UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

BUILDING HUMAN SECURITY IN ITURI PROVINCE, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

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DECLARATION

I John Mwesigwa Mugisa declare that

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To everyone related to me by blood.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved daughter Kansime K. Mugisa

"oMugisa muyaghe, nobw' okinga gutaha."

John M. Mugisa

ABSTRACT

Armed conflict in Ituri since 1996 to the present day has resulted in the widespread and severe violation of human rights that include massive killings, rape, torture, mutilation and property destruction that has infringed peace and security in the province. Many studies on Ituri armed conflict point out land, minerals and identity as underlying causes of this social breakdown that lead to continued insecurity in Ituri. While acknowledging that there are many things that threaten the lives of individuals in times of war, this study focuses exclusively on the perceptions of the people from Ituri about the meaning and threats to peace and security as well as building human security in the province.

To investigate these perceptions, I use the concept of human security which is a new way of thinking about peace and security. Although, this concept has a broad meaning, I mostly focus on its components that promote the protection of civilians against severe and widespread threats and as a people-centred approach, it advocates for the responsibility to protect civilians by their governments and the international community while the latter is given the full mandate by the UN, through its Security Council to intervene in countries whereby, governments are the perpetrators of violence on its own civilians or whereby governments are unable to contain violence perpetrated by warring fractions on innocent civilians and causing the displacement of millions from their home.

I used a qualitative approach that sought to obtain as many as possible the views of participants which in turn were described thoroughfully so as to obtain patterns and themes that explain exactly what participants think is the meaning of peace and security and what could be the possible threats that make them feel insecure. To reach my goal, I used participant observation, focus group and semi-structured interview methods. 105 participants were selected randomly to participate in the research, that is, 94 in focus groups and 11 in semi-structured interviews. An additional 31 participants were also interviewed in Johannesburg to validate the data collected previously. Content analysis was used to analyse data.

The study finds that there are various meanings to security and that threats to peace and security depend on the kind of meanings that people from Ituri perceive to be the meaning of security. The meaning of security depends on the context in which people live. Both victims and perpetrators 'should' work towards the achievement of peace and security. From the findings, it was concluded that the international community should not play both arsonist and fireman roles, rather engaging honestly and sincerely in building peace and security in the province of Ituri. This may lead to sustainable peace and security in the province.

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

ABBEVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AA: Assistance Agencies

AAA: Agro-Action Allemande

ADC: Assistance to Demobilised Child-soldiers

ADF: Allied Democratic Forces

AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

AMAB: Association des Mamans AntiBwaki

APC: Armée Populaire Congolais (Congolese Popular Army)

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

BTC: Belgium Technical Cooperation

CAT: Committee Against Torture

CECA: Communauté Evangélique au Centre de L'Afrique

CEDEPAZ: Corporación para el Desarrollo y la PAZ

CEMADEF: Centre d'Emancipation pour le Development de la Femme

CHS: Commission on Human Security

CICISS: The Canadian International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty

CICS: Centre for International Cooperation and Security

COOPI: Cooperazione Internationale (Italian NGO)

CRC: Centre de Resolution des Conflicts (Centre for Conflict Resolution)

CRMWTF: Convention on the Rights of Migrant Workers and Their Families

DCAU: Development and Cultural Association Union

DDR: Disarmament, Demobilisation and Re-integration

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

DSS: Demographic Surveillance System

FAPC: Forces Armées du Peuple Congolais

FAR: Forces Armées Rwandaises (Rwandan Army Forces)

FDLR: Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Rwanda

FEC: Fédération des Entreprises du Congo (Congolese Enterprises Federation)

FG: Focus Groups

FIPI: Front pour l'Intégration et Paix en Ituri

FLC: Forces de Libération du Congo (Congolese Liberation Forces)

FPDC: Front Populaire pour la Démocracie au Congo

FNI: Front des Nationalists et Intégrationistes

FOMI: Forum des Mamans de l'Ituri (Iturian Mothers Forum)

FPRC: Forces Patriotiques de Résistance en Ituri

FRPI: Front Révolutionnaire pour l'Integration et la Paix en Ituri

FVW: Fight against Violence made on Women

HDR: Human Development Report

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

HRW: Human Rights Watch

HS: Human Security

HSB: Human Security Briefs

LRM: Local Resistance Movement

ICC: International Criminal Court

ICCPR: International Covenant on Civil and political Rights

ICEDAW: International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination
         Against Women

ICERD: International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial
       Discrimination

ICESCR: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

ICG: International Crisis Group

ICRC: International Committee of the Red Cross

IDP: Internally Displaced Persons

IPRI: The International Peace Research Institute

IRC: International Rescue Committee

IRIN: International Resource Network

IUD: Intra-Uterine Device

JPRSD: Journal of Peace Research and Security Dialogue

LC: Local Community

LRA: Lord's Resistance Army

MLC: Mouvement pour la Libération du Congo (Movement for the Liberation of Congo)

MONUC: Mission des Nations Unies au Congo (United Nations Mission in Congo)

MPLA: The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

NU*DIST: Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing, Searching and Theory-building

OCSI: The Office of Civil Society of Ituri

OEIL: Organisation, Evangelisation, Intercession and Liberation

OR: Oliver Reginald (Tambo) International Airport (Johannesburg)

PEC: Ecological Patch

PHCPP: The Primary Health Care Promotion Programme

PMMN: The Prevention of Maternal Mortality Network

PSO: Peace Support Operations

PUSIC: Parti pour l'Unité et le Sauvegarde de l'Intégrité du Congo

RADHIT: Réseau des Associations des Droits de l'Homme en Ituri

RAID: Rights and Accountability in Development

RCD: Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocracie

RCD-K: Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocracie (Kisangani)

RCD-ML: Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocracie (Mouvement de Libération)

RCD-N: Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocracie National

REJUSCO: Restoration of Justice in Eastern DRC

RUF: Revolutionary United Front

SSI: Semi-Structured Interviews

SSR: Security Sector Reform

STD: Sexual Transmitted Disease

TB: Tuberculosis

TEHIP: The Tanzania Essential Health Interventions Project

TV: Television

UCDP: University's Conflict Data Programme (Uppsala)

UDHR: Universal Declaration for Human Rights

UPC: Union des Patriotes Congolais (Patriotic Union Front)

UPDF: Ugandan People's Defence Forces

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund

UNITA: The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNSC: United Nations Security Council

VA: Verbal Autopsy

WFP: World Food Programme

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. 1   INTRODUCTION

From 1998 to the present day, the armed conflict in the province of Ituri in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has resulted in the displacement of thousands of people and the death of approximately 70,000 Iturians, many of them dying from malnutrition and disease (Moffett, 2009; International Crisis Group [ICG], 2008 and 2009). The institutions of the Congolese State, including the military and police, remain dysfunctional and unable to provide the vital security of the population in Ituri. The United Nations Security Council Resolution [UNSCR] 1279 of November 30, 1999 authorised the creation of the United Nations Organisation Mission in the DRC, known by its French acronym, [MONUC] with the mandate to implement the Lusaka Cease-fire Agreement of 1999. This agreement aimed to end hostilities among warring parties, organise elections and facilitate the arrest of major war-lords by the International Criminal Court [ICC] in The Hague.

However, the province of Ituri appears stuck in an intractable armed conflict, which is exacerbated by the involvement of Rwandan and Ugandan rebels as well as a few fractions of local militia groups. Various studies on armed conflict in Ituri (Wrong, 2000; Newman and Richmond, 2001; Clark, 2002; Ntalaja, 2002; Kameri-Mbote, 2005 and Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2004) have presented a common conclusion that the conflict in Ituri is intricate, multifaceted and complex and is based on interrelated causes that continue to fuel violence.

This study seeks to understand what security means, in this context, to people in Ituri, using the concept of human security as a theoretical framework. The concept, as presented in the United Nations Development Programmeøs [UNDP] *Human Development Report,* 1994 and subsequent works, promotes the protection of civilians against severe and widespread threats. It is a people-centred approach which recognises that lasting stability cannot be achieved until people are protected from threats to their rights, safety, dignity, well-being and livelihood (Behringer, 2003;

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Buzan, 2004; Kapuy, 2004; Paris, 2004; Cock, 2006; Shusterman, 2006). It advocates for the protection of civilians by their governments and the international community at large and provides the conceptual blocks to build sustainable livelihoods (Pottier, 2003; 2004 and 2006; Boshoff and Vircoulon, 2004; and Olsson and Fors, 2004).

Participant observation, semi-structured interviews and focus group methods, under qualitative approach will be used to collect and analyse data. This approach will allow the researcher to draw on the belief that enquiry should be based on õmethodological appropriatenessö as De Vaus (2001) puts it and fieldwork to collect data in the natural setting for optimal understanding of the participantsø views in their own world (Ritchie, 2003).

1.2   CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The province of Ituri is situated in the northern-east part of DRC bordering with Sudan (80 km long) and Uganda (400 km long) (Woudenberg, 2003, p.191). The province covers an area of 66,000 sq. km and has an approximate of 6.5 million inhabitants with a population density approximately 30 inhabitants per square kilometre (Human Rights Watch [WRH], 2003). Ituri is divided into five districts (Aru, Djugu, Irumu, Mahagi and Mambasa). It comprises 18 different ethnic groups, with the Hema and Lendu communities representing 40 per cent of the population (Woudenberg, 2003, p.191). The other major ethnic groups are the Bira, the Alur, the Lugbara, the Nyali, the Ndo-Okebo and the Lese (Lobho, 1971b, Pottier, 2004; Woudenberg, 2003, p.191). The province is rich in gold, coltan, diamonds, timber and oil (Ross, 2004, p.350).

The maps below indicate the location of the province of Ituri and its territories. The striped areas in the map of the district of Ituri 1956 (*Le district de l'Ituri 1956*) situates Hema and Lendu territories, that is, Irumu and Djugu while other ethnic groups are scattered in the whole province.

Figure 1.1 The District of Ituri 1954.

Figure 1.2 Map of the Province of Ituri I

Figure 1.3 Map of the Province of Ituri II
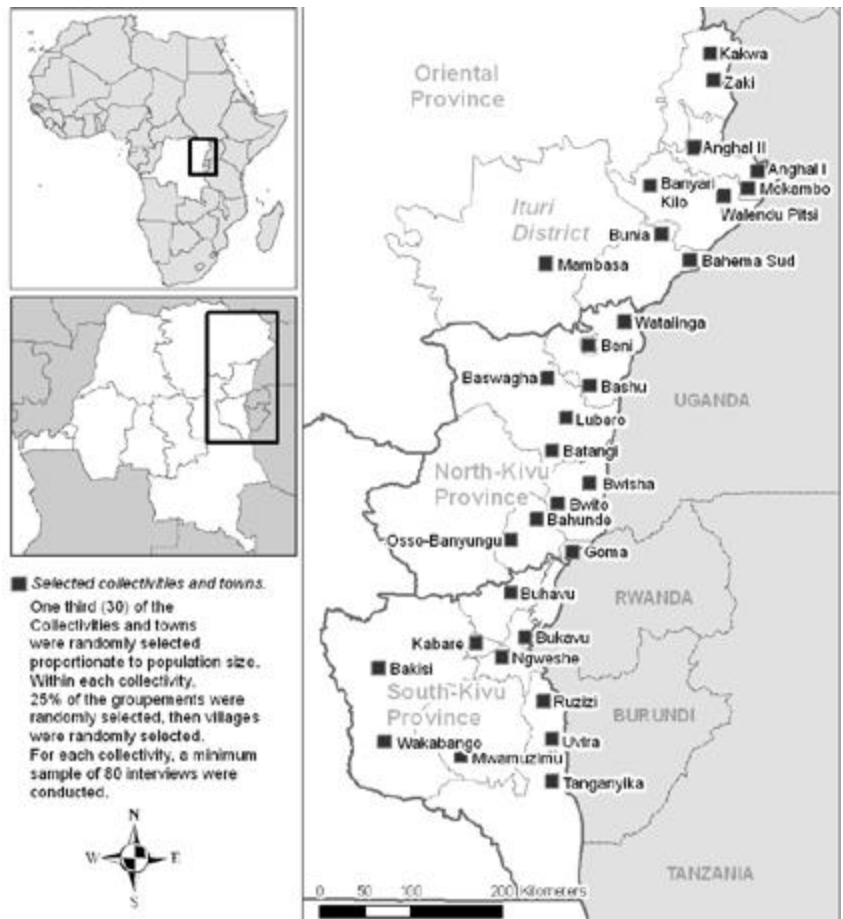
Figure 1.4 Map of DR Congo

Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/congo.html

Source: Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/congo.html

As was mentioned in the introduction, the precursors to DRC's armed conflict are intricate, multifaceted, complex and interrelated. They include local, national, regional and international dimensions. Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers (2004b) argue that "the DRC's predicament can be best explained in terms of its historical relationship with the West, based on political domination and economic exploitation and the pursuit by the West of a consistent and systematic policy of 'balkanisation' or 'divide-and-rule.'" In the words of Kameri-Mbote (2005, p. 1), the causes of war in DRC encompass "external factors such as the superpower competition for political and

ideological influence and competition for natural resources, such as minerals, timber and oil by western multinational corporations.ö Vlassenroot and Huggins (2004, p.1) state that õland exclusion or land ownership was the causes of war in DRC, especially in its north-eastern part (Ituri Province). A number of studies on the war in DRC have also mentioned ÷identityø to be one of the causes of war in DRC. The inability of the government of Kinshasa to manage multi-ethnic societies presented a ripe context for armed conflict to escalate as social and political elites played on the ethnic divisions and prevailing stereotypes (Rights and Accountability in Development [RAID], 2004, pp.6-12; Kameri-Mbote, 2005, p. 3).

Studies like (Wrong, 2000; Pottier, 2003 and 2006) associate the beginning of armed conflict in the DRC with the fall of President Habyarimanaøs regime in July 1994 and subsequent takeover by Rwandan Patriotic Front in Kigali which caused about one million Rwandans to flee to the then Zaire and worsened the security situation in the border areas between the two countries. The Rwandan Army Forces (*Forces Armées Rwandaises [FAR]*) soldiers and the Rwandan Interahamwe militias remained active in the refugee camps, using them (camps) as military bases to destabilise Rwanda and part of eastern Congo (Boya, 2001, p.76). On the north-eastern borders, it was alleged that the actions of the Lordøs Resistance Army [LRA] were, among others, the cause of the incursion of Ugandan forces into the Congo (Karubi, 1999, p.103). During the liberation war of 1996-7, Laurent Désiré Kabila accepted the military assistance of Rwanda and Uganda to overthrow the most vicious military and dictatorship regime of Mobutu Sese Seko Kukungbendu wa Zabanga with the understanding that Kabila would take the opportunity to clean up the FAR, the Interahamwe militias and the LRA (Emzet, 2000, p.168). The alliance between President Kabila and his allies went sour to the extent that he decided to put an end to the military assistance of Rwanda and Uganda. Kabilaøs decision prompted the Rwando-Ugandan coalition to ignite the current conflict, sending back their troops into the eastern part of the DRC to flush out Rwandan and Ugandan rebels (Karubi, 1999, p.103).

As Martin (2005, pp.127-137) puts it, õthe current armed conflict in Ituri province has deep foundations in the long-standing grievances about land between Hema and Lendu ethnic groups.ö The Hema are pastoralists while the Lendu agriculturalists. Both ethnic groups are subdivided into different sub-ethnic groups, that is, northern Hema commonly known as *Gegere*

and southern Hema known as *Bahema Sud*. *Gegere* speak Kilendu and *Bahema Sud* speak Kihema. Southern Lendu or *Ngiti* speak Kingiti (another variety of Kilendu) and northern Lendu or *Bale* speak Kilendu (Pottier, 2006, p.155). Both northern Hema and northern Lendu live in Djugu territory. Southern Hema and southern Lendu live in Irumu territory. There are two other groups of Bahema, commonly known as Bahema Mitego, Bahema Boga who speak Kihema as well whereas another Hema sub-group, notably Bahema Banywagi, many of them speak both Kihema and Kilendu and are located in Djugu territory as the Bale (Pottier, 2006, p.155).

It is generally agreed that the migration of Lendu preceded the arrival of Hema pastoralists in the late seventeenth century. Southall (1954, p. 151) states that õthe earliest Hema chiefs to cross Lake Albert were the Gegere and settled among the Lendu in south-west of Mount Aboro (see the maps of Ituri above). They were recognised as overlords by subsequent Hema groups who joined them.ö On their arrival, these Hema were presumably Bantu speakers and gradually became entirely Lendu in speech. Lobho (1971a, p.90) argues that before the arrival of Hema, Lendu lived in dispersed clans that clashed frequently and violently. He argues that the Lendu had no choice except to recognise the authority of the newcomers who were apparently well organised structurally. Lobho argues that õthe new comers used diplomatic skills to maintain law and order among the Lendu.ö In this matter, the political role of Hema became so enormous that the latter imposed upon on all the Lendu an entire political organisation imported from Bunyoro in Uganda (pp. 90-91). The Hema gradually encroached on Lendu territory and ended up dispossessing the Lendu of part of their domain (Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2004c, p. 389). Soon after, the Hema became known as businessmen of the region and were particularly successful in raising cattle, while the Lendu were relegated to the role of farmers (Pottier, 2006, p.5). Both Hema and Lendu relied on land holdings for their economic well-being and the two groups managed to co-exist peacefully as there was sufficient land for everyone. This relationship changed drastically with the arrival the Belgian colonial power. In this regard, Woudenberg (2003, p.192) states that:

> The Belgian colonial rule aggravated ethnic divisions between Hema and Lendu by trying to organise traditional chieftaincies into more homogeneous groups and by favouring the Hema over the Lendu. The Belgians looked to the Hema as their allies in the region, since the latter exercised political and economic supremacy over the Lendu. This continued

after independence, especially during Mobutuøs reign; the latter confirmed their supremacy in management positions in the farming, mining and local administrative sectors as part of his õZairianisationö policy. This favouritism caused discrepancies of wealth and opportunity that the Hema enjoyed to the expense of the Lendu.

When the Belgians discovered that the highlands of Irumu and Djugu were rich in minerals, to gain access to these, they started weakening the supremacy of the Hema over the Lendu by regrouping the local ethnic communities into administrative centres, thus giving the Lendu the right to self-rule. Thus, Hema and Ngiti chieftaincies were limited to Irumu territory and Gegere and Bale in Djugu territory. To this, the Belgians introduced a system of land registration and private ownership; and vacant land became the property of the state (Pottier, 2006, p. 15; Human Rights Watch [HRW], 2003, p.18 and Woudenberg, 2003, p.192).

The issue of land was only exacerbated after the passage of the 1973 government enactment that made it legal for individuals to buy property that others were already living on. Pottier (2006, p. 155) states that õThe Hema took advantage of DR Congoøs ambiguous Bakajika Land Law (1966) and the General Property Law (1973), which allowed ancestral land to be appropriated by the state functionaries for the purpose of private sale.ö This law was seen by the Lendu as a means for the Hema, who were already financially better off, to usurp Lendu territory in an attempt to expand Hema land holdings. On the other hand, these laws consolidated the Hema economic dominance, leaving the majority Lendu in growing insecurity and poverty. Human Rights Watch (2003, p.18) stresses that this situation led the õHema and the Lendu to fight small battles on several occasions after independence, but customary arbitration, backed by the Congolese government, contained the incidents.ö These battles happened in 1962, 1965, 1975, 1983 and 1984 and 1997.

The present conflict began in June 1999 when a small number of Hema allegedly attempted to bribe local authorities into modifying land ownership registers in their favour in the area of Walendu Pitsi in the territory of Djugu in Ituri (Human Rights Watch, 2003, p.18), using false papers to evict Lendu inhabitants from the land. The Lendu decided to retaliate and violence ensued. In the absence of a strong local authority, the incident quickly turned into a confrontation between the two communities (Woudenberg, 2003, p. 192). As the state authority was already

weakened by the throes of war in 1996 and 1998 and in the absence of traditional structures which used to regulate tensions through customary arbitration, the Lendu resorted to setting up their own village defence groups against any Hema attempt to acquire their land fraudulently. The conflict between the two groups spread, and each group turned to propaganda and myths to justify its cause.

The conflict in Ituri may have remained a land dispute, restricted to these two ethnic groups, if not for the vast natural resources present in the region. The region is rich in gold, diamonds, coltan, timber, and coffee and, recently, the discovery of oil. Competition for these resources, involving outsiders, added to the land disputes and spawned increasing numbers of ethnically-based militias, as well as troops from Rwanda, Uganda, Chad and Zimbabwe.

The Uganda People's Defence Force [UPDF] occupied Ituri at the onset of DRC's Second War (August 1998), which was several months before the first Hema–Lendu clashes over land. At that point, Uganda worked alongside Rwanda and supported the Rwanda-backed rebellion of the Congolese Allies for Democracy (*Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie*, [RCD]). The UPDF had also occupied Ituri during the First War (1996-7) when Uganda allied to Rwanda to back Laurent Kabila to Oust Mobutu Sese Seko (Pottier, 2003, p.2).

However, as the =coalition principleø honoured in the First War between Rwanda and Uganda no longer held by late 1998. Uganda cut off its ties with Rwanda. Consequently, the RCD movement split, that is, the RCD-Goma supported by Rwanda and RCD-ML, Liberation Movement (*Mouvement de Libération*, [ML]), a faction headed by Wamba dia Wamba and supported by Uganda and set up its headquarters in Bunia, Ituri's capital. As the skirmishes over land increased in the remote areas of Djugu territory, Uganda's opportunistic army commanders sided increasingly with elite Hema (Human Rights, 2003) and as the conflict progressed, individual UPDF officers began õsiding with Hema and Lendu militias at the same time providing both ethnic groups with the arms and ammunition needed to secure their private trade in diamonds, gold and other precious resourcesö (Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2004a, p. 401). Tensions between the two groups were fuelled when the Ugandan General Kazini appointed a Gegere subject, Adele Lotsove, as Ituri's governor. By the end of 1999, the death toll stood at

7,000 with some 180,000 villagers, Hema and Lendu, displaced from their homes (Geldenhuys, 2000; Seybolt, 2000 and Crasshaw, 2006). A few months after, Wamba dia Wamba sacked Lotsove, replacing her with an Alur governor, Urungi Padolo. Individual UPDF commanders supplied ammunition to the belligerents in the meanwhile continuing to buy gold and timber concessions with the help of prominent Hema businessmen (Pottier, 2004). Ituri became polarized as various ethnic communities that until 1999 had lived together peacefully were pulled apart by the hatred propaganda. In January 2001, Mbusa Nyamwisi (a Nande by ethnicity) and John Tibasima (a Hema) plotted the downfall of Wamba dia Wamba; resulting in the violence spreading to Bunia and throughout Irumu territory (Pottier, 2003). During that time, a complex mosaic of alliance emerged as the Lendu-Ngiti combatants formed an alliance with Mbusa's Congolese Popular Army (*Armée Populaire Congolais,* [APC]) as well as with Mayi-Mayi (Local Resistance Movement [LRM]) and former Mobutu soldiers (*Forces Armées Zairoises* [FAZ]), and attacked Nyankunde village, killing mainly Hema and Bira (Mwepu, 2006, p.5). A few days after, the Hema and Bira retaliated in an attack that left 150 Lendu dead in Songolo. Lendu combatants retaliated with mass murder in Bunia, possibly assisted by Rwandan Interahamwe and Ugandan Allied Democratic Forces [ADF] rebels (Bwire, 2004, 2). Shortly after, Ngiti fighters nicknamed the Cubans (*les Cubains*) entered Bunia from the south, while a Lendu militia, nicknamed les *Tupamaros*, attacked Mwanga and Solenyama, two Bira villages north of Bunia where many Hema also lived. In these attacks, 118 Hema were massacred. Pottier (2006, p. 158) states that "the attack of January 2001 bore the hallmark of a concerted -ethnic cleansing' operation against Hema." According to many war news reporters, Wamba dia Wamba stood accused of fuelling anti-Hema sentiment and as a result, lost his grip the following month, when Jean-Pierre Bemba, president of Congolese Liberation Movement (*Mouvement pour la Libération du Congo*, [MLC]) rebel movement and president of the newly formed Congo Liberation Front (*Front pour la Liberation du Congo*, [FLC]), arrived in Bunia with instructions from Museveni and within a few weeks, Bemba removed Wamba and appointed Mbusa as head of the Ituri administration and declared the war over (Integrated Regional Information Network [IRIN], 2005, pp.1-2).

However, a few months later, Mbusa turned against Tibasima and pushed him out of the region and took control of RCD-ML, which he renamed RCD-K [Kisangani]-ML. This setback made

Bemba pull out of central Ituri to resume his own war against the Kinshasa government. Reacting to Mbusaøs betrayal, Museveni sent troops and tanks into Bunia in early 2002, causing Mbusa to flee to Beni. Mbusa then turned to Kinshasa for arms. This opportunistic rapprochement with Kinshasa caused Hema hardliners to launch the Congolese Patriots Union (*Union des Patriotes Congolais*, UPC), led by Thomas Lubanga (Woudenberg, 2003, p.197). By mid-2002, with the Ugandan army openly supporting Lubangaøs UPC, the civil war escalated. In a matter of weeks, thousands of civilians perished. Buniaøs Lendu/Ngiti population fled the town while tens of thousands of displaced Hema filed in to occupy abandoned homes, especially in Mudzi-Pela (Human Rights Watch, 2003). In August 2002, as he seized Bunia, Lubanga launched a pogrom that rested on a virulent racist discourse separating the autochthonous (les *originaires,* defined as South Hema and Gegere) from the non-autochthonous people (les *non-originaires,* especially Lendu, Ngiti, Bira and Nande). It was a death sentence for many *non-originaires*. The UPC also seized strategic points like Mahagi and Tchomia (Human Rights Watch, 2003). As the level of persecution and outright murder was unacceptable to many non-Gegere, leaders like Chief Kahwa Mandro (a Hema South) began to distance themselves from Lubanga. In Kahwaøs case, however, the split was not irreparable. At the onset of Lubangaøs terror regime, the UPC attacked Songolo again, killing many Lendu/Ngiti civilians. To avenge the atrocities, Mbusaøs troops and allied Lendu/Ngiti combatants attacked Nyankunde again in September 2002, massacring 1,200 Hema, Gegere and Bira civilians (Human Rights Watch, 2003, p. 30). The attackers regarded Bira as allied to Hema, which was the case in and around Nyankunde. Bira, however, were by now also being hunted down by the UPC, especially in Bunia where they faced extermination as non-autochthonous people.

It is worth noting that since the outbreak of the violence, there have been a number of peace agreements calling warring parties to end hostilities. Despite this calling, some militia groups are still active in the region and attack civilians sporadically while many of them have converted into political parties.

The following Table 1.1 describes some of the militia groups which committed severe and widespread atrocities to civilians in Ituri. They are classified according to the role they played in the province.

TABLE 1.1

THE ARMED MILITIA GROUPS OPERATING IN ITURI (1999-2009)

ARMED CONFLICT	ETHNIC GROUP	LEADER	YEAR OF CREATION	MOTIVATION
UPC (Union of Congolese Patriots)	Hema/Gegere	Thomas Lubanga	August 2002	Launched to promote reconciliation, it quickly became a predominately Gegere-led political party intent on promoting the interests of the Hema and related Gegere. It came to power in Bunia in August 2002 with the help of the Ugandans and used Hema militia as part of its armed forces. It turned to Rwanda for support and formed an alliance with the Rwandan backed RCD-Goma after being excluded by the RCD-ML and the MLC from the Mambasa ceasefire talks in December 2002. Having turned from Uganda politically, the UPC was ousted from Bunia in March 2003 but fought its way back into town in May.
FIPI (Front for Integration and Peace in Ituri	Platform of three ethnic-based parties: Hema, Lendu and Alur	Jean Pierre Bemba	December 2002	Created in December 2002 with Ugandan support, the three ethnically-based political parties (PUSIC, FNI and FPDC) shared the objective of getting rid of the UPC. Otherwise FIPI had no apparent programme. The group included Hema dissatisfied with the UPC, Lendu and Alur, each with its own political party. After the UPC was forced from Bunia, the parties began squabbling and the coalition Collapsed.
PUSIC (Party for Unity and Safeguarding of the Integrity of Congo)	Hema dissatisfied with the UPC	Chief Kawa Mandro	February 2003	Former UPC member Chief Kahwa Mandro created PUSIC in early February 2003. Most members were Hema from South. Uganda supported the party as part of the FIPI coalition. Chief Kahwa was backed briefly by Rwandans when he was in the UPC, but claimed that PUSIC had no such support and was more interested in working with Kinshasa. PUSIC may have allied with the UPC against the Lendu in Bunia in May 2003; if so, this alliance of convenience would be tenuous and probably short-lived.

				PUSIC continued close links with Ugandan Authorities.
FPDC (Popular Force for Democracy in Congo)	Alur and Lubgara	Thomas Unen Chan	Late 2002	FPDC (led by Unen Chan) was created in late 2002 mostly by Alur and Lugbara from Aru and Mahagi territories, north Ituri, to counter the UPC. FPDC was much interested in dialogue, but was recruiting and training its own militias. In case dialogue fails, it was prepared to fight. It was supported by Uganda as part of the FIPI coalition and it appeared to have close ties with former Ugandan army Col. Peter Karim, an Alur from Uganda.
FNI (Front for National Integration)	Lendu	Floribert Njabu Ngabu	Early 2003	FNI was created by Lendu Intellectuals and traditional Chiefs and largely by Lendu communities with the aim to resist UPC. Supported by Uganda as part of the FIPI coalition, it joined the Ugandan army in driving the UPC from Bunia on March 6, 2003, for which some of its members were publicly thanked by Brigadier Kayihura in April. FNI had also benefited from military training and support from the RCD-ML and, through it, from the Government of Kinshasa.
PFRI (Patriotic Force of Resistance in Ituri)	Lendu/Ngiti	Dr. Adirodu	November 2002	Launched in November 2002, the Ngiti party PFRI was said to be closely linked to the Lendu party FNI. It was meant to bring together Ngiti militias with traditional leaders in a single force against the UPC. Based in Beni and said to number 9,000 combatants. The PFRI had close ties to the RCD-ML of Mbusa Nyamwisi, from which it received both training and arms. It joined the Ugandans in driving the UPC from Bunia in March 2003 and together with the FNI briefly controlled Bunia in May 2003.
FAPC (People's Armed Forces of Congo)	Mixed	Commander Jerome Kakwavu Bakonde	March 2003	Commander Jerome established FAPC in March 2003 and was based in Aru and Mahagi territories. Jerome changed allegiances several times, moving from the RCD-ML, to RCD-

				N, to UPC and to the Ugandans His group obtained support from Ugandans to control Bunia prior to the start of the withdrawal of Ugandans forces. Other forces objected the Ugandan decision and Commander Jerome returned to Aru. A mutiny occurred in his ranks in May 2003 which was alleged to put down with Ugandan support. Jerome was reportedly a Banyarwanda from North Kivu. Assistance from external actors was a motif to prompt dissidents in a group to hive off and form their own organization as Chief Kahwa did. However, external actors also promoted coalitions, including those across ethnic lines like FIPI group which included Hema, Lendu and Alur political groups.
RCD-ML (Congolese Rally for Democracy-Liberation Movement)	Mixed	Prof. Wamba dia Wamba, then Mbusa Nyamwisi	September 1999	Also known as RCD-Kisangani, the RCD-ML was launched in September 1999 in Kampala when Wamba dia Wamba split from the RCD-Goma. Backed at the start by Uganda, the RCD-ML was fractured by leadership struggles and in-fighting. Mbusa Nyamwisi took power after ousting Wamba dia Wamba. The RCD-MLøs military wing was the Congolese Popular Army (APC). The RCD-ML entered into the Sun City agreement of April 2002 and its soldiers were trained by Kinshasa.
MLC (Movement for Liberation of Congo)	Mixed	Jean Pierre Bemba	1998	Based in Gbadolite, the MLC was also backed by Uganda since the start of the Second Congo War in 1998. RCD-ML occupied Ituri twice in 2001. Jean Pierre Bemba was nominally controlling the short-lived FPC coalition of Uganda-backed rebel groups. In 2002, the MLC attacked Mambasa in western Ituri but were forced back by the APC of Mbusa Nyamwisi. The MLC has occasionally fought alongside the UPC and has been a rival of Mbusaøs RCD-ML.

| RCD-N (Congolese Rally for Democracy-National) | Mixed | Roger Lumbala | Late 2001 | RCD-N was first based in Bafwasende before it moved to Watcha in northern Ituri. It was operating as a front organization for the Ugandans in exploiting diamonds and gold. In 2001 and 2002, RCD-N supported MLC attempts to win resource-rich areas from RCD-ML. RCD-N had few soldiers and was relying on the MLC army for its operations. |

Source: Woudenberg (2003, p. 193-9)

1.3   RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Till today, unequal land access and unfair sharing of revenues from the exploitation of natural resources are still not resolved. The absence of inter-community reconciliation and persistent impunity on the account of war-lords are strengthening the fragile peace processes that are taking place. The disarmament of the remaining armed groups which are still operating in remote areas and the recovery of many weapons that some ethnic groups are still holding will not be achieved if there is no trust between local communities. These events coupled with local coming elections in 2011 risk of triggering renewed violence which would õsignify the failure of peace process that has very much been to the advantage of war-lords and has failed to bring true benefit to the victims of the conflict in Ituriö (ICG, 2008). The current situation in Ituri demonstrate that there a greater need to unite national, regional and international efforts in order to consolidate human security in the province. It is in this essence that this study finds its strengths as a contributing factor to security and peace building in Ituri. This study focuses on the perspective that local people have with regard to ending rampant violence and insecurity in their province.

1.3.1   Why study Ituri armed conflict?

Until recently, the conflict in Ituri has been largely ignored by the international community. Despite the number of battle-related deaths, little attention has been given to Ituri compared, for example, with Darfur. Ituri was described as the forgotten war, one of its bloodiest corners (Woudenberg, 2003). As one witness reported:

"I hid in the mountains and went back down to Songolo at about 3:00 p.m. I saw many people killed and even saw traces of blood where people had been dragged. I counted 82 bodies most of whom had been killed by bullets. We did a survey and found that 787 people were missing – we presumed they were all dead though we don't know. Some of the bodies were in the road, others in the forest. Three people were even killed by mines. Those who attacked knew the town and posted themselves on the footpaths to kill people as they were fleeing" (Human Rights Watch, 2003, p.1).

Despite evidence to the contrary, some United Nations [UN] member states and UN officials viewed Ituri as merely a "tribal war," unrelated to the broader war in the DRC (Mwepu, 2006, p 1-4). Between 1999 and April 2003, MONUC had only a small team of fewer than ten observers covering this volatile area of some 4.2 million people. MONUC forces were increased to several hundred in April 2003, but they had no capability to protect thousands of civilians who fled to them for protection when fighting again broke out between opposing militia groups in early May (Human Rights watch, 2003). At the same time, the UN News Service continued to publish reports, such as "the current violence in the eastern DRC is part of one of the bloodiest conflicts the world has ever seen since World War II. Nearly four million people are reported to have died in the last six years, the vast majority of them civilians" (Gambino, 2008, p.8).

It was not until March 2007, when one of the Ituri War-lords (Thomas Lubanga) was arrested and transferred to the ICC in The Hague to face charges of massive savagery, (including mass rape, assassinations, plunder, arson, mutilations, decapitations and even summary executions of patients in their hospital beds) that Ituri was on the international map (Mwepu, 2006, p.1).

1.3.2   Why study the views of ordinary people?

As we have seen, the needs and interests of contending groups over scarce land between farmers and ranchers, and now resource extractors are a basic source of this armed conflict. The proliferation of light weapons in the region makes it almost impossible to control arms supplies to militia groups in Ituri (IRIN, 2005, p.2). In such a situation, it is imperative the views of local people are taken into consideration. Thus, the study focuses on the local population's perspective.

The study of the views and perceptions of local people in conflict zones on peace and security is a new phenomenon. After an extensive literature internet search, only six academic articles (Donini; Minear; Smillie; Baarda and Welch, 2005; Miyazawa, 2005; Sacipa; Ballesteros; Cardozo; Novoa; and Tovar, 2006; Oxfam, 2007; Uvin, 2007 and Vinck; Pham; Baldo and Shigekane, 2008) were found to have reported these views and perceptions. These studies found that although local people appreciate the activities (mostly, the protection of people against severe atrocities) of the international community in the restoration of peace and security, very often the concerns of local people go beyond physical protection which is the major understanding of security by outsiders.

In this regard, it is worth noting that, beside physical protection, peoplesø needs may be wider than traditional (territorial) security which involved the protection of a country against external aggression. Today, many wars are fought internally and result in a heavy death toll on civilians and a massive displacement of millions of others. This study will be investigating the understanding of people from Ituri concerning security.

1.4   OVERALL OBJECTIVE AND SPECIFIC AIMS OF THE STUDY

The overall objective of this study is to examine the relevance of the concept of human security in building peace and security in Ituri province, Democratic Republic of Congo.

As far as specific aims are concerned, this study seeks:

- To determine to which extent various components of human security are relevant to understanding the meaning of security to a sample of Ituri residents.

- To identify the perceived threats to human security in the province.

- To explore perceptions of how human security can be built in Ituri province.

1.5   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the overall objective and specific aims of this study, the following questions were formulated:

-    What do people from Ituri understand by the concept of security?

-    What do people from Ituri see as the main threats to security?

-    How do people in Ituri think that human security can be built?

1.6   DEFINITION AND CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

Concepts can be used interchangeably and terms can have different connotations or meanings, depending on the context in which these terms are used. It is important to provide clear definitions and explanations of the main concepts as they are used in this thesis.

1.6.1   Armed conflict

O∅Connell (2009) states that armed conflicts have as a minimum of two characteristics - the presence of at least one organised group and its engagement in intense armed fighting. Virtually all armed groups are civil wars and can be:

State based conflicts whereby one of the parties is the government and the other party (ies) can be militia(s), guerrilla groups, clans, warlords, or organised communal groups. In a few cases, state based conflicts are internationalised and they involve either government forces and a non-state armed group, or both, receiving external military support from (a) foreign governments. The conflict in DRC can be cited as one illustrative example in recent time (Human Security Briefs [HSB], 2006, p.10 and 2007, pp.32-35).

Non-State based conflicts involve belligerents who are non-governmental. In these kinds of conflict, wars are fought between militias (DRC), rival guerrilla groups (Sudan, between Janjaweed and MPLA), clans (Somalia), etc. most often these groups fight over the control of natural resources in terms of minerals or oil and scarcity of grazing land. Traditionally, this kind of conflict is fought between agriculturalists and pastoralists and tends to occur in collapsed States or countries with weak governments that have little capacity to maintain order and security within their borders (HSB, 2006, p.18 and 2007, p.36).

One-sided violence is perpetrated against civilians and whereby victims cannot fight back. This kind of conflict is either perpetrated by the government over its own civilians (Serbia, Rwanda and Sudan) or by rebel groups, including militias, war-lords, clans, etc. Genocides and politicides can also be categorised as one-sided violence. In other words, one-sided violence, mostly, involves a campaign of political mass murder that is directed at a particular ethnic group with the intention to exterminate them in whole or in part (HSB, 2006, p.18 and 2007, p.41). The government gets involved in uprooting minority populations that they consider as õothers.ö In many cases, these minority populations are dehumanised to the extent that they are driven away from the country they consider theirs, resulting in killings and mass displacement. In other instances, in failed States, where insurgents or war-lords are dominant, belligerents often ignore the laws of the land; they target a specific ethnic group that they use as weapons of war to achieve their political ambitions, and in the process, they rape, torture and kill them (Cohen and Dieng, 2009, pp.21-23).

1.6.2 Peace

First, it is worth noting that the term peace is used interchangeably with the term security in Swahili. Informants in this study used one or the other or both at the same time to mean tranquillity, peace of mind, happiness, quietness, security, feeling safe, freedom from fear and freedom from want. Galtung (1969) distinguishes positive and negative peace. Positive peace involves the presence of structures that provide increasing degree of political liberty and social justice. Positive peace has as characteristics democratic principles, good governance and the use of non-violence to resolve conflicts. On the other hand, negative peace is characterised by the

absence of immediate or direct violence. Negative peace is a way of preventing the escalation of conflict into violence. Reardon (1988, p.16) defines peace as the absence of violence in all its forms, that is physical, social, psychological and structural. In this regard, Uvin (2007, p.41) argues that õReardonøs definition of peace is very close to Leaningøs (2004) definition of human security that is the social, psychological, political and economic factors that promote and protect human well-being through time.ö

1.6.3 Peacebuilding

Security at personal, institutional, structural and cultural levels can be realised through preventive peacebuilding (Hudson, 2006; McKay, 2004b). After armed conflict, peacebuilding takes a recovery aspect through demobilisation and disarmament, re-establishment of the rule of law, good governance and economic recovery, etc. In other words, peacebuilding aims to prevent the recurrence of armed conflict. Its activities aspire towards the development of structural conditions with regard to the attitudes and modes of political will that allow peace and security as well as social and economic development to take place in countries ravaged by civil wars.

1.6.4 Human development

The human development approach was first launched in 1990 with the aim of looking closer at the relationship between economic growth and the extension of individual human preferences. The approach wanted to look at individual human preferences and their capabilities to enable the latter to live a kind of life that they value as human beings. Haq defines human development as creating conditions in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive and creative lives in accordance with their needs and interests (1995, p.10). In other words, the most basic capabilities for human development are to live long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living and to be able to participate in the life of the community. These choices should always be available and accessible overt time. It is believed that greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services, more secure livelihoods, security against crime and physical violence, satisfying leisure hours, political and

cultural freedoms and sense of participation in community activities are the fulfilment of human life in dignity (Brachet and Wolpe, 2005, p.5).

1.6.5   Traditional security

Traditional security means security from external aggression. It involves the protection of both the individual and the State against threats from another or other countries. In other words, it involves the safety of individuals from violence or crimes, religious peace of mind, and financial measures to sustain a certain standard of living or the physical protection from external threats, in other words, the survival of individuals or the well-being of citizens and the preservation of political, and territorial integrity or the protection of sovereignty and political status (Shinoda, 2004, p. 6; Azar & Moon, (1984, p. 108).

1.6.6   Human security

The concept of human security received its first and most familiar definition by the United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] *Report* of 1994. According to the *Report,* human security is defined as a practice that seeks to extend the variety of individualøs choice. In other words, human security means that individuals can be in safe hands and have a variety of items so that they can be able to choose what they like. It means that individuals can be pretty self-assured that, for instance, the prospects they have chosen today will not be utterly lost tomorrow (p.23). In other words, individuals should have both means in terms of resources and easy accessibility to what they want at all times (freedom from want). This means that if given the opportunities to meet their most crucial wants and earn their own living, individuals will set themselves free and ensure that they can make a full contribution to develop themselves as individuals and their local communities and finally their countries and the world (p.24).

Contrary to traditional security whose referent is the state, human security is people centred ó individuals should be at the centre of security rather than the Stateøs protection against external aggression. The nuance behind the concept of human security puts at the centre the forgotten, but legitimate concerns of ordinary people. For many of them, security symbolises protection from

threat of physical injury, disease, malnutrition, hunger, social conflict, environmental hazards and so on (freedom from fear).

The 1994 UNDP *Report* argues that human security requires the attenuation of a wide range of threats to people. The document groups these threats under several components that are economic security that assures every individual a minimum of basic income, food security that guarantees individuals physical and economic access to basic food, health security that provides a minimum protection from disease and unhealthy lifestyle, environmental security that protects people from the short or long natural calamities or man-made threats, personal security that involves the protection of individuals from physical violence and community security which refers to the protection of individuals from loss of traditional relationships, and values and from sectarian and ethnic violence and finally political security that assures individuals the respect of human rights (pp.23-24).

1.7   OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

Chapter one provides a context for the study and presents the overall objective, specific aims and research questions.

Chapter two reviews the literature on human security. It explains the concept and contrasts it with traditional security concerns. It pinpoints the strengths and weaknesses of the concept and identifies the gaps in literature. This chapter also describes the link between the concept of human security to other themes, such as human development and peace building and finally discusses whether or not the concept of human security can be applied as a theoretical framework. .

Chapter three describes the research methodology. The nature of qualitative inquiry and the interpretive approach are presented as well as the strengths and weaknesses of specific research methods that are used in this research. The challenges encountered when researching in a war zone are described and the implications for data collection and data analysis are discussed. And lastly, issues regarding validation and ethical consideration pertaining to this study are discussed.

Chapter four explains in detail the researcher's field trip, starting from transport and challenges encountered on the way to the recruitment of participants. The socio-demographic characteristics of the participants are presented.

The next three chapters present the findings from the primary data collection. Chapter five presents and discusses one section of the findings with regards to the meaning of security to a sample of people from Ituri. Chapter six presents data about perceived threats to human security, according to people in Ituri. Chapter seven examines the responses of Ituri people to questions about ways of building human security in the province.

Chapter eight highlights the differences and similarities in opinions on the understanding of the meaning of security to ordinary people. The chapter looks at the two sets of responses and finds that although there are close similarities, the context plays a big role with regard to the meaning of security. People perceived security according to their way of living on daily basis.

Chapter nine gives the summary of the main conclusions of the study and the implications of the findings in terms of some thoughts on policy. The chapter shows how the concept of human security resonates in the responses of the people of Ituri as they confirm that its components are relevant to the understanding of the meaning of security. The chapter demonstrate that there is consistency among participants that there is no one and unique meaning of security universally. Data collected in this study from ordinary people from Ituri and Johannesburg generally confirm what previous researches (see section 2.8) have found with regard to the meaning of security.

CHAPTER TWO

**LITERATURE REVIEW: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT
OF HUMAN SECURITY**

2.1   INTRODUCTION

In the aftermath of the Cold War and the dramatic increase in globalisation, the concept of human security has moved away from being a state-centric business concerned with power and sovereignty toward a new paradigm which concerns itself with human life and dignity. Environmental issues and intra-state violence are now increasingly seen as global threats that need to be addressed. For many years, the concept of security has been interpreted as the protection of national territory from external aggression. It has been acknowledged now that many states, instead of protecting their citizens, have often used military forces to deny citizens their rights and to entrench their hold on power. Consequently, in many Third World countries, only a small percentage of the population enjoy a good life while the majority are subjected to abject poverty, malnutrition and disease. In addition to these challenges, violent conflicts have killed thousands and displaced millions of people from their homes. To address these security challenges, scholars and policy-makers have come up with the concept of ―human security.‖

The first section of this chapter introduces the concept of security and section two discusses how the concept of security has been interpreted since the 1980s. Section three defines the concept and explores several implications of the increasing global interests in the concept. Section four highlights the key contributions of some major references, such as the UNDP (1994), Abrahamsen, (2000), the Commission on Human Security [CHS] (2003) and Mack (2005). Section five discusses the links between human security and themes, notably human development and peacebuilding. The next section discusses findings on the meaning of peace and security for ordinary people and the last section before the conclusion responds to the question of whether or not the concept of human security can be applied as a theoretical framework.

This chapter identifies the purpose and the possibility of the concept of human security beyond superficial debates such as: does human security renovate the traditional security paradigm or is it too idealistic to discuss human security? This chapter looks also at the aim, the objective, the characteristics and the relevance of human security. In doing so, this allows the researcher to identify the gaps in the literature and make suggestions and comments on them.

2.2   THE CONCEPT OF SECURITY IN THE 1980s

Before the 1980s, apart from the concept of military security, the term security received very little attention in the academic field and policy-making. Buzan (1983, p.1) recognised that before the 1980s, the concept of security was an underdeveloped and contested concept. Buzan states that:

> An underdeveloped concept of security constitutes a substantial barrier to understand the problems of security whereas a more fully developed and expanded concept can lead to constructive redefinitions of the problems which are power and peace.

Buzan (1983, pp.3-15) suggested five possible explanations for the underdevelopment of the concept of security at that time. First of all, the concept seemed difficult. Secondly, there was confusion between the terms "security" and "power" that needed to be clarified. Thirdly, there was a decided lack of interest from various critics of realism and fourthly, scholars were too busy keeping up with developments in technology and policies rather than focusing on security issues. However, Baldwin stated that none of Buzan's explanations were convincing. Rather he asserted that scholars were more interested in military statecraft (1987, p.9). Furthermore, Ayoob explained that Buzan's concept of security was based upon two major assumptions, namely:

> Most threats to a state's security were coming from outside its borders and these threats were primarily, if not exclusively, military in nature and usually required a military response if the security of the target state was to be preserved (1995, p.35).

The Brandt Commission (1980, pp.24-5) called for a concept of security which would transcend the narrow notions of military defence and be defined by conditions conducive to peaceful

relations. The commission also ascertained that non-military threats could be more dangerous than military ones.

2.2.1 Military security

Since the onset of the Cold War in the late 1940s till its end in the late 1980s, the term security was defined in military terms. Scholars focused their research on the military dangers rather than non-military ones. In this regard, Armitav *et al.* (2006, p.45) state that in order to solve conflicts between states, õpolitical leaders resorted to a military way out from war, rather than the use of non-militaristic means.ö Furthermore, they mention that õthis conceptualisation of security was misleading and caused states to concentrate on military threats and ignore other and perhaps even more harmful dangers.ö Instead of curbing threats, it contributed to a pervasive militarisation of international relations, they added. Today, issues such as human rights, the global market, the environmental climate change or global warming, drug and human trafficking, epidemics or communicable diseases, organised crime, armed conflicts or social injustices constitute more pervasive threats than military ones (Baldwin and Webel, 1997; Axworthy, 2001; Barash and Webel, 2002; McKay, 2004a; Betts and Eagleton-Pierce, 2005; Ponzio, 2005; Miller, 2001 and Roberts, 2006). Many of these threats, in many cases, are not external; rather they occur within a state.

Since the early 1980s, there have been several attempts to expand the idea of security from its original Western dimension to include not only territory, but also basic needs such as nutrition, primary health, income or shelter, the lack of which threaten human beings (Paris, 2001; Bellamy and McDonald, 2002; Roberts, 2006).

Furthermore, the Carnegie Corporation (1997, p.70) identifies nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction; the possibility of conventional confrontation between militaries; and internal violence, such as terrorism, organised crime, insurgency, and repressive regime as the main sources of global insecurity. It is essential to recognise that insecurity is largely a non-territorial matter. In thinking along these lines, Buzan (1987, p.1) stated that õalthough designed to make the state feel secure, military means serve that end only by raising statesø fears of each other,

especially with the rise of mass destructive weapons.ö This attitude is well illustrated by the Cold War that existed between the US and the USSR for much of the 1970s and 80s.

In the middle of the spectrum, Mangold (1990, p.70) states that õmilitary means were reoriented around the principle that adversaries must achieve security with rather than against, that there can be no genuine security unless it is equal for all and comprehensive.ö Mangoldøs statement introduces the idea of common security that will be discussed in more detail below.

2.2.2 Common security

Mangold (1990, p.70) states that references to common security occurred during the first debates on the control of nuclear weapons, but only in the 1980s was the concept given any attention by scholars and practitioners. In this regard, the term ±common securityø was coined for the first time by Egon Barr and later on was promulgated in the Palme Commissionøs 1982 report *Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival*. Its main message was that:

> Security under conditions of anarchy and high levels of weaponry required joint self-control and suitable approval of the realities of the nuclear epoch in the absence of which the quest for security can cause intensified antagonism and more edgy political relations and, at the end of the day, a cutback in security for all concerned (1982, p.138).

The idea behind this was that security could be attained only by common action (pp.5-9). It is worth noting that common security offered a way out of the fear of deterrence by creating confidence-building between states (Mangold, 1990, p.71).

In the 1980s, there was a growing number of references to common security, such as security partnership, mutual security, reciprocal security or cooperative security) that were used in political statements as well as in the academic literature (Moller, 2000).

However, Vayrynen (1985, p.18) argues that these terms did not match any meticulous academic analysis of the implications of the concept. Thus, common security was perceived to be a little more than a singular case in point of cooperation between antagonist states. For the Palme Commission, common security did not automatically entail any broader notion of security. Thus,

in common security, the state remained the referent object of security and the focus remained on threats from other states (Palme Commission, 1982).

However, õother proponents of common security have sought to subsume very broad panoply of proposals under common security as an umbrella concept encompassing collective security, disarmament, and the like, and being almost tantamount to a implicit rejection of international conflictö (Moller, 2000, p, 35). For Tow *et al.*, such advocacies have typically also emphasised the need for broader concepts of security, which should include for example the Third World development and ecological security (2000).

2.2.3   Collective security

Moller (2000, p.6) notes that collective security was an additional component to the long-established concept of security, which has existed for decades and attracted attention in the post-Cold War epoch. õCollective security was both more and less radical than some versions of common security,ö he adds. In this essence, Butfoy (1993, pp.498-500) explains that:

> It was less radical in the sense of being conceived as a counter to the traditional state-versus-state military threats, but more radical in that it envisaged a transfer of powers from the state to international authorities, i.e. a partial relinquishment of sovereignty.

Ullman, 1983; Kupchan and Kupchan (1991), Stoll and Cusack (1994) and Ayoob (1995) argue that collective security was until then dismissed as irrelevant by most scholars because of its poor achievement in the inter-war years but for Clark (1995, p.237), the concept gained momentum between the unfolding of Soviet Unionøs thinking in the late 1980s and the eviction of Iraqi forces from Kuwait by NATO in 1991 (p.491).

The effects of collective security emphasised the need for international cooperation in security matters, for example UN peacekeeping operations, which is another form of security that seeks to restore peace and security between states or within states, or for safeguarding human rights in countries ravaged by civil wars. As another form of security, peacekeeping operations demand that certain countries contribute civilian and military personnel and perhaps other countries contribute financial resources, logistics or armaments. For example, in the case of civil war in Zimbabwe, if UN peacekeepers were to be deployed in Zimbabwe and if South Africa was to

serve in Zimbabwe under the UN flag, it could provide the air force, Botswana could provide the infantry and perhaps Malawi could provide civil or military personnel, etc. Betts (1992, pp.26-7) states that:

> The mission of these UN peacekeeping operations is to protect the lives of civilians across borders. In this matter, security is no longer based on sovereign states with impermeable borders, but a truly universal one in which national politics is superseded by international politics of an international magnitude.

During the 1980s, arms control treaties were signed and military competition between the superpowers stabilised. However, Betts (1992, p. 13) states that implementing collective commitments could turn minor armed conflicts into major ones in a sense that the latter would not be bound to the treaties and by equalising the military power of individual states through arms control without reference to their prospective alignment in war, could yield unequal forces when alignments congealed (p.7).

2.2.4 National security

This section moves the meaning of security from external threats into a more holistic discourse that encompasses both the nation and the individual. In the words of Shinoda (2004, p. 6) õthe term security conveys more general meanings including safety of individuals from violence or crimes, religious peace of mind, and financial measures to sustain a certain standard of living.ö Physical protection from external threats, and the preservation of political, and territorial integrity are the core of national security concerns. Azar and Moon (1984, p. 108) state that õnational security is almost universal across time and space as there exists an entity called the nation-state.ö National security covers a range of vital interests (values) such as the survival of individuals or the well-being of citizens, the protection of sovereignty and political status and so on. These values are prioritised accordingly. In many cases the prioritisation of values poses problems. First, what constitutes priority value in one state might not have the same status in another. For example, between 1994 and 1996, the government of Rwanda claimed that the government of Zaire was hosting and training Rwandan refugees who had committed genocide in Rwanda and who were destabilising the security of Rwanda. For then the Zaire, the issue of Rwandan refugees was not a priority of the government. The then Zaire government did not spare any effort to attend to the Rwandan government claim. In contrast, at that time the Zairian

government was so concerned with its own internal political turmoil that it paid little attention to what was happening in the eastern part of the country. This shows how one country's priority is not another's business. In other words, a rigidly defined hierarchy of national values with a political emphasis in one country may not be acceptable in other countries. And what constitutes important values for the government of a particular country might not be the same as for its citizens. The rise of militia groups in countries such as Chad, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Sudan, is one of the consequences of disagreement in terms of value priority between the government and its nationals.

It also important to mention that values can relatively shift from one to another over a period of time. In the words of Azar and Moon (1984), during economic depression or external disturbances, the hierarchy of –vital values may shift in favour of economic ones. Therefore, economic security becomes the most important national security item on the agenda, equal to or more important than military ones. In the absence of military tensions affecting physical security, the maintenance of a standard of living consistent with the society's culture may become the core value of national security concern (p.109).

To Buzan (1983, p.21), national security was a systematic security problem in which individuals, states and the system all play a part. Buzan proposed the holistic notion of systematic security so that the national security problem defines itself as much in economic, political and social terms as military ones. He listed military, political, economic, societal and environmental dimensions of security (Buzan, 1991, p.34). Similarly, the Copenhagen school of thought notes that security encompasses five general categories, i.e. political, economic, environmental, societal and military (Liow, 2006, p.114). The UNDP *Report* 1994 lists seven components as dimensions of security. The latter dimensions are discussed in section 2.3.

Buzan (1991, p.35) points out that all these dimensions are interrelated and often contradictory, and that the military aspect of security attracts a disproportionate amount of attention in discussions on security. This is partly because it is an expensive, politically potent, and highly visible form of state behaviour generated by the need to respond to the possibility of attack or invasion. According to Buzan (1991), for instance, a state can secure its citizens from political,

economic, societal and environmental insecurities but all these can be undermined by military failure.

Thakur (2004, p.347) states that before the end of the Cold War, security was very largely defined in terms of nation state. Thus, the notion of national security was dominated by the neo-realist mode of thought, with its focus on power and institutions of power, especially the military. Thakur further explains that:

> This traditional notion of national security in terms of armies or guns and war emphasised the state as both the primary actor and level of analysis and excluded other important actors and levels of analyses, for instance ethnic and religious groupings, political and ideological groups and non-state actors like international corporate and international institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations, etc. (p.349).

It is worth noting that this traditional definition of security does not include other aspects of safety, security or wellbeing, including the environment and basic needs (for example food and shelter), identity and dignity. A more holistic definition of protection from harm would mean more than the traditional protection from war and invasion by foreign armies. It would mean - to name a few examples, protection from hunger, poverty, chronic diseases such as TB and HIV/AIDS, and protection from sexual assault of women, and children.

It is important to mention that negative peace or the absence of war conforms to traditional definitions of security in general and traditional protection from harm in particular. Positive peace, on the other hand, means both negative peace as well as the realisation of even the most basic of social justice needs. Galtung's (1969), positive peace can also be seen as a precursor of the emerging and expanded security concept. For security to be meaningful and sustainable, it would have to amount to a positive peace. This would imply considerably more than negative peace equated with an absence of war, as merely one particular form of direct violence. According to Galtung, genuine peace and security would presuppose the elimination of, or at least a reduction in, what he called structural violence (1996, p.133).

The different explanations of security show that security has largely been defined in terms of the nation state and has focused on power and the institutions of power amongst which the military institution attracts the majority emphasis. There is little concern with the people who are supposed to live in peace in those countries which concentrate their effort on the military. Galtungøs concepts of positive and negative peace and structural and cultural violence lead to a redefinition of security.

2.3   DEFINING HUMAN SECURITY

The redefinition of security from the point of view of people as the object of security, as opposed to the state, gained momentum in 1994 with the publication of The United Nations Human Development *Report* (UNDP). Scholars such as Lonergan, 2000; Macleean, 2001; MacRae, 2001; Macdonald, 2002; Alkire (2004), Axworthy (2001 and 2004), Benkhe (2000 and 2004) view human security as a theory or concept, a starting point for analysis, a world view, a political agenda, and a policy framework. Furthermore, Bruderlein (2001, p.358) states that human security is an innovative approach that addresses the sources of human threats that affect people globally in a holistic manner. He argues that õhuman security is about recognising the importance of peopleøs security needs side by side with those of states, minimising risks, adopting preventive measures to reduce human vulnerabilities and taking remedial action when preventive measures fail.ö Although there is no a clear definition of human security, there is consensus among its advocates that there should be a shift of attention from a state-centred to a people-centred approach to security and that the concern with the security of state borders should give way to the concern with the security of the people who live within those borders (Bart, 2002; Owen, 2004; Betts and Eagleton-Pierce, 2005; Mani, 2005; Mack, 2005). In the words of Kapuy (2004, p.4), õhuman security is characterised by the focus on the individual, which should be protected from various threats through the involvement of actors in managing this security process.ö Muthien (2003) notes that the õhuman security paradigm is designed to provide a more holistic comprehensive definition of security and protection from all forms of harm; including indirect or structural, cultural, and direct or personal violence.ö

The Commission on Human Security (2003) defines human security as the safeguard of elementary freedoms that are the epitome of human existence. It is the safety of individuals from

relentless and pervasive threats. Proponents of human security argue in terms of circumstances with reference to political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity (p.12). Axworthy (1999, p.3) defines human security as:

> An effort to construct a global society where the safety of the individual is at the centre of the international priorities and a motivating force for international action; where international human rights standards and the rule of law are advanced and woven into a coherent web protecting the individual; where those who violate these standards are held fully accountable; and where our global, regional and bilateral institutions - present and future - are built and equipped to enhance and enforce these standards.

Thomas (2000, p.15) argues that human security should prioritise the security of individuals and that security can only be achieved when essential material needs of individuals are met and furthermore when individuals are able to participate meaningfully in the life of their community. For Bain (2001, p.281), human security embraces a much broader agenda that includes issues such as environmental degradation, human rights, equity, human potential, health, children, labour standards, narcotic trafficking, organised crime, small arms proliferation, religion, ethnicity, gender, identity, governance, civil society, and internal conflict. The UNDP (1994, p.22) states that:

> Human security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced. Human security is not a concern with weapons ó it is a concern with human life and dignity.

According to Tadjbakhsh (2005, p.5) the simplest definition of security is the õabsence of insecurity and threatsö. To be secure is to be free from both fear and want, that is, fear resulting from physical, sexual or psychological abuse, violence, persecution, or death and want which is for example having a gainful employment, food, and good health.

Human security therefore deals with the capacity to identify threats, to avoid them when possible, and to diminish their effects when they do happen (Roberts, 2006; Shinoda, 2004; Axworthy, 2001; Bain, 2001; Bajpai, 2000). It means helping victims to cope with the

consequences of widespread insecurity resulting from armed conflict, human rights violations and massive underdevelopment. Further up the spectrum, Tadjbakhsh (p.8) mentions that õthis broadened use of the word security encompasses two ideas, the notion of safety that goes beyond the concept of mere physical security in the traditional sense and the peopleøs livelihoods that need to be guaranteed through social security against abrupt disruptions.ö

The security concept has moved from the usual philosophy of protecting the state, in terms of national and regional steadiness as seen through the lens of political and economic stability to focusing on human beings. This points out clearly that the principal threats to be dealt with are no longer the private domain of military forces only, rather along with the military, different stakeholders who are involved in the well being of mankind. With the notion of security, crucial threats are seen as internal rather than external. For instance, economic failures, violation of human rights, political discrimination, and structural violence or social injustice are threats which can occur within a state rather than coming from other states. The cases of Liberiaøs Samuel Do and Charles Taylor, Sierra Leoneøs President Siakaøs kleptomaniac government and Mobutuøs former Zaire are but a few examples of internal threats (Basu, 2003 and Basua, 2004). Hence, the guarantee of national security is no solely based on military power, but more importantly on favourable social, political and economic conditions and the promotion of human development and the protection of human rights (CHS, 2003, p.7).

According to Newman (2007, p.7), human security can respond to security issues related to conflict in many ways. It suggests a normative advancement in thinking and it shows a different perspective on organised violence. Human security brings to the fore the harshness that innocent individuals undergo during armed conflicts. In this regard man (p.358) states that õanything that presents a critical threat to life and livelihood is a security threat, whatever the source.ö It highlights the human costs of conflict (Caballero-Anthony, 2000; Calhoun, 2004; Mack, 2005and Human Security Briefs (2006 and 2007). These reports highlight the responsibility of both individual states and the international community to protect civilians against physical and structural threats.

As a response to this attitude, there has been an evolution of international norms that form the backdrop of the debate on the responsibility to protect. In fact, the changing international environment has generated expectations for action and standards of conduct in national and international affairs (Mack, 2005, p.8). Furthermore, the modern understanding of state sovereignty is constantly evolving in the context of these changing norms. In other words, õthe world is moving from a territorial-based sovereignty - those in power control sovereignty - to popular sovereignty, in the context of principles of democratic entitlement and õsolidarismö (CHS, 2003; Mack, 2005). Arguably, sovereignty implies a dual responsibility that is translated in the respect of the intangibility of frontiers of other states and the respect of the dignity and basic rights of all the people within a state. Against this, Cavallaro and Mohamedou (2005, p.8) argue that õthe international human rights covenants and state sovereignty are now understood as embracing this dual responsibility. Sovereignty as responsibility has become the minimum content of good international citizenship.ö

However, increasingly in recent years, there is a growing consensus that some forms of justice and accountability are integral to peace and stability. In this regard, Kritz (1997, p.1) argues that there has been a paradigm shift in attitudes, i.e., it is increasingly accepted that accountability and justice are an essential part of peace in post-conflict societies. This attitude is reflected in the presence of international institutions, norms and laws, which are now important factors in the dilemmas and tensions of transitional justice. However, the human security concept encourages us to look closely at and question the norms and institutions, which are employed at the national and international levels in order to prevent, manage and resolve armed conflicts (Rose, 2000; Rummel, 2000; Childs, 2003; Cilliers, 2004 and Carpenter, 2005).

State sovereignty should no longer be respected as inviolable when states are unwilling or unable to provide a basic level of protection for their own citizens. Liberal economics should be reconsidered in conflict-prone societies when it threatens to exacerbate social tensions which can lead to violence (Newman, 2007, p.9). In other words, the need to save civilians from harm in armed conflicts by all means caused the concept of human security to shift the discourse away from state-oriented security to individuals-oriented security, meaning that both state and individual security are connected and should be mutually strengthened (Cohen and Deng, 2009).

The recent indictment of the Sudanese president is a palpable example of the effort by the international community to intervene in countries where states have failed to protect their citizens.

2.4 KEY CONTRIBUTIONS

According to Tadjbakhsh (2005, p.1), the concept of human security has evolved through four stages:

- First, the UNDP *Report* of 1994
- Second, the õresponsibility to protectö spearheaded by the Canadian International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty [CICISS] between 2001 and 2003.
- Third, õresponsibility for development;ö initiated by the [CHS].
- Fourth, in the years 2004-2005, the need to readjust to the realities of the 21st Century, and in particular to find ways of mounting concerted, collective responses to threats became increasingly clear.

Similarly, Hubert (2004, p.351) suggests three clearly identifiable steps in the conceptualisation of human security that existed in the late 1990s. These steps are the seven-part approach, that includes economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political as mentioned in the 1994 UNDP *Report*: a focus on what he calls ÷social safety netsø in the wake of the Asian financial crisis spearheaded by the Japanese government and finally, a focus on reducing the human costs of violent conflict, advanced by Canada and Norway.

2.4.1 The UNDP *Report* 1994

According to the *Report,* human security is defined as a practice that seeks to extend the variety of the individualøs choice. It means that individuals can be largely self-assured that, for instance, the prospects they have chosen today will not be utterly lost tomorrow (p.23). In other words, individuals should have both the means in terms of resources and the accessibility to what they want at all time. The *Report* goes on (p.24) that if given the opportunities to meet their most crucial wants and earn their own living, individuals will set themselves free and ensure that they can make a full contribution to develop themselves as individuals and their local communities

and finally their countries and the world. In this regard, the *Report* explains that the concept of human security as advanced from the perspective of development with special reference to its four characteristics, namely universal concern, interdependent, early prevention and people-centred (pp.22-23). Furthermore, the former US Secretary of State, when reporting back to his government on the results of the conference in San Francisco in 1945 that set up the United Nations mentioned that:

> The battle of peace has to be fought on two fronts, that is, the freedom from fear front and the freedom from want front. Security can only be achieved if men and women have no insecurity in their homes and their jobs (UNDP, 1994, p.24).

The above quote is emphasised in the *Report* and the latter deplores that only ─freedom from fearø has been linked to the concept of human security (p.24). For example, most often, humanitarian aid and international attention are oriented to refugees who have fled their countries in fear of being persecuted and IDPs but not to people living under acute dictatorships as is currently the case in Zimbabwe. However, even though these people are protected against persecution, they lack the basic needs in the refugee camps to which they flee. They depend solely on the rations given to them by United Nations High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR] and other humanitarian institutions. But life is not only about being alive. Life encompasses many other things, such as nutritional food, good health care, clean water, decent economic living and also leisure activities. In camps, refugees have limited choices: they do not eat what they would like to; they do not have the clothes they would like have. They must accept what is given to them. This implies that refugees are denied their ─freedom from wantø (see a study by Oxfam, 2007 on northern Ugandan Internally Displaced Peoples [IDPs]).

Furthermore, the *Report* insists on making a changeover from the tapered idea of national security to include all the components of the notion of human security. That is, from territorial security to a much greater emphasis on an individualøs security, and from security through a warring point of view to security through sustainable growth. The *Report* identifies security under seven main categories: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security. Economic security implies that people should be assured of a basic income. Food security means that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic

foods. Health security presumes to provide a healthy environment and health services to meet the challenges of poor nutrition, infectious diseases, and so on. Environmental security is concerned with a lack of access to clean water, deforestation, air pollution and natural disasters. Personal security means to protect human lives from threats of various kinds of violence by states and other groups. This includes categories like crimes, industrial and traffic accidents, threats to women, and the abuse of children. Community security concerns oppressive practices and ethnic clashes in traditional communities. Political security implies the protection of human rights and democratisation (pp.23-33).

The Report argues that the concept of human security selects indicators that endow the international community with ‡premature warning signsø that a certain state might be heading towards countrywide breakdown. Such indicators include the following: food insecurity, a high rate of unemployment and income insecurity, human rights violations, ethnic or religious conflicts, widening regional disparity and military spending (p.38). The *Report* lists Afghanistan, Angola, Haiti, Iraq, Mozambique, Myanmar, the Sudan and the former Zaire as examples of countries in various phases of predicament that require long-term developmental support rather than short-term humanitarian aid, in essence policies for societal amalgamation (pp.38-40) rather than food parcels.

It is important to mention that both human security and state security have historical and theoretical rituals, which were among the pillars of international norms after the Second World War. Both ‡freedom from fearø and ‡freedom from wantø were fully recognised at the establishment of the United Nations. State security meant the protection of sovereignty that was based on military forces to protect the borders of a state in case of external aggression (Bain, 2001; Pak, 2002). This attitude has gradually expanded to economic and social security needed at the worldwide echelon as an upshot of democratisation and global security. However, the *Report* describes the dissimilarity between state security and human security as the disparity between self-protective and integrative concepts (p.24). State security engulfs territorial and military concerns and is basically situated within a broad framework of human security. On the other hand, threats from other states, which can hinder the lives of individuals, do have an impact on human security.

It is also important to mention that the *Report* corresponds with previous theoretical frameworks in various academic debates. In the field of peace studies, for example, Galtung's (1969) negative peace is characterised by the absence of direct violence whereas positive peace includes the overcoming of structural and cultural violence as well. Positive peace involves the presence of structures which provide increasing degrees of political liberty and social justice. This means that positive peace occurs if a government is able to ensure that its citizens have access to basic food, clean water, proper sanitation and health care, education, law and social justice, development, human rights and good governance. In a post-conflict context, Harris and Lewis (1999) argue that "positive peace can be effective if the government is able to rehabilitate the structures of society and government, to re-establish peaceful relations within a state or between different states or ethnic groups."

The next subsection discusses how the concept and the definition of human security have moved forward, to the greatest extent between 2000 and 2006; focusing on the Canadian government contributions (Axworthy, 1999, 2001 and 2004).

2.4.2 Human security: The Canadian approach

The Canadian approach to human security was promoted by Lloyd Axworthy, a former Canadian Foreign Minister and scholar. Though the Canadian approach overlaps with that of UNDP, it has differentiated itself from it by giving more attention to a general view of the safety of individuals. However, both the Canadian and the UNDP approaches share the view that human security implies the security of individuals (Bajpai, 2000, p.8) in the sense that human security includes economic safety, a decent life, and a guarantee of fundamental human rights to human beings, regardless their origin, gender, religion, etc. (Axworthy, 1997, p.10). Furthermore, he notes that the safety of individuals, that is, human security has become a measure of global security. He also states that "security between states remains an essential proviso for the security of individuals but argues that since the Cold War, it is progressively more lucid that state security is deficient to warrant individual's security."

As was mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, over the past decade, it has been noticed that many states, instead of protecting their citizens, have threatened and killed them (Axworthy, 2001; 2004; Mack, 2005, p.66). In this regard, Lutz *et al.* (2003, p.174) state that human security implies an acceptable living standard and a pledge for deep-seated human rights for all individuals in the world. Borrowing the words of Caprioli (2004, pp.419-20) states are obligated to provide their citizens with basic needs, sustained economic and social development and even-handedness, fundamental freedoms, the rule of law, and good governance.

At a conference organised by the governments of Canada and Norway in 1999, it was declared that the fundamental values of human security are freedom from fear and freedom from want in that all people should be entitled to one and the same opportunities. Freedom from fear meant freedom from pervasive threats to individualøs rights, their well-being or their lives. Freedom from want, guaranteed the right to self-empowerment and self-development (Bajpai, 2000; MacRae, 2001).

Having said that, the question now is what constitutes a threat and how can it be pervasive? According to Liotta (2002, p.478), a threat is õan identifiable, often immediate, and requires an understandable response.ö Axworthy (1997, p.10) lists as threats:

> The income gap between rich and poor countries, internal conflict and state failure, trans-national crime, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, religious and ethnic discord, environmental degradation, population growth, ethnic conflict and migration, state repression, the use of anti-personnel landmines, child abuse, economic underdevelopment and a unstable, protectionist international trading system.

Further up the spectrum, Axworthy (1999, p.3) refers to dangers posed by civil conflicts, large-scale carnages, and genocide as threats to mankind. He further notes that globalisation is another factor which has caused violent crime, an increase in the drug trade, terrorism, disease and environmental deterioration and internal wars fought by militia groups on the basis of ethnic and religious loyalties. If threats are not managed in time, they might cause a state to collapse. In this regard, academics such as Anderson (1999), Adelman (2001), Bruderlein, (2001), Liotta (2002), Cramer and Goodhand, 2002; Bajpai (2004), Cornia (2004) Coomaraswamy, 2005; Ponzio (2005) and man (2007) have argued that the collapse of a state results in the rapid growth of

õwar-lordism,ö banditry and organised crime all of which increase violence against individuals and therefore render an individual vulnerable. As a consequence, a person is likely to be physically, or emotionally, or spiritually wounded. Moser (1998, p.3) defines vulnerability as:

> The insecurity and sensitivity in the well-being of individuals, households, and communities in the face of a changing environment, and implicit in this, their responsiveness and resilience to risks that they face during such negative changes.

Taking into account Moserøs definition, it is clear that many situations can endanger the life of individuals. There is the need to set up preventive mechanisms to rescue the lives of people once one of these threats occurs. Besides, it is important to mention that these threats happen differently. Some are natural and others man-made. Some occur abruptly whereas others take time to affect the lives of individuals. For example, earthquake and volcano eruptions are natural and abrupt. Mass killings and the sudden displacement of people, resulting from armed conflict can be abrupt but man-made. When abject poverty looms among people as a consequence of bad governance and social inequalities or injustices, it can a take long time before the effects are seen among people and these effects can be brutal (pervasive or severe), causing serious somatic damages (Annan, 2000; Ayres, 2000; Thakur, 2004).

The results of this thinking form the broad basis of recommendations for peacebuilding in the form of peacemaking and peacekeeping, Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration [DDR], woman and child protection and economic development. Such broad recommendations have led to criticisms such as õhuman security is immeasurable and unworkable in policy terms in the sense that economic, political, food, health, environmental, personal and community sources of human security are airbrushed into policy irrelevance by the insistence that we kowtow to realismö (Thomas and Tow, 2002, p.13) and õone of the laudable developmental concepts that appear and disappear in practicable fashion every decadeö (Hendricks, 2007, p.v). MacFarlaneøs contention is that õhuman security is merely a modern-day expression of an aged thought or sets of ideas with a novel brand, but recognises its muscles, contribution and relevance to post-Cold war issues, such as state failure, internally displaced people, global terrorism, and technologiesö (2004, p.369). Burger (2006, p.2) argues that õhuman security and its discourses and practices are indeed fuzzy that deal with messy circumstances of our time.ö For Liotta (2002), seeking

convergence between national security and human security can have a boomerang effect in that it may lead to a focus of one aspect to the detriment of the other. Be that as it may, Bain (2001, p.277) poses the question of how national security and human security can shape our understanding of statecraft and our responses to failed and unjust states? The results of his investigation show that national security and human security share not only certain goals and visions, but also beliefs about how human beings can best achieve security, ranging from basic needs to fundamental values such as basic rights.

Literature has demonstrated that proponents of human security have different views with regard to the meaning and threats to human security. Proponents of the narrow school define human security focusing exclusively on factors that perpetuate violence whereas those favouring the broad school mention that human security encompasses issues related to human rights and underdevelopment. Trying to bring the two schools nearer in their thinking on the definition of human security, Paris (2001, p.94) ascertains that the concept of human security must be narrowed to a more clear-cut vocabulary in order to offer a better guide for research and policy-making. Meanwhile, Krause (2004, pp.367-8) labels the gigantic list of bad things that could be mentioned as pervasive threats to individuals whereas Mack (2004, p.366) stresses that õany definition that conflates dependent and independent variables renders causal analysis virtually impossible.ö For King and Murray (2001/2002, p.13) a definition of human security must engulf only what they call ÷essentialø elements that can put the lives of people at the high risk. These elements are poverty, health, education, political freedom and democracy. In the same line of thinking, MacFarlane (2004, p.369) argues that õa narrow definition of human security should be based on its merit that results from its value added conceptual and policy consequences.ö Furthermore, Bajpai (2000, p. 22) proposes õan erection of a human security audit that would include measures of direct and indirect threats to individual safety and freedom.ö He believes that an understandable examination of human security would permit scholars to gauge dynamics that pilot the declines or increases in the human security of particular groups or individuals.

Arguably, proponents of a narrow definition of human security focus on any threats linked to armed conflicts. In this regard, Pop (2003, p.19) argues that õthe establishment of the International Committee of the Red Cross is built on the idea that civilians must be protected

against violence caused by armed conflicts.ö However, civilians continue to die in large numbers during armed conflicts. In this respect, Hampson argues that õmultifaceted threats of human security can be alleviated only if integrated solutions are developed and victims of insecurity are empowered to cope with their own solutionsö (2004, p.350).

Nevertheless, proponents of a broad definition of human security, such as Alkire (2004), Axworthy (2004), Bajpai (2004), Hampson (2004), Thakur (2004), Winslow and Hylland-Eriksen (2004), etc. argue that research should be concerned not only with the wider array of matters such as poverty, disease, and environmental disasters, but also by arguing that in shifting the referent of security, these issues also shift to fall under the human security umbrella. For example, Alkire (2004) and Leaning (2004) include the social, psychological, political and economic aspects of vulnerability in their definition of human security whereas Bajpai (2004) and Thakur (2004) suggest famine and massive refugee flows. Furthermore, Winslow and Hylland-Eriksen (2004) state that people experience insecurity within the confinement of cultural contexts. Moreover, Hampson (2004, p.350) points out that õvulnerability is both broad in nature and structurally dependent, and that if we are to mitigate human security, we must address not only the threats but also societyøs ability to counter them.ö

Even though critics of human security have mentioned that õthe concept is too amorphous, diffuse and idealistic to be used or an elitist, dominating discourseö (Hunter, Black and Goujon, 2008), one remains assured that õthe solution to reduce the numbers of casualties in armed conflicts remains in the ability of the international community to focus on the security of people, rather than that of the state, as an essential module of peace and security stratagemö (pp.18-20). Following this train of thoughts, Bruderlein (2001, p.360) argues that:

> The implementation of security strategies can no longer be seen as the task of state institutions alone. Nor can the interests of the population be distinguished from national security interests. Protecting civilians becomes a security and political issue as the distinction between state and non-state actors and between civilians and combatants breaks down.

Following the debates on the relevance of human security above, I propose that it is logical to follow the pattern =individualøs protection vs securityø rather than wasting time on finding the

right and suitable definition of human security. The best definition of human security would be when civilians are shielded, guarded, saved from harm, or defended directly from any threat they might come across that would lose their lives. Whether sudden or long term, sudden and long terms solutions should be put into place in such a way that when lives are in danger, an immediate response must be available rather than waiting until the calamity has reached the point when the international community starts meeting under the UN Security Council [UNSC] to promulgate resolutions regarding the deployment of peacekeepers. By that stage many civilians would have possibly already lost their lives or belongings. Additionally, members of the UNSC should not only view the meaning of security from their perspective but should also consider the points of view of those they want to help. To sum up, devising appropriate means of prevention and intervention and the consideration of local stakeholders should be paramount in the definition of security. When a child cries, it does not necessarily mean that it is hungry. It could be another reason and the parent should try all available solutions so that the child can choose what they want rather than imposing the parentøs decisions. The child might continue crying until they get what they want.

I will continue this line of thinking, especially the meaning of security to ordinary people in section 2.8. I now pause to compare the Canadian approach and UNDP approach to highlight similarities and differences by considering a number of questions, such as who should be the referent of security? What should be the values of security? What are the possible threats to peopleøs security? And finally what should be the means by which security can be achieved?

Who should be the referent of security?

Both the UNDP and the Canadian approaches accept that the individual is the referent of security whereas in the traditional conception of security, the referent is the state. The two approaches show that the concept of human security finds ground when considering dramatic changes that have happened since the end of Cold War. Since then, global security issues have shifted from historical wars of conquest between superpowers to the security of individuals (Bajpai, 2000, p.23). This means that individuals are now the focal point of security. Arguably, the Canadian

government still views traditional security as a necessary tool but not one compromises the stability and peace of a country (Axworthy, 1999, p.5).

What should the values of security be?

In the traditional conception of national security, state sovereignty is the most relevant value (Acharya, 2004; Bain, 2001; Liotta, 2002). State sovereignty means that people and their territories need to be secured and defended against external attack. It also means that people are free to regulate their own internal affairs by choosing which countries to befriend without any other countryøs interference. According to Bain (2001, pp.277-281), the key values of national security are exclusively the safety of particular political communities, diplomatic autonomy and political independence. Furthermore, he notes that individual security is assured by virtue of belonging to a particular political community.

However, in both the UNDP and the Canadian approaches, the safety and the well being of people and their freedom are the two paramount values. In this essence, the 1994 UNDPøs *Report* states clearly that õhuman security is not a concern with weapons ó it is a concern with human life (physical and well being), dignity and freedomö (1994, p.22). Implicitly or explicitly, the 1994 UNDP *Report* states that õall the values fall either in one or the other category.ö In other words, the *Report* lists seven components that overarch the values of the individual safety and well-being. By the same token, the *Report* suggests that the capacity of the individual to make free choices about their life and future as well as self-empowerment, and community and political security are important human security values (p.23). Similarly, in the Canadian approach, human security implies a decent life and a guarantee of the fundamental human rights for every person, regardless their political affiliation, social status or economic capacity (Heinbecker, 2000; Helton, 2000; Van and Newman, 2000; Weissberg, 2003; Uvin, 2004). The list of values in Axworthy (1997and 1999) can also be ranged in terms of these two overarching values. Basic needs, sustainable economic development, and social equity are paramount to the notion of physical safety and well being whereas human rights, fundamental freedoms, rule of law, and good governance are all dimensions of political freedom, therefore human security values.

What are the possible threats to people's security?

The lists of human security threats in the UNDP's *Report* and the Canadian approaches are detailed and non-exhaustive. This makes it difficult to compare the two lists. In order to allow a more systematic comparison, it is helpful to distinguish the two types of threats by using Galtung's distinction between structural or indirect violence and direct or personal violence. Here, threat is referred to as violence. According to Galtung (1996, p.135), "violence is the intention to use force against one or more other people in a way of inflicting injury or causing death." In other words, "violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realisations are below their potential realisations." Galtung distinguishes between physical violence that involves direct attacks on human body, causing injuries or killings and structural or indirect violence. He defines structural violence as "when a person or a group of people are unable to attain or enjoy to the full their potentials due to deprivations or limitations in the social structure." In the same way, Kent (1993, p.384) defines "structural violence as imposed harm by some people on others indirectly, through the social system to pursue their own preferences" Furthermore, Swan (1995, p.41) argues that "structural violence institutionalises indirect violence, which thus becomes intrinsic to the socio-economic and political system." Harris and Lewis (1999) describe structural violence as "the structures which maintain the dominance of one group at the centre power over another group." Kent's (1993), Swan's (1995) and Harris and Lewis' (1999) definitions of structural violence can be linked to the debate on human security whereby the state allows the lives and welfare of some of its people to be threatened. For example, minorities Muslims in India, Tamils in Sri Lanka, Kosovards in Serbia, and Kurds in Turkey and Tutsis in Rwanda were targeted and suppressed by a small portion of the people in power. This led a break down where thousands of people were butchered and other ere forced to flee the area.

In most cases, structural violence is perpetrated by a group of people in a government or people who gain favour from the government. Thakur (2004, p.347) states that "in many countries, the state is a tool of a narrow family group, clique or sect." This means that citizens of states can be perilously insecure in terms of their daily existence because of weaknesses in the system that was supposed to secure them. Thakur's statement implies that direct violence can be associated to

=freedom from fearø whereas structural violence can be linked to =freedom from want.ø This means that, in physical violence a person fears being physically injured by another person or a group of people whereas in structural violence the level of harm is built into the structure that shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances. Structures in this context refer to the settings within which individuals may do enormous amounts of harm to other human beings without ever intending to do so. It can be said that structural violence is a process that works slowly in the way misery in general and hunger in particular weaken, and finally kill human beings. According to Bajpai (2004, p.360), this is where the concept of human security is relevant and thus holds normative implications in that human security has, at its core, the individual as object. Both approaches identify a number of indirect violence (threats) to personal safety and well-being. Unlike threats caused by a structural system, both approaches agree that disease is a key indirect threat to personal safety and well-being.

What should be the means by which security can be achieved?

As far as human security is concerned, UNDP and Canada approaches agree that the use of force is a secondary instrument and is not effective in dealing with the multifarious threats to personal safety. States, regional and international organisations, and Non-Governmental Organisations [NGOs] should combine to foster norms of conduct in various areas of human security. This can only be achieved if the latter focuses first on audits of threats and the capacities that exist to deal with them (Bajpai, 2004, p.361).

In sum, one can say that both the UNDP and the Canadian approaches suggest that direct and indirect violence threaten individual safety and well-being. The two approaches identify many of the same threats. However, the Canadian approach puts more emphasis on direct violence while the UNDP approach stresses indirect violence.

2.4.3   Commission on human security (2003)

Like the previous works on the conceptualisation and definition of human security, the Commission on Human Security (CHS, 2003) focuses on the individuals and seeks for protection

of the latter from threats to their lives, livelihood, and dignity, and the realisation of full potential of each of them. According to *Human Security Now*, human security addresses both conflict and development aspects including the displacement, discrimination and persecution of vulnerable communities as well as insecurities related to poverty, health, education, gender disparities, and other types of inequality. In this regard, the CHS (2003) represents the core principles of ensuring survival, meeting basic needs (protecting livelihood) and safeguarding the human dignity of the most vulnerable groups in society. In this way, the emphasis shifts from a security dilemma of states to a survival dilemma of people. It is usually assumed that the well-being of one is dependent on the security of the other. Again, there is no set list for what is and is not state security threats and individual threats.

What is a threat to one nation or region is different from what is a threat to another nation or region. This means that threats can also vary from one country to another, one community to another and one person to another. For example, what constitutes a threat to people from Darfur or Chad might be different a threat to people from DRC or Gabon. Today, it is well known that terrorism is a major threat to the US while clan and religion wars are the biggest threats in Somalia.

The CHS *Report* attempts to respond to both old and fears. By fears, the CHS *Report* means terrorist attacks, ethnic violence, epidemics and sudden economic downturns. The demands of human security involve a broad range of interconnected issues such as conflict and poverty (p.1), protecting people during violent conflict (p.20), defending people who are forced to live their homes (p.40), building capacities in post-conflict situations (p.56), overcoming economic insecurity, guaranteeing the availability and affordability of essential health care (p.94), and ensuring the elimination and educational depravation of schools that promote intolerance (p.113), and finally putting forward ways to advance the security of people (p.129). The CHS report (2003) came up with recommendations of policies that aimed at both empowerment and protection, and focused on what could be done in either the short or long-term to enhance the opportunities of eliminating insecurities across the world.

2.4.4   Human security reports 2005, 2006 and 2007

The Human Security Report (Mack, 2005, p.1) uses a definition of insecurity as any form of political violence. The *Report* claims to ‑explode a number of widely believed myths about contemporary political violence, including the claim that 90% of those killed in today's wars are civiliansø (Mack, 2005, p.2). The *Report* claims a significant reduction in the number and severity of wars since the early 1990s, attributing this to the increased willingness of the international community to intervene to prevent or contain armed conflict (Mack, 2005, p.8).

The preface distinguishes between the narrow and broad conceptualisations of human security and identifies its attachment with the narrow school. It thus describes its spotlight as being on õthe multifarious of interrelated threats connected to armed conflicts, genocide and the dislocation of populations.ö It claims that õno other yearly publication maps the trends in the frequency, sternness, causes and penalties of global cruelty as scrupulously as the *Human Security Report* 2005ö *(*Mack, 2005, p.viii). The *Report* declares that õthe number of genocides and õpoliticidesö decreased by 80% between 1988 and 2001ö and that international wars and conflicts have been in decline for a much longer period, as have military coups and the average number of people killed per conflict per year (Mack, 2005, p.1). The *Report* notes that most people believe that the number of armed conflicts has risen over the past decade, not that it has declined radically and suggests two reasons for this: the global media pay more attention to wars starting than wars ending (the former were far more numerous than the latter between 1989 and 2002), and official statistics on global armed conflict trends do not exist (Mack, 2005, p.17).

Part I of the *Report* is focused on fairly conventional forms of violence. Part II, however, turns its attention to what it describes as a ‑human security auditø (Mack, 2005, p.62). It contributes towards a wider understanding of the scale of violence by adding to its dataset the consequences of conflicts that may be described as ‑non-state,ø i.e., where a government is not involved. An example offered is one-sided violence, which õinvolves the slaughter of defenceless civilians rather than combatö (p.66). To this equation are added homicide and rape as forms of direct violence. The conclusion examines why there has been a dramatic decline in armed conflict of many kinds. It suggests that many of these changes can be attributed to an explosion of

international activism, spearheaded by the UN that sought to stop ongoing wars, help negotiate peace settlements, support post-conflict reconstruction, and prevent old wars from starting again.

The 2006 *Report* reviews the findings of two datasets that measure trends in armed conflict, especially wars fought between a government and opposing factions and their associated battle related deaths (pp.1-8). The *Report* gives numbers of state-based armed conflicts by type in the period between 1945 and 2005. It indicates that from the beginning of 2002 to the end of 2005, the number of armed conflicts has plummeted up to 15% - from 66 to 56, most of them being in Africa (p.2). The *Report* mentions that there was a 71% decline in the number of reported deaths from non-state conflict between 2002 and 2005 (p.7). The *Report* mentions that a number of wars are ending in negotiated settlements, a trend which is the direct result of the increased commitment of the international community to peacemaking.

The 2007 *Report* concentrates to threats related to terrorism. It points out the remarkable decline of terrorism in terms of assaults perpetrated by al-Qaeda extremists (p.2). It further describes the decline of casualties in conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa since the 1990s. The *Report* mentions that this is due to two factors. The era of *coups d'état* has declined and the effort by the international community to curb ongoing political violence by putting preventive mechanisms put in place (p.6). The *Report* finds that there is no significant change in the recent numbers of conflicts that involve the government on one side. It also updates data on armed conflicts, battle-deaths, *coups d'état* and human rights abuses (p.36).

2.5   HUMAN SECURITY AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The human development approach was first launched in 1990 with the aim of looking more closely at the relationship between economic growth and the extension of individual human preferences. The approach examined individual human preferences and their capabilities to enable people to live a kind of life that they value as human beings. As Mustafa (2008, p.5) puts it, õthe normative framework of human development lies in reducing extreme poverty, extending gender equality and also in areas such as health, education.ö This is where human development

overlaps with human security because human development threats appear to be a concern that human security seeks to address.

Like human security, the concept of human development emerged in the 1990s, building on a series of previous reactions against the dominant paradigm of economic development (Mustafa, 2008, p.24). For example, the *Reports* 2007 and 2008 pinpoint the fight against climate change using human solidarity in this divided world. On the other hand, the 2006 *Report* stresses issues related to the global water crisis and poverty. The 2005 *Report* discusses aid, trade and security in an equal world. All of these are threats to human security too.

Mahbub Haq, the founder of the HDRs, states that human development is about much more than the rise or fall of national incomes. It is about creating conditions in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive and creative lives in accordance with their needs and interests (1995, p.10). Furthermore, Haq mentions that people are the real wealth of nations and development should therefore expand their choices in order to give them opportunities to live a decent life (P.11). Turning to another line of thought in this subject, economic growth should be seen as a means to enlarge people's choices only but also "physical safety of individuals and more holistically to secure and hold basic goods" (Brachet and Wolpe, 2005, p.5).

This can only be possible if these choices are translated into the framework of building human capabilities. The most basic capabilities for human development are to live long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living and to be able to participate in the life of the community. These choices should always be available and accessible overt time. It is believed that greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services, more secure livelihoods, security against crime and physical violence, satisfying leisure hours, political and cultural freedoms and sense of participation in community activities are the fulfilment of human life in dignity (Haq, 1995, p. 85).

It is in this context that both human security and human development share common vision, i.e. putting people first. They are multi-dimensional and have broad views on human fulfilment in the long term and at the same time address issues such as chronic poverty, gender inequality, and

health insecurity and illiteracy (Handrahan, 2004; Hoogensen and Rottem, 2004; McKay, 2004a; Hoogensen and Stuvøy, 2006; Gasper, 2007). The following section discusses the interface between human security and human development with reference to õputting people first.ö

The Human Development approach mentions that development can be effective if it considers people as the prime beneficiaries of economic growth. In this regard, Alkire (2003, p.35) states that õhuman development clearly holds socioeconomic policies that focus on people and their well-being as the final objective, rather than focusing on economic growth.ö Similarly, the human security concept advances the interests of people in terms of basic human needs paradigm (Hunter, Black and Goujon, 2008, p.6).

Alkire (2003, p36) highlights four fundamental perspectives that human security and human development share in common. First, both human security and human development loyalists agrees that the interests of people should come first. This means that economic growth should expand the choices of people in terms of equal opportunities for all without distinctions based on gender, race, and creed and so on. By equal opportunities, one may understand that all people are entitled to equal treatment, irrespective of their sex, race or ethnic origin, religion and political beliefs or creed, disability, age or sexual orientation. The contrary enhances discrimination that leads to potential issues that both approaches address.

Second, both human development and human security are multi-sartorial and multi-dimensional. This means that they involve all aspects of human life ranging from physical needs to material concerns. Alkire ascertains that for physical needs and material concerns to be fulfilled, peopleøs choices must be expended into different sectors, such as economic, social, food and health and so on. In other words, for a person to be fit to work, they must have a certain level of education and be in good health. These will be achieved through physical and mental well-being, good nutrition, and easy access to health care and availability of health professionals and facilities, clean water and preventable diseases mechanisms (CHS, 2003, p.96).

Third, according to Alkire (2003, p.360), õhuman development provides a broad picture of the long-term objectives of human fulfilment within any society, whether it is rich or poor; whether composed of refugees, or artisans, or farmers.ö For example, concerning refugees, both human

security and human development voice the role of UNHCR in placing the refugee issue within both the larger context of forced migration as well as within the context of human security and human development (Adelman, 2001, pp.7-20; Hammerstad, 2000, pp.399- 401).

Fourth, human development and human security both address poverty. Both approaches are concerned with a greater need to view poverty as a legitimate concern to the security and the development of human beings. Poverty limits the expansion of people's choices, not only in terms of their basic needs, but also on a psychological level (Prowse, 2003, p.11). Poor people generally do not have a voice or the power and independence to participate effectively in community life. They are socially excluded and as a result, become dissatisfied with almost everything. Both approaches believe that the eradication of poverty will expand people's choices.

Although there are similarities between human development and human security, Alkire (2003) states that there are also areas where the approaches differ. The first difference concerns the limited nature of human security, i.e. the vital core. Human security is more concerned with threats to the vital core but ignores mechanisms that could enhance basic capabilities. By contrast, human development is more extensive and includes concerns that are clearly not basic (p.36).

The second difference, according to Alkire, is that the human security paradigm undertakes to address threats such as violence or economic downturn directly. It recognises that wars are a real threat to human beings, and believes that investing in conflict prevention is essential. Alkire's ideas are also espoused by the CHS (2003) and Mack (2005). On the other hand, human development focuses mainly on engendering progress, ensuring preparedness for most large-scale threats ranging from invasion to hyperinflation (Alkire, 2003, p.37). Newman (2001, p.243) agrees with Alkire when he argues that human security is concerned with the origins of threats and seeks to create the capacities required to prevent, mitigate, or cope with them that would cut into people's vital core. Human security overlaps with human development in terms of the emphasis that the former puts on other critical and pervasive threats such as terrorism and insecurities (piracy) while the human security has no significant concern on the matters per se (Alkire, 2003).

A third difference between human security and human development is their time scope. Alkire (2003, p.37) argues that õhuman development puts a considerable amount of effort into institution-building and capacity-building in the sense of sustainable actions over time.ö However, although human security would share this approach, some human security undertakings occur within very short time horizons and without participation. This means that the actions of both human security and human development can be based on long-term actions but some of the human security actions can take place in a very short notice. For example, emergency relief that is given to people who have been invaded by war, flood, hurricane, tsunami earthquakes or any other calamities that might occur suddenly. The recent earthquake in Haiti can be considered as a plausible example of sudden threats that human security advocates for.

To summarise, both human security and development aim at alleviating all types of human insecurities. Both human security and human development narrowly focus on the protection of individuals and communities against violence, be it physical or structural violence. In terms of broad focus, both concepts are distinct to some extent, but complementary.

2.6   HUMAN SECURITY AND PEACEBUILDING

2.6.1   Defining peacebuilding

The term ‑peacebuildingø was first used by one of the former United Nations Secretary-Generals Boutros Boutros-Ghali in 1992. Since then, the term has become a broadly used word in terms of crisis intervention and longer-term development, and the building of governance structures and institutions, especially in war-torn zones (Morris, 2000, p34). Peacebuilding includes building the capacity of non-governmental organisations and civil societies to curb improper government practices and foster sustainable development (Jeong, 2005, p. 142). Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1995) describes post-conflict peacebuilding broadly as any action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict. Peacebuilding is the effort to promote human security in societies marked by conflict. In this essence, the goal of peacebuilding would be to strengthen the capacity of societies to manage

conflict without violence, as a means to achieve sustainable human security (Boyce and OøDonnell, 2007).

Peacebuilding involves a full range of approaches, processes, and stages needed for transformation toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships and governments, modes and structures (Harris and Lewis 1999; MacLean and Schaw, 2000; Khong, 2001; Lodgaard, 2001; Liotta, 2004; Morgan, 2005). Peacebuilding includes building legal and human right institutions as well as fair and effective governance and dispute resolution processes and systems (Jeong, 2005, p.21). Peacebuilding activities require careful and participatory planning and coordination among various bodies and sustained commitment by both the local and the international community. In this regard, Lederach (1997, p.20) states that:

> Peacebuilding involves a long-term commitment to a process that includes investment, gathering of resources and materials, architecture and planning, coordination of resources and labour, laying solid foundations, construction of walls and roofs, finish work and ongoing maintenance.

According to Lederach, peacebuilding centrally involves the transformation of relationships in terms of sustainable reconciliation that requires both structural and relational transformations (pp.82-3). In other words, peacebuilding consists of post-conflict actions to meet challenges. For instance, rebuilding schools and health facilities that were destroyed during hostilities, installing clean water systems and attempting to close gaps between warring parties can all be interpreted as peacebuilding. Harris and Lewis (1999) state that õpeacebuilding involves physical, social and structural initiatives, which can help to provide reconstruction and rehabilitation which result in conflict transformation and social change.ö

Annan (1998) identifies peacebuilding as actions undertaken at the end of a conflict to consolidate peace and prevent a reoccurrence of armed confrontation. In order to achieve this goal, traditional means of peacekeeping in the military and diplomatic fields are not sufficient. In the same vein, Jeong (2005) explains that peacebuilding may involve the creation or strengthening of national institutions (p.64), monitoring elections (pp.104-114), promoting

human rights (p.60), providing for reintegration and rehabilitation programmes (p.182), and creating conditions for resumed development (p.124-152). Annan argues that:

> Peacebuilding does not replace ongoing humanitarian and development activities in countries emerging from crisis. It aims rather to build on, add to, or reorient such activities in ways designed to reduce the risk of resumption of conflict and contribute to creating conditions most conducive to reconciliation, reconstruction and recovery.

Annan (2000) further states that õpeacebuilding is a situation in which the security of ordinary people, in the form of real peace and access to basic social facilities.ö

The main aim of peacebuilding is to create mechanisms that will enhance cooperation and dialogue among different parties involved in conflict to prevent the re-emergence of conflict. Peacebuilding is a process that involves local and external actors. The latter facilitate and support the activities of peacebuilding by providing monetary support for example and restoring financial and political institutions as part of nation and capacity building. This gives opportunity to local actors participate at the grassroots in the restoration of peace (Morgan, 2005, p.72).

Peacebuilding involves activities such as humanitarian aid, conflict resolution, disarmament, demobilisation and the protection of civilians (especially internally displaced people and refugees) and the organisation of elections. Furthermore, peacebuilding is concerned with capacity and institution-building (Jeong, 2005). He further mentions activities, such as security and demilitarisation, political transition, development, reconciliation and social rehabilitation, and operational imperatives and coordination as paramount to peacebuilding.

2.6.2 Linking peacebuilding to human security

From its preventive and recovery paradigm, peacebuilding seeks to put people at the centre of its focus. Through its activities, peacebuilding sets up sustainable mechanisms that will prevent the reoccurrence of hostilities that could be caused by unsatisfied claims. Threats as highlighted in the UNDP *Report* of 1994, the CHS (2003) and other works are mostly related to dissatisfaction on the side of one party, resulting in human insecurity which is then translated into harmful

actions directed against people or property with visible and immediate consequences (Kapuy, 2004, p.4; Liotta, 2005, p.50).

Cock (2006, p.19) argues that the major goal of post-conflict peacebuilding is to call attention to civilianøs oppression, marginalisation, and threatened security, and to establish a peacebuilding agenda that involves civilians as key actors. However, instead of being involved in peace talks, in most cases civiliansø voices remain unheard. Peace deals usually occur only between groups involved in armed conflicts, yet civilians are the most affected during hostilities.

Peacebuilding is closely linked to human security in the sense that both componentsø efforts are based on the lives of marginalised people or vulnerable civilians (Dulic, 2008). However, the task of a human security perspective in peacebuilding is to use the experiences, activities, and perspectives of civilians as tools for reconciliation with the aim of working together to the betterment of their lives. For instance, in conflict that arises from scarce land resources, the inhabitants of that particular area should come forward with specific plans that will not threaten each other or oppress one group to the detriment of the other but a plan that will satisfy both parties (Shinoda and Jeong, 2004).

Further up the spectrum, Hudson, (2006, p.5) argues that:

> Human security as policy framework forms the backdrop against which peacebuilding efforts take place. This people-centred understanding of security broadens the understanding of security to include freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom to choose.

All in all peacebuilding is rooted in human security since it seeks to put down mechanisms that will secure the welfare of individuals by building livelihood blocks that will pave the way to allow individuals to expand their choices in everyday experiences.

2.7   Can human security be applied?

The concept of human security was elaborated on the basis of empirical research conducted at the end of the post-Cold War period. Respect for sovereignty was shaken by too many examples

where states themselves became the perpetuators of insecurities, not only failing to fulfil their obligations toward their subjects but threatening the very existence of those they supposed to protect (Oberleitner, 2005, p.185). At the same time, this era saw a variety of and often unsuccessful international interventions in, for example, Somalia, Bosnia, Kosovo, East Timor, Afghanistan and Rwanda and very recently Iraq (Ponzio, 2005, p.68). While conflicts seemed to be settled, the very reasons that had led to conflict in the first place were not dealt with properly, leaving opportunities to the real of hostilities.

It should be pointed out that the end of bi-polar competition also led to the appearance of phenomena. Actors appeared on the conflict scene such as multinationals fuelling tensions, especially in Third World Countries. They use regional and internal proxies and supply them with weapons in exchange for minerals (Shannon, 2000). Countries, particularly those in Africa, which have great mineral resources, have been in a situation of civil war, many of them since the end of the Cold War. This phenomenon marked a threat that has not been adequately taken into account. These threats are intra-state conflicts, ethnic confrontations, terrorism, and forced displacement, extreme poverty, HIV/AIDS etc. These threats become borderless and closely interconnected, and potentially crippling in their effects on societies worldwide (Kapuy, 2004, p.4).

In academic and policy-making circles, the need to analyse these threats and find solutions to end misery, born of conflict or underdevelopment, prompted focus on the expansion of the idea of security (Roberts, 2006). In a September 2004 issue of *Security Dialogue*, 21 scholars were asked to explain what they understood by human security, and whether such a concept could ultimately find a place in academic studies and policy research organisations (Owen, 2004). Debate centred on the definitions given to the term ‒human security‖, its advantages and weak points, and on the changes that would be necessary to develop its theoretical and practical implications (Bellamy and McDonald, 2002). In attempting to define human security, these scholars and policy-makers fall into three categories: those for whom human security represents an attractive idea but one that lacks analytical rigor (Evans, 2004; Newman, 2004 and Paris, 2001 for example) ; those who, while accepting the term, insist on limiting it to a narrowly conceived definition (Krause, 2004; Mack, 2005, MacFalarlane, 2004 for example); and those

for whom a broad definition of the human security concept is an essential tool for understanding contemporary crises (Acharya, 2001 and 2004; Gryson, 2004; Owen, 2004; Winslow and Hylland-Eriksen, 2004; etc.). Similarly, Pop (2003, pp.17-22) states that there are three main approaches to the concept of human security, that is broad and narrow approaches and individual sustainable development.

Though policy-makers and academics disagree on one all-inclusive definition of human security as related to the category and the number of threats, this disagreement does not find ground in that there are other concepts that deal with many of the threats as highlighted by many authors. For example, human development identifies poverty and communicative diseases, *inter alia*, as severe threats that need to be taken care of. In the same line of thinking, man (2007, p.6) states that since the most pervasive threats to humans are found in poverty, preventable disease and environmental catastrophe, these can be referred as human development issues.

Furthermore, human rights enhance the protection of the rights of individual, be it during violence or under structural violence, in same way that humanitarian aid intervenes when people are in distress in war situations or natural disasters like flood, drought and more importantly when massive people are displaced due to the effects of war.

Peacebuilding is another concept whose aim is to create mechanisms that enhance cooperation and dialogue among different parties involved in conflict to prevent the re-emergence of violence. Put it differently, human security supplements and shares conceptual space with themes mentioned above, but strictly limited to the freedom from premature preventable death (Abad, 2000, p.409).

Human security finds its normative explanation as a theoretical framework in this study through the causal patterns or cause/effect relationships, which can either be direct or indirect. De Vaus (2001, p.36) argues that õthe cause affects that outcome directly rather than via other variables. An indirect causal relationship is a cause that has its effect by operating via its influence on another variable that, in turn, produces the effect.ö What does this mean? Based on de Vausø explanation, human security can be explained as a direct causal relationship as it exists as a

response to the recent crisis that many civilians underwent in war situations. It means that the nature of recent wars, especially those in Africa has produced an effect, in the form of the deaths and massive displacements of thousands of civilians. The characteristics of wars involve massive killings, excessive torture, rape, the use of children as combatants (Cockell, 2000; Crocker, 2000; Crooker, 2001; Collins, 2005; Davis, 2007). Many of those wars are fought by civilians rebelling against the central government in the name of democracy. Many of them were and still are backed by foreign troops, in many cases from neighbouring countries. Instead of fighting for democracy, many war-lords are engaged in illegal business- plundering natural resources and making themselves richer while leaving the majority of their countrymen under pervasive poverty associated with innocent killings (Liberia, Sierra Leone, DRC, etc.). Faced with this phenomenon, there is a need to come up with a concept that will cater for the ‑protection of civiliansø in times of hostilities. It is in this respect that policy-makers and scholars have resuscitated the concept of human security, giving it a configuration. Based on this explanation, the concept of human security can suitably be applied as a normative research framework. In this respect, Ponzio (2005, p.68) argues that:

> Many scholars in the field of peace studies value human security for its normative contribution as a unifying concept in that it helps scholars and practitioners balance the traditional preoccupation with the state as the main referent of analysis with the urgent needs of people, especially in war situations.

The conceptøs unique contribution emanates from its relevance to post-Cold war issues, those such as ethnic cleansing, internally displaced people, global terrorism, state failure, etc. (Bain, 2001, p.281). However, other threats related to poverty reduction, sanitation and a clean environment can be dealt with when discussing human development.

Having said that, my contribution in the middle of the debate is therefore to fill in the gap in literature in the sense that through a peacebuilding processes; human security should put more emphasis on the protection of civilians during violence and the empowerment of themselves after violence. Owing from the explanation above, I distance myself from the unfruitful debate on the definition and conceptualisation of human security, but consider most what it can contribute to building sustainable peace and security in post-conflict war-tone zones. Whether, ‑one size does not fit alløI presume the concept and its components as highlighted in UNDP 1994 *report* can be

a valuable asset to contribute to peacebuilding in Ituri province in DRC. Whether one accepts it or not, there is a greater need to protect the civilians of Ituri from mass killings and to empower them for self-development.

Sections two to seven of this chapter examined the meaning and debates around the concept of human security as perceived by academics and policy-makers. The next section (8) moves away from the debates to consider the opinions of ordinary people with regard to the meaning of security because in today's wars, civilians are the main casualties. Their meaning of security may differ from that of academics and policy-makers.

2.8   What does security mean to ordinary people?

In today's armed conflicts, it has been demonstrated that there is a growing number of civilians who are engaged in armed conflicts either as fighters or victims. As victims, many of them die from disease exacerbated by malnutrition and hunger rather than actual killings. In other words, the death of civilians in conflicts is explained by the emergence of forms of conflicts that target mostly civilians. In the Sierra Leone armed conflict, for instance, there were few confrontations between the RUF rebels and the government soldiers. Both the government and rebels traumatised civilians, accusing them of siding with the opposition. This has systematically altered the notion of security.

It is worth noting that the majority of today's wars are fought within national borders, rather than between states. These wars are usually associated with the collapse of political and social structures, and often result in pervasive threats and large scale humanitarian emergencies (Cohen and Dieng, 2009, p.27). As has already been mentioned, the distinction between civilians and combatants has largely been lost, with civilians being involved in hostilities, both as victims and as perpetrators of violence. This has contributed to deaths of many civilians, both as combatants or victims. For example, between 1975 and 1979, an estimated 1 million ethnic Khmers were butchered in Cambodia. General Lucas Garcia killed thousands of civilian leftists in Guatemala from the time he became president in July 1978 (Harff, 2003, p.60). In April 1994, the government-backed militia group known as 'Interahamwe,' drawn from the majority Hutu ethnic

group and EX-FAR killed an estimated 800,000 Rwandans, mainly from the minority Tutsi ethnic group but there were also some moderate Hutu. In July 1995, the Bosnian Serb military killed more than 7 000 Muslims from the small town of Srebrenica (Mack, 2005, p.40). More recently, there has been an ongoing mass killing of civilians in Darfur.

As noted above, apart from violence perpetrated against civilians, many civilians die from the indirect consequences of civil war. In DRC for example, Cohen and Deng (2009, p.23) state that õover the past decade civilians have been subject to one-sided violence from rebel armies, local militia, foreign armies plundering the countryøs resources.ö The International Rescue Committee [IRC] conducted a survey in the DRC between 1999 and 2002. It was found that 3.3 million people had died as a consequence of armed conflict (Mack, 2005, p.125). It is estimated that 5.4 Congolese civilians have died as a result of conflict and related disease since 1998 (Cohen and Deng, 2009, p.23). The prolonged and bloody civil war in DRC caused great loss in human beings. In most cases, civilians who are driven away from their homes as a result of war encounter challenges on their way, such as bad food, drink contaminated water, and poor sanitation and inadequate shelter. All these factors combined cause outbreaks of infectious diseases, such as measles, respiratory diseases and acute diarrhoea (p.128). In addition to this, malnutrition and stress impact negatively on their immune systems and cause premature death. This exact situation happened to my brotherøs child in April 2003. The family fled from the town of Bunia that had been seized by the Lendu militia group and sought refuge in Aru, another district of Ituri, about 300 km from Bunia. They spent three weeks walking without food, shelter and medication. The third child, who was two years old at the time, became ill and died a day after they arrived in Aru.

It is also important to mention that HIV/AIDS spreads easily during civil wars, mainly as a result of rape and sex commercialisation. Women and young girls enter the world of prostitution to gain money to support themselves, their children and or their parents. In many cases, they take part in unprotected sex and become infected with HIV/AIDS and or Sexual Transmitted Infections (STIs) and also unwanted pregnancies.

With all these effects in mind, it can be said that the concept of security has a multi-dimensional meaning to various people. The studies below have demonstrated that the meaning of security as articulated by outsiders differs tremendously with that of ordinary people. In this regard, Donini *et al.* (2005, p.64) state that:

> The process of social transformation that accompanies transitions in countries recovering from conflict are extremely delicate and so often poorly misunderstood by policy-makers, especially humanitarian agencies with no track record of working with communities in a given context and by the military contingents who are culturally diverse, sometimes insensitive to local realities and mores, and subject to frequent rotations.

Donini *et al's.* Statement above can be interpreted in that most often, outsiders tend to define õsecurity in their own terms with little cross-referral, and that the security needs, aspirations and priorities of the local communities are imperfectly understood by both the military and humanitariansö (p.52). Furthermore, they argue that õhuman security and durable peace will not become a reality for those who contribute troops and assistance personnel until it meets the expressed needs of local communitiesö (p.64).

The term security has received its fair share of attention in the area of research. However, the understanding of security in the eyes of local community remains under-researched. In many post-conflict areas, peacekeeping forces are preoccupied by a complete cease-fire, DDR processes, security sector reform (SSR) and protecting civilians from attacks from armed groups. On the other hand, humanitarian organisations are more concerned about ensuring a security framework conducive to their ability to distribute aid and move freely to reach communities in distress. In most cases, ordinary peopleøs voices are not heard or heeded and even sometimes the countryøs own government is ignored in some instances. According to Donini *et al.* (2005, p.64), the dominant voices in post-conflict and transition environments are those of the international community and humanitarian aid agencies. The former and the latter convene meetings in York, London, Paris or Brussels. They plan and execute policies or aid in the war zones without consulting the local people. They pour billions of dollars into non-participatory forms of rehabilitation and development initiatives. At the end of their mandate, they leave, leaving behind a remarkable disproportion between the international responses to crisis. The case of Rwanda in 1994 is a prime example of this: when the UN mission left Rwanda, they left behind

killing orgies (Futardo, 2000; Gardam and Charlesworth, 2000; Gambari, 2001; Francis, 2004; Fox, 2004).

After reading this chapter on the literature review which, in fact focused mainly on the meaning of security through the lens of academics and policy-makers, my supervisor suggested that I look at the meaning of security as perceived by ordinary people. First of all, there is little research on this issue. Borrowing the words of Uvin (2007, p.40) as he mentions that: ðI personally know of only one paper, by a team of colleagues at Tufts International Famine Centre who had a similar research in Afghanistan, Kosovo and Sierra Leoneö (Donini *et al.* 2005). Nevertheless, I searched for such material on the internet and in different libraries, I used Google and Yahoo search engines to locate empirical studies on the understanding of ordinary people about security, but my search was vain. I searched in the Uppsala Universityøs Conflict Data Programme [UCDP], The International Peace Research Institute [IPRI], the Human Security Centre (Reports) and Human Security Gateway and other accredited journals on the study of peace and security, such as the Journal of Peace Research and Security Dialogue [JPRSD] and other centres that offer courses and publish issues related to peace and security. I was only able to find six studies which have examined the meaning of security as perceived by ordinary people. These studies are Donini *et al.* (2005); Miyazawa, (2005); Sacipa *et al.* (2006); Oxfam (2007); Uvin (2007) and Vinck *et al.* (2008). These studies are summarised in the following table:

TABLE 2.1

EMPIRICAL STUDIES ON THE MEANING OF SECURITY BY ORDINARY PEOPLE

The Study	Location and date	Research aims	Research methods	Main Results
Donini, *et al.* (2005)	Afghanistan, Kosovo and Sierra Leone. January ó March 2005	To examine perceptions of security among three sets of actors: Peace Support Operations [PSOs], Assistance Agencies [AAs] and Local Communities [LCs].	24 Focus groups with 234 participants and 113 respondents in semi-structured interviews.	Three major findings: (1) Perceptions of security differ significantly among the three sets of actors, (2) Perceptions differ significantly within each of the sets of actors and (3) perceptions of security evolve significantly over time.
Miyazawa, 2005	Bougainville, Australia	To examine the perception of peace among the youth of Bougainville in the post-conflict peace building	Semi-structured interviews with 45 young people	Peace means harmony, bringing people together or people live and work happily together. Peace means also freedom of movement, freedom of speech, justice or human rights and order.
Sacipa, *et al.* (2006)	The city of Bogotá in Colombia.	(1) The identification of values related to peace, (2) the analysis of dispositions toward the construction of peace cultures and (3) the comparative analysis of the meanings of peace by gender and generation.	Eight Focus groups with four to ten participants.	The findings revealed that participants had multiple and varied understandings of the meanings of peace (security) as related to personal and social well-being.

Oxfam, 2007	Northern Uganda. May ó June 2007	(1)To amplify the voices of communities affected by conflicts (2) to highlight the continuing urgency of reaching a comprehensive peace agreement and (3) to identify some of the most building blocks of long-term peace in northern Uganda.	Focus groups discussions with 91 participants and a survey with 600 IDPs.	The findings revealed that a peace agreement between all warring parties is only one of the building blocks for sustainable peace in Northern Uganda.
Uvin, 2007	Burundi	To examine the perception of young Burundians on peace after 13 years of war.	Open-ended interviews with 181 young Burundians.	Local communities viewed peace or security as safety from physical harm and abuse as well as a sense of well-being.
Vinck *et al.* 2008	Ituri, North and South Kivu, DRC September ó December 2007	This study aims to assess the overall exposure to violence among the population in eastern Congo as a result of war and violations of human rights and to understand the priorities and needs of civilians affected by the conflict.	The study used both qualitative and quantitative methods, and cross sectional survey of 2,600 individuals in eastern DRC and 1,133 individuals in Kinshasa and Kisangani combined.	The study found that peace and security were the most frequently reported priorities, followed by livelihood concerns, including money, education and food and water.

The first study (Donini *et al.*, 2005) took place in Afghanistan, Kosovo and Sierra Leone between January and March 2005 and involved a total of 347 informants. The findings of this study were categorised into three major sections. First, the research revealed that the meaning of security diverged extensively among the three components. The PSOs understood security in terms of using force to protect civilians against external threats whereas the AAs were more concerned with elements of insecurity that jeopardised their ability to render assistance and protection activities to local people. The AAs define security in terms of anything that could stop somatic harm and abuse. They extended the meaning of security to include basic needs, such as employment, access to vital services, political participation and cultural identity. For local communities, however, security echoed an amalgamation of factors, such as age, gender,

economic status and political position. Local communities viewed security as safety from corporal hurt and violence and furthermore the well-being of individuals in the form of employment, access to vital provisions, political involvement, and cultural identity. It was found that local communities have a more holistic understanding of security, that is, human security compared to the PSOs and AAs whose knowledge of security is limited to the scope of their intervention mandate On this, Donini *et al.* (2005, p.61) argued that õthe common thread is the importance of human security, especially when physical security concerns associated with conflict are no longer the most pressing issue.ö In this regard, human security is viewed as crucial to ensure that the somatic violence predicament did not recur. For example, in Afghanistan, ordinary people viewed security as the fight against crime and corruption but the major concern was human security with a heavy emphasis on employment. This meant that the lack of service delivery in terms of transport, electricity and efficiently functioning institutions had a negative impact on the lives of local people in Afghanistan. There is another finding that is worthwhile mentioning in Afghanistan: views of security differed according to economic status and gender. The rich felt least secure due to the fact that they were the most often the target of crime whereas women feared increased harassment and the kidnapping of their children. On the other hand, in Kosovo, local people defined security in terms of the suppression of ethnic clashes between Albanians and Serbs. Local people in Kosovo were gripped with fear about the future status of Kosovo, making this a potential breeding ground of physical insecurity. With the economy in tatters, and some 74 percent of those under the age of 30 years unemployed, this was seen by local people as a ticking bomb and they expressed the fear that it would flare into violence from time to time. The interviewees mentioned that this situation had led to petty crime among the population with regard to physical security. Finally, in Sierra Leone, ordinary people perceived security as a decrease in robbery and petty crime. These two factors had a negative impact on the lives of local people. In broader terms, they were connected to poverty, corruption among poorly paid police and the broader issues of justice and accountability, the mismanagement or the embezzlement of government funds. The large numbers of unemployed youth were said to be the cause of physical insecurity. Arguably, communities interviewed in Sierra Leone mention that õsome of the threats to physical security were being dealt with but the bona fide issues that created insecurity were not addressed with satisfactory earnestness or urgencyö (p.61).

To summarise the findings of this study, one may say that the meaning of security to ordinary people differs from to that of the international community. While the latter places emphasis on the suppression of immediate violence in terms of physical protection, local perceptions of security move rather quickly to include a wider range of concerns beyond physical security.

Finally, the study found that the meaning of security has evolved over time. Data suggested that the meaning of security to ordinary people moved swiftly to encapsulate other concerns than physical security. It is important to mention that in Donini *et al's.* (2005) study the term security is defined narrowly in terms of physical protection and in a more broad expression human security. Thus, physical security means the somatic safety of individuals and groups of people is pledged against threats to life and extremity - in other words, freedom from fear. On the other hand, human security encapsulates an array of rights and aspirations which extend beyond freedom from fear to the entire scale of social, economic and cultural rights that are part of freedom from want (p.50).

Miyazawaøs (2005) study examines the perception of peace among the youth of Bougainville in the post-conflict peacebuilding process. It used semi-structured interviews with 45 young people and it was found that to them, peace means harmony, bringing people together or people living and working happily together. In other words, peace is the freedom of movement, the freedom of speech, justice or human rights and order.

In Sacipa *et al's.* (2006) study, peace and security meant the same thing. Both concepts have shifted from their traditional meanings, that is, the absence of war for the former and military reaction against external aggression for the latter - to embrace a more holistic meaning that strives for human dignity with respect to social, cultural, economical and political rights.

Sacipa *et al.* (2006) found that few people attributed the meaning of peace to reconciliation. It was found that this meaning of peace was related to the then war context in Columbia where negotiations between the government and one of the principal groups of actors in the armed conflict had failed (p.164). The study found that women mentioned the grassroots subcategory of leadership as their own responsibility as models of leadership of peaceful relations in their

families. In the second subcategory of leadership, some participants identified Mother Theresa of Calcutta and Jesus Christ as models of leaders as well as some national writers and a local mayor as good leaders. The findings reveal that NGOs were also conducting good models of leadership. The last subcategory of leadership was related to four public figures of whom two were nationals (a bishop and the president of Colombia) and the other two were Gandhi and Rigoberta Menchu (2006, p.164-5). The findings revealed that almost all participants defined peace as spiritual tranquillity, with varied nuances that included internal harmony and equilibrium. A few participants related peace to material gain (p.165). All participants expressed varied opinions about peace in relation to the dimensions of interpersonal interactions leading to non-violence. The study gave an example whereby some medical student participants referred to the equilibrium between individuals, to diversity of perspectives and to non-discrimination while other participants linked peace to non-interference in each other's business. However, in the group of dentists, peace was defined as tolerance, respect and listening. Participants in another group labelled as PEC1 defined peace as a way of living together, as solidarity, respect and love. On the other hand, PEC2 described peace as a social value that included qualities that result in integration and union. On a similar theme, the group of teachers linked peace to an everyday harmony among individuals. Furthermore, another chunk of participants defined peace as the daily interactions in the community. It also worth noting that - some participants in CEDEPAZ group defined peace as good neighbourhood relationship - in terms of solidarity, cooperation and acceptance of differences (p.166). The findings identified in CEDAPAZ's meaning of peace related closely to basic needs, such as food, housing, employment, whereas the teachers' group noted that the quality of life conditions and minimal social rules, justice and equity, job creation and public education as paramount to peace (p.167).

Sacipa *et al.* (2006, p.167) mentioned that at the beginning of each focus group, participants tended to view peace as the absence of war or direct violence. As discussions progressed, participants realised that peace does not only mean the absence of war, but also encompasses structural conditions like poverty, that in turn provokes conflict. They found (2006, pp.169-70) that the meaning of peace varied according to gender and age group. As far as gender is concerned, women viewed peace as spiritual tranquillity, harmony, tolerance and love as constructed from home. Men, on the other hand defined peace as good living conditions and

good community interrelation. Men also viewed political conditions as guarantors of structural conditions. Taking into account the age gap, adults viewed social practices with long-term goals and divine features as the first step toward peaceful interpersonal affairs. They also comprehended that inner tranquillity and self-acceptance could facilitate conflict resolution. By contrast, youngsters emphasised a short-term perspective. Another important element that showed the differences between adults and youngsters, especially in the category of leadership, was that youngsters identified historical features as peace builders whereas adults viewed themselves as peace agents. However, the findings mentioned that both adults and youngsters agreed that there was an absence of international leadership in the construction of peace in their country and they also viewed peace as a result of social interaction in a community or a social group.

Oxfam (2007) conducted research in northern Uganda in order to identify the meaning of security to ordinary northern Ugandans. On the question, ―What does peace mean to IDPs or do you feel secure?‖ the findings revealed that 45 percent of the survey respondents said that they did not feel secure in camps and roughly 45 participants in the focus groups mentioned the same thing. Furthermore, participants defined peace as freedom of movement, food security, and access to economic opportunities, education and health services. The findings identified life in camps as barely tolerable and one of the greatest sources of tension. As participants were asked to pick as many definitions of ―peace‖ as appropriate, 84 percent of survey respondents chose freedom of movement against 70.5 percent who chose the absence of war. Regarding food security, 39 percent of participants defined peace in terms of food security. On the question about the biggest threat to peace, 85 percent of the survey respondents mentioned that a peace agreement is the only route to sustainable peace. Participants in FGs referred to cattle raiding causing insecurity among IDPs. Besides this, they viewed the signing of cessation of hostilities as a positive act, 56 percent of the survey respondents stated that they were eager to enjoy great freedom of movement and 34 percent saying that they would be able to access land more easily without being threatened once peace is restored. However, fear remained among IDPs in the sense that so often armed pastoralists from Karamoja, a neighbouring district invaded them to steal livestock and loot villages and often committed acts of violence, such as rape and killings. In response to this, a senior official from Madi Opei camp said that:

'While the government is talking to the LRA they should also be talking to the Karimojong [people from Karamoja]. Even if the peace process with the LRA succeeds, the Karimojong will still disturb us. They come over both from Sudan and from within Uganda. And the Government forces cannot protect us' (p.9).

Uvinøs (2007) study was conducted amongst Burundian youth with the aim of understanding, among other things, the meaning of peace after 13 years of war. Though the underlying aim was to obtain an empirical sense of the positive and negative peace debate, Uvin used the opportunity to ask the question ÷What does peace mean to you?ø In open-ended interviews with 181 young Burundians, the study found that participants had different perceptions on peace. Respondents said that peace was a combination of inseparable goods (p.42). They mentioned that these ÷inseparable goodsø were translated into positive peace, social peace, mobility and peace of mind. These are some of their responses:

'Peace is getting up in the morning to go work, and in the evening being able to enjoy the fruits of your work, whether it is little or much, but in calm' (Busiga female farmer, younger than 30).

'Peace is not hearing gun shots anymore. It is not fleeing one's house. Even if I have to sleep on an empty stomach, I know I will wake up in security' (23 year old unemployed woman, sexual abuse victim, Musaga).

'Peace is foremost physical and psychological security. One should not have to be obsessed by security problems. One must arrive at a stage where you don't think of those things anymore' (36 year old demobbed, mechanic, Musaga) (Uvin, 2007, p.42).

'If we live in the same place and understand each other there will be peace' (21 year old female in Busiga)

'If there is a good entente between people, no trouble in community, and they can speak well together' (Busiga, 30 year old male)

'No troubles among people living in the same area' (16 year old female in Ruhororo camp)

Form Uvinøs study, it can be said that good health in terms of the absence of disease and good nutrition, mutual understanding and social justice are the building blocks of peace. These building blocks form a unity that is whole, that is, the meaning of peace. This is substantiated by the comments of a 17 year old male who said that *'if people are often hungry and sick, and have heavy debts and family conflicts, these disrupt peace'* (p.44). Furthermore, participants cited

social relations, cohabitation, entente and love as paramount when talking about the meaning of peace (p.45). For young Burundians, peace is when people live together and no one kills their neighbours but instead, people help each other. This can be explained by the fact that the Burundian war had an ethnic dimension whereby neighbours of different ethnic groups turned against each other. With this respect, good relationships and ethnic understanding is seen as one of the ways to end war (p.46).

The last study on the perceptions of peace or security by ordinary people is Vinck *et al's.* (2008). This study was conducted mainly in eastern DRC in Ituri, North Kivu and South Kivu provinces between September and December 2007. The study's objective was to assess the overall exposure to violence among the population in eastern DRC as a result of war and violations of human rights and to understand the priorities and needs of civilians affected by the conflict. The study used both qualitative and quantitative methods, and it also used a cross sectional survey amongst 2,600 individuals in eastern DRC and 1,133 individuals in Kinshasa and Kisangani combined. The study found that peace and security were the most frequently reported priorities, followed by livelihood concerns, including money, education and food and water. These are very close to the concept of human security as Paris (2001, pp.767-768) and Uvin (2007, p.40) put it. They argue that the meaning of peace and security moves beyond the mere attributed mandate of the state, to encompass a people's concern in terms of well-being and from there to a more holistic and broad based definition that is far from physical violence. This idea is also espoused by Thakur (2004, p.347) and Thomas (2004, p.353).

In summary, these studies suggest that the meaning of security to ordinary people differs from that of policy-makers and academics. While the latter put greater emphasis on the suppression of immediate violence with regard to physical protection and wasted time in defining and clarifying concept of security, ordinary people understand security as a component that include a wider range of concerns beyond physical security. These studies revealed that there are significant differences in the understanding of security between outsiders and local people affected by insecurities. This study will add on the existing literature on the meaning of security by ordinary people.

2.9   CONCLUSION

This chapter contributes to the debates concerning the meaning of human security. It has identified a gap in the literature and has shown the utility of the concept of human security in research. The chapter discussed how the concept of security evolved from the 1980s till the present date. It showed how the concept of security has moved from a state-centric concern to incorporate people as the object of security (human security) along with the state. It has also discussed key contributions to the meaning, the threats and possible ways of improving security. The chapter has also discussed the link between human security and other themes, such as human development and peacebuilding. Finally, the last section of the chapter discussed the meaning of security as viewed by ordinary people. It was found that there are very few empirical studies on this topic and that these studies showed that there are significant differences between outsiders and ordinary people with reference to the meaning of security.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains the research methods by which the study reach its overall objective and specific aims. It explains the nature of qualitative enquiry, then describes the research design by outlining an appropriate procedure and indication of methods that will be used to collect and analyse data. For data collection, the study uses three complementary qualitative methods. These methods are focus groups [FGs], semi-structured interviews [SSIs] and participant observation. This chapter discusses in some detail the structures and processes, strengths and weaknesses, the usefulness and the degree of flexibility of the chosen methods. The chapter also justifies the choice of these methods and describes the formulation of questions, the language and meaning of words used in questions, especially with regard to the translation of questions from English into languages that participants understand better. The procedures used to select participants are discussed, followed by an examination of the validity and reliability of the data collected.

3.2 THE NATURE OF QUALITATIVE ENQUIRY

Qualitative research methods are tools which guide the research. They are an overall approach to study a research topic that includes issues that the researcher wants to investigate (Dawson, 2002, p.14). õQualitative research methods use a naturalistic approach in which the researcher seeks to understand phenomena in context related settingsö (Patton, 2002, p.39). It means that the research takes place in real world settings. Furthermore, õqualitative studies are designed to understand the broader psychological, social, political, or economic contexts in which questions are asked to explore attitudes, behaviour and experiencesö (Ulin et al., 2002, p.135). To do so, interviews are used to get in-depth opinions from informants. These are reported in the form of direct quotations (Patton, 2002, p.4; Robinson, 2002; Ulin et al., 2002, p.3 and Bless et al. 2006).

In contrast, quantitative research investigates causal determination, prediction, and generalisation of findings whereas qualitative research is more involved in understanding ‒the real worldø (Robinson, 2002, p.3) mentions. Furthermore, quantitative research deals with empirical information in the form of numbers, produced by measurement. Qualitative research also deals with empirical information about the world, but not in the form of numbers (Punch, 2005, pp.55-56). However, both qualitative and quantitative researchers need to test and demonstrate the credibility of their findings. Quantitative and qualitative researches differ in many ways. The most obvious difference lies in the design of each method. Qualitative research is phenomenological, inductive, holistic, and subjective whereas quantitative research is positivistic, deductive, particularistic, and objective (p.57).

The following Table 3.1 below gives a simplified distinction between qualitative and quantitative approaches (Mouton, 2001, p.273). The aim of this table is to show that within a quantitative study, a key aim is to control for the variable sources of error that might affect the ultimate validity of the research results. In other words, objectivity is attained through the maximal control of extraneous variables. In the qualitative paradigm, objectivity is understood in two different ways, the importance of the researcher in the research process and their closeness to the research subject - in order to generate legitimate and truthful ‒insiderøs descriptions of the facts. The notion of truthfulness in the broader context of validity and reliability is discussed in section 3.11.

TABLE 3.1

MAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE APPROACHES

Qualitative studies	Quantitative studies
Naturalistic	Numeric
Rich, detailed	Classified, summarised
Inductive	Deductive
Time consuming	Fast, efficient
Contextual detail	Reliable, generalisable

Small sample	Larger samples
Subjective involvement of researcher	Researcher remains objective
Process-oriented	Answers scientific questions
Interpretive	Predictive
Reality socially constructed	Facts have objective reality
Emic (insiderøs view)	Etic (outsidersøview)

T As far as the strengths of qualitative research are concerned, qualitative research allows the researcher to obtain deep and detailed information. Secondly, it favours openness and can generate new theories or can recognise phenomena ignored by many researchers and literature (Robinson, 2002, p.5). Lastly, it stimulates informantsø world views and attempts to avoid pre-judgments (Patton, 2002, p.3; Denzin and Lincoln, 2002, p.x)was mentioned above, the goal of qualitative research is to study what happens in the real world by hearing from people on their own terms and from their own perspectives (Mouton, 2006, p.3; Denzin and Lincoln, 2008, p.1).

Qualitative research certainly has certain weaknesses that can be described as follows:

- Fewer people participate in a study but the findings are applied to a larger number.
- It is difficult to aggregate data and to make systematic comparisons.
- The success of the method depends on the researcherøs personal attitudes and skills, which means that if the researcher is not skilled enough, this can temper the findings of the study.
- The presence of the researcher might change the social situation, especially if the researcher is not a member of the community in which they intend to carry their research (De Vaus, 2001; Ezzy, 2002; Mouton, 2003; Davies, 2007).

The next section discusses the design of this study in its broadest sense, and describes all the steps that are taken from the conceptualisation of the study, the sampling, the procedures for data collection and the methods used as well as data analysis and all ethical issues that might arise during the course of the study.

3.3   RESEARCH DESIGN

Mouton (2001, p.69) argues that õposing a problem properly is often more difficult than answering it.ö In other words, a properly formulated question or clarifying what one wants to know generates an answer quite easily. Basically, a research design is a process that clarifies the logic of research in a way to reach valid and truthful results. Borrowing the words of Lewis (2000, p.47), a good qualitative research design is one which has a clearly defined purpose, in which there is a coherence between the research questions and the methods or approaches proposed, and which generates data that is valid and reliable. In other words, a research design relies on all steps taken in planning the study, the sampling as well as the sources and procedures for data collection and data analysis plans.

It is worth noting that a research design is defined in many ways according to various authors. In this study, a research design is used to describe all the process that the researcher undertakes in order to reach the overall objective and the specific aims of the study respectively, to examine the relevance of the concept of human security in building peace and security in Ituri province, Democratic Republic of Congo, to determine the extent to which various components of human security are relevant to understanding the meaning of security to a sample of Ituri residents; to identify the perceived threats to human security in the province and to explore perceptions of how human security can be built in Ituri province.

 In this study the types of measurement, sampling, data collection and data analysis methods that the researcher employs is what a research design is all about. These procedures are thoroughly discussed in sections 3.4, 3.5, 3.7 and 3.8.

3.4   METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

There are many different methods used under the umbrella of qualitative research. Although these methods are to some extent different from one another, they have one thing in common: they all take place in the real world and involve human subjects. As was mentioned in the introduction, this study uses three complementary qualitative research approaches, participant

observation, focus group and semi-structured interviews. These methods are described and summarised below, with particular attention focused on their strengths.

3.4.1   Participant observation

Participant observation occurs when the researcher is part of the study. Mason (2002, p.84) states that in participant observation, the researcher immerses themselves õin a research setting with the aim to experience and observe at first hand a range of dimensions in and of that settingö using observation, participation, interrogation, listening and communication. This method involves õthe researcher getting close to people and making them feel comfortable with their presence. By doing so, the researcher observes and records information about a given topicö (Bernard, 2002, p.322). The main advantage of this method lies in the fact that it allows the researcher to believe that internal and external validity are integrated into the method of collection and analysis of data. This occurs at the same time as the data is being gathered (Sanchez-Jankowski, 2002, p.145). For example, this method can be applied in a situation when the researcher wants to examine the tragedy of infant mortality in a given community. The researcher has to move in and live for a period of time in that particular community and must be directly involved, particularly in the lives of mothers with infants and mothers whose infants have died. This may take months or years, as the researcher builds up a lasting and trusting relationship with the people being studied (Dawson, 2002, p.32). Furthermore, participant observation can be carried out within any community, culture or context which is different to the usual community and/or culture of the researcher. For example, it may be carried out within a remote African tribe or in hospitals, factories, schools, prisons and so on (p.101). It is worth noting that participant observation can be used in a short period of time, during a focus group, for example. During discussion, the researcher observes group dynamics and takes note of relevant information that can be used in the course of analysis (Sofaer, 2002; Parker, 2006).

3.4.2   Focus groups

Halcomb et al. (2007, p.1001) state that the õfocus group method is an increasingly common research tool used to obtain the opinions, values and beliefs from an identifiable group, using a

facilitated interview technique.ö For Denton and McDonagh (2003, p.131) the focus group method centres on a gathering of target users brought together for a relatively informal discussion on a specific topic or issue. Krueger and Casey (2000, p.5) state that the õfocus group method is a carefully planned series of discussions designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment.ö In the words of Grudens-Schuck, et al. (2004, p.1) the focus group method is seen as one of several tools that educators can use to generate valid information, important to the advancement of programmes, communities, and organisations. Borrowing the words of Kitzinger (1995, p.1), the focus group method is a form of group interviews that capitalises on communication between the researcher and the participants in order to generate data.

Form the definitions above, it is important to mention that the focus group method is used to explore and clarify the views and perceptions of participants on a given topic or issue that individual interviews might not achieve. For example, participants might not want to discuss issues that they find personal in a one-to-one interview. But through a group interaction, the researcher may be able to reach information that other methods cannot reach. In this regard, for example, participants have the tendency to use the personal pronoun ±theyø rather than ±I.ø In other words, group interviews generate data through the views expressed by participants individually and collectively (Kitzinger 1995, Krueger, 1998a, b and c; Boor et al. 2001; Mason, 2002).

There are different views on when this method was first used. Robinson (1999, p.905) states that the method was used for the first time in the 1920s by market researchers to measure consumer expectations. According to Krueger and Casey (2000), the method was initially used by social scientists of the 1930s who where no longer satisfied with the accuracy of individual interviews in all situations. Suter (2000, p.3) states that the focus group method was used for the first time by Lazarsfeld in the 1940s to investigate the positive and negative emotional reactions to radio programmes of participants in America. Suter further postulates that Lazarsfeldøs colleague Merton also used focus group method to explore a radio audienceøs reception to persuasive messages encouraging war bond pledges in World War II and again he used the method to investigate the impact of training films on World War II soldiers (Suter 2000, p.2). In the same era, the focus group method, then called the ±focused interviewø was also used in academic

marketing research. In this regard, Morgan (1997, p.12) explains that õmarket researchers relied on focus group method as a means of uncovering consumersøpsychological motivations.ö

The focus group method is designed to investigate the attitudes, perceptions and feelings of people about a particular issue. In this particular method, the aim is to get as much information as possible. In this spectrum, Krueger and Casey (2000, p.5) explain that in a focus group discussion, õthe researcher creates a permissive environment that nurtures different perceptions and points of view, without pressuring participants to vote, plan, or reach consensus.ö It means that both concrete information and opinions are considered relevant and every response is considered to be valid. Through this process, a lot of information is generated.

The following part describes steps to follow when organising focus group discussions: First, the researcher formulates the research questions then selects and trains research assistants if these are needed. These two steps are followed by the sampling or the recruitment of participants, and then the researcher schedules, invites and conducts the actual group interview, using a tape recorder and/or taking notes. Finally the researcher analyses data.

According to Krueger and Casey (2000), õfocus group method produces qualitative data that provides insights into the attitudes, perceptions, and opinions of participants.ö The focus group method has the advantage of making it possible for the researcher to observe the interactive process occurring among participants. Although the presence of the researcher may alter the behaviour of those they observe; this may be less the case in focus groups than in individual interviews (Hyde et al., 2005, p.2588).

In a focus group, a moderator or facilitator asks questions and controls digressions and makes sure that everyone participates in the discussion, thereby avoiding strong characters from dominating the discussion. The moderator operates as the unobtrusive leader of the discussion and stimulates discussion among participants (Dawson, 2002 and Castello, 2003). In the words of Greenbaum (1998, p. 38), õthe moderator uses a guiding draft that they have prepared in advance based on the research objectives.ö

The focus group method typically involves a group of between six and ten participants. This is to facilitate the discussion in the sense of allowing at least everybody to say something, so that the researcher gets information from each participant (Dushku, 2000, pp.763-768). The focus group method is a forum of small groups of people brought together for up to two hours to solicit their opinions and beliefs on a given topic. In these groups, individuals discuss all the topics and this generates the information needed quite easily and quickly (Beyea and Nicoll, 2000, p.2).

It is worth noting that the focus group method allows the researcher to conduct several sessions with similar participants to detect patterns and trends. The process can be repeated until the researcher reaches saturation level, i.e., when there are no more new ideas in the groups. For example, a researcher may want to know whether boysø and girlsø opinions about the use of condoms are similar. The researcher might use three groups of boys and three groups of girls. As the topic is sensitive, many participants, especially girls might not feel comfortable to talk about sex in front of other people. As long as the group continues to meet, everybody may feel free to talk about what they know about sex practices or experiences.

In a focus group, participants are reasonably homogenous. Proponents of the method argue that homogeneity is one of the key elements of a group (Crossley, 2002; Patton, 2002; Denton and McDonagh, 2003; Mouton, 2003). To form suitable groups for interviews, the researcher has to bear in mind that selection is done according to the background of participants. Usually geographical location, age, gender, income, employment status are appropriate criteria to select participants from one group. The motive is to help participants feel free to talk about what they know. They will be more comfortable with one another if they come from the same

socioeconomic background. On the other hand, strangers may be less inhibited if they know they will not meet other members of the group again (Otoide et al., 2001, p.78).

The focus group method provides an interactive context that yields free responses that might not be expected from individual interviews. This will depend on the spontaneity and security of participants within the group. In a focus group, participants are able to interact to each other naturally - as they would in real life. This increases the ability of participants to be more involved in the discussion. The experience of each participant enriches the discussions and has an impact on the opinions of others. The focus group method is a collective activity that focuses on participantsø attitudes and beliefs. The method allows the researcher to ask questions in order to find out information about an issue and receives a wide range of responses during one meeting. According to Mouton (2001, p. 292), the main advantage of the method is that the researcher has the opportunity to observe a large amount of interaction on a topic in a very limited period of time. Dawson (2002, p.5) argues that the method helps some participants to remember issues they might otherwise have forgotten. The method is relatively low cost and the results are obtained directly in a very limited period of time. Usually, meetings take between one and two hours to conduct.

 The focus group method also presents certain challenges to the researcher. Sometimes, the researcher has less control over the group. Due to absenteeism, participants in a group may not be the same the following day. Sometimes, it might be difficult to assemble everybody as scheduled. Some participants may feel uncomfortable and nervous to speak in front of other people and not everyone may contribute. On the other hand, some participants may influence other individualsø views. Logistics may pose problems in the sense that the equipment such as tape recorder, tapes, batteries, etc. might not be available in the area. There may also not be a suitable venue that is easily accessible It is easier to assemble four people in a room than 10 people. In some cases, the presence of the researcher may hinder the behaviour of some participants. Also, some researchers may find it difficult or intimidating to moderate the group (Robinson, 1999, p. 909). One or more participants may monopolise the group discussion, therefore one opinion may prevail in the group. Sometimes, data can be more difficult to analyse or a large amount of time and resources might be needed.

In summary, the main features of focus groups are presented in Table 3.2.

TABLE 3.2

MAIN FEATURES OF FOCUS GROUPS

Feature	Focus Group
Format	Group session
Size	6 ó 10 per session; invite twice as many
Length	More less 2 hours
Number of sessions	Varies
Participants	1. Selected by invitation only 2. Similar characteristics
Forms of data	1. Conversation, including tone of voice 2. Silences (words and issues) 3. Body language
Data collection	1. Audiotape 2. Transcribe
Researcher	1.Flexibility yet focused 2.Uses interview guide; modify based on early sessions
Formats for reporting	1. Selected quotations 2. Analysis of repeated themes

Adapted from: Grudens-Schuck et al. 2004.

A.   *Case studies of data collection using focus groups*

By reflecting on the questions posed by the interview, FGs explore what participants think with no intention of problem solving, or decision-making, or to reach any kind of consensus. They give their opinions, hear other participantsø responses and make additional comments as the discussion goes along. In this exercise, new information, or re-phrased questions within the group allow the researcher to observe when opinions shift and under what influences and circumstances (Robinson 1999, p.906). It is for this reason that the method has become popular in difference fields of research be they in social, human and other sciences. Table 3.3 summarises recent case studies that have used the focus group method to collect data. The ideal would be to use studies in peace and security field, but after extensive search only a few studies in the field of peace and security used focus group method. Nevertheless, the main point here is to show how well this method is highly suitable to collect data in this particular study.

TABLE 3.3

SUMMARY OF RECENT STUDIES, USING FOCUS GROUPS

Location	Year	Purpose	Nº of FGs	Nº of people	Results	References
Finland	2007	To examine the meanings of violence among young people in two Finnish reform schools.	15	38	The study revealed that there were many different meanings of violence among young people living in two Finnish reform schools. Among the meanings are physical violence, parent violence and staff violence.	Poso et al., 2008.

Queensland, Australia	2006	To explore barriers to anti-retroviral medication adherence that youth living with HIV/AIDS face.	3	25	The findings suggested that HIV/AIDS stigma and discrimination by peers and family were the major factors that infringed free adherence of participants to anti-retroviral treatment.	Lennon, 2007.
Chicago, U.S.	2006	To explore barriers to anti-retroviral medication adherence that youth living with HIV/AIDS face.	3	25	The findings suggested that HIV/AIDS stigma and discrimination by peers and family were the major factors that infringed free adherence of participants to anti-retroviral treatment.	Rao et al., 2007.
East Orange, New Jersey, New Orleans, Louisiana, Washington, DC., Clarksburg, West Virginia, Palo Alto, California (PACA); and Los Angeles, California (LACA), U.S.	2006	To determine the veteransø existing knowledge, perceptions, and concerns about bioterrorism in general and the specific biological agents such as Anthrax, Ebola, Spanish Flu, and Small Pox in particular.	2	8	The study revealed that participants had limited knowledge about bioterrorism and biological agents such as Anthrax, Ebola, Spanish Flu and Small Pox. The majority of focus group participants across all groups thought that providing educational material to veterans on bioterrorism in advance of an attack was a good thing to do.	Santos et al., 2007.
Romania	2007	The purpose of the focus group was to gather consumer insights about a product.	2	8	The study revealed that the product was not known to the consumers.	David, 2007.
South California, U.S.	2002/3	To examine preferences between presentation	2	34	The findings revealed that students preferred presentation methods	Thomas and Lancaster, 2007.

		methods among graduate students enrolled in a research seminar course.			because they had a significant impact on their learning capacity.	
Bogotá, Colombia.	2006	The study seeks to comprehend the views of young and adults from different social backgrounds of Bogotá about the values related to the meanings of peace.	8	45	Findings showed that participantsø knowledge of the meanings of peace was related to personal and social well-being.	Sacipa et al., 2006.
Arizona, U.S.	2006	To describe factors that facilitates or hinders diabetes self-management among Mexican Americans.	*2*	40	The study revealed that participants expressed their need for knowledge on how to self-manage the disease.	Vincent et al., 2006.
Dublin, Ireland.	2003/4	To explore post-primary pupilsø knowledge on sexuality and sex education.	29	226	The findings revealed that participants had gaps in knowledge about sexuality. The study also mentioned that peer-based rules of conduct propelled young men to demonstrate a strong interest in sex and sexual conquest: ignoring or not realising the consequences of their actions.	Hyde et al., 2005
Linkoping, Sweden	2003	To find out whether the focus group method can be employed with troubled groups and for discussion of high-involvement topics, such as the body, relationship and	5	11	The analysis of data suggested that the focus group method can indeed be used for high-involvement topics. This method can be seen as a less intrusive method to be used when studying topics such as sexuality.	Overlien et al., 2005.

		sexuality.				
Al Ain United Arab Emirates.	2002	To explore perceptions, attitudes and beliefs about breast cancer and its screening among Emirati national women in Al Ain, United Arab Emirates	4	41	The Emirati women's perceptions, attitudes and beliefs about breast cancer and its screening were enhanced by the healthcare system and social milieu to influence their preventive practices.	Bener et al., 2002.
Benin City, Nigeria.	2001	To investigate adolescents' perceptions concerning the risks of contraceptive use and those of induced abortion.	20	149	The study revealed that girls did not want to use contraceptives for fear of future infertility. They would rather rely on induced abortion than any contraception method.	Otoide et al., 2001.
Nakuru District, Kenya.	2000	To provide insights into perceptions, coping strategies and constraints in the changing behaviour of sexually active people in Nakuru District, Kenya.	12	100	People from Nakuru considered unwanted pregnancy and HIV/AIDS infection to be serious problems. Men did not use condoms with their wives and the wives did not have the ability to refuse sex to their husbands or negotiate the use of a condom even if thought they were at risk of getting infected by the virus.	Bauni and Jarabi, 2000.
Albania.	1999	To investigate the use of English Language Teaching (ELT) Aid in Albania Universities.	3	10	The study helped the researcher to identify areas of change in ELT Aid in Albanian Universities.	Dushku, 2000.
Nigeria, Ghana & Sierra Leone.	1992	To identify barriers to the use of healthcare facilities when obstetric problems arise.	11	184	The findings revealed that socio-cultural and accessibility factors were the major barriers that influenced women not to use health-care services.	The Prevention of Maternal Mortality Network [PMMN], 1992.

Overlien et al. (2005, p.332) argue that it is quite common to think that FG method is primarily designed for low-involvement topics and mainstream groups such as gathering a group of women together to talk about a certain brand of nappies. The studies in Table3.3 show that the method is indeed useful when investigating sensitive matters. For example, matters related to peace and violence (Poso et al., 2008; Santos et al., 2007; Sacipa et al., 2006), parenting (Lennon, 2007), youth and sexuality and health (Rao et al., 2007; Vincent et al., 2006; Hyde et al., 2005; Overlien et al., 2005; Bener et al., 2002; Otoide et al., 2001; Bauni & Jarabi, 2000; PMMN, 1992), Marketing (David, 2007), education (Thomas and Lancaster, 2007; Dushku, 2000).

B. *Characteristics of participants*

Although the FG method is particularly effective in collecting information about sensitive topics, such as breast cancer, infectious diseases, sexual behaviour, and so on, the characteristics of participants may alter the findings in the sense that the views of participants with extensive knowledge in the area of enquiry may be considered as final. For example, in the study *"Why Nigerian Adolescents seek Abortion Rather than Contraception"* by Otoide et al. (2001), the findings revealed that girls and women are reluctant to use contraceptives on the ground that they believed the latter would render them barren. They preferred abortion, since they believed that this procedure would never affect their fertility. Although participants in the FGs in the study of Otoide et al were broadly selected in terms of their geographical settings, heterogeneity and occupations in order to include a broad range of socioeconomic and educational. It was envisaged that this would facilitate social interaction within the groups. It was noticed that sexually active youths gave lengthier responses and more detailed information than those who were not sexually active. Similarly, the more educated discussants tended to give more correct explanations compared to the less educated (p.78). This situation resulted in a diversity of opinions. For instance, the definition of abortion posed controversial opinions. Mature girls (those sexually active and educated) defined abortion as an act or process of terminating an unwanted pregnancy at earlier stage, that is, less than three months and said that termination was performed by õsucking.ö To the immature and less educated participants, abortion was when the termination of a pregnancy was performed four months and longer after conception.

Knowledge gap among participants was also seen in the reasons given for adolescents seeking termination of unwanted pregnancies. Mature or educated participants mentioned that they sought to terminate pregnancy in order to avoid having to leave school, being able look younger for potential marriage, not wanting to marry the partner with whom they felt pregnant, not knowing the actual father and family pressure. In contrast, the less educated participants mentioned that they aborted because pregnancy was just a test to know if they can bear children and another reason was to use sex as a means of making financial demands on their male partners (p.79).

As far as the use of contraceptives was concerned, younger sexually inexperienced participants had little exposure to specific means of contraception whereas mature participants confirmed that they knew specific means of contraception such as pills, IUD, injectables. More educated participants mentioned that the contraception methods were ineffective, but worked to some extent while the less educated were adamant that the methods of contraception did not work. They said, for example, that oral contraceptives contaminated the blood, therefore interfered with fertility. They associated injectables with abscess, paralysis and infertility while condoms were viewed as unreliable. It is also worth mentioning that although participants had different opinions concerning issues regarding sex, by far the majority of them viewed the use of condoms as a means of protecting themselves against sexually transmitted diseases rather than for preventing pregnancy.

The knowledge gap among participants was also observed in (Bauni and Jarabiøs 2000) case study on sexual behaviour regarding HIV/AIDS in Nakuru District in Kenya. Out of twelve focus groups, eight groups were composed entirely of women. Four focus groups were composed of urban women and other four of women from rural areas. From these four groups from rural areas, women in two groups used contraceptives while women in the other two groups did not use contraceptives. Urban women admitted that they used contraceptives. The urban women recognised that STDs and HIV infections were a serious problem in their communities. In contrast, neither rural women nor men regarded these infections as a serious matter. They maintained that the few local people who were infected by STDs or HIV had acquired these from individuals who had entered the area from outside, particularly from the urban area.

This study indicated that, despite the awareness of the potential dangers of unwanted pregnancies and infectious disease, most focus group participants reported that they continued to engage in high-risk sexual behaviours. This was due to the perceptions that participants had about the use of condoms. They mentioned that people who used condoms were regarded as promiscuous and that condoms were a symbol of immorality, infidelity and uncontrolled sexuality. Furthermore, they said that condoms reduced pleasure and could burst at any time. This information was also found by Hyde et al. (2005) in their study on sexual behaviour among adolescents. Culturally based gender, economic and social inequalities, and the age gaps between partners made women vulnerable as they were not in a strong position to negotiate safe sex. Under exposure to health care facilities was also another hindrance with regards to high-risk sexual behaviour. For example, unwanted pregnancies occurred mainly among adolescents who were ashamed to seek medical care. In this regard, Bauni and Jarabi (pp.71-77) argue that:

> Adolescents are often alienated from the limited medical services available to them both by legal restrictions and by negative attitudes they perceive among the staff at health facilities, therefore this results in lack of knowledge of contraceptive methods and access to contraceptive services and supplies.

Although the aim of FGs is not to reach consensus, educating and evaluating the focus group process relies on an open trusting environment that does not attempt to persuade or coerce participantsø opinions. Participants may learn many things as they share their experience and opinions, but the general idea of FGs is to encourage participants to express their own opinions and not to be persuaded in a certain direction through information or influence (Larson et al., 2004, p.3). In some instances, one person or a group of people exert an undue on the rest. This is called ÷dominant voices.ø

C.   *Dominant voices*

One of the pitfalls of FGs in that only one or a few group members might have their opinion heard and clearly articulated or where one or some participants dominate the whole discussion. Smithson (2000, pp.107-8) raises this issue in her study where focus groups were used to collect data. The study set out to examine whether house chores are more suited to women than men.

Looking at the socio-demographic characteristics of participants, all of them were in their 20s and were childless. During the course of discussions, a few participants argued that house chores were considered to be more suitable for women while men should look for an external job. This viewpoint dominated the entire discussion, leaving no space for those who had alternative views. Smithson mentions that there was a participant who wanted to raise their voice but was simply ignored because a few numbers of participants had monopolised the whole discussion. From this analysis, it can be said that, it is the onus of the moderator to direct the discussion to avoid dominant voices. This kind of finding leads one to think that the result of the study was the opinion of the majority, whereas it was only a handful of participants who managed to impose their voices on the rest.

Moreover, Vicsek (2007, p.26) attributes this behaviour to the personal characters of participants. He argues that õpersonal character can influence participants on two levelsö notably the individualøs characters that influence the rest of the group on what and how they say things and the groupøs character or the dynamic within the group. He lists aspects such as hetero/homogeneity in a group and members of a group who are strange or familiar to each other. These ÷characteristicsøcan influence the behaviour of the whole group.

Furthermore, Frith (2000, p.278) argues that dominant voices tend to steer discussions in a personal direction. If the moderator is not careful, dominant voices may lead the discussion to unanticipated areas of interest which can dramatically change the course of the research. Frith gives an example in which the moderator was caught by surprise. Firthøs moderator wanted to know about sexual risk taking; having issues related to HIV infection and teenage pregnancy as key topics. During the course of discussion, some participants brought in the notion of women using sex in exchange for drugs and gang protection. This topic then dominated the rest of the time of the discussion. It is worth noting that these diversions appear most of the time in FGs, even in other types of qualitative research, but according to Frith, they are more frequent in FGs, resulting from the moderatorøs inability to reorient the discussion towards the foreseen topics.

Nevertheless, FGs have contributed significantly to the production of sound data in the existing literature on sexual behaviour, for example. The list of publications in this area is not exhaustive.

To sum up, one may say that FGs are a useful tool for exploring complex topics. They allow the researcher to investigate the opinions and experiences of participants simultaneously and to discover issues which are important to participants (Frith, 2000, p.279). Normally, participants in FGs are selected on the basis of their ability to provide information that is relevant to the research topic. This requires that selected participants have experience of the topic to be discussed. This study intends to apply screening processes while recruiting participants.

In some focus group discussions, participants have diverse voices or opinions. Smithson (2000, p.112-5) uses homosexuality as an example to highlight diverse opinions in a focus group discussion in which two members of the group, although heterosexual, expressed tolerance towards homosexuals whereas the rest were against that practice. Smithson suggests that in order to get balanced information in such groups, it would be good to bring lesbians and homosexuals into the discussion to talk about themselves rather than having other people talk about them. This pattern was also noticed by Poso et al. (2008, p.78) who used FGs in the study on violence. They found two participants belonging to two opposing different youth cultures and. the whole session was dominated by verbal threats of violence between those two boys to such extent that the matter had to be dealt with even after the group session.

From the situations cited above, it can be said that when using the focus group method, the researcher may encounter many challenges that arise during the course of actual discussions. Some of these challenges are notably the characteristics of participants, the perceptions and misconceptions of participants and the dominant voices.

These challenges will be checked in this study as participants in this study will be selected from different political affiliations and members of different former militia groups and antagonistic ethnic groups. The researcher assumes that such challenges will arise and has provided techniques to avoid them.

D.   *Handling sensitive issues*

In many African studies on health related issues, it has been revealed that people tend to refuse to use health care facilities for several reasons. This argument is supported by studies such as Rao et al., (2007) and PMMN, (1992). For example, in the PMMN study it was found that socio-cultural factors such as societal expectations and the role of women affected the use of health services. Both studies mentioned above found that women in rural areas in Africa did not use health care facilities for various reasons. For example, these studies found that many women did not trust modern medicine and consulted traditional and spiritual healers and herbalists. In this regard, the PMMN study found that in West Africa, particularly in rural communities in Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, women did not go to health centres for the treatment of obstetric emergencies. When obstetric complications occurred in pregnant women, the latter were taken to the traditional healer to diagnose the cause(s). Usually, these causes were said to relate to women's infidelity or insubordination to their husbands or elders. If this was the case, the oracle would ask the woman to apologise and perform cleansing rites before they were taken for modern treatment.

Furthermore, the role of women in their society or women's status in their family did not allow them to approach health care facilities. This will be seen a failure on their side to perform their natural duties, that is, to give normal birth. Some of these duties are respect, give natural birth, etc. For example in one focus group, in PMMN (1992) study, the majority of participants confirmed that in northern Nigeria and among the Malian population residing in Accra (Ghana), women lived in seclusion and did not work or trade. In such an environment if obstetric complications arose, a woman had to seek her husband's permission first if she wanted to go to hospital. PMMN, (1992) gave an example of a woman who had to wait for the return of her husband who was away on business trip to ask for permission to go to a hospital that was only 10 minutes walk from her house. By the time she was taken to hospital, she had already developed serious complications that resulted in the death of the baby.

This argument is in line with the findings of the study in Nakuru District (Bauni and Jarabi, 2000), where women refused to go to hospital on the grounds that they feared having an operated

(caesarean). The study revealed that a woman who failed to deliver vaginally was thought to have failed in her essential role. In this essence, women preferred to die rather than undergo surgical delivery.

Furthermore, in Rao et al's (2007) study, young people living with HIV were barred from seeking treatment because of the societal stigma. Twenty five young people participated in focus group study which explored their attitudes and experiences around seeking HIV/AIDS related treatment. The findings revealed that HIV stigma and the efforts of those who are positive to hide their status from friends, families and doctors were the causes that prevented the youth from seeking treatment for HIV/AIDS. The fact that some patients had to skip taking medication while with friends or relatives had a negative impact on their health.

These examples demonstrate that the characteristics, perceptions and misconceptions of participants can impact upon the data generated in a focus group study. Topics related to sex among adolescents for example, might not yield accurate information. Wright (1994) notes that during FGs discussions, some participants admitted feeling restrained in discussing sex in the presence of others. These views are also shared in the study by (Bauni and Jarabi, 2000) where less mature women had little to say about contraception methods. Hyde et al. (2005, p.2595) noticed that õyoung peopleøs sexual experiences tended to be influenced by those in their immediate peer group, that is, their closest friends. Furthermore, Hyde et al. argue that õnatural group interview falls short of being a natural setting when some aspects of participantsø subculture of intimacy were acted out ÷liveø in the interview processö (p.2596). Also found that some young boys exaggerated when they talked about the number of sexual partners they had. The reason was that those who had a limited number of sexual partners were subject to mockery. In this regard, a representation of what was being discussed in the group might not have been a true representation of what these young people were really thinking or doing on an individual level (p.2592). In other words, cultural pattern can be a hindrance in yielding accurate data in focus groups.

From the discussion above, it can be argued that sensitive issues or topics must always be handled with precaution. The core issue of this study is very sensitive as it involves participants,

who were antagonists to participate in the discussion in one group. The researcher is aware of this fact and will handle the situation cautiously (see further explanation in section 3.12 on ethical considerations).

The next section discusses the semi-structured interview method that is used in the study to collect data along with focus group method. This method is used to probe unsatisfactory or complex answers that emerge in the FG method.

3.4.3   Semi-structured interviews

Schensul (2000, p.149) defines the semi-structured interview [SSI] as a method that consists of predetermined questions related to domains of interest, administered to a representative sample of respondents to confirm study domains, and identify factors, variables, and items or attributes of variables for analysis or use in a survey. In other words, questions in semi-structured interviews are pre-formulated, but the answers are flexible, leaving avenues for probing. Bailey (2007, p.100) states that õin a semi-structured interview, the interviewer uses an interview guide with specific questions that are organised by topics but are not necessarily asked in a specified order.ö In the same line, Bernard (2002, p.205) argues that the õsemi-structured interview method is based on the use of an interview guide in the form of a written list of questions and topics that need to be covered in a particular order.ö In the words of Wengraf (2001, p. 1), õsemi-structured interviews are designed to have a number of interview questions prepared in advance but such questions are designed to be sufficiently open that the subsequent questions of the interviewer cannot be planned in advance but must be improved in a careful and theorised way.ö Semi-structured interviews put much emphasis on probing questions. In this regard, Bryman (2004, p. 5) states that unlike structured interviews, õsemi-structured interviews demand a lot of preparation, more discipline and creativity and more time for analysis and interpretation.ö According to Dawson (2002), in this specific method the researcher wants to know specific information which can be compared and contrasted with information gained from other interviews. In comparing and contrasting the information, the researcher gains a detailed picture of participantsø beliefs or perceptions about the topic. It should be noted that it based on the thinking of Dawson that this method is chosen in this study to probe information and compare

the answers with answers in focus groups. In so doing, the researcher will have a good understanding on the perceptions and attitudes of people from Ituri with regard to the meaning of security, its threats and ways to eliminate whatever threats that might hinder the people from Ituri from feeling secure.

Semi-structured interviews use open-ended questions with the aim of giving the participant the opportunity to describe or give deep meaning to the answer. For example, an interviewer may ask the participants why teenagers contract HIV so easily. This question will give greater opportunity to the participants to give as many reasons as possible. But if the question is asked as õdo you think that unprotected sex is the cause why teenagers contract HIV?ö this may limit the participants to a yes or no answer. The question does not give the participants the opportunity to think more. It inhibits their way of responding to the question because they feel that the question is targeted at them.

Based on a face-to-face conversation, SSIs build a rapport between the interviewer and the respondent to the extent that both the researcher and the respondent benefit, especially when discussing sensitive issues. Questions in SSIs are simple, efficient and a practical way of getting data. In SSIs, respondents are able to talk about something in detail and in depth. The interviewer does not impose meanings or answers on the respondents, rather areas are probed as suggested by the respondentøs answers, picking up information that had either not occurred to the interviewer or of which the latter had no prior knowledge. SSIs are easy to record and they do not require a lot of resources apart from audio tapes and a recorder, or other means of recording (electronic or technological devices) and note taking. It is easier to arrange a venue for SSIs compared to FGs where a special and quiet venue is required.

In spite of the advantages of SSIs, there are many challenging in working with SSIs. They require time and effort in the organisation and management of data before analysis (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Guion, 2006). For example, response segments relevant to a specific question may be located in different locations within the notes for each respondent so the researcher will have to go through all the notes every time when discussing one theme. Further complications may occur, for instance if the researcher did not do their coding well. As a result, the method

becomes expensive and time consuming. Coding themes or deciding what is relevant and what is not may alter the depth of information, rendering the analysis difficult. Besides, the researcher may influence the response of the respondent by making unconscious movements. For example, a researcher shaking his head when the respondent is speaking may lead the latter giving an answer that he thinks is expected by the former even if his original response was contrary. On the other hand, the articulacy of the respondent may depend on the skill of the interviewer sometimes; responses in SSIs may not be reliable and valid. Given the nature of open-ended questions, it can be very difficult to repeat exactly the same questions or the same direction when administering the same questions to the next interviewee. Because of this, the personal nature of each SSI may make findings difficult to generalise. Besides, respondents may answer different questions or digress from the main topic. In SSIs, the researcher has no clue if the respondent is lying. The respondent may not lie purposely but simply have an imperfect recall of events. For instance, when probing a question on a rape or the mass killings that happened 10 years ago in one particular village, the respondent might give inaccurate information. Or they may recall the event but place it in another village where similar orgies took place. The next respondent may give the right setting or even give another setting. It may happen that the respondent had participated in those killings, they may express a feeling of guilt and remorse about what happened to that particular village as an evidence that they accept their misdeeds. On the other hand, this remorse may simply be an expression of what the respondent believes the researcher wants to hear, or see, or feel.

Semi-structured interviews follow steps as highlighted by Legard et al. (2003, pp. 145-169). However, it should be noted that after each session of FG, the researcher writes down topics or questions which were not well responded to or those needing further investigation. The researcher identifies participants who showed signs of having information but were not ready to talk. This process is repeated for every FG session. Venues are designated and interview schedules and dates are discussed with relevant participants.

Step one: While sipping a cup of tea, the researcher asks questions in order to establish a relationship of friendship to ease the tension and anxiety that the respondent might feel. The researcher engages in conversation that warms up the respondent in order to allow the latter to

get into the interviewing mindset. This is to establish a relaxed and comfortable atmosphere that will result in developing a conversational report. Legard et al. (2003, p.150) mention that õthe researcher needs to play the role of the quest while at the same time being quietly confident and relaxed and making conversation, but avoiding the research topic until the interview begins.ö Once a confidential climate is established and the respondent feels at ease, the researcher can move to the next step.

Step two: The researcher introduces the research topic and informs the interview subject the nature and purpose of the research. The participant is also informed to what extent the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses will be protected. At this point, the respondent is informed that they may choose to remain or withdraw if they are no longer interested in the interview. The researcher asks permission to tape record and to take the notes of the responses of respondents (Bailey, 2007, pp.6-31). This stage also involves making sure that the surrounding is quiet, private and comfortable for the interview to proceed without distraction (Legard et al., 2003).

Step three: This is the actual interview wherein the researcher seeks to collect important information. The researcher starts asking a few questions related to the personal life of the respondent such as age, relationship status, background, etc. It might also be useful to know if the interviewee has children. This study highlights instances of war in which many children took part as either victims or offenders. In this regard, questions on whether one has children may allow the respondent to open up and talk freely about what they know about the topic. For example, ¬what is the meaning of security to you or who can provide security to you, etc.øLeech (2002) contradicts (Legard et al., 2003) by saying that personal detail questions should be asked at last. Leech argues that õthis type of question order works for me because my other questions (actual questions) are not personal and are therefore even less threatening than the demographic informationö (p.666). However, in this study, whether asking demographic or actual questions first will depend on the atmosphere of the respondent in step one and also the personality of the respondent? For example, respondent one might be extrovert and friendly whereas the next respondent may be shy. In this study, the researcher intends to start with demographic questions

and follow them with actual questions. In case respondent two or four is introvert and cannot open up quite easily, the researcher would prefer to ask demographic questions later.

Furthermore, ordering questions in interviews in general has always been controversial among methodologists. Many research methodologists argue that it is worthwhile to start with interesting but non-threatening questions and follow these with more challenging ones.

The question is what constitutes threatening and non-threatening questions? American methodologists rate demographic questions as non-threatening whereas others rate some kind of demographic questions such as age or income as sensitive therefore threatening (Schensul, 2000, p.155-6). This incongruity finds its normative explanation in cultural settings. That is, what is sensitive in one culture is not necessarily sensitive in another. For example, asking about weight and age can be very sensitive to an English lady whereas age is a sign of maturity and weight a symbol of being well taken care of by the husband to an African lady. This means that demographic questions, including elements such as age and weight is threatening to an English lady interviewee and non-threatening to an African participant lady. If the respondent was English, then the researcher would ask her for permission to ask her some types of demographic questions such as age or weight if needed.

Furthermore, asking for income might be sensitive to both cultures. Therefore permission must be granted before asking such questions. In Australian culture, according to personal conversation with my supervisor who is an Australian citizen, asking about income, sex and God may sound sensitive, therefore threatening. In contrast, for an African man asking about income is an opportunity to display his wealth and an opportunity to be boastful and questions regarding sex are a sign of virility and power to an African man. In terms of religion, every African person is happy when they are referred to as believers even if they do not practice religious norms but are happy to be called ̳Christians or children of God,‘ even witches will be proud to be called Christians!

In this study, given that the question order might hinder the respondent from giving appropriate answers, the question order will depend on the mood and environment for each interview. It is

important to mention that questions will be asked one at a time. Questions will be short and will not have many sections that will confuse the respondent. In this respect, Bailey (2007, p.103) argues that õgood questions should be short and easily understood and should not contain multiple parts.ö Furthermore, Leech (2002, p.665) states that õquestions should be direct and directed toward a particular outcome.ö This means that an ambiguous question might lead to unexpected or false answer. On the other hand, Leech mentions that õalthough such questions might lead to unexpected directions, it may provide for fresh ideas, otherwise the interview will not be a very consistent source of reliable data that can be compared across interviews.ö

Step four: Each (actual) question is explored in depth with a series of follow up, probe and prompt questions. Follow up questions are not planned but are generated through the main question, say question one. Bailey (2007, p.103) argues that follow up questions might end up being as important as any question in the original interview guide. Probing questions encourage the respondent to talk more because they are not interrupted by the interviewer. Probing can be in the form of silence after asking a question to wait until the respondent speaks. Echo probing happens when the interviewer repeats the answers of the respondent and asks them to continue. This technique is used to get in-depth information. For example, the researcher will ask ÷what did you mean when you saidí . Or you wanted to say something but you stopped í .. Or can you give me an example of that?ø After such a question the researcher will use the silent probe by remaining quiet and waiting for the respondent to continue. This may lead to an answer that stretches for more than 30 minutes because the respondent is not interrupted. Prompts will be introduced in the event of the respondent not giving the expected answer. Leech (2002, p.667) states that õprompts are as important as the questions themselves in semi-structured interviews. They keep people talking and they rescue the researcher when responses turn to mush.ö

Step five: This step is about terminating the interview. The recorder is turned off and the researcher thanks the respondent. He asks the respondent if they have anything they would like to say. Then, the researcher allows the respondent to listen to their recorded answers while they are filling in the gaps in their notes (Bailey 2007, 102-3). During this moment, the researcher checks that the respondent has not left out anything they would like to add, for example feelings unexpressed or issues of burning importance left unmentioned (Legard et al., 2003, p.146).

Step six: This step occurs after the interview. Once again the researcher reassures the respondent about the confidentiality of the responses and explains to the respondent how their responses will be useful for the research. After that the researcher may finally take leave of the respondent (Legard et al., 2003, p.146).

It worth noting that in this study, the semi-structured interview method is used as a secondary method to probe questions that have not yielded sufficient information in focus groups. Or there may be questions or issues that are superficially discussed yet very important for the researcher, or sensitive questions that some participants may feel uncomfortable to talk about in public, for example personal experiences.

The following section discusses some case studies that used semi-structured interviews to collect data.

A.   *Case studies of data collection, using semi-structured interviews*

Semi-structured interviews demonstrate that the researcher is fully in control of what they want from an interview but leave both the researcher and the respondent free to follow the lead (Bernard, 2002 p.205). Table 3.4 below illustrates some case studies where data were collected using semi-structured interviews.

TABLE 3.4

SUMMARY OF RECENT STUDIES, USING SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Location	Year	Purpose	Nº of people	Results	References
Iceland	2001-3	To evaluate the impact of implementing the schedule for Affective Disorders and Schizophrenia for School-Age	333	The study suggested that the rates of several diagnostic categories (depressive, anxiety, bipolar and disruptive disorders) increased considerably, suggesting that those disorders were	Lauth et al., 2008.

		Children ó Present and Life Version (Kiddie-SADS-PL) into an in-patient adolescent clinical setting.		likely underreported.	
Leicester, UK	2007	To explore the perceptions and knowledge of drug use of the Bangladeshi origin population in Leicester in the UK.	46	The study confirmed that drug-related problems existed among Bangladeshi community, especially among the younger age group but seeking help was often problematic.	Uddin et al., 2008.
Tasmania, Australia	2005	To identify the factors that influence rural GPøs satisfaction with the rural radiology services available to them.	15	The study found that access to services, the promptness and reliability of services, equipment, and access to training and skills levels were the major factors that influence GPsø satisfaction with rural radiology services.	Sounness et al., 2008.
Eastern Ethiopia	2006	To assess folk taxonomy and identify the folk species of sorghum in Eastern Ethiopia.	250	The study suggested that farmers used twenty five morphological, sixty biotic and abiotic and twelve use-related traits in folk taxonomy of sorghum that they classified their gene-pool by hierarchical classifications.	Mekbib, 2007.
Cameroon, Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda and (Gambia).	2006	To explore factors that influence postgraduate doctors to use on-line medical literature via free access initiatives	333	The study revealed that 90 % of respondents had used the internet for health information but textbooks remained their most important source of information	Smith et al., 2007.
Catalonia, Spain	2006	The aim of the study was to assess the academic situation of deaf children in Catalonia	56	The study revealed that conversational skills at school age and self-concept were a priority to enhance the academic skills of deaf children.	Silvestre et al., 2007.
UK	2006	To investigate anabolic steroid usersø experience	11	The study found that participants used anabolic steroids to gain	Grogan et al., 2006.

		and motivations for use.		muscle mass while minimising side effects of the substance.	
Southern Tanzania	1999-2001	To investigate care-seeking patterns in children for fatal malaria in Tanzania.	320	In this study of fatal malaria in southern Tanzania, biomedical care was mentioned as the preferred choice of an overwhelming majority of suspected malaria cases, even those complicated by convulsions.	Savigny et al., 2004.
Porto Alegre, Brazil.	1998	To develop and investigate the applicability of a semi-structured interview for psychological autopsy (SIPA).	42	The study demonstrated that the SIPA is a very reliable instrument for psychological autopsy in cases of suicide.	Werlang and Botega, 2003.
Colorado, US.	Between 1995 and 2002	To identify individuals with schizophrenia for earlier treatment.	130	The study revealed that the earlier schizophrenia is detected in children, the earlier treatment must start which translates into improved outcome.	Ross et al., 2003.
Southern Ethiopia	2002	To examine the process of women's engagement and disengagement with the armed forces, and their integration into civilian life (DDR).	11	The study highlighted a number of issues that interfered with women's engagement in DDR programme	Veale, 2003.
Queensland, Australia	2000	To understand beliefs, perceptions, and experiences of learning public sector accounting through journal articles in students' own terms.	6	Students found journal articles to be a valuable aid to learning public sector accounting.	Hoque, 2002.
UK	1998-2002	To explore why cancer patients do not want or seek information about their condition beyond that volunteered by their physicians at	17	Patients' attitudes towards seeking or accepting further information were based on their attitude to the management of their cancer. Their strategies for coping with their	Leydon et al., 2000.

		times during their illness.		illness constrained their wish to seek further information.	

B. *Critical issues in studies in Table 3.3*

Looking at the studies listed in Table 3.4, conducting a one-to-one interview can be time consuming and it can demand a lot of preparation on the part of the interviewer. For a semi-structured interview to be successful, both the interviewer and the respondent must form an integral part of the process. This means that the interviewer give the respondent time to say what they know about the topic without being interrupted. Additionally, the interviewer needs to have the skill to introduce probing questions otherwise he may mislead the interview process if he does not pay attention to what is being said, or when he fails to probe when necessary.

One of the major challenges that can be identified in Table 3.4 is that studies involving clinical patients took a long time compared to those that used normal people (Leydon et al., 2000; Ross et al., 2003; Savigny et al., 2004 and Lauth et al., 2008). Data collection in Veale (2003) on the process of women's engagement and disengagement with the armed forces and their integration into civilian life (DDR) in Ethiopia took only one week to complete. There can be a contrary argument to this in that the study used only 11 participants, but what would the explanation be in the study by Leydon et al. (2000) that used 17 participants and stretched over a period of more than five years? This needs further investigation and clinical explanation but for the sake of using semi-structured interviews in this research, it is worthwhile giving a few explanations on the challenges that this method may present when collecting data.

The following paragraph highlights some of the causes that lengthen the time that studies take to complete (Leydon et al., 2000; Ross et al., 2003; Savigny et al., 2004 and Lauth et al., 2008). It can be argued that SSIs administered to clinical patients tend to be long since they involve many procedures and trials before reaching undisputed results.

Lauth et al. (2008) mentions that the research was needed to establish the utility of diagnostic interviews in clinical settings. The study used the Kiddie-SADS-PL to check the impact that it has on children suffering from affective disorders and schizophrenia. Given that the study involved participants with impairment, the study covered a period of three years in which the researchers reviewed the clinical charts of consecutively admitted patients. (Savigny et al., 2004), the study covered the period between 1999 and 2001 in which over 240,000 people were followed up but the study involved only 320 children. Data were collected through a Demographic Surveillance System [DSS] whereby informants notified the system of any death occurring in the DSS area. This information was to be passed to the key informant supervisor who then passed it to the researchers. It meant that the informant supervisor visited the family where death happened within two weeks. The key informant supervisor scheduled and administered interviews with the deceasedøs relatives or the person who was familiar with the illness of the deceased. The key informant used a Verbal Autopsy [VA] (post mortem interview) with open ended questions. Questions were specifically designed to ascertain whether or not and why the deceased frequented health facilities. Interviews took between 45 and 60 minutes to conduct (Savigny et al., 2004, pp.5-6).

Rossøet al. (2003) study, using semi-structured interviews on schizophrenic patients took seven years to be completed. Given the nature of the condition of the impairment, schizophrenia is characterised as a neurodevelopment disorder, in which the full clinical syndrome is assumed to be the result of abnormal alterations in brain development before the onset of the full clinical disorder. Arguably the full diagnosis of schizophrenia takes long to identify and this can also have an impact on the selection of patients with this type of condition. In the process of interviews, Ross et al. identified three issues. First, children were uncomfortable talking to unknown adults. Therefore familiarity needed to be established between the interviewee and the interviewer. Second, given their mental condition, participants did not always understand the questions, resulting in a higher possibility of false or negative answers. Third, the types and pattern of symptoms varied with age. It was difficult to administer the same questions to all participants (pp.730-33).

The time consuming nature of studies involving patients is also noticed in a study on ecancer patientsø information needs and information seeking behaviour using in-depth interviewsø by Leydon et al. (2000). In the study, it was time consuming to select suitable respondents. First of all, the study wanted to involve not all cancer patients but only patients who had been diagnosed with any cancer within the previous six months. The aim of the study was to explore the reasons why cancer patients did not want to seek more information beyond what their doctors had told them. This study took place between November 1998 and February 1999 and three physicians were responsible for recruiting participants. In total, 24 participants met the criteria. Four declined the invitation and three others were too ill to be interviewed. Only 17 were able to participate in the study (pp.909-910).

It is important to mention that these descriptions should not be generalised to all studies on patients using semi-structured interviews. Some might take a shorter period while others take a longer period. As was mentioned above, this area needs further investigation.

3.5   JUSTIFICATION OF THE CHOICE OF FOCUS GROUP AND SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW METHODS

Considering the overall objective and the specific aims of this study, focus groups and semi-structured interviews were considered to be the suitable methods to be used in this research. A combination of methods means that the limitations of each method can be compensated for by the other. For example, if there is one aspect of the issues that is brought up in the focus groups and is not fully dealt with, then semi-structured interviews can investigate that aspect further. In fact, generally speaking, the validity of the research findings can be strengthened by the use of several research methods. Owing to different studies, be they in health, management or social sciences, the focus group method has been found to be the most efficient in getting information that cannot be easily accessed. This method is essential in the sense that participants create an acceptable setting whereby they get together and create meaning among themselves rather than individually (Mouton, 2001, p.291; Davies, 2007, p.202). Based on interactions in groups, the researcher is able to get all the necessary information (Morgan, 1997). Krueger and Casey (2000, p.7) state that, õfocus groups promote self-disclosure among participants. It is to know what people really think and feel.ö Given the nature of this study, group discussions provide direct

evidence about similarities and differences in participantsø opinions and experiences as opposed to reaching such unsubstantiated conclusions (Dawson, 2002). As was mentioned in section 3.4.3, the semi-structured interview method finds its strengths in this study as it is used to probe unsatisfied information. The latter information is investigated through a set of predetermined questions on an interview schedule to allow the participant to answer freely. For example, when discussing rape, female participants in focus groups may not be eager to speak about their experiences due to the fact that they might be rejected in their communities or seen as dirty. Therefore such a question might be well discussed in one-to-one interviews whereby confidentiality on the side of the researcher is guaranteed. In many African cultures, sex is considered as a taboo subject and people should not speak about it in public or in any situation. In the same way, a child-militia may not feel comfortable to talk about the way massacres were done during wars, but he might feel free to talk about how many wives he had during wars. As he gets more excited, he might talk about the way the killings happened when, for example, he was asked about how one of his wives was captured, raped and killed by the rival ethnic group.

By using focus groups and semi-structured interviews, the researcher wants to develop an understanding of the perceptions, feelings and attitudes of the population in the Province of Ituri in the eastern DRC concerning peace and security. The main aims of the study are:

- To strengthen people from Ituriøs capacity on issues of peace and security, including the prevention, management and resolution of conflict.
- To contribute to building a society in which security is assured for all and to promote cohabitation through transforming threats to security at community level.
- To enhance equitable access to resources and decision-making processes and to ensure that decision-making bodies are accountable to all regardless ethnic boundaries.

These goals can only be reached through the nature of data that the researcher wants to collect.

However, the pursuit of understanding the processes of social change from war to peace may interfere with the lives of people who were or are still affected by the wounds and scars of violence, and who are trying to cope with its aftermath (Buckley-Zistel 2007, pp.2-5). The

researcher will collect data in a setting where there has been immense suffering and impoverished people living in a situation where homes, hospitals, schools and even crops were completely destroyed. This poses a challenge to the researcher, given that the information he wants to collect does affect a painful healing process that is taking place. Importantly, the question is who will benefit from the outcomes of the research? To avoid these challenges, the researcher has considered a good choice of questions and appropriate methods through which those questions will be asked (Nordstrom, 2000).

The choice of these methods can also be explained by the complexity of the context of the study as is mentioned in the introduction. The present conflict in Ituri began in June 1999 when a small number of Hema allegedly attempted to bribe local authorities into modifying land ownership registers in their favour in the area of Walendu Pitsi in the territory of Djugu in Ituri. It is said that they reportedly used false papers to evict Lendu inhabitants from the land. These Lendu decided to retaliate. In the absence of a strong local authority, the incident quickly turned into a confrontation between the two communities (Woudenberg 2003, p. 192). In the absence of any clear authority structure and frame work for arbitration, Lendu agriculturalists set up their own village defence groups and resorted to the use of violence as a mechanism of protection. The conflict between the two groups spread and became bitterer, each group turned to propaganda and myths to justify their cause (Vlassenroot and Huggins, 2004).

The conflict in Ituri may have remained a land dispute, restricted to these two ethnic groups, if not for the vast natural resources present in the province. Ituri is rich in gold, diamonds, coltan, timber, and oil. The export of these resources is an important key source of revenue for the state. The conflict between the two groups expanded to include other ethnic groups, including foreign troops that took advantage of power collapse in Ituri, to plunder economic resources (Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2004).

Today the situation in Ituri is still precarious even though the risk of renewed violence is limited by the presence of MONUC. Many local militia groups were dismantled but to ensure stability, it is essential to tackle the understanding of the meaning and threats to security and how to build the latter. This can only be reached by using appropriate research tools.

3.6   RESEARCHING IN WAR-ZONES

For many analysts, Ituri is considered to be the bloodiest war zone and a hive of ethnic tensions. Doing research or collecting data in war zones can be very difficult, given the situation on the ground. There are two major aspects that should be taken into account in this section when conducting research in war zones: the risk that the researcher may encounter and the physical and mental state of the people that will be interviewed.

Conducting research in war zones entails risks that can be fatal for both the researcher and the participants. Romano (2006, p.439) suggests steps that the researcher should consider before embarking on a field trip. First, the researcher should learn about the actual situation on the ground. This is done by collecting information, usually through international agencies that are working in the area. The information will reveal which places are safe and which ones are not and where to go. Second, it is important to speak to people who have recently been where the researcher wants to go. Those who have been there before must be asked about both their experience and their assessment of the area. This gives the researcher a clear picture from which to decide and assess the risks that might happen while they are on the field. Third, the researcher needs to know if people of their colour or ethnic group or creed are at risk or targeted where they intend to go in the war zones. In this regard, Pottier (2006, p.151) states that õpeople moving in war zones do not (and cannot) shed their ethnic identities; that instead they accept that a perceived ethnic identity brings strategic advantages as well as disadvantages, depending on the area they are.ö

It is also important to mention that the province of Ituri is still recovering from the aftermath of civil war where thousands of civilians died as a result of violence and where some civilians participated in perpetrating violence. Any attempt to research on issues that might implicate those civilians might be threatening. This might put the life of the researcher at stake (Nordstrom, 2004; Wood, 2006). The researcher might be asked to produce papers which are not easily accessible. This may be a tactic to delay or discourage the researcher. On this account, Jimba (2003, p.1132) describes incidents that Thabet went through at a check point between the Gaza Strip and Israel in 1995. Thabet, a Gazan citizen had done several studies on the effects of

conflict on child mental health in Gaza. He was planning to travel to Italy via Israel to present his findings at an international conference. Although he had all the necessary papers to cross Erez border, the Israeli soldiers rejected him on the grounds that he was missing one paper that he should go back to Gaza to look for. In addition, the soldiers said that for security reasons Gazans were only allowed to cross the Erez border that one day.

Romano's third step says that the source of information should be the researcher's own monitoring mechanism of the area. By the time the researcher sets foot in the war zone, they should have a very good idea of what are there, what questions they hope to answer, and what methods they will use to gather the information they want. Fourth, Romano mentions that if the researcher has reason to believe that they have been identified and have become a real target, they should immediately leave the area. Romano states that õconflict zones are not places of free intellectual debate and objective discourse ó people die for their beliefs and their associations in these regions and emotions run high.ö Finally, it is advised that the researcher remain diplomatic when speaking with parties to a conflict. The researcher should ask questions rather than stating their own opinions. They should not be in the front line to convert people's points of views, but rather should be learning more about others' opinions (Romano, 2006, p.440).

 As was mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, the physical and mental states of participants in a study in war zones can be a potential problem when conducting research. Interviewing participants with physical scars might be complex, sensitive and difficult as Buckley-Zistel (2007), Shaw (2007), Denov (2006), Ward and Marsh (2006), McNairn (2004), McKay (2004a & b) and Nordstrom (1997) state.

In many recent civil wars, rebels use physical atrocities as a way of destabilising populations and destroying bonds within communities and families (Ward and Marsh, 2006, p.3). For example, during the eleven-year civil war in Sierra Leone (1991-2002), Rebels of Revolutionary United Front [RUF] were notorious for the amputations of limps. They reached a point where they could ask the victims how they would like their hands to be chopped off. They called it ─short sleeves or ─long sleeves.ø Short sleeves were on the elbow edges and long sleeves were the removal of the hand only from the arm (Denov 2006, p.320).

Besides limb amputations, rebels use sexual violence to humiliate their victims. In the DRC, sexual violence has become so indiscriminate as to be called the ‗murderous madness' (Ochieng 2005, p3). In the Mozambican civil war, in then Renamo's occupied zone, Nordstrom (1997, p.9) was told that õall the women and female youths in the town were sexually assaultedö. Thousands of girls and women were violently raped in Angola, El Salvador, Guatemala, Liberia, Kuwait, Northern Uganda, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, etc.

It worth mentioning here that physical atrocities committed during civil wars are well documented in literature, but very few academic articles and books have devoted space to the psychological damage of victims. The international community and especially the UN have put billions of dollars into reconstructing the infrastructure, or strengthening social, economical and political structures by empowering the population but the mental health (post-traumatic stress disorder) of the populations in war zones has generally been neglected. Another element that causes physical and mental illness in conflict is the õthe excessive use of substances for self-medication or as a means of coping with traumatic memories of atrocitiesö (Bhui and Warfa, 2007, p.1865).

There are many challenges regarding the mental health of participants in war zones that the researcher might encounter when interviewing. Participants with physical or mental health problems may be difficult to extract accurate data from. It will need a lot of preparation and good tactics to get participants to tell what they know about the topics of the interviews.

Following on from the statement above that good tactics are required to prepare topic questions, the following section devotes space to explain how the questions are designed and used in order to get appropriate information without harming the participants.

3.7   DESIGNING RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this study, the researcher wishes to understand the evolving values and behaviours of groups within the population of Ituri in the aftermath of civil war: an objective best approached through groups and open ended discussions. Put it differently, Andrews (2003, p.23) argues that research

questions can derive from the aims of a study. In this particular study, the aims are to examine the relevance of the concept of human security in Ituri province and to investigate the perceptions and views of a sample of Ituri residents concerning the meaning of human security, threats to human security and ways of building human security. From this essence, respondents have the opportunity to relay their views on human security in their own words. This enables the researcher to discover what is on their minds and to learn about the conceptual constructs used to frame human security topics. Another aspect of using a focus group is to get an initial impression of the level of existing knowledge on human security among local population in Ituri and to identify any major cognitive gaps. In doing so, the researcher does not intend to conduct an exhaustive assessment of education needs, but discussions will reveal areas where people have to learn more.

The researcher is to use different strategies to prompt discussion among the participants about their perceptions of human security. The researcher begins by explaining to the participants the reasons that led them to conduct this particular study and asks them their consent, that is, whether or not they are willing to participate in the study. Next, the researcher asks questions one after another, pausing to discuss any issue that the respondents identify as interesting or controversial. Question one brainstorms what participants think, perceive or know about human security. Questions two and three incite their minds to recognise and to give a list of the things that they think are threats to their security. In this matter, Alkire (2003, p.30) states that õthe habit of recognising not only the threats but also the source of the threats or –threatenersø is part of the information needed for building a response strategy.ö Question four, five and six discuss the factors or the ways to build structures that would make them feel more secure.

It is worth noting that threats to human security are varied. This means that there is a wide array of factors that contribute to making people feel insecure. Armed conflict being one of the contributing factors, Ogata (1999) ascertains that õone of the main factors of human insecurity is precisely the lack of effective political and security mechanisms to address conflicts.ö Having said that, political, economical, environmental, community and personal components are relevant to the sample in this study, since a number of studies have assumed that land, mineral resources, oil and identity were the main threats to human security in Ituri. If this is the case, the seven

components fit in analysing these assumptions. In other words, land, mineral resources and oil are linked to environment and economy, especially if these commodities are not well managed. However, the mismanagement of commodities, coupled with political or state collapse as a result of the absence of state authority led to serious fighting between the government and factions or factions among themselves. In most cases these factions were based on ethnic, religious or political loyalties. DRC is not an isolated case: this situation also happened in Angola, Liberia, and Sierra Leone and so on. On the other hand, identity was seen as a major threat to Burundians and Rwandans and consequently led to a civil war and genocide In Somalia religion and kinfolk are major threats to human security.

3.8   LANGUAGE AND THE MEANING OF WORDS

Coming back to the formulation of research questions, Andrews (2003, p.5) states that questions are social and linguistic devices. A bad choice of questions or a misunderstanding of a question may lead to wrong findings. Questions are context-related. This means that questions are not simply formed from nowhere; they are driven from the context, or response to a situation. Donini et al. (2005), Sacipa et al. (2006) and Oxfam (2007) are good examples where questions are formulated, taking into account the objectives or aims of the studies and also the context in which the studies took place. Donini et al. (2005) carried out research to examine the basic concepts of security and peace as seen through the eyes of three distinct sets of actors: PSO forces, AAs and ordinary people. The study used open-ended questions and focus groups to collect data in three different locations, namely Afghanistan, Kosovo and Sierra Leone. The question route was divided into two parts. The first was in the format of a survey where participants filled in a form about their age, gender, ethnicity, education, occupation, etc. In the second part, the following questions were asked in both focus groups and semi-structured interviews:

1.   Is there peace in your area these days? Yes   No

2.   What does peace mean for you? How would you define peace?

3.   Generally speaking, do you feel safe in your village/area? Yes   No

4.   More specifically, how would you describe the relative security or insecurity of your community at present?

5.   What are the biggest obstacles you and your family face in feeling secure?

6.   How would you compare the present situation with an earlier time (one year ago, two years ago) whether better or worse?

7.   What factors, in your opinion, account for the change?

8.   What steps have you and others in your community taken to enhance security in your area?

9.   What would be the most important thing to do to improve security in your area?

10.   Are some members of your community more secure, or insecure, than others?

11.   To what extent have people or factors outside your local community played a role in enhancing, or undercutting security?

12.   What is your perception of the role of international military personnel and aid agencies in your communityøs security?

13.   Are there any other comments on issues of security you would like to make?

In the same spectrum, Sacipa et al. (2006) used qualitative method with eight focus groups. They conducted four groups with youngsters and four groups with adults. Participants were selected from organisations where the authors happened to be conducting other interventional projects. Participants were asked to sign informed consent agreements prior to the interviews (p.162).

They mentioned that the development of selection and the identification of participants for each focus group were among the first things to do. They approached different organisations to solicit participation and thereafter scheduled the meetings. They mentioned that each FG lasted two hours. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed later. Information was arranged into intra-group and inter-textual matrixes for each of the groups described beforehand (p.162). To collect data, they used the following questions:

1. What is ‑peace‑ for you?

2. Where do you find (these things you‑ve said about peace) in your everyday like?

3. What do you do for peace?

4. Who does work for peace?

Further up the spectrum, Oxfam (2007) conducted research in northern Uganda in order to identify the meaning of security to ordinary northern Ugandans. The research was conducted in Acholi region between May and July 2007. It used the focus group method to collect data with a sample of 91 IDPs, including camp leaders and local government representatives. The research also used a survey method with 600 IDPs. The paper does not give detailed socio-demographics of the participants, such as age, gender, occupation, education, religious faith, etc. The following questions were asked of the participants in FGs:

1.   What does ‑peace‑ mean for IDPs?

2.   How would you describe the current situation in your community?

3.   When you compare it with before the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement, how is today?

4.   How do you expect the situation to develop in future?

Having looked at the questions in the studies above, and given that this study has similar objectives as the studies above, I formulated the following questions and translated them into Swahili, a vernacular language spoken in Ituri:

1. English: When you hear the word *security*, what do you think of?

   Swahili: Wakati unasikia neno salama, unawazia nini? Wala, salama ni nini?

2. English: Do you feel secure these days?

   Swahili: Munajisikia muna salama hizi siku? Wala kuna salama hizi siku?

3. English: What things influence your feelings of security or insecurity these days?

   Swahili: Nini inaacha museme kama kuna salama ao hukuna salama hizi siku?

4. English: I would like you to discuss things that would help you to feel more secure. Start by discussing things which you could do yourselves - as individuals or as a community.

   Swahili: Sasa nataka mueleze juu ya vitu vyenye vinaweza kuwaletea salama kamilifu. Muuanze na vitu ambavyo nyinyi binafsi munaweza fanya.

5. English: Do you do these things? Explain why, why not?

   Swahili: Sasa ulizo ni hii: munavifanya? Kama ndiyo, mueleze kwa nini na kama hapana mueleze pia kwa nini hamuvifanye.

6. English: Are there things which other people/group of people would need to do (or not to do) to help you feel more secure? Are they doing these things? Explain why, why not?

Swahili: Kuna vitu ambavyo mulipenda watu wengine ao vikundi vingine vingelifanya ili mujisikie salama? Wale watu ao vile vikundi vinavifanya. Mueleze kwa nini wanavifanya na kwa nini hawavifanye.

 Taking into account the number of questions, it is important to mention that the scale of research questions depends on parameters of constraints on research. These parameters might be related to time and budget. Andrews (2003, p.7) states that õthe amount of time available for research, for instance, will affect the kind of question that can be answered, as will the costs available for the conduct of research.ö This is applicable to this study: due to a very limited proposed budget, the research is to spend only 45 days in the field to collect data. Four months would have been ideal. It is also important to mention that the transcription of data is to be done daily to avoid mistakes. This process might take time as the transcription will involve translation from Swahili into English.

The translation of questions into Swahili, very importantly the translation of keys words such as ÷peaceø and ÷securityø - building on Andrewsø statement in that, questions are a contextual, social and linguistic device so it is essential to have accurate translations of the above mentioned words. According to a major Swahili-English dictionary (Awde, 2000), the words ÷peaceø means amani, salama, raha (happiness) and utulivu (quietness) and the word ÷securityø means amani, salama, raha, mustarehe (feeling safe), pasipo mashaka (free from threats). From the English-Swahili version, salama means peace, safety and security and amani means peace, safety, security and confidence. For example, wakati wa amani means a time of peace, security, quietness, and so on. Looking closely at the meaning of peace and security, it is clear that in Swahili peace and security mean the same thing. Thus, all the meanings of peace evolve around human security. This indicates that dealing with peace and security in Swahili is highlighting human security, that is, ÷freedom from fearø and ÷freedom from want.ø

In the Bible for example, Orr (1915) gives the meaning of peace as õa condition of freedom from disturbance, whether outwardly, as of a nation from war or enemies, or inwardly, within the soul.ö Barclay (1968, p.333), however states that in modern English the word ÷peaceø presents a difficulty in translation. As in Swahili, the word ÷peaceø tends to become a negative word in

modern English, meaning the absence of things that can trouble the daily life of individuals. In the Swahili context, when there is *amani,* there are no insecurities in terms of death, hunger, illness, personal injuries or war. In both Greek and Hebrew, the term ‗peace' has a positive meaning. In these two languages, ‗peace' means two things. One is the ‗right relationships between man and man, true fellowship and the other is ‗everything which makes for a man's highest good.' Orr (1995) states that in Hebrew the word peace or ‗shalom' means "primarily ‗soundness' ‗health,' and also ‗prosperity;' well-being in general, all good in relation to both man and God." The explanation of the word peace reveals clearly that human beings desire to live in harmony with one another and also with nature and to stay away far from troubles. These troubles can be cultural, economic, political or social dimensions. For example in terms of cultural, people are not subject to xenophobia or ethnic cleansing; in terms of economics, people should not be excluded from the riches of their country. The case of recent elections in Zimbabwe can be cited as a political dimension of troubles.

The social dimension is for example, when people do not have access to basic health facilities, or schools for their children, or else people cannot get their wages. In the same line of thinking, Barclay (1968) adds that as long as guns are not firing or bombs dropping, one can say that there is peace. This is the kind of peace that is desired in the context of Ituri. Although peace and security means the same in Swahili, people tend to associate peace to the absence of war and peace of mind. The word ‗amani' is mostly used in church context whereas ‗salama' has a war connotation although they mean the same.

Table 3.5 below shows the linkage between the specific aims of the study (Chapter 1) and the focus group questions that the researcher intends to ask.

TABLE 3.5

SPECIFIC AIMS, TOPIC GUIDE AND QUESTIONING ROUTE

Specific aims of the study	Topic guide	Questioning route
1. To examine the meaning of human security to ordinary people in Ituri.	T1. Understanding the concept of human security	Q1. When you hear the word *security*, what do you think of?
2. To identity the threats to human security in Ituri.	T2. Identifying threats to human security	Q2. Do you feel secure these days? Q3. What things influence your feelings of security or insecurity these days?
3. To explore the ways of building human security in Ituri.	T3. Ways of building human security	Q4. I would like you to discuss things that would help you to feel more secure. Start by discussing things which you could do yourselves - as individuals or as a community. Q5. Do you do these things? Explain why, why not? Q6. Are there things which other people/group of people would need to do (or not to do) to help you feel more secure? Are they doing these things? Explain why, why not?

3.9   SAMPLING AND GROUP COMPOSITION

For focus group method, the sampling frame is developed by identifying key population groups that are likely to present different views of the topic. In other words, Halcomb et al. (2007, P.1002) argues that õwith all qualitative enquiries, it is essential that potential participants are selected on the basis of their ability to provide insight into and information about the research topic.ö Usually, participants in focus groups are divided along several different variables such as age, gender, income, marital status, education, ethnicity, etc.

This study used purposive sampling to recruit participants, paying attention to systematic bias in the process of recruitment such as the size of the groups and the information that should be provided by the participants. The aim of purposive sampling is to create the conditions for easy productive conversation and to ensure that while participants are comfortable talking to each other, they also serve the researcher's goal (Krueger and Casey, 2000, p.70).

In this study, twelve focus group sessions were conducted with a total of 120 participants aged between 10 and 70 years old. In the study, sixty participants were male adults and boys and 60 others were females, that is, women and girls. People were arranged in groups of 10 participants per session. Each session lasted between 45 to 90 minutes. Participants were recruited through churches, NGOs, government institutions, schools and households within the town of Bunia. In line with recommendations for conducting focus groups, the groups were made up of people of similar socio-economic status, marital status and background. This helped group members of similar backgrounds and experiences to create a homogenous group.

The researcher adopted this approach to accommodate the heterogeneous structure of the populace of Bunia in order to obtain a representative pattern of social interaction.

The researcher invited participants by word of mouth. After individuals had been invited to attend, the researcher determined whether to invite more people than needed in order to have enough participants to avoid the absence of some due to for example bad weather, health, funeral or other pertinent factors. Depending on the financial possibilities, the researcher also considered strategies that would ensure greater attendance, including making a reminder telephone call the day before the planned session and offering incentives such as a snack, cash payment, or a gift. The researcher explained to the participants that the incentives should be perceived as a token of appreciation but should not make them feel that they were obliged to attend the focus group.

3.10   DATA ANALYSIS

Usually, the researcher is interested in looking for trends in data, determining the variability of results and considering its validity as a representative sample from the population from which it was drawn. In the other words, data from field are analysed inductively. De Vaus (2001, p.263)

argues that õanalytic induction is a strategy of analysis that directs the investigator to formulate generalisations that apply to all instances of the problem.ö De Vausø argument applies in the analysis of this specific study in the sense that the latter uses a sample of Ituri residents to collect data that reflect the views of all the population in Ituri. In this regard, de Vaus (2001) mentions that õanalytic induction is a strategy that seeks to arrive at generalisations that apply to all cases.ö Owing to this view, the researcher was careful in the recruitment of participants. The sample is regarded as representative of Ituriøs population.

Another element that should be taken into account when analysing data is the relationship between the methods of analysis used and the substantive conclusions reported from the conclusion drawn by the investigator (Gorard, 2003, p.29). This means that the findings of a study are dependent on the methods chosen to collect and analysis data, not on the objective and specific aims of the study. As far as the analysis of data is concerned, Gorard argues that õdifferent methods of analysis can produce contradictory results using the same dataö (2003).

This study uses content analysis. Krippendorff (2004, p.18) defines content analysis as õa research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use.ö According to Bauer and Gaskell (2000, p.132), content analysis reduces the complexity of a collection of texts and distils a large amount of material into a short description of some of its features. This means that the material is reduced to themes that are coded from data. For Patton (2002, p.453), content analysis is used to refer to any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings. Given its nature, content analysis allows the researcher to utilise data that they could gather without imposing too much structure on respondents and to validate findings they had obtained through different techniques (Ezzy, 2002, p.82 and Krippendorff, 2004, p.11). This means that, in order to interpret given texts or make sense of the messages gathered, content analysis allows the elaboration of models of the systems in which those communications occur (p.10). In this study, after data collection, following the content analysis steps as described below, data is reduced to meaningful patterns that are analysed in order to make sense out of them.

The first step in content analysis is to transcribe the entire interview. According to Lewis (2000, p.5), this step provides a complete record of the discussion and facilitates the analysis of data. The next step is to analyse the content of the discussion. For Mouton (2006, p.161):

> Analysing data usually involves two steps: first, reducing to manageable proportions the wealth of data that one has collected or has available; second, identifying patterns and themes in the data.

For Bailey (2007, p.6) the researcher engages in the rigorous process of coding as a mechanism for identifying portions of the data potentially useful for analysis. Gorard (2003, p.29) states that coding of data involves converting observations into scales and measurement. Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p.770) state that the researcher uses techniques for systematic elicitation to identify lists that belong in a cultural domain and to assess the relationships among these items. Mouton (2001, p.108) argues that analysis involves ‗breaking up‖ the data into manageable themes, patterns, trends and relationships. This is done to understand the various constitutive elements of one‖s data through an inspection of the relationships between concepts, constructs or variables, and to see whether there are any patterns or trends that can be identified or isolated, or to establish themes in data.

The following paragraphs discuss the analysis of the five focus group studies and five semi-structured interviews, using content analysis as to build an interface between theory and the application of theory. The aim is to explain the steps that can be taken in content analysis or any other qualitative data analysis method of data collected from FGs and SSIs and therefore the relation between this study and previous studies that have used content analysis as a method to analyse the findings of studies.

Focus groups rely upon words spoken by participants. According to Mouton (2001), a report based on focus groups will feature patterns formed by words, called themes or perspectives. An analysis of the data yielded from FGs can reveal to what extent participants share the same views on a given topic, the arguments which they use when their views are challenged, their beliefs, perceptions and myths about the topic or the arguments, sources and types of information that stimulates changes of opinion or interpretation of experience (Vicsek, 2007).

Poso et al. (2008) studied the meaning of violence among young people in residential care based in two Finnish reform schools. The study involved 15 group interviews with 38 young people between the age of 12 and 17 which included 12 girls and 26 boys. All these young people suffered from behavioural problems ranging from alcohol and drug abuse to uncontrollable behaviour. As a consequence, cases of violence were rampant in the two schools. The two schools welcomed the research topic and accepted to cooperate in selecting participants. The schools granted permission to the researchers and individual consent forms were signed by participants. Researchers used two analytical approaches to violence in the group interactions. Violence was perceived as a card of membership for different groups, to solve problems and as a means of expression. Using content analysis, three themes emerged to explain the meanings of violence among young people in the two Finnish reform schools. First, violence as a means of inflicting pain: participants presented different ways of exerting physical violence, ranging from beating, punching, kicking to fighting:

Girl 1: *Well, the blokes punch more, and kick, and other things ... the lasses pull hair and claw your mug.*

Boy 1: *Claw, and scratch and bite.*

Second, violence as a means of solving problems: the majority of participants mentioned several times that they were victims of parental violence or experienced parental violence in their homes. They thought that violence was the only way of solving problems as they had seen their parents using violence to solve problems between themselves or between them and their parents. This way of solving problems using violence was also witnessed at their schools. Finally, violence was seen as a means of instituting discipline at school. Participants mentioned that the school staff members perpetrated violence against participants. Many participants portrayed themselves as oppressed and powerless in front of staff members. They felt that their own use of violence was justifiable, since staff members used violence too to curb discipline in the schools (pp.77-81).

Santos et al. (2007) used content analysis with data collected in FGs to inform materials development on developing a bioterrorism preparedness campaign for veterans. The aim of the study was to determine the veteran's existing knowledge, perceptions, and concerns about bioterrorism in general and the specific biological agents such as Anthrax, Ebola, Spanish Flu, and Small Pox. Six FGs were conducted with 45 participants in six different locations in the USA. Santos et al. used the standard qualitative social science methods to collect data which, in turn were transcribed and coded by two researchers and results were reconciled and highlighted for specific themes. These specific themes and coded texts were further examined for the frequency of mention. After the analysis it was found that the majority of FG participants across all the groups thought that providing educational material to veterans on bioterrorism in advance of an attack was a good thing to do (pp.34-38).

Sacipa et al. (2006) sought to understand how people from different backgrounds in the city of Bogotá expressed their knowledge of peace. Data for this study were collected through eight FGs with a total number of 45 participants. Data were coded in terms of six constructs: reconciliation, leadership, personal well-being, social peace, new global ethics, and negative peace. The first analytical category, i.e., reconciliation was based on Lederach's (1997) approach. It was found that reconciliation was the bottom line of peace construction. Reconciliation requires that former enemies forget their predicament and opt to dialogue to allow the understanding and the acceptance of the interdependence of all role players as the only way to imagine the possibility of peace in the future. Second, leadership involves the participation of everybody in peace construction. This encapsulates the management processes and responsibilities taken by local, ethnic or religious leaders, community developers, NGOs, academics, the military and the politics. Third, well-being, that is, personal well-being or spiritual tranquillity create internal peace that is explained through personal balance. Fourth, social peace encompasses structural peace and human relations. These two values exempt human beings from social injustices. Furthermore, negative peace (fifth construct) refers to the absence of hostilities. Finally, global ethics demand that people and societies share values and help each other to pursuit happiness (pp.163-164).

Vincent et al. (2006) used FGs to identify factors that facilitate or hinder diabetes self-management among Mexican Americans. Data analysis was done through content analysis. Researchers transcribed data first and then developed codes across the focus groups. Next, they developed code families to cluster similar codes and addressed the research questions. Themes such as ignorance, stress, culture, diet constituted the core of analysis. In other words, access to information in terms of illiteracy and financial pitfalls were seen as barriers to successful diabetes self-management. Stress related to the fact of knowing that they suffered from diabetes was also one of the barriers. Certain cultural practices, especially with regard to food were also regarded as barriers to self-management of diabetes. The findings of the study revealed that participants expressed their need for knowledge on how to self-manage the disease (pp.93-96).

In Bauni and Jarabiøs (2000) study on family planning and sexual behaviour in the era of HIV/AIDS in the district of Nakuru in Kenya, they collected data using FGs. Following FGs traditions, data were recorded, then transcribed and coded before analysis. Computer software package NU*DIST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing, Searching and Theory-building) was used to analyse data. The purpose of the study was to provide insights into the perceptions, coping strategies and constraints in the changing behaviour of sexually active people in Nakuru District, Kenya. Questions included =what are the most important health issues affecting adult (men/women) in this area?ø Participants mentioned, among other things, Sexual Transmitted Diseases, HIV/AIDS, abortion to be the most worrying health issues that existed in their district. Using content analysis, the findings of the study led to the conclusion that abortion, the risk of contracting HIV and STDs were the most important issues since some men refused to use condoms to prevent the predicament.

The next paragraphs explain how data from semi-structured interviews were analysed, using content analysis. Sounness et al. (2008) used semi-structured interviews to collect data on a study whose purpose was to identify the factors that influenced rural General Practitionersø [GP] satisfaction with the rural radiology services available to them. The interviews were coded to facilitate identifying factors that influence GPøs satisfaction. To analyse data, their study used iterative and interpretive techniques that aimed at identifying reoccurring themes. A qualitative

thematic analysis was then used to examine and explain the meanings that emerged from the data (p.3).

Smith et al. (2007) used SSIs to collect data with the aim of exploring factors that influenced postgraduate doctors to use on-line medical literature via free access initiatives. The data were collected in four teaching hospitals in Cameroon, Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda. The study used frequency tables to describe data across countries, and where appropriate to explore the influence of the years of qualification of doctors, the speed of internet connection, and the use of internet cafes. Themes were coded and then explored and documented in matrices. The analysis was carried out through thematic analysis of the qualitative data using methods of Framework Approach and MAXqda software to manage data coding, searching and retrieval (pp.7-8).

In a study of care-seeking patterns for fatal malaria in Tanzania, Savigny et al. (2004) used semi structured interviews to collect data that were analysed following the process of the Tanzania Essential Health Interventions Project (TEHIP). Data were gathered in accordance of the reoccurring themes, and then coded accordingly. The codes allowed for the retrieval and compilation of text segments of interest for thematic analysis. The themes and codes were processed in a text editor and analysed using analysis software, Text-Bata (p.6).

Werlang and Botega (2003) labelled their study õA semi-structured interview for psychological autopsy: an inter-rater reliability studyö. As the title points out, they used SSIs to collect data. As far as analysis is concerned, data were transcribed, then ranged according to the themes and coded. Data were processed using kappa statistics of the STATA program (1992) (p.327).

From the explanation of the analysis (using content analysis) of data collected from FGs and SSIs, it can be said that qualitative data analysis uses the same steps in the analysis of data. These steps are transcription, identification of recurrent themes, coding and analysis.

Based on these examples, in this study the researcher has followed the same steps to analyse data in this study, that is, data were recorded, and then transcribed. Second, the researcher carefully read the transcripts to check if there were missing words or sentences. Third, the researcher

identified words that were repeated several times in the interviews. Then, using Nvivo7, the researcher coded the words into themes and lastly analysed them, bring out similarities and differences.

The analysis of this study began by going back to the purpose of the study which is to examine the relevance of the concept of human security in Ituri province, Democratic Republic of Congo and to understand the perceptions and attitudes of the people from Ituri concerning the meaning of peace and security. In this regard, Krueger and Casey, (2000, p.127) highlight that the most important principle is that õthe depth and intensity of analysis are determined by the purpose of the study.ö As was mentioned earlier in this section, the aim of analysis in focus groups is to look for trends, themes or patterns that reappear within a single focus group or among different focus groups. Focus groups combine many complex and different elements, let alone group interactions complexity. For example, during a focus group session, a participant may affirm another participant by saying, ÷X is right!ø During analysis, the researcher must not assume that the individual has provided their final opinion on the topic. It is plausible that the individual was being supportive rather than honest.

During the analysis process, the researcher considered the words, the internal consistency, frequency of comments, extensiveness of comments, specificity of comments, what was said, as well as finding the õbig ideasö (Morgan and Krueger, 1998, p. 31; Krueger and Casey, 2000, p. 132). According to Morgan (1997, p. 60), õthe analysis must not only focus on the group, that is, the researcher should not only consider words spoken by the individuals that make up the group, but also on the dynamics of the group as a whole. As far as coding is concerned, the researcher paid attention to all mentions of a given code, each individualøs mention of a given code, and each group discussion contained in a given code. Morgan (1997) also mentions that the analysis involves, at the very least, drawing together and comparing discussions of similar themes, and examining how these relate to the variation between individuals and between groups. Furthermore, Gaskell and Bauer (2000, p.340) point out clearly that if a report on a content analysis does not say anything about the coding frame, or an interpretation of some interviews omits details of the topic guide, a reader must wonder if these were the products of careful research or the product of the researcherøs imagination. This is also called internal validity.

Data gathered from FGs and SSIs encapsulate diverse opinions and huge and detailed information. The process of coding and analysis may pose challenges. To respond to this potential challenge, given the characteristics, that is, content analysis assumes that the researcher knows what the important categories are prior to the analysis as it restricts the extent to which the data are allowed to ‒speakø to the researcher (Ezzy, 2002, p.84).

3.11   VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY ISSUES

It is argued that most researchers have different opinions when it comes to the meaning of the validity and reliability of the findings. For many, validity refers to the ‒correctnessø or ‒precisionø of the reading (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003, p.273) while some researchers, mostly those who use interpretive paradigm use ‒trustworthinessø as a means of evaluating the findings.

In this study the researcher uses ‒trustworthinessø to mean both validity. Sometimes he uses both interchangeably. Trustworthiness demands that the researcher conducts and presents the findings in a way that would convince the reader to believe or trust the results. This corresponds to the question asked by Golafshani (2003, p.602) in that ‒how can an enquirer persuade their readers that the research findings of an enquiry are worth paying attention to?ø To respond to Golafshaniøs question, Bailey (2007, p.181) states that õtrustworthiness does not mean that the reader must agree blindly with the researcher; rather, it requires that the reader sees how the researcher arrived at the conclusion they made.ö

Focus groups and semi-structured interviews are the most suitable methods to gain greater insight into the understanding of the perceptions and attitudes of the people in Ituri concerning the meanings of peace and security. Following the same thinking, however, Belgrave and Kenneth (2002, p.233) pose the question to know whether the findings yielded in various groups are trustworthy?ö To examine the trustworthiness of the findings in this particular study, the researcher took into account two aspects: the homogeneity of participants and conducting multiple sessions on the same topics. During the recruitment of participants, the researcher invited people who were from the same background For example, teachers and students would respond better to a topic on peace education than teachers mixed with businessmen. Interviewing a group with highly different characteristics, that is, a group that consists of people who differ greatly in terms of power, status, job, income, education, or personal characteristics may

decrease the trustworthiness of the results. Furthermore, the researcher conducted 12 sessions, using the same question route, that is, six questions were either directly or indirectly posed to more than a hundred participants and all yielded the same results. Themes and patterns that were repeated in all groups proved sufficiently that if the research had to be re-conducted, the same themes and patterns would occur again; therefore one would say that the results of this study were truthful.

Borrowing the words of Mouton, (2001, p.119), trustworthiness or reliability is a matter of whether a particular technique applied repeatedly to the same object would yield the same result each time. Another aspect that should be pointed out is the possibility of triangulating focus group data with a post interview check on validity. This consists of distributing a questionnaire where participants will have to respond by yes or no or ‑mostly true, true and not true.ø Any answers to which participants have responded ‑not trueø on the questionnaire will be further investigated in semi-structured interviews. The researcher will select participants who responded ‑not trueø and schedule interviews with them. For the sake of triangulation, as was mentioned above, the use of several methods, notably recording, observation, individual and group discussions, field notes and diary and journals had one and only one objective, that is, to prove the validity and reliability of the findings. The combination of several methods in this study increased the level of objectivity and overcame deficiencies and biases.

In qualitative methods, research findings tend to be generalised. To avoid bias in the course of generalisation, findings should be scrutinised, critical, deconstructive, and reflexive narrative function. Put it differently, Aguinaldo (2004, p.127) argues that:

> Assessing qualitative research entails multiple and contradictory readings of its representational failures and success, therefore the validation of research is no longer conceived as a determination (i.e., ‑is validø versus ‑is not validø but a continual process of investigation.

Leaving this debate on trustworthiness aside, the most important element is to see whether there is correspondence between what is reported and the social phenomena under investigation. In this regard, the researcher has achieved the trustworthiness of the results as he produced accurate

representation of the setting. This is verified in the chapters five, six, seven and eight. The latter chapter analyses data collected in another setting (Johannesburg), using the same questions, same methods of data collection and analysis. The findings were identical except where people used different technology to mean the same thing. For example, participants in Ituri province mentioned that ‑living without fear was the main meaning of security while participants in Johannesburg said that ‑the fear of being persecutedø compelled them to flee the eastern DRC to find themselves as refugees in South Africa. From this, it is clear that living without fear and the fear of being persecuted mean the same thing.

After posing all the questions, the researcher showed participants in the Johannesburg group the responses on the same questions from the people in Ituri. All the 31 participants in Johannesburg agreed with their fellows who remained in the country. Arguably, all the participants, be they from Ituri or Johannesburg were able to clearly define, in the same way, human security, to identify threats to human security and to suggest ways to building human security in their province. From this explanation above, it can be said that the design answered the research questions as the findings were valid and reliable.

3.12   ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Bailey (2007, p.35) states that any fieldwork must be ethically well grounded. Bailey ascertains that before starting the fieldwork, the researcher should ask themselves a number of questions. For example, can the study o be completed without deception? Similarly, Bailey asks many questions with regard to ethical challenges that the researcher might encounter while doing his fieldwork. The first is, ‑Will participants in the setting change their behaviour enough to make the research meaningless as a result of the researcherøs presence?ø In other words, let alone other factors, will the presence of the researcher (who is a Hema) influence Lendu participants not to yield accurate information? Bailey mentions that if this is the case, the researcher may consider selecting another study in order to avoid slipping into deceptive practices. This was thought through by the researcher before embarking on a project which had a distinct possibility of sinking. Initially, the researcher wanted to limit this study to the two major ethnic groups (Hema and Lendu) that had first started the hostilities. It was almost certain this limitation would have a negative influence on the results, since both groups accuse each other of killings and causing

chaos in the province. After considering the ethical issue pinpointed by Bailey, the researcher extended the core idea of research to the whole province and all ethnic groups. Building human security in Ituri will benefit every person that lives in that specific province, no matter their origin.

The second question that Bailey poses is how difficult will it be to keep promises of confidentiality? The latter preoccupation can be seen as the backbone of any research. If participants are not guaranteed confidentiality, they will be reluctant to talk freely and could be tempted to hide information that would be relevant to the study. The third question is, "What are the chances of the researcher getting 'dirty hands' while conducting the research?" That is, being involved in illegal behaviour or behaviour that is against the researcher's morality? Fourthly, "What are the chances that the researcher will not harm someone in the setting?" For example, if one participant gives an opinion which might be completely different from the researcher's, how would the latter handle it? Finally, "could the study be harmful to the researcher's personal safety? Or do the responses of others to the researcher's ethnicity put the latter at risk?" For example, the researcher plans to go to field between mid-December 2008 and the end of January 2009. War between Hema and Lendu might break out again while the researcher is in the field; this will automatically put the researcher at risk due to his ethnicity (Hema). Bailey mentions that this situation happened to Maria Macabuac in 2005 when she wanted go and collect data in Philippines, her home country. At the time that she was preparing to leave, violence in the area she wanted to study increased considerably and her ethnic group was put at risk. With the approval of the committee, she was obliged to select another site. This required a modification of her focus and a delay in her data collection (2007, p38).

These are just a few examples of issues that need to be taken into consideration before embarking on a fieldwork trip. Some issues are unpredictable and the most important thing is to learn how to deal with them when they occur.

To summarise, prior to starting the interviews, the researcher dealt with all following steps suggested by Romano in section 3.6. The researcher gathered all the information concerning safety on the ground and acted accordingly. For example, the researcher wore the same clothes every day so as not to attract attention that he had money from South Africa. The researcher slept

in different locations to avoid bandits and ill-disciplined soldiers who might break into the house and kill him. It should be said that no major issues occurred that could jeopardise the life of the researcher, except minor issues, (see Chapter 4). Besides, issues regarding voluntary participation and confidentiality were well described to the extent that no one withdrew from the interviews and no one was harmed in the process. Both the Hema and the Lendu who participated in the study were quite happy with the whole interview and spoke without fear, except for a few limitations that are highlighted in the next section.

3.13   LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In any research involving human nature, restrictions are a reality that a researcher cannot ignore. Although, wwhen selecting participants, attention was given to participants who had knowledge of the topic, much effort and thought were given to recruitment sources and strategies as Bloor and Wood (2006, p.19) suggest. Another limitation was that in almost every group, there were at least one or two participants who talked very little. Although much effort was made to include them in the discussions, a few only made comments such as õYes, I agree with so and so,ö or õI have nothing to say,ö or õThey have said everything, I wanted to say.ö

Furthermore, I noticed that some Lendu-Hema tensions existed. For example, a Hema participant said: õI canøt forgive the Lendu; they killed all my family members.ö Later on in the discussion, a Lendu participant said: õWe should not condemn one ethnic group only, we killed each other equally.ö In another focus group, another Lendu participant said: õWe, Lendu, we were marginalised for so many years.ö While a Hema participant in the same group said: õThe genocide of Hema by the Lendu was prepared long time ago; this is only the execution of the project.ö It should be noted that this type of comment did not cause problems or create animosity among participants.

Although, strategies were put into place to avoid dominant personalities, a few participants talked more than the rest of the group. I used strategies like asking participant X that they thought about what participant Z had said?

Although the interviews resulted in responses in five languages, I believe that relevant and detailed data were obtained. There may have been gaps in the transcripts which did not reveal all the nuances of the interactions as part of group dynamics. However, these were reduced by the detailed notes that I took at every instance (see section 3.11). The involvement of the researcher in all interviews, coupled with their detailed notes and good quality tape recording meant that he was able to capture all the richness of data.

Taking into consideration all these facts, the researcher cannot be certain that all what was said is the representation of what the participants in the sample were actually thinking. Nor could he establish that the views of those who participated in the study are the same as those of those who did not participate. However, from the various interactions and the quality of data that emerged from those interactions, he believes that participants' opinions were reasonably representative.

The fact that individual interviews were conducted with a sample of 11 participants to whom he administered the same questions as in focus groups, but with probing and prompt questions helped establish the veracity of focus group the responses. The views of the 11 participants were representative of the interviewees in the focus groups. In addition, triangulation methods helped him to cross-check responses gathered from the different data collection methods used (see section 3.11).

Finally, the researcher believes that his ethnic background (Hema) did not influence his research nor imposed a certain attitude to participants, especially the Lendu. His equal engagement with all participants facilitated the discussion and interviews to run smoothly. Confirmation from and within the data (see section 4.6) leads him to believe that the findings of this study are valid and credible.

3.14   CONCLUSION

It has been argued that focus groups and semi-structured interviews are highly appropriate methods for this specific study. The methods were discussed thoroughly by highlighting their advantages and disadvantages. The researcher has given reasons why these methods were

appropriate tools to use to collect data. The researcher gave topics and questions that were asked during different interviews, their explanations and their linkages to the specific aims of this study. The sampling method was also explained. Steps in data analysis and the validation of the results have also been explained. The chapter also presented issues that might occur when researching in war zones and the ethical challenges. Finally, the limitations of the study were presented.

CHAPTER FOUR

FIELDWORK EXPERIENCE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Using any qualitative research requires the contact between the researcher and the real world. As was mentioned in section 3.2, qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in a particular context. Qualitative research explores attitudes, behaviour and experiences as it uses interviews, for example, to get in-depth opinions from participants. The more the researcher spends time with the participants, the more the results are likely to be credible. Fieldwork gives the researcher the opportunity to immerse physically in the setting and to test first-hand that what respondents say, is true. This chapter discusses in detail the experiences of the researcher in primary data collection. It presents and documents the different activities that were conducted and the challenges that were encountered. It starts with the trip itself, the selection of participants, the conduct of interviews and some ethical challenges. The aim of this chapter is to highlight possible threats to internal and external validity of this research.

4.2 TRAVEL

The researcher travelled to Ituri, using a variety transport methods. He took almost a week to reach his destination. He travelled from Durban, where he lives and studies, to Johannesburg by bus on the night of 12th December 2008. The flight to Kigali in Rwanda was scheduled on the 14th December early in the morning. When checking in at [OR] Tambo International Airport in Johannesburg, me was refused permission to travel because of a mistake concerning visa dates. The Rwandan Embassy in Pretoria had issued him with a multiple entry visa for a period of three months which was to expire on the 8th February 2009. However, on the visa, the date was written as 8th February 2008. The difference between 8 and 9 caused a delay in the schedule. The flight had to be booked for three days later and he had to return to the Rwandan Embassy in Pretoria to sort out the visa issue.

On the 17th December 2008, the researcher travelled to Kigali with the intention to cross the Congolese border the following day. It was not possible to cross to Goma because at that time the renegade General Laurent Nkunda was about to capture the town. Friends advised him to travel via Uganda. He left Kigali on Sunday the 19th December 2008 to Uganda then DRC. To reach the Congolese border, I used five different mini-buses. Then I used the boat to cross the River Semliki into the DRC. Just inside the border was a military station where everybody has to pay a bribe, irrespective of whether one has the proper travelling documents or not. From there, I caught a motorbike to reach Bunia the city town of Ituri province of the DRC where my data collection was scheduled to take place. The trip took five hours through the jungle, and finally reached my destination on the 21st December 2008. On my way, I encountered seven military and police roadblocks at which I had to pay money to pass. Knowing many languages put me at an advantageous position. I spoke to soldiers in different languages and they could not figure out that I came from far and they did not search my bag. In DRC, there is a certain way that people speak and a certain kind of behaviour that shows they are in authority. One does not arrest or harass such people out of fear that they might be officials who might cause the soldier to lose their job. Indeed, from my behaviour, some of them believed I was a senior government officer or a high ranking soldier who was coming from a weekend at his farm. Apart from money for cigarettes at each roadblock, nothing was taken from me. I decided to use the same route on my way back and travelled safely to Durban on the 31st January 2009. It is worth noting that, while conducting my research, participants mentioned several times that people experience serious problems at roadblocks. They pay a lot of money, some are seriously beaten and some women are raped by soldiers.

As was mentioned above and in the introduction, the city of Bunia is the town of the province of Ituri situated in the northern-east part of DRC, bordering with Sudan (80 km long) and Uganda (400 km long). The province covers an area of 66,000 sq. km and has 6.5 million inhabitants with a population density of approximately 30 inhabitants per square kilometre. Ituri is divided into five territories (Aru, Mahagi, Djugu, Irumu and Mambasa), 46 counties, 480 chiefdoms, 6,396 localities and five towns (International Crisis Group, 2009, p.1). The province of Ituri comprises 18 different ethnic groups, with the Hema and Lendu communities representing 40 per cent of the population. The other major ethnic groups are the Bira, the Alur, the Lugbara, the

Nyali, the Ndo-Okebo and the Lese (Woudenberg, 2003, p.191). The province is rich in gold, coltan, diamonds, timber and oil (for more information on Ituri, see chapter one).

4.3   THE PARTICIPANTS

Upon arrival, the researcher started consultations with different people, discussing how best to proceed with the selection of participants, (who to invite, and how and what could be possible ethical issues), the venues and what could be the most suitable time for people to meet either as groups or individually. These choices were all influenced by the characteristics of the chosen methods of investigation, in this case focus groups and semi-structured interviews (see sections 3.3.2 & 3.3.3). In Ituri, he noticed that putting people together could be problematic, given the kind of life that Ituri inhabitants were living. Most of the people spent their time selling in shops, markets or on streets. This was due to the fact that many of them were unemployed. Hence, many Iturians, especially women resorted to making money for themselves by becoming vendors. Besides selling, many Iturians are farmers not by choice but mostly because of lack of proper employment. They dig the soil and plant crops and some do poultry or combine both. Although these activities existed some years ago, today they have scaled down tremendously.

Having noticed that people had a variety of activities, meant that the researcher would have to extend his stay and may not be able to reach the expected number of participants. During consultations, many people that he talked to advised him to contact institutions that gather many organisations or people, such as churches, the civil society and so on. This was done successfully and the head of the Office of Civil Society [OCI] gave him the cell phone numbers of the representatives of organisations or ethnic groups to call and he also contacted some traditional and church leaders. The latter helped him in getting a good numbers of participants in a very short time. Before that we exchanged a few phone calls and then met physically where arrangements were made to conduct interviews. I also invited some of the participants myself by word of months and cell phone calls. Bearing in mind that there could be some absentees due to factors such as bad weather, health, funerals to attend and so on, I invited a large number and fortunately almost all of them responded positively to each invitation. This is why, focus groups (hereafter FG) 2, 5 and 9 were quite large with between 13 and 15 participants. The willingness

of participants to participate in the interviews raised many questions. After a few interviews, I investigated this matter further. I thought they had come because they were expecting some kind of incentives, such cash payment or gifts. I was told that people found my research topic very interesting and that they were tired of insecurity and they heartily needed the restoration of peace and security to allow them to go about their daily business without hindrance. The following show some of the interventions in this regard; (Res.) stands for researcher and SSIM1 or 5 stand for semi-structured interview male participant 1 or 5:

Res.: 'Do you have anything to say at last?'

SSIM1: 'I am happy with the interview which is part of your research. Considering the political, socio-economic and cultural situations in Ituri, the field of human security deserves in depth research in order to find strategies to restore and achieve peace and security in Ituri. It shouldn't only be in theory but also let the outcomes of your research help to restore peace in our province. This is the role of the researcher. Thank you.'

Res.: 'Do you have anything issue that you would like to talk about?'

SSIM5: 'We should learn to adopt within us the culture of peace.'

Res.: 'Do you have anything to add to what you said?'

SSIM9: 'You said that you come from South Africa. At least you have a bit of experience about apartheid and the most important element is that democracy has brought discrimination down. I would like you to apply the same here. Our country is going from bad to worse. Congolese have lost hope in their country. For example, we elected for the government three years ago. They promised us education, good governance and security. Three years down the line, there is no change. There is absence of government authority in Ituri, corruption has gained momentum, parents are still paying the salaries of teachers and war is still going on.'

Res.: 'Do you have anything that you feel important to be said?'

SSIM10: 'I would like to thank you for this research in the sense of human security. It reminds me of 'cosmic peace' in that mankind lived on earth as a paradise. The will of God was that mankind should live in peace with themselves, with God, their creator, and with other human beings, and with the whole nature including animals without conflict. Mankind was created to have no fear. Your research is important. It excites me to work harder for the security of my family and the people I live with. I am encouraged to contribute whenever necessary.'

Coming back to the selection of participants, I tried my best to avoid bias and bad representation of participants. I discussed with the leaders the kind of people I wanted to participate in focus

groups. When selecting participants, to borrow the words of Bloor et al. (2001, p.19) õattention must be given to participant characteristics in relation to the topic to be discussed and effort and thought must be given to recruitment sources and strategies.ö Furthermore, they argue that (in the case of focus groups) participants are not selected by means of systematic random sampling and that careful attention to composition is irrelevant if none of the potential participants turn up to the group. Hence, following the criteria are important for the selection of participants in focus groups: the sample was selected regardless of any selection criteria with the exception that only adults aged 17 and older were to be interviewed and that same sex and mixed males and females interviews were to be conducted too. I had three categories of focus groups. I had two groups where only men participated (FG1 & FG7) and two groups (FG4 & FG9) with only women. The rest of the groups (FG2, FG3, FG5, FG6 and FG8) were mixed.

In the semi-structured interviews phase, despite the effort I had made to include women respondents, only four women participated out of the 11 who had been approached. One of them was a catholic nun and three were mature spinsters. It was considered unacceptable for me to invite someoneøs wife. I was told that inviting someoneøs wife or daughter was against tradition norms. It was inappropriate to have a man and a married woman or a young girl in private conversation in a room for more than an hour. I was told that if I wanted to discuss any issues, I should talk to men only because women have no right to discuss issues in the absence of their husband or male relatives in case of unmarried women. Under these circumstances, a woman can interview another woman but only with the authorisation of the husband or male relatives. Unfortunately, I did not have enough time or financial resources to train a woman research assistant. Later, I was told that the non-participation of women in one-to-one interviews was not an absolute rule; however, it was more likely to occur in rural areas where people are still bound to their cultures.

The sample presents a variety of socioeconomic characteristics and ethnicity background. Table 4.1 describes the characteristics of participants in focus groups in detail while Table 4.2 does the same for participants in semi-structured interviews. Lastly, Table 4.3 gives details of different ethnic groups that were part of the interviews.

TABLE 4.1

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS IN EACH FG

Characteristic	Category	FG1	FG2	FG3	FG4	FG5	FG6	FG7	FG8	FG9	Total (94)
Numbers	Male	8	9	4	1	4	8	9	4	5	52
	Female	0	4	4	9	9	2	0	4	10	42
Age	17 ó 30	4	2	5	1	3	1	0	3	2	20
	31 ó 40	2	9	3	1	6	5	2	2	3	33
	41 ó 50	2	2	0	3	2	2	5	3	5	24
	51 ó 60	0	0	0	3	2	0	2	0	3	10
	61 ó 70	0	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	2	7
Marital Status	Married	5	9	2	6	11	7	9	3	11	63
	Not married	3	4	6	4	2	3	0	5	4	31
Number/Children	None	4	1	3	1	1	0	0	2	1	13
	1 ó 5	3	9	5	7	7	8	4	4	10	57
	6 ó 10	1	3	0	2	5	2	5	2	4	24
Level/Education	None	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	2	6
	Primary	0	0	5	4	6	1	0	2	10	28
	Secondary	2	0	3	1	4	4	8	4	2	28
	Tertiary	6	13	0	0	1	5	1	1	1	28
	Other	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	4
Occupation	Church	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	0	4	9
	Education	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	1	6
	Studying	5	11	0	0	0	4	2	0	0	22
	NGO	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	6
	Business	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	6
	Media	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	4
	Medical	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	3
	Other	1	0	7	2	0	1	0	1	1	13
	Jobless	0	0	0	6	7	2	0	4	6	25
Religion	Christian	8	12	8	10	11	10	9	7	12	87
	Muslim		1	0	0	2	0	0	1	3	7
	Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

A total number of 94 participated in nine different sessions of focus groups. Fifty-two of the participants were males and 42 were women. Looking at Table 4.1, 20 participants were in the age category between 17 and 30; 33 participants between 31 and 40; 24 participants between 41

and 50; 10 participants between 51 and 60; and seven participants were between 61 and 70. Sixty-three participants were married while 31 participants were not married. Thirteen of the participants had no children while 57 participants had between one and five children, and 24 participants were between six and ten years old. As far as the level of education is concerned, six participants mentioned that they had no education background, 28 participants had at least attended primary school and 28 had either dropped out of or completed secondary school. Twenty-eight participants claimed that they had completed tertiary education or were still pursuing university studies and four participants mentioned that they had other forms of education that could be rated as workshops and vocational trainings. In terms of occupation, nine 9 participants were church leaders, six 6 participants worked in the education system, 22 participants were students, 6 participants worked with NGOs, six participants were business people, four were in the media, three in a medical profession, 13 fell in the category of other occupation, such taxi drivers, tailors, photographers, mechanics, and so on and 25 participants in the focus groups were jobless. On the question of religion, 87 participants said they were Christians and 7 belonged to the Muslim faith. None mentioned that they belonged to other religions, such as traditional or animist, or atheism.

TABLE 4.2

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS IN EACH SSI

Charac teristic	Category	SS1	SSI 2	SSI 3	SSI 4	SSI 5	SSI 6	SSI 7	SSI 8	SSI 9	SSI10	SSI11	TOT.
Number	Male	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	8
	Female	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3
Age	17 ó 30	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	4
	31 ó 40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
	41 ó 50	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	3
	51 ó 60	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	61 ó 70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marital Status	Married	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	6
	Not married	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	5
Number Child	None	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	4
	1 ó 5	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	6
	6 ó 10	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Level Educ.	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Primary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Secondary	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
	Tertiary	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	8
	Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Occup.	Church	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Education	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
	Studying	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	NGO	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3
	Business	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Media	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Medical	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Other	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Jobless	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Relig.	Christian	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	10
	Muslim	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 4.2 shows that 11 respondents participated in the sessions, three of which were women and eight were men. Four respondentsø ages fell in 17 to 30 years categories, two between 31 and 40, three between 41 and 50, and two between 51 and 60. In semi-structured interviews, six respondents were married while five were not. Four respondents had no children, whereas six respondents mentioned that they had between one and five children and only one respondent had more than five children. Taking into account the education level of participants, all participants had attended school, that is, all of them attended primary school, two reached at least secondary school and eight respondents completed at least the first degree. One respondent mentioned that they had another form of education. In the occupational category, two respondents were clergymen, two came from the education sector, one respondent was a student, three respondents worked with NGOs, one respondent was from business sector, one in the media and the other respondent was described as other. Ten respondents claimed that they were Christian and one was Muslim.

TABLE 4.3

ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS IN FGS AND SSIS

Province	Ituri	Kasai Occ.	Kasai Orient.	Maniema	North Kivu	Orient. Prov.	Total Part.	Total Prov.
Ethnic background	Alur						3	
	Bali						1	
	Bira						3	
	Hema						33	
	Kakwa						3	
	Lendu						33	
	Lese						1	
	Logo						1	
	Lugbara						2	80
		Pende					2	2
			Luba				2	2
				Lega			1	1
					Nande		12	
					Talinga		1	13
						Boa	2	
						Mba	1	
						Topoke	2	
						Yogo	1	
						Zande	1	7

The sample comprised 19 ethnic groups with 105 respondents. Two respondents were from Kasai Occidental province, two from Kasai Oriental province, one from Maniema province, 13 from North Kivu province, seven from Oriental province and 80 respondents from different ethnic groups from Ituri province [Alur (three), Bali (one), Bira (three), Hema (33), Kakwa (three), Lendu (33), Lese (one), Logo (one) and Lubgara (two)].

4.4   CONDUCT OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS AND INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

Having completed the selection of participants as mentioned in section 3.2.4, he proceeded with the plans and execution of focus groups and semi-structured interviews. Initially, I had hoped to be assisted by two field assistants; however this was not possible due to budget limitations. I was assisted by one person who helped to hold the tape recorder while participants were discussing.

Interviews and discussions took place between late December 2008 and mid-January 2009. The study was conducted in Bunia which is the main town of the Province of Ituri. Initially, I had planned to conduct l2 focus group sessions with a total of 120 persons, aged between 10 and 70 years old. Sixty of the participants would be male adults and boys and the other 60 would be females, that is, women and girls. The average size of each group would be 10 persons. Each session would last between 45 to 90 minutes. As for semi-structured interviews, I had planned to interview 10 people: five men and five women. Unfortunately, because of financial and time constraints, I was only able to conduct nine focus groups, comprising 52 males and 42 females. In the SSIs, 11 people were interviewed of whom eight were male and three female. As far as the age of participants was concerned, the youngest was 17 and the oldest age 70. Most of the sessions lasted between 60 and 90 minutes, except FG6 (134 minutes), FG7 (130 minutes) and FG9 (100 minutes).

Prior to the focus group sessions, the researcher started by selecting participants according to their socio-economic background, and then moved to composing groups, bearing in mind the format of each focus group. Contrary to what was planned initially, some groups went up to between 11 and 15 participants. Consequently, these sessions lasted between 90 to 150 minutes. The discussions were in the form of interactions in which every participant was given a chance to say what they had in their heart. Data were audio taped, translated then transcribed in the form of quotations.

Table 4.4 below summarises all the activities (dates, venues, duration, type of interview, number of participants and their gender) of different interviews that took place.

TABLE 4.4

INTERVIEW ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN

Date	Venue	Duration	Type of interviews	Number of participants	Gender	
					Males	Females
26 Dec. 2008	Student residence, SUB	14:25 - 15:45	Focus group1 (FG1)	8	8	-
29 Dec. 2008	Auditorium - ISTHA	11:26 - 13:28	Focus group2 (FG2)	13	9	4
30 Dec. 2008	Agape Christian centre	17:30 - 18:40	Focus group3 (FG3)	8	4	4
31 Dec. 2008	Anglican church	07:30 - 8:48	Focus group4 (FG4)	10	1	9
02 Jan. 2009	Private house	08:00 - 09:16	Focus group5 (FG5)	13	4	9
02 Jan. 2009	Catechesis	16:19 - 18:33	Focus group6 (FG6)	10	8	2
04 Jan. 2009	Emmanuel community	13:20 - 15:30	Focus group7 (FG7)	9	9	-
06 Jan. 2009	Ituri civil society	11:15 - 12:16	Semi-structured (SSI1)	1	1	-
07 Jan. 2009	School board office	09:00 - 10:16	Semi-structured (SSI2)	1	1	-
08 Jan. 2009	Teacherøs college office	10:00 - 11:33	Semi-structured (SSI3)	1	1	-
08 Jan. 2009	SUB office	15:48 - 16:30	Semi-structured (SSI4)	1	-	1
09 Jan. 2009	ISTHA Directorøs office	09:15 - 10:15	Semi-structured (SSI5)	1	1	-
09 Jan. 2009	SUB office	14:10 - 15:30	Semi-structured (SSI6)	1	1	-
10 Jan. 2009	Justice Plus	09:30 - 10:40	Semi-structured (SSI7)	1	1	-
10 Jan. 2009	Children First (NGO)	17:30 - 19:00	Focus group (FG8)	8	4	4
11 Jan. 2009	UFPPS (NGO)	13:30 - 15:10	Focus group (FG9)	15	5	10
12 Jan. 2009	Justice and Peace Commissionø office	15:00 - 16:00	Semi-structured (SSI8)	1	-	1
13 Jan. 2009	Justice and Peace Commissionø office	13:34 - 14:50	Semi-structured (SSI9)	1	1	-
13 Jan. 2009	Catechesis	15:00 - 16:38	Semi-structured (SSI10)	1	1	-
14 Jan. 2009	Shop	12:30 - 13:30	Semi-structured (SSI11)	1	-	1

4.5   LANGUAGE ISSUES

In section 3.7, issues concerning the language to use while conducting interviews were highlighted. In the words of Karanasios (2008, p.69) õas part of the background of the study, the researcher needs to give attention to the type of people and the language spoken by the latter.ö He argues that õeven in a monolingual society there can be differences in meaning and use of words between cities, provinces, and villages.ö This is true in the case of this study. The Swahili spoken in Ituri has slight differences with the Swahili spoken in Kivu, or Maniema or Katanga. Being a linguist, the researcher had the advantage to design and translate questions so that every participant was able to understand. Initially, questions were designed in English and then translated into Swahili; the language that was likely to be spoken by almost all residents of Ituri. Before starting interviews, apart from my own knowledge of languages, I consulted with a few local people whose competence in Swahili was beyond reproach. Some of them are linguists and lecturers in different institutions in Ituri. Here, it is worth noting that a poor translation of words could yield misleading meanings. To ensure a good understanding of questions, I translated them into French too as there were a few participants whose knowledge of Swahili was limited. Such participants elected to speak in French or Lingala. Both Swahili and Lingala are vernacular languages in DRC. The former is spoken in the north eastern and south part of DRC and in five eastern African countries: Kenya, Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda, while Lingala is spoken in the western part of DRC and in two neighbouring countries (Republic of Congo and Angola).

The study was conducted with a sample of people living in Ituri, regardless of their provinces of origin. As was mentioned above, some participants, especially students were from the western part of DRC and had only a limited understanding of Swahili. In those groups, the interviews were conducted in French.

The Swahili version of the main questions is found in section 3.7. The following is the French version of questions:

1. English: When you hear the word *security*, what do you think of?
   French: De quoi pensez-vou*s quand v*ous entendez parler du mot securité?

2. English: Do you feel secure these days?

    French: Sentez-vous en securité ces derniers jours?

3. English: What things influence your feelings of security or insecurity these days?

    French: Quelles sont les choses qui vous influencent de dire que vous vous sentez en securité ou en insecurité ces derniers jours?

4. English: I would like you to discuss things that would help you to feel more   secure. Start by discussing things which you could do yourselves - as individuals or as a community.

    French: Jøaimerais que vous puissiez discuter des choses qui peuvent vous aider pour que vous puissiez vous sentir en securté totale. Commencer par des choses que vous pouvez faire vous mêmes comme individu ou comme communauté.

5. English: Do you do these things? Explain why, why not?

    French: Est-ce que vous les faisez? Si cøest oui, dites pour quoi et si cøest non, dites pour quoi aussi.

6. English: Are there things which other people/group of people would need to do (or not to do) to help you feel more secure? Are they doing these things? Explain why, why not?

    French: Est-ce quøil - t - il døautres choses que døautres personnes ou groupe des personnes peuvent faire ou ne peuvent pas faire pour que vous puissiez vous sentir in securité totale? Est-ce quøils les font du moins?

In groups where Swahili was used, some participants wanted to respond in languages other than Swahili. In other words, questions were asked in Swahili and answers were given either in Swahili, or French, or Lingala or Kihema. Only one participant in SSIs expressed the desire to be interviewed in English. The latter had good knowledge of English since he studied up to masterøs degree level using English as a medium of learning. SSIM5 felt that he could find better and more specific terms in English rather than in Swahili. All in all, interviews involved four languages (English, French, Swahili, Lingala and Kihema) that are written and spoken quite

fluently by the researcher. Initially, he planned to translate from Swahili into English after every interview. Due to time constraints and the involvement of many languages, it took him two months to finish transcription.

4.6   QUESTION ROUTE

As was mentioned in section 3.5, the researcher wished to understand the evolving values and behaviours of groups within the population of Ituri in the aftermath of civil war, an objective best approached through open ended discussions. He started by explaining the reasons that led him to this particular study and also took time to explain all ethical issues to them.   Next, he asks questions one after another, pausing to discuss any issue that the respondents identified as interesting or controversial. Question one was asked with the aim of brainstorming   what participants thought was the meaning of security. After exhausting all possible meanings of security, the researcher then moved to the second question to probe the participantsø answers to question one. Questions three asked participants to identify all possible threats to their security and questions four, five and six expected participants to identify the ways they thought were suitable to building human security in their province.

Initially, seven focus groups were conducted then did seven semi-structured interviews. These were followed by two focus groups and finally three semi-structured interviews. In SSIs, the same questions were asked as in FGs but with different participants (participants who had not previously participated in any FG discussion). The interviews were then followed up with probe and prompt questions in order to get appropriate answers. The aim was to get coherent data. The following are a few answers on questions one by different interviewees:

FG1M3: '*According to me, when I hear the word security, I think of many aspects. By security, I understand food security, social security and physical security. When we speak of security, we refer to the absence of war and of any threats that can put the lives of people in danger.*'

FG2M8: 'I would say that there is no security without peace. It means that to feel secure, one must be in peace and to be in peace requires freedom. By security I understand social security, physical security and health security. By social security I mean collaboration, freedom of speech and sharing ideas. Physical security means when you are not afraid of being killed or battered to

death. Health security means when you are in good health, that is, physically and mentally. Security can also mean freedom of movement.'

FG4F6: 'Security means peace in your heart, you have your basic needs met, absence of war, freedom from fear and freedom from want.'

FG5F4: 'Security means to feel good, to be good, and to follow the word of God, to be free from preoccupations, to be free from want, to be free to movement, to have good health and food security.'

If one looks closer at these answers from five different focus groups with five different participants, it shows that the meaning of security, to them, revolves around ‑fearø and the desire to have a peace of mind in terms of having basic needs, such as food and health, etc.

The researcher used the interview guide that I had prepared in advance. During the course of interviews, I created a permissive environment in which   participants, even the shy ones, felt comfortable to talk. In such a relaxed environment, many participants were able to voice their opinions. However, some remained voiceless or spoke few words like *'I don't have anything to say' or 'I agree with everybody'* or simply kept silent. On the other hand, I noticed that in almost every group, there was at least one respondent who had the tendency to speak more than the others. For example, in FG1, FG6, FG8 and FG9, respectively M3, M8, M7 and M13 were outspoken. It required a lot of effort on the part of the researcher to involve others in the discussions so as to avoid the generalisation of the opinions of few people. M3, M7, M8 and M13 are classified as ‑talkativeø by authors such as Frith (2000), Smithson (2000) or Vicsek (2007). They explain that such participants do not have a desire to dominate but rather that it is a reflection of their characters.

As far as semi-structured interviews were concerned, I looked for quiet, private and comfortable venues. I started by establishing a friendly atmosphere that allowed the respondent to talk with confidence and without anxiety. Second, I briefed the respondent on the ethical issues regarding research proceedings. In step three, I started asking respective questions. As was discussed in section 3.3.5, the decision of whether to start or end with personal questions, as discussed respectively by Legard et al. (2003) and Leech (2002), was quite challenging for me. In cultural settings, there are questions that cannot be asked of a woman or a person older thank you. For

example, a man cannot ask a woman if she is married or not or if she has children or not. The former question might be interpreted as the man being interested in her. In the same way, asking a barren woman about children can be interpreted as embarrassing and insulting. This question could also bring back sad memories for the respondent as they might have lost their children during war and this might turn the whole session into a mourning one. I was told that many children, especially girls were abducted, raped and killed by militias while many male children were killed in the battles as combatants. Furthermore, asking questions about ethnicity was so sensitive that it could create animosity and hatred among participants within a group. Moreover, asking an old person about their age would sound disrespectful.

Given the features of semi-structured interviews, the personal information or socio-demographic information on the respondents was paramount. To cope with these cultural sensitivities, personal questions, such as age, gender, and marital status, number of children, education, occupation, ethnicity and religion appeared on the consent-declaration form that respondents filled and signed. He took the forms and kept them without any comments or mention of what was written on each form. That is why, in my analysis, I did not use traditional expressions such as ‐a 30 years old female participant said this ‒ ø rather to keep confidentiality I used expressions such as, FG1M1, meaning, as is explained in detail in section 4.7, focus group session one, male participant sitting one place to the researcherøs right.

After this process, I started posing actual questions, followed up by probe and prompt type questions. The following quotes illustrate this step:

SSIF11: *'Peacekeepers must go. Sporadic attacks must stop in remote areas. Employment must be created; street kids must be taken away either back to their homes or somewhere where the government and/or NGOs can look after them.'*

Res.: *'Do you think it is easy to take street kids from the street?'*

SSIF11: *'No, it isn't. They have tried and failed.'*

Res.: *'Who should do that work?'*

SSIF11: *'NGOs must take responsibility'*

Res.: 'Like which ones?'

SSIF11: 'UNICEF, Save the Children; that is their role. Unfortunately, they don't.

Res.: Do you know why?'

SSIF11: 'No. But just after war, they tried to take care of them but stopped after a while.'

Res.: 'What can the church do to help the situation of street kids as to help NGOs and the government?'

SSIF11: 'They should help the situation through prayers. Some of them (street kids) may get saved and become good people with no evil.'

Res.: Do you mean that street kids are evil?'

SSIF11: 'Yes, I do. Many of them are thieves and do wrong things in their neighbourhood.'

SSIF11: 'Apart from street kids, what else can the church do to bring peace and security in Ituri?'

SSIF11: 'They must pray for our country.'

Res.: 'What else?'

SSIF11: 'That is all.'

Res.: 'Only prayers?'

SSIF11: 'Prayers and provide financial aid to the vulnerable.'

This sequence is an example of answers where the respondent was asked a question on what they could do themselves to achieve peace and security in Ituri (Question 4 in the interview guide). I noticed that the respondent did not answer the question properly, so I introduced prompt questions which yielded relevant information, such as the role that the NGOs and the Church could play in building peace and security in the province. On this, Leech (2002, p.667) states that õprompts are as important as the questions themselves in semi-structured interviews. They keep people talking and they rescue the researcher when responses turn to mush.ö

Following Legardøs et al. (2003) final step, that is, how to terminate the interview, the researcher switched off the recorder, thanked the respondent, ask them whether they had more to say or had

unfinished, or burning questions or asked them for their last word before they finally departed. This was done and a few of their words are repeated in the form of quotes:

Res.: *'Do have anything to say at last?'*

SSIM1: *'I am happy with the interview which is part of your research. Considering the political, socio-economic and cultural situations in Ituri, the field of security deserves in depth research in order to find necessary strategies to restore and achieve peace and security in Ituri. It shouldn't only be theoretical but also on a practical level. The outcome of your research should contribute to achieving security here in our province. This is the role of a researcher. Thank you.'*

Res.: *'Once more, I thank you too for having accepted to participate in this interview.'*

Res.: *'Do you have any specific issues to be raised?'*

SSIF4: *'Yes. Different groups and associations should reinforce their capacities to achieve security. Our government should not rely on MONUC or the international community. Congolese should do their best to achieve their security.'*

Res.: *'Do you have anything or any burning issues that you would like to talk about?'*

SSI5: *'Yes, I do. We people from Ituri, we should adopt within us the culture of peace.'*

Res.: *'Do you have anything to add on what you said?'*

SSI9: *'You said that you come from South Africa. At least you have a bit of experience about apartheid and the coming of democracy in 1994. I would like you to apply your experience here. Our country is going from bad to worse. Congolese have lost hope in their country. For example we elected the government three years ago. They promised us education, good governance and security. Three years down the line, there is no change. There is absence of government authority in Ituri, corruption has gained momentum, parents are still paying the salaries of teachers and war is still going on. Thank you.'*

Res.: *'Do you have anything that you feel is important to be said?'*

SSI10: *'I would like to thank you for this research in the sense of security. It reminds me of 'cosmic peace' that mankind experienced then he lived on earth in paradise. The will of God was that mankind should live in peace with themselves first, then with God, their creator, with other human beings and finally with the whole of nature and animals without conflict. Mankind was created to have no fear. Your research is important as it tries to respond to this preoccupation. It excites me to work harder for the security of my family and the people I live with. I am encouraged to contribute whenever. Thank you.'*

4.7   ETHICAL ISSUES

Blaxter et al. (2001, p.158) state that:

> Research ethics are about the nature of the agreement the researcher has entered into with their research subjects í   Ethical research involves getting the informed consent of those the researcher is going to interview, question or observe. It involves reaching agreements about the uses of these data, and how the analysis will be reported and disseminated.

Before the beginning of each focus group and before the individual interviews, participants were asked to sign the consent declaration form. This step was preceded by in-depth explanation of the purpose of the research and its basic procedures, the identity of the researcher and the sponsor, the use of the data and also a statement that participation was voluntary, that each participant was free to withdraw at any time or to decline to answer any particular question (see the consent declaration form in Appendix B). During this time he explained a few essential elements. Long explanations may have distorted the way people would answer the questions. Borrowing the words of de Vaus (2001, p.85), the researcher provides basic information and allows clarification questions from the participants.

As for voluntary participation, de Vaus (2001, p.83) mentions that a well-established principle of social research is that people should not be required or led to believe that they are required to participate in the study. In this study, people were remarkably generous to participate in the research because they believed that this study would contribute to genuine and sustainable peace and security. No remarkable withdrawals were noticed, except three women from different FGs who asked to leave for reasons of home chores, minding children at home (as it was getting late) and visiting their relatives at the hospital.

Beside the respondentsø free will to participate, I did my best to be truthful and avoided false advertisements that would attract too many people. I was told that in many studies of this kind, participants often demanded incentives, especially with white researchers. Using local leaders in the selection of participants helped that the researcher was not subjected to this (being asked money in exchange to participation in researcher); rather an appeal was made to peopleøs self-interest and willingness.

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Signing consent declaration forms did not pose problems except for one participant in FG6 who voiced his concern with regard to their security after the interview of this kind. I admitted to them that, as I have argued in section 3.5, researching in war zones can be dangerous and sometimes perilous to both the researcher and the respondents. I explained a few tips in case participants were questioned by either the government authorities or militias. This participant was scared because of statements he was going to make. One of his statements is repeated here and it reads:

FG6M3: *'The biggest error of Congo is that leaders do not respect human rights and human dignity. Human beings were created from the image of God and should not suffer the way our authorities are doing to us. For example, Congolese labour law is well written but the government does not respect it. The government does not pay the salaries of civil servants, soldiers and policemen. There is an increasing level of impunity. All these facts do not make us feel secure.'*

He was assured that the information would be kept anonymous and confidential. De Vaus (2002, p.87) suggests that information should be stored in such a way as to preclude any unauthorised access. All the participants were reassured that the information would be kept confidential by the University and would be destroyed after five years according to the University of KwaZulu-Natal ethical policy.

The names of participants were kept anonymous. Before starting each interview, participants were labelled in numerical order according to the seats they occupied, starting from my right hand. Participants sat in the form of a circle. For example, a male participant sitting in a circle on chair four in the fourth focus group was labelled FG4M4. In semi-structured interviews, the ninth female participant, for example, was labelled SSIF9 or FG8F3 was a female participant sitting on the third chair in a circle on my right in the eighth focus group.

After data collection was completed, I started to analyse them as described in section 3.8. The first step was to translate and transcribe data from tapes. As is tradition with data collection using focus groups, I recorded more information than I actually needed. Some information was even irrelevant as participants went off the topic. During transcription, such information was left out and I concentrated more on discovering and bringing to surface concepts that were the most

relevant to the purpose of the study. This view is also shared by Krueger (1998b, p.76) when he mentions that õthe process of analysis requires data reduction and selective attention to certain topics. Not every story or experience told is relevant. Even if they are relevant, not all stories need to be shared to give the reader an understanding of the point.ö

After transcription I listened to tapes several times while following what had been written down in order to get familiar with data and to check that relevant information had not been left out or moved. After this, the information was coded in terms of themes that reappeared several times in various discussions. As suggested in section 3.9, the Nvivo 7 computer software package was used to group themes and sub-themes relevant to the specific aims of this study. This programme helped locate segments of the data in terms of ÷codesøor themes. It also allowed the researcher to search for and retrieve these codes and to use them in the form of quotes in the text. As mentioned above, themes and sub-themes were categorised according to their relevance to the specific aims of the study. For example, the first specific aim of this study is to examine the perceptions and views of a sample of Ituri residents on their understanding of the meaning of human security. To reach this aim, the following question was asked of participants: ÷When you hear the word security, what do you think of?ø Answers to this question were categorised and sub-categorised into the seven constructs and are analysed in chapter five.

Hence, part IV of this study presents and discusses the findings. The part is divided into three chapters, each presenting and discussing findings with regard to aim one, two and three respectively.

4.8   CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the steps that the researcher undertook in the collection of data. The chapter started by introducing the importance of fieldwork. It described the trip itself, and then explained how participants were selected and gave details of their socio-demographic characteristics. It presented in detail all the steps in conducting focus groups and semi-structured interviews, that is, discussed the steps that were taken to complete the focus group discussions and interviews with 105 participants. This was followed by the explanation of language issues

such as the translation of key words and dealing with several languages in one interview. The chapter also discussed the question route, meaning which and how questions were asked and how responses were given. The penultimate section discussed ethical issues as they happened in every interview.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE VIEW FROM THE BOTTOM: THE MEANING OF SECURITY TO PEOPLE IN ITURI

5.1   INTRODUCTION

Having previously examined the changing meanings of security (in chapter two), in this chapter data will be presented on what security means to a sample of people in Ituri (aim 1), drawn from interviews and focus groups. Using the question ÷What do you think of when you hear the word security?ø permitted the researcher to get quite an extensive number of varied definitions of security from participants. Following the steps for qualitative data analysis, data were coded in terms of themes and their related sub-themes which originated from the participantsø arguments and information on the meaning of security. These themes and sub-themes are based on seven analytical categories of human security as described in the UNDP (1994). These seven analytical categories are discussed in chapter two and are presented as follows: personal security, community security, political security, economic security, food security, health security and environmental security (see section 2.4.1). The themes and their related sub-themes are categorised according to these seven analytical constructs. Personal security encompasses themes one, two and three: living without fear, personal development and peace of mind.

Development falls under the category of personal security in reference to self-empowerment. Most of the participants mentioned that security means the ability to develop at a personal level in terms of the fulfilment of basic needs that in turn will guarantee their livelihoods and well-being. Community security refers to theme four as a good relationship with neighbours. Political security is related to themes five and six (freedom of movement and the respect of human rights). Food security discusses theme seven which is the absence of hunger while health security discusses theme eight, that is, access to health care and economic security examines freedom from economic needs. Environmental security is seen as a threat and is discussed in chapter seven, rather than a meaning of security.

It is of relevance to mention that these themes appear in order, according to their importance to the participants. It would be important to mention that categorising themes into seven analytical constructs helped to present data in a logical and clear manner as similar and controversial data were brought together. The following Table presents data that replicate themes and sub-themes that emerged from various group discussions. This will be followed by a discussion in which similarities and divergences will be explored in the light of the meaning of security as discussed in section 2.8.

TABLE 5.1
A SUMMARY OF THEMES AND SUB-THEMES

Analytical categories	Themes	Sub-themes
1. Personal security	Theme one: Living without fear	Absence of hostilities, killings, rape, and harassment, physical integrity, protection of people and their possessions and protection against threats and disturbance (freedom from fear).
	Theme two: Personal development	Absence of hostilities, killings, rape, and harassment, physical integrity, protection of people and their possessions and protection against threats and disturbance (freedom from fear).
	Theme three: Peace of mind	Living a peaceful and tranquil life, happiness, and calmness, following, trusting and fearing God. Security can only be found in Jesus Christ.
2. Community security	Theme four: Good relationship with neighbours	Absence of ethnic divisions, forgiveness and mutual trust, respect and acceptance, Love, brotherhood, and maintaining social cohesion and concord, togetherness, and oneness and unity.
3. Political security	Theme five: Freedom of movement	Freedom of movement, non-existence of militia groups, absence of IDPs and refugees.
	Theme six: Respect of human rights	Freedom of speech, respect of human rights and laws, freedom to enjoy rights and obligations, government stability, trust in political institutions, and absence of corruption in justice system and territorial security
4. Food security	Theme seven: Absence of hunger	Access to basic food all the time
5. Health security	Theme Eight: Access to health care	Medication, health facilities, money and health practitioners and absence of sickness.
6. Economic security	Theme nine: Freedom from economic needs	Employment, education and freedom from financial problems.
7. Environmental security	See chapter 6	Nature

5.2   THEME ONE: LIVING WITHOUT FEAR

This theme was the most prevalent theme from the responses of participants from different groups who viewed security as ‗living without fear.‖ It must be said that the majority of participants used multi-criteria definitions of security. In other words, participants viewed security as an ensemble of positive things that, if reached, will mean security to them. However, ‗living without fear‖was the most frequent standard definition that participants talked about most of the time. The absence of war but the presence of fear indicates ‗negative peace‖ as explained by Galtung (1969). It means that when there is cease-fire, or when violence is stopped, or when the oppression and brutal murders are no longer part of daily life. In contrast, ongoing hostilities and physical harm cause people to live in constant fear. In this regard, a male participant, sitting in the third row in focus group one defines security as follows:

FG1M3: *‘According to me, when I hear the word security, I think of many aspects. By security, I understand physical security or when I am not attacked in my house at night or during the day. The word security refers to the absence of war in the form of threats that can put the lives of people in danger.’*

Though he regarded security as encapsulating many aspects, he stressed physical integrity as paramount when talking about the meaning of security. An alternative view was presented by another FG member who said that security refers to physical security in the sense that people should not live with the fear of being injured physically. This view was shared by many participants in different groups. They gave many examples where people were physically harmed. Furthermore, this meaning of security was emphasised by two participants in FG2 who actually said that:

FG2M4: *‘Security is to live without fear.’*

FG2M2: *‘Maybe I am going to repeat myself; I think security is to live a comfortable life without fear.’*

This view was emphasised in the light of ongoing armed conflict in Ituri where the local population has experienced insecurity in fearing for their daily individual safety and physical

integrity. Most of the participants mentioned security as the most important thing among their own top priorities. This was also found by Vinck et al. (2008) (see section 2.8).

Surprisingly, when asked the same question differently (do you feel secure these days), disparities were found in the responses of respondents. Some responded positively saying that they felt secure whereas the majority responded that they did not feel secure at all. The following were their views:

FG1M4: *'Thank you for your question. I would like to briefly say that I don't feel secure these days in Ituri. There are those who are sleeping without being threatened while others are victims of rape, killings and banditry from armed groups and government soldiers. There are those who are threatened even inside their bedrooms. A week ago, a woman was gang- raped and died thereafter. I went there myself to see whether it was true or just rumours. In this situation, how can I say that I feel secure? In other areas in this province, there are many armed groups that are harassing the local population almost on a daily basis. They loot, rape and kill. A few days ago, a group of armed people entered our healthcare centre. They took medications and medical equipment and even confiscated the cell phones of patients. Truly speaking, I cannot say that I feel secure where I am living these days.'*

FG1M7: *'I completely agree with my brother that we are living in complete insecurity.'*

FG7M7: *'Feeling secure these days is optional. It depends on someone's popularity. For example, UN employees are well known and nobody can threaten them. Rich people also feel secure since they are well known and are not harassed by soldiers. In contrast, the poor are harassed to death. So, your social status will determine whether you feel secure or not. For example, I can travel up to Kasenyi without being harassed because I am well known here in Ituri but you can't even reach Bogoro. Soldiers will hassle you and take everything you have on you.'*

FG7M2: *'I can say that security is optional. It is relatively acceptable since it allows us to work. Compared to 2005, the security situation is better now. Before 2005, people could not move and stay out till late. Everybody entered their houses before 6 pm for fear of being killed. Now people can move around the town up to a certain time at night. The new government is trying to achieve security in Ituri.'*

FG8M4: *'Compared to a few years ago (2002-2005), I can say I feel a bit more secure. A few weeks ago, I travelled to Mahagi, Ndrele, Fataki and Iga Barriere. I slept on my way without being threatened; something that could not happen some two to three years ago.'*

SSIF11: *'Yes, I feel secure these days. I can explain why I say that. I used to be unemployed. I didn't feel secure. I borrowed money from friends and I was always unable to pay back. Now, I have money to buy a few things I want.'*

SSI1M1: *'My answer is twofold. Yes and no. I feel secure because there is a lot that has been done to achieve security in Ituri. The response is also no because that effort has not yet reached a satisfactory level.'*

Reading the responses of these participants, one may conclude that feeling secure depends on many aspects. The most interesting one is the social status of a person. The quotes throughout the interviews mentioned that armed groups and government soldiers were to blame for insecurities in the province and the poor were their easy target whereas the rich were the least targeted. This was further explained by the fact that soldiers were paid by local businessmen instead of the central government. This is different from the findings in Doniniø et al (2005) study in Afghanistan and Kosovo (see section 2.8), who found that the most insecure people in Afghanistan were the rich who were the targets of crime and robbery by armed groups while in Kosovo people with money or property were targeted by people carrying guns and often wearing military uniform. In contrast, the same study found that in Sierra Leone the poor happened to be the worst target of any sort of harassment.

However, not all rich people felt insecure in Ituri. Those who did business claimed to be a bit secure as they could move from one place to another buying and selling their goods. This can be illustrated in the response of FG8F6 who said that:

'I have been here for three years now doing business. I am starting to feel secure although there were a few problems a few months ago. I have been here for two years now. I can say I feel good.'

In the same group FG8F6 was contradicted by FG8M7 who said that:

'I disagree with FG8F6; I would like to say something there. If we take a period between December 2008 and now January 2009, I can't say that I feel secure. If you listened to the radio this morning, it was said that women are being raped in Nyanya, Sayo and Ndibakodu. They kill them after raping them. Then, they cut off their genitals. Did you listen to the radio today? In Geti and Chei, people are continuing to die. Armed groups are still operating there. The security that you are talking about is only here in town but outside their people are still suffering. The brother spoke of freedom of speech. It is his opinion and I respect that. But as for me, there is no freedom of speech. It's non-existent. Who can tell the authorities that what they are doing is wrong?'

If one looks at the responses of participants - this suggests clearly that security means more than one thing. During the interviews, although there were those who said that they felt secure, significant disparities existed in this definition in terms of gender, age and education. The majority defined security in approximately the same way. Of relevance, one can explain that people from Ituri perceive security to be equal to peace, therefore living without fear would be the most desired meaning of security.

5.3   THEME TWO: PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

Personal development was categorised as the second most frequently given answer to the question ‚What do you think of, when you hear the word security?ø The majority of participants said that there could be no security without minimum social conditions that foster personal development. Opportunity to develop oneself, that is, to flourish, to live a good life and to feel good about oneself were, among other things, the foundations of security. These are some of the few comments in the discussions:

FG1M5: 'As for me, security is development on personal level. This means that in the time of peace, people can undertake activities that will make them prosper. When there is no security, people cannot do business or implement projects for their own development.'

FG1M1: 'Security means that people have the opportunity to develop themselves in terms of work and save for the future. In Congo for example, insecurity prevents people from planning for the future. When there is peace and security, people are able to develop themselves and eradicate poverty. This means that the lack of security blocks our self-empowerment in the sense of development.'

Participants explained that personal development was a contrast to poverty. They mentioned that many of them lived under abject poverty that was caused by the ongoing war. Participants mentioned that poor people were easy targets to be recruited by armed groups. They saw poverty as a legitimate concern to their security and personal development. In other words, participants said that poverty limited their choices in life. When explaining further, FG1M3 stated that they lacked even basic needs and were socially excluded and dissatisfied with almost everything. FG3M4 said that many civilians joined the armed struggle because they were promised that they would acquire material gain that would help them prosper and flourish their businesses.

This point of view was shared by a few motor bicycle taxi drivers that the researcher hired when conducting his research. While driving, he asked them if they were happy with their present condition. The majority of them responded that they were unhappy with their present conditions, especially in terms of their personal development. Some of them said that they worked the whole day to get only US$20.

They said that when they were militias, they used to get a lot of money and things from pillages and donations in exchange of protection. This reminded the researcher of his own younger brother. He joined the Mobutu army when he was 16 years old. In 1996 when Laurent Kabila led a fight against Mobutu, he disarmed and demobilised the military through informal process. His brother started selling coal. He rode a bicycle from long distances to buy a sack of coal then sell it in the town. He was not satisfied at all with the business he was doing. In the second war, that is the war led against Kabila, he could not resist the temptation so he joined the UPC militia group and had a decent life. He died when he was 30 years old, leaving a large portion of material property.

A similar claim is found in the studies by Nordstrom (2000); Handrahan (2004); Ross (2004); Gleditsch (2007) BICC (2008); Samset (2002) who found that many civilians joined militia groups for material and power benefits. These studies mentioned that many war-lords engaged in illicit business, from minerals to timber for their personal gain. These studies argue that this kind of situation has rendered DDR programmes unsuccessful. For example, the FDLR forces (Rwandan Rebels based in eastern DRC) have refused to disarm in DRC because of the large mining sites that they are controlling and using the profits to buy ammunition. Similar studies have also found this phenomenon in Angola with Jonas Savimbi, Liberia with Charles Taylor and in Sierra Leone with Foday Sankoh.

Coming back to the definition of security as personal development, in the study on young Burundians with regard to the meaning of security, Uvin (2007, p.44) found that personal development was a pre-condition for security. Young Burundians had a strong view that, apart from physical harm and abuse, security encompasses a sense of well-being in terms of access to basic needs that in turn provide prosperity.

5.4   THEME THREE: SECURITY AS PEACE OF MIND

Peace of mind as part of personal security emerged as the third theme in the discussions. Participants spoke eagerly that peace of mind is a paramount component when thinking of the word security, along with living without fear and personal development. Participants argued that peace of mind is the most important element in a person's life, let alone in a war situation.

FG3M4 said that: *'You may be deprived of everything but if you feel secure in your heart, then you are fine. You can sleep hungry, you can be jobless but if you feel secure in your heart; that is all.'*

'To feel secure in the heart' is a colloquial translation of the term 'peace of mind'. It is a direct translation of a French version, *'Avoir la paix du Coeur,'* meaning to have peace in your heart or to have peace of mind which also means living peacefully in terms of not being threatened by anything that may cause somatic injury. Although peace of mind can includes both 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want,' probing questions led the researcher to understand that participants referred most of the time to 'not having the fear of being killed.' This can be seen in the words of FG3M4 when he said that *'you can be deprived of everything but not peace in the heart,'* hence, freedom from fear.

A few participants mentioned peace of mind as when people live in Jesus Christ, when they fear and trust God, when they know and obey God. They explained these meanings in allusion to what happened during hostilities when neighbours turned against each other, killing and looting each other's property. *'Only God is the giver of security and not your neighbours who pretends to love and care about you but when war breaks, they are the first to break into your house, and take everything'* as FG6F4 said.

When the researcher held an informal interview with his family, his sister told him that she knew that some of her belongings were in her neighbours' house, but she could not claim them because she said she just decided to ignore them and to buy others afresh to avoid disputes with her neighbours, yet they talk and share some kind of friendship. When she came back from exile, she told him that she had visited her neighbours and sat on her own chairs and drunk from her own

cup. These were things that were looted from her house after the family had fled the attacks of the Lendu on the Hema. But in the case of the researcherøs father, his neighbours protected his house, and although some of the things were looted, when he returned from exile, he managed to get a few things, including his lounge sofas.

It is of relevance to mention that as the discussions around peace of mind was going on; participants argued that security meant different things to both victims and offenders. For the former, their lives were more important that material things. This was explained in various discussions in the sense that participants listed a number of people who were rich by the time ethnic war broke in 1999 but who found that they were poor after the war as a result of looting. Participants said that these people could only save their lives. On the other hand, participants said that offenders were in quest of peace of mind to avoid the guilt they felt from the many people they had killed and property they had damaged. Further, participants explained that some offenders recognised their misdeeds and brought back what they had taken from their neighbours and asked for forgiveness. This is in line with the Buddhism philosophy that says õdo not overrate what you have received, nor envy others.ö As Buddha puts it õhe who envies others does not obtain peace of mindö (Krishna Culture, undated).

Alternative views mention that the definition of security as peace of mind was related to what happened between 1998 and 2003. The signing of the Sun City Peace Accord brought hope to the population of Ituri: a dream that none of the warring parties fulfilled but which wreaked havoc among the population. The other view was related to ethnic division propaganda and incendiary speeches that local politicians used to mobilise supporters. This fuelled tensions that led to the killing of thousands of people and the displacement of almost a million. As a result, participants explained that many of the people from Ituri, because of trauma and lifeøs hardships, had converted to Christianity as a way of fighting the restlessness in their minds. They longed to reach hope and a sense of calmness and tranquillity.

The link between peace of mind and God brings back the discussion on language and the meaning of words in Chapter three, section six. When discussing the translation of the word ÷securityø into Swahili, the Swahili-English dictionary Awde (2000) defines peace and security

as synonyms. For this reason they are used in this study either together or interchangeably, but they mean the same thing. The dictionary gives words such as happiness, quietness, and feeling safe, free from (physical) threats, safety, etc as meaning the same as ‑security‑ It should be pointed out that participants used exact or partial words or exact strings or phrases in Swahili-English or English-Swahili dictionaries to mean peace and security. For example:

FG1M7: *'According to me, security is a way of living in peace (quietness).'*

FG1M7: *'Quietness means to be free from troubles and disturbance.'*

FG4F6: *'Security means peace of mind in terms of freedom from fear and freedom.'*

FG5F1: *'Security means happiness.'*

FG6M8: *'Security at physical and spiritual level is about peace and happiness.'*

FG6M2: *'I would like to add a few words. I would like to say that security is to live a joyful life (happiness).'*

FG6F4: *'Security is when the body and the heart are happy. People must feel happy inside and outside. Security is peace and tranquillity.'*

SSIF4: *'Security is a state of calmness, tranquillity and a moment that allows people to realise their plans.'*

In addition to the meaning of peace (security) in the Swahili-English or English-Swahili dictionaries (see section 3.6), in the Bible for example, Orr (1915) gives the meaning of peace as õa condition of freedom from disturbance, whether outwardly, as of a nation from war or enemies, or inwardly, within the soul.ö Furthermore, he states that in Hebrew the word peace or ‑shalom‑ means õprimarily ‑soundness‑ ‑health,‑ and also ‑prosperity;‑ well-being in general, all good in relation to both man and God.ö The explanation of the word peace pinpoints clearly that human beings desire to live in harmony with one another and also with nature and to stay away from troubles. This is also seen in the study of Miyazawa (2005) with Bougainville Youth who found that the majority of the youth mentioned ‑harmony and togetherness of people as the meaning of peace (see section 2.8).

To sum up this section on the theme of peace of mind, participants linked this to many criteria of what they understood by the word security. They linked security to words such as happiness, harmony between men and also the reference to God. Their meanings of security are also found in the Swahili-English or English-Swahili dictionaries (see section 3.6). As for the reference of God ó the bible is the key reference as Orr (1995) noted. Form this understanding, it clear that participants knew exactly what they were talking about in the sense of what they understood to be the meaning of security in this specific way (peace of mind). Again this theme finds ground in personal security as defined in the context of human security as the protection of individuals from violent threats, especially threats related to somatic integrity of a person. As one participant put it *'injuring the body of a person is at the same time injuring their soul and mind.'*

It is also important to mention that the researcher did not come across any divergences in regard to this theme. Participants explained this concept using various synonyms and gave many examples. The discussion on this theme represents the view of all the participants except those who remained quiet.

5.5   THEME FOUR: GOOD RELATIONSHIPS WITH NEIGHBOURS

In theme three, the discussion on how good relationship between neighbours was disrupted by the throes of war. The researcher explained how neighbours turned against each other and how some came to apologise to those they offended. The aim of this was to bring out the meaning of security as related to peace of mind. Looking in the lens of offenders in theme three, this is related to forgiveness which is also partly understood in this theme as it explains good relationship between neighbours as it follows peace of mind. Linking these two themes together, it can be explained that forgiveness involves reconciliation, thus the restoration of good relationships with neighbours that was broken as a result of war. This theme is a continuation of theme three since it explains better what is expected from neighbours to feel secure. Good relationships with neighbours was the fourth most important theme according to frequency, considering its frequency in various discussions and it was viewed more holistically than merely living without fear which received much attention. Words or phrases such as love, brotherhood, good relationships, mutual respect, mutual acceptance, forgiveness, social cohesion and concord,

togetherness and unity were often mentioned by participants to stress the importance of feeling secure. Participants mentioned that if these values are achieved, then they could say that they feel secure. The follow quotes give some of the examples:

FG3M5: *'Security is to live together in unity.'*

FG3F7: *'Security means no hatred.'*

FG3M5: *'We are still discussing the word security. Security is an important element as everybody has just said. During war, we stayed in our houses, we could not move because we were scared of being killed, we were afraid of our neighbours. Though, we are the same people, the same blood but were very scared to visit one another.'*

FG4F5: *'Security means unity and good relationship with our neighbours, love, oneness, freedom from hatred. There is no security without love for your neighbours; it is even biblical.'*

FG9M12: *'Security is love, that is, to love one another regardless ethnic boundaries, to eat food in the same plate with those who where your enemies (forgiveness).'*

The province of Ituri had been experiencing intense ethnic tensions, primarily between Hema and Lendu before it erupted into a full scale armed conflict that involved various ethnic groups that fought against each other. During the second Congolese war that broke on the second of August 1998, the province was first occupied by RDC-Goma before the latter was ousted by the Ugandan People's Defence Forces. Uganda backed local factions resulting in repeated clashes between local ethnic groups. Neighbours who used to live together peacefully and in harmony turned against each other and killed one another. Through alliances and counter alliances (see chapter one), the armed conflict in Ituri forced civilians to flee their homes and become refugees in neighbouring countries while others were internally displaced losing almost everything they had. Those who were more than friends before the war became enemies who did not see eye to eye. The town of Bunia in particular was divided in two. The south of the town was occupied by the Hema and their allies while the north part was the stronghold of the Lendu and their allies (see chapter one). Any person from the one group who was found on the other side was instantly killed. It makes sense for participants to define security in terms of what has been coded as sub-themes in this section.

Having a good relationship with neighbours produced controversial arguments in focus group eight. Some participants were nodding their heads while others were just commenting by saying õyeahö with lower voice. I also noticed that there were many ₌mouthsto earsø whispering and side talks. One female participant with an average age of 40 gave a controversial statement, saying that *'as long as greed is in our neighbours, as long as there is hatred to / or killing our neighbours and as long as there is no forgiveness s, a good relationship with our neighbours will not be achieved. They will remain our enemies forever.'* This is different from the findings of Uvin (2007) in Burundi (see section 2.8), who found little concern about the relationship between neighbours in his sample of 181 participants. Although the war in Burundi had underlying political motivations, ethnicity played a great role.

Furthermore, it worth arguing that social relations or what can be labelled as community security that encapsulates the theme ₌good relationship with neighboursø can be linked to the concept of ₌Ubuntuø which means ₌a person is a person through other people.ø Or a person is not an island, a person exists for others, or a person exists because others exist too. Brock-Utne (2004, p.114) argues that õthe concept of Ubuntu denotes a cultural world-view that tries to capture the essence of what it means to be human in the sense of taking care of each other or not harming each other.ö It is here that the concept of Ubuntu finds its ground in this discussion. Even though, in most cases, people care about those who are close to them, the question here should be how this notion can be extended to the wider population by means of generosity, hospitality, sharing and caring that in turn will discourage neighbours to turn against each other during hostilities? Looking at the meaning of Ubuntu, it can be argued that oneøs wrongdoings to others impact negatively on the social, economic and political fabric of society, therefore affecting everyone. For Murithi, (2006, p.25), õUbuntu brings to light the fundamental unity of humanity and pinpoints the magnitude of continuously referring to the principles of empathy, sharing and cooperation in the efforts to resolve our common problems.ö Furthermore, he argues that õthe Ubuntu philosophy consigns on a higher level, shared life and maintaining positive relations within the society as a collective task in which everyone is urged to assign to õ(p.30). It is in this sense that participants mentioned words such as love, unity or togetherness as the meaning of security. From this, it can be said that security means Ubuntu in the restoration of broken ties among members of communities in Ituri and to encourage mutual respect among members of one

community. Community security as defined in UNDP (1994) requires positive practices based on traditional values with the avoidance of oppressive practices and ethnic clashes among traditional communities.

5.6   THEME FIVE: FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

In all focus group discussions and one-to-one interviews participants linked security to freedom of movement. This came out as the fifth theme based on its frequency. The majority of participants, especially women said that they are not free to move as they would like to. Many of them said that they are restricted to visiting their relatives or friends, going to market, going to fetch water in the streams and firewood from the forests. Participants who are businessmen said that insecurities limited their movement from one place to another which they needed to do to buy or sell their products. As a consequence, they become hungry, they failed to pay the school fees for their children and pay hospital bills when they or any members of their families were sick. A number of participants said that their movement was also restricted, during both the day or at night. Army forces, the police, militiamen and robbers were out day and night to extort monies, jewelleries, mobile phones or any other valuables:

FG3M6: 'Security is very important as the brother has just said. In our context, security means free movement at night. Even if you meet soldiers at night, you should not be afraid. Rather, they should protect you and not harass you; free movement in different villages without being killed.'

FG7M5: 'According to me, one of the aspects of security in the context of Ituri is not to be threatened by anything. For example, people should be able to move freely at anytime.'

FG9F9: 'Security is to have freedom in our country. For example, when you want to go home, you should travel without being hassled on your way by militia groups.'

FG9F5: 'Security is to travel and visit your friends without being killed on your way.'

A similar view was also presented by another study (Vinck et al., 2008) that found that people from Ituri were afraid to go to the nearest market or nearest town/village, or to go to the fields, or fetch wood or water. Probing questions allowed participants to give answers to why they were afraid to move freely. In doing so, they mentioned that the policemen, people from another ethnic group, or strangers carrying arms (soldiers/armed groups) were dangerous. This could be

explained by the fact that during hostilities, soldiers or militia groups tend to inflict inhuman practices on whoever they met on their way. In most cases, they amputated the limbs of innocent civilians or simply killed them and took away their belongings. Participants mentioned that in such circumstances, many women and girls were raped. In this regard, the majority of female participants said that they are restricted for fear of being raped. Linking this to the theme of free movement, they mentioned that for them, despite what they said previously as the meaning of security, they added free movement as another meaning of security. In other words, security means absence of rape as a result of movement. Although there are many other reasons for rape, prompt questions allowed him to understand that, in this circumstance, participants were talking about rape resulting from moving from their houses to other places for various reasons.

The discussion on rape as a consequence of restricted movement to women was lengthy in focus group six where one participant disagreed with the rest in that there are many reasons for rape. But at the end, they agreed with one another in that the women and girls they talked about were raped on their way to various destinations and that if they did not leave their homes, they would not be raped. Similar studies (Oxfam, 2007; Uvin, 2007, Donini et al., 2005) found that many girls were raped either on their way to market, to fetching water or fire wood or visiting relatives (see section 2.8):

õThey hide in the bush and if you go looking for firewood, they grab and rape youö (Oxfam, 2007, p.11).

Defining security in terms of freedom of movement can be linked to three factors. First, during violence, the movement of people is restricted. IDPs and refugees are in most cases confined in their camps. Those who did not leave their houses stayed imprisoned for months while tensions and levels of violence are still high. In this regard, Cohen and Deng (2009, p.17) argue that õforced displacement is not a passing event in peopleøs lives. It is a devastating transformation where families are deprived of lifeøs essentials particularly shelter, food, medicine, education, community and livelihood.ö For northern Ugandan IDPs for example, freedom of movement was a source of life and the enhancement of their social conditions. This goes along with the desire of people from Ituri to see that they can enjoy going wherever and whenever they want - without fear.

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Second, freedom of movement is generally seen as a sign of well-being. Only those who can afford do so, are able to travel. Business people also travel to buy and sell their goods in different places. In this regard, Uvin (2007, p.47) argues that õwhen people talk about the good life, about dreams for the future, about peace ó they often use freedom of movement definitions: meaning that a better and peaceful life is one in which people can move around, can go to places, cities or abroad.ö For this reason, restricting people from moving from one place to another renders the lives of the latter miserable and unpleasant; they become paranoid and stressed.

Lastly, freedom from movement is related to the state as a guarantor of security. Iturians voiced that to be able to move freely, the government must take responsibility, on the one hand vis a vis its undisciplined soldiers who harass civilians on their way and to pay the salary of the former. Furthermore, the government should deal with all the remnants of bandits and rebels who were still operating sporadically in certain areas of Ituri and elsewhere in the country to allow people to move freely.

Looking at different quotes above, all of them contain a strong element of freedom of movement, that is, the capacity to move around freely, whether visiting or going in search of livelihood. This freedom of movement was deeply appreciated and mentioned surprisingly frequently. The same result is found by other researchers, such as Donini et al. (2005) in Kosovo where participants mentioned freedom of movement as well. Miyazawa (2005) interviewed 40 youth in post-conflict Bougainville. In her study, freedom of movement was the second most frequent category she encountered while Uvinøs (2007, p.47) study found freedom of movement (mobility) fourth in terms of importance.

5.7   THEME SIX: THE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The sixth most frequent answer that participants gave to the question ÷What do you think of when you hear the word security?ø was respect for human rights. The majority of participants said that there is no security without a minimum respect for human rights. As one female participant in focus group five asked: *'How can we feel secure when our rights as human beings*

are not respected?' Indeed, the image that dominates this category is overwhelmingly the respect for human rights.

When asked who should respect their rights, the majority mentioned the government should be responsible for that. They said that the government has the obligation to secure its citizens and that this in turn will build confidence in the actions of the government resulting in dissipating fear among the population (see theme one). Many participants mentioned the failure on the side of the government to provide adequate security to individuals in terms of respecting their rights. In other words, some participants said that the mismanagement of state institutions led to social injustices that are part of the underlying causes of violence in Ituri that saw people being denied their rights in terms of basic needs. When violence reached its peak, the majority of people from Ituri were unable to provide for themselves food security, physical security, health security, social security and territorial security (words from participants). Many people died not only from bullets but from malnutrition and diseases (see section 2.4). Often participants said that security meant the protection of the well-being of people in terms of the enjoyment of one's rights, living under regulations and laws, living a comfortable life, freedom of speech, the protection of human rights, the presence of the government authorities - all contributing in one aspect, that is, avoiding the abuses of the respect of the people in Ituri.

FG1M4: *'For the sake of order, I want to add to what my brother has just said. When I hear the word security, I think of material property and personal security. There must be security of people and their possessions. If people are secure but their possessions are threatened, then there is no security. Basically, security means physical integrity and possessions protection. This is what I call human rights.'*

FG2M7: *'When I hear the word security, I think of the protection of the well-being of people and their possessions against any dangers that might occur.'*

FG2M12: *'Security is the freedom to enjoy one's rights.'*
FG2M8: *'I would say that there is no security without the respect for human rights. It means that to feel secure, one must be in peace and to be in peace requires freedom of speech, of enjoying one's rights.'*

FG7M9: *'For me, security is the respect for human rights and when the instrument of justice is free from corruption. Corruption is a gangrene that kills us to the extent of making us feel insecure. For example, if you go to court, you might not be judged fairly. The court will rule in favour of the one who gives money. Corruption creates insecurity in the sense that you lose your rights.'*

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Remarkably few definitions of security equated the respect for human rights to the atrocities committed by militiamen. Although it was said in various discussions, no one linked these two nuances directly. Clearly, people from Ituri spontaneously define security in political terms. Only a small category of people do not. The fact that they did not mention overtly that armed groups were behind human rights violation shows that people from Ituri felt that it was the duty of the government to assure the respect for their rights. This appeared to be their major preoccupation rather than the severe abuse of people's rights.

The discussions above paved the way to a good understanding of security in the words of participants as the protection of the well-being of people, the protection for people (physical protection). The protection of the well-being of people cannot be effective if the government is unable to respect the rights of its citizens. To do so, the government is urged to manage public affairs and to use its institutions to benefit its citizens. If this is not the case, it creates social inequalities and injustices that lead to the abuse and violation of the rights of its citizens. This was also stressed by participants when commenting on how the government should protect the well-being of people and provide mechanisms that will enhance the enjoyment of their rights. For example, coming back to the theme of freedom of movement above, citizens have the right to move freely at any time. This can only be possible if soldiers do not harass them. They should rather protect them against robbers and criminals. Surprisingly, in the case of Ituri, participants mentioned that instead of being protected, they are severely harassed. The majority of participants said the absence of state authority is a serious hindrance to the protection of their rights. They mentioned that if the government had good institutions in place or if they were able to feel the presence of state authority in Ituri, they would be able to say that they were secure in terms of seeing their rights being protected.

It is important to mention that both themes six and seven were analysed under the category of political security as stated in UNDP (1994). Political security implies the protection of human rights and democratisation in terms of good governance (see section 2.4.1).

5.8   THEME SEVEN: THE ABSENCE OF HUNGER

A final answer that emerged in various discussions was what was labelled ‑the absence of hunger.øIt came up several times but not as often as the others. A number of participants defined security as having access to basic food all the time. This includes being able to plant and harvest crops in the field or having the opportunity to plough the soil and grow basic staple food, such as cassava, beans and sweet potatoes. They mentioned that these were the foods they grew up eating and that not having them available is a suicide. Besides, they also said that they needed them in big quantity because insufficient food will not meet their dietary needs and help their children grow and for them to have a productive and healthy life. Due to insecurities, many people were restricted in their movement on account that they might be killed on their way or raped in the case of women and girls. This claim was also mentioned in theme four on the freedom of movement. Another argument came from focus group nine where the majority of participants were IDPs in camps. They said that they were frustrated as they were subjected to eating only food supplied by WFP, foods that they were not used to eating before. Participants pointed out that money was also an important element when talking about food security. They said: *'Sometimes you have food but you want to sell it so that you can buy other types of food or sometimes you have money but there is nowhere to find food. You are forced to eat WFP food.'* Other participants said this:

FG6M2*: 'I would like to add a few words; I would like to say that security is a joyful life where there is no hunger.'*

FG9F4*: 'As my sister has just said, I will only add a few things. Security is to be free from hunger.'*

SSIM5*: 'Security is a state in which you feel that you are satisfied food-wise.'*

SSIF8*: 'When we speak of security, it doesn't only mean the absence of gun shots or the absence of war. But security encapsulates all levels of human life; starting from fulfilling basic needs to food security.'*

SSIF11*: 'For people to feel secure they must have money to buy food in the market.'*

SSIM6: *'Thank you sir. In my office you can see a map on which it is written: Famine in the World. Countries in red have a great number of people who are starving. This makes me think about food security. I think if someone has no food, he is insecure.'*

Advocates for food security state that availability and accessibility are distinct variables that are capital to the achievement of food security. Food and Agriculture Organisation [FAO] (2008, p.1) states that:

> Food availability addresses the supply side of food security and is determined by the level of food production, stock levels and net trade. Besides, economic and physical access to food demands that individuals have enough income to buy appropriate foods needed to maintain consumption of an adequate nutrition level

However, the absence of enough quality food can lead individuals to suffer dire consequences. In this regard, õwhen analysing food insecurity or hunger, it is not enough to know the duration of the problem that people are experiencing, but also how intense or severe the impact of the identified problem is on the overall food security and nutrition status. This knowledge will influence the nature, extent and urgency of the assistance needed by affected population groupsö (FAO, 2008, p.2). Food insecurity, which is usually õunderstood as an uncomfortable or painful sensation caused by insufficient food energy, including those due to poor intake of micro-nutrientsö (p.3) was also mentioned by young Burundians as a source of insecurity. They pointed out that food security was paramount before any other kind of security. This can be explained by many underlying factors that the country has gone through since its independence in 19962. Burundi is one of the poorest countries in the world with an annual income per capita of US$200. The majority of Burundians (90%) are farmers. The outbreak of civil war between 1993 and 2002 exacerbated the already existing problems, increasing the proportion of people living under abject poverty (Centre for International Cooperation and Security (CICS), 2008, p.13). The view of security as bread was also seen in Afghanistan where one participant said that there is no peace without bread (Donini et al., 2005, p.53).

It is important to mention that health security and economic security received less attention in all the discussions as the meaning of security. Participants mentioned medication, health facilities, money and health practitioners and absence of sickness vaguely as additions to other things. As far as economic security is concerned, participants said employment, education and freedom

from financial problems were somehow viewed as the meaning of security. As the researcher continued to probe these, especially in semi-structured interviews, respondents recognised them as important but the majority of them stressed issues related to the fear to be harmed physically (freedom from fear) and to have opportunities to empower themselves (freedom from want). However, they received a great deal attention in question three where they were viewed as threats rather than a meaning of security. For health security, participants said that the lack of health care centres and proper treatment were threats to their lives whereas economic security was also viewed as a threat, especially when talking about commodities that have created the death of thousands of civilians in Ituri.

Contrary to expectations, environmental security was also not mentioned as the definition of security, rather a threat to security. The majority of Iturians drink water from the streams and are unaware of air pollution. They looked at environmental security in terms of the mismanagement of natural resources, therefore a threat to their lives. Again this will be discussed in chapter six where the data will be analysed to identify what the people from Ituri perceive as threats to their security.

5.9   DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The majority of the people from Ituri employed multiple definitions of security. This is in line with the new thinking of security, that is, human security as defined in the UNDP 1994 *report*. These definitions were coded in seven respective themes:

É*Living without fear:* The study reveals that people from Ituri defined security as living in a situation where their physical life was not endangered by any conditions. They explained this as the absence of hostilities, killings, rape, and harassment, and the protection of people and their possessions.

É*Personal development:* The study found that people from Ituri viewed security as minimum social conditions and psychological well-being of people on an individual level and the opportunity to develop and to flourish at individual level and to live a good life, etc.

É *Peace of mind:* The study found that people from Ituri viewed security as a condition of freedom from disturbance, whether outwardly or inwardly within the soul. They also viewed security as well-being in general and all good in relation to both man and God.

É *Good relationships with neighbours:* The study presented security as defined by people from Ituri as the desire to live in harmony with one another and to stay away from trouble, and to live peacefully in terms of not being threatened by anything in terms of somatic injury.

É *Freedom of movement:* People from Ituri expressed their view as being free to move and that they should not be restricted for fear of being injured.

É *Respect for human rights:* Discussions revealed that the protection of the well-being of people, their rights, the freedom to enjoy their rights, and to live under regulations and laws as paramount meanings of security.

É *The absence of hunger:* Finally, the study revealed that participants from Ituri defined security as the absence of hunger in that food should be available all the times and in good quantity.

The quest was to attain the first aim of this study, that is, to determine the extent to which various components of human security are relevant to building peace and security in Ituri. Themes were categorised according to the seven components of human security and the initial definition of human security, that is, freedom from fear and freedom from want. In this regard, the first, second and third themes are marked as personal security and the fourth as community security while the fifth and sixth fall under political security and the seventh food security. Access to health care as health security, economic security and environmental security will be discussed in chapter six. Again, participants defined themes one, three, four and five as freedom from fear and themes two, six, seven and eight as freedom from want.

Table 5.2 compares the findings of this study and those of other studies. This will be followed by a list of all the possible meanings of security to see whether these were identified as relevant by the current study and others. Finally, the similarities and dissimilarities that occurred will be explained, and reason sought for why these might be occurring.

TABLE 5.2

COMPARISON OF THE MEANINGS OF SECURITY

Authors	Referent object	Possible meanings of security	Agents of insecurity
UNDP (1994)	Individual	Protection from threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression, environmental hazards and the respect of human rights (Freedom from fear and Freedom from want)	State, individual, nature, environment
Koffi Annan (1998)	Individual	Economic development, social justice, environmental protection, democratization, disarmament, and the respect of human rights and the rule of law	State, individual, nature, environment
Thakur Ramesh (1998)	Community	Well-being and livelihoods of people	State, individual, societal groups, administrative, judicial, police, paramilitary and military structures, institutional structures
Astri Suhrke (1999)	Individual, Communities	Protection of the vulnerable	State, rebels, individuals, environment
Lloyd Axworthy (1999)	Individual & State	Protection of territorial integrity, and political sovereignty and individual	States, armed groups
Sadako Ogata (1999)	Individual	Conflict resolution and prevention, respect of human rights, rule of law and social inclusion	Nature, environment, states, rebels, international criminals
Anne Hammerstad (2000)	Individual	Freedom from dignity	State and non-state
Bajpai Kanti (2000)		Individual safety and freedom	States and non-state actors
Caroline Thomas (2000)	Individual	Material sufficiency, including food, shelter, education, health care, political participation	State, individual
David T. Graham and Nana K. Poku (2000)	Individual	Recognition, basic needs, protection, human rights	States and non-state actors
George MacLean (2000)	Individual	The security of individuals in their personal surroundings, their community, and their environment	State, individual
Hans Van Ginkel and Edward Newman (2000)	Individual	Human dignity	States and non-state actors
Lloyd Axworthy (2001)	Individual	Freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, their safety or their lives	States, rebels, drugs and weapons traffickers, individuals

Commission on Human Security (2003)	Individual	Freedom from pervasive threats to safety and human rights	States, rebels
Lincoln Chen (2003)	Individual	Human survival, well-being and freedom	States, individuals, environment, nature
Gary King and Christopher Murray (2004)	Individual	Well-being that can be measured through income, health, education, political freedom, democracy	State, individuals, disease, environment, world economic system, military
Jennifer Leaning (2004)	Individuals and Communities	Basic resources both material and psychological that enhance individual stability and well-being	State, societal groups, warring factions, diseases.
Donini et al. (2005)	Individuals and Communities	Safety from hurt and violence, well-being of individuals, political involvement and cultural identity	State and non-state
Yuko Miyazawa (2005)	Individuals and Communities	Harmony, bringing people together, or people live and work happily together, freedom of movement, freedom of speech, justice and order	States, individual
Sacipa et al. (2006)	Individuals and Communities	Reconciliation, leadership, well-being, social order, new global ethics, negative peace	State and non-state
Peter Uvin (2007)	Individuals and Communities	Negative peace, positive peace, social peace (good social relations), mobility, good governance and peace of mind	State, individual
Oxfam (2007)	Individuals and Communities	Rule of law, reconciliation, disarmament	State, individual
Vinck et al. (2008)	Individuals	Living together, united and reconciled, absence of violence, having basic needs, returning home, better health services, better education, demobilisation of militias, freedom.	State, individual

Adapted from: *United Nations Definitions of Human Security. (Undated)*

Looking at both Tables 5.1 and 5.2, there are similarities and dissimilarities in terms of what people think security is. The most overt meaning given by policy-makers, scholars and ordinary people is the respect of human rights or human dignity (UNDP, 1994; Annan, 1998; Ogata, 1999; Thakur, 1998; Ginkel and Newman, 2000; Donini et al. 2005; etc.), followed by the well-being of individuals (Chen, 2003; King and Murray, 2000; Leaning, 2004; Vinck et al., 2008; etc.).

This can be explained in the sense that the majority of human rights abuses happen so frequently in armed conflict settings. Such abuses undermine the fundamental rights of human beings that are defined in the international norms for human dignity. These norms are classified into different instruments, such as the Universal Declaration on Human Rights [UDHR], the

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [ICCPR], the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [ICESCR], the International Convention on the Elimination of the Discrimination Against Women [ICEDAW], the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination [ICERD], the Convention on the Rights of the Child [CRC], the Convention on the Rights of Migrant Workers and Their Families [CRMWTF], the Convention Against Torture [CAT], and other regional and sub-regional instruments ó all of which encapsulate the meaning of security as repeated in Tables 5.1 and 5.2. For example, Article 3 of the UDHR says that the right to security of persons as a fundamental human right, together with a right to life and liberty.

To explain why the majority of policy-makers, scholars and ordinary people define human rights as the meaning of security, this can be explained in the sense in resolving and preventing conflict so that people can live a desirable life. It means that people are protected against disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression, environmental hazards, social injustice, and so on (see tables one and two). Further explanation can be linked to the work of Galtung (1994) meaning, on the one hand that human security includes basic needs such as work, education, food, self-determination, and healthcare. On the other hand, it prohibits torture, slavery, persecution on religious or racial ground, and direct killing, etc.

Although, there are many things that can explain the reasons why human rights means security to authors above, for the sake of the scope of the study, the debate will be kept shorter to allow the continuation of the explanation of the second meaning of security (well-being) as it summarises in one way or another different meanings as mentioned in Table one and two.

Security meaning the well-being of individuals is either directly or indirectly mentioned by policy-makers, scholars and ordinary people. For example, King and Murray (2004); Leaning (2004); Sacipa et al. (2006) state directly that security means the well-being of individuals. They explain well-being as a condition of life that requires balance between physical needs and psychological satisfaction. Besides these factors, the people from Ituri added material possessions in terms of basic needs, such as food, shelter, land and livestock. King and Murray (2004) explain further by saying that the well-being of individuals can be measured through

income, health, education, political freedom and democracy. Income, health, education, political freedom and democracy are directly mentioned as the meaning of security by scholars, such as Bajpai (2000); Thomas (2000); Vinck et al. (2008). Furthermore Sacipa et al. (2006) explain well-being in terms of two categories: spiritual tranquillity that refers to internal peace, harmony or equilibrium that manifests itself into evenness between outlook and behaviour, and personal well-being that results from self-acceptance, self-awareness and validation (p.165). Internal peace of mind is also a definition given to security by participants in the study on Burundian youth by Uvin (2007) and by participants in the current study. Burundian youth explained peace of mind as ‑not feeling guilty of wrongdoings;ø what I own; I earned and I did not steal it, as defined by one participant in Uvinøs study (p.49). The meaning of security as ‑not feeling guiltyø was also given by participants in Ituri (see theme three). Well-being was also defined as harmony not only on an internal or spiritual level but also in terms of a good relationship among members of the same community (Miyazawa, 2005, p.10). Good relationships among neighbours was also expressed by the people from Ituri (see Table one) and Burundi (Uvin, 2007).

Having said that, it can be concluded that all the meanings of security that are given in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 are interlinked and intertwined in such a way that one completes the other. It was also shown that these meanings are used as synonyms to express the same thing. This makes it difficult to come up with an argument because some meanings contradict each other but also complement each other. This can be seen, for example where well-being means spiritual tranquillity that leads to peace of mind which in turn brought out harmony and the latter leading to good relationship or social cohesion among the members of community.

5.10   CONCLUSION

People in Ituri understand that human security is people-centred and encompasses elements that are vital to well-being and livelihood. The meaning of security by ordinary people coincides with that defined by scholars and policy makers in books, chapters, academic journals and reports on human security. For the people from Ituri, security means a lot of things, including the protection of people from somatic injuries (freedom from fear) to human conditions that allow self-empowerment and having basic needs. People in Ituri pointed out clearly that human security is not a concern with weapons, but rather a concern with human life and dignity. This was

explained through different themes, such as living without fear, personal development, and peace of mind, good relationship with neighbours, freedom of movement, the respect of human rights, the absence of hunger and the access to health care. All of these are categorised in the seven components of human security as explained in the UNDP (1994) report. In the discussions, the researcherøs reference to alternative responses relates to alternative meanings of security as highlighted in the literature, that is, the meaning of security as understood by policy-makers, scholars and ordinary people. Various meanings arose from the discussions and were discussed across various themes which are a true reflection of the context in which these themes emerged.

CHAPTER SIX

IDENTIFYING THREATS TO HUMAN SECURITY IN ITURI

6.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter builds on chapter five, which discussed the meaning of security for people in Ituri. The present chapter looks at what people from Ituri understand as threats to their security. As was done in chapter five, data were coded in terms of themes and sub-themes reflecting the perceptions of the people from Ituri on what could be the possible threats to their security. The UNDP (1994) and subsequent academic articles on human security define threats as anything severe or pervasive that can put a human's life in danger to the extent of losing their lives. This chapter looks at what people from Ituri perceive as threats to their lives.

The concept of a security threat has been defined differently by different policy-makers and scholars. Liotta (2002, p.478) defines a threat as õan identifiable, often immediate, and requires an understandable responseö while Axworthy (1997, p.10) lists as threats the income gap between rich and poor countries, internal conflict and state failure, trans-national crime, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, religious and ethnic discord, environmental degradation, population growth, ethnic conflict and migration, state repression, the use of anti-personnel landmines, child abuse, economic underdevelopment, and a unstable, protectionist international trading system. Later on Axworthy (1999, p.3) refers to the dangers posed by civil conflicts, large-scale carnages, and genocide as threats to human beings and further notes that globalisation is another factor which has caused violent crime, drug trade, terrorism, disease and environmental deterioration and internal war fought by militia groups of ethnic and religious groups equipped with small arms. Academics such as Bruderlein, (2001), Liotta (2002), Bajpai (2004), Ponzio (2005) and Newman (2007) have argued that the collapse of a state engenders the rapid growth of ÷war-lordism,ø banditry and organised crime, all of which increase the threats of violence against individuals. This chapter discusses and presents the possible threats as viewed by the people from Ituri.

The questions ‑Do you feel secure these days and what things influence your feeling of security or insecurity these days?ø allowed participants to come up with a list of things that they considered to be threats in their lives. Table 6.1 below presents those threats. They are discussed and analysed to identify the underlying security threats in Ituri (Research aim two). It will be of relevance to mention that these themes and sub-themes emerged from a combination of data from focus groups and semi-structured interviews.

Table 6.1 summarises the themes and sub-themes that emerged from participantsødiscussions. It is important to note that there strong interrelationships between these themes. They are listed in order of importance, as expressed by participants.

TABLE 6.1

THREATS TO HUMAN SECURITY: A SUMMARY OF THEMES AND SUB-THEMES

Themes	Sub-themes
1. Ethnic divisions	- Ethnic cleansing, - Politicians using propaganda based ethnic discrimination; - Foreigners fuelling ethnic tensions.
2. Presence of militia groups	- Victimisation of civilians forcing them to flee for their lives and become IDPs and refugees; - As a consequence, malnutrition and disease leading to many deaths.
3. Presence of MONUC peacekeepers	- Their inability or unwillingness to act against militia groups - Peacekeepers supplying finance, food and ammunitions to militia groups to keep the war going (‑no war, no jobø) - Conniving with rebels against government forces - Fuelling tensions in order to maintain their jobs.
4. Exploitation of natural resources	Extraction of timber, petrol, minerals, poaching ivories.

6.2   THEME ONE: ETHNIC DIVISIONS

The theme of ethnic divisions was mentioned most frequently and was repeated in various discussions as a major threat to the security of the people from Ituri. This theme emerged from the responses of participants who viewed ethnic divisions as a reason to kill members of opposing ethnic groups.

The province of Ituri counts 18 distinct ethnic groups, among them Alur (500,000), Hema (160,000), Lendu (750,000), Ngiti (100,000), Bira (120,000) and Ndo-Okebo (100,000) (IRIN, 2002, p.9). During armed conflict in Ituri between 1999 and 2006, alliances and counter alliances were formed among these main ethnic groups, depending on allegiances to foreign troops that were in the region in that time and agendas that served their own interests at that particular time. These ethnic communities regrouped under different ethnically-based political parties (see section 1. 1), played off the various outside groups against one another and changed sides as their interests dictated (Woudenberg, 2003, pp.190-5). According to Human Rights Watch, ethnic tensions between Hema and Lendu were fuelled by Uganda who played the role of both arsonist and fireman with disastrous consequences for the local population. In their involvement in continuing political feuds among Congolese party leaders in local ethnic conflicts, and in extracting wealth, Ugandan actors have furthered their own interests at the expense of Congolese whose territory they are occupying (IRIN, 2002, p.3).

 The major conflict occurred between Hema and Lendu communities which together represent about 40% of the population (Boshoff and Vircoulon, 2004, p.66). In the midst of the political power competition between these armed groups, civilians from the opposing armed groups were savagely killed, raped, tortured and mutilated. For example, one participant in semi-structured interview five said that *'during war between Hema and Lendu, pregnant women were dissected to take out the unborn child so that that when the latter grows up they would not be able to avenge.'* Furthermore, some informants suggested that combatants of Lendu militia groups engaged in inhumane acts of mutilations and cannibalism, a practice meant to bring ritual strength to perpetrators and to inspire terror in opponents. However, this comment was challenged by a few participants who said that all militia groups practiced atrocities.

In trying to explain how ethnic divisions were threats to the people from Ituri during war, one semi-structured interviewee [SSIM10] explained that:

'Two years ago (as from the time of interview [January 2009], as a Lendu, I could not go to the market that is just at the back of this wall. That whole area was controlled by Hema militia. I spent two years without getting out of this compound. I used to send my students to the market to buy me food. Those days, the town was divided into two: the southern part was occupied by

Hema and their militias while the northern part was under the siege of the Lendu who were guarded by Lendu militiamen. Any of the one group who was found in the other side was savagely killed.'

In trying to explain this phenomenon, one participant (a lecturer in Practical Theology at University Shalom of Bunia), argued that the increased intensity of the violence in Ituri was the result of a ‑borrowingø of ethnic ideology from the Hutu-Tutsi standoff. He argued that in 1994, defeated Hutu militias from Rwanda brought with them what he called ‑the infectious ethnic hatredøthat they had used to cleanse ethnically the local Tutsi of Masisi region in North Kivu. In his responses, he quoted Emzet (2000) who argued that during Laurent Kabila-led war in 1996, Hutu extremists started to kill the Banyamulenge (Tutsi) in the South Kivu. They were helped by the local governor who went public to incite the local population to join Hutu extremists in cleansing the so-called ‑Rwandophonesø in his province. This participant explained further that this ideology was transferred in Ituri where the Lendu began thinking of themselves as kin to the Hutu, while the Hema identified themselves with the Tutsi. Kehrer (2002, p.12) found little basis to such new formations of identity in saying that the õ1994 Rwandan genocide sent psychological shockwaves throughout the Great Lakes region.ö However, he argues that õthe murder of 800 000 people on the basis of ethnicity served to make people even more aware of their tribal and linguistic affiliation and the subsequent influx of Hutu refugees into the region, which led to the First Congo War served as further emphasis.ö

From the explanation above, it is worth mentioning that ethnic conflicts are not a new phenomenon in contemporary wars. In this regard, Azar and Moon (1984, pp.114-15) state that õethnic conflicts are a by-product of domestic inequality and discrimination.ö This can be true in the context of Ituri where Human Rights Watch (2003, p.18) states that the conflict between Hema and Lendu is a result of colonial rule that aggravated ethnic divisions between the two communities by trying to reorganise traditional chieftaincies into a more homogeneous groups and by favouring the Hema over the Lendu. This accentuated social inequalities that resulted in a full scale ethnic war in June 1999 when the Lendu feelings of victimisation came to a head. By 2003, the conflict between the two communities expanded to involve groups like the Nande, Bira and Alur who had previously not been associated with either of the contenders but were then forced to choose sides (see section 1.2).

While discussing this theme, participants noted that politicians and elders used ethnic propaganda to gain political ground and popularity among their people and sympathisers.

FG9F7: *'The involvement of politicians to instigate ethnic groups to fight among themselves is a big threat to our security.'*

FG9F7: *'The traditional conflict between Hema and Lendu is politically motivated and this is a threat to our security. For us to feel secure, politicians should stay away from ethnic conflicts.'*

Participant [FG9F7] argued that politicians contributed negatively to the ethnic slaughter among warring parties. He further said that faction leaders battling for political power and territorial control have recruited their members by using ethnic resentment. This scenario caused the conflict between ethnic groups, particularly that between Hema and Lendu, to spread and became more astringent. In various discussions, participants mentioned that both Hema and Lendu politicians and elders used propaganda and myths to justify the war and called it self-defence against extermination. A similar view is also found in Pottier's (2003, p.3) study in which it was argued that õHema and Lendu intellectuals alike distorted history for political gain, fabricating new narratives that supported their point of view.ö In the words of one Hema participant, *'we know that there is a genocide against Hema, but we have been ignored for a long time'* while another Hema painted a link between the Tutsi in Rwanda and the Lendu mixed with the Rwandan Interahamwe and the ADF (Ugandan rebels) were perpetrating a genocide like that of Rwanda. These kinds of messages allowed communities to be whipped up into a state of fear or resentment and to join ethnic rebel groups in order to fight for the interests their respective communities.

As they were engaging deeper in the discussions, participants recalled examples of the propaganda. One focus group participant [FG3M6] said that he clearly remembered that Hema associated the Lendu to Interahamwe, and termed them =negative forces or terroristsø and wanted them to be purged. On the other hand, he said members of the Lendu-Ngiti armed group [FRPI] published a pamphlet instigating their fellow brothers and sisters and the allies to resist Hema aggression and all forms of domination that the Lendu have suffered from since colonialism. The pamphlet claimed also that Presidents Kagame of Rwanda and Museveni of Uganda had backed the Hema to establish a Hima-Tutsi Empire and carry out ethnic purification in the form of the

elimination of all the Lendu in Ituri. While FG3M6 was talking, other participants were passing short comment like: ‑yes, you are rightø or ‑yes, they said soø or ‑we believed what they saidø in agreement with the speaker.

In some focus groups and interviews, some participants mentioned that foreigners used the divide-and-rule principle to fuel tensions among ethnic groups:

FG6M8: *'Let's go slowly. To realise their plans, they [foreigners] have created war among us. They resuscitated ethnic conflicts that happened many years ago between our forefathers. Ethnic conflict existed way back in the past but people lived peacefully. For example, I am Alur, I am related to Azande. I call them uncles. But today, I will call them Jajambu (Amakwerekwere or foreigners).'* All participants laughed.

FG6M3: *'Hema call Lendu uncles. How can you kill your relative?'*

FG6M7*: 'Yes, they are relatives. They have never had major problems in the past.'*

FG6M8: *'Where does this hatred come from?'*

FG6M1*: 'From foreigners. The politics of foreigners is to create conflict.'*

FG6M7*: 'Foreigners used us to fight against each other.'*

FG6M8: *'By foreigners, I mean English speaking countries, the ones everybody knows, the US and the UK with their proxies (Rwanda and Uganda). These are the countries that are creating serious problems in our country. They use neighbouring countries to create insecurity in our country. They take advantage of our weakness (ethnic divisions).'*

FG6M8: *'Another element is that foreigners interfere in our problems too much. They don't give us opportunity to discuss and resolve our differences. This is also creating insecurity.'*

Participants viewed ethnic divisions as a threat when they started discussing the role that foreign troops played in the conflict, operating at the behest of countries like the US and the UK. Participants were clear in their view that Rwanda and Uganda played a key role in dividing civilians. One female participant in her mid-thirties said that *'Uganda and Rwanda fight for the control of our minerals and land by terrorising the population'. This is not good.''* Another male participant in focus group six mentioned that in January 2001, the Hema militia group UPC invaded a Lendu village and killed more than one hundred Lendu. The latter sought to retaliate by inviting Ugandan ADF rebels and Interahamwe to join them and they killed thousands of

Hema. The participant added that the Lendu were not satisfied. In September the following year, they killed almost two thousand Hema and Bira civilians in a village called Nyankunde.

Another older man in his 70s explained the involvement of foreign troops in inciting local civilians to fight. Shortly after the massacre of Nyankunde, the UPC [a Hema militia group] backed by the UPDF attacked the RCD-ML that was occupying the town together with the Lendu militias FNI and FRPI (see section 1.2), leaving over a hundred civilians dead. At the beginning of the following year (2003), UPDF changed alliances, became a Lendu supporter and carried out an attack on Bunia and kicked out Thomas Lubanga and his UPC.

The view of ethnic divisions as a threat can be analysed by looking at the historical grievances between Hema and Lendu that have expanded to other ethnic groups. For example, from the beginning of ethnic war in Ituri, the Alur ethnic group was neutral up until the time that the Lendu attacked members of Alur community who had fled from the former villages, accusing them of being related to Hema. The Bira attack on Lendu was pure retaliation (as they were killed by the Lendu in the Nyankunde massacre) and interests. HRW (2003) states that in August 2002, the Bira allied with Hema to attack a Lendu village of Songolo as they wanted to drive away the Lendu who they said, had occupied their territories for many years.

One female participant in the semi-structured interviewed mentioned that all the fighting between different ethnic groups involved foreign troops, either directly or indirectly by supplying ammunitions to militias. Participants particularly mentioned the presence of Ugandan troops. They said that before the Ugandans arrived, conflict between Hema and Lendu was minor and never got out of hand (see comments of [FG6M1], [FG6M3], [FG6M7] and [FG6M8] below), but with the arrival of foreign troops, the conflict became uncontrollable.

People from Ituri viewed ethnic divisions as the greatest threat to their security. Many participants mentioned that they would feel secure if ethnic divisions are not fuelled by foreigners and that if the government of Kinshasa had a good policy on the fairer distribution of resources in Ituri, The Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2003, p.5) expresses similar concerns to the people that were interviewed. It argues that õbehind national rebel groups, we find foreign

backing by neighbouring states and huge international economic interests. It is this foreign support - the presence of armies and ÷criminal networksø organised from Kampala (Uganda) or Kigali (Rwanda) ó that has turned manageable squabbles, as they existed in colonial and post-colonial days, into real wars.ö

6.3   THEME TWO: THE PRESENCE OF MILITIA GROUPS

The presence of militia groups was the second most frequent theme that participants alluded to when responding to the question õWhat are the things that influence you to say that you donøt feel secure these days?ö They viewed the presence of militia groups as a threat in the sense that they felt that they were victims who paid the highest price.

Before starting the analysis of this theme, it is necessary to repeat questions that Pottier (2003, p.6) raised in his studies õWhy do warlords have such a grip on the population?ö How, for example, can Hema militias who had fought the Lendu over several years then (happily?) join the FIPI, an organisation led by the Lendu political parties? And why do local authorities and warlords have such a powerful hold over the population?

These questions will be partly answered the views of participants on the theme of the presence of militia groups are analysed. They discussed this theme from two angles. The victimisation of local people that saw many of them killed and others forced to flee for their lives and its consequences in terms of hunger, malnutrition and disease.

The participants, in both focus groups and individual interviews, viewed the presence of militia groups as a threat to their security:

FG1M1: '*The presence of militia groups is one of things that make us feel insecure. Wherever they pass, they rape, looting, killings, harassment innocent civilians.*'

FG1M8: '*The presence of militia groups is a huge threat to our security. As long as they are still operating in Ituri; I cannot say that I feel secure.*'

FG2M3: *'The presence of the LRA in our province is a threat to our security. This morning, I heard on the radio that on Christmas day, people in Faradje territory were massacred by Lord Resistance Army's rebels. This shows that we are predisposed to death at any time. This makes us feel insecure in the sense that what is happening to our brothers and sisters in Faradje can also happen to us at any time.'*

FG2M12: *'As long as militia groups detain arms, we will never feel secure in Ituri.'*

During interactions, I noticed that these four participants spoke with a tone of anger and disappointment while others were nodding their heads in agreement with the speakers. The issue was why militia groups were targeting civilians. Time and again, participants emphasised that civilians were the victims of the militia groups. Their presence caused havoc among the population. At the same time they said that the government soldiers were not aggressive towards civilians, except for rare cases of undisciplined soldiers. In addition to national militia groups, considerable discussion occurred around the presence of rebels from Uganda (the ADF and the LRA) who were responsible for various human rights abuses.

Participants, both in focus groups and individual interviews, repeatedly mentioned that what happened to Ituri has never been seen before since World War II. A young female student participant said that militias have committed war crimes and gross violations of human rights. Another participant who claimed to be an activist of human rights said that Hema, Lendu and other ethnic groups massacred unarmed civilians on the basis of their ethnicity, and that militia members were praised for the numbers they killed. Participants mentioned that militia group attacks were well planned and involved executions and abductions. One participant in focus group five said:

'We mourned people not knowing exactly if they were dead or not. As we did not see them in deterrence period, we assumed that they were dead. On several occasions, we saw people running as they saw their relatives appearing from nowhere; they thought they were ghosts."

A young girl reported a specific instance: *"in my area, this situation happened in our neighbour's family. When the UPC attacked Bunia, a boy from their neighbour's family was confirmed that he was killed during the attack. The family mourned and forgot. After almost a year, he returned to his family and everybody ran away, saying that it was his ghost that came back.'*

Participants said that another element that was tormenting them was that many perpetrators of these crimes are known, are still around and not punished. They cited some names, and some were familiar to the researcher, having been people with whom he had studied. He did not get an opportunity to have an informal conversation with them to check the allegations made by participants. However, as he was probing the arrest of some militia leaders, such Thomas Lubanga, Jerome Kakwavu and Bosco Ntaganda, he received mixed responses. The majority of participants were relieved that justice had been done but a few of them had a negative opinion, saying that Thomas Lubanga, chairperson of UPC, should not have been arrested as he was fighting against the genocide of the Hema. As the discussions started to head into a more personal discussion in one focus group, the participants were moved onto to the following question. Views on this matter are found in other studies on Ituri (e.g. Woudenberg, 2003; Human Rights Watch, 2003; Pottier, 2003 and 2006).

The basic message is that many civilians have suffered the consequences of the presence of militia groups in their villages. Attacks from militia groups have seen many people flee their villages to take refuge either in other areas or cross the borders to seek asylum in other countries, mostly neighbouring countries.

A further illustration of this phenomenon emerged from the study by Cohen and Deng's study (2009) where they explain in detail how armed conflicts lead many civilians to leave their homes. They argued that õmassive displacement of people within countries and across borders has become a defining feature of post-Cold War world. It is a major feature of human insecurity in which í egregious human rights and appalling human degradation wreak havoc on civilians (p.15).ö

Other elements that participants mentioned as related to the presence of militia groups and which is related to displacement of civilians are hunger, malnutrition and disease:

FG2M8: 'The presence of militia groups constitutes a serious threat in the sense that, for example, the food we eat here in Bunia comes from the villages. Militia groups erect roadblocks to harass businesspeople. Consequently, there is shortage of food. A few years ago this had a

direct impact on both people who were living in Bunia before the war and those who were displaced from their villages to seek refuge in town.'

FG4M9: *'There is still the presence of militia groups in our villages and that cause people to die of hunger as they cannot go back go and continue planting crops.'*

The participants in focus groups and individual interviews revealed that when people flee from their homes, they encounter many difficulties. Very often, civilians walk long distances. The lack of food and water has always had dire consequences, especially to the vulnerable ones, that is, children, old people and the sick (section 2.4.2). One participant in an individual interview explained what her family endured when fleeing. A few others were crying as they remembered their dear ones who had passed away while displaced. The same behaviour was noticed in focus groups three, five and seven.

Before embarking on this study, the researcher was aware that in a research of this kind, it is essential to deal with emotions that may have arisen from participants as they recount past experiences. He developed mechanisms to provide support to those who could not stand pain. He was aware where to refrain himself from making judgements about certain points of view of participants. However, he has to admit that he had to battle with my own emotions, being a Hema in group discussions with some participants who were Lendu. At times, he also saw himself as a victim. (For more details on these issues, see sections 3.4 and 3.10 on conducting research in war-torn zones and some ethical considerations).

The kind of death that participants are talking about is what Mack (2005) calls ‑indirect deaths.ø He argues that õin most of todayøs armed conflicts, war-exacerbated disease and malnutrition kill far more people that missiles, bombs and bullets (p.7).ö The findings of the IRG (2008) on DR Congo revealed that out 5 million Congolese, 3.5 million (70%) died due to indirect causes of war. This implies that the other 1.5 million were battle deaths (see section 2.4).

The presence of militia groups in the town of Bunia was a major cause of displacement of civilians. Bunia was first occupied by UPC, a Hema militia group, in August 2002 and then by the Lendu FRPI and FNI militia groups in March 2003. One participant in an individual interview said that when the Hema militia group seized power in Bunia, they prevented

humanitarian aid from reaching the Lendu. This participant mentioned that during that time, the people were forced to eat soil and roots in the forest. This caused diseases, especially to children who died in great numbers. In turn, when Lendu militia groups overthrew the UPC, they too prevented humanitarian aid from reaching Hema villages. Often, humanitarian aid did not reach civilians in remote areas because of the wrangles between warring groups. They accused humanitarian aid workers of favouring one group over in other. This was perhaps the reason behind the assassination of six ICRC workers en route to deliver aid to civilians in remote areas in 2001. To ease their way, many humanitarian aid workers gave some incentives to militia groups. A study of humanitarian relief in Ituri in April ó May 2004 (Pottier, 2006) revealed that a relief workerøs bargaining power was influenced by militia perceptions of how their organisation is positioned in the conflict. This is different from the findings of Black and Brusset (2000) in Liberia who found that humanitarian aid workers suffered an enormous amount of looting because of a lack of negotiation skills on their part. Pottier (2006, p.176) argues that in Ituri, although there were only sporadic cases of undisciplined combatants, these did not sidetrack the skilful negotiations in which relief workers engaged.

6.4   THEME THREE: THE PRESENCE OF PEACEKEEPERS

The presence of peacekeepers was the third most frequent answer that participants gave when responding to the question ÷what make them feel insecureø The majority of participants stated clearly - with no remorse - that the presence of peacekeepers was one of the threats to their security. Participants gave various explanations to justify their answers. Their answers are summarised in five sub-themes and are analysed in the following paragraphs.

6.4.1   The inability or unwillingness of peacekeepers to act against militia groups

On this sub-theme, the majority of participants said with a tone of disappointment that peacekeepers are not doing what they were supposed to do. Participants mentioned that MONUC peacekeepers have the power to curb militia groups that are causing death among many civilians but are not doing enough. Some participants wondered about the true mission of peacekeepers in Ituri if it was not to protect people living in Ituri against militia forces:

FG2M8: *'The presence of MONUC peacekeepers is another source of insecurity. The latter has the mandate to restore peace and security, but they are unable to do so. I am asking myself, what are they here for? MONUC peacekeepers came to Congo for their own adventure and not to protect Congolese citizens. There are killings happening in Geti, Kivu and Garamba game reserve. Why can't they stop those killings?'*

Gambino (2008, p.20) recognised the failure of peacekeepers to protect civilians at the peak of violence in Ituri when he states that õin 2003, MONUC troops and civilians in Bunia were nearly overrun by Congolese militia. At that point, MONUC was constituted as a Chapter VI peacekeeping force, without the type of troops required to protect itself or Congolese civilians, even in urban centres like Bunia.ö

Murhula (2003, p.10) offers an explanation for why the arrival of peacekeepers was received with mixed feelings among the population. Some regarded this as a reproduction of the French ÷Operation Turquoiseø in 1994 in Rwanda that came to rescue the defeated militia (Lendu). This explains why the UPC attacked peacekeepers in Bunia two months after their arrival so as not to give them opportunity to organise themselves. Others viewed the arrival of peacekeepers move positively as they came to stop killings and to maintain order in Ituri.

The second explanation for the mixed feelings, as Murhula puts it, is Ituriansø suspicions about the ability of peacekeepers to deal effectively with the ruthless militia groups who were controlling the bigger part of Ituri province (p.6). Participant SSIM3 shares the views of Murhula when he said that:

'We have to understand its mission before I give my opinion. Iturians expected that peacekeepers would restore peace, that is, they had the capacity to oppose peace spoilers by strong means. Unfortunately, people are continuing to be killed despite the fact that peacekeepers have been allowed to pass on chapter VII, that is, to use force where necessary to protect civilians.'

Basically, participants viewed the mandate or the mission of peacekeepers as ambiguous. For them, Chapter VI was an excuse as it does not authorise them to use force to protect civilians. This Chapter was to monitor the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement while Chapter VII gave peacekeepers the mandate to use force where necessary to protect civilians. Some

participants who were arguing in this direction mentioned that despite peacekeepers being allowed to use force, they did not do so. When asked why, they gave the following explanations:

FG1M3: *'Their inability to react can be checked; for example, when militias attack civilians somewhere in their presence.'*

FG1M8: *'Another example is Kiwanja and Rutshuru massacres. Peacekeepers never reacted to save the lives of innocent civilians who were being killed by the Interahamwe.'*

FG1M2: *'Peacekeepers come to the massacre spots to take pictures instead of fighting back as chapter seven requires. We don't understand that. Sometimes people die because they trust that peacekeepers will react in case militias attack them.'*

6.4.2 Peacekeepers supply food and ammunition to the militias

Many participants revealed that peacekeepers supplied food and ammunitions to some militias to keep the war going. Participant [FG6M10] pointed out that in Dungu (Northeastern Ituri), after the mixed Ugandan and Congolese forces had dismantled the Ugandan LRA rebelsø stronghold, locals found the same food parcels as those of peacekeepers with the UN emblem. They mentioned that peacekeepers supplied the LRA with food parcels by parachutes. The same comment appeared in focus group nine where one participant said that peacekeepers supplied food to Lendu militias by parachute to avoid accusations as they could not openly access the latterøs operational zones. Participant [FG6M2] said that some peacekeepers were caught selling arms to the antagonists UPC and FNI rebel groups. One female participant whose brother is a militia member said that her brother told her that they (militias) get food and ammunition from peacekeepers:

FG1M8: *'I can answer that. We have proof from our brothers who are members of militia groups. They tell us that the MONUC peacekeepers are supplying them with ammunitions to keep insecurity going. They say they also receive food parcels. They also tell them the strategic positions of the government soldiers and how to attack them.'*

SSIM10: *'I think their prime mission is peacekeeping and peacebuilding but many testimonies converge in that they are double agents. It seems that they also rearming militias in Geti area.'*

This opinion was disputed by another participant in individual interview: ÷

What I know is that peacekeepers are here to restore peace and security in our country. What I can say is that many people don't appreciate their work. Many people and even people from Geti say that MONUC is supplying ammunition to rebels. What I can say is that peacekeepers are helping us to achieve peace and security but they shouldn't go against their mandate.'

6.4.3   Peacekeepers connive with rebels against government forces

Amongst the reasons that participants gave to explain why the presence of peacekeepers was a threat to their security, the majority agreed with those who said that peacekeepers connived with rebels in selling out the position of government soldiers for eventual attacks by the latter. Some participants viewed peacekeepers as double agents - on the one hand working for peace and on the other hand spoiling peace.

6.4.4   Peacekeepers fuel tensions to maintain their jobs

Although this was the view of many participants in both focus groups and individual interviews, one participant reported that instead of stopping the massacre between ethnic groups, they (peacekeepers) created tensions and encouraged both to engage in pre-emptive strikes against other.

A participant in focus group seven added that after the massacres had occurred, peacekeepers went and took pictures of slashed bodies and put them on their internet and commented that the security situation in Ituri was worsening. To explain his thoughts, this participant said this*:*

'For instance, let say that people were killed around 12 at noon today, at one in the afternoon; you can see the photos of people who were slaughtered in the MONUC website. You will ask yourself a question, "Where did they get such footage in such a limited period of time?" You might think that they knew what was going to happen. For me, I think this confirms that they knew what was going to happen, where and when. It is my point of view. Yes, it is the point of view of all of us,' one young female participant reacted.

6.4.5   Peacekeepers rape women and young girls

The majority of participants had similar views on this statement as they pointed out clearly that peacekeepers as well as militias and government soldiers were guilty of raping women and young girls. They did so with impunity as nobody took a stand to denounce them. One participant [FG6M3] added that when local men raped, they are arrested and sentenced to 15 or 20 years in prison (see section 5.6). Another participant [FG6M3] said that many peacekeepers are HIV positive and are sent to Africa to live their last moments.

6.5   THEME 4: EXPLOITATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

The exploitation of natural resources was the last theme and received fewer comments than the rest. Participants mentioned that it was an indirect threat to their security and did not make them feel insecure all the time. They said that the illegal exploitation of natural resources existed way back during Mobutu time but never caused insecurity among the people from Ituri.

6.5.1   Minerals (petrol, gold, diamond and coltan)

Although the illegal exploitation of mineral resources appears less often, participant [FG6M1] said that foreigners had discovered petrol in Ituri that they wanted to exploit it by causing a war as they had done in Iraq and Niger Delta in Nigeria. Another participant [FG6M8] added that *'our wealth becomes a misfortune to us. It brings us suffering. If God didn't give us wealth, we wouldn't fight among ourselves. But he has already given it to us; what are going to do?'* Participant [FG9M13] said that the economy of the country is only benefiting others and not Congolese. He goes on by saying that minerals are exploited by foreigners and that is why they have created ethnic wars to have free access to the resources. For participant [FG6M6], foreigners (peacekeepers) have moved people from their villages and into towns so that they can exploit the mineral resources. Other participants in focus group six were clutching their heads in agreement with the speaker. After they had kept quiet for a while; participant [FG6M3], speaking in a sorrowful tone, expressed pity for the Hema and Lendu by saying that neither communities would ever benefit from their wealth. Raising the same concern, participant [FG6M7] added that

foreigners are confusing people to remove them from their land in the territory of Djugu. Participant [FG6M3] explained as follows:

'Do you understand the politics behind the war between Hema and Lendu? Foreigners instigate them to fight and move them away from their territories to become IDPs and refugees. For them to return in their land will be difficult. This is the strategy of foreigners. Do you see that kind of politics?'

With pain in his heart and tears in his eyes, this participant, who died at 70 years old from hypotension a month after I had interviewed him, went on to quote from King James Version, Jeremiah 30:10:

> *'So do not fear, O Jacob my servant; do not be dismayed O Israel, declares the Lord. I will surely save you out of a distant place, your descendants from the Land of their exile. Jacob will again have peace and security and no one will make him afraid.'*

To understand this biblical verse, the researcher read Mathew Henry's Concise Edition (Undated), in which there is a comment that this verse is a description of troubles, calamities and afflictions that Israelites will undergo. Though they may last long, they shall not last forever. The Israelites shall be restored again. The participant's allusion to the Bible brings a sense of hope, consolation and comfort that one day the land of Ituri and its people will be restored peace and security. This analogy can also be used to explain the meaning of peace or security as related to Christian faith when some participants said that peace or security can only be found in Jesus Christ (see section 5.4).

6.5.2   Land

While conflict over land is possibly the root cause of Hema – Lendu tensions, curiously, this received little attention from the participants in both focus groups and individual interviews. Out of 105 participants, only three in the individual interviews mentioned land as a threat to the security of people from Ituri. Participant [SSIM5] said that fighting over land is common in the history of mankind. He gave an example from the Bible where Abraham and his cousin Lot fought over land and this caused them to separate, as is happening between the Hema and the Lendu.

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Another aspect of land concerns the return of refugees and IDPs. In the words of participant [SSIM2]:

'The second element is about houses and land. When the war broke in 1999, many people fled for their lives. When the war stopped, some people wanted to go back in their property. Some of them found their houses completely damaged and or burnt down. They decided to stay in their neighbours' houses and when the latter came back, the former did not want to move out. This caused serious tensions and insecurities in the neighbourhood that sometimes led to death.'

6.5.3 Ivory

This sub-theme received the least attention as only two participants said anything about the illegal exploitation of ivory as a threat to the security of people living in or around Garamba game reserve. Participant [FG2M8] said that LRA rebels were poaching white rhinoceros and elephants for ivory for sell at the expenses of locals. Additionally, participant [FG6M10] added that locals found ivories in the peacekeepersøstores in their barracks.

6.6   DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

During focus groups and individual interviews, participants were asked to list what they considered to be threats to their security. The main findings were as follows:

ÉThe study revealed that ethnic divisions were the major threat to the security of the people from Ituri and dominated discussions in all focus groups and individual interviews. Participants talked at length about this topic and cited other underlying factors that illustrated their views. The study discovered that local politicians and foreign troops were guilty of fuelling tensions among ethnic groups, mainly the Hema and the Lendu.

ÉThe study found that the presence of militia to be the second major threat to the security of the people from Ituri. People from Ituri saw themselves as victims of militias as civilians were the most often targeted in the killings and harassment.

É The majority of the population interviewed in Ituri reported the presence of MONUC peacekeepers as a threat to their security. They said that peacekeepers played a double role in the conflict. This was indicated as they were unable to stop killings of innocent civilians by militias although they had the mandate to do so. Respondents said that some peacekeepers supplied food and ammunition to rebels and fuelled ethnic tensions to maintain their jobs in Ituri. By contrast, a few respondents indicated that peacekeepers were doing a good job to restore peace and security in the province.

É Natural resources ranked last in the lists of threats to security and it was explained as a machination by outsiders rather than a true threat.

Previous studies which have examined threats to security (e.g. UNDP, 1994; Axworthy, 1997 and 1999; CHS, 2003; Mack, 2005) focused on ‑grandø threats such as environmental degradation, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism and the income gap between the rich and the poor countries. As we have seen, our informants are very largely concerned with immediate threats to their security, of which four have been identified.

Of course, what this chapter has reported are the opinions, attitudes and beliefs of ordinary people. There may be important forces at work at a global level of which they are ignorant but which nonetheless influence their security. The importance of their opinions, however, is beyond dispute. If the themes and sub-themes discussed in this chapter were effectively addressed, their feelings of well-being (and its reality) would improve.

However, the fourth and least strongly felt threat ó exploitation of natural resources ó may be more significant than the respondents believe and certainly deserves further discussion. Ross (2004) reviewed 14 recent studies on the relationship between natural resources and civil war and examined some theoretical arguments that could explain the linkage. He suggested that commodities such as oil and gemstones prolong armed conflict. The interpretation in the literature of the reasons behind the link between the presence of militia groups and natural resources appears to be relatively straightforward when one looks at the work of ‑Fatal Transactions,ø an international campaign that õstrives for a just and fair exploitation of Africaøs

natural resources. The campaign increases public awareness on the funding of rebel armies across Africa through the trade in conflict or blood diamondsö (Bonn International Centre for Conversion [BICC], 2008, p.1). Nordstrom explains how UNITA lengthened the civil war in Angola as it used to trade gems to finance its war against the Angolan central government (2000, p.45). Olsson and Fors (2004) suggested that õa primary reason for the continuation of the fighting in the Congo has been a desire to gain control of easily appropriable and highly valuable resources like gold, diamonds and coltan.ö Samset (2002, p.14) argued that õthe exploitation of key natural resources, diamonds in particular, has contributed to prolonging the war in Democratic Republic of Congo.ö She affirmed that the motivation and feasibility of resource exploitation largely explain why external military contingents have remained active in the country since August 1998. These results are in line with experience of the population of Ituri as they argued in the same way in various discussions, saying that illegal and excessive exploitation of Congolese natural resources spurred continued fighting. They said that armed conflict had rendered the Congolese government institutions weak, resulting in the suspension of the countryøs sovereignty to be replaced by internal and external actors to justify and facilitate excessive exploitation (see section 6.5.1 above).

Another threat that people from Ituri, policymakers, scholars and the popular media have a similar view on is land, although Ituri people did not give it high priority as a source of insecurity. Farnsworthøs (2007) study lent support to this claim as she argued that land ownership was a matter of survival in Madagascar. Land ownership or land scarcity was also mentioned by McNain (2004, pp.85-7) in her study on *building capacity to resolve conflict in communities in Rwanda'* as she said that lack of sufficient land for subsistence farming was a consistent problem in Rwanda. In the case of DR Congo, Vlassenroot and Higgens (2004, p.1) state that õinsecure or insufficient access to land is a significant factor that in the impoverishment of thousands of rural people, and is therefore a threat to the peopleøs human security. Participants in this study discussed this issue at length as they explained how land was used by foreigners to instigate violent conflict between the Hema and the Lendu. They mentioned that conflict over land between the two communities has existed way back in the past and has been minor with regard to the deaths of civilians. To this issue, Vlassenroot and Higgens (2004) were correct when they argued that the present conflict has radically changed land access patterns, through a

number of mechanisms including forced displacement. One participant in this study said that Hema and Lendu were forced to leave their land that they will never go back (see section 6.5.2 above).

6.7   CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed perceived threats to the security of the population of Ituri. First, the discussions were based on four themes as they emerged from the answers of respondents in focus groups and individual interviews. The discussions have been ranked from the most to the least threat to the security of the population of Ituri. Ethnic divisions were the perceived to be the biggest threat and participants said that ethnic cleansing appeared to be the most threatening factor, followed by ethnic discriminations engineered by politicians. Participants also mentioned that foreign troops used ethnic divisions to cause warring parties to kill each other. Secondly, the presence of militia groups came out as second in terms of frequency. Participants mentioned that militia groups killed innocent civilians and forced them to leave their homes and to live in exile where they faced many violent incidents, such as hunger, malnutrition, diseases, etc. The presence of peacekeepers was cited as a third threat, depending on the frequency in various discussions across focus groups and individual interviews. Participants mentioned that peacekeepers were unable to curb the activities of militia members who were continuing to wreak havoc in remote areas of the province. They alleged that peacekeepers supplied food and ammunitions to rebels and also to fuelled tensions among warring parties in order to maintain their jobs in Ituri. Participants articulated that some peacekeepers have engaged in illegal businesses, selling gems in exchange for dollars and sometimes arms. A few participants declared that peacekeepers raped women and young girls. Fourth and lastly, the illegal exploitation of natural resources was a concern. Although this topic has received wide attention in the popular media and case-study literature, contrary to my unexamined starting assumption that natural resources were the major threats to the security of the population of Ituri, participants viewed this topic as the least important.

It is striking that a number of the themes and sub-themes concern foreigners. Rightly or wrongly, it is the introduction of foreignersø behaviours and interests into Ituri which, according to the informants, has had a major negative impact on their feelings of security.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BUILDING HUMAN SECURITY IN ITURI

7.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents findings based on the views of people from Ituri on how to build human security in their province. This chapter is built on chapters five and six, which presented the findings on the meanings of security and the perceived security threats to people from Ituri. Findings in chapter five were based on aim one of the study which is to determine the extent to which various components of human security are relevant to understanding the meaning of security to a sample of Ituri residents. The findings in chapter six were aimed at identifying the perceived causes of human security threats in the province. The aim of this chapter is to explore perceptions of how human security can be built in Ituri province.

This chapter will start by summarising the findings from chapters five and six. The chapter will then proceed to the analysis of themes. As in chapters five and six, themes will be coded according to the frequency of words or nuances that appeared several times in the different focus groups and individual interviews. By doing so, the chapter will attempt to meet the third aim of this study which is to explore perceptions of the ways of building human security in Ituri. The chapter will also investigate existing activities with regard to peacebuilding and human security and their challenges. This will be followed by a summary of findings in this chapter.

7.2   A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS IN CHAPTERS FIVE AND SIX

In chapter five, it was found that:

The majority of the participants defined security as living without fear, that is, fear of being hurt physically, psychologically and emotionally. Secondly, they said that development was a desirable aspect of security, meaning that there were levels of economic and social needs which should be met. They used phrases like ‑having a good life, etc.ø Thirdly, the majority of the

participants classified peace of mind another meaning of security which was rated after living without fear and personal development. They said that security is a condition of freedom from disturbance, whether outwardly or inwardly within the soul. They also viewed security as well-being in general and having a good relationship with both man and God. Fourthly, good relationships with neighbours were important when talking about security. People from Ituri desired to live in harmony with their neighbours and to stay away from trouble. Freedom of movement and respect of human rights were also mentioned as contributors to human security.

In chapter six, participants mentioned several elements which they perceived as threats to their security. Ethnic divisions were the major threat to the security of the people from Ituri. The presence of militia groups rated as the second major threat to security. Thirdly, the majority of the people interviewed in Ituri reported that the presence of MONUC peacekeepers was a threat to their security. They reported that peacekeepers were unable to stop the killing of civilians by militias. Fourthly, the study found that natural resources, such as minerals, petrol, land and ivories were also listed as threats to the security of Iturians as the exploitation of any of these commodities was accompanied by high death tolls among local people. This chapter discusses data yielded by people from Ituri on how to building human security in Ituri.

7.3   IDENTIFICATION OF THEMES

A number of themes were identified in this chapter concerning the perceived ways of building security in Ituri. These will be dealt with according to the frequency with which they were mentioned in focus groups and individual interviews. Four themes were identified which encapsulated the responsibilities of individuals or communities, the national government and the international community. The questions from which these themes emerged are: ‑I would like you to discuss things that could help you feel more secure. Start with things that you could do yourselves as individuals or as community. Do you do these things? Explain why, why not? Are there things which other people or group of people would need to do (or not to do) to help you feel more secure? Are they doing these things? Explain why, why not?ø It is worth noting that participants did not respond systematically the questions. Participants frequently mixed answers from one question to another.

7.3.1 Theme one: Responsibilities of individuals

Under this theme, participants suggested many ways in which individuals can help build peace and security. In this regard, participant [FG1M4] said: *'People from Ituri should understand that they have the responsibility to achieve security in their province because no one will do it for them.'* Another participant [FG1M3] said that *'these responsibilities must be shared at individual, national and international levels.'* These views were seconded by many participants, either by adding comments or nodding their head as a sign of agreeing with one another.

As the individual level, the majority of participants viewed *Love for neighbours'* (see also section 5.5) as a major way of achieving security in the province. *What I can do is to love my neighbours'* [FG1M2] and *Love for my neighbours is the only thing I can do'* [FG1M1]. However, this view was disputed by participant [FG1F9] who claimed that *'I cannot love my neighbours if they (neighbours) do not want to reciprocate love.'* Participant [FG1M1] retorted that: *as a community, we have to learn to accept one another with reference to the Bible; to love our neighbours and to reconcile with our enemies because without reconciliation there will not be security.'*

The idea of reconciliation was also mentioned by participant [SSIF11] in an individual interview when she said that *'to reconcile and avoid conflict with my neighbours and to collaborate with everyone can bring peace and security among us. The contrary will pose a threat to our community.'* A similar view was aired by participant [SSIM10], in an individual interview when he said that as Christians they should work for reconciliation between different ethnic groups and preach the love for neighbours. This will lead people to respect each other. He continued with his argument by evoking that love for a neighbour will create unity, regardless of ethnic background and besides, people should see themselves as what he called *a big Iturian family.* He explained that this big family should use the wealth of the province to develop the province. This participant showed regret and said: *'Unfortunately, in many cases, people tend to develop only their groups.'* He further explained his argument by saying that the practice of developing only one group creates exclusion and social inequalities among people, resulting in hostilities among ethnic groups.

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This participantøs argument links to the identification by some Ituri war scholars that social inequalities due to social injustices were among the key underlying causes of violence in Ituri. For example, Pottier (2003) argued that the Hema took advantage of anarchy and the support of Ugandan soldiers to buy land illegally. They (Hema) exploited that land to the detriment of the Lendu who became jealous of the progress of the Hema. This created animosity between the two groups and led to violence whereby neighbours turned against each other. It is in this sense that these participants mentioned love as an important element to restore peace and security as in most cases, offenders were known to victims. For instance, participant [FG1M1] said that people from Ituri should avoid selfishness. They should help each other and should be taught how to live with their neighbours.

A similar view was emphasised by participant [FG1M4] when he said that people from Ituri should go beyond ethnic boundaries (section also section 6.2) and live in a heterogeneous community and build harmonious relationships with people from different ethnic groups (see section 2.8). He further ascertained that that a harmonious community must have the notion of Christianity - that is, having moral virtues that transcend through love for one another neighbours. He continued, *'if all these aspects are respected; we Iturians will be able to live in communities that feel secure.'*

This opinion was disputed by participant [SSIF8] who claimed that there cannot be love for neighbours and reconciliation if forgiveness has not been given. She added that the very same neighbours she used to consider as her brothers and sisters before war turned against her and her family and killed her brother and looted all their property. *'How can I love them?'* Participant [FG5F1] argued that people should learn to love their enemies and forgive them despite all they did to their family. Participant [FG5F6] explained that *'Love must replace hatred among people. If one loves one's neighbours truly, tomorrow when troubles come, they will not turn against each other as we saw during war.'* This opinion was reinforced by the views of participant [FG5M13] when he said that love and forgiveness should go hand in hand in the sense that people should not be afraid of one another. They should be courageous and forgive their neighbours. This can be done by visiting them despite what happened and loving them wholeheartedly. This was also heard in the statement made by participant [FG2M2] when he said

that it is undisputable *'that we must call upon the conscience of our community to forgive perpetrators who most of them were our neighbours.'*

However, there was very little mention of justice or reparations as prerequisites of security. Neither was there any mention of personal responsibility in the violence nor a community claiming for justice or reparations. The exception was in the statement of one participant [FG1M7] who warned the killers that justice will deal with them one day. He pointed out that Thomas Lubanga was arrested and many more would follow. He mentioned that *'at this time we are speaking, people are still being killed by militias.'* He concluded that there was a need for justice and reparations before talking of any possibility to forgive or reconcile and said, *'if this is done, then we can say we feel secure.'*

A few participants associated the love for neighbours to the love for God. There was no a clear explanation as why these participants expressed themselves in that sense. My own interpretation, and this is also found in section 5.4 is that in times of troubles, people tend to turn to God, emphasising that people cannot restore peace alone, only with the help of God. In these circumstances, human beings are described as the perpetrators of violence rather than peacemakers. Typical statements were:

'Only prayers will make us feel secure' or *'prayers to God will restore peace and security in Ituri.'* ÷

Res.: 'What is necessary, for peace to occur?'

FG4F6*: 'To follow Jesus, to live in the word of God.'*

FG4M7: *'To respect God's commandments. All the leaders from the grassroots to the top levels must obey God. Otherwise, we will never feel secure.'*

 FG4F8: '*To love and to know God, more especially our leaders.'*

Debate around the theme of love received attention in various forms and in all the discussions. Apart from the love for neighbours and God, a few participants referred to the love for the country. Participant [FG1M5] said that people from Ituri should love their country and they should not betray it. Participant [GF1M1] put it differently when he said that every Iturian should

stand up and secure the borders of their country. He added that *'Congolese borders are loose and foreign troops enter as they want. This is what is creating insecurity in our province.'* In contrast, participant [FG1M3] thought that that was the responsibility of the government when he said that *'the government must learn to be honest and serious about DR Congo issues.ø* He explained that the Berlin conference had made the borders of DR Congo clear. He added that neighbouring countries must not violate the borders of DRC. He mentioned that:

'Today, it is well documented how neighbouring countries have created and are still creating insecurity in Ituri. Neither, the government of Kinshasa nor the international community have applied international dispositions to punish those countries.'

He lashed out at what the international community was doing in Ituri as meaningless (see also section 6.4) and stated that *'It is useless to bring food while innocent people are dying of bullets.'* While talking, another participant [FG1M8] screamed (*Kahunga*), meaning mealy flour as to agree with participant [FG1M3]. Another [FG1M3] stated that it was useless to distribute *"bread of death."* This statement resulted in loud applause from the rest of participants.

That Congolese citizens of Ituri should protect their borders was also mentioned in individual interviews where participant [SSIF8] said that local people had to be vigilant and not to allow the infiltration of intruders. When asked how, she replied that local people should organise themselves in patrol groups every night to check who was coming in and who was going out. She argued that:

'Every Congolese should know the constitution by heart. This will help them speak out against unconstitutional practices. She gave an example where it is written in the constitution of the DR Congo that it is forbidden for Congolese citizens to entertain a private militia group within the borders or outside the country.'

This participant showed anguish when she said:

'Unfortunately this is not respected. Everyone has the guts to mount a militia group and start a war. Nobody is worried about that. Local people do not denounce that. In contrast they join these groups in a great number to rape, loot and kill innocent civilians.'

She argued that the government preferred to resolve the conflict in its own way while the constitution already provided that those who trouble the security of the country should be arrested and judged by the court of law. In concluding, she said that local people from Ituri must force the government to resolve the conflict in Ituri, using the constitution. To this, participant [FG1M1] added that legal texts in the form of laws must be respected and applied if one wanted to talk about feeling secure in Ituri.

As participants discussed shared responsibilities in order to build peace and security in Ituri, a few mentioned that as communities they should fight nepotism, impunity and corruption. For example, participant [FG8F1] spoke out against a culture of nepotism and impunity that is being practiced by authorities. *'There cannot be security without us standing up for ourselves and fighting this culture.'* When asked what she meant, she said that:

'Once nepotism and impunity become normal, it becomes a culture and people find view it as legal to do wrong and not be punished for that. This leads to some becoming rich and others poor. The gap of inequalities among people becomes wide to the extent that the marginalised ones resort to the use of force to get justice.' She added that *'nepotism and impunity destroyed the government of Mobutu.'*

Participant [FG2F6] affirmed that people should stand up against corruption. When asked how, she replied that she had the duty to teach her fellow citizens to avoid corruption and to use the legal route to get what they want. This opinion was disputed by participant [FG1M1] who claimed that fighting corruption was the duty of the government and not individuals. To this, participant [FG1M4] retorted that it was possible for individuals to fight corruption. *'Corruption involves two parties, by this I mean government officials and citizens. If we refuse to give money to the government officials, there will not be corruption.'*

As was said above, the majority of participants in focus groups and individual interviews believed that they could do more to achieve security when peacekeepers left (see also 6.4). Participant [FG2M8] claimed *'one day Congolese citizens will understand that peacekeepers have no reason to be here, and then the latter will leave this country by foot.'* Everyone laughed as they were shaking heads, saying ‑*yes yes, yes ... you are right. They should go.*ø Participant

[FG2M8] added that they did not need arms to flush out peacekeepers. They will use stones, sticks and their physical force. *'We will use all these to kick them out.'*

In attempting to answer the question, many participants spoke of the problem of ‒awarenessøof the population. For example, participant [FG1M4] said that Congolese people should understand that they have the responsibility to protect themselves, the public institutions and property. For one participant [FG6M3], there was the feeling that people should be responsible and avoid looting public funds; rather they should work hard to earn what they wanted. He mentioned that this would help them achieve security. Ffurthermore, he explained that it was important that Congolese people became conscious of their acts:

'Congolese people must know that what they destroy affects everyone and the people they kill are their own brothers and sisters. The Congolese people should be sensitised and mobilised to change their mentality and behaviour. Otherwise we will always feel insecure.'

Participants suggested several things that they could do to achieve security in Ituri. For participant [FG1M5], a culture of peace was paramount and for participants [FG1M3] and [FG1M1], people had to be sensitised and educated for peace. A major way to build security was dialogue, as participant [FG9M8] put it. This opinion was also shared by participant [FG9M14] when he said that *'Our leaders need to sit and to talk about ways that will help people feel secure in Ituri.'* This was seconded by [FG9F10]: ‒W*e Congolese should dialogue among ourselves to find peace and security in the province'* whereas participant [SSIF8] wanted to see all peasants, regardless ethnic group, sitting together and talking to find ways that will help them achieve sustainable security. For participant [SSI11], the contribution of the ordinary people to achieve security relied on people being willing to talk and understand the underlying causes of insecurity, then being willing to reconcile honestly. She added that people were affected psychologically, physically, economically and culturally. As for participant [SSIF8], people needed to be frank in the dialogue and needed to avoid lies.

Some were pessimistic that any building of security could occur. Participant [FG2M4] stated that he had nothing to do to achieve security rather he would prefer to go into exile while participants [FG9F9] and [FG9F10] also mentioned that they had nothing in their capacity to achieve security

in Ituri. This view was also shared by participant [G3M6] who said he did not see what he could do as an individual to achieve security. Rather, he pointed the government as being the only entity that could do so.

7.3.2 Theme two: Responsibilities of the government

In focus group seven, participant [FG7M6] argued that the restoration of state authority was a precondition to security. He said that the absence of state authority in Ituri had led state institutions to collapse, leaving space for outlaws to operate and impose a culture of impunity and corruption. This participant, through his explanation, mentioned that the country in general was suffering under a leadership crisis. He gave an example of Rwanda in 1994 and Rwanda today; *'there is a change.'* Uganda during Idi Amin and Uganda under Museveni; *'there is a huge difference.'* He ascertained that there was a dimension beyond government. *A good family leader must assume the security of his family. He must be able to provide protection in times of danger,'* he added.

Although the question addressed the responsibilities of individuals, some participants point out clearly that there are things that only the government of Kinshasa could do. When asked to give some examples of things the government could do, participants responded in these terms:

'... The second point that I (participant [FG1M4]) *want to talk about is the responsibility of the government to ensure good living conditions for the military and the police. Normally, these forces have the mission to maintain security, to control borders and to secure people and their possessions.'*

He went on to say that when soldiers and policemen are not paid, they resorted to looting killing those who resist. This opinion was also shared by participant [SSIF11] who stated that on national level, the government should take responsibility to secure the country through its army. When asked how the government could do that she explained herself in these words: *'the prime mission of an army is to secure the country, its inhabitants and their possessions.'* Then she carried on saying that *'security is priceless.'* The government had the responsibility and the mandate to fight all trouble makers, be they foreign troops or militia groups. As she was

summing up, she said *'in a few words, I can say, the government should be able to secure the country and its people.'*

Additionally, participant [FG1M2] said that the government had the responsibility to create jobs. He continued his argument saying that *'today, many people, especially here in Ituri, have become politicians to earn money and become rich easily.'* He added that instead of working for the people, they (politicians) have divided Iturians, using propaganda based on ethnic identity. He added that *'during the war, there were six main militia groups, each having in its ranks and combatants belonging to one ethnic group'* (see sections 1.1, 6.2 and 6.3). For participant [FG2F6], the government must improve its economic policies and allow investors to come into the country and thereby improve the lives of the citizens. As a result, people will feel secure and no one will envy the property of their neighbours (see section 7.3.1). On the other hand, another participant [FG9F9] believed that the government engagement with business meant increased insecurity. To achieve security, she maintained, the government authorities should abandon all ideas of being involved in business, in other words, to get benefit from war. Apart from civilian officials, she added that high rank soldiers were also involved in the pillage of the resources.

As for participant [FG3M6], the government could achieve security in Ituri as it had power to do so. For instance, soldiers who looted could be punished. He argued that:

'We have seen this happening with Laurent Kabila who had no mercy for thieves and undisciplined soldiers. Many of them were jailed and hanged in public places. Those days, you could leave your house unlocked. No one could enter to steal. Everyone was afraid. But today, soldiers are breaking into houses almost every night; they take property and kidnap girls and women to rape them and nothing is done.'

The researcher has some personal experience concerning individual versus (local) government responsibility. One night during the data collection, a great noise erupted in the surrounding area. It was around 7 pm and a mob had apprehended two soldiers who were trying to rob a house in the vicinity. One of them escaped and the other was battered to death. The police came later while he was already dying. This can also explain the views of participants who mentioned that the government should take responsibility for securing people. This can also explain participantsø views on shared responsibility.

Participant [FG3M6] gave an example where soldiers confiscated all his goods at a roadblock on his way to Komanda:

'That day, early in the morning, 17 soldiers stopped our car at a roadblock, searched everyone, and took money, jewelers and the goods I had to sell. We had to return home. Now I am jobless and I do not know where I will get money to restart doing business again.'

In another focus group, participant [FG5M3] explained that the government had the responsibility to restore peace and security in Ituri by resolving the problems that were causing insecurity in Ituri. For example, he said, the government had to negotiate with militia groups which were still operating in the bush and were still causing insecurity in remote areas in the province. *'Otherwise, security will remain a dream in the mind of Iturians,'* he concluded.

Participant [FG7M2] pointed out that the government was encouraging the killing of innocent civilians by printing electoral cards as an identity book. In this document, the ethnic identity of the holder is mentioned. As a result, some people have been placed in danger. He gave an example of a pastor who was nearly killed by militia men because of what was written in his ID book. The participant compared this new ID book with the one in Mobutu regime in which ethnicity was not mentioned, and to Rwanda:

'I heard in Rwanda, ethnicity is no longer mentioned in ID books anymore. Before they used to mention Tutsi, Hutu and Twa in Rwandan ID books and many Tutsis were killed because of their ID books and not necessarily their morphology as some Hutus resemble Tutsis and vice versa.'

Participant [FG7M9] added that this problem (ethnicity in ID books) has already been addressed in both provincial and national parliaments. However, participant [FG7M1] spoke with a disdainful tone as he said *'We have to know that, even if you hide yourself people will know who you are. A pygmy will always remain a pygmy.'* Then he changed the tone, with a compassionate face and said that the most important thing was mutual acceptance and that people had to accept the situation in which they were living. For him, what was important was the respect of human rights, particularly the rights of women and children as the groups which were the most affected.

It is worth noting that participants spoke in general terms with regard to the responsibility of the government. There was no specific mention of any specific entity that would perform a specific activity to achieve peace and security. For instance, the role of the military and the police, the provincial or the national government should be clarified.

7.3.3 Theme three: Responsibilities of the international community

All participants in the focus groups and individual interviews agreed that achieving security in Ituri was a shared responsibility between local individuals, the government and the international community. Participants were clear that the international community had to be just and serious in arresting and punishing those guilty of crimes against humanity. Through its court (The International Criminal Court [ICC]), it had to arrest those who committed crimes against humanity in Ituri. Participants felt that justice had not yet been done. Participant [FG1M1] said that only a few of criminals were arrested and transferred to The Hague. In the same vein, participant [FG1M3] argued that the ICC was biased as it judged according to the interests of the Western powers. A similar opinion was given by participant [SSIF11] when she said that, *'Instead of being arrested, they (military officers) are promoted to high military ranks.'* She gave an example of Bosco Ntaganda (a warlord) who has become a general in the national army while a warrant of arrest was issued for him by Pre-Trial, Chamber I of the ICC in The Hague. *'There are many more who are still free. These are people who raped and killed our mothers and sisters.'*

7.3.4 Theme four: The challenges encountered in building peace and security in Ituri

Theme four concerned the possible challenges to building peace and security in Ituri. When asked to talk about what they felt unable to do and why, participant [FG1M3] mentioned the challenges of loving one's neighbours (see section 7.3.1). He explained that love is reciprocal. He mentioned that it becomes a challenge if one loves the other and the latter does not reciprocate. He continued saying that another element that prevented them from doing what they mentioned earlier was that the system in which they were living did not allow them to do certain things freely. He gave an example of the levels of social injustices, impunity, corruption that

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were orchestrated by soldiers and government officials. He said that if one denounced these negative practices, they would be killed or arrested to remain in prison for years and nobody would come and plead for their cases. He added that this was why many people preferred to keep quiet.

Participant [FG1M2] said that avoiding corruption was not easy. Even though he was not corrupt, he might suffer from the consequences of his action when he said:

'I can restrain myself from being corrupt. At the end of the day, I will suffer. I won't have money. My family will starve and finally I will give up. I will be tempted to accept corruption to feed my family. Do you know suffering is like empty stomach that does not have ears? He asked.'

The other participants applauded while laughing at the same time.

As far as challenges encountered in building peace and security in Ituri are concerned, participant [FG2M5] said that fear was the greatest challenge among Iturians when it came to working to achieve security. People feared reprisal from the government for any activities undertaken without its permission. Fear was also mentioned by participant [SSIF11] when she argued that the government authorities did not allow them to participate in decision making and that they were not ‑heard.øThis opinion was supported by participant [FG5M2].

Additionally, pparticipant [FG4F8] mentioned that money was the greatest challenge that prevented them from doing things that could make them feel secure as she said: *'We are unable to do things that require financial means as we are financially limited.'* The issue of money emerged also in focus group five where participant [FG5M3] mentioned that the money was a limitation to their ability to do things which might build security.

Moreover, respondent [SSIM2] indicated that the difficulty of economic survival meant that few people put much time into building peace. When asked what else, apart from the hardship of life, prevented him (them) working for peace and security, he mentioned fear of each other. He indicated that it was very difficult for him to go and talk to someone whose child was killed by his brother, for example. He preferred another person to do it on his behalf. This opinion

contrasted with what was said in some focus groups where some participants had no objection to forgiving and being friendly towards those who had offended them. This might indicate that participants in focus groups were mindful of other participants in giving their opinions

In different focus group discussions and individual interviews, participants spoke mainly of the challenges on individual level. Only two participants mentioned challenges related to the government. She [FG8F8] argued that the government was in complicity with warlords therefore it would not be at the right position to restore peace and security in the province. This opinion was seconded by participant [FG8M7] when he argued that the government of Kinshasa connives with armed groups to keep the war going and therefore to remain in power for ever because, as he continued, they had no place in a democratic and peaceful Congo, rather they will be in jail. He gave an example of one warlord, speaking in these terms: *'let me give you one example. One day, I heard on the radio that Kakolele (warlord) was arrested in Beni and transferred to Kinshasa.'* Do you know Kakolele? He asked me. I said yes, I do. He continued:

'A few months later I was puzzled to hear on the radio again that Kakolele and Ngujolo have started a new rebellion movement in the eastern DRC. How come? How and when was he released from jail? When was he judged? It seems that they escaped from prison. How did it happen? There are many questions that one can ask about this matter.'

7.5   DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

All the participants in focus groups and individual interviews agreed unanimously that achieving peace and security in the province of Ituri was a shared responsibility between individuals or communities, the government of Kinshasa and the international community.

The majority of participants believed that achieving peace and security in Ituri was the responsibility of individuals and/or communities living in Ituri (see section 7.3.1).

ÉThe vast majority of participants suggested love for neighbours and God as the

most important thing to building peace and security in the province. In contrast, some participants felt that love for neighbours could not happen unless it was a reciprocal gesture that was based on forgiveness and reconciliation.

ÉMost participants mentioned that peace and security could be achieved in Ituri if individuals or communities united to fight nepotism, impunity and corruption. However, a few participants said that fighting corruption was the duty of the government.

ÉA great number of participants thought that securing the borders was a way of achieving stability in the province.

ÉJust over half of participants suggested that peacekeepers had to go otherwise they would never feel secure.

ÉParticipants stated that dialogue among belligerents was paramount if one wanted to achieve peace and security.

ÉOnly two participants mentioned that they felt they could do nothing to achieve security. One said he preferred exile while the other said it was the responsibility of the government.

An overwhelming majority of participants believed national, provincial and local governments had a major responsibility to build peace and security in the province (see section 7.3.2).

ÉThe majority of participants felt that the government had the responsibility to ensure good living conditions for the military and the police by paying them good salaries and by paying them regularly. This could stop them causing insecurity. They also mentioned that the government had to punish impunity in the military rank, especially those who looted, raped and killed.

ÉMost participants mentioned that the government had to create jobs so that
people could be self-empowered and could be free from want. They also said that the
government had to improve its economic policies that could attract investors because
this would create more jobs.

ÉFor the participants, peace and security could only be achieved if the
government negotiated with militias who were still operating in the region;
otherwise achieving security in Ituri was a dream.

ÉA few participants mentioned the restoration of state authority in the province as
a pre-condition to building peace and security in the province.

7.6   CONCLUSION

This chapter presented perceptions of ways of achieving peace and security in Ituri province. The responses were categorised into those belonging to individuals, communities, national and institutions and the international community. The study found that despite the many efforts to build peace and security, there were challenges that were hindering individuals, the government and the international community in peacebuilding efforts.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE MEANING OF SECURITY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

8.1   INTRODUCTION

The main finding of chapters five, six and seven is that the understanding of security by the international community, the media and scholars differs from that of ordinary people. An important question is the extent to which these understandings of security depend on context. Do Congolese people living in a war-free zone have the same understandings as those who live in Ituri? The researcher considered travelling to a region in the DRC where fighting has stopped or to a Congolese refugee camp in neighbouring countries. The Kyaka I and II refugee camps in south-western Uganda host thousands of, mainly Congolese refugees who have fled armed conflict in Ituri. After several unsuccessful attempts to conduct interviews in these camps (see appendix) and given time and financial constraints, it was decided to interview refugees living in Johannesburg. These interviews took place between the 30th March and 5th April 2010, using the same data collection methods (focus groups and semi-structured interviews) and analytical technique (content analysis). These tools are explained in detail in sections (3.3.2, 3.3.3 and 3.9) and also in 4.7 concerning ethical considerations.

8.2   THE PARTICIPANTS AND CONDUCT OF INTERVIEWS

Participants were identified through the researcherøs connections with the DRC refugee community in Johannesburg and individuals were invited to participate in the study by telephonic calls. In total 31 people volunteered to be interviewed; this comprising 18 people in two focus groups and 13 in individual interviews. Nineteen were males and 12 were females with the ages ranging between 19 and 60, compared to the previous interviews (in Ituri) where the youngest was 17 years old and the oldest 70 years old (see Table 4.1). The Johannesburg participants shared similar socio-demographic characteristics as the participants in the previous study, in terms of marital status, number of children; education, occupation and religion (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2). All the participants were from eastern DRC.   All the interviews were

conducted in Swahili, a vernacular language spoken in eastern DRC (see sections 4.5 and 4.6 on language issues and question route) and took between 60 to 90 minutes. It is also important to mention *en passant* that when the researcher visited the suburb called Bertrams, where there is a high concentration of refugees from eastern DRC, he faced challenges from some Congolese who thought he was a kind of spy or had come to recruit mercenaries to go to fight in the DRC. They asked which political party he was working for and who was financing his mission. He took time to explain that he was a student and that he was doing research for his thesis. Despite all the university and ethical clearance letters, some refused categorically to participate in the focus group. However, eight people volunteered to participate in the focus group discussions.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the relevance of the context in which people live to their understanding of security. The chapter compares two sets of responses - from respondents in Ituri province (DRC) and from those living in Johannesburg where it is believed that the majority of Congolese refugees in South Africa live. To achieve the aims of the study, a series of (six) questions were asked before the interviewees were asked for their opinion about the interpretation of the responses from Ituri. The researcher wanted to know if he had got it right. Besides investigating the relevance of the context in which people live to their understanding of security, this also served as a way of checking the validity of the previous results. The questions asked are:

1. Why did you leave your country (DRC)?
2. How do you define security?
3. Do you think of security here and at home differently?
4. How secure do you feel here?
5. How important is security to your decision to stay here or return home?
6. How do you think security can be built here, the DRC or generally?

Following the same method of analysis as for the Ituri data, the data were recorded, transcribed then coded in themes as in section 4.6. From a content analysis of the various discussions in both focus groups and individual interviews, six themes emerged and these are presented in order of

their apparent importance in terms of the number of times mentioned and the strength given to them.

8.3   THEME ONE: FEAR OF PERSECUTION

The fear of persecution was the main reason which pushed the participants interviewed in FGs and SSIs to leave their country and to seek asylum in South Africa. On the basis of this claim that they were granted refugee status in South Africa, according to Section 24 of the Refugee Act Nº 130 of 1998. Furthermore, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Handbook on Procedures and Criteria for determining Refugee Status, paragraph 196, page 47, affirms the assertion that õit is a general legal principle that the burden of proof lies on the person submitting a claim.ö The Handbook (1992, p.39) defines a refugee as:

> (a) owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted by reason of their race, tribe, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group, is outside the country of their nationality and is unable or unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country, or, not having a nationality and being outside the country of their former habitual residence is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it; or
> (b) owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing or disrupting public order in either a part or the whole their country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave their place of habitual residence in order to seek refugee elsewhere: or
> (c) is a dependant of a person contemplated in sections (a) or (b)?

The majority of participants mentioned that they had fled their country because of the fear of being persecuted for the reasons stipulated in the definition of a refugee. For example, participant [FG10M8] said that his life and the life of his family were in danger; so he and his family decided to leave to find safety elsewhere. Another participant mentioned:

SSI12: *∸I was a musician and a leader in my church. In my music, I invited authorities to respect the rights of people, restore peace and security. I was spied on and was nearly killed. I was insecure. I was told that I could be kidnapped at anytime. Fear gripped my heart and I decided to leave the country incognito.'*

The fear of being kidnapped was mentioned several times as some participants said that many people disappeared in their vicinity. Some were found dead whereas others were never found. When asked who was responsible for these kidnappings and killings, many at the blame on the occupation forces from Rwanda and Uganda. When asked to expand on this, participants were reluctant or unable to go in detail. Most of them mentioned such reasons as ethnicity, political opinion, membership to a particular party, nationality, external aggression, occupation, foreign domination, forced military recruitment as the major reasons for this persecution.

This theme (the fear of persecution) confirms what participants in Ituri said concerning the meaning of security. Living without fear and the fear of persecution are similar in a sense that both themes encapsulate the notion of physical harm. The Johannesburg participants had no doubt that the people from Ituri were right. They said that physical harm makes people live in constant fear and this caused them to flee the country and to seek asylum in South Africa.

In some instances, the interviews on this matter had to be halted as it was starting to be too emotional and personal. Almost every participant had a scar in their heart with regard to human rights abuse in DRC. All of them mentioned that they had fled DRC because their rights were severely threatened. They decided to leave as they could not take it anymore.

8.4   THEME TWO: FOOD SECURITY

Food security was the second most important reason that led many participants to leave the country. They said that repeated hostilities in their villages between government forces and militias or between militias themselves (that is, Congolese militias vs. Rwandese militias) had impoverished villages to the extent that many died of hunger. The overwhelming majority of participants said that whenever the crops were ready for harvesting, either government soldiers or militias harvested while they were in the forest as they fled for fear of being raped and killed.

Participant SSI21 added that, in addition, they had no money to buy food from neighbouring villages and were forced to eat leaves and roots for survival.

The theme of food security also emerged in Ituri as some participants said that having access to food all the time (that is, to have the opportunity to plant and to harvest) was essential for life. When the findings from Ituri on food security were presented to them, participants in focus group 11 in Johannesburg had no objection as they all were nodding their heads as a sign of agreeing with their counterparts in Ituri (see section 5.8).

8.5   THEME THREE: ECONOMIC SECURITY

Many participants in focus groups and individual interviews said that economic insecurities caused them to flee the country. In this regard, participant SSI15 said that:

'If it were not for economic insecurities, I would have stayed at home. One day, I sat down and looked at the future of our country, I could only see darkness. I realised that I was not prepared to stay in such conditions with no hope of improvement in near future. If I stayed in that country, I was going to die poor and uneducated.'

When asked what they meant by economic insecurities, the majority of participants defined economic security as having opportunities that would improve their livelihood and well-being in terms of education and employment. Many participants said that there were no opportunities for education in the DRC and parents had to pay the tuition costs and the salaries of teachers of their children. Consequently, poor parents were unable to educate their children. Some participants also mentioned that even if some parents managed to educate their children, the children ended up playing dice games in the streets with their peers because there were no job opportunities in the DRC. Participants gave examples of their relatives who had graduated from universities in the DRC but remained jobless for years.

This was also a concern of the participants in Ituri province who said, among other things, that the lack of employment, education and income were important aspects of insecurity. They said

that it was useless to get educated because many grandaunts remained unemployed the rest of their lives.

However, there were alternative views. In FG11, a group of three women completely disagreed with the rest of the women in the group, saying that in the DRC, many people who were educated could get good employment. The majority view was that in South Africa, there are good educational institutions and if one graduates from a college or university, there are opportunities to get a good job and therefore better your life which is almost impossible in the DRC. From the opinion of the three participants, their unconditional love for their country was clear. They were perhaps more patriotic than realistic compared to the argument advanced by their peers in the group.

This theme can also be linked to what emerged in Ituri as the potential for personal development which participants stressed as depending on livelihood and well-being. Personal development was categorised as the second most frequently given answer to the question ‒What do you think of when you hear the word security?ø The majority of participants said that there is no security without minimum social conditions that foster personal development (see section 5.3). In both sets of responses, the opportunity to develop oneself, to flourish, to live a good life and to feel good about oneself was strongly linked to the acquisition of material gain and was, in most cases, seen to be the result of good education and good employment.

However, it was noticed that, even though participants in both settings had a similar view on education and job as opportunities to develop oneself, people from Ituri also mentioned business as one of the means to development oneself. This was not mentioned by Johannesburg participants. Perhaps this can be explained by the reluctance of people from Ituri who said that civil servants are unpaid for months and when they get paid the salary is little to sustain their expenses.ø In contrast, participants in Johannesburg see employment resulting largely from a good education.

It is worth noting that the majority of Johannesburg respondents were young adults between 20 and 40 years old. In informal interactions, many showed a strong desire to get educated. They

said that education was the only thing they would take with home when the time came to return. The majority of them said there was no future either in the DRC or South Africa without education. Good education helped guarantee a good job and thus personal development in terms of livelihood and well-being.

Another point of contrast is poverty. In Ituri, participants linked poverty to a lack of personal development. In Johannesburg, however, there was no mention of poverty as a hindrance to personal development. Rather they mentioned socio-economic realities, including discrimination and xenophobia, which were limiting their choices to expand. In Ituri, participants mentioned joining a militia group as a means to expand their limited choices. There was no such mention in Johannesburg for obvious reasons. Furthermore, the definition of security as personal development, in the study on young Burundians with regard to the meaning of security Uvin (2007, p.44), found that personal development was a pre-condition for security. Young Burundians had a strong view that, apart from physical harm and abuse, security encompasses a sense of livelihood and well-being in terms of access to basic needs that in turn provide prosperity (see section 5.3).

8.6   THEME FOUR: SAFETY DEPENDS ON CONTEXT

This theme emerged as a divided opinion on how participants view security here compared to home or if they feel more secure here than at home. Some said that they feel more secure here. Typical responses were:

FG11F7: 'The difference in terms of feeling secure here or at home is huge. Here there is respect for human rights, no targeted kidnapping and killings at nights and no sleepless nights as it we used to experience back in the days at home.'

SSIM13: 'Here there is development in terms of infrastructure. One can get a paying job. Compared to home, people worked without salaries for years. It does not happen here.'

FG10M3: 'I feel secure here because there is no harm from another person. At home I was harassed on several occasions. But home is home. Nobody will feel more secure in another land than theirs.'

In contrast, there are those participants who say they do not feel secure here at all. They would prefer to be home even if the conditions of security are not improved. When asked if they would return home once security is improved, only a few said yes: *"If there security home is improved, I do not see why I should stay here"* (FG11F1). However, participant SSIM5 had a different view when he said that even if physical security improved, he would not return. He is sceptical that the government of Kinshasa would be able to provide total security to its people:

'For example, back home I could not study, I could not get a job. But here I was able to study without spending even one coin from my pocket. Besides, paying civil servant wages has been a problem of the Congolese government way back in the past during Mobutu regime and during Kabila's war. I do not see how this can be solved now. Here I am sure to get a good job after my studies.'

In the same vein, participant FG11F6 said that there is no guarantee of getting a good job and no guarantee of finishing university back home without being enrolled by force in military. She added that there is no fear of war here in South Africa compared to home where Laurent Nkunda's militiamen are still operating. Participant SSIM10 said that unpleasant incidents such as injustices, kidnapping, looting one's property and racketeering are non-existent here in South Africa.

A contrary view to the above opinion was mentioned in FG11, when a female participant (FG11F4) explained that there are two things that make her feel more insecure in South Africa than at home - crime involving cell phones and xenophobia. All the participants in the focus group nodded their heads in agreement, including those who had initially said that they felt more secure in South Africa. This attitude was noticed in all focus groups and individual interview discussions. Although many of the participants felt more secure in South Africa in a general sense, crime and xenophobia were major causes of insecurity. When asked to expand, participants gave specific cases where members of their community were killed because of cell phones. However, participant SSIM17 was adamant that home is home and no matter what, he would always feel secure there (see also the view of participant SSIM10).

The majority of participants related personal experiences of xenophobia. For example, SSIM4 reported being savagely beaten several time because he was a 'kwerekwere.' After the interview

he took us to the internet search engine where he -Googledø his name and showed us pictures of himself with wounds all over the body. When asked what happened, he said that last year two female police officers had asked to see his identification document. He showed them his permanent resident ID document but one of the police officers got angry and asked him: õWhere did you get this green ID while South Africans are struggling to get it?ö He replied: õThrough official channels.ö This officer called a crowd which then severely beat him. His efforts to open a case at the local police station were fruitless. Another participant (FG11F2) said that she was discriminated against at the hospital several times. They called her names and doctors and nurses did not attend to her. One nurse told her one day: õWhy donøt you stay and die in your country instead of coming here while locals donøt have enough resources?ö Many incidents of xenophobia were mentioned in various discussions to illustrate that participants do not feel secure in South Africa, more specifically in Johannesburg.

The issue of xenophobia reinforces the statement that safety depends on the context in which people live. The intention here is not to discuss the root causes of xenophobia, but to demonstrate that people from Ituri are not subject to hatred of that kind in their own country as long as they stay in their province. However, they are subject to ethnic hatred that has led to the killing of thousands Iturians, compared to a handful of individuals who were killed during xenophobic attacks in South Africa in May 2008. Similarly, participants who left the country are not witnessing unpleasant treatment but are facing completely different challenges. For example, participants in Ituri said getting education and a good job were almost impossible whereas participants in Johannesburg said that access to education is easy but jobs are often not available because of xenophobia. Participants from Ituri are not scorned at the hospitals; rather they are not assisted because there are not enough medical personnel and medicines.

Participant SSIM8 made the controversy clearer when he distinguished between the kinds of insecurities experienced by the two groups of respondents. He said that the threats to security in the DRC are of the physical security and political nature while in South Africa they are more socio-economic. In the DRC, people are killed because they are challenging the authorities or by militia groups who are fighting the government. He added that in the DRC, people are killed because they belong to a particular political party or ethnic group. In South Africa, however,

people are not specifically targeted but along with the rest of the people in South Africa, are assaulted randomly, because thieves want money. The following are a few comments by participants:

FG11F1: *'A few months ago, I was robbed of my cell phone on the street in the evening, just near my place. The robbers asked if I had money, I told them no. Despite the fact that they passed a derogative comment about me in their language, they ran away. A few weeks later, they robbed my neighbour of his cell phone at the same place. They stabbed him before they left, even though he was speaking the same language as them. I spoke English to them and they knew I was a foreigner.'*

SSIM7: *'Here in South Africa, whether foreigner or national, we are robbed the same way. Thieves do not ask nationality before they rob you. They just take what they want and if you resist they stab you. We have seen many locals dying because they were stabbed.'*

Insecurities arise from the kind of context in which people live. Threats associated with one context are not necessarily associated to the other context and vice versa. It is also important to mention that the majority of participants said that if both peace and security and socio-economic conditions are improved in the DRC, they would return home. From their responses, it can be concluded that most threats are dynamic, although some, like ethnic divisions and xenophobia, can be long lasting.

8.7   THEME FIVE: THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT

In the quest to understand how peace and security can be built, the question: õHow do you think security can be built here, the DRC or generally?ö was asked of the participants in both focus groups and individual interviews.

The majority of participants pointed out clearly that the government of Kinshasa had the prime responsibility build peace and security in eastern DRC. This was revealed in various discussions where, for example, participant SSIM1 said that the government has the duty to look after the security of its citizens and to provide basic socio-economic services that would enhance the livelihood and well-being of its people. He commented that, unfortunately, people from Ituri in particular are subjected to abject poverty as the government is unable to provide security to its citizens in war-zones and civil servants, the military and the police are unpaid. The last two

groups use force to loot the property of the citizens and those who resist are killed. The killers are not punished; instead some of them are transferred or promoted. *"What kind of country is that!"* he exclaimed. For participant FG11F10, security is the foundation of well-being of any human being and the only entity that could provide it is the state. *‗What if the state is unable to do so?'* asked FG11F3. She added that individuals have a certain obligation to contribute to their own security. The whole group reacted negatively; saying said that the government is the only guarantor of security. In another focus group, a male participant number five (FG10M5) shouted that a government is unable to assure security, they should resign. Similarly, participant SSIM16 said that: *'Security can only be restored by those in power.'* This led to a long discussion about the corrupt behaviour of politicians, public servants and the judiciary

Nonetheless, the idea that individuals had a significant responsibility in building security kept in recurring. In trying to make sense of the discussion on individual responsibility, participant SSIM2 commented that:

'Tolerance and mutual respect among ethnic groups, reconciliation and forgiveness or in other words, the promotion of a spirit of pardon and the acceptance of ethnic diversity are the fundamental keys to the responsibility of individuals in building peace and security in Ituri in particular and in DRC in general.'

These ideas were also mentioned by participants in Ituri province, where a strong majority of participants viewed tolerance and mutual respect in terms of love for neighbours as a key to achieving security in the province (see section 7.3.1). The idea of reconciliation and forgiveness was also mentioned by participants in Ituri province where participant [SSIF11] said that *‗To reconcile and avoid conflict with my neighbours and to collaborate with everyone can bring peace and security among us. The contrary will pose a threat to our community.'*

Ethnic diversity was also mentioned by participants in Ituri province when, for example, participant [FG1M4] said that people from Ituri should go beyond ethnic boundaries (section also section 6.2) and live in a heterogeneous community and in harmonised relationships with people from different ethnic groups (see section 2.8). The mention of God as the achiever of security was mentioned in the responses from Ituri where some participants had little faith in

human beings to restore peace and security in Ituri, the same feeling was also noticed among participants in Johannesburg.

In Ituri, some participants suggested that a culture of peace needed to be developed to achieve security. They said that people should be sensitised and educated for peace. There was however, not a similar idea among the Johannesburg participants. Ddialogue as a way of achieving peace and security in Ituri was mentioned in both sets of responses. In this regard, participant [FG9M8] and participant [FG9M14] said that, *'Our leaders need to sit and to talk about ways that will help people feel secure in Ituri,'* ‑*We Congolese should dialogue among ourselves to find peace and security in the province.'* In Johannesburg, participant SSIM2 said that ‑*It is important that dialogue takes place between leaders and citizens and between leaders and militias. This will bring durable and sustainable peace and security.*ø

Both sets of respondents had a strong view that the government has the prime responsibility to build security. Both sets of respondents argued that the restoration of state authority in Ituri by the government was a precondition to building peace and security. Participants in Ituri as well as in Johannesburg said that the absence of state authority in Ituri has caused state institutions to collapse, leaving space for outlaws to operate and impose a culture of impunity and corruption (see section 7.3.2). Both sets of responses argued that wages should be paid to ease tension on local population who became the victims of crime from unpaid policemen and soldiers. Both mentioned that the government had the responsibility to create jobs and provide a good education system for its children. Furthermore, participants in both settings said that the government must improve the socio-economic well-being of its people.

As far as the responsibilities of the international community are concerned, both sets of responses had a negative view of the presence of MONUC peacekeepers. Participants were sceptical with regard to the presence of peacekeepers in the province of Ituri and in the two Kivus (see section 6.4).

8.8   THEME SIX: HEALTH SECURITY

Health security received the least attention in both sets of responses. Participants in both contexts vaguely mentioned the lack of medication, health facilities, and money to access health care and health practitioners as a reason to leave the country and as an element in security. Participants in Johannesburg mentioned that many people had died of sickness when they were escaping, but they did not see it as a serious reason forcing them to leave. They also said that many sick people were cured using traditional medicine and only ‐the very old,ø ‐the gravely wounded,ø and ‐the severely hungryø died on the way.

Even though this theme was of limited importance to participants, it is massively important in aggregate terms, as shown by the studies of the ICG (2008; 2009) which found that out of 5.4 million Congolese who died during hostilities between 1996 and 2009, 3.5 million died of malnutrition, hunger and disease, (see section 1.1).

8.9   CONCLUSION

As it was mentioned in the introduction, the aim of this chapter is to investigate the relevance of the context in which people live to their understanding of security. Themes one to five allowed comparison between the two sets of responses from the data collected in Ituri province (DRC) and Johannesburg in South Africa. The findings showed that there were similarities between the two sets on the meaning of security but that there were differences related to the contexts in which people live. Both sets of responses discussed the various components of human security and it can be said that people from the DRC, wherever they lived, had a general understanding of the relevance of the concept of human security in building peace and security in their country.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

9.1   INTRODUCTION

The overall objective of this study was to examine the relevance of the concept of human security to people in Ituri province, Democratic Republic of Congo.

The specific aims were:

ÉTo determine to what extent various components of human security are relevant to
   understanding the meaning of security to a sample of Ituri residents.

ÉTo identify the perceived causes of human security threats in the province.

ÉTo explore perceptions of how human security can be built in Ituri province.

ÉAn additional aim was to investigate the relevance of the context in which people live to their
   understanding of security.

9.2   MAIN FINDINGS

The main findings from this study are in line with the overall objective and specific aims of this study as presented in section 1.4 and repeated in section 9.1. Three broad findings from the study concern the meaning of security, threats to security and how to build human security, according to ordinary people in both Ituri and Johannesburg.

9.2.1   Meaning of human security

The majority of the participants defined human security as living without fear, that is, fear of being hurt physically, psychologically and emotionally. Second, they said that personal development was another desirable meaning of human security with reference to the minimum social conditions and psychological well-being of people and the opportunity to develop and to

flourish - as individuals and as a community. In other words, living without any sort of disturbance, whether outwardly or inwardly, resulting in harmony between the mind and the soul (chapters five and eight).

9.2.2 Threats to human security

The study revealed that for the people from Ituri hatred based on ethnic divisions was the major perceived threat to human security as it dominated discussions in focus groups and individual interviews. Participants talked at length about this topic and gave examples of other underlying factors that illustrated their views. The study found that ethnic divisions were perpetrated in the form of ethnic cleansing whereby one ethnic group perpetrated pervasive violence against the other and vice versa. The study discovered ethnic divisions were exacerbated by external factors such as mineral resources, local politicians, ‑negative forcesø and foreign troops who were fuelling tensions among ethnic groups (chapter six).

9.2.3 How to build human security

All participants in focus groups and individual interviews agreed unanimously that building human security in the province of Ituri was a shared responsibility between individuals or communities, the government and the international community. A strong majority placed the bulk of the responsibility for building peace and security with the government. Many of the participants believed that building human security in Ituri was the responsibility of the individuals and/or communities living in Ituri. The vast majority of participants suggested love, forgiveness and reconciliation as paramount ingredients to building human security in the province. They substantiated their claim by saying that if you truly love your neighbour; they will not turn against you (chapters seven and eight).

9.2.4 The Context and human security

The study found (chapter eight) that the context played an important role with regard to the understanding of the issues related to human security. The study confirmed previous studies in human security (see section 2.4) that the meaning and the threats to security as well as ways of

building human security depended on the settings and context in which people lived. The study revealed that context in terms of community, territory and region might have similarities with regard to what constituted security threats to communities, territories and regions that share common borders.

9.3   SOME THOUGHTS ON POLICY

There is the temptation to give a long list of what various players =shouldø do to build security in Ituri, however, commentary will be confined to one major recommendation at each of the local community, government and international community levels.

At the local community levels, local people need to be encouraged to undertake their own initiatives for human security. This will include taking measures to deal with the ethnic mistrust. This will be possible if local people, perhaps with the assistance of NGOs, including faith communities, embark on a path of local conflict resolution and conflict transformation, while recognising that there can be no peace and security with justice.

At the provincial and national levels, establish a Ministry of Peace (Suter, 2004; Mwanza & Harris, 2008) which will institutionalise peace perspectives within the various levels of government of the DRC. This Ministry will have the mandate to implement peace policies such as training the population in non-violent means of resolving disputes, providing a platform for dialogue and placing greater emphasis on social justice.

The international community, including NGOs, nations and international organisations can support the many local community and government initiatives which will be undertaken. This support can be financial and it can be in the area of training individuals and groups in the principles and practice of peace building.

A Ministry of Peace can play a pivotal role in coordinating all the security-enhancing activities that are or can be undertaken by the three key components (local community, government and the international community) as they emerged from the responses of participants. In the words of Mwanza & Harris (2008, p.4):

It is high time to put aside peace and security building methods that do not work and adopt alternative methods, notably the establishment of the Ministry of Peace to encourage, coordinate and implement non-violent means by which a culture of peace can be established.

The Ministry will encourage and facilitate local efforts to build a culture of peace among various ethnic groups in Ituri. When discussing challenges that local people encounter to overcome ethnic barriers, many participants mentioned mistrust, resulting in disparate activities whose outcomes are manifested among various communities. In this regard, the Ministry will create conducive channels that will allow communities to dialogue and interact with one another. This platform can also encourage neighbours to forgive and reconcile with their so-called enemies.

The Ministry of Peace will instruct other relevant Ministries to deal with issues pertaining local and national efforts to build a culture of peace. For example, participants mentioned that they can do many things to achieve peace and security but that there were many factors that prevented them. A number of participants mentioned such factors as social injustice, impunity, corruption and the embezzlement of public funds perpetrated by soldiers and government officials. They said that if one denounced these negative practices, they would be killed or arrested and imprisoned for years with nobody to plead for their cases. The Ministry of Peace should encourage other ministries to do their work in a manner that will stop such unfriendly and uncivil practices happening. In addition, the Ministry of Peace could establish a restorative justice component as another means to help both local communities and the government to deal with blocks to the attainment of a culture of peace. In *The Case for Establishing Ministries of Peace in Africa,* Mwanza and Harris (2008, p.8) suggested seven building blocks for a culture of peace on which a Ministry of Peace might focus ó peace education, conflict resolution skills and institutions, building friendships, peacebuilding, peacemaking, peacekeeping and demilitarisation. These seven blocks reflect what people from Ituri mentioned as paramount if peace and security are to be achieved.

The efforts of local communities and government spearheaded and coordinated by a Ministry of Peace, can be enhanced by international community contributions in the form of financial and human resources. The combined efforts of these three levels can lay a strong foundation with regard to building a culture of peace in Ituri.

9.4   CONCLUSION

This study has added to the very limited number of studies on what people on the ground think about security. The concept of human security resonated in the responses of the people of Ituri as they confirmed that its components are relevant to the understanding of the meaning of security. There was consistency among participants that there is not only one meaning of security universally. Data collected in this study from ordinary people from Ituri generally confirmed what previous researches (see section 2.8) have found with regard to the meaning of security. The study substantiated that threats to security could be sudden and natural as well as made-made threats that were the results of structural violence in terms of social injustices. Building human security is the responsibility of those living under threats, the provincial and or national government of Kinshasa and also the international community. Finally, it can be said that the study has reached its overall objective, as it has revealed that ‒freedom from fearø and ‒freedom from wantø can be built by dealing with the hatred that, in many cases, is exacerbated by ethnic, or religious divisions, resulting in human rights abuses, abject poverty and socio-economic inequalities.

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APPENDICES

ENTE - CONGO
Bunia 6-6-2003

L'étudiant KISEMBO du Centre Universitaire
de Bunia, enlevé des enceintes de la MONUC,
a vu le coeur et d'autres organes empoltés.

The image part with relationship ID rId47 was not found in the file.

Violée, elle a fini par recevoir des balles dans son vagin (PHOTO APEMA)

Sources: www.aparecordc.org

UNHCR Kampala Office contact
4 messages

John Mugisa <john.mugisa@gmail.com>   **Tue, Dec 15, 2009 at 12:19 PM**
To: sarah.r.meyer@gmail.com

Dear Sarah,

I saw your paper on the internet on refugees' empowerment in Uganda. I would like to go and do some studies in refugee camps there, but I need authorisation from the office. Can you send me their e-mail address as I could not find one on the internet?

John Mugisa
Conflict Resolution & Peace Studies
University of KwaZulu-Natal
South Africa

Sarah Meyer <sarah.r.meyer@googlemail.com>   **Tue, Dec 15, 2009 at 10:22 PM**

Reply-To: sarah.r.meyer@gmail.com
To: John Mugisa <john.mugisa@gmail.com>

Dear John,

Thanks for being in touch. I actually didn't make contact with the UNHCR office until getting to Kampala, so I'm not sure how to contact them, although maybe someone at UNHCR Geneva can help you out. Also, I didn't need permission from UNHCR but from the Government, but that may have changed

Good luck!
Sarah

2009/12/15 John Mugisa <john.mugisa@gmail.com>
[Quoted text hidden]

--
"To love. To be loved. To never forget your own insignificance. To never get used to the unspeakable violence and the vulgar disparity of life around you. To seek joy in the saddest places. To pursue beauty to its lair. To never simplify what is complicated or complicate what is simple. To respect strength, never power. Above all, to watch. To try and understand. To never look away. And never, never, to forget." - Arundhati Roy

John Mugisa <john.mugisa@gmail.com>   **Thu, Dec 17, 2009 at 9:15 PM**
To: sarah.r.meyer@gmail.com

> **Dear Sarah,**
>
> Thank you for your help.
>
>
> So, you think, it's better I asked the permission from the Government and how long will it take?
>
> Or can you find me someone at UNHCR from Geneva that I can communicate with?
>
> John
> [Quoted text hidden]

Sarah Meyer <sarah.r.meyer@googlemail.com>   **Wed, Dec 23, 2009 at 10:55 PM**
Reply-To: sarah.r.meyer@gmail.com
To: John Mugisa <john.mugisa@gmail.com>

From: mugisa john (johnmugisa@yahoo.com)
To: research@refugeelawproject.org;
Date: Wed, December 30, 2009 1:55:17 PM
Cc:
Subject: Re: SPAM-LOW: Research in Kyaka I and II refugee camps (RLP Website Form Mail)

Hi Moses,

As I mentioned in my e-mail, I am a PhD student in South Africa. I would like to do research in the Kayaka refugee camps on "what is the meaning of security to refugees, especially from (Ituri) Congo. My research focuses on Building Human Security in Ituri, Democratic Republic of Congo.

In the quest of finding how to access permission to do research in the camps a friend referred me to Refugee law Project that i know very well. Is Zachary Moyo still around?
Kind regards

John

From: RLP Research <research@refugeelawproject.org>
To: johnmugisa@yahoo.com
Sent: Wed, December 30, 2009 1:37:12 PM

Subject: re: SPAM-LOW: Research in Kyaka I and II refugee camps (RLP Website Form Mail)

Dear John:

 Your email appears to be incomplete. Can you please give us a clearer sense of what you are up to?

 Many thanks

Moses Chrispus Okello

From: johnmugisa@yahoo.com
Sent: Wednesday, December 30, 2009 2:28 PM
To: research@refugeelawproject.org
Subject: SPAM-LOW: Research in Kyaka I and II refugee camps (RLP Website Form Mail)

Name: John Mugisa
E-Mail: johnmugisa@yahoo.com
Phone No: + 277732862732

IP: 146.230.128.29

Message:
I am a PhD student in Conflict Resolution & Peace studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

I would like to conduct two focus group and individual interviews in the refugee camps mentioned in the subject.

From: mugisa john (johnmugisa@yahoo.com)
To: l.komakech@refugeelawproject.org;
Date: Mon, January 4, 2010 2:04:48 PM
Cc: research@refugeelawproject.org;
Subject: Fw: SPAM-LOW: Research in Kyaka I and II refugee camps (RLP Website Form Mail)

Dear Lyandro,

I have been communicating with Moses (see e-mails above) on a possibility to do research in Kyaka refugee camps. From the interraction it was understood that I became a research associate with RLP as a quick way to secure permission to enter the camps.

After reading terms and conditions on this matter in your website, I am willing to become your an RLP research associate.

Would you mind telling me the way forward?

Kind regards

John

----- Forwarded Message ----
From: RLP Research <research@refugeelawproject.org>
To: mugisa john <johnmugisa@yahoo.com>
Cc: l.komakech@refugeelawproject.org
Sent: Wed, December 30, 2009 4:52:40 PM
Subject: Re: SPAM-LOW: Research in Kyaka I and II refugee camps (RLP Website Form Mail)

Dear John:

 You best bet in terms of sorting out permissions to access the camps would be to go to the office of the Prime Minister (OPM). They are the overseers of the camps and just like anyone else; the RLP too has to obtain such permission prior to entering the camps. In addition to the OPM permission, you will need to secure a research permit from the national council for science and technology. NCST is the clearing house for research in Uganda and just like any other state paranoid about what researchers are likely to, for there is a thin line between research and intelligence gathering, the NCSt is linked to the presidentøs office. These processes, together, are likely to take between two weeks and one month or even longer, depending on the security undertones embedded in your proposal.

The alternative is to become affiliated to the RLP. We have, in the past, helped researchers obtained permission depending on the nature of their relationship with us. In this regard, I would imagine that you qualify to become an RLP research associate since there appears to be a coincidence between your research interests and ours. However, we do have conditions for affiliation which I implore you to carefully read-- see RLP on this one. Should you be satisfied with what you see, we can then discuss the details of the proposed relationship will work.

 We are closed until the 6th of January. If, after, going through the RLP web you are still interested in pursuing the option of relating to us, we will only be able to get back to you after the stated date. I am copying Lyandro Komakech on this email; he is our focal person for such arrangements. Please liaise with him in the future, copying me on to your correspondences.

Many thanks

Moses

Message:
I am a PhD student in Conflict Resolution & Peace studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

I would like to conduct two focus group and individual interviews in the refugee camps mentioned in the subject.

Qualification: PhD Thesis
Researcher: John Mwesigwa Mugisa
Supervisor: Prof. Geoff Harris, Tel: + 27 (0) 31 260 1186

Dear participant,

I, **John Mwesigwa Mugisa** a PhD student, at the School of Economics & Finance of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Conflict Resolution & Peace Studies; invite you to participate in a research project entitled õBuilding Human Security in Ituri Province, Democratic Republic of Congo.ö The aim of this study is to examine the relevance of the concept of human security to building peace and security in Ituri Province in the DRC.

Through your participation I hope to understand the root causes of civil war (human insecurities) between 1996 and 2006. The results of the study are intended to contribute to the extent to which the various components of human security are relevant to building peace and security in Ituri Province, DRC.

Your participation in this project is voluntary. You may refuse to participate or withdraw from the project at any time with no negative consequence. Confidentiality and anonymity of records identifying you as a participant will be maintained by the SCHOOL at UKZN.

If you have any questions or concerns about completing the questionnaire or about participating in this study, you may contact me or my supervisor at his number mentioned above.

The study should take you about 90 minutes to complete. I hope you will take the time to complete this study.

Sincerely

Investigatorøs signature_____ Date_____

_____

On separate page

CONSENT-Declaration

I……………………………………………………………… (full names of
participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the
research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.
I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.
SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT   DATE

…………………………………………………………………………………

Age (miaka):

Gender (mwanamuke/ mwanaume)

Marital status (kuoa / hapana)

Number of children (watoto wa ngapi?)

Education (masomo): primaire/ secondaire/ university/ ingine.

Occupation (kazi):

Ethnicity (kabila):

Region (dini)

RESEARCH OFFICE (GOVAN MBEKI CENTRE)
WESTVILLE CAMPUS
TELEPHONE NO.: 031 – 2603587
EMAIL : ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

5 MARCH 2009

MR. MJ MUGISA (204513343)
ECONOMICS & FINANCE

Dear Mr. Mugisa

ETHICAL CLEARANCE APPROVAL NUMBER: HSS/0807/08D

I wish to confirm that ethical clearance has been approved for the following project:

"Building Human Security in Ituri Province, Democratic Republic of Congo"

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years

Yours faithfully

MS. PHUMELELE XIMBA

cc. Supervisor (Prof. G Harris)
cc. Mrs. C Haddon

Founding Campuses: ■ Edgewood   ■ Howard College   ■ Medical School   ■ Pietermaritzburg   ■ Westville