

FIELD REPORT

Conflict Management in Complex Humanitarian Situations: Peacemaking and Peacebuilding Work with Angolan IDPs

STEVE UTTERWULGHE

Former Angola Country Director, Search for Common Ground

After 27 years of almost continuous civil war, Angolans have had their share of suffering. Many have been displaced during this long lasting ordeal. After the signing of the April 2002 ceasefire between UNITA and the government forces, thousands are returning home to face new challenges. In the course of armed struggles, internally displaced persons (IDPs) are particularly vulnerable to numerous war-related conflicts. In post-war situations, other types of conflict add on to existing ones and require different forms of intervention. This report attempts to examine various strategies used by a Luanda-based international conflict management organization, the Centre for Common Ground (CCG), that works with Angolan IDPs in the field of conflict resolution. Particular attention is given to the peacemaking and peacebuilding work conducted, in collaboration with IDPs, by CCG.

Introduction

In 2002 a forty-year-old Angolan who had never left the country would have lived all his or her life, except four years, in a country afflicted by war. The first war, the liberation struggle against the Portuguese colonial regime, started in 1961 and lasted until 1975, the year of independence. From then until 1991, when the Bicesse Peace Accords came into effect, the second war began involving internal groups striving for power, supported by their respective Cold War allies. The Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the government forces went back to war in late 1992 until November 1994, when the Lusaka Protocol was signed. Despite a disarmament and demobilization process overseen by a UN presence, both parties returned to wage the fourth Angolan war in late 1998. This last war ended with the death of UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi followed by the signing of a cease-fire between UNITA and the Angolan Armed Forces on 4 April 2002.

Four decades of armed conflict have imposed a heavy toll on the population, military and civilian alike, and the country as a whole. Estimates of casualties are hard to establish but it is believed that more than a million people have died as a direct result of the wars. Many more have been maimed during the armed

struggles and as a result of the large numbers of landmines that are buried unexploded in the Angolan soil. Indirect consequences of the wars are even harder to quantify as the destruction of infrastructures and extreme poverty have left hundreds of Angolans dying every day.

The number of refugees who left the country and internally displaced people (IDPs) is symptomatic of the war situation. According to UNHCR, up to half a million refugees were living in four neighbouring countries shortly before the cessation of hostilities in 2002. According to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the number of IDPs exceeded four million in May 2002 and it described 'the humanitarian situation in Angola as one of the worst in the world with a larger percentage of people displaced in Angola than in virtually any other country' (UNOCHA 2002a: 1). After February 2002, the number of IDPs and refugees decreased dramatically. According to UTCAH (Unidade Técnica de Coordenação da Ajuda Humanitária, or Technical Unit for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance), as of July 2003, more than three million IDPs had returned to their areas of origin. In addition 150,000 refugees have returned spontaneously and 12,000 under the auspices of UNHCR.

The main focus of this paper is to analyse the way the Centre for Common Ground in Angola (CCG)¹ and IDPs deal with the plethora of conflicts affecting internally displaced people. In the context of this analysis, conflict will not be defined narrowly as armed conflict but as any conflict—social, economic, ethnic—impacting negatively on the lives of IDPs. In Angola and elsewhere, displaced people are faced with many conflicts during and after displacement. Fragile or non-existent democratic structures, structural inequities, burdens of traumatic experiences, loss of relatives left behind dead or alive, breakdown of family and community structures, lack of basic resources, unemployment and its social consequences, and ubiquitous violence generated by years of war and by the consequences of displacement itself, are the many seeds that engender conflicts affecting IDPs. Conflicts occur between displaced people from different regions, between camps, displaced people and resident communities, IDPs and refugees, youth and adults, men and women. The distribution of humanitarian aid also creates tensions and disputes. After displacement, usually in post-war situations, returnees face additional conflicts related to land, property, tribalism, political affiliations, and the like (Utterwulghe 2001, 2002a).

Conceptual Framework: Peacemaking and Peacebuilding

In the last decade, theoreticians and academics have contributed to the literature on peace and conflict with interesting discourses about the particularities of peacemaking, peacebuilding and peacekeeping. While peacekeeping clearly refers to activities often involving the presence of military observers or 'peacekeepers' whose role is to secure the results of agreements ending an armed conflict, the conceptual difference between peacemaking and peacebuilding is more

abstruse. Peace psychologists refer to peacemaking as the nonviolent management of conflict and peacebuilding as the pursuit of social justice. 'Peacemaking's features are: reduces direct violence;² emphasis on non-violent means; reactive; temporally and spatially constrained, prevention of violent episodes and interest in status quo. Peacebuilding's features are: reduces structural violence, emphasis on socially just ends, proactive, ubiquitous, promotion of social justice and threat to status quo' (Christie *et al.* 2001: 11).

In spite of distinct conceptual characteristics inherent to each of these two approaches, obvious differences become blurred when they are applied on the ground by practitioners. In reality, peacemaking and peacebuilding approaches, both relevant to the field of conflict management, cannot and should not be separated and strictly applied within a certain temporality and space. Direct and structural violence as part of a larger system of violence created by mismanaged conflicts and systemic inequities, transcend the divide between wartime and post-war situations and therefore, pragmatic approaches will need to be integrated and interlocked. Armed conflicts, moreover, often symptomatic of multi-layered structural crises, should not be understood from a pure Newtonian linear cause-to-effect logic as this can be a hindrance to appropriate interventions in non-linear, complex and dynamic situations (Frampton 2000; Idriss 2002).

This paper posits that peace-oriented interventions, including peacemaking and peacebuilding, targeting internally displaced people, must occur before, during and after war-related complex humanitarian situations. Humanitarian crises often have deep-rooted causes that prevail before and after the emergence of armed conflicts and the crises they produce. These underlying causes need to be addressed to avoid recurrence of troubles. Part of this argument has raised scepticism among donors and humanitarian actors as many share the opinion that the primary action undertaken in a humanitarian situation is to save lives by delivering basic aid. While the reduction of human suffering can absolutely not be denied as a principle, external intervention in complex emergencies can be more than just basic relief assistance. The circumstances should determine the right balance between the need for pure emergency assistance and other types of intervention. The sometimes narrow interpretation of what complex emergencies entail tends to prevent a deeper case-by-case analysis of their causes and of the needs, resources, skills and expectations of a particular group of people living under particular conditions. As the case study shows below, complex humanitarian situations are not homogeneous within a larger unit of analysis—the whole country—nor are the people trapped momentarily in these humanitarian situations. Like conflicts, depending on the moment in their life-cycle, humanitarian crises vary in intensity and their victims have different needs and goals accordingly. However, what seems to be homogeneous are the chronic primordial causes creating conflict, violence and their inhuman consequences.

Based on the above, this paper argues that complex emergencies and the people affected by them require specific multi-pronged support strategies which fit into a larger reality that encompasses the short-term emergency phase and the priorities of the relief-development continuum. One of these priorities includes addressing

the structural causes of violence, conflict and subsequent humanitarian crises. Internally displaced people, through peacemaking and peacebuilding work, can and must be part of this process.

Methodological Framework

While peacemaking and peacebuilding approaches constitute the basis of the conceptual framework, the methodology used in the case study described below derives from the methodology applied by the Centre for Common Ground in Angola (CCG).

CCG is an international organization that has been based in Angola since 1996. Its staff comprises one expatriate and two dozen Angolans who lead the work, as well as scores of volunteers. Its activities include building the capacity of Angolans from all sectors of society to manage conflicts in a non-violent, non-adversarial way. Internally displaced people represent one of the major target groups with which CCG is actively involved. Other groups include the armed forces, national police, journalists, government officials and civil society organizations (including local business associations, youth associations and churches). The focus of this paper will be the work conducted by CCG with IDPs.

CCG is currently implementing or has implemented activities in collaboration with IDPs in the west (Luanda and Bengo provinces), north (Zaire and Uige provinces) and east of Angola (Moxico province).

The analysis of the case study presented is largely based on CCG's projects carried out since 1998 until December 2002 with IDPs living in four camps in Viana municipality in Luanda province. The various camps host displaced people from Mussende (Kwanza Sul province), Malange and Moxico provinces. The 'IOM camp' (no longer managed by the International Organization for Migration, but still known by this name) hosts IDPs from Bengo, Huambo and Bie provinces. According to a survey conducted by CCG in June 2002, the number of IDPs in Mussende camp was 1,592; 1,750 in Malange camp; 2,956 in Moxico camp and 2,542 in 'IOM camp'. Note that these numbers decreased considerably after mid-2002 and that most of the IDPs have now returned to their areas of origin.

It is crucial from an analytical point of view to indicate that certain variables specific to the units of analysis influence the strategies used, the level of involvement of the organization and partners, the capacities and priorities of IDPs, their availability and interests, etc. The variables impacting on the case study include:

1. Situation of IDPs: the case study is based on IDPs living in camps, not urban IDPs.
2. Location of the camps: the four camps are located near Viana municipality situated at 20 kilometres east of Luanda. Basic resources such as schools and health centres are available. The proximity of the urban centre provides opportunities for informal trade. Job opportunities are however rare and access to land and income-generating activities is extremely limited.

3. The time of displacement: IDPs from Mussende settled in the camp in 1996, IDPs from Moxico and Malange in 1992, IDPs from Bengo settled in the 'IOM camp' in 1990 and those from Huambo and Bie in 1992.
4. Areas of origin: IDPs living in Viana camps come from the west, north, east and centre of Angola.
5. Composition of the camps: except for the 'IOM camp' where people come from three different provinces, the other camps are regionally homogeneous. The majority of IDPs living in the camps come from rural areas. In all four camps, there is a higher than normal percentage of women and children.
6. Security conditions in and around the camps: the camps being located close to the national capital, security around them is relatively stable compared to the situation in the war-torn provinces. Inside the camps, violence is ubiquitous.
7. Humanitarian conditions: the advantage of having the camps near Luanda and the presence of national and international agencies is to prevent acute humanitarian crises like the ones existing in some parts of the country, despite the fact that IDPs living in Viana are not entitled to food assistance. This being said, IDPs in most of the four camps live in conditions well below minimal acceptable standards as efforts and aid are concentrated in other areas of the country where the situation is more critical.

The Argument for Peacemaking and Peacebuilding with IDPs

The question that the Centre for Common Ground is often asked is 'why is it that an organization working in the field of conflict resolution is still working in Angola? The war is over'. Another probing comment is 'why are you focusing on peacemaking and peacebuilding activities in IDP camps? Displaced people need food instead'. Such comments are not by any means unreasonable.

The war has ended in Angola (with the exception of Cabinda province, where rebels still battle government forces) but it does not mean that peace has come. At the moment, negative peace, or the mere absence of war, prevails and the desired outcome is positive peace including socio-economic and political justice. Furthermore, the war produced many micro-conflicts and human rights abuses which do not disappear with the termination of warfare. On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, war is also the product of macro-level conflicts of a structural nature which continue to exist during and after the cessation of hostilities.

On the question of IDPs involved in peacemaking and peacebuilding activities instead of being considered as victims and mere beneficiaries of aid, CCG firmly believes that internally displaced people have an active role to play in the management of conflicts, the construction of peace and the national reconciliation process. IDPs are potential actors within civil society like others who need to be respected, heard and involved if sustainable reconciliation is to be successful. Obviously, the humanitarian condition of IDPs is crucial as people will not be disposed to participate in peace programmes if their stomachs are empty and their lives endangered. But even then, hasty general conclusions cannot be drawn as one settlement of IDPs can be composed of people disposed to participate in

peace programmes. At the end of March 2002, the author had the opportunity to assess the situation of IDP camps in Moxico province where a month earlier UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi, had been killed by the Angolan Armed Forces. As a consequence of military 'scorched earth' operations, hundreds of thousands of people left the bush, most of them severely malnourished, and arrived by foot or by helicopter in the camps located around the provincial capital, Luena. Despite the critical conditions of many IDPs, some recovered rapidly and the coordinator of the Muachimbo camp told me that they were interested in finally being considered to participate in seminars and other activities related to the dissemination of human rights, UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement and conflict resolution skills.

Even under war conditions, there are pockets of stability that permit interventions beyond the distribution of humanitarian aid. As Jan Pronk, the former Dutch Minister for Development Co-operation, argues: 'The nature of present intra-state conflicts makes it increasingly difficult to determine when and where violence ends and peace starts. This implies that where a minimum degree of security and stability does exist, we must support reconciliation at the community level in addition to traditional emergency relief' (1996: 9).

The CCG has been working on a continuous basis with the displaced people living in Viana since 1998. The argument behind the decision to work with those IDPs was that, considering their time of arrival in the camps, the stable security around the camps, the non-critical humanitarian situation and the social situation characterized by omnipresent conflict and violence in the camps, the time and conditions were ripe to engage in peacemaking and peacebuilding activities.

For the sake of methodical clarity, peacemaking work with IDPs will be examined separately from peacebuilding work although in practice, as it has been pointed out, the two approaches intermingle.

Empirical Analysis of Peacemaking Work with IDPs

War and its consequences generate great distress for populations. Displaced communities are particularly affected. The UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement make clear that displacement should not be carried out in a manner that violates the rights of life, dignity, liberty, or the security of those affected (UNOCHA 1999). Nevertheless, displaced people flee their homes and often end up in cramped camps lacking fundamental resources or in overcrowded cities. They see or have experienced systematic and other violations of their fundamental rights. This situation creates a context in which conflicts and violence among and between displaced and resident communities are all-pervading.

Conflict Management at the Grass-roots Level

Though communities always had traditional mechanisms to manage and resolve conflicts, 'the disruptive effect of displacement on community organization and leadership patterns often means that traditional methods of conflict resolution

are no longer available' (Cohen and Deng 1998: 293). It is also sometimes argued that traditional, community-based conflict resolution methods are inadequate to deal with complex or large-scale conflicts. While this statement is not completely untrue it is nevertheless important to note that the ability to deal with conflicts at the community level can in effect prevent conflicts occurring at higher levels. Zartman refers to the organic character of traditional communities which implies that so-called 'simple conflicts' can easily degenerate into violent episodes involving most groups in the communities (2000: 213). The CCG is of the opinion that traditional methods of conflict management must be revived and new complementary techniques introduced and shared. For peace to be sustainable at the national level, peace and the non-violent resolution of disputes must exist at the grass-roots level. According to the Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Internally Displaced People, Francis Deng, 'over the long term, activities facilitating conflict resolution and reconciliation at the local level among different cultural, ethnic, and religious groups can contribute to the security of internally displaced persons as well as to their eventual return to their areas of origins' (Cohen and Deng 1998: 259).

For the last four years, CCG has been involved in the Viana IDP camps to work on different aspects of peacemaking with the displaced communities. The initial goal was to build capacity among IDPs to manage their conflicts in a non-violent way and reduce direct violence. The revitalization or rediscovery of traditional conflict management methods was also on the agenda.

Activities in IDP camps

Theatre. Theatre is an art form that is very popular in Angola, as in the rest of Africa. Over the past few years, CCG has trained local theatre troupes in conflict resolution theatre. The content of the pieces performed are actual types of conflict drawn from the real life experience of the audience and are acted out with compelling drama, closing with clearly presented conflict resolution methods and messages of peace and reconciliation. As such, theatre is a peacemaking technique which contributes to building the skills and disseminating messages of non-violent management of conflict. In its interactive form, when actors perform stories or events familiar to the audience who react and interact, it is also a group trauma-healing technique as it creates collective empathy and helps to release the heavy burden and pain related to a similar traumatic experience. CCG started working in certain IDP communities with theatre performances aimed at people from one camp but also at a combination of people from different camps with their diverse experiences, life realities and problems.

Community theatre troupes have, in partnership with CCG, performed hundreds of times for thousands of people in the camps. These troupes are now teaching would-be actors from IDP camps in theatrical techniques and conflict resolution theatre. In August 2002 the theatre group of the Moxico camp performed for the UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan.

Theatre is a conflict resolution technique in itself as well as a complementary supportive method to other activities such as dialogue sessions.

Dialogue. Dialogue is a basic conflict resolution technique. It is or should be used when the conflict between parties is at a latent stage and escalation into violence can still be prevented. As a peacemaking method, dialogue between parties can be facilitated by a third party to help, among other things, focus on issues and interests rather than on positions and help parties find creative options to solve the conflict. Dialogue can also be an education tool. Paulo Freire insists that 'without dialogue there is no communication, and without communication there can be no true education' (1968: 81). The dialogical character of education as defined by Freire and as applied by CCG goes beyond the classical concept of pedagogy stressing the hierarchical teacher–student relationship. Dialogue is a two-way mechanism that allows the group, facilitator included, to learn from others, express itself and find its place in the world.

Like theatre, dialogue sessions among members of the community can also play the role of trauma healing. Story-telling, for example, exposes difficult realities to others who can relate. As a result, empathy and a sense of common humanity are developed during the sessions between groups, whether in dispute or not.

CCG facilitates different types of dialogue sessions between groups of IDPs. For the last several years it has used a tri-pronged dialogical approach including classical group dialogue as well as radio and video-based dialogue sessions. Radio and video-based dialogue sessions are group sessions supported by pedagogical media tools including audio and video tapes, CDs and radio sets that facilitate listening during live radio programmes.

Radio and Television. The broadcast media are an extraordinary multi-purpose instrument for peacemaking in general and for working with displaced people in particular. They serve as a didactic tool in that they support dialogue sessions with material that can provide a basis for discussion, facilitate understanding of a particular context and give background information or present stories and experiences similar to those of the participants. Objective media programmes are also a useful way to avoid instability and violence as rumours, occurring due to a lack of information, can have dramatic repercussions in a war situation or conflict-ridden context. Finally, the use of media production plays a psychological role: being ill-informed can generate stress and increase anxiety levels among IDPs living in crisis (Hieber n.d.).

Over the last couple of years, the CCG has produced two radio soap operas in collaboration with two local theatre groups with Angolan technicians. The soap operas include conflict resolution techniques and other difficult issues affecting IDPs and Angolans in general. The thirty thematic episodes of *Vozes Que Falam* (Voices that Speak) were specifically developed for internally displaced people. They address issues including displacement, life in the camps and the city, land conflict, drug use, mines, physical abuse, rape, AIDS, child labour, generational

conflicts, and water access. The programmes present alternatives to deal with these problems and manage or resolve conflicts non-violently. The second radio soap opera, *Coisas da Nossa Gente* (Things of our People) targets the entire Angolan population, IDPs included, and discusses issues affecting Angolans. Themes refer to corruption, deficient health structures, the poor education system, reintegration of demobilized soldiers, unemployment, domestic violence, AIDS, abortion, the right to political freedom, forced displacement, the UN Guiding Principles on Displacement, and so forth. The two soap operas have been broadcast and rebroadcast on the National Radio of Angola (RNA), reaching the whole country including UNITA-held territories, on Radio Ecclesia, the main independent radio station based in Luanda and on Radio Luanda Antena Comercial (LAC), a commercial station principally targeting youth.

An independent evaluation conducted by the National Institute for Statistics between December 2001 and February 2002 in six provinces included 1,500 interviewees, including IDPs from the four Viana camps, and revealed that 80 per cent of the population interviewed listened to the soap opera, of whom 94 per cent said that they enjoyed the programmes and want them to continue and 91 per cent said that their capacity to resolve conflicts with techniques presented in the programmes has increased.

CCG is well aware that most IDPs do not have access to radio, mainly because of cost. The organization has therefore distributed hundreds of wind-up and battery-operated radios to facilitate listening among displaced people. The episodes are broadcast four times per week. CCG organized voluntary listening in groups, followed by a facilitated dialogue session that permits a thorough discussion about the themes raised and conflict resolution techniques presented in the programmes. In Moxico and Mussende camps, IDPs spontaneously gather on Saturday and listen to the audio tapes and CDs of the soap opera distributed by CCG for people who did not have the chance to listen to the programmes during the week to do so and to participate in the dialogue sessions.

A similar methodology used by CCG is video-based dialogue. The Centre for Common Ground has independently produced twelve TV-documentary series which have been broadcast twice on the government-run National Television (TPA), the only Angolan television outlet, as well as on RTPA (Portuguese Radio and Television in Africa). The documentary, *Luzes na Sombra* (Lights in Shade), depicts dramatic situations existing in Angola (street children, young demobilized soldiers, mines, amputees, domestic violence, etc.) and focuses on the work of ordinary Angolans and local organizations dealing constructively with these issues. The documentary aims to show that it is feasible for Angolans to make a difference in rebuilding their communities and country, and encourages other Angolans to undertake similar activities. As part of the video-based dialogue, CCG travels with a TV set and a video player and shows the tapes to participants who afterwards engage in a facilitated dialogue on the themes presented.

This media-oriented methodology implemented in collaboration with displaced people serves to build, in a culturally-relevant manner, the peacemaking

capacity of IDPs. It also builds a sense within communities that IDPs are effective partners with whom skills and information can be shared, discussed and analysed objectively.

Training. Another step used to strengthen the peacemaking skills of IDPs is the training programme. Like dialogue, one of the purposes of the training programme is to build, fortify and reinvigorate displaced people's knowledge and skills of conflict management and conflict transformation with the purpose of reducing violence and finding alternative ways to resolve conflicts in a non-adversarial way. Yet training is more than the process of imparting skills on how to respond to a conflict. Lederach talks about training as 'a process of strategic capacity and relationship building' (1997: 108). Relationship building refers to the importance of involving antagonistic groups in the training in order to increase relational interdependence and ultimately impact strategically on intra- and intercommunal peace and conflict transformation. The initial work conducted by CCG has been in the 'IOM camp' where violence and conflicts are rampant due to the fact that IDPs come from different provinces and due to the lack of access to basic resources. The gathering of people from diverse ethnic backgrounds during training sessions has helped to defuse tension among the participants and ultimately among the camp community. Similar approaches have been undertaken with members from different camps for the displaced, Congolese refugees and local residents. Strategic capacity refers to the concept of empowerment, intrinsic to peacebuilding work. This concept will be elaborated more extensively in the section on peacebuilding although in practice, it is part of a unified pragmatic process implemented by the CCG in its work with Angolan IDPs.

Training sessions moderated by CCG include three levels: basic, medium and advanced. Basic conflict resolution skills include the exploration or rediscovery of notions such as conflict vs. violence, dialogue, negotiation, facilitation and mediation. Advanced level training prepares participants to become trainers and includes practical field work. The training methodology is based on the 'elicitive' model of training applied to conflict resolution, fruit of the seminal work undertaken by Lederach whose fundamental argument is that 'understanding conflict and developing appropriate models of handling it will necessarily be rooted in, and must respect and draw from, the cultural knowledge of a people' (Lederach 1995, as quoted by Brubaker and Verdonk 1997: 20).

As mentioned previously, traditional methods of conflict management do exist but are not always practised or respected, due to breakdown of traditional social structures following displacement or because they may appear obsolete to the younger generation. This is especially true within displaced communities who have sought refuge in major urban or peri-urban settings such as the Viana camps located near the capital Luanda.

Despite some negative reactions that people may have towards traditional ways of dealing with conflict, their existence is undeniable and they must be explored as an original and useful indigenous resource. Additionally, customary precepts of traditional management of conflict can consolidate the weakened

bonds of displaced communities and henceforth help intracommunity peacemaking and overall social cohesion. War trauma and general frustration affect the way people interact socially and cope when facing conflict. Violence is often the immediate response to upsetting situations. In Luanda and in IDP camps, it is not unusual to witness an ordinary car accident or a mundane verbal exchange turn into massive group violence. The excess of violence is symptomatic of the social psychosis prevalent in war and post-war contexts. Therefore, when possible, traditional methods must be applied to modern conflict management. In the camp at Moxico where CCG trains participants, an accident occurred on the road beside the camp. A drunk driver hit a child from the IDP community crossing the road, who died instantly. In no time a crowd gathered and started beating the driver who would not have survived had it not been for the intervention of an advanced trained participant in conflict resolution. The self-appointed mediator, who is also member of the CCG conflict resolution *nucleo*, or camp council (see below), separated the crowd and succeeded in facilitating a dialogue between the two parties, the driver and the family of the deceased child. The driver accepted to pay for the funeral of the child as well as provide for some financial support. The family accepted not to press charges against the driver.

This event illustrates the possible complementarities between traditional and modern techniques of conflict management: the mediator, who is not an elderly person, the *soba*, or someone appointed for their position in the community, facilitated the communication between the conflicting parties while remaining neutral and without suggesting sentences or ordering official justice, often ineffective, to be applied. The parties found a common positive outcome without resorting to the law enforcement system or to violent vendetta. Mediation is a traditional method of conflict management but as such is usually carried out by personalities chosen for their credibility, leadership, seniority and wisdom, not necessarily chosen for their neutrality. In the case presented, the neutral intermediary from the IDP camp does not have the characteristics of a traditional mediator candidate; he was however accepted by both parties. Traditional mediation is also often carried out as a negotiation process with bargaining options suggested by the mediator. Our mediator encouraged the parties to avoid using modern solutions such as judicial ways to settle the incident, often characterized by partiality and ineffectiveness. Justice, as Zartman mentions referring to African mediation, 'is very much part of the exercise, but as compensation for loss, not as retribution for offense' (2000: 222). Had the 'modern mediator' not intervened and traditional bargaining not been possible, justice would have been handled with blood and death, further disintegrating the community's social fabric and reinforcing the prevailing culture of violence.

The sequential methodology—theatre, dialogue, media, training—culminates with the training of trainers and then the constitution of the *nuclei*. Individuals from the IDP community are identified and selected based on their involvement, interest and commitment to peacemaking. They participate afterwards in advanced training for trainers which enables them to join what is locally called

the *Nucleo de Resolução de Conflitos* or in effect, the conflict resolution camp council.

Conflict Resolution. 'Nuclei' are self-constituted groups in the IDP camps where CCG intervenes. Their composition includes a dozen or more displaced people, men and women, who have participated and collaborated in peacemaking work implemented by CCG. Sometimes the *soba* and the camp coordinator are members of the *nucleo*, not always. However, the *nucleo* does not replace the authority of the traditional leaders. It is a complementary instrument, created by IDPs with technical support from CCG, that encourages the community to handle conflicts in a non-adversarial manner, using traditional and modern methods as necessary.

The coordinator of the *nucleo* is the main link with CCG. He or she reports on activities implemented, existing problems and support needed. The *nucleo* functions as a community mediation centre where members of the community can ask for help as needed. The members of the *nuclei* consider themselves as peacemakers and do their best to ensure that the culture of peace replaces the destructive culture of violence. The earlier example of the mediator, a member of the Moxico camp *nucleo*, intervening in the car accident that killed a child from the displaced community shows the role played by the members of the *nuclei*. Most of the time, the *nucleo de resolução de conflitos* intervenes in cases of domestic violence and distribution of relief aid.

CCG's main objective is for these *nuclei* to become self-sustainable. As the knowledge and skills of *nuclei* members and their credibility grow, CCG will withdraw slowly from some camps and let the *nucleo* and the community manage conflicts on their own and emulate and disseminate the peacemaking methodology and techniques, during and after displacement. The *nuclei* draw on the methodology used by Common Ground, i.e. they facilitate group dialogue sessions, training sessions in conflict management with a look at traditional methods, use conflict resolution theatre and media material distributed by the organization. CCG continues to provide technical support when needed as well as material and financial support for certain activities.

Sustainable Peacemaking

This brief analysis of the peacemaking methods used by Angolan IDPs illustrates the need to build and strengthen the capacity of displaced communities to manage conflicts non-violently during displacement. Peacemaking work also serves as conflict prevention as skills and techniques learned, developed and used will be crucial upon return to areas of origin. In post-war Angola, some IDPs are not yet willing to return as basic conditions are not met. More specifically, in a survey conducted by CCG in June 2002 in the camps of Mussende, IOM, Moxico and Malange, 62 per cent of the 250 IDPs interviewed did not want to go home because conditions were not right and conflicts were anticipated. Their access to economic activity around the capital certainly influenced their decision. When asked what types of conflict they expect to face if and when they go home, the two

most common answers were the potential conflicts linked to property and lands occupied by other people. The absence of a functional judicial system in the provinces requires IDPs to have the skills to cope with new conflicts and to manage them in a constructive and nonviolent way. This is one of the prerequisites for peaceful post-war reconstruction and sustainable national reconciliation. Obviously, resident communities must also be exposed to and involved in peacemaking work.

This being said, peacemaking is not an end in itself. Being able to resolve community conflicts is crucial but not enough to eradicate or transform the larger structural causes that create these same conflicts. Peacemaking plays a fundamental role in building the demand for peace. This demand must now be mobilized. Hence, peacemaking must be a catalyst to build the strategic capacity, to use Lederach's terminology, of communities in order for them to be empowered to participate in the deep transformation of a more complex system that contains the underlying causes of conflict. Here lies the conceptual threshold to peacebuilding which in practice, as argued in the theoretical introduction of this paper, unequivocally correlates to peacemaking. For positive peace, not the mere absence of war or violent conflict, to be achieved, peacemaking at all levels must be complemented simultaneously by peacebuilding approaches.

Empirical Analysis of Peacebuilding Work with IDPs

Peacebuilding emphasizes the promotion of social justice by trying to alter the foundations of structural violence. To avert the cyclical repetition of violent conflicts and human abuses, their structural causes must be dealt with and transformed. Peacemaking will be useless and short-sighted if not accompanied by peacebuilding.

Structural violence is an integral part of a larger system of violence, including direct violence. For Johan Galtung, direct violence is overt, immediate, concrete, physical and committed by and on specific people. Structural violence is more subtle and gradual and does not target specific individuals even if its victims belong to homogeneous social strata (Galtung 1969). The impossible or difficult access to resources such as water, electricity, education, health, employment or political freedom, produces social injustice and can generate direct violence.

Peacebuilding during Displacement

Internally displaced persons, especially women and children, constitute one of the most vulnerable groups of the population. As such, they suffer the direct violent consequences of war but also the indirect consequences of systemic inequality. The CCG believes that both aspects of the system of violence must be tackled at the same time and that IDPs must be given the opportunity to be part of this integrated approach.

The previous section demonstrated the importance of the involvement of IDPs in peacemaking activities during displacement and the preventive role

peacemaking plays during and after the return of population to areas of origins. Similarly, this paper argues against the common belief that peacebuilding should mainly be a post-war endeavour. It must also occur during displacement and engage IDPs. As mentioned before, even during war and complex humanitarian situations, pockets of stability exist and within them, people have the willingness and capacity to overcome their status as mere helpless victims. As Holtzman writes

there is a need to re-focus the provision of humanitarian assistance to displaced populations through a 'development lens', viewing it not as a charity but as investment in the maintenance of human and social capital towards an eventual transition to peace and a reintegration of these populations into a peacetime society (1997: 1).

CCG's thesis is that internally displaced persons are and can be active social actors who can transform the inequitable status quo that affects their lives negatively and who can ultimately shape their own future. Displacement must be regarded as a transformation, as a process during which IDPs must have their capacity strengthened in order to impact on and be part of decision-making practices (Bennett 1998).

Activities with IDPs

Peacemaking activities carried out with IDPs have helped to build their demand for peace. Mobilizing this public demand requires additional methodological tools. CCG uses the tools described earlier but adapts them to the necessities of the more holistic goal of peacebuilding.

Theatre. While peacemaking theatre mainly disseminates messages and techniques of conflict resolution, peacebuilding theatre focuses more on hard issues related to the structural causes of conflict and sustainable development. In both cases, drama is an entertaining pedagogical tool that complements other activities implemented in the camps, including dialogue and training.

Dialogue and Training. By facilitating dialogue sessions, the Centre for Common Ground's objective is to bring people from different levels of society and with different agendas together around a specific issue. CCG believes that dialogue can provide transformative energy to participants. Incidentally, it agrees with the Freirean definition of dialogue which posits that 'dialogue is the encounter of men in the world in order to transform the world' (Freire 1968: 124). Dialogue is not purely a trauma healing or a peacemaking practice; it is also

the archetype of the notion of praxis. Reflection is only the appetizer for a hungry intellect. Praxis, or reflection with appropriate action resulting from active dialogue, is the substantial food that will give force to the body of an eventual common understanding and problem solving process (Utterwulghe 2002a: 30).

This common understanding can be about the need for a collective decision to transform systemic imbalances. Thus dialogue is a trigger for social mobilization in the camps.

The grass-roots leadership emanates from this process. Its capacity is strengthened through training sessions which help to define and elaborate strategies and techniques necessary to deal with social injustice. As such, training is not just a process of relationship building but also what Lederach calls a process of strategic capacity building.

Camp 'Nuclei' Defending IDPs' Rights and Concerns. Camp *nuclei* are the essence of the grass-roots leadership. Their members are active, skillful and respected peacemakers in the IDP community. Through dialogue and training sessions they have acquired the desire to go further than managing and resolving conflicts. The defence of their community's rights and the claim for equitable distribution of resources and services has become a new priority.

The CCG is a conflict resolution organization that believes that one must work at the nexus of human rights and peace work, despite the existing tensions between the two fields. Conflict practitioners in Angola cannot for the sake of neutrality and 'non-adversariality' ignore the fact that the conflict creates many gross human rights abuses and that human rights violations of a structural nature engender conflict and violence. The protection of IDPs' rights is usually on the agenda of relief organizations. However, protecting people's rights is one thing, teaching people about their rights is another. Yet, the ultimate goal must be to teach people how to defend and claim the protection of their rights in a non-adversarial way (Utterwulghe 2002b). Indeed, teaching rights without building a capacity to discuss, defend and demand those rights constructively is like giving a fisherman a net with gaping holes. Rights have to be respected; if they are not, individuals must be able to demand respect of their rights in an appropriate, i.e. non-violent and strategic, way. As Hugo Slim has observed, 'rights dignify individuals, rather than patronizing them, and victims of conflict become claimants of rights rather than objects of charity' (in Schenkenberg van Mierop 2001: 27).

Part of CCG's work involves the dissemination of the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement in the camps. The Principles constitute a soft law aimed at protecting the rights of IDPs. Although not a binding instrument, the Guiding Principles have immense practical value for the monitoring of IDP protection. Alongside international human rights law, it is these Guiding Principles and the Norms for the Resettlement of Displaced Populations endorsed by the Angolan government which CCG uses as its human rights framework.³

More than 20,000 displaced people in eight camps in Luanda and Bengo provinces have learned about the existence and the nature of the Guiding Principles and the Norms. The methodology used for dissemination is based on the collaborative partnership with the camp *nuclei*. Members of the *nuclei* trained by CCG in conflict resolution, the Principles and human rights in general trained selected coordinators in the camps who trained, in local language when needed,

the majority of IDPs. For the many illiterate, CCG has produced posters and booklets with didactic drawings about the Principles with support from UNHCR. The *nuclei* coordinators are also involved in the monitoring of the activities. Nevertheless, as mentioned previously, the mere dissemination of information on rights is insufficient and short-sighted. Combining dialogue and training sessions on human rights and protection issues together with conflict resolution skills is a more fruitful and farsighted approach. Communication, facilitation and negotiation skills are practical instruments that enable displaced persons to claim in a non-adversarial way that their rights as IDPs and their fundamental social, economic and political rights as human beings and citizens are respected and fulfilled.

According to a displaced woman trained by CCG in conflict resolution and protection:

I knew that we had rights, just like any other person. Now that I know exactly what they are, it is my responsibility to make sure that my community understands them, too. I am a widow, a mother of four. I never went to school. I am thankful for this opportunity to learn and to teach about our rights. If we know about the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement and the Norms, we know how our lives can improve.

‘Human rights as a language of moral empowerment’ raise the awareness and boost the social confidence among IDPs (Ignatieff 2001: 113). Displaced people become conscious of their rights but also of the obligations of the authorities towards them and towards society. The awareness raising process provides IDPs with transformative energy that enables them to tackle social injustice. In the Malange camp, government gave IDPs a few weeks before being resettled thirty kilometres further in a new settlement area. Most of the IDPs refused to move, arguing that the new camp did not have the elementary conditions such as water, schools and houses. Despite the rising tensions between them and the authorities, a small group of IDPs, all members of the CCG camp *nucleo*, decided to organize themselves and prepare a coordinated response for the authorities. The IDP delegation, trained in conflict resolution methods and aware of IDP rights as articulated in the Guiding Principles and the Norms on Resettlement approached the authorities to present and defend their case in a constructive way. They refused to move at that moment but negotiated the possibility of being resettled in the near future provided that conditions were in place. Some IDPs left the Malange camp for the new camp; some, after more than one year, not satisfied with the new options, legally refused to leave.

It is highly improbable that displaced people alone can change the global systemic imbalances of Angola. The anthropologist Margaret Mead taught us to ‘never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world’. To which world is Mead referring? CCG argues that IDPs can change their world. But can they change the larger context? CCG believes that they can contribute to changing it if they are empowered to do so and aware of the potential benefits of peace, social justice and reconciliation. The adoption of

an integrated approach that brings together grass-roots leadership from the camps and middle-range (local authorities, NGOs, media, etc.) and top leadership (national government authorities, security forces, media, etc.) who have decision-making power is necessary.

In the spirit of the integrated approach, CCG has facilitated, upon request from the several IDP camps' *nuclei*, a dialogue between the *nuclei* members and representatives from the National Police, MINARS (Ministry for Social Affairs and Reintegration), Ministry of Health, Ministry of Family and Women's Affairs, NGOs and the Municipal Administration. According to the displaced people, it was the first time that they had the opportunity to present their concerns (forced displacement, water, youth prostitution in the camps, access to jobs, harassment, etc.) and talk about their rights as 'equal partners' at a table with the authorities. At the end of the meeting, all participants agreed to hold these meetings on a monthly basis. Besides the effectiveness of open dialogue to assess and resolve social problems, it is the very request for dialogue by displaced people that is unusual. This type of initiative must be supported and encouraged. It is also the recognition by authorities and NGOs that IDPs are not passive victims but committed social actors willing 'to change the world'. Finally, democracy lies in this kind of inclusive dialogical approach. In the words of Amartya Sen, 'not only is the force of public discussion one of the correlates of democracy, but its cultivation can also make democracy itself function better' (1999: 158).

Associations of Displaced Women. Based on the model of the *nuclei*, CCG technically facilitated the constitution of a women's association in each of the four camps. The idea came after targeted work with women on conflict resolution and human rights had taken place. For cultural reasons, women do not often speak when men are present and therefore, CCG has decided to hold some training and dialogue sessions just for women. The reasons were discussed with men in order for them not to feel ostracized or to further widen the rift between men and women. CCG is well aware that the issue of role reversal between men and women as main breadwinners and family leaders can create tension and foster domestic violence. Men must feel empowered and targeted as much as women. Focusing solely on women can contribute to a stronger feeling of abandonment and an increase in antisocial behaviour and violence. Men in the communities agreed to the creation of these displaced women's associations as they saw potential benefits for the whole community.

The idea behind the creation of the associations is the same as the argument presented in this paper: that peacebuilding requires challenging the social, economic and political structures that affect people's lives. How to do so when you are a displaced woman? Various orientations are considered: joint visits by members of the different associations to socio-professional urban women's associations, training by NGOs in micro-credit and other income-generating schemes, participation in seminars, lobbying authorities, co-organization of workshops with national authorities, contribution to radio programmes, etc. Concrete examples include the participation of one member of the Mexico

association in an international conference on displaced women organized by UNHCR in Geneva. The four associations of displaced women from Viana also organized a seminar funded by CCG on the role of IDP women in Angolan society. This seminar included the Minister for Women and Family Affairs. A last example is the invitation to the coordinator of one of the associations to give a keynote speech at a conference held at the Catholic University in Luanda on the role of women in the national reconciliation process. Only a few months following the creation of these associations, the results speak for themselves:

- an increased feeling of empowerment for these women and the displaced community;
- a public recognition by international actors, national authorities, civil society, media professionals and academics of the valuable contribution of IDP women to peacemaking and peacebuilding in Angola;
- an increased knowledge of development-oriented and job-producing skills;
- and an active lobby of the top leadership around issues that affect the lives of IDPs and displaced women.

There are now ten associations of displaced women in Luanda and Bengo provinces. While the camps are gradually being dismantled as IDPs return to their areas of origin, it is expected that their skills and new awareness will travel with them throughout Angola and continue to contribute to peacebuilding and national reconciliation.

Radio and Television. As discussed earlier, the media are used to build and strengthen IDPs' peacemaking skills. Similarly, radio and television are an extraordinary outlet for IDPs to participate in peacebuilding. CCG is producing and facilitating on the main Angolan independent radio, Radio Ecclesia, the only weekly radio programme intended to give a voice to internally displaced people. IDPs are invited to participate in *Vozes do N'jango* (Voices of the N'jango) along with representatives from national ministries, civil society, international relief agencies and church organizations. At first, it was difficult to have officials from ministries. When they realized that the programmes were non-threatening but rather moderated in a common ground spirit and on consensual basis, the deputy minister of MINARS and several heads of departments accepted the invitations. This is not to say that IDPs who made the trip from the camps did not take the opportunity to speak frankly about their conditions and their expectations from the government. Heated debates have taken place around issues such as protection, forced displacement and the lack of compliance with the Norms on Resettlement by the authorities. In an interview given to the Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN) on 13 November 2002, Erick de Mul, the UN Humanitarian Coordinator in Angola, explains that only 30 per cent of IDP returns complied with the Norms on Resettlement. Many listeners, including urban IDPs, called the studio to participate in the discussion (radio sets are distributed in the camps for people to listen to the programmes but unfortunately

it is not feasible to distribute telephones for them to intervene in the discussions). Many of the guests from IDP camps enter the radio studio with their booklets on the Guiding Principles and the decree on the Norms and make references to corroborate their arguments.

Giving an opportunity to IDPs to use their voice publicly, on radio waves or other fora and discuss their reality in company of government officials and other social, economic and political leaders enhances their status. They are no longer forsaken displaced people, but members of civil society and committed, responsible citizens. Their vulnerability must be acknowledged but must not be used as an excuse to deny their rights to engage in social activism for the benefit of their communities and the country.

Peacebuilding and peacemaking are complementary approaches that must be followed during war and post-conflict situations. One must invest in the capacity of internally displaced persons to transform the prevailing system of violence, direct and structural, into a system of peace.

Conclusion

Jonathan Tepperman, in an article about truth commissions, maintains that ‘reconciliation turns out to involve much more than mere forgiveness; to achieve it seems to require far more than truth telling. In fact, the reconciliation project could better be described as “nation building”. Such a process involves addressing fundamental social inequalities, which is a task for politics’ (Tepperman 2002: 142). Yet, an additional point should be incorporated into the last part of this assertion. Nation building requires the involvement of politics and other elements of the top leadership. However, this building process must also integrate grass-roots and middle-range actors who can and must partake in the reconstruction of their state and their nation. Internally displaced people must not be forgotten. In Angola, they represent 25 per cent of the total population and their contribution to peacemaking and the construction of peace must count if reconciliation is to be sustainable. Relying solely on politics to rebuild a nation after years of military and political turmoil that has destroyed the lives of millions of people is as unrealistic as claiming that the grass-roots alone will change the world. An integrated approach involving the contribution of each citizen from all levels of society to peacemaking and peacebuilding projects is the solution for the achievement of peace, justice, development and reconciliation.

1. The Centre for Common Ground in Angola is a project of Search for Common Ground (Washington DC) and the European Centre for Common Ground (Brussels), two international conflict resolution organizations dedicated to changing the way the world deals with conflict—away from adversarial confrontation and towards collaborative problem solving. SFCG and ECCG currently work in or with fourteen countries: Angola, Belgium, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Indonesia, Iran, Liberia, Macedonia, Middle East (with offices in Israel and Jordan), Morocco, Sierra Leone, Ukraine and the USA.

2. According to Christie *et al.*, 'direct violence refers to physical violence that harms or kills people quickly. In contrast, structural violence kills indirectly and slowly, curtailing life spans by depriving people of material and non-material resources' (2001: 8–9).
3. The Norms for the Resettlement of Displaced Populations are minimum standards that provide for the safety and human rights of IDPs when relocated. 'They include ensuring that all returns are voluntary, that land, seeds and tools are provided, that there is a minimum level of administration, including justice systems and social infrastructure, and that the area is certified free of mines' (Oxfam 2002: 2). These Norms were incorporated into Angolan law on 5 January 2001 (Conselho de Ministros, Decreto n° 1/01 de 5 de Janeiro, Diário da República, I Série-N° 1).

- BENNETT, J.** (1998) 'Problems and Opportunities of Displacement' in *Internally Displaced People: A Global Survey*, Global IDP Survey and Norwegian Refugee Council. London: Earthscan.
- BRUBAKER, D.** and **VERDONK, T.** (1997) 'Conflict Resolution Training in Another Culture: A Case Study in Angola'. Unpublished paper prepared for the Centre for Common Ground in Angola.
- CENTRE FOR COMMON GROUND** (2002) 'Inquérito Sobre o Regresso dos Deslocados as Suas Províncias de Origem'. Unpublished internal report.
- CHRISTIE, D., WAGNER, R.** and **DU NANN WINTER, D.** (2001) 'Introduction to Peace Psychology' in Christie, D., Wagner, R. and Du Nann Winter, D. (eds.) *Peace, Conflict and Violence: Peace Psychology for the 21st Century*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- COHEN, R.** and **DENG, F.** (1998) *Masses in Flight: The Global Crisis of Internal Displacement*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- FRAMPTON, C.** (2000) 'The Principles of Quantum Physic: A Framework for Conflict Resolution. Lessons from an Experience of Intervening in Burundi'. Unpublished.
- GALTUNG, J.** (1969) 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research' in *Journal of Peace Research* 3.
- FREIRE, P.** (1968) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: The Seabury Press.
- HIEBER, L.** (n.d.) 'Refugees and Right to Information' in *Media Action International*. <http://www/mediaaction.org> consulted November 2002.
- HOLTZMAN, S.** (1997) 'Conflict-Induced Displacement Through a Development Lens', paper prepared for Brookings.
- IDRISS, S.** (2002) 'Principles for Conflict Transformation Practitioners and Evaluators'. Unpublished.
- IGNATIEFF, M.** (2001) 'The Attack on Human Rights', *Foreign Affairs*, November/December.
- LEDERACH, J. P.** (1995) *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- (1997) *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- OXFAM** (2002) 'Urgent Aid Needed in Angola Before the Rainy Season', Briefing paper. Luanda: Oxfam.
- PRONK, J.** (1996) 'Development in Conflict', proceedings of the conference on *Healing the Wounds: Refugees, Reconstruction and Reconciliation*. Princeton, University of Princeton.
- SCHENKENBERG VAN MIEROP, E.** (2001) 'Improving the Quality of Humanitarian Response', Seminar Proceedings, *Response Strategies of the Internally Displaced: Changing the Humanitarian Lens*. Oslo: Norwegian Refugee Council.
- SEN, A.** (1999) *Development as Freedom*. New York: Anchor Books.
- TEPPERMAN, J.** (2002) 'Truth and Consequences', *Foreign Affairs*, March/April.
- UNITED NATIONS OFFICE FOR THE COORDINATION OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS** (UNOCHA) (1999) *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*. New York: OCHA.
- (2002a) *Bridging Request: Humanitarian Operations in Angola*. Luanda: OCHA.
- (2002b) *Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal 2003*. New York: OCHA.

- UTTERWULGHE, S.** (2001) 'Isto Tambem Acontece em Angola: Deslocados Solucionam Conflitos', *Jornal de Angola* 2–4 August, Luanda.
- (2002a) 'Angolan IDPs Resolving Conflicts', *Forced Migration Review* **12**.
- (2002b) 'Conflict Resolution and Human Rights: An Unavoidable Love–Hate Relationship', response prepared for *Human Rights Dialogue*, Winter edition. New York: Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs.
- ZARTMAN, W.** (2000) 'African Traditional Conflict Medicine' in Zartman, W. (ed.) *Traditional Cures for Modern Conflicts: African Conflict 'Medicine'*. Colorado, Lynne Rienner.

MS received December 2002; revised MS received August 2003