assigned responsibility for the military sector.

Consequently, the British sowed the seeds for future dissent and division between the north and south.^f Milton Obote (1962–71, 1980–85), and Amin (1971–79) who led the country for the majority of the time before President Museveni assumed power, were both from the north and were notorious for attempting to redress the balance through nepotism and patronage politics. More seriously, the psychopathic tendencies of Amin and insecurities of Obote (in his second reign) caused untold harm to the economy, deeply terrorised opposing tribes and ignited internecine war. By the mid-1980s, the economy was crippled with inflation at 200%, widespread unemployment, crime, and hunger in the north.

In 1985, Uganda experienced a turning point when the leader of the guerrillas, Yoweri Museveni, ousted Obote in a coup, and defeated the army in 1986 by claiming Kampala. Since then, Museveni has vigorously pursued the rebuilding of the economy, infrastructure, and political system and relieving the inherited debt burden with the assistance of massive foreign aid and a Structural Adjustment Programme. More importantly, his National Resistance Movement has pursued ethnic and sectarian reconciliation and political enlightenment by setting up a one-party state, installing a grass-roots system of government (using locally elected and accountable Local Councils), and forming an ethnically and politically representative national executive.

Multi-party elections are planned for the future, depending on a national referendum, until which presidential elections are held. Museveni was re-elected president in 1996, however his domestic and international popularity has recently suffered setbacks in the wake of the regional internecine conflicts in Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo which Uganda is accused of supporting. The protracted rebel activity in the north under the so-called Lord's Resistance Army, allegedly sponsored by Sudan, has continued to undermine political support from the north. Meanwhile, several other rebel groups have taken advantage of the insecurity in neighbouring former Zaire and launched serious attacks against civilians in the west and north west.

The arrival of the European missionaries in the late 1880s also can be attributed to the emergence of sectarian conflict: not only was the Christian message brought in, but centuries old rivalry between the Catholic and Protestant church passed on. As the years passed, sectarianism has merged with ethnic rivalry as different tribes identified themselves with the different churches. Indeed, sectarian rivalry has come to underpin political divisions as political parties were formed on the basis of church allegiance. This sectarian-political divide has been particularly strong in Masaka district which became the seat of the Catholic church after the White Fathers established the church there in the late 19th century. Although Museveni's one-party politics and reconciliation efforts have substantially eroded the prominence of sectarianism in politics over the past decade, recent trends are indicating a return to sectarian voting amongst the Baganda people who perceive themselves to be marginalised from senior positions in government.⁸ The established party that they are familiar with is the Catholic-founded Democratic Party and, as a result, has become one of the leading movements opposing Museveni's one-party rule.

Together, sectarianism and ethnicity have served as fuel for political, economic and social division within 20th century Uganda.

3.2 Rationale for selection

Uganda's experience of sectarian and ethnic division, manipulative political leadership and the negative legacy of colonial influence presents it as a classic case study for

^f It is acknowledged that divisions within Uganda were not solely between north and south, nor was the colonial influence unique in its contribution to Uganda's conflicts. However, in matters relating to national politics being discussed here, this analysis is appropriate.

⁸ This perception has been created by the large number of Munyakole (people from the Banyankole tribe) who are in positions of power. According to independent observers this is related more to the fact that the Munyakole are traditionally better educated and industrious than the Baganda. However, the fact that Museveni is a Munyakole himself creates the impression of nepotism.

⁶ Remarks made by Bismark Terquae, National Director of Ghana.

sectarianism has merged with ethnic rivalry as different tribes identified themselves with different churches

peacebuilding. In particular, the history of Masaka district, which has experienced deep religious prejudice and rivalry for decades, renders it a fascinating location for examining the impact of an ADP on inter-church and inter-ethnic relations. Of particular importance has been the role of *perceptions* and *prejudices* between people groups in maintaining division. The critical role that these have in maintaining conflict confirm the appropriateness of studying Masaka ADP.

The fact that the government has pursued a programme of national reconciliation on these very issues is something that has been taken into account in the research, making the conducting of control groups essential. However, the additional fact that sectarian divides are beginning to re-emerge in the arena of Ugandan politics make it an especially pertinent case for study.

endnotes

- ¹ Clapham, C (1996) p27, in Woodward & Forsyth (1996).
- ² Tafla, B (1996) p6, *ibid*.
- ³ Clapham, C (1996) p30, *ibid*.
- ⁴ Pausewang, S (1996) in Baehr, Sadiwa and Smith (1996).
- ⁵ See ActionAid Ghana (1997).
- ⁶ Rupesinghe et al (1989).



five context and activities of ADPs

Following on from the previous chapter, this section looks in detail at the local context in which the ADPs are set, the operations of each ADP and the structure of each. In doing so, an attempt is made at identifying the main historic and current problems, conflicts and relationships in the community and the manner in which the ADP has been working amongst them. In this way, the scene is set for interpreting the impact of the ADP.

The context of the pilot ADPs is also included in this chapter because some of the findings from this study have been included in the Analysis and Conclusion.

Each ADP is dealt with separately with a section on Context, ADP Operations and ADP Structure. A summary is written after each section to give an overview. At the end, an overview is given of the principal different approaches between all five ADPs.

I Omosheleko ADP, Ethiopia

I.1 Context

Omosheleko woreda (district) is one of five woredas situated in KAT zone within Southern Nation & Nationalities People's Region (SNNP), the south-eastern most region in Ethiopia. Spanning an area of about 38 hectares, 16 km across, with a population of approximately 275,000 people, it is a sizeable district with some 31 kebeles.^a Lying 410 kms from the capital Addis Ababa in mainly highland terrain with very poor road and communication infrastructure, it is an extremely remote area.

The district suffers from very high population density (476 persons/km²) owing to the favourable climate, good quality soil and the increasing problem of land erosion in the region. Population pressure and poor agricultural management has created a deforestation problem, in turn promoting severe land erosion. Erratic rainfall adds to the difficulties with agricultural production, the principal produce being teff (local staple diet), maize, bananas, coffee and fruits farmed through shareholdings. Owing to the severe remoteness of the district, the area has traditionally received little infrastructure support from the government. Only a handful of primary schools existed prior to World Vision's arrival, potable water supplies were scarce and the nearest health centre was an average 45 km walk away. No metalled roads existed and rivers and valleys were cut off by the lack of bridges. In summary, the area suffers from severe constraints on natural resources, landlessness and unemployment was rife, health was very poor and the people experienced severe poverty.

Ethnically and culturally, the area is rich in its diversity and communal tradition. The name of the zone, KAT, stands for Kembata, Alaba, Tembaro, the three main tribes inhabiting the zone. The main tribes presiding in Omosheleko are the Tembaro, Kembata, Donga and Hadiya tribes in order of predominance, each sharing similar cultures but different languages. Amharic, the national language, is not spoken widely here owing to the historical poor levels of education (for the most part of this century, Amharic was the official school language). Other minority tribes are the Amhara (who migrated here at the turn of the century), Wolayita and Kulo. A grouping called *fugas*, or outcasts, also live in the woreda. They are socially and economically segregated from the rest of the population

^a Kebeles are the lowest level of government administration.

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the conflict was successfully dealt with through the meeting of the tribal elders who presided over the murder allegations and organised a people's vote

and are the traditional potters. This practice of isolating the potters or artisans is a national phenomenon but is particularly acknowledged by the Amhara, Tigre, Gurage, Tembaro and Hadiya societies.¹

The culture is one which has a strong tradition of communal consensus and participation, with a hierarchy of elders' committees acting as the judiciary and arbitrator in cases of conflict, and mobiliser in times of war or famine. They hold strong respect and authority and as such are effective indigenous conflict resolution bodies.

Historically, relations between the different ethnic groups have been colourful. The Kembata and Tembaro have never seen eye to eye, and co-operation and unity has not been the norm. Small conflicts have flared up over the centuries between the two groups. The Tembaro and Hadiya have had better relations, although over the past decade relations have been strained by separatist demands from the minority Hadiya wishing to become part of Soro woreda to the north which is predominantly Hadiya inhabited. The roots of this can be found in the new government's ethnicisation policy (discussed earlier in chapter 4) which has had the effect of politicising ethnicity by assigning administrative responsibility for the woredas according to dominant ethnic group.

As a result, in 1993 in the run-up to the 1994 multi-party elections, the Hadiya began to 'cleanse' the Tembaro from their areas in the north of the woreda by chasing them out and burning houses, culminating in a murder. The conflict was successfully dealt with through the meeting of the tribal elders who presided over the murder allegations and organised a people's vote to decide on whether the boundary should be redrawn, which it subsequently was. As will be discussed later, this elders' council was one which had been formed by the ADP, and World Vision took an active role in mediating the discussions.

However, overall relations are fair, with inter-marriage and socialising practised.

Relations between the *fugas* and the rest of the population are, however, traditionally very poor with the latter regarding the *fugas* as inferior and 'untouchable'. Apart from engaging in trade transactions (they are responsible for making pots which are an indispensable utensil in the Ethiopian home) no other interaction takes place.

The religious make-up of the people is divided between Protestant/Evangelical and Orthodox Christian, with few or no Muslim traditional believers. The former religion arose from the influence of missionaries at the turn of the century and has experienced renewed growth in the past decade as government policy has become more favourable towards the Christian faith. However, division between the churches has been, and continues to be, a common problem.

Summary:

In summary, the main fault lines in Omosheleko and factors placing a risk for conflict include: the national government's ethnicisation policy; relations between the Kembata and Tembaro, and Tembaro and Hadiya tribes; interdenominational church division; and the treatment of the *fugas* (outcasts) by the rest of the community.



1.2 World Vision in Omosheleko

1.2.1 Operations

World Vision Ethiopia first began its work in Omosheleko in 1984 in response to the severe famine that paralysed Ethiopia, launching a massive relief operation that assisted 20–30,000 drought and famine victims a month. This progressed into rehabilitation activities in 1986/7 that sought to encourage the population to become more self-sufficient. By 1989, the Area Development Programme was introduced as a concept nationally and was initiated in Omosheleko.

Thus, the programme adopted a development approach, moving away from provision to mobilisation and training. It broadened its focus from food security to afforestation, soil and water conservation, health and nutrition, rural infrastructure, micro-enterprise development, gender and development, child sponsor relations and church support. Through these programmes, roads have been repaired, bridges built, schools built or upgraded (in particular, Omosheleko received its first secondary school), clinics set up, forests planted, small businesses started, improved agricultural techniques disseminated, and women given the opportunity and training to earn their own income.

The impact of the programme on the woreda has been immense and all-encompassing. The numbers of children receiving education has increased by 50%, levels of health, inter-woreda communication, transport, trade, adult education and average family incomes have all dramatically improved.² The number of those who have benefited is difficult to give precise figures for. However, over 10,000 families have received direct benefit from child sponsorship, and up to 50,000 have been directly involved in the various development activities. In light of the infrastructure improvements that have been made and the trickle-down effect of the improved economy, it is fair to say that the entire woreda population of 275,000 has benefited.

Lastly, it is important to note that World Vision is the only NGO operating in the woreda.

1.2.2 ADP Structure

The ADP is registered by the local government from whom it receives legal and moral support. It officially works in partnership with the local woreda in matters relating to infrastructure, health and education, however co-operation between the two is minimal. This is partly due to the poor capacity of government staff and partly due to a conscious decision by World Vision to be perceived as separate from the government so as to maintain neutrality.

It is for this reason that the committee structure, through which the entire programme operates, has not been set up using existing Peasant Association committees. PAs are the lowest administrative level of committee that the Derg regime set up to act as community mobilisers and collectors of tax. They have recently been reinstated by the new government and are driven by political concerns and as such were not deemed suitable. Instead Village Development Committees (VDCs) have been set up parallel to PAs and are elected through open voting by the whole village community.

VDCs are responsible for the management and co-ordination of all development activities, with sectoral sub-committees established for the different activities (health, environmental protection, water source maintenance etc) composed of those community members who conduct training.

There are 31 VDCs in the ADP (one for each PA), covering approximately seven villages each. Overseeing these are three Zonal Committees which meet monthly and whose members are drawn from the VDCs. Again, these are elected by the zones. A Woreda Committee sits above these with five members, each elected in the same way, and are responsible for the direction of the ADP. Interestingly, the different tribes are represented equally in this committee. Lastly, the Elders' Council of the three main tribes, the Tembaro, Kembata and Donga, act as the steering committee, granting authorisation for activities.

Each receives training in leadership skills, financial management, accounting and enterprise management.

Summary:

In summary, Omosheleko ADP has a sophisticated hierarchy of elected committees stretching from the village level, through the PAs and zones up to the woreda.

These form a strong network of communication, decision-making and direction. All of these committees are new in concept (with the exception of the VDC) in that they are intended to be as representative of the different people groups as possible. The extent to which they in fact are representative and how well they operate is one of the subjects for investigation. Liaison with the local government is kept to a minimum. Facilitators are assigned sector-specific roles rather than particular Peasant Associations and communities.

2 Kwahu ADP, Ghana

2.1 Context

Kwahu ADP is located across two districts in the Eastern Region (see map) straddling the south-western arm of Lake Volta. Covering an area of 1,544 sq km, the ADP extends throughout the Greater Afram Plains District and Kwahu South District. Kwahu ADP extends throughout the north and western part of the district where the most rural, isolated and populous communities are located. Lying towards the south of Ghana, the area has a tropical climate and naturally fertile vegetation, with a varied topographical relief stretching from the shores of Lake Volta in the north up to the high escarpments.

The region within which Kwahu sits is relatively affluent, with many areas defined as peri-urban with thriving small businesses, cash crop farming and good education. The district town of Nkawkaw is a thriving market town with a population of 56,000. However it is also a district of significant contrasts in standards of living with the rural, agricultural areas experiencing very high levels of poverty. In recent years the area has suffered from reduced government spending on public services, including electrification, and from a dramatic decrease in standard of living (as a result of inflation and interest rates caused by austerity measures under Ghana's Structural Adjustment Programme) affecting the region as a whole.

The rural population is largely dependent on traditional subsistence agriculture, palm oil and cocoa being the main products. Farmers tend to have limited knowledge of agricultural techniques, conservation, or alternative skills to diversify their income, making them vulnerable to changes in climate or crop prices, the former being compounded by poor environmental management. The area suffers from severe health problems, malaria and bilharzia being the most common; the national rate of child morbidity is one of the highest in the world. Other entrenched problems include illiteracy, particularly amongst adults; low land ownership and subsequent conflicts over land; incompetent and poorly skilled community leaders; and lack of church unity and quality teaching.

Culturally the area is relatively homogeneous with the main tribes belonging to the Akan people group. The predominant Akan tribe, the Kwahu, have a distinct language from the Ashanti, Akwapims, Fanti and Ewe tribes who all originate from neighbouring regions, but otherwise share similar cultural practices. Most moved into the area either through intermarriage which is common, or as settler farmers in search of fertile land. Immigrants from Benin and the north form the minority groups, as do the Muslims amongst a vibrant and growing Christian faith. The presence of European missionaries since the latter part of the last century eroded the predominant belief in traditional religions but more recently Christianity has experienced dramatic growth as a result of national and local revival. However, rivalry between churches and lack of unity has been a long-standing problem. Interaction between the people groups has been strong for business and trading purposes but traditionally limited on a social level, particularly at group level.

Politically, Kwahu society is very plural with political allegiance directly related to chieftancy allegiance. The number and range of chiefs in the area is large. The influence of chiefs and traditional leaders in Ghanaian society is pervasive and of late has experienced a renaissance as the government has sought to increase their administrative role. Thus, the gap between modern and traditional political allegiance is narrowing and becoming intertwined.

A sense of justice and injustice is very strong within the culture, particularly relating to distribution of wealth. The fact that wealth is to be made as conspicuous as possible aggravates this.

Summary:

In summary, areas of tension tend to relate to chieftancy power struggles and allegiances; land rights for immigrants; church rivalry and factions; perceived and real uneven distribution of wealth. The latter is particularly relevant for our study

of the impact of a socio-economic development programme on community relations. People groups that have a history of difficult relations are the Ewe and Kwahu tribes; Kwahu and immigrants; and Muslims and Christians.

2.2 The work of World Vision in Kwahu

2.2.1 Operations

World Vision first began working in Kwahu South and Afram Plains districts with the introduction of the major Ghana Rural Water Programme (GRWP) in 1988. The focus of the programme was mainly in the Afram Plains but also covered communities in Kwahu South District across Lake Volta to the south. Whilst working in the area, substantial needs were identified that went beyond water and sanitation. Therefore, World Vision approached the regional and district government administration with a proposal for development assistance (in line with government policy on NGO procedure), and together with local chiefs and leaders, identified several communities in the two districts for collaborative activities. In 1992 World Vision began the ADP activities in partnership with the community, government and funding office in the USA with the aim of promoting social, economic and leadership development according to identified developmental needs.

Altogether, 3,116 children are sponsored through the programme, providing the funding for activities which benefit approximately 55,000 people. Project objectives aim to address physical, economic, educational, and spiritual needs in six key areas: enhancing community leadership, child health, assisting government literacy programmes (basic and functional), income generation and skills improvement, agricultural inputs and skills development, and church capacity building. These are addressed through activities that are both discrete and integrated and draw on the participation of all stakeholders. Activities include: immunisation programmes, health and sanitation education, organisation of village water and sanitation committees; construction of schools and provision of school materials, adult literacy classes; training in improved agricultural techniques, formation of crop inventory credit schemes; formation of Micro-Enterprise Development groups who receive skills training and financial assistance; vocational training for sponsored children; gender sensitisation workshops; and church leadership training courses.

All these activities are under-girded and supported by training programmes which aim to maximise impact and participation of the community by training trainers within the community. Furthermore, training in community organisation and project management is given to development committees. This activity is given high priority owing to the recognition of the key importance that developing local management capacity has for the long-term sustainability of the programme.

2.2.2 ADP Structure

An important defining feature of ADPs in Ghana is that they work in close conjunction with the local government authority who, along with the community, is described as an ADP stakeholder. As a result, work is approved in close consultation with the District Administration. Decentralised government departments (Health, Education, Agriculture etc) are responsible for implementation of training, which is facilitated, monitored and managed by ADP staff. As well as the crucial role of the community in general, the activities of other local NGOs are co-ordinated with the programme.

The Village or Town Development Committees sit at the grass-roots level and are official creations of the government which, under the Local Government Act in 1992, set up a decentralised system of government designed to maximise community development. However, most are not functional owing to the lack of capacity or motivation to facilitate community development; the positions are voluntary. The ADP has therefore capitalised on this potential and decided to strengthen these structures through training and mobilisation. Members are elected through open voting and candidates put forward by the different chief and community leaders, in this way following the system as decreed by the government.

Furthermore, World Vision decided to create Cluster Committees to manage and oversee the work of TDCs and are a type of forerunner to the Area Councils that were elected this May. The cluster consists of four or more communities which lie in close proximity to each other and are willing to share resources and experiences in support of each other. Representatives from each TDC in the cluster form the Cluster Committee who are

all these activities are under-girded and supported by training programmes which aim to maximise impact and participation

politically, Kwahu society is very plural with political allegiance directly related to chieftancy allegiance

trained by the ADP and government staff in order to provide management support for the TDCs. A large part of the role involves resolving conflicts and liaising between communities. These clusters are grouped into zones at which level training is often conducted. Kwahu ADP has three zones and eight clusters. These committees are in turn managed and overseen by ADP facilitators known as Cluster Parents who are responsible for the overall nurture of the cluster. A relatively new concept, this was introduced 18 months ago to enhance programme performance by fostering closer relations between the community and World Vision staff. The definition 'parent' is crucial in understanding the philosophy behind the approach which deems strong relationships and the developing of trust as the key to increasing community capacity.

Lastly, the chiefs, who are not officially members of TDCs or CCs, are however crucial to the successful operation of the programme owing to the supreme authority they traditionally hold. Chiefs from all levels, from the Paramount chief down to the lowest level headman, are actively invited to all key meetings and discussions held by World Vision. No specific meeting for chiefs used to be held but special forums for chiefs have recently been started to counter the gaps in commitment and understanding coming from some chiefs. These workshops are being held at zonal level where about 50 chiefs meet together at one time to discuss with the ADP staff the main problems and conflicts faced by the project. Although the chiefs traditionally meet together at this level once or twice a year for chieftancy issues, this is the first time that they are meeting to discuss development issues in which they all share a common interest.

Summary:

In summary, Kwahu ADP works closely with the local government and with the systems that have been set up for community development by the national government. Decision-making by the community members themselves during the initial stages of the programme was very low. As a result, the emphasis tends to fall on service provision through community co-operation and capacity-building rather than community empowerment. Differentiation between ADP development committees and local government committees is marginal and as such consist of members who are not necessarily committed to the development agenda. Chiefs and traditional leaders hold strong influence on the direction of the programme although they have not been assigned a specific role. This is being managed by the new formation of Chief Forums to settle and discuss problems.

3 Masaka ADP, Uganda

3.1 Context

Masaka district is situated adjacent to Lake Victoria in the south west of Uganda, about 120 kms from Kampala and close to the Tanzanian border. As such the district does not suffer from access problems, like the majority of ADPs. Instead, Masaka suffers from an extremely high level of AIDS which reached epidemic proportions in the late 1980s when at least 10% of the population was believed to be infected. Along with Rakai district which borders Masaka, the district gained notoriety for having one of the highest infection rates in Africa, although much of this was to do with the fact that Uganda was more public about its problem than, say, Tanzania from where the disease had spread.

The impact of AIDS has been wholesale and widespread, affecting business, education and agriculture, and all members of society. However, Masaka has also suffered immensely from the legacy of civil war which ravaged Uganda throughout most of the 1970s and 1980s. The southern districts were severely discriminated against by Obote and the infamous dictator, Idi Amin (1971–79) who sought to rectify the historical imbalance of resource distribution by neglecting the development of the south. Amin also imprisoned or assassinated anyone who posed a threat to his power, many of whom were from the Baganda tribe.

Masaka has two other defining characteristics. Firstly, it is the traditional seat of the Baganda kingdom, whose dynastic rule of Kabakas (kings) is long and rich in history. Secondly, it is the seat of the Catholic church in Uganda, Masaka being the place where the missionary White Fathers established the Catholic church in the late 19th century. Other tribes and religious faiths exist in Masaka, the main tribes being from the west of Uganda and Rwanda, and the main faiths being Protestantism and Islam. However, the Baganda and the Catholics hold the majority.

Both these facts lie behind the main tensions and conflicts that exist within the district and, indeed, the nation as indicated in the chapter discussing the rationale for selection of ADPs.

Prime Minister Obote's exile of the Kabaka in 1966 and subsequent poisoning, sparked off deep sectarian and ethnic tension which found expression in political voting. Both Catholics and the Baganda attempted to remove Obote from power by setting up a new party, the Democratic Party. This tribalism was further entrenched by Amin's nepotism and campaign of terror and it was not until Museveni gained power that the overt hatred and prejudice against northerners began to subside.

Museveni's reconciliatory approach has also had some impact on relations between Protestants and Catholics which for decades has been riven with prejudice. Policies such as mixed schooling were introduced to dilute the marked segregation that existed between the two. Indeed, it has only been in the last two decades that intermarriage has occurred between the denominations. With the formation of the non-sectarian political movement, the NRM, Museveni has attempted to demystify and lessen the importance of religious divides and their expression in politics. According to local commentators, this has had a certain amount of success, however, a trend towards sectarian voting is emerging once more.

Hence, religious and ethnic identity is continuing to be used as a means of political expression, despite the fact that the frustrations are primarily rooted in economic problems and the government has worked hard to dissipate tribalism and sectarianism. The difficulty of overcoming traditional fault lines in the social landscape is therefore demonstrated.

An indicator of the degree of division that has existed in Masaka was the reaction that World Vision received from local bishops when they visited them to ask permission to conduct development activities in Masaka. Without exception, each bishop could not understand that World Vision was a Christian organisation and yet was planning to work with all members of the community, irrespective of denomination or faith. Indeed, all the NGOs that have worked in the district, of which there are many, work either with Protestants, Catholics or Muslims. Most of these NGOs are funded by one or the other Ugandan church, hence their selective targets. Only one NGO, the international Radda Barnen, chose to work without discrimination. Another international NGO which is Catholic based chose not to work with non-Catholics.

Summary:

The principal fault lines and areas of tension amongst the community in Masaka district include: traditional prejudice and suspicion between Catholics and Protestants; rising frustration with the national government's perceived marginalisation of the Baganda, and, associated with this, a steady return to the use of religious and ethnic identity in politics.

3.2 The work of World Vision in Masaka district

3.2.1 Operations

World Vision Uganda first began working in Masaka district in 1990 at the height of the AIDS epidemic at the invitation of the government in recognition of the high quality humanitarian assistance that World Vision had provided in other parts of the country. Using a World Bank loan that covered 70% of the funding requirement and in consultation with the government, World Vision set up a community-based programme with the specific aim of providing care for 35,000 AIDS orphans and preventive educational work for the rest of the community. Instead of adopting a purely child-focused, institutional approach, World Vision opted for one that would develop the capacity of the community to provide for the children, thereby improving standards of living for the entire community.

As such, the programme did not begin as an official ADP owing to the majority of funding coming from the World Bank, however the operations and structure were ADP in style and child sponsorship was used from the start. It became labelled as an ADP in 1995 when World Bank funding ended.

Due to the immense size of Masaka district, the ADP covers only 11 out of the 24 sub-counties, located mostly in the southern half of the district where the prevalence of AIDS is most acute. Most of the work is conducted in a contiguous location.

The areas of assistance are multi-sectoral covering education, agriculture, vocational skills training, micro-enterprise development (MED) and health. This involves provision of school

World Vision opted for an approach that would develop the capacity of the community to provide for the children

fees for a selected number of pupils, assistance with school construction and provision of furniture; agricultural training in modern, organic techniques using model farmers (400 are trained in all), focusing on production of coffee, bananas, maize, poultry and beekeeping; the establishment of vocational training workshops for orphans, in carpentry, brick laying and bicycle repair; training in small business development and dispersal of revolving loans; construction of local health clinics and training of community health workers.

Masaka ADP differs from other ADPs in that special attention is given to foster parents of orphans, many of whom are encouraged to adopt orphans through provision of extra assistance. Trauma counselling is provided for the children, advice is given to foster parents on how to look after the children (eg special nutritional needs), and community health workers concentrate on AIDS awareness training and prevention.

3.2.2 Structure of operations

In a similar fashion to the other ADPs, the operation of activities in Masaka relies on a network of grass-roots committees formed throughout the ADP who are responsible for mobilisation of the community, co-ordination and management. At the lowest level are the Village Development Committees (VDCs) which comprise three women, two men and one member of the Local Council (LC) who oversee the work at the village level (50–300 families). Parish Development Committees (PDCs) sit above these, with one representative from each VDC who meet fortnightly. Above these are three Counselling and Development Assistant Centres which act as a co-ordinating point for the work in three or four sub-counties. Here, training and meetings are conducted.

Parish Development Workers (PDWs) are also based here and are hired for each parish to act as the primary mobiliser and interface between World Vision and the community. Co-ordinators are also hired for the sub-county level by World Vision and local leaders.

Committees are also set up for the implementation of projects, such as village credit groups, parish credit committees and school management committees, and groups formed for training in leadership skills, farming and community health work. These meet regularly at village and parish level although most meet at village level.

The election of the VDCs and PDCs by the community is organised by World Vision, who stipulated that at least three women were to be elected to ensure gender balance. The LC is usually involved and presides over the election with World Vision owing to the fact that they are the official authority. For the same reason, LCs give authorisation and consent for ADP activities but are not actively sought for close involvement. However, the fact that most locals with leadership capacity are members of LCs (LCI and LCI I) means that many of them sit on ADP committees.

A fine balance is trod in relation to the involvement of the government in the ADP. With the exception of the close co-operation at the beginning when the majority of funding came from the World Bank, decision-making and co-operation with senior government staff in the district has been kept to a minimum. This has been a deliberate policy owing to the culture of co-option of funds and agendas that is common in district authorities. However, involvement of extension staff has been actively sought in a bid to increase the capacity of the local government and the sustainability of the project. This, however, has been rather ad hoc, with no systematic training for extension staff.

This desire to maintain independence and neutrality whilst recognising the need for government involvement has guided the thinking behind committee formation. CDRs were deliberately not chosen as vehicles for mobilisation owing to their association with the NRM (ruling party) and their role in past conflict which would not encourage trust from the community.

Community participation in decision-making is high although this was restricted at the start of the project when the government saw fit to assist with initial direction of targeted activities. Owing to the fact that the project was initiated and primarily funded by the government, this was inevitable. However, the approach that the government allowed World Vision to take was very people-oriented and relied on their participation for operations.

Summary:

In summary, Masaka ADP is unique in the manner in which it was created and its focus. This is largely due to the fact that it began as a special project focusing specifically on AIDS care and awareness using a committee system and structures

that were built upon later when the ADP began. The degree to which the ADP works with local government is both close and distant, owing to the unique system of local government that exists in Uganda. Committees are set up and run by elected community members who invariably are grass-roots leaders of government appointed groups (Local Councils). They are, however, not paid by the government (except LCI level) nor are they affiliated to a political party. With the actual paid, party-affiliated leaders, World Vision keeps a certain distance to prevent co-option. Facilitators are often local mobilised, non-ADP staff but paid a small sum for the role. ADP staff, as in Ethiopia, are assigned sectoral areas of responsibility rather than specific communities.

pilot research ADPs:

4 Phulbani ADP, India

4.1 Context

Situated in the Kondh Hills in Orissa State, north-east India, Phulbani ADP is located in Phulbani District across two administrative Blocks and in eight grampanchayats³ covering an area of about 300 square kilometres. Situated 2,000 ft above sea level in the north-eastern part of India, it is amongst the most deprived areas in Orissa, which itself is the second poorest state in India. Traditionally it is a tribal area where the Kui tribe have existed for centuries, but with the migration of business caste Hindus seeking land and trade over the past 50 years the tribes have become marginalised and squeezed off their land. Consequently, the majority are landless peasants who, together with the lower caste Hindus (known as Scheduled Caste) scrape out a living predominantly through seasonal agricultural labour or petty trading. Cut off from the rest of Orissa by the hilly terrain, the area suffers from poor service provision, namely in health and educational facilities and agricultural services. In short, fundamental problems faced by the population are exploitation by the landed class (in the form of lower castes being forced to rent land that was traditionally theirs and poor wages given for field labour), seasonal unemployment, high levels of illiteracy, poor health, and low agricultural services. Additionally, and as a symptom of the above, alcoholism has become endemic throughout many villages, destroying family relationships and exacerbating poverty levels.

The number and variety of tribes and religious denominations make the area a very diverse and complex social mix. Although the Scheduled Tribes (STs) are the majority people group, Scheduled Caste (lower caste Hindus) and STs are spread fairly evenly throughout



the ADP, co-existing in villages in different proportions. Another layer that is laid across this social differentiation are the religious groups and denominations which are distributed in a similar fashion to the ethnic groups ie mixed. Hindus and Christians are the predominant groups, the latter holding a slight majority after 100 years of missionary presence.

Although the area has not suffered from serious levels of violence and conflict in the past, long-term underlying tensions have existed and continue to persist in some parts over religious and ethnic issues. The principle cause of tension is Hindu fundamentalism which has gathered momentum throughout the whole of north-east India in the last decade and is responsible for much intra and inter-village tension. In fact, this tension led to a number of church burning incidences in the late 1980s. With the presence of World Vision in the area, this tension was at first exacerbated owing to suspicions from the Hindu fundamentalists that World Vision might intend to convert the population. As it became clear that the work of World Vision was not evangelistic, trust amongst the Hindu population developed, and tensions dissipated, though not entirely. The second main point of contention lies between the Schedule Tribes and Schedule Castes, the latter representing the immigrant business classes who are accused of exploiting the former in land and property. Although only a minority of Schedule Caste are immigrant landowners, prejudice against the Caste as a whole exists affecting all Scheduled Castes. This culminated in village attacks and looting in 1995 with resulting fatalities. Although this particular incident has been resolved, relations between the two groups remain tense in certain areas.

A further important element to note is the lack of unity and co-operation between families, villages and communities throughout the project area that was encountered by project staff at the start of the project. The reason for this can be put down partly to the Hindu caste system which discourages contact between certain groups as well as denominational divisions within the Christian church. However, the role of entrenched poverty and the tendency towards fatalism that is characteristic of the Hindu religion is attributed as the major contributing factor.

4.2 The work of World Vision in Phulbani district

4.2.1 Operations

Against this background World Vision first came to the region in 1976 where it worked on various small-scale development projects in partnership with a local church. In 1984 it began a Community Development Programme which assisted the community in Raikia town through child sponsorship and provision of basic services. In 1991 it was decided to conduct a pilot ADP in two out of the nine blocks: Raikia and Tikkabali and by 1993 it was officially designated an ADP with a total beneficiary population of 44,805.

The approach used at Phulbani has been based entirely on community mobilisation and co-operation seeking to achieve community self-reliance by the end of the project's life scheduled for 2008. Activities are based at village and sub-centre level, co-ordinated at block level and focus on assistance and training in education, health, agriculture, business management and income generation. Activities are organised by democratically elected Village Development Committees (VDCs) and Mahila Samitis (Women's Associations) in accordance with the government-initiated system of local committee organisation.⁴ Credit unions set up by the ADP provide the funds for small-scale loans and income generating activities. Training in health, income generation, adult literacy, accounting, management and leadership skills take place at the village and sub-centre level on a regular basis.

The chief aim of the ADP is to encourage transformational development and to this aim the Community Development Officer (CDO) and his wife are crucial to the whole process. The CDO, who is indigenous to the region, first spends one to two years living in the community in order to build up trust, developing relationships and encouraging the community to pool its resources and work co-operatively to solve its problems. In this way, VDCs are formed or re-vitalised whose members are elected by the community (men and women) and reflect the balance of ethnic and religious groups within the village. Leadership is rotated every year to allow different groups to be represented at leadership level.

As well as being responsible for co-ordinating development work in the village the VDCs administer the child sponsorship scheme. This involves selecting children from the poorest families who receive basic benefits to bring them up to an average level within the community. Schools are not provided but educational assistance given in the form of

Coaching Centres for all primary school children and some high school children. Any work done to improve the physical infrastructure (well-digging and repair, house renovation, road building etc) is paid in part by the community with local resources, labour or rupees generated through the savings schemes.

The formation of committees and training and activity groups is crucial to the entire system around which community co-operation and interaction is run. The most basic level of groups is at the village level where the men form the Village Development Committees and the women form Mahila Samitis. Apex groups, made up of leaders of all the VDCs, act as a coalition group and aim to provide information, advice and co-operative facilities to individual committees in such a way as to provide economies of scale. Apex bodies also represent the community at government level in a wide variety of matters, lending a macro dimension to their work. Owing to the respect given them by the communities, Apex bodies often adopt the role of local dispute settling councils.

It must be noted that the entire village does not always take part in the VDC – membership is voluntary and although the majority of the village usually become members, some of the more wealthy landowners who see no gain in joining choose not to.^b The same applies for fundamentalist Hindus who object to taking part in activities organised by a Christian institution. In the early days these were responsible for discouraging many of the Hindus from joining VDCs but as the project's work was seen to be beneficial and constructive over time, only the minority of fundamentalists have remained outside the VDCs.

Another key role of the CDO is to act as a bridge between the local government and beneficiaries through advocacy, representation, and information provision on government services available to the community.

5 Chowfaldandi ADP, Bangladesh

5.1 Context

Situated close to the Burmese border in south-east Bangladesh, Chowfaldandi ADP falls within Chowfaldandi Union and Jalalabad Union which is part of Cox's Bazaar District. Situated beside the Bay of Bengal, the prime economic activities in the area revolve around the fishing industry (fishing, fish processing and the sale of related products, boat manufacture and repair) as well as rice farming inland and off-season salt production. The local population is a mixture of Muslim and Hindu Bengalis with a large minority group, the Rakhaine, who fled north-west Burma early this century during a period of conflict. Since then they have established themselves in Chowfaldandi as the main marine fishing community. By avoiding assimilation with the local Bengalis they have retained a distinct identity, culture, religion (Buddhism) and language. Despite this cultural isolation, relations with the local Bengalis have been friendly with all communities co-operating in times of disaster which frequently occur as a result of the area's proneness to cyclones and flooding.

The main problems faced by the community revolve around economic poverty and lack of access to educational, health and agricultural resources. Situated in a remote corner of a nation that suffers from one of the lowest GDP rates in the world and on the coast of a country that suffers annually from cyclones and flooding, the struggle for everyday living is understandably great. More specifically, land issues continue to pose problems for Hindus who lost their land during the War of Independence and suffer marginalisation as a result, rising population pressures are depleting river fish stocks, and traditional cultural attitudes towards women continue to discriminate and marginalise their participation in educational, social and religious matters.

Muslims make up the majority of the Bengali population in Chowfaldandi, reflecting the national Muslim majority of 86%. Together with the Hindus, agricultural labour and river fishing is their domain, with the Rakhaine dominating the marine fishing business. Despite each religious group choosing to live in distinct settlements (within a village there are Muslim, Hindu and, on the coast, Rakhaine, 'paras' or hamlets) relations between the groups are generally friendly and cordial with variation from village to village. Attendance

^b Reports were given of certain wealthy landowners participating in the VDCs constructively and supporting the poorer members of the community. Unfortunately, time did not permit a visit to these landowners and communities to investigate in more detail and so cannot be included in the research findings.

the formation of committees, and training and activity groups is crucial to the entire system

of one another's religious festivals is common owing to them being viewed as social occasions. However, with Muslims generally enjoying majority power in most villages, certain Hindu communities have suffered marginalisation over land and cultural issues and the Rakhaine occasionally suffer from the Muslims taking advantage of their majority status. In spite of this, most tensions and conflicts tend to be intra-group, mainly amongst the Muslims over power issues. Overall, therefore, historically there has been minimal tension between the communities. However, with the geographical spread of the population depending on religious differentiation, and lifestyle patterns being rooted fundamentally in religious identity, Chowfaldandi serves as a very interesting case-study on the power of ADPs to breach those divides through increased interaction and co-operation.

5.2 The work of World Vision in Chowfaldandi district

5.2.1 Operations

World Vision began its work in the area in 1988 at the invitation of Rakhaine leaders on behalf of the Rakhaine community in Chowfaldandi village. Initially a relief project to respond to cyclone disasters, it soon broadened out to include health and educational provision and economic development through a sponsorship-funded Community Development Programme. By 1995 the project had expanded into five sub-centres of Chowfaldandi and Jalalabad Union, working in the most needy villages (15 in total), and directly impacting 8,409 beneficiaries, with the number of indirect beneficiaries being much larger. Over the last two years the project has been making the transition towards functioning as an ADP. This has involved recruiting village development couples (similar to the VDWs in Phulbani but with an emphasis on employing the wife equally to the husband) and expanding the area of operations. The transition has, however, focused more on scale and technique rather than on making changes to overall approach. The reason for this becomes clear in the Analysis section.

The main objectives of the project are provision of improved educational and health opportunities and resources, health and sanitation training, economic development (through savings schemes, revolving loan schemes, and small community income generation programmes) social and cultural development (often in conjunction with schools) and management/leadership training in preparation for eventual self-sufficiency and the withdrawal of World Vision.

Education, especially of girls, is the activity that is given top priority in Chowfaldandi owing to the lack of schools, inadequate resources in the area and the traditional discrimination against girls. Three primary schools and three high schools have been set up by World Vision and are now government registered, as well as the many schools for which they have provided furniture and resources. Apart from the vital educational input that these schools bring, they hold special significance in that they have introduced mixed education to the area: Muslim, Hindu and Rakhaine children are all educated together under a national curriculum and taught in Bengala by Rakhaine, Muslim and Hindu teachers. As a result, children from different communities are learning the same language and building relationships with each other in an unprecedented way.

5.2.2 Structure of operations

Like Phulbani, the structure and functioning of the project revolves around the formation of committees and activity groups. However, the formation and structure of these vary quite significantly from Phulbani which follows the system set up by the government. Following village protocol, Advisory Committees (or Village Development Committees) are made up of traditional community leaders who are invited to join by World Vision. However, care is taken that each religious group is represented and that the community accepts their leadership. These Advisory Committees are responsible for selecting children from the poorest families for sponsorship, overseeing the running of the schools and the formation and output of the activity groups. The different activity groups are Savings, Functional Education, Girl Adolescents and Health groups which each receive monthly training and support and whose leaders are selected by the members. Unlike Phulbani, these groups are organised according to religious group and gender, giving rise to separate Hindu and Muslim groups. Although this limits the degree of interaction between religious groups, this method was chosen in keeping with cultural norms and in consideration of the fact that types of economic and social activity are closely linked to religious identity.

Although interaction between groups takes place at sub-centre level once or twice a year,

there have been only a few meetings so far owing to the recent setting up of the ADP. However, the main form of interaction that the ADP encourages is found in the World Vision organised social and cultural gatherings which revolve around the schools. Throughout the year a large number of World Vision gatherings are held at sub-centre level for a variety of purposes including parents' gatherings, national cultural events, religious celebrations, sports days etc. The aim of these gatherings is to increase the involvement of parents in the child's education and to increase awareness and appreciation of each other's cultures.

6 principal differences in ADP approach

On examining all five of the ADPs it is clear that there is no single approach that is universal to ADPs. However, there are certain distinct approaches used relating to the manner in which they are started; the role of the facilitator or village development worker; the level of participation of the target community; and the degree of local government involvement. It is important to outline them here so as to assist in the interpretation of the findings.

In Phulbani, and to a much lesser extent, Chowfaldandi, the approach is highly participatory, with community participation and initiative sought from the inception and for every activity. The role of the facilitator is, in this situation, crucial to the entire process, with the facilitator spending up to two years in a community developing relationships and confidence before development activities start. Decisions regarding the type of activities to be carried out are made after this process and by the community in conjunction with the ADP staff. This is done in order to ensure that the process is owned, and therefore sustained, by the community. Emphasis is also placed on the importance of the facilitator as a role-model in the community, encouraging transformation of ideas and attitudes through the facilitators' example. For example, it is hoped that qualities of tolerance, integrity, perseverance, enterprise, co-operation and faithfulness will be passed on through the facilitator's lifestyle.

In Kwahu the approach is subtly but fundamentally different and is rooted in two major defining aspects: firstly, World Vision was already established in the area before the inception of the ADP having provided assistance either in the form of relief or improvements to the physical infrastructure; and secondly, the local government is a major partner in the process. As a result, the process of entry and approach is inclined to be less bottom-up and more top-down, with decisions regarding type of activity made principally by the local government, ADP management and traditional leaders. Although the participation of the entire community remains crucial for the operation of the programme, the initiation of the programme does not rest primarily on their ownership. As a result, the facilitators are not integrated into the community to the same extent as Phulbani and Chowfaldandi, with many of them living outside the village of their responsibility. In Omosheleko, facilitators are not even assigned specific villages of responsibility but instead take responsibility for different sectors of the programme. This, however, has changed recently in Kwahu ADP where facilitators, called Cluster Parent, are now living in the community as a result of the identified need for closer contact and rapport with the community. The name 'parents' denotes the augmented overseeing role of the facilitator.

Omosheleko and Chowfaldandi were both ADPs that held a mixture of the approaches of the above two ADPs. The former confronted the problem of being the successor to a long-term relief programme with an established World Vision presence but it did not work closely with the government and instead involved the community from the very start. The latter, Chowfaldandi, used the integrated facilitator approach as in Phulbani but its legacy of relief impeded the inclination of the community to take ownership and management has been more top-down.

Masaka ADP in Uganda fitted neither of these categories and is unique. This is largely due to the fact that it began as a special project focusing specifically on AIDS care and awareness using a committee system and structures that were built upon later when the ADP began. The degree to which the ADP works with local government is both close and distant, owing to the unique system of local government that exists in Uganda. Committees are set up and run by elected community members who invariably are grass-roots leaders of government appointed groups (Local Councils). They are, however, not paid by the government (unless LC1 level) nor are they affiliated to a political party. With the actual paid, party-affiliated leaders, World Vision keeps a certain distance to prevent co-option. Facilitators are often local, mobilised, non-ADP staff but paid a small sum for the role. ADP staff, as in Omosheleko, are assigned sectoral rather than geographical areas of responsibility.

qualities of tolerance, integrity, perseverance, enterprise, co-operation and faithfulness aim to be passed on

education, especially of girls, is the activity that is given top priority

endnotes

- ¹ Wolde, G (1973).
- ² It was not possible to support these facts with statistics as the evaluation report was not yet printed. However, the evidence was provided by observation and through a variety of government and NGO staff sources. An example of observation was the fact that the majority of the houses in the town of Mudula had new, aluminium roofs indicating the rise in levels of affluence. Statistics can be provided from World Vision Ethiopia shortly if required.
- ³ The grampanchayat is the lowest administrative area above the village and sub-centre. Several grampanchayats make a Block.
- ⁴ This system of local development committee formation was initiated by Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, 1976–77 and 1978–84, to act as a medium through which the local government authority could work. However, many of them are not active and remain dormant.

six analysis of results

Presentation of the findings of the research can be found in the results chapter of Appendix A. This chapter examines the findings against the indicators in order to analyse to what degree the ADPs have 'peacebuilding' capacity according to those criteria. The chapter on methodology (Appendix A) explains the choice of indicators. The matrix in Appendix B presents in a more quantitative manner the degree to which each ADP fared. Only a basic analysis can be done using that method so this chapter attempts to provide qualitative analysis.

The findings of all three ADPs are examined together so as to provide an overview and simultaneously take into account the insights gained from the control groups. (For a summary, see *Lessons from control group study*, sections 1.6, 2.6 and 3.6 in results chapter, Appendix A).

The findings of the pilot research are compared and discussed where particular clarification or additional information is helpful to allow the research to draw on as many of the findings as possible.^a

I indicator one: increased levels of contact, interaction and communication across geographic, religious, ethnic, cultural and class divides throughout the ADP

I.1 General

The type and extent of interaction and communication has markedly improved throughout all levels of the ADP as a direct result of ADP mobilisation, projects, meetings, training and infrastructural development. Although the village remains an important focal point for interaction, the parish or kebele has become the most common arena for community activity as a result of the ADP structure, causing new and meaningful interaction between a wider group of people. Interaction beyond the parish level for communal purposes has also arisen for the first time although this is mainly between people who form a minority of the population ie committee leaders, elders and trainers. However, these are key members of the population and communication takes place through consolidated networks at the sub-county, cluster, zonal and even district level. As a result, interaction between previously non-interactive groups is occurring for purposes other than trade. This trend was not apparent in the control groups with the exception of Masaka ADP where the local system of government and presence of some NGOs has caused an increase in the importance of the parish as a centre for communication.

It must be noted that the strength of the communication largely depends on whether networks exist all the way up to the district level (eg as in Omosheleko) and how they are used.

I.2 Ethnic interaction

Tribal interaction is occurring between groups who used not to have contact for any purpose or, as was more common, whose interaction was restricted to trade or occasional community events. More importantly, it is now meaningful interaction and based on a common purpose for both the present and the future. This is a direct outcome of the ADP working with entire villages and parishes rather than selected ethnic groups, causing committees and activity groups (such as literacy or micro-enterprise) to be formed that cross ethnic groupings.

interaction between previously non-interactive groups is occurring for purposes other than trade

^a Because the pilot methodology was appropriate and was changed little for the final research, and because the ADPs in Asia have some strikingly different characteristics from those in Africa, the pertinent findings of the pilot research have been included in the analysis.

Where this was less strong was in those ADPs where committees were not so representative of the ethnic population (see section 1.2 of Chapter 7).

The level of this interaction is mainly at parish level. However, where networks have been established from the lowest to highest level in the district, as in Omosheleko, frequent communication and decision-making is taking place between tribal elders where this was unprecedented.

1.3 Religious

Evidence of formation of friendships and communal decision-making between Muslims and Christians and between Christian denominations abounds in the ADPs. Typical examples are HweeHwee town in Kwahu, Mugongo parish in Masaka, Nutunmahl village in Chowfaldandi and throughout Omosheleko. This is an issue around which interaction was particularly non-existent, with pride, rivalry and ancient prejudices preventing much integration either between Christian churches or with Muslims. The main influences identified are the all-embracing approach of the ADP causing different groups to work together, the exhortation to unity by the staff and mobilisers, and the setting up of Local Church Councils to encourage interdenominational communication. It is admitted that many of the Muslims were not strict orthodox in Masaka or Kwahu. However, similar dramatic changes were witnessed amongst those that were in the Chowfaldandi ADP.

1.4 Class and caste

Interaction between members of the community with different economic or caste backgrounds has certainly improved. However this varied greatly between ADPs. Examining class first, it is apparent that the ADPs have had some impact by bringing local leaders (who are often landlords) and ordinary members of the community together, some uneducated, in committees and development activities. However, this is only having a marked impact where local leaders have significant involvement in the ADP, such as in Masaka. Usually, ADPs do not rely on significant participation of landlords and/or leaders, unless for purposes of authorisation or supervision. As such, their involvement depends on their own initiative and interest.

Omosheleko was the only ADP to have a definite caste segregation amongst the final research ADPs. Interaction between castes in Ethiopia has begun to improve as a result of positive discrimination by the current Government. However, in the ADP area, interaction with the *fugas* has begun to take place more regularly and purposefully through zonal training sessions and community activities. This interaction has admittedly been limited by the fact that the *fugas* have their own distinct economic role as potters, and so micro-enterprise groups tend to be formed separately. The impact on the caste system in the pilot study ADP, Phulbani, India, has been dramatic. See section 3.1 below.

1.5 Traditional leaders

Where chiefs, tribal elders and church leaders were actively encouraged to sit on committees and participate in decision-making processes, interaction and dialogue has improved on an unprecedented level. This was found to be the case in all ADPs with the exception of Kwahu in Ghana where no formal committee had been set up for chiefs to discuss ADP-related issues. As a result, WV has set up this year a Chiefs' Forum for precisely this purpose in response to the problems that arose. The impact of this deserves research in 2-3 years' time.

1.6 External organisations: local government

Communication between the grass-roots community and government officials and extension workers depends on the local context and the ADP system. In Kwahu, the ADP relies heavily on co-operation with the government who is a major stakeholder. In Masaka emphasis on co-operation is less strong. However the move towards de-centralisation and empowerment of local government has meant that the ADP system is working in a manner that is very much in tune with local government changes and so has the effect of encouraging interaction with the community for development purposes. However, the fact that the ADP takes a certain amount of power out of the hands of Local Council leaders has caused some of them dissatisfaction. Omosheleko ADP deliberately chose to distance itself from the government owing to past experience with the previous government and so co-operation there is low.

1.7 Gender

Male and female interaction has become closer as a result of the ADPs actively encouraging female economic productivity and community service. As a result, women are engaged in micro-enterprise development activities with the men, attend community meetings and trade with men. The impact on domestic relations was not researched but from the anecdotal evidence there is a strong indication that this has had a beneficial impact: men are in need of fewer wives now the women are economically productive, resulting in less domestic strife and antagonism amongst polygamous families. The employment of men in areas where unemployment had been a major problem has also improved family relations (eg Phulbani).

However, it must be pointed out that the degree of involvement by women in community development decisions has been limited in that female representation on development committees is very low. Masaka was the exception where it was stipulated that at least three committee members be women.^b As a result women are more active in decision-making. Increased female productivity and participation in Uganda is a national phenomenon though this was not found to be the case in the Kwahu or Omosheleko region.

2 indicator two: improved co-operation, unity and interdependence

This section moves on to look at how the above factors and other changes stemming from the ADP have affected attitudes and behaviour between groups, reflecting the degree to which the different communities have come to depend on one another for their survival and well-being.

2.1 Tribal and sectarian mistrust, prejudice and independence dramatically eroded and community relations deepened

Throughout each ADP, evidence abounded of the development of trust, understanding, concern, unity, confidence and dependence between ethnic and religious groups. This was probably the most overt change in attitudes witnessed, second to attitudes towards health and self-development. Tribes that had previously lived together but held deep mistrust of one another for centuries were expressing mutual respect and concern for each other whilst church division appeared to be a thing of the past in all the ADPs. This was most profound in Masaka, where Catholic and Protestant mutual suspicion has been rife for over a century but has now been broken down. Similar trends are occurring in Uganda as a whole, however, these changes appear to be much stronger in the ADP.

Terms commonly used by the community to describe current relations were *family*, *oneness*, mutual love and understanding, and *aso*, literally meaning *the fire is burning in Beninose*. *Valuing one another as human beings* was a most incisive comment and neatly sums up the overall impact.

The exception to this was found in Mota cluster in Kwahu ADP where co-operation between two tribes has recently broken down as a result of chieftancy power struggles. It appears that the conflict is between the chiefs (not the community, who remain close) and is caused by the resident chief's recent demands for allegiance from the immigrant tribe (which means their paying tribute money to him instead of to their own paramount chief). The reason for his recent demands are not clear but it would appear that the immigrants' improved economic status, which has arisen as a result of the ADP, may have prompted this. The conflict is not serious but it demonstrates how improvements in economic development can cause conflict in themselves.

An additional important insight was the fact that the ADP had taught communities that the cause of their poverty or problems was not necessarily related to their ethnic or religious status. This deduction arose as a result of all groups working together for community development, helping the different groups to understand that their poverty was not unique to their own group.

Through the control group exercises it was discovered that certain improvements in ethnic

^b The explanation for this was that the ADP began as an orphan assistance programme. It was therefore considered important that women should participate in decision-making.

tribes that had previously lived together but held deep mistrust of one another were expressing mutual respect and concern

the ADP had taught communities that the cause of their poverty was not necessarily related to their ethnic or religious status

and sectarian relations are a regional and national phenomena in Ghana, Uganda and Ethiopia (the latter in regard to relations with the outcastes, not in ethnic relations). Government decentralisation and public spending cuts, prompting greater local self-reliance and grass-roots community responsibility for local development, are an explanation for the changing trends. Notwithstanding, these changes have not had the power to alter relations to the degree that was found in the ADPs.

What the ADP has brought to generate such a level of co-operation and mutual understanding is the all-inclusive system around which community development is organised, the committee networks which require co-operation beyond the village level and the example and exhortation of the ADP staff who place high importance on unity. No less important has been the strengthening of teaching in the local Christian churches which has arisen as a direct result of church leadership capacity building. One of the outcomes has been preaching that is inclusive and embracing of others rather than divisive.

2.2 Progressive attitudes are emerging towards stigmatised groups and lower classes though change is not always dramatic

Masaka and Omosheleko ADPs both demonstrated progressive behaviour and attitudes towards lower classes and castes, respectively, which consequently deserve mentioning. In Omosheleko, the treatment of *fugas* who have been traditional outcasts for centuries, has shown definite improvement that exceeds the change that is occurring nationally. In certain communities, *fugas* have been allowed to assume leadership positions, attend meetings and drink coffee with non-*fugas*. *Fugas* have also gained self-esteem and a certain amount of confidence, all of which are departures from past practice and norms. Yet this is not universal within the ADP, with some still being stigmatised and none holding leadership positions on decision-making committees.

In Masaka, the integration of women onto committees and their increased productive status has brought respect to women who are traditionally viewed as lower class. This has led in some cases to their promotion to Local Council positions.

Both of these examples demonstrate the fundamental importance of decision-making committees being *representative*. In the case of Omosheleko, development committees are elected openly but with no stipulation that *fugas* be represented. As a result, *fugas* feel excluded from the process. In Masaka, World Vision insisted that women be represented, none of whom had positions of leadership at the time, and also required one member of the Local Council I to sit on it. Yet this is the only ADP out of the five visited (including the pilot studies) that attempted to include members of different economic and gender classes into one committee. Phulbani ADP in India was exemplary in the way it attempted to include all caste groups in the village on the same committee, but it separated men and women. Even so, it is an excellent example of how insisting on representative committees has paid off – caste barriers within the village were dramatically eroded and reconciliation of enemies occurred (see section 3.1 below).

2.3 Community ownership and declining levels of dependency are variable and depend on effectiveness of mobiliser and development committees.

Overall, enthusiasm for the work and attendance at meetings was good, and committees were active and effective. The health and economic status of participants was much improved. However, degrees of dependency, shown in loan repayment rates and the questionable commitment of some committees, varied within ADPs and could not be said to be a thing of the past (although improvements had certainly been made). Those areas which were remarkable for their initiative and vision were usually those which had capable, energetic VDWs/mobilisers and also had representative committees which were supported by the entire community, traditional leaders included.

An example of this is Kwahu ADP where development committees face serious difficulties with morale, support from chiefs and other community members, and capability. Many find that chiefs block or negate decisions made, and find mobilisation hard work. Indeed, although ADP groups and activities were active and productive, evidence of initiative and motivation was lacking in comparison to other ADPs. The fact that village development committees are actually local government committees, and were not elected owing to elections failing to take place until later this year, goes a long way to explain this. In addition, chiefs are not members of a special forum to oversee the work, as they are in Omosheleko (though this has recently been set up).

Instead members were appointed by the local chief and assemblyman. As a result the committees were associated with local government, tended to be not representative of the community (all were male), and the members were not truly voluntary. The result is one which is not conducive to effective, independent participatory development or building of inter-ethnic/religious/class relationships. Masaka and Omosheleko deliberately chose not to use local government vehicles for ADP work for this reason.

Where Omosheleko still experiences problems with dependency much can be attributed to the fact that it began as a relief operation and continued offering Food For Work up until 1995.

2.4 Spirit of service and sacrifice

Demonstrations of the degree of understanding and respect that has grown between heterogeneous groups which tended to be found in those same communities where community ownership had taken hold. Such communities were prompted to carry sick *fugas* to hospital, to build a house for AIDS orphans without VDW prompting, and for Catholics to drive a Muslim sheikh to the airport on his way to Mecca.

2.5 Openness to outsiders & communal celebration

One of the community-based indicators set during the pilot research was an improved attitude towards outsiders. This was definitely found in Kwahu and Masaka where desires for a guest house and the preparation of a meal for the team demonstrated such. The role of communal celebration was not discovered through the visits as they were during the pilot research – attendance of weddings and social visits tended to be on the decline because of the increased demands on time that the development activities had placed on the community members. The welcome received at Phulbani ADP and the extent of hospitality experienced there was not found in the other ADPs.

2.6 Reduction of unsociable habits

Many ADP communities mentioned the fact that drunkenness was no longer a problem, though this was not the case in control groups where it still remains problematic. The decline was not as dramatic as found in Phulbani, although it must be admitted that the problem was extremely serious there.

Witchcraft was also mentioned as a thing of the past and treatment of *fugas* in Omosheleko had substantially improved. Both of these are directly related to the growth of the Christian church in all three ADPs visited, a trend that is region-wide in all three contexts.

2.7 Improvement in resolution of local conflicts and reduction in number of petty conflicts.

Each culture within the ADPs has its own distinct way of dealing with local conflicts. Certain evidence points to how the ADP system of social organisation has improved the ability of rural communities to resolve these conflicts.

First, in Omosheleko local level chiefs pointed out that they no longer spend so much time visiting villages to mediate and pass judgement over communal issues. The reason given was that villages are now sorting out the problems themselves.

In Kwahu, fighting over access to water sources (which had increased in number but consequently attracted more users) had been sorted out. In another case the traditional bickering over common land boundaries no longer occurred as the community developed a more co-operative mentality.

These indicate that the establishment of the village development committee and the mobilisation of the community to attempt to resolve its own problems have increased local capacity to deal with these small, resource-based problems.

In the case of the serious conflict over the land boundary in Omosheleko back in 1994^c, the setting up of the elders council in the late 1980s (pre-ADP) to oversee the relief and rehabilitation programme proved to be a highly useful preparation for the deliberations in 1994 which elders from the two tribes involved were required to preside over. By this

^c see section 1.1 of Chapter 5.

a strong degree of ADP-wide solidarity and inter-dependence has been identified by the community itself

these insights indicate a capacity within ADPs to bring about a degree of solidarity that can rise above politics

stage they had become familiar with co-operative decision-making and some had developed friendships (“We kiss each other,” according to one elder). As a result they were better equipped for such a process. The ADP manager was even asked to co-ordinate the meetings. As a result, the steering committee had become an *ad hoc* conflict management committee.^d

2.8 Sharing of vision, experience, resources and ideas – economies of scale and social capital

As mentioned in the chapter on ADP concept, one of the principles behind the ADP is that it enables economies of scale to be developed as communities pool resources and ideas. Testimony to this was given by cluster/zonal committee leaders in Kwahu and Omosheleko and identified as one of the benefits. However, in addition to this, other benefits of scale were noted – the opportunity for bringing unity of thought, for the broadening of views and ideas and for encouraging dependence on one another. In short, the developing of social capital and collective energy.

The potential for more effective economies of scale was demonstrated by Phulbani ADP whose Apex committees have provided a valuable channel through which financially stronger credit unions can be formed and larger agricultural machinery bought. Their multiplying effect was alluded to by several community members. More importantly, it has provided leaders with the stimulus for greater co-operation between communities beyond the village level and generated confidence to advocate for improved services from the local government and better agricultural prices.

This collective energy was not deliberately engineered by the ADP staff or directed by them. Instead it came as a natural progression of the mobilising and organisational work of the ADP and the fact that the tradition of Apex bodies in India is strong. The potential this has for channelling this ‘unity of thought’ into mobilising certain groups from across the entire ADP towards a specific socio-economic aim is something that has tremendous power and prospect for civil society.

As such, it is clear that this potential has yet to be realised in any of the other ADPs visited, even Omosheleko where networks of committees exist all the way to the most senior of elders. Indeed the collective power that could be generated is not yet recognised by ADP staff, either for purposes of economic improvement or social or political advancement.

2.9 Indications of solidarity and interdependence rising above politics exist but are inconclusive

Despite the fact that this co-operative energy is not fully realised, a strong degree of ADP-wide solidarity and interdependence has been identified by the community itself in Omosheleko and hinted at in Masaka.

In the former, senior committee members spoke of how the inclusive, participatory approach of the ADP that is run by a neutral or non-governmental body has had a tremendous impact on the attitude of tribes towards each other, building up solidarity between them. They even mentioned that it has, to a certain extent, begun to reverse the effect of the government’s ethnicisation policy.

In Masaka, the confession in the control groups that recent political developments were causing sectarian and ethnic division to re-emerge was not echoed in the ADP indicating a small but crucial degree of difference in the changes in relationships in Masaka ADP.

These insights indicate a capacity within ADPs to bring about a level of solidarity that can rise above divisive politics. However, the evidence is not sufficient to be conclusive. More time is required to see how the ADPs will fare in the next few years.

3 additional insights from the pilot research

Some of the findings from the study of Phulbani and Chowfaldandi ADPs have been alluded to in the above section. However, some important points have not been mentioned which deserve attention. Although the study of these ADPs were not measured against control

^d Natsios discusses this case in Zartman (1996).

groups, some of the findings were very compelling and so are reckoned worthy of inclusion. For a fuller account please see the Preliminary Report.

3.1 Transformation of community dynamics, breaking of caste and religious ancient barriers and reconciliation of enemies

All the communities in Phulbani and one in Chowfaldandi demonstrated dramatic changes in community dynamics and attitudes that were quite remarkable. In Phulbani, untouchables had been integrated into the social norms of the village, with all but Brahmins eating with them; higher caste tribes now choose to sit behind the lower caste whose village they are visiting, a sign of deference; enemy villages who had conflicted violently in the past over resources now worked together and embraced each other. In Nutunmahl village, Chowfaldandi, the unprecedented co-operation of orthodox Muslims and Hindus for development activities has prompted changes not found in other parts of the ADP: eating at one another’s festivals and the relaxation of many *purdah* restrictions.

3.2 Role of VDW as bridge-builder and type of entry

The common thread in both cases was the *quality and example of the village development workers* and the degree of self-reliance and participation that was encouraged *from the start*. Phulbani used a highly participatory process whereby VDWs lived with the communities for up to two years, developing trust and encouraging unity and co-operation before introducing development activities. In Chowfaldandi, most communities had a history of receiving relief, with the exception of Nutunmahl which also had highly skilful VDWs (male and female couples are used in Bangladesh). All the communities in question pointed to the role model of the VDW in improving their attitude towards their neighbours and their self-development. By this they were referring to the way VDWs treated them with equal respect, were trustworthy and spent time with those not of their faith as well as their own.

3.3 Advocacy role of Apex groups

Apex coalitions, which are the equivalent to cluster committees in Kwahu and zonal committees in Omosheleko, were particularly vibrant in Phulbani and demonstrated the multiplying effect that they can have. As discussed earlier, the communities are using these to their full advantage by accessing large loans through them, obtaining licenses for development activity from local authorities and organising large social events. However, their advocacy role is also one which they have begun to use to overcome broader, less immediate problems – Apex leaders themselves began to deal with government authorities directly to obtain services to which the community is entitled and to raise the issue of low agricultural prices.

4 ADPs accelerating and extrapolating national and regional trends

The main finding of the control group studies was that many of the trends found in the ADPs were confirmed to be national and regional trends, but that the ADP had the effect of considerably reinforcing these trends. These include the trend towards community self-reliance, the reduction in ethnic and sectarian isolationism and improved treatment of *fugas* in Omosheleko.

Where the ADP had a considerably different impact on regional trends was in Omosheleko and Phulbani. In the former, tendencies towards the assertion of ethnic identity is the norm in contrast to the situation in the ADP area. In Orissa State and throughout the north-east of India, Hindu fundamentalism is on the increase. This is in contrast to Phulbani where antagonism towards Christianity has substantially declined. The community has experienced for itself first-hand that Christianity, in the form of World Vision, is not a threat to them.

untouchables had been integrated into the social norms of the village



seven principle peacebuilding catalysts

Drawing on the insights gained from the indicator analysis of the three African ADPs, and where appropriate, the two pilot study ADPs in Asia, it is possible to identify certain key factors and approaches that have demonstrated 'peace-building' qualities; factors that have been instrumental or have the potential to bring about improved levels of interaction and co-operation between heterogeneous communities, leading to deeper levels of interdependence and solidarity. Each one of these cannot be said to create peace by themselves, but when applied to the correct situation, have the potential to act as 'catalysts' for change. These catalysts, listed below, may be unique to particular ADPs or common to all. The potential and relevance of these catalysts as peace-building tools in all ADPs will be discussed in the next chapter.

I formation of heterogeneous community development groups and committees at various levels throughout the ADP

The operation of each ADP revolves around a network of committees and activity groups through whom and around which development activities are organised and channelled. The extent and type of these groups varies for each ADP, however the basic principle exists in all. Such groups are fundamental to the mobilisation of the community and to creating a structure within which the mobilised community can participate. More importantly, such groups create a forum for interaction and co-operation between a cross-section of the community, thereby drawing together people groups who would not traditionally have met or collaborated for common economic and social goals. In this way, these groups are providing opportunities for dialogue, the development of trust, shared futures and, most importantly, dependence on one another. Consequently, the erosion of prejudice, developing of mutual friendships and common understanding and, in some cases, reconciling of conflicting parties is occurring.

The degree to which these groups encourage co-operation and interdependence between heterogeneous people groups depends on three factors: a) the way in which the groups are formed or elected, ie how representative they are, b) the distribution of people groups throughout the ADP area, and c) the extent of the network (village through to district).

I.1 Representative, voluntary committees

The way in which committees are selected is crucial to the degree to which they represent the various people groups. Without a representative, they become excluded from the decision-making process and therefore are not given the same degree of respect, esteem, or power. However, where these are representative, minority groups are given the opportunity, often for the first time, to gain that respect. Most ADP committees are elected in an open forum with all members of the village present. This democratic process works well where there are no minorities who suffer from particular isolation. However, where this is the case, experience has found that it is important for World Vision to ensure that these are represented.

Similarly, if members are not voluntary but are appointed, the community may not give its support or co-operation and levels of commitment from the members are less likely to be strong.

development groups are providing opportunities for dialogue, the development of trust, shared futures and dependence on one another

co-operation and unity is being built up between castes who have previously never interacted at any level before

Examples of all these cases were found in the different ADPs and directly affected the degree of unity in a community. For example, in Phulbani, World Vision stipulated that each caste in a village be represented on the committee and the presidency rotated each year; in Masaka, at least three women must be elected; in Omosheleko, the steering committee must include members of all three tribes. Although they did not always warm to the idea at first (resistance was high in Omosheleko), they usually appreciate the beneficial outcome at a later stage.

Conversely, in Kwahu, Chowfaldandi and Omosheleko the selection process for village and parish development committees inhibited full representation and even legitimacy in the case of the former two. No elections took place in either Chowfaldandi or Kwahu but members were appointed and were not voluntary. In Kwahu, VDCs were not even specially set up for the ADP but were local government bodies and thus lost neutrality. In Omosheleko, the system of election was open, but the *fugas* (outcasts) were, unsurprisingly, not elected.

The difference in levels of community motivation, initiative and unity were highly noticeable and makes this a compelling factor.

It is recognised that insisting on representative committees is something that does not sit well with the concept of empowerment or self determination. But neither do unrepresentative committees sit well with the notion of participation.

It is also recognised that this cannot be done without sensitivity, intimate knowledge of the people and without appropriate mobilisation techniques and approaches. In the case of Omosheleko, non-*fugas* may have flatly refused at the start of the programme to elect a *fugas*. However, Phulbani VDCs and Omosheleko Steering Committee are both examples of how this can be achieved, with excellent results. It therefore deserves appropriate consideration.

1.2 Groups that cut across geographic distribution of people groups

The second factor that affects to what degree activity groups are heterogenous is the distribution of people groups throughout the ADP. Where different people groups are found at the lowest village level, development groups have greater potential for creating interaction and co-operation. An example is Phulbani, where a high degree of castes and tribes co-exist in one village. Here co-operation and unity is being built up between castes who have previously never interacted at any level before. Similarly in Nutunmahl village, Chowfaldandi ADP where Hindus and Muslims had co-existed for years but never considered working together. Through the encouragement of the VDWs and the results they have seen from joint activities, they are now beginning to form close social ties and participate in each others' festival celebrations. In other ADPs, where the distribution of groups within the ADP area was more widespread, interaction and co-operation between different people groups occurred at the level of coalition meetings and training sessions. As such, interaction was less frequent and would require more conscious planning. However, these local level groups (micro-enterprise, health, literacy etc) do create a new forum for homogeneous communities who may never have been encouraged to work together in this way, and consequently, builds unity and interdependence.

Training workshops that are conducted at inter-zonal level bring together selected members of each activity group from a wide area (there are usually 3 zones in an ADP) once or twice a year for a duration of 4 days. The impact this has on bringing about familiarity with members of different ethnic or religious groups and building a 'zonal' perspective is crucial. About 15% of the ADP beneficiaries are participants in this, which is a significant number of people through whom to build up social connections.

1.3 Extensive committee networks

Where representative committees are extended throughout the ADP, from village through to district level, the impact stretches from grass-roots through to elder/leadership level, thus having the potential to influence attitudes throughout an entire ethnic or religious group. This was particularly noted in Omosheleko, Ethiopia where a strong hierarchy of committees stretching from village to district level has touched every strata of the Tembaro clan.

Steering committees and decision-making bodies at the district level also create unique forums for generating trust and interdependence between groups. In Omosheleko where

the tribal elders of the Tembaro, Hadiya and Kembata tribes met regularly to work together as one for the community, the opportunity was created for building of solidarity and understanding between them. The chief of one of these tribes confessed that this was an entirely new concept and that they had begun to "kiss each other" ie become like brothers. In Kwahu, members of cluster committees began to form relationships with one another as a result of training and regular cluster meetings (clusters are composed of 4–5 villages who form a unit for development activities). India has a similar system, with leaders of village committees forming Apex groups. These proved exceedingly effective at not only generating good relationships and shared vision amongst leaders, but also at generating 'collective power' and economies of scale. What made these coalitions particularly effective was the fact that the members were empowered to believe that they could tackle bigger issues and use the Apex bodies for activities other than ADP activities, ie lobbying local government for services, or pursuing assistance with purchasing agricultural inputs.

This is an important lesson – once success is achieved in one area, confidence and solidarity is strengthened for engaging in wider issues. But members of networks require active encouragement to use these bodies for purposes wider than ADP activities – to seek those services that the government promised or those agro-chemicals for parasites that are killing commercial crops. In Phulbani, Apex bodies had the advantage as the tradition of Apex bodies went before them, a tradition which does not exist in the other countries visited, and thus explained the different perspective.

2 all-embracing approach and impartiality of World Vision

A number of factors relating to World Vision's non-governmental status and impartial approach acted as strong 'unifying' factors.

Firstly, the fact that assistance was inclusive, targeting all ethnic, religious and social groups alike, spoke deeply to the communities of the need for impartiality. This message is particularly powerful when the community is aware that World Vision is a Christian-based organisation. Secondly, World Vision's encouragement and, where necessary, demand for the different communities to work together without prejudice and in unity, introduced unprecedented ways of thinking into the ADP community. Whether attitudes were softened before development activities began (Phulbani) or as a result of the process (Masaka, Omosheleko, Kwahu) the fact is that this idea was new, not necessarily welcome at first, but taught the community fundamentally important lessons about respect for one another.

Thirdly, World Vision's non-governmental status and unalignment with any particular people group or political party rendered it a powerful "unifying agent" (to quote a local person in Omosheleko ADP) in its management of the inter-group activities. This is particularly crucial in contexts where the government (whether past or present) has been associated with division and war. In Omosheleko, the peacebuilding impact of the ADP would be severely disabled if the ADP was implemented and managed by an NGO that was affiliated to a particular ethnic group. And in Masaka, the erosion of prejudice between the different religious faiths probably would not have occurred to the degree it has, if World Vision had been affiliated to a particular denomination.³

Finally, it was noticed that those ADPs that work closely with the government eg Kwahu, are those that tend to have a much smaller impact on unifying groups. This is not only because the approach is usually more 'top-down' and therefore generates less interdependence between the communities, but because the ADP is more closely associated with the local government. The connection between the two is explored in more detail in the next chapter.

3 role and example of village development workers in transforming attitudes and values

The role of the VDW in Phulbani ADP and Chowfaldandi ADP in impacting community attitudes was found to be particularly significant. Although both these ADPs were studied

³ The vast majority of NGOs working in Masaka district belong to particular church denominations and work with those communities that belong to that denomination. Radda Barnen and World Vision were the only two NGOs who did not do this.

conditions proved exceedingly effective at generating good relationships and shared vision amongst leaders

World Vision's unalignment with any particular people group or political party rendered it a powerful unifying agent

such a 'lifestyle approach' laid the foundation for co-operation and respect of diverse groups that held greater power than verbal teaching

as pilot studies, the function and role of their VDWs are markedly different from those found in the other three ADPs and as such deserve special attention.

The VDWs were crucial not only to the success of the project in terms of facilitating community development but also in transforming community attitudes, values and perceptions. Significant evidence points to the example of their life-style which promoted the values of tolerance, humility, faithfulness, self-sacrifice, service and non-discrimination. Several interviewees, including leaders, paid reference to the example of the VDW in Phulbani for changing their attitude towards another group or individual. Such a 'lifestyle approach' laid the foundation for co-operation and respect of diverse groups that held greater power than verbal teaching. During a field visit to a village, the strongest demonstration of the impact of the VDW's lifestyle was seen during lunch which had been organised by the Apex committee. Here, the Apex chairman was serving lunch to men, women and children who he traditionally would have expected service from himself.

However, the value of verbal exhortation has also been shown to be significant by way of the leadership training sessions given by community workers to committee leaders. These sessions would include teaching on the values of integrity, honesty, service, fairness, respect for one another, and forgiveness.

Such concerted efforts at encouraging unity amongst the community through verbal and non-verbal teaching was not found anywhere else in any other ADP, with the exception of one village in Chowfaldandi. At the same time, the biggest breakthroughs in reconciliation and breaking of cultural and social barriers was found in Phulbani and in that same village in Chowfaldandi. A classic example is the village that was made up of 8 different castes and tribes who traditionally had very limited interaction. Now, they all sit together on the VDC, un-touchables included, share the presidency and occasionally eat together. Additionally, two individuals and two villages, both of whom had been engaged in violent conflict towards one another over a dispute, were now reconciled.

Such example and teaching has clearly, therefore, had a significant impact on the reconciliation of former enemies, a willingness to cross divides and listen to one another, and a fundamental respect for diverse communities.

This understanding of the crucial role of 'values' in the development process is one that has been recognised over the years.¹ These findings on the influential role of the VDW in this regard not only affirms this thinking but also demonstrates their utility in any peace-building initiatives. Work has been done on attempting to define 'universal' values, which culminated in 1970 with a conference of world religious leaders to draw up core values. The seventh value echoes and affirms the findings of this research, expressing

"a belief that love, compassion, selflessness, the force of inner truthfulness and of the spirit have ultimately greater power than hate, enmity and self-interest".²

However, a note of caution must be made with regard to placing too much emphasis on a system that relies too heavily on individuals. In Phulbani and Chowfaldandi, the VDWs displayed excellent qualities all round, however, should a situation arise where a VDW has less pure motives or standards, or where he/she leaves abruptly, the success of the programme in the area will be jeopardised. To prevent this, systems and checks must be put in place to ensure that the community does not become over-reliant on the VDW.

3.1 Bridgebuilders

A second area in which the community workers have been instrumental in improving levels of understanding between groups has been in their role as bridge-builders: between groups from different religions and traditions, between genders and between the beneficiaries and the local authorities. Their ability to be bridge-builders is directly related to their impartial position in which they as outsiders (non-Hindus, non-Muslims and members of neither tribe or caste) are not affiliated to either group. However, their common nationality, culture and language is crucial to their acceptance by the community and to challenging accepted behavioural norms specific to their nationality.

Finally, the approach of placing couples in the community (as in Chowfaldandi) has been seen to further the bridge-building capacity of village development workers to include a breaking down of gender divides: by attributing equal status to the wife and treating the role of the women in the community as equal to the men, access to the female

community is made possible and the full participation of the women sought in all activities and meetings. In this way, divides created by gender boundaries over communal responsibilities are broken down and the female members of the community are drawn into the development process.^b

4 strengthening of local churches through capacity building and leadership training

Kwahu and Omosheleko ADPs are both set within contexts where the Christian church is predominant and is growing dramatically. Consequently, the programme design took into account the need to increase the capacity of local churches, both in leadership and mobilisation skills and inter-relations.

The impact has been four-fold:

- a big increase in numbers attending church, leading to
- increased interaction occurring at church between traditionally non-interactive people groups
- teaching that is embracing and inclusive rather than divisive, and
- unity amongst churches that is unprecedented.

The implications this has for peacebuilding is two-fold: firstly, reconciliation is beginning to take place between people groups and churches who formerly were divided, and secondly, an attitude of tolerance and brotherly love is being developed throughout the community which is strengthening relationships across people groups. Where Christianity is the majority religion (as in southern Ghana, southern Ethiopia and Uganda), and the church is a respected local association, this is a highly significant development, raising the potential for future stability and cohesion.

Examples of reconciliation include the Muslim and Christian community in Hwee Hwee, Kwahu ADP where relations were once strained and prejudice high, largely as a result of divisive church teaching and lack of co-operation on development issues. In Omosheleko, the multifarious local churches are now freely mixing and holding joint services where previously fierce enmity existed. Furthermore, church members are beginning to treat the outcasts with greater respect as they now share the same pew with them and are being taught the Biblical truths of equality in Christ. It must be noted, however that unfortunately this is not universal in the ADP with problems still occurring in that regard. However, progress is being made that is directly attributable to improvements in church teaching.

5 role of racially mixed education

The evidence taken from Chowfaldandi is insufficient to discuss comprehensively the impact of the role of mixed education in peacebuilding. That said there are signs that educating children from diverse backgrounds where normally they would be educated separately, and teaching them the same history and in the same language, is a powerful force in altering community dynamics and building tolerance. Such an approach builds a new *joint* culture rather than reinforcing traditional differences. Of course it is not a method that engenders swift change but is long-term and therefore a more sustainable process of community transformation. It must also be noted that such changes in community dynamics will not necessarily be smooth as younger generation attitudes come into conflict with those of the older generation, as was found in Chowfaldandi.

6 role of community social events/community celebration

Very little evidence exists on the role that this has, owing to the fact that the only ADP that explicitly encouraged it was Chowfaldandi and these 'social gatherings' have been relatively few. However, the principle of creating a deeper appreciation of each others' cultures through special 'cultural' days, where school children perform cultural dances and songs to their parents, is very promising in theory and in practice. Further research on the impact of these organised events is needed.

^b A good example of this is in Chowfaldandi where 'purdah' restrictions have been lifted from the female community in one particular village, as a direct result of the elders becoming aware of the value of their participation.

reconciliation is taking place between formerly divided churches

endnotes

- ¹ Explorations on the role of ethics and values in community development have been discussed in a number of documents by authors such as Denis Goulet (1989, 1992), David Crocker (1991), Des Gasper (1992), Vandello (1987). Of particular note is A K Giri's paper which argues the need for self-development of the agent of development. This is one that has been neglected but is essential to the process of development.
- ² From the report "Religion for Peace: Proceedings of the Kyoto Conference on Religion and Peace" produced following the conference in Japan in 1970 attended by 250 religious leaders from 40 countries.

eight lessons in ADP design: mechanisms for peacebuilding

The previous chapter has identified some specific examples of aspects of ADPs which are demonstrating the ability or potential to bring about peacebuilding. This section attempts to define these aspects of ADPs in a more conceptual manner, identifying which aspects have most potential or could work well in different contexts.

It will then move on to discuss in section 2 the potential opportunities and limitations of how ADPs can contribute to peacebuilding by comparing the findings with the theory as outlined in Chapter 2. Discussion of how certain causes or aggravators of violent conflict can be tackled through ADPs is also looked at here. Finally, in section 3, lessons for ADP management and staff are outlined, arguing for a 'peacebuilding perspective' in management and implementation that is intentional. Additionally, the need to consciously encourage advocacy within ADPs through coalitions is raised.

It is also important to note here that these lessons hold equal weight for good development practice – there appears to be a direct link between effective, participatory grass-roots development and peacebuilding. A dual lesson is, therefore, to be learnt here.

I ADP design

It is clear that the peacebuilding engine found within ADPs lies in the structure, approach and process used by ADPs. The lessons to be learnt for optimum peacebuilding impact will therefore be discussed according to these categories.

I.1 Structure

The structure around which ADPs are designed to function is one which carries with it an implicit propensity to encourage peacebuilding. This is embodied in the system of committees and activity groups which are the hub around which participation by the community takes place. They act as the interface for interaction and co-operation between groups within the community and, if formed in certain ways, draw members from all spectrums of society throughout the district. The result can be the creation of a de Tocquevillian civil society, where diverse groups unite to address a common issue. Where the issue is of acute value to all members and where each member is needed for the process to work, the result is the growth of interdependence between the members and the valuing of one another's contribution. Respect and trust is also developed which reduces prejudice and generates an improved familiarity in engaging in decision-making together. This also has the power to break down barriers, acting like cement that works to hold the community together rather than divide it.

From the research that has been conducted so far, it seems there are certain key approaches and aspects to these groups which when applied make them most effective not only in building unity but also community development. These are listed below, with ADPs that demonstrate this quality listed in italics in brackets:

- A network of committees that stretch from the lowest level (village) through to the highest (district) (*Omosheleko*)
- Committees that are representative of all ethnic, religious and gender groups in the community (*Phulbani; Masaka*)
- Committees that are democratically elected and/or respected by the community (*Phulbani; Omosheleko*)

**inter-
dependence
acts like
cement that
works to
hold the
community
together
rather than
divide it**



insisting on all people groups being represented is not always possible or even wise

- Activity groups that are managed and owned by the community and not associated with government institutions (*Phulbani; parts of Chowfaldandi; Omosheleko*)
- Committee members who are volunteers rather than appointees (*Phulbani; Masaka; Omosheleko*)
- Activity groups and committees which interact with one another across the ADP, forming coalitions, economies of scale and drawing on the collective energy that is latent within such a network of associations (*Phulbani*)

The latter aspect is the one which none of the ADPs are taking full advantage of (even though Phulbani has been noted for its progress in this area). Phulbani's Apex groups are beginning to use the potential that exists there, but opportunity also exists for this to be extended beyond the inter-village level to zone and district level. The important role of community celebration as noted in section 4.5 is one area that could benefit greatly from this structure; community social events could easily be organised and implemented between groups and committees across zones or clusters thus furthering interaction at a wider level and encouraging the beneficiaries to 'think ADP'.

The need for democratically elected committees is not as crucial as their representation of all people groups, as it is acknowledged that certain contexts make democratic elections inappropriate. It is also realised that insisting on each people group being represented is not always possible or even wise. For example, if it was obligatory for outcasts to be represented on the development committees at the start of Omosheleko ADP, there may have been violent resistance to this. However, the result is that they are excluded from the decision-making process whilst Phulbani has demonstrated remarkable acceptance by the community of 'untouchable' outcasts who are now enjoying friendship with their higher caste neighbours partly as a result of their equal status on the village development committee. It is therefore worth considering going the extra mile and taking the risk of forming such radical groups if the ADP is serious about bringing about foundational change in divided communities. In communities such as Omosheleko, a policy that seeks to ensure minority representation half way through the ADP may be more appropriate and sensible.^a

The need for committee members who are true volunteers rather than appointees, and for committees that are not instruments of local government is evident when comparisons are drawn between Kwahu and Omosheleko, Phulbani and Chowfaldandi. In the latter two the level of enthusiasm found in each committee and community was much higher than in Kwahu, particularly in Phulbani. This also ties in with the issue of groups being managed and owned by the community and successfully mobilised to take full responsibility for the activities. This is an issue concerning type of approach and is dealt with below.

1.2 Approach

i) *Non-discriminatory, all-embracing philosophy*

The 'all are created equal' approach that is used by the ADP is another most significant facet which sends powerful messages to the community. This approach is reflected in two principles. First, World Vision's encouragement, and where appropriate, insistence on the participation of *all* members of the beneficiary community in the ADP activities and groups. And secondly, the manner in which the staff relate to the different members of the community, most noticeable in attitudes, behaviour and values which are frequently shown to be neither biased nor prejudiced. This is particularly effective when working amongst deeply divided communities such as were found in Phulbani and Masaka, and to a lesser extent in Omosheleko.

The outcome of such an approach is multi-faceted. One, communities begin to treat each other as World Vision treats them – with respect and concern. Two, they begin to make more rational, less prejudiced assumptions about the cause of their poverty (often economic and not always related to ethnic or sectarian identities). Three, World Vision becomes a non-partisan focal point around which communities can interact without the political interference or manipulation that a government would bring. Finally,

^a Decision-making regarding this area requires sensitivity and close attention to the context. Without it, tensions may be exacerbated and conflict encouraged by the ADP.

heterogeneous communities are forced to work together for a common future, leading to the erosion of myths and prejudices, relationship building, and the developing of respect and reliance on one another.

ii) *Participatory, bottom-up community development*

A very important correlation appears to exist between the type of community development approach and the level of integration, trust and dependence generated amongst a community. Phulbani's highly participatory, grass-roots approach that relies predominantly on the ownership and vision of the community for programme success appears to encourage more powerful and pervasive peacebuilding (and community development) than the approach used in the other four ADPs. The more top-down, government co-ordinated approach used by Kwahu has certainly affected the level of self-sufficiency generated amongst the beneficiaries, although to what degree it is difficult to ascertain during such a short research visit. Similarly, the strength of community vision, unity and solidarity was much less evident in Kwahu, Omosheleko and Chowfaldandi, although it was certainly in existence and far stronger than it had been in the past.

Where bridges are crossed at the lowest level in a community (family and village), such as has been found in Phulbani, it can be argued that the extent of peacebuilding is more deep-rooted and therefore more sustainable. Although it is crucial for leaders to be drawn into the process, they are subject to change (death, retirement etc.) and therefore must not be the hinge upon which a peacebuilding culture depends. This, therefore, makes such an approach as is found in Phulbani not only more effective but also more sustainable.

iii) *Type of entry*

Chowfaldandi and Omosheleko have shown that it is very difficult to successfully mobilise self-sufficiency in an area that has a history of relief assistance, directly affecting the degree to which a community develops interdependence, co-operation and trust amongst each other. Instead, entry into the community requires a long, slow process whereby the village development worker, or change agent, lives in the community to learn its ways, gain trust and develop relationships. This lays the foundation for an approach which relies on the full participation and ownership of the process by the community itself whilst drawing on the input and integration of the wider community to achieve this aim, including the local government authority. It is the specific manner in which this is done that has been seen to be innately peacebuilding.

1.3 Process

The process by which beneficiaries are drawn into the programme in Phulbani contrasts quite significantly with that used in the others, being much slower, more deliberate and based on achieving community ownership early on in the ADP programme. This, combined with the approach used, has had a proportionally positive effect in relationship building between diverse groups.

The key engine driving this participatory process is the intimate and integral role of the village development worker (VDW). Comparison between the VDW model used in Asia and the more distant facilitator approach found in Africa demonstrates the powerful influence of a role model in affecting individuals' attitudes and behaviour. Individuals interviewed in Phulbani and Chowfaldandi pointed to the example of the VDW in eroding prejudices and intolerance that existed amongst the community. The deep respect they held for the VDW came across very strongly.^b Furthermore, their non-partisan position as outsiders often affords them the status of *bridge-builder* between different religious, gender, or ethnic groups, that has obvious development and peacebuilding implications. This effect is increased when couples are used as VDWs, allowing bridge-building between genders.

This process is particularly valuable in communities which are officially Christian but where prejudice and racism preside, even within the church, and where teaching of tolerance and acceptance is not effective. A good example is the situation with the *fugas* people who are outcasts in Omosheleko. This group has suffered prejudice and

^b The very fact that Kwahu ADP has revised the facilitators' role and location to one that is more integral to the community indicates that this is being acknowledged as an important aspect.

where bridges are crossed at the lowest level, the extent of peacebuilding is more deep-rooted

entry into the community requires a long, slow process

it is not yet possible to be conclusive about the degree to which this solidarity can prevent or diminish the likelihood of such conflict

maltreatment for centuries, purely on account of their profession and some social practices, with much of the prejudice coming from the local church. Although attitudes towards them have changed to some degree, there is not the marked turn-around that was noted in Phulbani between higher and lower castes. It appeared that if Omosheleko had used the same process, whereby the VDW lived within the community and acted as a role-model, more progress might have been made in breaking down barriers.

Taking the above into account, one must remember the need to be cautious in placing too heavy an emphasis on a system that relies on the good performance of individuals such as VDWs.

2 opportunities and limitations of ADPs in contributing to peacebuilding: theoretical comparisons

The above section and two previous chapters have outlined the ways in which the research sample ADPs are contributing to peacebuilding according to the indicators set (increased and meaningful interaction, co-operation and interdependence between heterogeneous groups). Furthermore, we have identified the principal agents and key elements of ADP design that have a propensity to encourage peacebuilding.

Time is now required to briefly examine these findings in the light of the theory as discussed in Chapter Two. In doing so, we can assess more specifically the degree to which ADPs can influence different types of conflict, their causes, and the role it plays in developing concepts such as civil society and social capital. Consequently, the limitations and opportunities of ADPs in peacebuilding will be made clear.

2.1 Influence on causes of violent conflict

2.1.1 Conflict entrepreneurs and identity politics

As discussed earlier, ethnic prejudice, religious fundamentalism and national sentiment are frequently used as tools by political figures to manipulate the hearts and minds of the population towards war. From the evidence gathered during this research, there is compelling reason to believe that ADPs have a certain amount of power to reduce the impact of this.

Prejudice and mistrust relating to ethnic or sectarian identity were seen to be significantly eroded in all the ADPs studied, quite dramatically in some cases. Community relations throughout the ADP have deepened, especially between leaders in those areas that have strong networks of committees. In some places solidarity has grown where the community has struggled for common needs together. More importantly, dependence on one another has grown between villages, families, ethnic and sectarian groups, and between certain castes and classes. This dependence advantages their own survival and livelihoods. Such an environment would appear to reduce the leverage that political manipulators might have had in the past, especially when leaders and key members of the different groups have developed friendships. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the ADP process has strengthened the relationships of the community leaders to this effect in Phulbani and Omosheleko.

However, it is not yet possible to be conclusive about the degree to which this solidarity can prevent or diminish the likelihood of such conflict because it has yet to be tested. As it stands, one can only be confident in saying that ADPs will reduce the leverage or opportunity for leaders to use the ethnic ticket to wage war. For it to have any other impact, two factors would be required: first, the ADPs would require more conscious 'peacebuilding management', ie pursuing more vigorously the approaches identified in this report. Secondly, communities would require specific education in civil society ie regarding political processes, democracy, accountability etc.

The latter is a point that Mary Anderson, the author and promoter of the Local Capacities for Peace concept, has articulated as a good option in attempts to reduce the impact of conflict entrepreneurs.

2.1.2 Ethnicity and ethno-nationalism

The desire for political recognition by different ethnic groups is an increasing phenomenon of the late twentieth century. As has been discussed above, the ADPs are contributing dramatically to increasing understanding and respect between ethnic groups. The fact that this is only within a limited area, an administrative district, does however somewhat reduce its influence on ethnic issues that take on a regional or national dimension.

Secondly, as was acknowledged in Chapter 2, very often underlying the struggle for ethnic recognition is social, economic and political insecurity.

Political insecurity is not something on which an ADP can have much influence if it is a national problem. If it is more local, the capacity to reduce its impact exists, as discussed in the above section. Concerning economic insecurity it is clear that this can be somewhat reduced by an effective Area Development Programme which jump-starts the local economy. However, the impact can only be limited where the problem is regional or national.

This is where the concept of *regionalisation of ADPs* could play an important role.

Regionalisation of ADPs

This is effectively a method of scaling up the operations, goals and impacts of ADPs. World Vision Ethiopia and Ghana are both working towards a long-term goal of regionalising ADPs. The rationale driving it is to achieve sustainability, local ownership and economies of scale. Currently, the socio-economic impact of a 'stand alone' ADP is viewed as insufficient, but by connecting four or five ADPs there is greater chance of significantly improving the local and regional economy.

Taking the concept of scaled up ADPs a step further to include networks and coalitions between ADPs, there is serious potential for them to impact macro-related conflict issues, such as ethno-nationalism, sectarian prejudice and ethnic autonomy.

A word of caution must be added in recognition that where ADPs are scaled up and begin to significantly impact the local economy, the potential for conflict between the traditionally wealthy (land-owners and business class) and the newly emerging business class will arise. How this is managed is therefore crucial and is discussed further in the following section.

2.1.3 Social exclusion, exploitation and 'god complexes'

The impact of ADPs in challenging networks of exploitation and structures of the powerful is demonstrable. Nevertheless it tends to be limited in its addressing of economic and associated political exclusion and is stronger at ameliorating social exclusion.

Regarding social exclusion, ADPs have demonstrated a strong capacity to assimilate the traditionally excluded into the wider community of the rural poor. The most dramatic example is in Phulbani, where the lowest castes and tribes have been welcomed into decision-making committees and unprecedented social interaction is taking place. In Masaka, attitudes towards women have greatly improved through the responsibility that they were given on committees, and in Omosheleko attitudes to the *fugas* have improved at a deeper level than outside the ADP area.

Regarding economic and political exclusion and the breaking of 'god complexes', the potential exists but is not fully realised for three reasons.

First, the impact on the local economy may indeed be substantial, but tends not to be sufficient to dramatically affect the distribution of labour, and therefore, power. This might change if ADPs are regionalised and the local economy seriously impacted. As discussed in the previous paragraph, the challenge this would pose to the wealthy classes and those in power (the two are usually synonymous) could well cause disruption.

Secondly, the degree of true empowerment of the poor is variable. Where this has occurred most notably is in Phulbani. Here the participatory process and approach of the ADP have raised the awareness of the landless and agricultural labourers of certain injustices. Coupled with the solidarity that has been generated by the ADP process and the setting up of Apex bodies, the ADP has begun to give the poor a channel for tackling these issues. But where the ADP approach is more 'top-down' and service-oriented, or where an area has a history of relief, this empowering process is more difficult. As highlighted in section 1.2, there is an important correlation between the type of community development approach and the level of interdependence and solidarity generated within a community. Furthermore, where coalitions and networks are encouraged, there is more opportunity for the ADPs to address some of the macro causes of their poverty. But these networks have not been recognised for their potential in this area.

Thirdly, integrating the non-poor (land-owners and businessmen) into the ADP process is not consciously or actively pursued. As has been noted, empowerment of the poor at the

ADPs reduce the leverage or opportunity for leaders to use the ethnic ticket to wage war

the degree of true empowerment of the poor is variable

empowerment of the poor at the neglect of integrating the rich into the process can be counter-productive

social capital is at its richest when district-wide coalitions and networks are formed

neglect of integrating the rich into the process can be counter-productive – a Communist approach to development is not one to which World Vision subscribes. In India, there are some examples of where the non-poor have successfully been integrated into the process, although they are few. These include the altruistic donation of land or resources for building schools or watertanks in which no other obligation by the donor is attached. In these cases, the advantages of the advancement of the poor for the non-poor as well as for the poor have been recognised. Such a positive, appreciative approach is one that is being adopted by World Vision Tanzania in both ADPs and non-ADPs with very encouraging results. Further research is required on this, but it points to an approach that has great potential.

2.1.4 Small arms/light weapons

One might question the role that ADPs could have on the problem of increasing flows of light weapons into the developing world. Evidence is only anecdotal at this stage, but there is an indication that the principle of co-operation and interdependence generated by the ADP has reduced the motivation to use modern and traditional light weapons in parts of the Horn of Africa. This serves as an excellent example of how community development can influence the demand for small arms. This is to be subject of future research.

2.2 Civil society and social capital

It is clear that ADPs are excellent vehicles for encouraging the development of constructive civil society and establishing strong 'networks, norms and trust that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit.'^c This is embodied in the system of committees and activity groups which are the hub around which participation by the community takes place. They act as the *interface* for interaction and co-operation between the community and, if formed in certain ways, draw members from all spectrums of society throughout the district. This creates a fertile environment for healthy civil associations that are unlikely to pursue primordial issues.

Where the issue is of acute value to all members and where each member is needed for the process to work, the result is the growth of interdependence between the members and valuing of one another's contribution. Respect and trust are also developed, reducing prejudice and generating an improved familiarity in engaging in decision-making together. This has the power to break down barriers, acting like cement that works to hold the community together rather than divide it.

2.2.1 Importance of coalitions

This social capital is at its richest when district-wide coalitions and networks are formed that cut across the different people groups. Examples of this exist in the tribal elders' committee in Omosheleko, and Apex bodies in Phulbani. Promise exists in the newly formed chiefs' forum in Kwahu. These forums are important elements of developing social capital for two reasons: one, they provide the opportunity for pursuing wider causes of poverty and accessing economies of scale to address them; and two, they provide good channels for conducting advocacy on behalf of different groups in the district eg farmers, teachers, children.

2.2.2 Unfulfilled potential: advocacy, solidarity and local capacities for peace

That said, it is not a foregone conclusion that this endowment of social capital can reduce the likelihood of conflict. First, the degree of heterogeneity within these associations is dependent on the distribution of people groups throughout the district as noted in section 1.1 of this chapter. As such, some ADP committees may require more proactive management to ensure that they are heterogeneous. Secondly, the ADPs are generally not taking full advantage of these forums and coalitions to the degree that makes them useful for either socio-economic advancement or building of solidarity between groups. Again, ADP management will have to more consciously pursue these goals if they are to have an influence in this area.

Whether this is because of 'the difficulties of scaling up micro-level social capital to generate solidarity ties and societal action on a scale that is politically and economically efficacious' is a

^c Putnam (1993a) in Goodhand & Hulme (1998).

question for consideration.^d But from the research, it appears that this is due to a certain lack of awareness of the possibilities on the part of management.

2.2.3 Local Capacities for Peace

Lastly, should violent, intra-state conflict occur, ADP cross-group forums and committees provide excellent opportunities for developing 'local capacities for peace'. In other words, they build up friendships and networks which can be tapped into during a war which can assist the peace process and assist aid agencies in their ability to provide assistance that 'does less harm'.^e

2.3 Contribution to local dispute management

This research set out to investigate the contribution that Area Development Programmes can make in reducing the potential for and the effect of violent, overt, regional conflict. In so doing, it is an attempt to bridge the gap between the disciplines of natural resource management and traditional peacebuilding approaches, by examining issues that underlie macro conflicts (identity, political leadership and manipulation, economic security and group interests) at the grass-roots rural community level.

During the research process, however, it became apparent that the ADP has strong intrinsic peacebuilding capacities in local dispute management. The main findings are outlined below.

2.3.1 Prevention of conflict: building a culture of peace

ADPs act as good vehicles for preventing local conflict by virtue of the culture of co-operation and trust that is generated through the development process. As has been identified, prejudice and suspicion are reduced as people groups are encouraged to work together, thus developing understanding, trust and friendship. Examples were frequently encountered of petty disputes over land no longer occurring and rivalry between clans being a thing of the past. Simultaneously, remarks that revealed new-found respect and friendship were frequently expressed by the community.

The inter-denominational church divisions and suspicion between religions which are a common feature of many rural African communities were dramatically reduced as an indirect result of the process of co-operation that is required at all levels (leaders and congregations). There has also been significant evidence – though not substantial because it was not actively researched – that family relations tend to improve as employment brings economic stability and women become economically productive, thus reducing the need for several wives in polygamous societies (eg in Omosheleko).

2.3.2 Resolution of conflict: building local capacity

Concerning the actual resolution and management of local disputes, ADPs have also had excellent indirect influence by building the capacity of local decision-making bodies. It has been seen how the training of local leaders (eg traditional chiefs, church leaders, teachers) in leadership skills, coupled with the experience they gain of dispute management as part of their development committee responsibilities, has increased the ability of the community to resolve disputes. In addition, disputes over local resources have tended to decline as the community has become better organised in how it uses them (eg Jumasi village, Kwahu ADP where conflicts over use of water sources have declined because a rota has been set up by the ADP development committee. This is in spite of the fact that actual demand on the water source has increased.)

It must be emphasised that both of these peacebuilding tools are indirect outcomes of the primary community development process; conflict resolution was not the conscious purpose of the ADP process.

2.4 Reconciliation

The contribution of ADPs to reconciliation is an interesting one. As we outlined in the theoretical chapter, World Vision's understanding of reconciliation can be divided into two

^d Evans, P (1996).

^e Mary Anderson's Local Capacity for Peace concept promotes the idea of tapping into such 'connectors' during Complex Humanitarian Emergencies.

by building the capacity of local leaders... by causing them to become familiar with each other, the ability to resolve local disputes has markedly improved

the ADP process can bring about reconciliation as a by-product of community development

ADPs rarely capitalise on the power of coalitions to challenge oppressive power structures

types: a specific healing process between two parties that have experienced overt conflict in the past or present; and the more holistic process in which reconciliation, or 'right relationship', is restored at human, environmental and spiritual levels where conflict may not even be overt.

2.4.1 Reconciliation of overt conflicting parties

This is the type of reconciliation that Lederach says requires a locus (place) and a focus, a place of encounter where new perspectives and common futures are formed. Often this is pursued in the form of workshops set up specifically for this kind of healing.

The findings of the research have discovered how the ADP process can bring about reconciliation between former enemies not through specific conflict resolution forums but as a by-product of the purpose of community development. This was witnessed in Phulbani where two separate incidences of reconciliation have occurred between individuals and villages. The dynamic at work here was the locus (place) that the ADP development committees and Apex bodies provided, coupled with the common future and new perspective that the development activities provided. Phulbani development committees provided particularly fertile ground for reconciliation owing to the fact that they were fully representative and the presidency was rotated between all members of the committee. Underlying all this was the encouragement of the VDW towards unity. Similar incidences were encountered in Kwahu ADP and in Masaka ADP, though not as dramatic as in Phulbani.

2.4.2 Reconciliation as 'shalom'

There is significant evidence to show that the ADPs provide an excellent environment for the generation of 'shalom' amongst the poor. The majority of ADP communities visited spoke of mutual love and understanding, valuing each other as human beings, as family. Unity amongst churches has become a reality, different faiths are more tolerant of each other and spiritual faith and activity have been revived. The socially excluded have been integrated into the wider community, albeit in varying degrees from one ADP to another.

Where the concept of 'shalom' includes the breaking down of oppressive power structures that cause poverty and conflict, as per Christian's theories on god complexes, the picture is positive but less dramatic. As discussed above, ADPs have a lot of potential in this area, and in many ways achieve a certain amount of empowerment of the poor. However, they rarely capitalise on the power of coalitions to challenge these causes of poverty, and attempts to integrate the non-poor into the process (a necessary prerequisite for long-term peaceful transformational development) are rare.

2.4.3 Summary

Although none of the ADPs studied had experienced recent violent, intra-state conflict it is clear that ADPs have significant potential as arenas through which post-conflict reconciliation could take place. This includes both specific reconciliation of conflicting parties and overall restoration of trust, respect and understanding between communities. This would, however, require very sensitive management on the part of ADP staff.

3 lessons for management: the need for a peacebuilding perspective

The above section has demonstrated that the capacity of ADPs to encourage peacebuilding lies more in their potential than their actual performance at the moment. Therefore, if ADPs are to fulfil their full potential, not only in peacebuilding but also good development practice, certain aspects of ADP management and design would need to be taken into consideration. These lessons are not confined to ADPs but can be applied to all community development programmes. This section brings all these insights together.

- Peacebuilding and transformational community development are intimately linked. It is not an irrelevant activity that is a distraction from the business of poverty reduction.
- It is in the interests of NGOs and INGOs alike to embrace peacebuilding as part of development, as a poverty reduction strategy: divisive and violent conflict causes poverty, destroys years of investment and prevents communities from reaching their full potential.

- These lessons hold equal weight for good development practice – there appears to be a direct link between effective, participatory grass-roots development and peacebuilding.
- Area Development Programmes hold real potential for reducing the likelihood of violent conflict to increase the ability of communities to resolve local disputes, and bring about reconciliation between conflicting parties. This arises from their ability to nurture a 'culture of peace' in that their success relies on the building of trust, co-operation and interdependence between diverse groups.
- The comparative advantage of ADPs in encouraging peacebuilding lies in the structure, approach and process used by ADPs. The exact type of structure, approach and process varies with each ADP, having a direct impact on its propensity to generate a culture of peace. As a result, the degree to which each programme has the potential to build peace is not equal.
- Currently, peacebuilding, in the strict sense of the word, tends to be a *by-product* of the ADP process and is not generally recognised as an outcome of the process. In its more holistic form, it is an intended outcome and is part of the transformational development vision.
- The actual capacity as found in the research ADPs is, therefore, somewhat limited owing to their not taking full advantage of their potential in this area.
- However, for this potential to be fully realised, and for transformational development to be achieved in the fullest sense of the word, a *peacebuilding perspective* is required by managers and staff.
- This requires few additional financial resources or skills.
- Instead, what is principally required is an ability to manage the process with 'peacebuilding spectacles'.

3.1 Eight points for peacebuilding

In order to fully exploit the peacebuilding potential of ADPs, and indeed many other community development programmes, certain key insights and lessons would need to be applied. Most of these involve merely applying a peacebuilding perspective to the design and management of ADPs but there are also some specific concrete measures that would need to be taken. These include the following:

1. The more participatory, the more peacebuilding

A strong correlation appears to exist between the type of community development approach and the level of integration, trust and dependence generated amongst a community. The more participatory it is and reliant on the ownership of the programme by the beneficiaries, the greater the resulting bonds of friendship and trust.

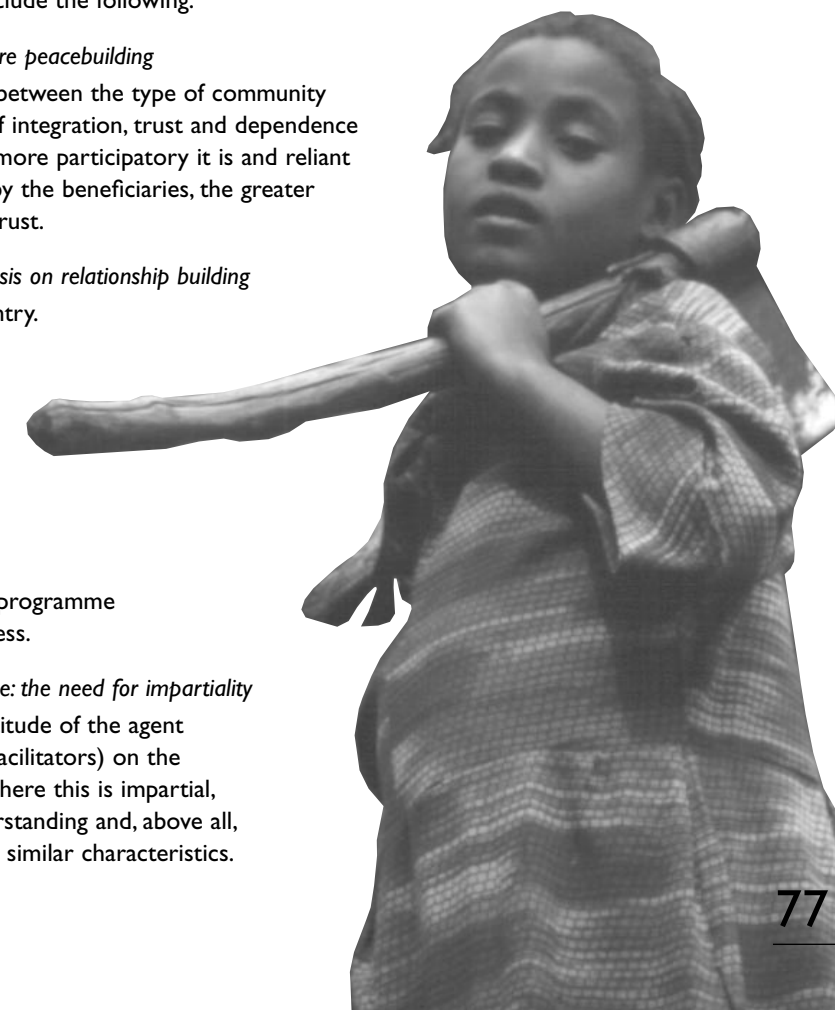
2. Slow, gradual entry with emphasis on relationship building

This has implications on the type of entry. The slow, gradual approach used in India demonstrated the benefits of this, the facilitator spending quality time with the community before activities begin. In this way, relationships are an integral part of the process. For the same reason, the use of men and women together as facilitators increases the ability of the programme to integrate the women into the process.

3. Influence of the agent of change: the need for impartiality

The influence of the behaviour and attitude of the agent of change (ie World Vision, ADP staff, facilitators) on the beneficiaries' attitudes is very deep. Where this is impartial, demonstrates tolerance, service, understanding and, above all, love, the community frequently adopts similar characteristics.

peacebuilding and transformational community development are intimately linked



Equally, the neutral, non-governmental status of the organisation makes it a natural focal point around which communities can interact who normally would not be inclined to do so. For the same reason, it is important for the development agent to distinguish itself from the government as much as possible where the latter might compromise its neutrality. However, this needs to be balanced with the need for collaboration and engagement with the local government in order to ensure project sustainability.

4. *Formation of committees – representative, voluntary and district-wide*

Development committees and activity groups will only build unity and social capital in an ADP if they have some or all of the following characteristics:

- Representative of all the people groups in the village/parish/zone.
- Members are voluntary and not appointees and have the support of the community.
- Independent from government institutions (as much as possible).
- Stretch from the lowest level (village) up to the highest (district) in order to bring continuity and connections all the way through the district.

5. *Coalitions and Apex groups – tapping into the potential to ‘think ADP’*

One of the key defining features of ADPs is the networks that they are intended to encourage between groups. The reality is that these are usually too few in number and only used for narrow, immediate concerns. If these were encouraged to grow and their members to ‘think ADP’, the socio-economic and peacebuilding advantages would be multiple. These are:

- Creation of economies of scale – district or zone-wide co-operatives could assist groups and individuals in accessing substantial capital or agricultural inputs.
- Engaging in advocacy – community leaders could begin to advocate on behalf of district members’ needs, such as infrastructural improvements, health and educational needs etc. In so doing, it would begin to fulfil World Vision’s vision for the next three years: advocacy by the poor.

The essential prerequisite is that ADPs are as heterogeneous as possible – socially, ethnically, politically, religiously and economically mixed.

6. *Training and education in civil society*

Training for beneficiaries is already an important part of the ADP process. However, if this capacity-building were to be extended to involve education about democratic political structures, processes, and the rights and responsibilities of the citizen, ADPs could begin to have a real impact on developing civil society and encouraging political inclusion for the poor.

7. *The need to integrate the non-poor into the process*

For ADPs to realistically bring about true empowerment of the poor and release from unjust systems and structures, the local rich must be integrated into the process. One of the ways in which this is can be done is through the Appreciative Enquiry approach. The experience that World Vision Tanzania has had with this is documented. However the need for skill and sensitivity in this remains a crucial one to prevent the interests of the poor from being sidelined.

8. *Regionalisation of ADPs*

The plan to regionalise ADPs, which World Vision Ethiopia and Ghana are considering, is one that is well worth consideration not only for socio-economic impact, but also for the contribution to peacebuilding to be significant. For ADPs to seriously impact causes, or triggers, of regional violent conflict, ADPs would need scaling up.

nine conclusion

This research set out to investigate the contribution that Area Development Programmes can bring to peacebuilding, most notably in reducing the potential for and the effect of violent, ‘identity’ conflicts. In doing so, it recognises the significant role of grass-root support for such national or regional conflicts which rely on popular participation or support. Thus it examines the impact of ADPs on issues such as economic security, ethnic, religious or cultural identity and leadership issues

The insight gained from the research has been illuminating, encouraging and challenging for the fields of peacebuilding, community development and also natural resource management.

• **Peacebuilding & good development practice**

First of all, it is clear that peacebuilding and transformational community development are intimately linked. There appears to be a direct connection between effective, participatory grass-roots development and peacebuilding. A dual lesson is, therefore, to be learnt and peacebuilding should not be seen as an irrelevant activity that is a distraction from the business of poverty reduction.

• **Capacity to create ‘peacebuilding environment’**

ADPs clearly have a strong capacity to generate a culture of mutual understanding, interdependence and trust amongst diverse people groups. This emerges as an indirect result of the development process, the approach used and the structure around which the ADP operates. The participatory, all-embracing approach in which all beneficiaries are encouraged to work together towards one aim; the structure of committee networks that connect communities throughout the ADP; and the role of an independent co-ordinating agent all combine to create a powerful ‘peacebuilding’ environment.

By this we mean an environment in which conflicting parties can become reconciled, disputes are more easily resolved or managed peacefully, and the likelihood of violent conflict reduced. The latter refers to the increased interdependence and building of solidarity between diverse ethnic or religious groups and their leaders that the ADP brings about. This, in turn, reduces the leverage for manipulation of prejudices or differences by conflict entrepreneurs who frequently exploit such differences.^a It also builds local capacities for peace should war break out.

General outcomes found in the ADPs researched were: the erosion of ethnic and sectarian prejudice, mistrust and division; transformation of inter-community dynamics; reconciliation of conflicting parties; the growth of deep respect for human dignity; and a certain measure of ADP-wide solidarity.

• **Catalysts**

Certain peacebuilding ‘catalysts’ have been identified. These are: the formation of heterogeneous, voluntary development committees that are representative of all the different communities and which are connected from the village to district level; the all-embracing approach of World Vision; the role and example of village development workers or facilitators; the strengthening of local churches; racially mixed education and the role of community celebration.

• **Capacity varies and depends on structure, approach and process**

The existence of these catalysts in each ADP depends on the exact structure, approach and process used. However, because ADPs are not homogeneous and vary in exact design from region to region, the degree to which they encourage peacebuilding is variable.

peacebuilding should not be seen as an irrelevant activity that is a distraction from the business of poverty reduction

^a It must be pointed out that this aspect is as yet unproven and so can only be described as a potential peacebuilder.

the full extent of the peacebuilding capacity of ADPs remains untapped

- **Lessons for natural resource management**

One area of peacebuilding in which ADPs are demonstrating excellent competence and which needs little extra attention is local dispute management. By building the capacity of local leaders and above all, by causing them to become familiar with each other, the ability to resolve local disputes has markedly improved. This has important lessons for natural resource management.

- **Potential greater than reality – the need for a peacebuilding perspective**

However, in spite of the above, it must be stressed that the peacebuilding capacity of many ADPs so far lies more in their potential than in their actual performance – the full extent of their capacity remains untapped. This is because their peacebuilding capacity has neither been recognised by ADP managers nor consciously been managed towards that aim. Although ADPs hold strong capacity to generate peacebuilding, the fact is that for this to be substantial or influential they require careful management to achieve this aim. Peacebuilding using the ADP model requires few extra financial resources; what is required is a peacebuilding perspective.

Secondly, there is an important aspect of the ADP model not being fully employed or taken advantage of, which has enormous potential not only for peacebuilding but also for community development. This is the opportunity for coalitions and forums at the level beyond the village or parish, which provide an excellent platform for economies of scale and collective advocacy on issues of common concern.

- **Eight points for peacebuilding**

In order to fully exploit the peacebuilding potential of ADPs, and indeed many other community development programmes, certain key insights and lessons would need to be applied. Most of these involve merely applying a peacebuilding perspective to the design and management of ADPs but there are also some specific concrete measures that would need to be taken. These include the following (detailed in previous chapter):

- 1 The more participatory, the more peacebuilding.
- 2 Slow, gradual entry with emphasis on relationship building.
- 3 Influence of the agent of change: the need for impartiality.
- 4 Formation of committees – representative, voluntary and district-wide.
- 5 Coalitions and apex groups – tapping into the potential to ‘think ADP’.
- 6 Training and education in civil society for the beneficiaries.
- 7 The need to integrate the non-poor into the process.
- 8 Regionalisation of ADPs to be considered.

- **Limitation of ADPs**

It is important to note the limitations of ADPs in peacebuilding, of which there are many: ADPs cannot hope to influence the full range of types of conflict or the complex factors that affect them. We recognise that this can only be a *contribution*.

ADPs cannot influence the ‘top-level actors’^b: macro factors such as the political economy or historical formation of the state, predatory leaders or political associations, globalisation or global systemic poverty. The crucial importance of targeting these contributors to modern conflict, where possible, is increasingly being recognised. This is not, however, an area that ADPs can influence unless the concept of regionalisation of ADPs is considered.

Secondly, as long as ADPs do not integrate the local rich or ‘non-poor’ into the process, they cannot have the ability to restore full dignity to the poor and to defray latent conflict inherent within unjust economic relationships. If we are to apply the holistic understanding of peacebuilding as defined in this report, ADPs would not match up to this.

^b One of the three levels that Lederach identifies as key arenas for an integrated peacebuilding approach (1997).

- **Areas for consideration**

Due consideration must be given to the fact that this research is relatively preliminary – the ADP sample was modest and the ADP concept is comparatively young. The research will, however, go some way to advancing and improving the concept and its implementation. It would also be desirable to conduct research on ADPs that have been set up in post-CHE contexts (eg Rwanda or Mozambique) in several years’ time to test the impact in the area of reconciling deeply divided societies. Lastly, the true test for this research has to be time. One can never prove the success of a programme in conflict prevention until the region undergoes a serious threat to peace.

However, it is clear that strong potential exists within this approach. The challenge is to incorporate a more deliberate approach to the implementation of ADPs, and community development, that exploits the inherent peacebuilding capacity to its fullest potential.

This requires another important challenge, and is neatly summarised in the following quote:

“The true challenge is to integrate a sensitivity to conflict into the vision of development” World Bank (1998).

We hope that this research has gone some way to begin this process.

Summary

Peacebuilding and transformational development are intimately linked. It is not an irrelevant activity that is a distraction from the business of poverty reduction. Within ADPs lies a capacity to nurture peacebuilding by virtue of their geographic size, system of networks and the principle of trust and co-operation upon which they depend. Indeed, there appears to be a direct link between effective, participatory grass-roots development and peacebuilding. However, this capacity is largely untapped. It is yet to be recognised or fully taken advantage of, and for it to have significant impact on reducing the potential for or the effect of violent ‘identity’ conflicts it must be consciously managed towards that aim. The good news is that this does not require significant extra resources; instead it requires an understanding of the peacebuilding dynamic inherent within the ADP process and a commitment to pursuing this longer-term development objective.

for this capacity to have any kind of significant peacebuilding impact it must be consciously managed towards that aim



