

The role of trauma support work in peace-building

Khethokuhle Khuzwayo (211559583)

Supervisor: Dr Alain Tschudin

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ABSTRACT

Current studies in peace-building suggest that effective peace-building approaches comprise of intervention strategies that value the interconnectedness of trauma and peace-building processes. However current research reports suggest that there is limited evidence supporting this notion. In addition, there is little information as to *how* to effectively integrate the two themes to achieve lasting peace. The research study aims to articulate the role of an integrated approach to peace-building to inform current practice and it serves to encourage the donor community to support initiatives which recognise the link between trauma and peace building. The research took a close look at experiences of participants who attended trauma recovery workshops conducted by Sinani (an isiZulu word meaning “we are with you”), the KwaZulu-Natal Programme for Survivors of Violence, the name of the Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) for which the researcher works. In particular, it explored how participants who had attended these workshops could serve as catalysts to peace by examining their experiences of violence in relation to trauma and peace-building. In addition it attempted to explore experiences of participants who did not attend Sinani trauma recovery workshops and the possible implication this would have for trauma and peace-building. Furthermore it analysed recent research papers and reports which addressed trauma and peace-building from a psycho-social perspective. The proposed hypothesis is that if trauma support work is ignored in post conflict peace-building processes, certain survivors of past violence are at risk of becoming perpetrators of future violence. Integrating trauma support work in peace-building interventions will yield lasting peace. The emerging findings suggest several factors contribute to violence and peace-building. Children’s exposure to violence, the extent of trauma and certain aspects of the criminal justice system have been described by participants as factors that contribute to violence. Equally participants suggested a competent leadership collective, functioning safety and security structures as valuable contributions to peace. Other valuable insights were shared by participants on the role of spirituality as well as indigenous cultural rituals valuable in the trauma and peace-building field.

DECLARATION

I, **KHETHOKUHLE KHUZWAYO**, hereby declare that I have written this thesis independently, unless where clearly stated otherwise. I have used only the sources, the data and the support that I have clearly mentioned. This thesis has not been submitted for conferral of degree elsewhere.

Durban, March 14, 2014

Signature _____

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Chapter 1: Introduction of Study

1. Introduction

Chapter 1 presents the background to the study which is on the nature and impact of conflict and the interrelationship between conflict and trauma. In addition, it identifies the gaps in the existing literature on trauma and peace-building, which is demonstrated by the limited documented evidence of the interconnectedness of trauma and peace-building interventions. The Chapter outlines existing body of knowledge, research problem, objectives and envisaged outcomes. In addition it gives a brief summary of how the study was organised.

1.1. Wars and Violence

War, violence and persecution cause not only material harm, but also produce extreme psychological suffering for those who must both live (and survive) under such circumstances. This statement is self-evident to the point that one is always surprised by the fact that up until recently psychological suffering was not an issue in humanitarian aid and in development cooperation (Becker, 2004). Until recently aid has always focused on material goods and general economic development. Moreover, there had been little recognition of the role of mental health in post-conflict reconstruction.

As described by Mollica (1997), most aid organizations subscribed to the model of mental health, which assumed that once food, water, shelter, and essential services are provided, individuals will snap back and resume their normal lives (Gewertz, 2005). What people feel within the context of political and social destruction seemed to be of little interest: at best, it was an issue for religion; at worst, it was a luxury to be dealt with once the ‘real’ problems had been solved. Although this has changed somewhat in recent years (and nowadays we find trauma programs in most crisis regions in the world), the basic attitude of international agencies is still quite ambiguous. Professional opinions vary widely about both what trauma work is and what it should do (Becker, 2004, p. 1).

Since 1980, substantial periods of war have afflicted over 50 countries, and more than 30 wars have plagued Africa since 1970. In its *State of the World's Children* UNICEF (2000) estimates that there has been a 40 percent increase in complex emergencies over the last

decade. Moreover, in recent years the face of war has changed in that civilian populations are being targeted with increasing frequency. According to global estimates, “in the 20th century 191 million people lost their lives directly or indirectly due to collective violence, and 60 percent of those deaths occurred among people not engaged in fighting” (Baingana et al., 2005, p. 2).

The first *World Report on Violence* estimates that, in the year 2000 alone, a total of 310,000 people were killed by war-related causes (WHO, 2002). Conflict related deaths are heavily skewed toward low-income countries. Viewed globally, the above statistic for war-related deaths in 2000 translates into 5.2 deaths for every 100,000 of the world’s population. However, when analysed by income-level (Table 1), the number of war-related deaths was close to zero in high-income countries in 2000, but 6.2 for low-income countries (Baingana et al., 2005). In the past 20 years, at least 15 of the world’s 20 lowest income countries have been affected by significant armed conflicts (Baingana, Bannon and Thomas, 2005, p.13). Of the 127 wars that have occurred since World War II, 125 have been in low-income countries with 60 percent of all on-going wars since 1999 concentrated in Sub-Saharan Africa (Baingana, Bannon and Thomas, 2005, p.13).

Similarly, Do and Lyer (2009) insist that wars are detrimental to the population and the economy of affected countries. Over and above the human cost caused by deaths and suffering during a time of conflict, survivors of conflict are often left in poor economic circumstances and mental health distress even after the conflict ends. How large are these costs? How long does it take for conflict-affected populations to recover from the mental stress of conflicts and what approaches are appropriate to assist mental health recovery that can contribute to building lasting peace? More investigation is needed in this subject area.

The impacts of conflict are complex and wide ranging. They are not confined to countries at war—they ripple outward from the initial violence, spreading from individuals and communities to countries and regions. Conflicts cause widespread insecurity due to forced displacement, sudden destitution, the breakup of families and communities, collapsed social structures and the breakdown of the rule of law (Baingana, Thomas and Bannon, 2005).

This insecurity can persist long after the conflicts have ended as internally displaced persons (IDP), refugees, and asylum seekers try to adjust to new circumstances around them, cope

with loss, and regain a sense of normalcy. World Bank research suggests that because these adverse effects persist for a long time, much of the cost of a war occurs after it is over (Collier et al., in Baingana, Thomas and Bannon, 2005, p.13).

Leitch (2010) confirms the above assertions by stating that traumatic stress reactions have been found to lead to long-term negative mental health effects. Further to that, symptoms from a traumatic event can still be present after many years of the occurrence of trauma.

Do and Lyster (2009) further state that people exposed to conflict have often suffered personal injuries, experienced the loss of friends, relatives and witnessed violent events. Such mental distress might have adverse consequences for individuals and communities in achieving lasting peace (Do and Lyster, 2009).

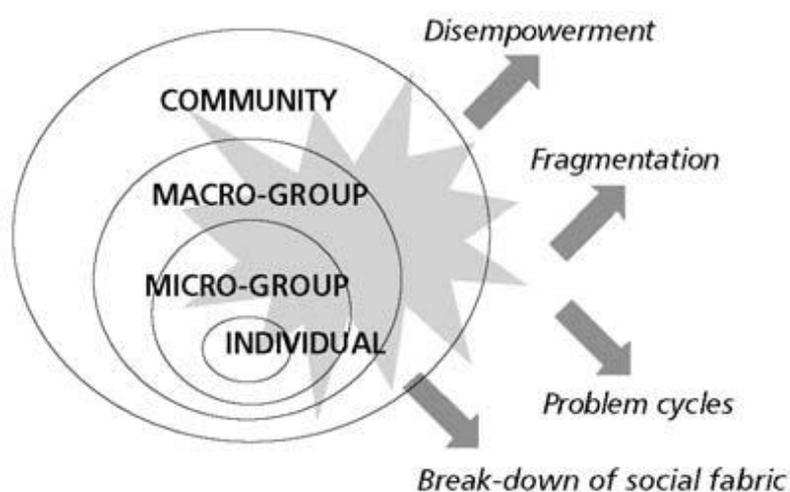
Current studies in peace-building suggest that effective peace-building approaches comprise intervention strategies that value the interconnectedness of trauma and peace-building processes (Wessells, 2008). However current research reports suggest there is limited evidence supporting the notion. In addition, there is little information as to *how* to effectively integrate the two themes to achieve lasting peace (Maiese, 2008).

According to Seddon (2008), writing on the Rwandan Genocide tragedy, “Post-genocide, health surveys identified high levels of post-traumatic shock within the country; with many Rwandans existing in a state of social withdrawal and shock. The wide-scale level of trauma reinforced World Vision Rwanda’s conviction that emergency recovery and emerging community development must include an individual and psychosocial dimension” (Seddon, 2008, p.54).

Somasundaram et al. (2010) states that it is now recognised that disaster survivors will need food, shelter, finance and other relief measures, as well as long-term rehabilitation. Yet food, shelter and material goods constitute only the ‘tip of the iceberg’ with regard to disaster victims’ needs. Disaster stricken communities often experience disruption of family and community life, work, normal networks, institutions and structures. As much as agencies work to provide emergency relief, mental health care has to be recognised as a basic human right and an imperative in war-torn, conflict-riddled regions (Somasundaram et al., 2010, p.291).

According to Becker (2004) everybody working in a crisis region should be aware that a number of relevant psychological issues are involved in peace-building, but these should be shared in a clearly interdisciplinary approach to trauma work. Further to that, practitioners need to be aware that often trauma work is considered a mental health issue, absolutely independent of educational activities, economic reconstruction and peace-building as the research study has shown. A holistic traumatic perspective appreciates both the mental health and economic reconstruction elements in building peace. The figure below provides a deeper look at the impact of the conflicts and sheds light on holistic trauma intervention options for societies, communities, families and individuals.

Impact of violence



(Figure 1: Higson-Smith, 2003, adapted by Sinani 2008)

Conflict and violence impact on multiple levels which reduces the capacity of individuals and communities to find change options and act. It disempowers individuals and community structures; fragments memories, relationships and settlements; creates destructive cycles; and breaks down social networks, cohesion and ethics (Khuzwayo et al., 2010). There is a need therefore for psychosocial interventions that look at challenges within this framework to help identify strategies to mobilize and strengthen the internal resources of individual, groups and communities so that they are able to change their situation.

According to Hamber (2000) this type of psychosocial work can be an important factor in helping individuals confront the consequences of organized violence throughout the world, if it is carried out in a responsible way and developed with reference to the specific cultural context. In addition, trauma work needs to be part of an integrated approach that includes the dimensions of education and economics.

1.2. Trauma support work

Trauma-informed services are those in which service delivery is influenced by an understanding of the impact of interpersonal violence and victimization on an individual's life and development (Elliot, 2005). To provide trauma-informed services, all staff of an organization, from the receptionist to the direct care workers to the board of directors, must understand how violence impacts the lives of the people being served, so that every interaction is consistent with the recovery process and reduces the possibility of re-traumatization. The absence of this understanding about the impact of trauma on a person's life is the equivalent of denying the existence and significance of trauma in people's lives (Elliot et al., 2005).

Trauma survivors are the majority of clients in human service systems (Elliot et al., 2005). The effects of trauma can be seen in both problems directly related to trauma and problems that initially appear to be unrelated (Herman, 1997). Where possible, therefore, individuals who have experienced a traumatic event should be given the opportunity to go through a healing process. They cannot and should not be forced to do so since not all may desire or need it. However, such a process can be extremely useful to move many to explore themselves and their community in new ways. Moreover, when this process relates to war or large-scale violence—and addresses the full range of psychosocial help—individuals, groups and sometimes whole societies may discover important windows to the past that expose the root causes of the violence that led to their trauma. This insight is usually an important element of healing and may also provide windows to the future for individuals and groups. Through such windows peace can be envisioned (Hart, 2009).

This research study aimed at articulating the role of an integrated psycho-social approach to peace-building to inform current practice and it serves to encourage the donor community to support initiatives which recognise the link between trauma and peace building. The integrated approach to peace-building which will be discussed in more detail in the later chapters, highlights the importance and relevance of an integrated trauma component in peace-building processes.

1.3. Research problem and objectives

The above paragraphs identified the gaps in the existing literature on trauma and peace-building which is the limited evidence of the interconnectedness of trauma and peace-building. However current research reports suggest that there is limited evidence supporting the notion; in addition, there is little information as to *how* to effectively integrate the two themes to achieve lasting peace.

In light of the above problem, the research study investigated the following:

- If there exists a role played by trauma support programmes in peace-building and if so what role do trauma support programmes play?
- It explored the role trauma support programmes play in the reduction of violence.
- It further investigated how trauma support programmes contribute to the reconstruction of lasting peace.

Some of the specific research questions explored the meaning and value of trauma support work in peace building, the impact of trauma support work in peace building and the existing intervention strategies that can be shared integrating the two themes of trauma and peace.

1.4. Research problem and objectives: Broader issues to be investigated

As outlined earlier by Baingana et al., (2005) conflicts are a complex social phenomenon that causes widespread insecurity on all human levels. Do and Lyer (2009) support this assertion when stating: “Mental health is an outcome that deserves greater attention from scholars and policy makers alike. Mental health captures a dimension of individual welfare

(or lack thereof) that is not perfectly correlated with alternative conventional outcome indicators such as poverty, consumption or income. Mental health is an important dimension of human capital” (Do and Lyster, 2009, p.2). Maccini and Yang in Do and Lyster, (2009) state that in specific context of conflict, there are likely to be severe mental health consequences in addition to consequences for physical health or economic wealth. In many regions, practitioners who adhere to a trauma paradigm assume that unhealed traumas may contribute to ongoing cycles of violence and thwart peace-building efforts. (Wessells, 2008).

Therefore the current study aimed to prove these above assertions, rather than assume them, through the following objectives:

- Bringing about a fresh paradigm for practitioners, researchers, academics, policy makers and government officials in post conflict settings to inform current practice regarding the role of trauma in conflict transformation and peace building.
- It aimed at encouraging the donor community to support initiatives which recognise the link between trauma and peace-building.
- Furthermore it sought to understand factors that lead to prevention and reduction of violent behaviour and thereby contribute to lasting peace. In addition, it will show that Trauma Support Work can help break the on-going cycles of violence.

1.5. Research outcomes

In summary this dissertation sought to provide valuable insights into the value of trauma support work in relation to building lasting peace. It provides concrete recommendations for peace-builders, trauma support workers, government officials and academics on critical well-rounded innovative cultural and artistic interventions that will further sustain peace in this arena. It further provides crucial arguments for increased donor support for interventions which recognise the integral role played by trauma support work in building lasting peace. Lastly, it will help in the creation of a space for people to process their past painful experiences of violence thereby contributing to healing and lasting peace, based on a participatory research method.

1.6. Conclusion

The chapter highlighted the organisation of the dissertation primarily based on fieldwork research conducted by the researcher, looking at experiences of participants who attended trauma recovery workshops conducted by Sinani, the KwaZulu-Natal Programme for Survivors of Violence, the Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) for which the researcher works. In particular, it explored how experiences from these workshops serve as catalysts to peace by examining the role, relevance and impact of the experiences in relation to peace-building. In doing so, the study aimed to analyse the link between trauma work and peace-building and more specifically the integration of trauma support work in peace-building using the above specific case study. Furthermore it analysed recent research papers and reports which address trauma and peace-building notions. The literature review summarised current key positions in the field of trauma and peace as well as gaps that need further investigation.

It was proposed that if trauma support work is ignored in post conflict peace building processes, certain survivors of past violence are at risk of becoming perpetrators of future violence (Seymour, 2006). Integrating trauma support work in peace-building interventions will yield lasting peace.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2. Introduction

In Chapter 1, the background of the study was presented sighting an overview of existing literature in the area of trauma and peace-building as well as gaps in the existing literature which showed the limited evidence of the interconnectedness of trauma and peace-building intervention strategies.

In this chapter an in-depth literature review was conducted showing in-depth explanation of the different meanings of peace based on the writing of authorities in peace studies such as Galtung, Boutros-Ghali, Lederach and Dudouet. The definitions include positive and negative peace. The chapter further examines a number of issues in relation to trauma and peace-building such as forms of peace-building from below, local ownership, dynamics of conflict transformation and psychological factors such as violence, identity and belief systems. In addition, contextualising the Current Study- the role of trauma support in building peace, provides a thorough explanation of the meaning of trauma. The chapter provides a survey of the existing literature.

2.1. Peace-building

There is no recipe for reconciliation. There is no short cut or simple prescription for healing the wounds and divisions of a society in the aftermath of sustained violence. Creating trust and understanding between former enemies is a supremely difficult challenge. It is, however essential, if one wishes to address the process of building a lasting peace (Bloomfield et al., 2003).

According to Galtung (1996, p.11, 31), who is known as the father of peace studies, peace exists in five dimensions:

“1. Peace (the absence of war); 2. Peace (harmonious relations and freedom from disputes); 3. Peace, peacefulness, peace of mind, repose, serenity, heartsease, ataraxis (the absence of mental stress or anxiety); 4. Peace, public security (the general security of public places); 5. Peace, peace treaty, pacification (a treaty to cease hostilities).”

Galtung (1996) further makes the distinction between “negative peace” and “positive peace”. Negative peace refers to the absence of violence. When, for example, a ceasefire is enacted, a negative peace will ensue. It is negative because something undesirable stopped happening (e.g. the violence stopped, the oppression ended). Galtung (1996) further states that, “positive peace is filled with positive content such as restoration of relationships, the creation of social systems that serve the needs of the whole population and the constructive resolution of conflict. Peace does not mean the total absence of conflict. It means the absence of violence in all forms and the unfolding of conflict in a constructive way. Peace therefore exists where people are interacting non-violently and are managing their conflict positively – with respectful attention to the legitimate needs and interests of all concerned” (Galtung, 1996, p.1).

Goodhand and Hulme (1999) argue that in this framework, “peace” is more than just the mere absence of violence; rather, “peacebuilding” recognises that peace is intimately connected to wider issues of economic and social development, gender equality, reconciliation, and social justice (Goodhand and Hulme, 1999).

Dudouet (2006) explains that the term peace-building was first introduced by Galtung and later popularised by UN General Secretary Boutros-Ghali in *An Agenda for Peace Report*. This Dudouet (2006) argues symbolises the succession towards positive peace following the end of conflicts. Boutros-Ghali in Dudouet (2006) seems to argue that peacekeeping is concerned with mediation and negotiation in an attempt to end direct violence, and peacemaking focuses on changing antagonistic attitudes through dialogue and mediated negotiations, peace-building encompasses the elements of structural transformation of the conflict’s root causes in the political, economic, and social spheres (Dudouet, 2006).

The understanding of peace-building from the United Nations in the Agenda for peace is different from that of Civil Society due to timelines. The starting point for the UN is post-conflict (such as from peace agreements). Subsequent interventions to build peace and prevent recurrence of conflict (post-war interventions) can also occur. This is what makes it different from a Civil Society understanding of peace-building, where peace-building work runs from pre-conflict, during conflict and after conflict. Definitions of peace-building are often context-bound and can vary among NGOs, communities at large, policy-makers,

politicians and funders (Hamber and Kelly, 2005). In post-conflict reconstruction, peace-building was broadened to also encompass activities that both precede a conflict and occur during its duration (Boutros-Ghali, 1992).

Several scholars and practitioners have researched the nature of peace-building activities, which can be divided into two main types: those that focus on the structural sources of a conflict (such as governmental and economic institutions and policy) and their reformation (which tend to be more elite and policy focused); and those concerned with improving relations between groups (which tend to be more community based). The underlying basis for most of these activities is that an essential component of peace building and trust-building involves the reconstruction or reconfiguration of relationships between parties in conflict (Maiese, 2008).

Dudouet (2006) explains that peace-building processes occur in four phases: “1) the immediate post-war intervention phase longer term conflict resolution goals may be sacrificed for shorter-term security and emergency requirements, 2) a political stabilisation phase, when DDR (demobilisation, disarmament, reintegration) and structural peace-building aspects (hand-over of central authority) predominate, 3) a normalisation phase, in which economic and socio-cultural development become increasingly important, until the country is seen to have attained ‘normal’ levels of autonomy and viability sufficient to enable the final stage of the withdrawal of intervention, and 4) a final phase of continuing transformation towards the desired end-state in the post-intervention period, with increased emphasis on ‘cultural peace-building’ and reconciliation” (Dudouet, 2006, p.9).

Theories abound for the lack of success in peace-building (Korppen, 2011). According to Samuels (2006) there has been little success in achieving sustainable peace. In February of 2004, Haiti slipped back into chaos and despair, turning ten years of international and Haitian state-building efforts to dust. Liberia is in its second round of international intervention since returning to conflict in 2004 following UN supervised elections in 1997. There is daily violence in Iraq and ongoing instability in Afghanistan. Kosovo remains under UN administration, with an uncertain future and ongoing undercurrents of conflict (Samuels, 2006).

Some peace-building discourses focus on operational limitations and the unintended negative consequences of international aid, while others focus on institutional lacunae. Increasingly though, it is accepted that the most critical problems involve a lack of knowledge of how to rebuild states and an associated failure of state-building strategy (Samuels, 2006).

How then, can sustainable peace be created? This is the question international organisations, donors and NGOs have been pondering on for a while now. Korppen (2011) argues that even if peace-building is a crucial part of their agendas, it is still disputed what the adequate concepts and methods to achieve this goal actually are. The term peace-building indicates a particular state of a society to be obtained. It includes the idea that peace can be built if only the right strategy is developed and adequate tools are applied (Korppen, 2011).

Peace-building processes require, first and foremost, acknowledging at least two competing visions of peace-building. The first of these, which has in recent years come to be known as the liberal peace, sees peace-building as an effort “to bring war-shattered states into conformity with the international system’s prevailing standards of domestic governance” (Paris, 2003, p.638). As Oliver Richmond has argued, the core ideas underlying the liberal peace— democratization, economic liberalization, neo-liberal development, human rights, and the rule of law—have exerted a growing influence over the ways in which contemporary peace-building is both conceptualized and practiced (Richmond, 2007).

There exists an assumption that liberalism underlies much of the peace and prosperity enjoyed by the West, and the weight of Western influence within contemporary peace-building processes. According to this perspective, peace-building is about transforming war-shattered polities into functioning liberal democracies, where the liberal democratic framework is seen not only as the gold standard of good governance, but also as the most secure foundation for sustainable peace (Donais, 2009).

The second vision of peace-building, affiliated with eminent conflict resolution practitioners such as John Paul Lederach, is associated with what has come to be known as peace-building from below. As Bush (1996) has summarized this perspective, “the challenge of rebuilding war-torn societies is to nurture and create the political, economic and social space within which indigenous actors can identify, develop, and employ the resources necessary to build a peaceful, just, and prosperous society” (Bush, 1996, p.86). As opposed to its liberal

counterpart, this second perspective is communitarian in character. Peace-building communitarians uphold, consequently, the right of societies to make their own choices, regardless of the degree to which such choices correspond with emerging international norms, which are viewed from this perspective as more Western than universal (Donais, 2009).

As peace-building has evolved and become increasingly institutionalized in the post-Cold War era, several key factors have combined to push peace-building practice in a liberal direction. The first of these is the extent to which liberal internationalism has emerged as the contemporary common sense of peace-building. As Paris (1997, p.56) has argued, the wisdom of “transplanting Western models of social, political and economic organization into war-shattered states to control civil conflict” continues to be taken as self-evident by most international agencies engaged in peace-building, even though the liberal internationalist paradigm does not have a particularly impressive track record in post-war settings. Nevertheless, the absence of credible, coherent alternatives leaves the basic tenets of liberal internationalism unchallenged to such an extent that peace-building often comes to resemble a bureaucratic exercise in installing the basic pillars of the liberal democratic state (Donais, 2009).

Lederach in Dudouet (2006) suggests that there should be a pilot phase which will tackle the crisis first of a period of six months, followed by a relationship building phase for two years, followed building institutional capacity for a period of five to ten years and finally a vision describing peaceful communities may be generated. However he insists that peace-building should not be viewed as a linear progression of events but rather a multi-faceted peace process carried out by different actors at the same time. Peace-building according to Dudouet (2006) should be about forging ideas, structures, partnerships that will assist in redefining violent relational patterns into constructive ones.

Moreover, there has been a greater recognition that peace-building activities need to be understood in more nuanced ways. For example, reflecting wider UN debates regarding the rights of children and women’s political participation (United Nations, 1989; 2000), and particularly the passing of UN Resolution 1325, it is now recognised that “peace-building” should encompass both efforts to address how conflict differentially affects both women and

children and attempts to render them agents, rather than just objects, of peace and development activities (McCallin, 1991).

There seems to be some consensus, however, that peace-building requires a long-term commitment to addressing the underlying causes of conflict through both structural and relational transformation (Lederach, 1997). As such, in addition to dealing with a complex political emergency's immediate impact, "peace-building" attempts to establish peace and prevent violence from continuing or re-emerging, through addressing, over a longer time scale, the causes and consequences of conflict through institution building, reconciliation, political and socioeconomic transformation, mechanisms to address the past, developing effective governance and environmental rejuvenation (Hamber and Kelly, 2005). This could translate into programmes operating at a range of different levels, i.e. the political level, community level or interventions aimed at individuals (Hamber & Kelly, 2005). In addition to this, civil society is often seen as key to peace-building efforts.

Many of the scholarly articles reviewed, do highlight the value of a holistic peace-building approach however they do not seem to emphasise the elements of a holistic, integrated, multi-faceted peace-building approach. For example, Ball (2005) in her article on strengthening democracy governance of the security sector in conflict affected countries mentions four factors to achieving lasting peace in post conflict countries namely: developing effective, well-functioning civil management and oversight bodies, developing viable accountable and affordable security forces and ensuring that the institutional culture of the security forces supports the legal framework, international law, good democratic practice and civil management and oversight bodies.

Ball (2005) further notes that reform activities should be guided by local ownership, sensitivity to the politics of reform, local capacity, local context and a comprehensive sector-wide framework. However there is no mention of the trauma and healing component as a stand alone factor in bringing about lasting change and preventing countries from resorting back to the cycle of violence.

Hence the current research study argues as Galtung (1996) and Lederach (1997) have suggested that peace-building is much deeper than the cessation of hostilities. This research will show the value of integrated peace-building and it will prove that lasting peace-building

processes should also be concerned with addressing positive peace, which in this case means breaking the cycles of violence and healing past traumas.

There is no panacea for societies affected by complex political emergencies; each situation has its own history and particulars. We therefore need to be wary of a “one size fits all” approach to peace-building and/or development, and even within such societies its inhabitants are likely to be divided over the best way to deal with these thorny subjects. Despite these societies’ heterogeneity, however, many academics and practitioners concede that the problems arising from complex political emergencies, particularly the trauma they are said to engender, are best addressed through a psychosocial framework. The consensus, however, ends there, as there is little agreement about what exactly the term “psychosocial” entails, and even less about what goals, plans, and practices should govern psychosocial interventions (Wiles et al., 2000).

To understand and appreciate this argument on the nature of peace-building processes and to contextualise the research argument the dynamics of conflict transformation are unpacked below.

2.2. Conflict Transformation Dynamics

The field of conflict management has evolved over the past decades through developing a number of models which describe various approaches in an attempt to understand intra-state and inter-state conflicts (Dudouet, 2006). Curle in Dudouet (2006) describes the dynamics of “conflict transformation in a matrix comparing levels of power (unbalanced or balanced) with levels of awareness of conflicting interests and needs (low to high awareness, or latent to overt conflict). The four stages identified in this model are the following:

- “Latent conflict: defined as a situation of structural violence, not yet expressed on the behavioural level. Overt conflict: The second stage is continues the power imbalance, but combined with a high level of awareness of conflicting interests and needs by the parties. Settlement: In this phase, the conflict has reached a certain level of intensification, resulting in a shift in power relations (towards greater balance) where the parties can reassess the costs of continuing hurting stalemate. Sustainable peace: In this final phase, relations between the parties are both peaceful and dynamic, as they establish and maintain healthy power relations. It is important to note that without the first three stages, the conflict actors could not have reached this situation of positive peace” (Dudouet, 2006, p.9).

Similarly, Bernhausen et al. (2011) has identified the theme of systemic conflict transformation which involves several core elements and approaches to building peace. According to Bernhausen (2011) “systemic conflict transformation focuses on processes, communication, relationships and network structures” (Bernhausen et al., p.23). Aspects of systemic conflict transformation are: “systemic conflict analysis and conflict monitoring, strategic planning of systemic interventions, engagement with key stakeholders, mobilisation of agents of peaceful change and creativity in imagining sustainable solutions” (Bernhausen et al., 2011, p.24).

Akin to the above, Ramsbotham (2011) seems to highlight theories of conflict transformation that seem to focus on traditional models of conflict transformation and peace-building. He describes approaches and tools in managing conflicts between the two parties that involve transforming radical dialogue to peaceful dialogue. Ramsbotham (2011) asserts that linguistic intractability and radical disagreement should be central in conflict transformation. He asserts that, “human beings do not struggle in silence once conflict parties have been formed. In the

most serious political conflicts, wars of words play as significant a role as wars of weapons” (Ramsbotham, 2011, p.58).

The above summarised models enable us to picture the process of conflict transformation as complex, multifaceted and unpredictable. This life cycle of conflict however is not the only path. Burns (2011) argues that “conflict intractability develops when social and psychological processes interact over time to promote the emergence of a stable and coherent pattern of thought and behaviour organised around perceived incompatibilities” (Burns, 2011, p.97-98). While most models of conflict transformation practice tend to be based on linear, cause-effect assumptions, interventions in the real world frequently impact in non-linear ways, and outcomes become more unpredictable. Burns (2011) asserts that, “the assumption that we can bring about a specific type of outcome in complex systems of enduring conflict is highly contestable” (Burns, 2011, p.98).

The focus of this research, the role of trauma in peace building attests to this reality, of multiple paths to conflict transformation that create lasting peace. There exists a crucial need according to Burns (2011) for conflict transformation approaches to incorporate psychological processes when resolving conflict. The reason being, there seems to be overwhelming consensus, that sustainable conflict transformation happens when psycho-social and psychological processes are integrated into the peace-building theory and practice.

2.3. Psychological factors

What has not been highlighted by the above models are the psychological factors which drive human beings away from processes of engagement so that they are not able to start a reconciliation process. In violent conflicts over resources, identity, and power, parties often resort to severe methods to achieve their goals (Zelizer, 2008). Individuals and groups can be subjected to traumatic incidents that can have long-term negative psychological effects. Peace-builders need to devote more attention to developing psychological approaches to address these challenges. The psychological factors cited below are some of the contributing factors highlighted to the conflict transformation dynamic.

2.3.1. Selective perception

Kriesberg in Dudouet (2006) mentions the process of “selective perception, which occurs when decision-makers tend to notice only phenomena that fit their expectations, so that ‘once a struggle has entered a stage of mutual recrimination and contentiousness, even conciliatory conduct by the adversary is likely not to be noticed or if noticed, be discounted and considered deceptive’” (Dudouet, 2006, p.23).

2.3.2. Identity

An important factor that drives actors from engagement is identity. According to Hart (2009) the deep emotional and physical wounding caused by acts of violence or natural disasters is devastating to the identity of individuals and groups. Identity concerns people’s existential needs and values. People need to live life with a set of values that reflect their social and/or religious principles in ways that are meaningful and safe. When threatened by highly traumatizing events, individuals and entire communities do not feel safe and their lives become frightening and unpredictable. Human identity needs are satisfied when individuals and groups feel this safety and are recognized by others as equals (Hart, 2009). In the old South Africa, the question of identity was central in organised violence and in the new South Africa, identity seems to be at the core of structural, community and criminal violence. For example, many respondents in a study conducted by Higson-Smith (2002) on supporting communities affected by violence cited their involvement in gang violence was not initially their personal choice. Identity issues played a role in the continuation of violence. A young man who had previously been in a gang was asked about the advantages of membership in a gang and explained that it is about status, cars, girlfriends, a nice house, fashionable clothes, and the fact that people fear you (Higson-Smith, 2006). People want to feel connected to others, to be bonded in emotional and spiritual ways to give and receive love. In their longing for interdependency, they also value autonomy within the group and group autonomy in the larger system within which they live (Hart, 2009). This concept of identity and its impact on violent behaviour however, may need further investigation. We do know that identity is linked to people’s belief systems.

2.3.3. Belief systems

Cognitive Behaviour Therapy approaches speak of an activating event (the actual event) and the client's immediate interpretation of the event which may be positive or negative, motivated by beliefs about the event and lastly consequent behaviours resulting from the belief system. The belief or evaluation can be rational or irrational. Peace-builders therefore recognise that conflict transformation and peace-building processes are entrenched in people's belief systems. Dudouet (2006) for example, cites the phenomenon of ethnic-related collective violence which comprised of genocidal acts in Nazi Germany, Rwanda, Sudan, Bosnia, and Kosovo. These acts were rooted in "the aspirations, belief system and ideology of a societal group claiming that they are inherently superior to their adversaries on the grounds of religious faith and ideological beliefs, myths about the past- and presumptions about race differences" (Dudouet, 2006, p.23). Belief systems trigger certain emotions and behaviours.

2.3.4. Emotional symptoms

Two sets of psychological consequences-threat effects (those occurring in the immediate aftermath) and disruption effects (those extending weeks, months, sometimes years beyond the disaster) arise from experiencing a disaster, but can also characterise other catastrophic or large-scale traumatic events, such as tribal and ethnic violence and terrorism (Carr et al., 1997). Carr et al. (1997) argue that disruption effects include constant exposure to debris and damage to infrastructure, disillusionment with governmental agencies, living in resettlement housing and camps, displacement, fear of the next hurricane, flood or fire season, property and job loss, fragmentation of families, financial stress, tensions with and danger from opposing political, ethnic and tribal groups and an array of emotional symptoms associated with each effect. The study by Carr et al. (1997) highlights the fact that many traumatic events are not circumscribed events with a defined endpoint. What is clear is that traumatic events left untreated have been found to lead to long-term negative mental health effects. Furthermore that levels of symptoms found early in the post-disaster period, have been found to be strong predictors of later symptoms (Norris, 2001).

There is however hope for the future. The same psychological factors that often serve as obstacles to change can also help bring about a successful conflict transformation process.

Chapter 4 will discuss in detail the relationship between psychological factors, in particular trauma, violence and possible intervention strategies that can prevent violence.

The long-term, bottom-up, non-linear, multi-faceted, peace-building work, the research will argue, should have at its core trauma-support interventions also known as psychosocial interventions which should be integrated into peace-building programme.

According to Galtung (1996) the underlying *problem* is *trauma*, wounds to the body, mind and spirit, of both victims and perpetrators, including the wounds to the community, the togetherness whose wholeness has been wounded by the victim-perpetrator rift and has itself become a victim. There is a *goal: healing and closure*; that the traumas no longer hurt, and that there is a shared feeling that the traumas, although not forgotten, can be put behind us. Certain violent events in the past can be removed from the political agenda, liberating that agenda for cooperative, constructive acts. The parties are ready to close a chapter or book, and open a new one (Galtung, 1996).

2.4. Contextualising the Current Study

2.4.1. Trauma

One concept that has been considered integral to “peace-building” approaches to complex political emergencies is the notion of trauma. This is particularly the case if one understands the political violence associated with complex political emergencies in broad terms. The violence in complex political emergencies not only results in successive and cumulative injuries to individuals (Kornfeld, 1995), but is generally aimed at the destruction of social structures, relationships, and institutions (Beristain, 2006), and often contains structural elements (e.g. poverty, human rights abuses, racism, gender discrimination etc.). All this undermines prospects for development and peace-building, both during and after conflict (Lykes, 2000).

According to Becker (2004) “the word trauma originally comes from the Greek language, where it means wound. Its analogous utilization in psychology and psychiatry began at the end of the nineteenth century as part of the effort to explain certain mental disorders. By the

end of World War I, the military had become interested in the problem when they realized that the condition of ‘shell-shock’ needed to be addressed and explained, and could not be reduced to simple cowardice. It was during the Vietnam War that the United States finally established a set of identifiable symptoms, the so-called Post Traumatic Stress Disorder“(PTSD) which was included in the Diagnostical and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) of the American Psychiatric Association” (Becker, 2004, p.3). This resulted in the recognition of trauma by mainstream psychiatry (Herman, 1997).

The negative impact, which occurred from mainstreaming, was the categorisation of trauma as one more mental illness amongst many (Becker, 2004). Trauma, thus, was the cause of these illnesses and understood as a psychological breakdown caused by external events that exceeded the capacity of the psychological structure to respond to them adequately (Becker, 2004).

Trauma, according to Becker (2004) in the context of complex political emergencies can be understood as implying “the destruction of the individual and/or collective structures via a traumatic situation, which in turn is defined as an event or several events of extreme violence that occur within a social context” (Becker, 2004, p.3). Although the latter is not a sufficient condition to produce trauma, its definition more or less encapsulates what occurs during a complex political emergency. To describe the situation where individual and collective structures are often constantly under assault, as is generally the case during complex political emergencies, Chilean mental health specialists coined the term “extreme traumatization” (Castillo et al., 1989).

In relation to trauma, St. Just (2006) suggests that a person is rendered powerless and faces the threat of death and injury. Seymour (2003) asserts that, much less tangible than the physical destruction of war, the effects of conflict on the psychology of individuals and a society are as profound as they are neglected. If the attitudes that lead to conflict are to be mitigated, and if it is taken that psychology drives attitudes and behaviours of individuals and groups, then new emphasis must be placed on understanding the social psychology of conflict and its consequences (Seymour, 2003).

Seymour (2003) argues that suffering and trauma that are the results of war need to be addressed and prioritised in plans for peace. Effective means for dealing with these less-visible consequences of violent conflict must be developed if a true and sustained peace is to be realised (Seymour, 2003).

Becker (2004) asserts that the basic framework for trauma when dealing with the consequences of organized violence can be defined as follows:

1. Trauma implies a notion of tearing, of rupture, of structural breakdown.
2. Trauma can only be defined and understood with reference to a specific context, which must be described in detail.
3. Trauma is a process which develops sequentially.
4. Trauma contains both an individual intra-psychic dimension and a collective, macro-social dimension that are interwoven.

Currently, Becker (2004) states that trauma is conceptualised in three different ways:

1. Trauma as a medical concept, e.g. PTSD, where the aim is to establish a more or less complete catalogue of symptoms.
2. Trauma triggers highly complicated psychological processes (intra-psychic) that need to be analysed. This can be exemplified by the therapeutic work with victims of the Holocaust that was carried out primarily by psychoanalysts
3. Trauma as a social and a political process.
4. Traumatization is not only an individual process but also a social process that refers to the society as a whole. These studies have also shown that trauma can only be understood within a specific cultural and political context.

Levine (1997) states that traumatic events might include a serious threat or harm to one's family or friends, sudden destruction of one's home or community, and a threat to one's own physical being. Such events overwhelm an individual's coping resources, making it difficult for the individual to function effectively in society. Typical emotional effects include depression and post-traumatic stress disorder. After an experience of violence, an individual

is likely to feel vulnerable, helpless, and out of control in a world that is unpredictable (Levine, 1997).

Hence, Do and Lyster (2009) suggest that “while conflict might affect individuals’ expectations about the future, memories of past traumatic events can hamper people’s ability to recover from the conflict, or the hardship of post-conflict reconstruction might itself be a source of stress. They further state that “While the medical literature almost exclusively emphasises the second channel, a good understanding of the obstacles to mental health recovery is instrumental to the proper design of post-conflict reconstruction policies” (Do and Lyster, 2009, p.2).

Hamber (2003) argues, however, that trauma is not simply a collection of symptoms, as it is often portrayed, in fact, symptoms may not follow all traumatic situations. In its essence, he states, “trauma is the destruction of individual and/or collective structures of a society. In this sense, it is not only important to help people deal with impact of the conflict on them-to help them through, for example, a grieving process in a constructive way. What needs to be healed is therefore the multitude of individual, political, social and cultural responses to a traumatic situation and its aftermath” (Hamber, 2003, p.1).

Most recent trauma literature reviewed above seems to suggest that in each different social context people should create their own definitions of trauma within a framework, in which the basic focus is not so much on the symptoms of a person but on the sequential development of the traumatic situation. Experts note that it will always be important to register the specific symptoms of a patient (mainly because of the metaphoric message that symptoms convey about the illness), but our primary approach must focus on the repressive experiences.

In general, the diagnosis must include the specific social context in which the illness appears. Respecting the fact that political traumatisation is always tied to the context obliges us to understand that a Turkish, a Chilean or a Vietnamese refugee might present similar symptoms, might even have some comparable experiences, like torture, but each one of them, in effect, suffers originally from a different illness. What might constitute their similarity is

that they are all refugees coming from very different countries and therefore undergoing the same traumatic sequence (Becker, 2004).

2.4.2. Addressing the trauma in post-conflict programmes

To break violent cycles, post-conflict reconstruction programmes must support measures to heal the trauma. According to a Timor Leste survey of 750, 000 people, 40 per cent of respondents experienced psychological torture, 33 per cent beatings or mauling, 26 per cent head injuries, and 22 per cent witnessed a friend killing a family member (Zuckerman, 2009). Reports abound from the Balkans to Rwanda of family members watching male relatives get killed or mothers and sisters being raped (Zuckerman and Greenberg, 2009). Zuckerman and Greenberg (2009) further note that justice may stretch to our past and to our future, with the past focusing on righting wrongs.

This has helped us to understand that trauma is pervasive and multidimensional. It affects individuals, not only emotionally but spiritually and physically as well; indeed, the cognitive processing of the brain is often altered. However, trauma also profoundly impacts communities and societies. Trauma shapes overall behaviour including patterns of wrongdoing and conflict as well as processes of recovery, resolution or transformation. The social as well as the individual dimensions of trauma must be addressed as part of peace-building and restorative justice processes (Levine, 1997).

2.4.3. Stress and Trauma

Herman (1992) asserts that it is important to note that trauma is different from stress. All people experience stress in their everyday lives. This may even lead to a crisis when a person feels overwhelmed, and feels that they can no longer cope with their problems. Trauma is different though, in that it is a response to an event that was perceived as life threatening.

This does not mean that experiences not classically defined as traumatic are not distressing—there are many other extremely distressing events like divorce and loss which are not specifically life threatening. Herman (1992) continues to state, ‘The core experiences of psychological trauma are disempowerment and disconnection from others. Recovery

therefore is based upon the empowerment of the survivors and the creation of new connections' (Herman, 1992, p.133).

2.4.4. Content of Trauma Workshops

Sinani conducts a voluntary five day residential trauma workshop with its clients, which is based on the 5-level model of Integrated Trauma Service Delivery widely used in the field (Higson-Smith, 2005). The model involves five steps which may not necessarily occur in the sequence mentioned below. The first step comprises of education and awareness-raising which entails an overview of stress and trauma using various tools such as the basket of painful experiences and the tree of life metaphors. This involves an emphasis that we cannot help each other forget what happened but we can unpack the basket, talk through childhood adversity and offer some relief as memories are organised. The awareness raising is followed by victim support which involves emotional support, mobilising coping resources of each individual offering information, practical assistance and problem solving. This is followed by trauma counselling which is focussed on symptom management, problem solving, goal setting and decision making. Cultural appropriateness and respecting cultural sensitivities is key in each stage of the trauma model. Should individuals require in-depth counselling in uncovering repressed traumatic content and in changing entrenched behaviours, Health professionals registered with the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA) are called upon to assist. In addition, where necessary, psychopharmacological intervention and therapy are also integrated, through the involvement of hospitals and clinics (Sinani Trauma Handbook, 2005).

2.5. Addressing violence

Hamber (2003) states that violence in most conflict situations generally includes a structural element, for instance, systematic deprivation, racism or the denial of human rights. The devastating impact of structural forms of violence on psychological well-being cannot be ignored. The psychological consequences of deprivation - one form of structural breakdown that can occur during conflict - are well documented. They include the effects of poor nutrition on the mental and physical development of children, as well as anxiety, depression and stress-related conditions caused by poor living and occupational conditions (Hamber,

2003). Repression of culture and expression, ethnic intolerance and discrimination - also common in conflict situations - can severely undermine and even destroy social and cultural norms and feelings of identity, belonging and trust in institutions (Hamber, 2003).

Hamber (2003) continues to argue that such micro-effects of violence can continue to ripple through communities for decades thereafter. Acts of extreme violence are not always isolated and can extend over a period of time in such a way that an individual is victimized more than once. Or individuals may be exposed to multiple traumas simultaneously. For example, a person may be traumatically injured while at the same time witnessing another person being killed or severely injured. An individual may be subjected to torture during prolonged incarceration while knowing that his or her family is suffering economic hardship and systematic intimidation (Hamber, 2003).

There is no linear progression to the healing process and no typical or universal response to violence. What we do know, however, is that individual and social impacts of extreme forms of violence and social disruption caused by conflict can have an effect for decades thereafter. Any strategy aimed at addressing the impact of political conflict and extreme violence needs to be long-term in its outlook. Some specific responses to direct political violence include self-blame, vivid re-experiencing of the event, fear, nightmares, feelings of helplessness, hyper-vigilance, depression, relationship difficulties, feelings of social disconnectedness, anxiety and even substance abuse-related difficulties (Hamber, 2003).

If we consider the discussion above on positive peace and negative peace, and Hamber's (2003) assertions on the impact of violence, it is clearly evident that peace-building strategies require an intertwining mix of trauma related interventions within peace-building activities, as well as a deeper analysis of the concept of violence and its impact on the human psyche.

2.6. Gaps identified in the area of trauma and peace

A number of gaps have been identified in the area of trauma and peace which are mechanisms of healing trauma that allow not only for redressing violence but also for the promotion of conditions for peace.

Another gap is the integration of Western and indigenous South African systems of healing, something that has not been sufficiently explored by current studies. Eagle (2009) and other scholars such as Hamber (2000) argue that indigenous healing systems, located within African cosmology, can act to complement and supplement conventional Western psychotherapeutic interventions. In promoting a holistic approach to dealing with trauma, indigenous healing practices may reach under-resourced communities and create the conditions for personal and community integration. It is argued that a greater appreciation of the therapeutic processes embodied in many naturally occurring support systems will allow for the enhancement of healing practices. Such interventions should be fostered as a means of freeing individuals and communities from the psychological scars of violence and providing the impetus towards building a culture of peace (Eagle, 2009).

Finally, one encounters the “doctrine” gap, how peace-building is understood and conceptualised by several scholars (Galtung et al., 1996, p.31) and several donor and humanitarian state and non-state agencies. The difference in conceptions related to definitions of positive peace as well as negative peace has direct impact on the intervention formulation. The type of doctrine followed informs the type of intervention integrated to that particular peace process.

According to Green (2003), trauma has serious implications for health and mental health. The situations that cause trauma vary enormously from wars, terrorist attacks and natural disasters that affect whole communities to torture, abuse and interpersonal violence that affect a few persons at a time. All of these result in a wounded psyche with serious immediate and long-term consequences to mental health. The resultant burden on individuals, families and communities is enormous. In-depth investigation is still required on the various facets of trauma and reviews intervention strategies towards the prevention of its occurrence and its impact would be a valuable contribution in this field (Green, 2003).

Concrete intervention strategies are still missing in the field recognising the interconnectedness of the two research focus areas: trauma and peace. In addition, best practice models to prove to donor agencies the value of integrating the two notions are still missing in the literature surveyed.

Novakovic (2013) asks the question if sustainable peace is possible without transforming trauma? An in-depth investigation is still required to answer this question, and the current study attempted to provide important milestones towards answering this question.

2.7. The need for more integration of trauma and peace-building

The role of trauma in peace-building has emerged as an especially important focus in the development field. In the aftermath of political trauma, healing and recovery require addressing not only individual issues but also the collective issues of polarization, social divisions, hatred and fear, and the issues of structural violence that underlie them (Wessells, 2008). It is of fundamental importance to link psychosocial support for individuals and groups with wider processes of transformation for social justice that change the structures of oppression, marginalization and exclusion that helped to spark the violence and that continue to stimulate destructive conflict (Wessells, 2008). People are more likely to take a peace process seriously and support it if they see tangible improvements in their lives and hope for the future.

To a large degree, trauma and conflict resolution work remain separate areas of practice. If however, individuals, groups, or societies are suffering from the negative effects of traumatic incidents, it might be unethical to move ahead with peace-building work without creating a safe space for healing, mourning, and rebuilding (Maiese, 2008). She argues that groups that have suffered in conflict often need a safe space to explore their anger and hurt. For example, if a child has been repeatedly abused by a parent, bringing a parent and child together prematurely can potentially cause more harm than good.

Hence, it is important to understand that unresolved trauma serves to perpetuate unresolved social issues for many generations of people who may be totally unaware of these dynamics.

Unresolved trauma can help lay the ground for future conflict, psychological suffering, and impaired functioning at the group and individual levels.

St. Just (2006) argues that reconstruction and peace building efforts must prioritize treating mental health problems and integrate these efforts into peace plans and rehabilitation efforts. However, few clear guidelines exist regarding how to effectively integrate psychosocial and trauma-related issues into conflict resolution work. There is an on-going need for increased work and policy guidance in providing guidelines for practice in this arena. In addition, funding for this type of cooperative work may not be available.

Practitioners working in areas of severe conflict are often operating at the interface of trauma and peace-building. Zelizer (2008) asserts, “If one of the primary goals of peace-building is to help repair and rebuild fragmented social relationships, peace-building scholars and practitioners need to be familiar with the basic concepts of trauma studies, and vice-versa” (Zelizer, 2008,p.1). Furthermore, they are operating in the complex environment of direct and structural violence, of positive peace and negative peace.

Similarly, what emerges from the literature (Lederach et al., 1997), and what this research study attempts to prove, is that when dealing with human suffering as a consequence of man-made disaster, we are confronting two problems. First, we have to try to understand the basic psychological dimensions involved and enhance the recognition of the importance of these dimensions. Second, we have to avoid a cheap psychologisation of political problems and make sure that the socio-political aspects are not ignored, but are actively recognized and integrated into our work, i.e. peace-building work. In other words, when confronting trauma arising out of man-made disasters, we have to deal with the individual and the society, with the material and the spiritual aspects of life, with politics, positive/negative peace, economics, justice and psychology.

This research study showed the role of effectively integrating trauma support work in peace-building processes in post-conflict settings. It offers guidelines to inform practice in this focus area and unpacked the concept of violence/conflict and trauma in relation to peace-building. It offers insights of how to integrate psycho-social trauma-support work into peace-

building approaches. In the case of understanding violence, the study limits its investigation to political violence, but with the back-drop of the above discussions in mind, on the complexity of violence generally observed in post-conflict societies. This was backed by a sound theoretical framework. The research study attempted to show that if trauma support-work is ignored and not integrated into peace-building efforts, then certain victims of past violence are at risk of becoming perpetrators of future violence. It further showed to a certain degree that not addressing trauma affects positive or negative peace.

In recent years, peace-building scholars and practitioners (Lederach et al., 1997) have begun to discuss the relationship between trauma and conflict. For example, Hugo van der Merwe and Tracy Vienings collaborated on 'Coping with Trauma', an excellent overview of trauma and conflict (Zelizer, 2009). Of particular relevance for peace-building is their discussion of secondary victimization asserts that, "The traumatic nature of violence means that any contact with the traumatic materials—through witnessing or hearing of the event—can also have a deleterious effect" (Zelizer, 2009, p.1). Although Zelizer (2009) raises a number of important issues, the chapter does not provide sufficient guidance on several themes. These include themes on how to effectively conduct peace-building work in potentially traumatic situations, the distinction between peace-building work and therapy, or a detailed discussion of how to deal with secondary trauma. In the Handbook of International Peace-building (in Zelizer, 2009), the authors warn about the possible danger of secondary trauma and offer several coping strategies, including talking in a support network about what is being heard and experienced, leaving one's work at work (not bringing it home); and returning to one's sanctuary (Zelizer, 2009).

The psychiatric literature shows that conflict situations increase disorder prevalence (Hoge et al., 2004). In addition to conflict-related head injuries, this difference can be explained by the high levels of stress which can serve as a catalyst for the emergence of psychiatric disorders that otherwise might have remained dormant. Furthermore, violent acts such as targeted killings, amputations, gender-based violence, and physical maiming often have long-term psychological effects on those who have experienced or witnessed them. Other forms of conflict-related violence can include forced displacement, restricted movement, forced recruitment, harassment and intimidation, and the dangers posed by landmines and unexploded ordnance. Widespread insecurity and increased poverty, coupled with a lack of

basic services such as healthcare, education, housing, water and sanitation, exacerbate mental problems (Baingana, Bonnan and Thomas, 2005).

Conflict and relocation can have a profound effect on the mental health of affected populations, whether they are refugees, IDPs, asylum seekers or others trying to rebuild their lives and communities. The transition entails coming to grips with what has occurred and adjusting to life in new environments that may feel foreign and inhospitable. It may also mean impoverishment due to loss of assets and livelihoods, uncertainty regarding the status of loved ones, unemployment and a lack of professional skills suitable for the new location and circumstances (Baingana, Bonnan and Thomas, 2005). A survey conducted in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina found that “over 25 percent of displaced adults stated that they felt they were no longer able to play a useful role in life, and 16 percent had lost all confidence in themselves and their capacity to manage their situation. Eleven percent of the non-displaced also suffered from a “lost sense of personal worth” (Carballo et al., 2004, p.6-7).

Mental disorders and psychosocial consequences associated with conflicts include sleeplessness, fear, nervousness, anger, aggressiveness, depression, flashbacks, alcohol and substance abuse, suicide, and domestic and sexual violence. Following a traumatic event, a large proportion of the population may experience nightmares, anxiety, and other stress-related symptoms, although these effects usually decrease in intensity over time. For some, the hopelessness and helplessness associated with persistent insecurity, statelessness and poverty will trigger ephemeral reactions such as those mentioned above (Baingana, Bonnan and Thomas, 2005).

For others, war experiences may lead to Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and chronic depression. These conditions, in turn, can lead to suicidal ideation and attempts, chronic alcohol and drug abuse, interpersonal violence, and other signs of social dysfunction. Studies by Mollica et al. indicate that populations affected by conflict are not only affected by mental health problems, but have an associated dysfunction, which can last up to five years after the conflict (Baingana, Bonnan and Thomas, 2005).

This persistent dysfunction is linked to decreased productivity (Mollica et. al., 1996), poor nutritional, health and educational outcomes for the children of mothers with these problems,

and decreased ability to participate in development efforts. The effects of mental health and psychosocial disorders in conflict-affected populations can be an important constraint in reconstruction and development efforts (Baingana, Bonnan and Thomas, 2005).

2.8. Contextualising the study site: uMbumbulu

The research sample will be selected from the uMbumbulu community, which was in the 1990s declared as a violence ‘hot spot’ in KwaZulu-Natal. uMbumbulu is a vast rural area South of the city Durban in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The people of the area describe years of violence. Generations of violent conflict between family clans led to strong divisions in some parts of the greater area. This historical legacy of violent conflicts made the community vulnerable to further divisions and large scale violence during the political violence which wracked the province in the 1980's and 1990's. Mandela in Khuzwayo et al., (2010) noted during his visit to uMbumbulu that it is with great sadness that he has learnt of murders taking place in Umbumbulu, Margate, KwaMaphumulo and other areas over the past few months.

The violence can be traced back to the time of colonization when white settlers took land from the native Zulu tribes in the area causing tension within and among the chiefdoms due to land scarcity (Sinani peace-building Handbook, 2008). This was coupled with insecurity felt by appointed chiefs creating a tense political atmosphere that caused generations of violence between family clans and established longstanding divisions (Khuzwayo et al., 2010). The homeland system during Apartheid used and deepened some of those divisions as a divide and rule strategy (Mathis, 1995). Resistance against Apartheid was coming from various political parties (the ANC and IFP) who had different political strategies and allies (Lambert, 1995).

Lambert (1995) argues that the multiplication of small chiefdoms, coupled with the insecurity of appointed chiefs, created a political atmosphere prone to conflict. Upper Umkomazi, Ixopo and Alexander divisions were particularly affected by “the sale of the crown lands” and the opening up of the area to white settlement (Lambert, 1995, p.125). In addition, colonial rulers often disregarded the reasons for the *izimpi zemibango* (faction fights) among the chiefdoms,

and simply punished all parties to the faction fights. This increased bitterness and hostility among the chiefdoms (Lambert, 1995).

According to Mathis in *Restoring Dignity* (2008), the fighting between Embo and Makhanya clans in the 1980s resulted in the death of more than 300 people. Residents have different accounts of what ignited the Embo-Makhanya conflict. Some say the conflict started over a woman, while others say it was ignited by competition between youth groups, or that it was the result of Makhanya's intention to invade Embo's land (Khuzwayo et al., 2010). There are no details available explaining the reasons for the woman conflict. Whatever the initial reason, the war was characterised by both large-scale battles between izimpi and smaller-scale attacks on villages (Khuzwayo et al., 2010). Lambert (1995) further states that the Embo-Makhanya war was followed by, and at some stage was concurrent with, political violence in the Umbumbulu area. The violence –only changing its façade from a faction to a political one –adversely affected Umbumbulu residents (Lambert, 1995).

The main cause of the political violence has been attributed to political friction between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC) along with their allies: the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) (Lambert, 1995). The IFP has been described a chief-led Zulu party that was popular with rural Zulus while the ANC was made up of both Xhosa and Zulus and was more popular with those living in urban areas (Mathis, 1995). During this period, areas were designated as “no-go areas” for members of certain political parties and people were often targeted if they were seen as furthering the goals of an opposing political party (Lambert, 1995).

It is also important to note the context in which the violence occurred. That violence was largely perpetrated by the state and its agents against the excluded majority to maintain an authoritarian and racist social hierarchy (*Restoring Dignity*, 2008). The picture painted in paragraphs above, was increasingly complicated by the apartheid state strategy of mobilising ethnic and intra-community conflict in support of its overall aims (Beinart and Bundy, 1987). Whatever the forms of collusion that existed at this time, it seems reasonably clear that the

violence of this period was about contestation for power, and the definition of power, within a post-apartheid regime (Hamber, 1999).

Mathis in Lambert (1995) similarly notes that fighting between these two political parties occurred within the context of both the structural and outright violence enacted by the apartheid government that was in power at the time (Mathis, 1995). There have been claims that the national government pitted the IFP and ANC against each other to distract them from their fight to end the racist system of apartheid. The levels of fighting increased leading up to the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994 and spiked again leading up to the 1999 elections (Lambert, 1995).

In 1987, environmental factors added to the violence after a huge flood in the region caused enormous damage to livestock, houses and killed many people (Lambert, 1995). Shortly afterwards in 1989, there was another war within parts of Nsongeni area which spilled over into Ndaya area between rivalling groups. Many people died during this war, homes were destroyed, and livestock lost (Sinani Peace building Handbook, 2008). Many left the area permanently as a result while others left and returned later (Sinani peace building Handbook, 2008).

Other forms of violence plagued Umbumbulu as a result of the faction fighting and political violence. This includes increased instances of domestic violence, rape, stealing, murder, robbery, shootings, stabbings, and drug trafficking (Khuzwayo et al., 2006). Tensions were so high that often personal problems were politicized and small disagreements escalated into larger and more violent conflicts. Ongoing revenge attacks and faction fighting between family clans continued well into the 21st century when Sinani was invited into the area (Berghoff Paper, 2006). This historical legacy made the community vulnerable to further divisions and large scale violence (Sinani Peace-building Handbook, 2008). The area is still strongly divided into the two leading political parties of the area, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Following higher level peace processes in the province, levels of political violence initially increased dramatically because the effects of peace and reconciliation were not followed

through at community level (Sinani Peace-building Handbook, 2008). Ongoing cycles of violence including revenge attacks and so-called faction fighting between family clans continued and began to escalate. The period preceding the local and national elections saw a sudden increase in tensions and deaths, often along old party conflict (Khuzwayo et al., 2011).

In 2007, a cleansing ceremony was conducted in this community as part of a mission to contribute to broader peace and reconciliation objectives at local and provincial levels. Although ‘political violence’ has subsided, uMbumbulu still experiences pockets of other forms of violence. The recent period has shown a sharp increase in violent crime, sexual assault, domestic violence and abuse of children. Statistics are unreliable and the community regularly describes hearing gunshots at night, finding bodies outside in the mornings, with no trace of who was involved. They say that by lunchtime the bodies have disappeared, unrecorded. *Sinani* staff tried to investigate the number of deaths and types of crimes in the area. However the government has placed a moratorium on crime statistics and these are grossly under-reported. The staff were told directly by the police that the information they were being given was very different from what is in their computer (Khuzwayo et al., 2011).

Sinani is a non-governmental organisation that started work in the area several years ago. *Sinani* works with all forms of violence namely political, domestic, structural as well as sexual violence.

2.9. Psycho-social support

According to Hart (2009) the healing process brings new understanding to survivors as well as their place and role in the world. Individuals become activists against oppression, taking paths they may never have chosen had they not suffered the traumatic experience. However, not everyone moves through trauma to this deeper level of knowing. One important reason is that they are not provided the opportunity to do so. This is due to the lack of general infrastructure, political will, psychological aid available, or external care givers willing to engage in an individual’s or community’s suffering (Hart, 2009). As the research study will

show in chapter 8, a lack of psycho-social support for trauma affected individuals may disrupt a person's life not only psychologically but socially.

To support war-affected people in a manner that aligns with the processes of peace-building and development, it is useful to take a holistic, community-based approach to psychosocial well-being. This approach emphasizes the importance of social mobilization and social justice, the interplay of risk and protective factors, and the need for a layered, systemic approach to enabling psychosocial well-being (Wessells, 2008).

According to Wessells (2008) the field of mental health and psychosocial support in situations of armed conflict and political violence has suffered from excessive polarization and extremist claims that everyone is traumatized or alternatively, that no one is traumatized. The risk, resilience, and protective factors framework recognizes that in every population, some people are likely to do well and exhibit resilience, whereas others may be quite overcome, dysfunctional, and in need of specialized support. Following armed conflict, the majority of people, who are represented mainly by the bottom layer, will recover without any psychosocial intervention so long as they have access to basic services and security.

2.9.1. Psycho-social Interventions

Perhaps the most important lesson to be learned from this research summarised in previous sections, is that the trauma precipitated by large-scale violence, wars and other catastrophic disasters is often long-lasting. Thus the response to that traumatic situation must include ongoing attention to the psychosocial aspects of the event as part of the overall emergency response for without mental health being established first or concurrently, reconstruction efforts may not be of much benefit. In developing an overall integrated scheme for rehabilitation it is essential to take a systems approach acknowledging that individuals, families, communities and political forces each influence each other's. More over different types of interventions are called for during different phases of the event (Somasundaram et al., 2000).

Some of the suggested psychosocial interventions are: community development, counselling and psycho-education. Therefore mental health-workers have to educate people about

common trauma reactions, ways to cope with stressors, offer tools on how to talk about the painful experience and provide available resources to respond to people's needs.

Relief from stress, ability to talk about the experience, and passage of time usually lead to the reestablishment of equilibrium (Somasundaram et al., 2000). Most people pull together and function during and after a traumatic event. Mental health interventions should seek to re-establish linkages between individuals and groups through outreach, support groups, and community organisation.

2.9.2. Culturally appropriate interventions

The trauma approach has suffered from ethnocentrism and cultural bias and the unfortunate result is that well intentioned psychosocial assessments and interventions become neo-colonial impositions these reduce local peoples' sense of dignity, empowerment, and positive cultural identity (Dawes, 1998). Trauma approaches have been criticised of focussing excessively on psychological problems and issues when it is equally important to recognise the assets and resilience of affected people.

Different violent and political incidents can have distinctive cultural meanings and thus specific impacts. It is not only the traumatic event that requires attention: most particularly, the way in which the individual (or community) interprets the event is vitally important when considering a strategy for healing. Psychologist Michael Wessells, reflecting on his experience of working in Angola, argues that in Sub-Saharan Africa, spirituality and community are at the centre of life (Hamber, 2003).

For example, Hamber (2003) speaks of an Angolan boy whose parents were killed. He was forced to flee and may not need in the first instance to talk through his experience in a safe and supportive environment. Rather, the major stressor for the boy may be the spiritual discord and resultant communal problems following from his inability to conduct the proper burial ritual for his parents.

Culture represents an internalisation of values, customs, mores, and culturally rooted beliefs as well as 'rules' pertaining to social interaction and self-presentation. This treatment

objective expresses the view that an understanding of cultural differences is important when a clinician is treating a client from a non-Western culture (Wilson, et al., 2000).

2.9.3. Analysis of psycho-social support

Wessells (2008) in the context of violence, politics and trauma asserts that six features of African armed conflicts warrant special attention in an analysis of psychosocial support. First, many of the conflicts are protracted, making it questionable to refer to psychosocial afflictions as acute reactions or pathologies or to talk of a 'post-traumatic' environment. Second, many African conflicts arise in no small part out of structural violence such as inequities and political oppression. Third, many African conflicts are grounded in a volatile mixture of poverty, weak governance, and fragile political and economic systems. Africa offers powerful testimony to Gandhi's dictum that poverty is the greatest form of violence (Collier, 2003). Fourth, conflicts shatter the civil society that is the foundation of peace and development. In many cases, war undermines social cohesion (Collier et al., 2003), and the desperate nature of the living conditions make it difficult for people to support each other as neighbours. Fifth, according to Wessells (2008) terms such as 'armed conflict' or even alternatives such as 'political violence' do not capture the diversity that is hidden beneath their labels. It is valuable to remember that different kinds of conflict and violence produce different patterns of psychosocial distress. Genocide such as that in Rwanda in 1994 may have unique psychosocial effects both in the transformation of government and civil society into a killing apparatus and in the creation of profound existential fears and identity threats experienced by the ethnic groups that had been targeted (Wessells, 2008). Lastly, rape and other forms of gender-based violence (GBV) are integral elements of armed conflict in African countries. Rape is often used as a terror tactic and has also been used as a means of ethnic cleansing.

The above factors should serve as a reminder of the complex nature of trauma that requires comprehensive, holistic, sophisticated psychosocial intervention programmes. In addition, this serves as a reminder of the importance of the work with men as they are mostly regarded as perpetrators of violence.

2.10. Guidelines for integrating trauma-work into peace-building work

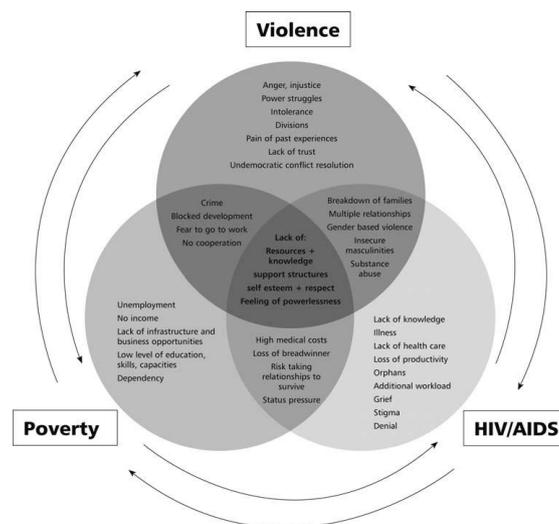
Although it is not possible for peace-builders to be experts in all areas, it is essential that they at least have a basic familiarity with trauma (Zehr, 2008). In recent years, conducting peace and conflict impact analysis has become a standard component of much of peace-building. In addition to the standard questions involved in impact assessments, Zehr (2008) suggests a few additional questions could be added to address trauma. These might include the following: “How much exposure to trauma has the community had? What are its current coping mechanisms? What is the resilience level of the community? What potential negative or positive effect will a project have on the trauma levels of the community?” Being trauma sensitive does not mean that difficult emotional or psychological issues should necessarily be avoided (Zelizer, 2008).

Higson-Smith (2002) presents a model of intervention that takes cognisance of the understanding of the consequences of civil violence in terms of fragmentation and disempowerment. Higson-Smith (2002) asserts that communities affected by violence, HIV/AIDS and poverty are confronted with severe challenges. There are many ways that these problems impact on individuals, families and communities and how they respond to them. Some responses lead to additional problems and can create disempowerment, fragmentation and repetitive destructive problem cycles.

In searching for meaningful interventions, the Sinani Manual (2008) states one crucial point, i.e. the acknowledgement that peace-building needs to be integrated with development work and psychosocial support. As presented in the diagram below, many conflicts, problem cycles and narrative frameworks related to violence, poverty and HIV/AIDS within communities overlap and reinforce each other. Improvement on one level can be destroyed by insufficient change on others. At the same time, changes in one area can trigger changes in another.

Work with existing community based systems or structures (community-based organizations (CBOs), leadership/key stakeholders, actors of change, and traditional structures in the community) on different levels is of crucial importance in achieving a certain degree of impact. Intervention ideas include personal development, trauma support, organizational development, conflict resolution and leadership skills, community awareness campaigns and

economic development skills etc., addressing issues around violence, poverty and HIV/AIDS. The intervention instruments are very diverse and are adjusted to specific target groups, objectives and the programme area. Networking and cooperating with other Non-Governmental Organisations or government structures, resource persons, and training and research institutions who are experts in specific areas is a key component in this intervention approach in order to increase impact with limited resources, as well as to avoid duplication (Sinani Manual, 2008).



(Figure 2: Sinani Manual, 2008)

2.11. The need for Research

It does require minimal research, at the least, to investigate how trauma-support programmes may be integrated into peace-building interventions. In addition, to ensure that projects be conducted in a sensitive manner and avoid inflicting additional harm on participants. There is no single model for how this should be done; it depends in part on an organization's culture, location, type of activity, staffing, and so on. There is a need to provide increased information, research, support and training in this area for local and international staff, who are from and working directly in conflict regions (Zelizer, 2008).

2.12. Conclusion

In chapter 2 a thorough explanation has been provided on the meaning of trauma and various implications thereof for a contextual healing processes. The chapter presented the psychosocial work or psychosocial support, where three psychosocial interventions are proposed: community development, counselling and psycho-education. The chapter drew attention to gaps in the area of trauma and peace and the need to pay attention to a holistic, community-based approach, to recognition of the resilience of communities and ensuring cultural appropriateness of interventions. The next chapter focuses on theoretical implications undergirding the explanations provided in this in-depth literature review.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3. Introduction

The previous chapter drew attention to various aspects of the role of trauma and peace as well as holistic psychosocial interventions. This chapter builds on a framework from Johan Galtung (1996) and another from the psychologist Shaik's Theory from the Sinani Trauma Manual (2005). Both offer a sound theoretical basis for the research argument of the interconnectedness between trauma-support work and peace-building.

3.1. Theories on Trauma and Peace-building

Over the past decades, peace-building and trauma studies have emerged as interdisciplinary fields that better seek to understand these social phenomena and to develop appropriate responses. Practitioners of peace-building often work in severely conflicted settings with groups that have been exposed to traumatic events, while a number of trauma professionals interact with individuals and groups from conflicted regions. Despite increased cooperation based on the work of scholars and practitioners who have begun to explore the intersection between peace-building and trauma, significant challenges remain, particularly concerning how peace builders can make their work more trauma-sensitive (Maiese, 2008).

Maiese (2008) continues to state that a trauma-sensitive approach to peace-building assumes that an organization or individual involved in peace-building will understand the potential negative or positive interactions of the intervention on the psychological well-being of the participants and larger community. It will be clear about the ethical guidelines of working in potentially trauma-affected areas and, if appropriate, in partnership with other trained professionals; and ensure that project staff is equipped to deal with potential psychological difficulties or has the necessary support.

Similarly, Hamber (2003) and Wessells (2008) emphasise that truth acknowledgement and justice cannot be separated out from the healing process. Psychosocial interventions which

operate in a vacuum are less effective than, and cannot in themselves replace the need for, truth, acknowledgement and justice. St. Just (2006) speaks about trauma as a collection of symptoms as it is often portrayed in western literature, and does not highlight trauma as an event or series of events of extreme violence that occur within a social context. Meintjes (2005) argues that the success of holistic peace-building interventions seems to rely on developing a deeper understanding of the trends in relation to violence as well addressing psycho-social processes that may trigger violent events.

3.2. History and Explanation of Galtung's Theory of Peace

Spiritual and religious leaders from the Buddha and Jesus to Gandhi and the Dalai Lama have been inclined to equate peace and love, both in their inner dimensions and in the manner in which people who are spiritually developed interact with others, most acutely with those who may hate and envy them. In the twentieth century, Freud and other depth psychologists explored the vicissitudes of our loving and hating feelings, both toward our 'selves', and to others both near and dear (especially our mothers), and to those distant and often dangerous (the 'enemy' within and without) (Galtung, 1996, p.23).

Writers such as Galtung (1996) observe that since time immemorial, authors have been plagued by the question of what is peace? Is peace like happiness? Are both a normative ideal in the Kantian sense – a regulative principle and ethical virtue indicating how we *should* think and act, even if we often fail to do so – as well as a psychological need – something of which we are normally unaware but sporadically conscious? Then why are violence and war (the apparent contraries of social, or outer, peace), as well as unhappiness and misery (the expressions of a lack of inner peace), so prevalent, not just in our time but for virtually all of recorded human history? Given the facts of history and the ever-progressing understanding of our genetic and hormonal nature, is peace even conceivable, much less possible? These are issues that have been addressed from time immemorial, in oral form since the dawn of civilization and in written form since at least the periods of the great Greek and Indian epochs. But they seem no closer, and perhaps even farther, from resolution than they were at the times of the *Iliad* and the *Mahabharata* (Galtung, 1996, p.23).

‘Peace’, like many theoretical terms, is difficult to define. But also like ‘happiness’, ‘harmony’, ‘love’, ‘justice’ and ‘freedom’, *we often recognize it by its absence*. Consequently, Johan Galtung and others have proposed the important distinction between ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ peace (Galtung, 1996, p.23).

Violence according to Galtung (1996) can be explored using the “Galtung conflict triangle” or “the violence triangle”. This refers to a theoretical model developed by the Norwegian researcher Johan Galtung, who analyzed the causes of violence in three phases: before violence, during violence, and after violence (Dudouet, 2006). Galtung (1996) lists various types of violence that could roughly be classified in three categories: direct violence (behavioural), cultural violence (social constructs) and structural violence. Each of these categories represents individual angles of the violence triangle, which Galtung argues has “built-in vicious cycles.” He separates these categories into visible and invisible ones (Galtung, 1996).

According to Galtung (1996) the visible effects of direct violence are known: the killed, the wounded, the displaced, the material damage, all increasingly hitting the civilians. But the invisible effects may be even more vicious: direct violence reinforces structural and cultural violence. The Sinani Trauma Handbook (2005) argues that the invisible effects of violence may even be past painful experiences, invisible wounds and scars inflicted by the trauma of witnessing the death of a loved one.

Galtung (1996) further claims that although the cultural and structural aspects of the conflict are invisible, they in fact play the most important role during the prevention and rehabilitation stages of a conflict. He states that it is “cultural and structural violence [that] cause direct violence, using violent actors who revolt against the structures and using the culture to legitimize their use of violence as instruments. The direct violence may be the lesser evil, at least in the longer term, than the structural and cultural damage wrought.” (Galtung, 1996, pp.1-2).

Therefore, positive peace denotes the simultaneous presence of many desirable states of mind and society, such as harmony, justice, equity, etc. Negative peace has historically denoted the

‘absence of war’ and other forms of wide-scale violent human conflict. Many philosophical, religious and cultural traditions have referred to peace in its ‘positive’ sense. (Galtung, 1996, p.23).

3.3. Shaik’s Theory of unresolved Trauma

Similarly, Shaik in Sinani Trauma Handbook (2005) describes the cycle of violence by emphasizing that exposure to violence leads to extreme fear, hurt and anger. If the person is not well supported after the violence, one of three things may happen:

- The anger may be taken out (displaced) onto others, for example in the form of domestic violence, sexual violence
- The anger may grow inside the person, and turn into hatred and the desire for revenge. This is common where a person’s dignity has been damaged, and where close family have been attacked or killed. The cycle of violence then continues
- Some survivors of violence blame themselves for the violence. These people sometimes feel so bad about themselves that they unconsciously put themselves at risk of further violence. They may then be re-victimised.

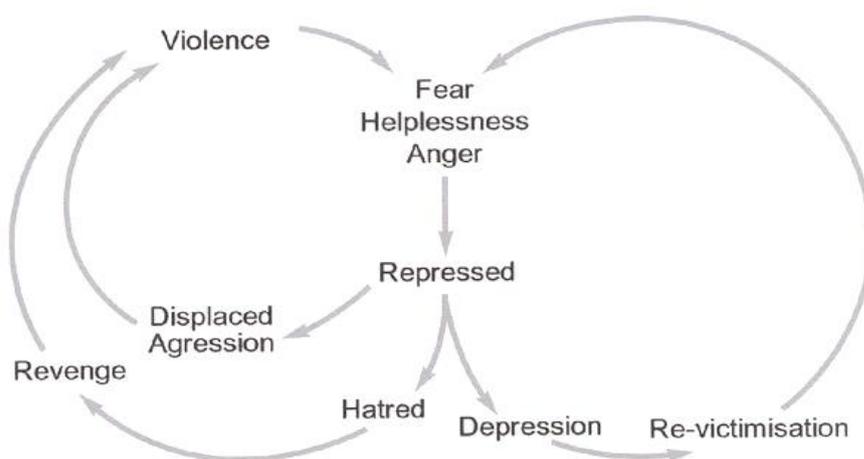


Figure 3: Shaik in Sinani Trauma Handbook (2005)

However, the journey to peace is possible. Sinani Trauma Handbook (2005) argues that if a person’s fear, hurt and anger are expressed and contained in a safe relationship, then peace is

more likely. Through a process of unpacking the trauma in detail, and also the feelings around the incident, the person is able to heal. Sinani Trauma Handbook (2005) continues to state that it is important that the hurt and anger are genuinely acknowledged by someone trustworthy. Eventually the person may even be able to reconcile either at a personal level by accepting what happened or by letting go of plans for revenge. Moving towards personal reconciliation may have very positive benefits for the person and the community involved (Sinani Trauma Handbook, 2005).

This research focussed on the debates around the definitions and clinicalisation or socialisation of trauma, though it will be highlighted as the conceptualisation of trauma is often interlinked with questions of role and impact. In recent years, the limits of the trauma paradigm have become increasingly conspicuous. Withering conceptual assaults have identified numerous limits of a medical model and its problematic western assumptions and foci on pathology, symptoms and therapeutic, curative processes (Bracken et al., in Wessells, 2008, p.2).

3.4. Conclusion

The theories above reveal the assertion that there is no single pathway to sufficiently explain the development of aggressive behaviour, however there is a convincing argument proposed by the two theories upon which this research has attempted to build. The current research study has further developed the assertions of Maiesse (2003) as well as Do and Lyer (2009) which support the notion that unresolved trauma sets the tone and lays the ground for future conflicts. The research study further focussed on unpacking the concept of violence and its political links as well as violence in relation to trauma by building on Galtung and Shaik's theories of violence as well as the notion of positive and negative peace, with an emphasis on enabling and maintaining positive peace. It has attempted to show that not addressing trauma affects positive and negative peace.

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 revealed the need for more research and an appreciation of the intertwining of the two phenomena: trauma and peace building and how their interrelatedness contributes to lasting peace (Levine, 1997). In addition, ideas concerning

practical intervention strategies that can be employed by practitioners in these fields are still missing. The study has attempted to advance these fields through the proposed hypothesis, which postulated that if trauma support work is ignored, and not integrated into peace-building efforts, certain victims of past violence are at risk for becoming perpetrators of future violence.

The hypothesis was tested through an empirical study conducted using primary data (focus group discussion and in-depth interviews), which investigated the questions of meaning, value and role of trauma support work through the lens of stress and trauma workshops conducted by the NGO for which the researcher works. Furthermore it made use of the content analysis approach to analyse data and construct meaning.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4. Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the theoretical framework appropriate for the study.

Chapter 4 provides the methodology for the study, which is primarily a qualitative research methodology. Data collection for the study was obtained through interviews in focus group discussions. Two focus group interviews were conducted over a period of 2 days with a total of 16 participants, 9 in group 1 and 7 in group 2. The selection approach for participants was a purposive sampling methodology. The gender composition count yielded a total of 7 males and 9 females.

4.1. Research Methods

The methodology for this thematic research involved a primarily qualitative research methodology that included focus group discussions which were qualitative in nature. The selection of participants was a random selection technique where a regular peace forum was organised and some participants from the meeting volunteered to participate in the study.

In accordance with the research methodology, a purposive sample of 16 participants was selected from uMbumbulu community, which in the 1990s was declared as a violence 'hot spot' in KwaZulu-Natal (Sinani Peace-building Manual, 2008).

Content analysis was the methodology utilised to analyse data in this research. Content analysis is a method of analysis usually applied in a qualitative research context. The essence of this approach meant identifying coherent and important examples, themes, and patterns in the data. Adopting this approach meant using a coding system to group all themes and sub-themes that emerged from the data. At times this involved pulling together all the data that addressed a particular research question. Research results were documented in report form and communicated to participants before and after the final report.

4.1.1. Desk research

Qualitative reflection of articles and journals compiled in the 1990s and 2000s, in the field of trauma and peace-building were downloaded and discussed in the research study. A summary of key positions from the journals was articulated in the literature review section of the research study.

4.1.2. Field research

A participatory exploratory field study to investigate the research study's core knowledge areas was conducted in November 2011 exploring the meaning, value and role of trauma support work in peace building, the impact of trauma support work in peace building, as well as the existing intervention strategies that can be shared with other practitioners and the donor community integrating the two themes of trauma and peace. Two focus group discussions were conducted with participants that had been exposed to trauma support work and those that had never been, both selected from uMbumbulu Community. A questionnaire with 10 questions was used as the main guide for the focus group discussions.

4.1.3. Field Sampling

A sample of 16 participants was selected from uMbumbulu community, which was in the 1990s declared as a violence 'hot spot' in KwaZulu-Natal. Purposive sampling was used to draw the 16 participants who participated in the interviews and focus group discussions. Participants were selected from the uMbumbulu Peace Forum and Community Development Forum which comprises representatives of traditional leaders, elected leaders, Community Policing Forum, South African Police Services and warlords. Most of the members of the groups were directly linked and involved in the violence of the early 1980s which according to representatives from the uMbumbulu Leadership forum resulted in over 3000 deaths.

4.1.4. Sample Composition

The following schedule was initially proposed at supervision: focus groups and interviews based on traumatised and non-traumatised participant criteria. Each group was to be comprised of four warlords, two civil society participants (one traumatised and one non-traumatised) and Leadership made up of 2 traditional leaders and Political Leadership (one traumatised and one non-traumatised). Civil society representatives were chosen from Community Policing Forums and from Development Committees. The criteria used to distinguish trauma and non-trauma groups was based on the following criteria: identifying those participants who had undergone the Sinani 5 day Trauma Counselling process (non-trauma) and those who had not attended (trauma).

4.1.5. Reasons for sample composition

The Sinani participants of the peace-building intervention described the warlords, traditional and political leaders as people who became a focal point of violence on the area, in particular both the faction fights and the political violence that ensued in the province in the 1980's. Many of the warlords were known perpetrators of violence and created much fear in the community. Those that arrived were extremely scared, and many others did not arrive. Participants who were warlords had trained and dedicated their lives to fighting. Honour and revenge were important principles to them. Therefore they were identified as a key grouping for the purpose of this research, which sought to investigate the relationship between violence and trauma. Traditional and political leadership were selected as people who were involved in planning, strategising and negotiating the events and ensuring proper behaviour of the community. They were seen as custodians of peace-building, they would control the crowds and monitor the interactions between men and women.

They would be present to prevent conflict, should there be tension about the outcome of the conflict. In the aftermath of the conflict they are to ensure reconciliation and maintain the peace. Civil society was also identified as one key grouping to work with, in particular

representatives from the Community Policing Forums and Development Committees as they were often direct targets of the violence. In addition they played a key role in perpetrating violence as well as resolving the conflicts.

4.2. Data Collection methods

In-depth interviews and focus group discussions were used with open-ended non leading questions focusing on the above mentioned knowledge areas. A questionnaire was developed with 10 open questions for the purpose of generating discussion in the focus group and in-depth interviews. This also involved a primarily qualitative research methodology that included both quantitative and qualitative research data. Qualitative meaning that research was conducted in such a way that it produced descriptive data such as people's own spoken word and experiences, quantitative meant use of numeric data.

4.3. Data collection process

Sinani had for the past 8 years worked with the various groups and there was an already existing working relationship with the group. The researcher was to communicate the research purpose and outcomes with the group, assisted by the previously existing bond of trust. However, it remained imperative to communicate the research purpose and outcomes to the group as stated in the Sinani Research Policy.

This phase of the research was conducted from 1st November-16 November 2011. It must be noted that the researcher had a journal wherein she documented interesting findings. The interviews were transcribed. A number of challenges emerged in the process of the executing the research which will be discussed below.

4.4. Challenges in operationalising focus groups

A number of challenges were encountered whilst implementing the research. The challenge of sample size, the collapse of the trauma and non-trauma selection criteria as well as ethical

considerations emerged when dealing with victims of violence. Sample size decreased from 0 to 16 due to research timing issues. Most participants who had volunteered through consent forms to be part of the focus group discussion were involved in a local development project at the time of the scheduled interview. The collapse of the trauma-non trauma selection criteria occurred due to the unpredictable nature of community development work and the precarious timing of the research fieldwork. (See Appendix 1). There was an unintended collapse of trauma and non-trauma groups (see below 6.4.2. for more details) as well as an unexpected number of interviewees who volunteered to be part of the research.

4.4.1. Collapsing of trauma and non-trauma criteria

In principle the focus groups were intended to tease out traumatised and non-traumatised participants. However because of unpredictable nature of the work involved unintended participants arrived who would not be turned away as this would increase the potential of conflict. This was something identified as problematic and needed to be addressed before phase two of the fieldwork. This was also a result of the nature of community development work. When a meeting is called in an impoverished community, such as uMbumbulu, regardless of what was explained prior to the meeting, there is a tendency to indirectly raise expectations to the community, that employment possibilities may be generated.

Another dynamic was that people felt safer accompanied by other people, however the researcher remained aware that several motives may arise where human nature is concerned, and especially in previously volatile conflict riddled areas.

In addition, in the first group and second groups, two ladies broke down during the group discussion, albeit that the situation was contained professionally. In the first group, the lady became emotional and she left the room crying. One member of the group followed her and made sure she was taken care of. Options were given to her to terminate her involvement in the process or to see the researcher for individual counselling after the interview. In the second group another lady was emotional, but she insisted that the process of talking was very helpful to her as she felt some relief after sharing and hearing painful stories of other people. She appeared very resilient and she had a good support system (her neighbour was

there) and the researcher observed a good relationship of trust with the neighbour and Sinani. Both members are part of ongoing Sinani psycho-social programmes which involve stress and trauma counselling and monthly debriefings, and they are able to receive support from these interventions. However in both instances, the researcher created space for both participants to talk to the researcher and arrange for individual counselling after the focus group meeting. The offer was well received by the two ladies. Issues of confidentiality were re-emphasised. Warlords requested to be interviewed on their own as they felt they will not be comfortable discussing their war experiences with 'normal' people from the community. They believed they had special experiences and they would be able to share more if they are given a separate space to share.

The researcher responded by stating that she would have to request permission from the supervisor with regard to this request. Their request was therefore not granted. This however did not have any negative consequence as the warlords are part of existing Sinani support groups with set psycho-social programmes and regular follow-ups.

4.4.2. Informed Consent

Participants were required to demonstrate their willingness to participate in the research study by granting the researcher permission to interview them, through the signing of consent forms. The consent forms clearly outlined in lay-man language information on the whole research process namely the aims, process and outcomes of the research. The forms stipulated that participation in the research study was voluntary and that each participant had a right to withdraw at any stage should they wish. The rule of anonymity was effected meaning that real identities of participants was not to be used. The consent forms were in IsiZulu, the first language of the participants.

The researcher presented the research design at a local community leadership meeting comprised of traditional leaders, political leaders, and civil society representatives from the uMbumbulu district. The forum meets monthly to discuss maintaining peace in the area of uMbumbulu. The research was presented in the November 2011 forum meeting. Participants who were willing to participate in the research volunteered at that meeting. Participants

demonstrated their willingness to participate in the research study by granting the researcher permission to interview them, through the granting of written and verbal consent.

The informed consent form clearly outlined in the participants' mother tongue information on the whole research process namely the aims, process and outcomes of the research. It stipulated that participation in the research study was voluntary and that each participant had a right to withdraw at any stage should they wish. The rule of anonymity applied, meaning that participants were informed that their real identities will not to be exposed. The consent forms were written in IsiZulu, the first language of the participants.

4.5. Ethical Considerations

There researcher made use of the Sinani Research Policy that was developed in consultation with communities which talks to issues of confidentiality, non-harmful research methodologies, research feedback to communities, as well as capacity building considerations in all research undertaken by researchers in communities affected by violence and trauma. The responsibility will be on the researcher to retrieve this document, read it and implement the policy accordingly (www.survivors.org.za).

The research was cleared by the University Of KwaZulu-Natal College Of Humanities Research Ethics Committee in accordance with the ethical policy of the University. The researcher obtained debriefing after the focus group discussions. Arrangements for counselling were made for participants who required further emotional support. Participants during the focus group discussions were offered a choice to immediately terminate involvement if the interviews became too distressing for them.

4.6. Conclusion

The chapter highlighted the nature of the research methodology which was primarily a qualitative research framework comprised of 2 focus group discussions with an organized leadership forum based in uMbumbulu. In addition random sampling was used as a method

of sample selection. Various factors are also discussed which are related to the research process as well as the data collection process. The next Chapter focuses on an analysis framework identified to codify data and emerging patterns.

Chapter 5: Research Results and Analysis

5. Introduction

The chapter provides a detailed analysis framework, proving how data collected from participants who attended trauma recovery workshops conducted by Sinani and those who did not attend trauma workshops was systematically organized and analysed. Content analysis was used to analyse data. The researcher identified coherent themes and patterns using an open system of coding subsequent to several readings of the data.

5.1. Results

The research study explored the experiences of participants who attended trauma recovery workshops conducted by Sinani. In particular, it explored how participants who had attended these workshops could serve as catalysts to peace by examining their experiences of violence in relation to trauma and peace-building. In addition, it looked at the experiences of participants who had not undergone trauma counselling and how this impacted on their lives. Furthermore, a literature review was conducted of recent research reports which addressed the topics of trauma and peace-building from a psycho-social perspective. The proposed hypothesis was that if trauma support work is ignored in post conflict peace building processes, certain survivors of past violence are at risk of becoming perpetrators of future violence. The results will show that valuing the interconnectedness of trauma and peace as well as integrating trauma support programmes in peace-building will yield to sustainable peace. Research results were documented through tape recorders and transcribed by the researcher. In relation to data from transcripts, the University recommended an alpha-numeric system, e.g. A1, C13 etc. where: A represented-warlord, B represented- Traditional leader, Political leader was represented by BA, DC represented-Development Committee, NT-represented non trauma sample(those who underwent trauma counselling), T-trauma sample (those who did not undergo trauma counselling). The numbering had no particular meaning, it merely represented the respondent's responses numerically and sequentially.

A comparison of participants who had undergone trauma counselling and those who had not undergone trauma counselling from studying transcripts, revealed that there were no striking differences in terms of experiences of the value of trauma-support work, between the participants who had attended the trauma workshops and those who had not attended the trauma workshops. My belief is that although the participants had not been part of the structured trauma workshops, they had previous exposure to psycho-social workshops through programs of the leadership peace forum, hence the research could not make conclusive findings in this regard.

5.2. Analysis

The researcher made use of the content analysis qualitative research method. It involved identifying coherent themes and patterns in the data (Patton, 1987). The researcher guided by the hypothesis and research questions looked for quotations and observations that went together, that were examples of the same underlying idea, issue or concept. The researcher did this by reading through field notes and transcribed interviews (see Appendix 4) while writing comments in the margins. After this the data was organised into topics using a coding system. The categorisation resembled an index for a book of labels for a filing system. Several readings of the data were necessary before it was completely indexed. An inductive analysis was used which meant that patterns, themes and categories of analysis came from the data rather than being decided prior to data collection. Categories were judged by two criteria: internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity. The first criterion concerned itself with the extent to which the data that belong in a certain category hold together or dovetail in a meaningful way. It was based on scores of frequency of the data i.e. the number of respondents expressing a particular view, the type of respondent and the number of times the issue or topic emerged from various respondents throughout the interviews (Patton, 1987).

The second criterion focussed on the extent to which differences among categories were bold and clear (Patton, 1987). The researcher worked back and forth between the data and the classification system to verify the meaningfulness and accuracy of the categories and the placement of data in categories. Once categories were established based on the criteria

discussed above, the researcher had to deal with how to ‘flesh out’ the categories. The researcher conducted this process in the following way:

- Extension: building on items of information already known from literature reviews, standard practice in the psycho-social field (Patton, 1987).
- Bridging: making connections among different items from the data itself (Patton, 1987).
- Surfacing: proposing new information that ought to fit and then verifying its existence (Patton, 1987).

5.3. Phased analytical approach

This section will elaborate and provide additional detail on how the above discussed analysis sequentially unfolded.

Phase 1: Reading of data several times

The reading of transcripts, focus group interviews several times by the researcher underlining all key words, phrases and sentences which allude to the research question and in the backdrop guided by the research hypothesis was conducted.

Phase 2: Looking for recurring regularities and labelling data into themes next to respondents on margins (see Appendix 2. and 3.)

Here the researcher read transcripts of the focus group interviews several times and began looking for emerging patterns through checking for scores of frequency: counting the number of times each word, phrase or sentence appeared from each respondent as well as counting the number and type of respondent(s) sighting similar, words, phrases or sentences. Furthermore the researcher went on to check for linkages and patterns between words, phrases and sentences which alluded to the hypothesis and marked these with different colours on margins next to respondents responses on the transcript. These identified categories would later form the fourteen themes discussed in detail in Chapter 6 of the analysis.

Phase 3: Coding data into meaningful categories according to respondent responses (see Appendix 2. and 3.)

A system of open coding was used in coding data where categories were selected from the data and were grouped and codified according to several core categories. Open coding “is the part of the analysis concerned with identifying, naming, categorising and describing phenomena found in the text” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.78). The idea was that “each line, sentence, paragraph was read in search of the answer to the repeated question, what is this about and what is being referenced here? Nouns, verbs, adjectives are sort out into categories and properties of these categories are determined” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.78). Properties and dimensions discussed in the analysis came from the data itself, from respondents and from the professional experience of the researcher. The open coding system categorisation was based on the above discussed criteria i.e. internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity. The following categories were selected from the data emerging from transcripts: role/value of trauma, value/role of peace-building, factors contributing to violence and factors contributing to peace-building. Themes emerged from the categorisation system constructed by respondents themselves. The researcher during analysis carefully selected participants who had been through the trauma workshops and those who had not been through the trauma workshops and compared their responses against the selected and identified categories. In addition themes were extracted from the data using the same categories (see Appendix 4).

Phase 4: Results discussion: Grounding themes and interpretation of findings (see Appendix 4.)

The researcher went on to firstly uncover patterns and themes of interpretation that emerged from the above categorisation using the data from the transcribed interviews. Secondly, the researcher then made carefully considered judgments about what is really significant and meaningful in the classified, categorised data by amplifying the above-determined categories and substantiating with evidence, namely quotes from respondents. In addition the researcher

mainly relied on the data as transcribed and categorised, allowing the data to speak for itself as well as building on previous research undertaken in the field as outlined in the literature review, furthermore using her professional experience as a Sinani facilitator/counsellor in undertaking this thematic interpretation.

5.4. Conclusion

The chapter highlighted how an analysis framework was formulated in sequential steps using data collected from fieldwork research. The next chapter grounds the analysis through the interpretation of themes that emerged from the phased analytical approach.

Chapter 6: Discussion of results

6. Introduction

The chapter discusses results. A number of factors that contribute to violence and those that address trauma and contribute to peace were identified substantiated by actual quotes from participants. The section deals with interpretation and grounding of themes that emerged in the analysis of results (see **Phase 4 and Appendix 4**). The fourteen emerging themes and patterns are discussed in a way that gives meaning and context for our research study of trauma and peace. Using the core knowledge areas as outlined in the introductory section of the current study, it teases out crucial relevant concepts, provides an explanation of the basis of themes through providing supporting evidence from the data to support that interpretation. The research results revealed four key knowledge areas which can be summarised as follows: factors contributing to violence, factors contributing to peace, as well as spiritual and cultural practices that address trauma and support peace.

6.1. Factors contributing to violence

This particular section addresses the first core knowledge area which discusses six factors that *may* contribute to the continuation of violence as shared by respondents in this particular study.

6.1.1. Exposure of children to violence

It would seem that according to several respondents in the study, there are long-term consequences of childhood traumatic exposure. Pynoos and Nader (1998) assert that traumatic experiences affect children's appraisals of threat, meanings assigned to aspects of the event, emotional and cognitive coping, capacities to tolerate their reactions, and abilities to address secondary life changes.

According to 90% of respondents incidences of previous exposure to violence, appeared to have a connection with the perpetration of future acts of violence. Several respondents stated,

‘Yes I still see acts of violence in the community and this troubles me. A boy who belongs to the tribe that was fighting in the war is now grown. I heard that he is still involved in the violence. It is obvious that he did not receive help. His behaviour is aggressive, bitter and extremely violent. I heard that he killed the old man in the shebeen for money. They did not receive counselling’ (Respondent C6/DC/NT). Another respondent further mentioned, ‘also headman B’s and headman C’s children they were very young when their father was killed while they were sleeping in the room. The house was a big hut. The mother was also shot. I thought these children were doing well in school but no they are not. We are now confused and they don’t attend school anymore, they drink alcohol. The only thing you will hear is that they have murdered someone’ (Respondent B3/TL/T).

Similarly Herman (1992) asserts that prolonged childhood trauma has a greater impact on the already forming personality. The impact is also more long lasting and needs more long term interventions mostly years of therapy. She continues to state that repeated trauma in adults erodes personality structures already formed whilst repeat trauma in childhood forms and deforms personality.

Respondents sighted the absence of support or what they describe as absence of ‘help’ as the reason for the continuation of violence as reflected in the above responses. Furthermore that the exposure to violence coupled with the absence of support may not only lead to violence but may also create dysfunction in a person’s life. This respondent stated, ‘I always check on headman A’s children, I am not sure whether they are insane or what is happening with them. They were traumatised. These children were clever in school and were known for that. Amongst them, one had an excellent matric pass, but when he started tertiary education, he quit. One of the siblings was well off, but all of a sudden he started drinking. Their father was killed and they were told by other people that their father was murdered when they were still young’ (Respondent B3/TL/T).

Hamber (2000) corroborates the views above, that the psychological consequences of deprivation - one form of structural breakdown that can occur during conflict - are well documented. They include the effects of poor nutrition on the mental and physical development of children, as well as anxiety, depression and stress-related conditions caused

by poor living and occupational conditions. Repression of culture and expression, ethnic intolerance and discrimination - also common in conflict situations - can severely undermine and even destroy social and cultural norms and feelings of identity, belonging and trust in institutions (Hamber, 2000).

This interpretation (children exposure to violence may lead to more violence) is significant as it is in line with (Baingana et al., 2005) that has shown that individuals and communities traumatized by conflict and displacement, experience lasting mental health and psychosocial disorders and they do not easily revert to normal once the violence ends. As a result there is increasing recognition that addressing mental health and psychosocial needs in conflict and post-conflict situations is critical for reducing the likelihood of future conflicts and ensuring effective and sustainable reconstruction (Baingana et al., 2005).

6.1.2. Violence a ‘normal’ phenomenon

According to 70% of respondents violence in some communities was part of everyday life. Violence had achieved a certain level of normalcy. One respondent stated, ‘Here in Sunduzwayo, I can say that there was violence, they stole and there was crime in our community. Things are fine now, but in other areas they have not stopped they think it is a normal thing, we are scared. They talk to you violently and we fear for our lives. In this area they have not stopped the crime. They are aggressive and violent’ (Respondent BA1/PL/NT).

Whilst another stated, ‘I don’t want to dwell in the past but when we are together you can sense when one says something, I am always reminded (about war) and then they bring knives in gatherings. On Sunday there was a conflict women were stabbed with a bottle by someone who came from another area. You can see that the person still has acts of violence and I found out they are not healed’ (Respondent C5/DC/T). Another mentions, ‘from what happened in the past we can see that something is about to happen again’ (Respondent A1/W/T).

Violence as a normal phenomenon may need further investigation as a theme as this study were not conclusive on the issue of violence being normalised, whether it may or may not lead to more violence.

6.1.3. Previous exposure to violence and future acts of violence

There appears from the data a definite link between previous exposure to violence and current exposure to violence as respondents stated in the above themes. 90% of respondents confirmed the view in this way, 'I heard one person say, I want to repeat and say my sibling the one who is in jail is the one who killed the headman's son and his younger brother. They were still very young when their father was murdered in their home, from what I am seeing they are seeking revenge; they want to know who the people that killed their father' (Respondent-B2/TL/T).

However as discussed above other respondents mentioned the continuation of the cycle of violence happens if there has been no support in the form of reconciliation meetings, talks, cleansing rituals and counselling for the affected individuals and their families. For example, one respondent noted, 'Mr B was violated he does not know anything about the counselling, the only thing he knows is fighting with a gun' (Respondent B2/TL/T).

This is significant and in accordance with Sinani Trauma Manual (2005) which argues that a person who has experienced violence and represses feelings of fear, anger and hurt may perpetuate more acts of violence in the form of hatred, grudges, revenge attacks, displaced aggression or re-victimisation which may lead to further exposure to risk and violence.

The journey to peace is possible, if a person's fear, hurt and anger are expressed and contained in a safe relationship, then peace is more likely. Through a process of unpacking the trauma in detail, and also the feelings around the incident the person is able to heal (Sinani Trauma Manual, 2005).

6.1.4. Ambiguous role of SAPS

Respondents spoke ambiguously about the role of the police. 80% of the respondents shared strong views about the responsibility of police in maintaining peace and order in society, however some expressed that there were instances where police did not live up to their expected role. For example respondent (C5/DC/T) stated, 'What I can say is police helped us and they gave us that little support they told us how to solve problem'. Whilst on the other hand respondent (C8/DC/T) stated, "What I can say is if police gave us support it would have been better, they also had a hand in the violence, they wanted you to mention the names of the perpetrators and they could not find out on their own, the police are also criminals they stole my mother's money, after they came to search our house. I don't like police even when I see their cars I get angry I cannot work with them. I would have preferred them to do their job, the cases were unresolved they did nothing, gave no feedback even now nobody was arrested I don't like uMbumbulu police.'

A significant number of these respondents attributed the failure of police to the fragmented community structures and incompetent leadership. For example, respondent (C5/DC/T) stated, 'If our leaders are trained well they can help, they have the power to communicate peace in the community, we should have meetings with them and they can also assist with peace.' In addition, respondent (A3/W/T) stated, 'My view is that we should meet with leaders, sit down and talk. If we had talks with leaders, peace talks, this could have been avoided'. In addition few respondents mentioned how being perceived as a person who has a relationship with the police can be misconstrued and viewed negatively in fragmented communities and sometimes even life-threatening. 'They will find that B2 is a bad person because he is working with the police but no B2 is going to uMbumbulu for forum meetings' (Respondent B2/TL/T).

Similarly Ball (2005) asserts that poor people complain that police are unresponsive, corrupt and brutal. Where police do function, any act of corruption can significantly undermine their effectiveness (Ball, 2005).

6.1.5. Victims of multiple trauma and continuous trauma

Many respondents experienced multiple and continuous trauma, in particular when speaking of the various incidences of trauma and impact of prolonged violence where acts of extreme violence were not single and isolated but rather multiple and extended over a period of time in such a way that individuals were victimised more than once. Many respondents sighted being exposed to multiple traumas simultaneously. Respondents shared stories of this multiple victim phenomenon, ‘We all went through terrible experiences through the war, I remember it started when I was in primary school, this is where my brother was shot by police and he died. After these wars we saw people dying in front of us and we slept in the bushes. I remember I was pregnant when we hid in bushes, our power supply was not functioning and we lost our belongings’ (Respondent C2/DC/T).

According to Hamber (2000) such micro-effects of violence can continue to ripple through communities for decades thereafter. This is significant as in such cases current studies show that people who have experienced multiple traumas simultaneously, i.e. traumatic extent has a bearing on the nature and extent of healing and reconciliation processes undertaken.

Herman (1992) asserts that the extent of the distress caused by a traumatic incident may be worsened by: the number of times one was exposed, the length of the exposure, the different types of trauma one is exposed to, the relationship within which the traumatic incident occurs, the age at which the exposure takes place and the degree of safety from re-exposure.

6.2. Measures contributing to peace

This section discusses five measures that according to respondents support peace. According to Erickson (2009), many peace-building partners have developed holistic approaches to trauma healing which address the psychological, social, and spiritual welfare of individuals and communities through a wide range of approaches such as counselling, prayer, traditional reconciliation rituals, and involvement in advocacy to address root causes of violence. The respondents in this study highlighted these practices concretely.

6.2.1. Counselling/Expression of feelings

Contrary to the common belief that in black, African societies counselling is still a strange phenomenon imposed by western schools of thoughts, in this particular study the process of talking about painful past experiences was described by 90% of participants as extremely valuable. Respondents who had undergone trauma counselling spoke openly of the value of expressing your feelings to someone and the benefits attached to this process. For example, this respondent stated, 'I am where I am because of counselling, I think the cleansing ceremony is because people are not educated. I think counselling teaches us the right way and helps us mentally. I want my children to be educated because it does not help to teach children to shoot people, counselling is needed' (Respondent B3/TL/T).

Many respondents expressed that they were able to deal with the pain, heal, let go of grudges and forgive though the painful scars and memories remained. For example, this respondent stated, 'It has helped a lot now in our area I can feel change now that we have talked. We can see the difference in a person who has had counselling; even though the memories don't end you still feel that counselling was enough to start the healing process' (Respondent B2/TL/NT). Another stated, 'What I can say is that if you have a problem, sitting down with those people helps a lot, it heals our broken heart and enables you to ventilate but if you bottle things inside it becomes a sore in your heart.' Respondent-C2/DC/T. Respondents perceived that talking about your problem to someone reduces pain and offers healing.

What constantly emerged from participants was the connection between receiving counselling and the reduction of violence. Many respondents as shown above sighted a lack of emotional support as a contributing factor in the continuation of violence. For example, respondent (B1/TL/T) stated, 'I think we did not receive counselling to these bad situations that have occurred, if there is nobody showing up and advising him about correcting certain matters the person will not know when they are wrong. He will go around killing thinking that he is right and he is powerful whereas it is counselling he did not receive', whilst another stated, 'BK was violating others because he does not know anything about the counselling the only thing he knows is fighting with a gun' (Respondent B2/TL/T).

This interpretation is in accordance with Hamber (2000) who argues that individual interventions characterized by culturally-specific counselling, or as part of a psychosocial programme, can be useful. This can include a range of individualized forms of psychotherapy, group work, family therapy, counselling or support from the community. These forms of support need not only be professional services or psychotherapy. He continues to state that making space for individuals and groups to share experiences, if they so wish, can be beneficial in itself. This may entail a simple process of survivors gathering and sharing (with or without a trained professional) in a familiar space, such as a community centre, religious building or other traditional meeting place (Hamber, 2000).

6.2.2. Competent Leadership and functioning community structures

The research data described the need to have good, trained, reliable, loyal competent leadership as one strong measure in curbing violence. 90% respondents indicated that violence continues in the absence of such leadership. For example this respondent stated, 'If our leaders are trained well they can help, they have the power to communicate peace in the community, we should have meetings with them, and they can also assist with peace' (Respondent C5/DC/T). Another respondent stated, 'people that are uneducated are given leadership, this is what causes conflict, people are sitting in wrong chairs' (Respondent B3/TL/T).

The view above is significant with (Wheeler et al., 2005) commenting on implications for stability for a post conflict state, he asserts, 'strengthening the social contract is key to meeting basic needs and ensuring stability. He continues to state that a social compact between the governed and governing stipulating rights and responsibilities, formal and informal, political, legal, moral and economic is crucial for stability. (Wheeler et al., 2005) continues to state that stability relies fundamentally on the ability of governors to provide basic security and livelihoods for the governed (Wheeler et al., 2005).

Competent leaders were described as those leaders who understood their role as custodians of peace, development and morality in a community. One respondent stated, 'this is what hurts

me: when we have a Chief and still people died in the tribal wars. When there is a conflict the Chief should come and speak to us regarding the matter whether what we did was a good thing or a bad thing. To this point we do not know what the Chief's view on the matter is and also how he wants us to behave in future, or tell us about respect' (Respondent A1/W/T).

Competent leaders were further described as those who understood the critical role they play as law enforcers, moral guides, peace-makers and peace-builders. Respondents spoke of leadership as a key contributing factor to achieving peace. For example, Respondent (A3/W/T) stated, 'If the leader can take these matters seriously, this (referring to loss of lives) could have been avoided. There will never be peace in those areas; there will always be problems because if I can hear clearly what the headman is saying, even now there is hatred. My view is that we should meet with the leaders, sit down and talk. If we can have talks with leaders, peace talks than this could be avoided. But if we do not sit down and talk then the fights will start again' (Respondent A3/W/T).

Akin to the above, the Sinani Peace-building Handbook (2005) says there are many systems within any community. These systems are multi-layered and complex. They affect one another. What happens at one level also affects the other levels. Small changes at some levels may have a big impact on the whole community. Leadership according to several respondents seems to represent the latter, where a small change at one level may have a bigger impact on the whole community. It would appear from the data, that considerable knowledge exists on leadership but somehow fails to permeate in the peace-building field, as this respondent explain, 'The reason why people are violated and children are violated is because leaders are not straight' (Respondent A1/W/T).

The respondents seem to suggest a need to provide comprehensive understanding of sustainable peace-building and leadership principles. In addition they reveal the importance of collaborative leadership in peace-building settings.

6.2.3. Civic Education

Respondents spoke of the role of Civil Society and the role civil education programs play in curbing violence and restoring peace and stability in individuals as well as communities at large. One respondent puts it this way, ‘People get educated by doing workshops there is no other way besides this’ (Respondent A3/W/T). In accordance with Ogbaharya (2008), indeed the existence of civil society and social capital is important in post-conflict societies. In other words, people’s participation is an asset in peace-building.

Positive views were expressed by 90% of respondents about educational workshops and their role which is to allow people to confront their pain, deal with loss in curbing the cycle of violence. For example, one respondent stated, ‘What helped me are workshops, as we meet with the Chiefs and headmen without weapons and talking, this is what makes things better, but if you did not try anything things will be the same, we will still hate each other, meeting Sinani helped a lot’ (Respondent C5/DC/T). The same respondent adds, ‘workshops help us a lot, and they help us achieve peace’. Wessells and Monteiro (2001) assert that structured educational and leisure activities, along with grants and community projects, were an explicit recognition of the positive impact that development and a sense of ownership have upon psychosocial well-being.

This is quite significant because according to Wessells (2008), a key part of transforming a society for peace following such conflict is the rebuilding of civil society, enabling access to education and jobs and creating norms and systems for handling political and ethnic conflict without resort to violence. In this respect, it is essential to connect psychosocial support with wider macro-systems of civil society—educational, political, and economic—that support peace, social justice, and development.

Akin to the above, Hamber (2000) makes this assertion that ‘Psychosocial programmes address the psychological and general health needs of post-conflict populations by promoting and rebuilding the social and cultural context. The methods used in such programmes can vary, often including creative expression through arts and story-telling; the development and promotion of self-help groups; assisting with the completion of grieving and reburial rituals;

an emphasis on re-training, education and re-skilling; the reintegration and reunion of individuals dislocated from communities and families; counselling and group support; information dissemination and connecting people to resources; and at times simply focusing on creating a safe environment where those affected by conflict can meet, network, share experiences and focus on establishing new routines.

These respondents perceived that a good relationship amongst community structures such as Community Policing Forum, Traditional/Political Leadership, and Police builds stronger communities, resilience, tolerance and curbs illiteracy as well as ignorance. Participants encouraged programs that will view the whole community as a target group. i.e. work with the different stakeholders (adults, youth, children, CPF, Police, churches, schools, etc.).

6.3. Spiritual practices addressing trauma and peace

A core knowledge area that emerged from respondents was the spiritual aspect in the question of trauma and peace. The role of God, the Christian God, emerged as a factor in this regard. The question of values and norms is an ongoing discussion in society and in trauma forums. Respondents in the study pronounced on the importance of two values that address trauma and support peace, namely forgiveness and respect.

6.3.1. Role of God

There appeared to be a definite link between spirituality and journey of healing and positive peace. 50% of respondents mentioned God or faith as having a positive impact in the journey towards lasting peace. In general respondents expressed belief in the notion of a God, Christian God that offers hope, positive spirit and faith that one day it will be well. Several respondents shared this view, ‘Religion is what I took now in my adult life and I am now saved, I used to believe an eye for an eye and I was on the hit list of people who were involved in the wars but I survived that list. It also depends which God you serve, when I was saved I realised the concept of an eye for an eye is wrong’ (Respondent A3/W/T). Another stated, ‘A person belongs to God. The fact that Respondent (A1/W/T) survived is not because he is clever, it is because he received God’s protection’ (Respondent B2/TL/T).

Respondents mentioned that God also allows for expression of feelings and releasing of pain. In addition they perceived the role of God or a divine being in the restoration of dignity and respect. This respondent explains it this way, ‘Other things that helped were attending church. This played a major role as well as sports. We were able to express our feelings and release what is in the heart’ (Respondent C5/DC/T).

6.3.2. Forgiveness

There were varying views about the concept of forgiveness, how it links to violence and if it does contribute to healing. On the one hand, 40% perceived forgiveness as a requirement and not a choice in order for healing to happen. On the other hand, other respondents felt it is impossible to forgive in the presence of hurt. The respondents who believed in forgiveness, experienced forgiveness as a tool that ignites the healing process and may contribute to lasting peace regardless of the presence of scars. These respondents shared this view, ‘The reason why it (violence) ended we managed to solve the problem by talking and there was forgiveness and things are fine now’ (Respondent A2/W/T). One respondent stated, ‘It still hurts and I can still feel the pain. When you don’t forgive you often have a burden, you will end up dying having grudges. It helps to release everything’ (Respondent C5/DC/T).

Other respondents expressed concern that community reconciliation and forgiveness was often prioritised over individual forgiveness. Approximately half of the respondents expressed concern that forgiveness often happened without any consultation with the victims or the victim’s family, in addition the scars that remain from the perceived inefficient criminal justice system and the pain of losing a breadwinner make it almost seem impossible for some to forgive. For example one respondent noted, ‘I heard that we forgave each other, no, I did not forgive anyone but there’s nothing I can do but I did not forgive them’ (Respondent C7/DC/NT). According to Sinani Trauma Manual (2005) forgiveness is a complicated process that may take years. It is a very personal decision that should never be imposed on others.

Reading the transcripts several times, the researcher had the impression that people often felt guilty about talking about their pain and anger. Forgiveness was often imposed as a prerequisite for peace. Respondents, in an effort to appease community leaders often agreed. Few respondents shared this concern, 'My mother and I slept in the bushes and in the morning when we woke up from where we were hiding from the violent people, they came with guns and took my dad and my dad had no gun and he could not defend himself. This deeply hurt me. I have been hearing that after this incident there was forgiveness. I did not forgive anybody but I do not hate those people who murdered my family member, but I still have hatred in me even though I received help with my trauma. I am reminded each time I see the murderers' (Respondent C6/DC/BT).

The above interpretation is significant as it is in accordance with Hamber (2000) who asserts that there is always a significant subjective component in an individual's response to a traumatic situation. This can be seen most clearly in disasters where, although a broad cross-section of the population is exposed in an objective sense to the same traumatic experience; individual psychological reactions are markedly different. The individual's reaction depends as much on his or her pre-traumatic personality structure, personal resources, coping strategies, understandings of the cause of the event, resilience and extended community support structure as on the actual traumatic incident.

Hamber (2000) states, truth, acknowledgement and justice cannot be separated out from the healing process. Psychosocial interventions which operate in a vacuum are less effective than, and cannot in themselves replace the need for, truth, acknowledgement and justice. Bringing perpetrators to justice is an important, legitimate and sometimes essential component of a victim's recovery and psychological healing. Amnesties are generally unacceptable to victims. Today, some members of survivor self-help groups in South Africa will speak of a sense of closure, but for most the past is still very much alive.

6.3.3. Respect

Respondents spoke of the notion of respect as key to restoring dignity, curbing violence and contributing to lasting peace. For example, this is what this respondent stated when asked about how peace can be achieved, ‘If our leaders are trained well they can help, and they have the power to communicate peace. They should interact with us and we must have a relationship with them so that we can learn to respect each other’ (Respondent C5/DC/T). Another respondent stated, ‘What I can say is respect, both young and old should have mutual respect, if an elder tells you that’s not the right thing, we should listen and that is the respect’ (Respondent A2/W/T).

Respect was seen by 20% of respondents as a positive notion that links positively with cultural beliefs and can be used as a tool in tackling difficult topics such as violence, peace and trauma. This respondent in support of the above view stated, ‘This is what hurts me: we have a Chief and people died in the faction fights, the Chief should come and speak to us regarding the matter whether what we did was a good thing or a bad thing. To this point we do not know what the Chief’s view on the matter is and also how he wants us to behave, or tell us about respect’ (Respondent A1/W/T). Similarly Becker (2004) states that on a more individual level, we can deduce certain basic attitudes in trauma work from the ideas discussed above that should be valid for everybody working in the context of war and persecution. These basic attitudes can be summed as respect, comprehension and relationship. These three attitudes are something that should be present in every kind of relationship, but they are especially important in the context of trauma (Becker, 2004).

However 10% of respondents sighted that respect if you have been violated and have not dealt psychologically with that sense of violation may not be sufficient. For example, this respondent stated, ‘We can add respect as one of the tools, but respect might not help or is not enough if you have been violated and have not dealt with it’ (Respondent C5/DC/T). Another stated, ‘It will cause people to commit suicide because nobody cares for their feelings because they did not deal with the pain because they were just told to respect’ (Respondent BA1/PL/NT). This is in accordance with what Becker (2004) argues, when he says that if somebody has suffered a terrible loss, wouldn’t it be more appropriate to cry rather than not to cry? In that sense, respect would mean letting a person express her or his distress and grief,

without immediately insisting on calming her or him (Becker, 2004). Respect was seen by participants as an important value for the restoration of human dignity.

6.4. Cultural practices supporting trauma and peace-building

Cultural practices emerged as another crucial knowledge area for several adult respondents, such as cleansing ceremonies and the role of talks.

6.4.1. Cleansing Ceremony rituals

It appears that 50% of respondents viewed traumatic, violent events in the spiritual and cultural realm. The 50% comprised of mostly adult respondents who spoke of African meaning systems such as the cleansing ritual where ancestors are viewed as mediators between human beings and god. But only some move into the stage of being ancestors who lived a certain life and fulfilled certain spiritual obligations. Furthermore a person who has died in a violent way (weapon, accident) needs to be cleansed from that unfortunate occurrence, otherwise, ancestors will not rest peacefully and this can create imbalance and have a bad influence on the living.

This is what some respondents expressed when asked about what is the reason for those who have been violated to violate others, 'For me counselling is different from cleansing. When we talk about going to war we use herbs and we use a healer and if you have been previously involved in wars you need to follow certain rules. When you were involved in fights the healer will collect all people who have used herbs this is called cleansing the black herbs and they would be drained out of their blood. If it does not happen the fights will not stop. The herb makes you feel fearless when you go to fight and you always win' (Respondent A1/W/T). Another respondent stated, 'Many of our people have not been cleansed the ones who died in the wars the community is now supposed to do this cleansing ceremony. We must all get involved to make sure that all the dead are cleansed' (Respondent B2/TL/T).

The interpretation above is significant and in accordance with the assertion of Khuzwayo, Merk & Meintjes (2006) who postulate in ‘The Non-Linearity of Peace Processes: Integrating African Meaning Systems and Systemic Thinking’ that traditional approaches to conflict transformation are a feature of a number of indigenous societies and are particularly common in Africa, especially in societies recovering from the trauma of war. Often, these approaches take the form of cleansing rituals and ceremonies, known as *inhlambuluko* or *ihlambo* in Zulu. The purpose of cleansing ceremonies is to provide an opportunity for the parties that were involved in the conflict to publicly confess their wrongdoings and also to seek forgiveness from the wronged party. Cleansing ceremonies are holistic not only because of their grassroots approach to peace building-the entire community is involved- but also because they appeal to the religious-spiritual worldview shared by the participants.

Similarly, Hamber (2000) asserts that ‘it is important constantly to bear in mind that trauma is not simply a collection of symptoms, as it is often portrayed - in fact symptoms may not follow all traumatic situations. In its essence, trauma is the destruction of individual and/or collective structures of a society. What needs to be “healed” is therefore the multitude of individual, political, social and cultural responses to a traumatic situation and its aftermath’.

In addition, Baingana (2005) postulates that the way traumatic events are socially viewed can dramatically impact how they are dealt with emotionally. For example, family members of Albanian Kosovars who died in the 1999 war viewed their loved ones as martyrs, which helped ease the grieving process (De Jong, 2002). Similarly, cultures with a strong belief in an afterlife or reincarnation may experience a lower level of trauma when accepting the deaths of loved ones. There is therefore sufficient evidence that supports the view from the above respondents.

6.4.2. Community Dialogue/talks

It would seem that one of the key ingredients to reducing violence was dialogue and honest expression of feelings preferably initiated by leaders or credible people or institutions. Most (80%) respondents spoke of talks and meetings, especially when meetings were initiated by elderly, male leaders who were influential. When asked about what could build lasting peace,

for example, this respondent stated, ‘‘I can say that the violence stopped when we had a meeting and we talked about it. The meeting was held by men in the community, we spoke until there was no weapon used, it was a civilised meeting’ (Respondent BA1/PL/NT). Whilst another respondent stated, ‘My view is that we should meet with leaders and have peace talks that this could be avoided. But if we don’t sit down and talk then the fights will start again’ (Respondent A3/W/T). Similarly other respondents corroborated the above view in this way, ‘What helped me are workshops as we meet with the Chief and headmen without weapons and talking is what makes things better’ (Respondent B1/TL/T).

The above interpretation is in accordance with Samuels (2006) who asserts that post-conflict peace building requires extensive education, sensitivity campaigns, mass dialogue and consensus building within society. These have often been overlooked in favour of technical rebuilding assistance (Samuels, 2006).

In addition these respondents perceived the role of talks as having a sustainable and a positive spill over effect on the victim, perpetrator, affected families and the broader community. For example this is what some respondents mentioned, ‘It has helped a lot (counselling, meetings) around our area I can feel change now that we have talked’ (Respondent B2/TL/T). Whilst another respondent stated, ‘What I can say is that if you have a problem sitting down with those people helps a lot, it heals our broken heart and you are able to ventilate’. Respondent-C2/DC/NT. Yet another respondent mentioned, ‘Mr A1 is right when he is saying we must sit down and have meetings maybe people will never fight because they realise that the wars violated them’ (Respondent C1/DC/NT).

6.5. Conclusion

A number of factors that contribute to violence, those that address trauma and contribute to peace were identified such as previous exposure to violence, previous trauma history, the ambiguous role of the police, the role of civil society as well as cultural and spiritual practices. Rich expressions from respondents substantiated with quotations were provided to support the above assertions. The next chapter, based on the respondents views, supported by

existing literature in the field, provides recommendations on how to address violence, trauma and contribute to peace.

Chapter 7: Recommendations and Conclusion

7. Introduction

This chapter presents recommendations and conclusions of the study. A summary of the research results were not conclusive to affirm or reject the hypothesis that if trauma support work is ignored, certain victims of past violence may resort to new violence. This would require more investigation, some more comparisons between those who attended the trauma workshop and those who did not attend and also to take into account the contribution of communal non-conventional trauma healing mechanisms that are culturally practiced in addressing traumatic experience of those who did not attend Sinani trauma workshops.

The previous chapters however provide sufficient basis for the recommendations below which are proposed to prevent the ongoing spiral of violence suggested by the hypothesis.

7.1. Valuable Insights

7.1.1. Holistic Mental Health Systems

First, a powerful need exists for the development of holistic systems of mental health and psychosocial support that link with political reforms and societal human rights and social justice (Wessells, 2008). Psychosocial work should be conducted with careful and wider attention to issues of human rights and social transformation.

7.1.2. Psychosocial work

It is recommended that most psychosocial work should be linked intentionally to peace-building and processes of sustainable development (Wessells, 2008).

7.1.3. Effective intervention strategies

Robust methodologies have not been developed for measuring community resilience and the collective impact of holistic, community-based psychosocial support, which is often regarded

as ‘fuzzy’ and difficult to define and measure. The research study has given some ideas of intervention strategies that could be linked to peace-building and trauma.

7.1.4. Personal and communal narratives

Personal and communal narratives – storying and “re-storying” – play critical roles in conflict resolution, trauma recovery and restorative justice, and opportunities for storytelling must be incorporated into peace processes (Zehr, 2008). Successful resolution and transformation often turns on the creation of empathy for one another by the participants. The dynamics that impede or encourage empathy need conscious attention by practitioners. They also merit further research as the current study was not conclusive on this issue.

7.1.5. Counselling

The research clearly showed that participants viewed counselling on a spiritual, moral realm as opposed to counselling being a western, secular phenomenon. It is correct that in this particular study there was an interesting mix of participants who had undergone trauma counselling and may have already been exposed to the counselling process, however almost 90% of participants shared this view. The value counselling brings for many individuals in the process of healing cannot be underestimated.

7.1.6. Cultural practices

The treatment of culture continues to be inadequate and superficial. A real danger exists that work on mental health and psychosocial support is colonizing in its approach and continuing global patterns of structural violence (Collier, 2003). The research study shows as discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 8 that integrating cultural sensitivities and practices in addressing trauma and peace benefits individuals and communities in their journey towards healing, peace and reconciliation.

Indigenous approaches to trauma offer an alternative to traditional western approaches to mental health. As mentioned above, meaning is central to both political violence and attempts

to ameliorate its impact. The centrality of meaning, however, renders a universal approach to trauma problematic, as individuals' and groups' interpretation of social and/or psychological suffering will undoubtedly be mediated by a host of cultural, social and political factors (Honwana, 2001).

7.1.7. Impact of violence

There seemed to be a clear overlap between faction fights and political violence, however many respondents did not comment about the overlapping nature of faction fights and political violence that according to certain research studies compounds the ongoing cycles of violence in many communities. Respondents spoke of the devastating impact of violence.

Respondents in this study highlighted the socio-economic and the psycho-social impact of conflicts. 80% of respondents spoke of material losses resulting from violence, death of family members as well as disconnections within families and communities. These respondents spoke of the wide ranging nature of the impact of conflict. For example, respondents stated, 'My brothers were part of the war, it was the greatest war. Like my sister mentioned, we lost so much, cattle furniture and everything. A lot of people died in that conflict, even now there are few families in that area, but I moved from there. About 20 people have not returned to that area. We spent 5 years fighting in the bushes' (Respondent A3/W/T).

Indeed the impacts of conflict are complex and wide ranging. In addition, respondents spoke of the violent events as if they happened recently. It seemed as though some were re-experiencing and reliving the trauma as they shared their stories. For example an emotional respondent mentioned, 'we all went through terrible experiences through the war, I remember it started when I was in primary school, this is where my brother was shot by police and he died. After these wars we saw people dying in front of our eyes and we slept in the bushes. I remember I was pregnant when we hid in bushes, our power supply was not functioning and we lost our belongings' (Respondent C2/DC/T).

Akin to the above, the Sinani Trauma Manual (2005) when explaining traumatic response, describes a set of responses where trauma itself becomes so intense. It becomes stuck inside a person's body and mind. "It is as if the trauma is burnt onto us, because the trauma was so frightening and horrible" (Sinani Trauma Manual, 2005, p.8).

It is clear from respondents that tensions were so high that often personal problems were politicized and small disagreements escalated into larger and more violent conflicts. This had a devastating impact on the human spirit. It may be a worthwhile future research area to investigate how small disagreements often escalate to communal or national violence.

Clearly if we integrate trauma into peace-building programmes, it will allow victims of violence not only to focus on governance and security issues but to also focus more deeply on the impact of violence. Once one has an understanding of the impact of violence, one may make a positive choice for peace in future.

It seems another worthwhile area of future research to investigate the impact of violence and the role of psycho-social support programmes in assisting victims of violence to avert the situation of resorting to further violence. The impact of violent conflicts are diverse but they may include destruction of economic infrastructure, collapse of state institutions (e.g. judiciary system), schooling is disrupted, refugee flood into cities, fear replaces confidence, skilled workers flee the country, war profiteers continue to loot or embezzle resources for economic gain. The cost of post conflict intervention far outweigh the costs of preventative initiatives. Understanding the impact of conflicts may generate intervention ideas for preventing further violence.

7.1.8. Security

This study shows that a well-trained, resourced, reliable, credible, trustworthy and efficient criminal justice system has a positive impact on trauma and peace. An inadequate corrupt public security leads people to attempt their own security. Country violence has mostly been caused by the states inability to maintain legitimacy, through failing to protect people from violence, its role a perpetrator of that violence or as defenders of unjust repressive and

corrupt political system. This respondent stated, “What I can say is if police gave us support it would have been better, they also had a hand in the violence, they wanted you to mention the names of the perpetrators and they could not find out on their own, the police are also criminals they stole my mother’s money, after they came to search our house. I don’t like police even when I see their cars I get angry I cannot work with them. I would have preferred them to do their job, the cases were unresolved they did nothing, gave no feedback even now nobody was arrested I don’t like uMbumbulu police’ (Respondent-C8/DC/T).

7.1.9. Civil Society

Respondents in the study perceived civil society as an important factor in rebuilding governments in post conflict environments because they affect multi-layered networks of trust coordination and collective action at the local, regional, national and international levels. Civil society players such as external workers must work together toward a common goal (Ball, 2005). The role of civil society in the restoration of peace and justice cannot be overemphasized, as the study shows that strong communities have a way of dealing with almost any challenge.

7.1.10. Competent Leadership

In general the people with more direct influence on the population at hand tend to interact with less people of that population, but in a more intense manner. As the research results show, much work needs to be conducted with leadership at all levels, local, regional and national in all spheres, be it political, traditional, religious and in a broader sense civil society leadership, not merely to promote better facilities, resources but to promote needs, rights and concerns of individuals and communities affected by violence. This according to the study will play a crucial role in individual healing processes as well as restore peace and stability in communities.

7.1.11. Pathology discourse

Hughes and Pupavac in Donais (2009) term the *pathologization* of post-conflict societies in their study. War-torn states, according to mainstream discourse, are framed alternately as ill, traumatized, dysfunctional, irrational, or immature, thereby legitimizing a shift towards therapeutic governance, whereby the international community takes over responsibility for a polity no longer capable of managing its own affairs. In the case of Cambodia, for example, the doctor–patient narrative was established through the adoption of a “simplistic opposition between the failure of state and society and the rationality of international plans for rescue and redevelopment,” in which the role of outside (especially U.S.) forces in the country’s initial descent into war was conveniently excised (Donais, 2009).

A discourse of pathologization that characterizes post-conflict societies as comprised of hapless victims and psychotic victimizers enables paternalistic attitudes and disciplinary interventions on the part of outside peace-builders (Donais, 2009). Locals in this discourse are likely to be viewed by outsiders with either pity or suspicion however the implications for questions of local ownership in the current study are clear. Where permitted at all, local ownership unfolds under the careful supervision of responsible outsiders, who set the broad parameters of what is and is not permissible. The researcher in the current study is not referring to an imposition of outsider values on a local context but rather seeks to promote an empowering characterisation of post-conflict societies which recognises the value of local owners and their ability to find their own solutions in reaching sustainable healing and peace.

7.2. Conclusion

Psychosocial workers, peace workers and the donor community need to begin to learn how to connect their work with contextual improvements. The research study did not show that trauma-support work is the panacea for all conflict ills. People will benefit only so much from social and psychological support if they are without food and they fear for the survival of their children and families (Dawes, 2009).

Generally, the study seems to advise that processes to resolve harm or conflict often must find ways to explicitly address both trauma related issues as well as wider structural violence

and transformative justice issues. In other words, they must address issues of both positive and negative peace. Too often, resolution processes focus on one issue and downplay the other.

In many war-torn, conflict-riddled environments, psychological suffering is often seen as a soft, elusive issue, and issues of economics and justice are prioritised over it. Psycho-social support in these instances is often ignored. The research study has clearly shown trauma support work is not an elusive issue; it is imperative if victims of conflict are to move towards the journey of healing. Finally, a genuine integration of psycho-social programmes and transformative justice programmes is crucial in the resolution of conflicts and moving towards peace.

The study has given the field answers that trauma plays a crucial role in peace-building, hence cannot be ignored in effective peace-building interventions. The current study explored how trauma impacts both victim and offender, and especially the ways that victimization and trauma, if not adequately addressed, can cause people to get stuck in a victim identity and can lead to offending behaviour.

More recently an awareness has come of “perpetrator-induced trauma” and its role in perpetuating the cycle of victimization and offending; severe offending can itself cause trauma in offenders (Zehr, 2008). This is an arena that the current study attempted to explore and it deserves further investigation: how trauma arises, how it affects social as well as individual well-being, how it plays into victimization and into offending behaviour, what approaches and strategies can be used to address trauma (not just at the individual level but with communities and even larger societies). Various recommendations have been made in this regard on concrete intervention strategies such as work with Leadership, Civil Society, Safety and Security structures, incorporating cultural rituals, facilitating community dialogues etc. Hence, the current research only represents the beginning of the exploration of how trauma support work plays a role in peace-building; much more work still needs to be done.

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Appendix 1. Composition of focus groups

Type of Group	Group Composition	Date	Venue
Focus group 1	9 people in group: 2 Warlords non-trauma group 6 Civil Society (3 Development Committee non- trauma group,3 Development Committee -trauma group) Leadership (1 Political leader- Trauma group)	10 th November 2011	Sunduzwayo Community Hall (Umbumbulu Central)
Focus Group 2	7 people in group 2 2 warlords from trauma group, 5 Civil Society Representatives from trauma and non trauma group :1 community policing forum member non-	14 th November 2011	Sinani Durban Office

	trauma group 4 development committee members(1 trauma, 3non-trauma group), 2 Leadership: 2 traditional leaders (non-trauma group)		
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Appendix 2. Phase 2 and 3: Identifying and Coding of Recurring patterns

The tables below (see **Appendix 2 and 3**) indicate how the researcher began the process of identifying broad categories and themes, through using the categorisation and coding system shown in tables below.

The University recommended an alpha-numeric system, e.g. A1, C13 etc. where A represented Warlord, B- Traditional leader, Political leader BA C-Development Committee

The Researcher recommended the following coding system for responses : C represented- Counselling, CL represented Cleansing Ceremony, Psy represented- Psycho social impact of violence, For represented- Forgiveness, Amb represented- Ambiguous role of police, Res represented-Respect, SP represented-Sports and recreation, L represented- Leadership, FA represented-Faction fights, Ch represented- Children exposure to violence, CV represented Civil Society, Go represented-God

Theme name	Theme description	Number of respondents	Number of times	Type of respondent
Violence	<p>Involvement in past experiences of violence is connected to future violent behaviour,</p> <p>Clan violence-communities became a law unto themselves,</p> <p>The impact of this violence on one's life.</p> <p>Cycle of violence continues in the absence of counselling and advice</p>	Total of 6 respondents	6 times	Warlords, Development committee, traditional and political leaders from both trauma and non-trauma respondents.
Forgiveness	Releasing feelings to forgive and not to have grudges	A total of 10 respondents spoke of this theme	10x	Warlords, Development committee, traditional and political leaders from both trauma

				and non-trauma respondents.
Fear	The definite presence of an ambience of fear in individuals, families and communities post the violence.	1 respondent	2x	Development committee from trauma group
Counselling	Expressing problems, talking about them reduces pain. Counselling helps people process those painful memories and seen as the beginning of a healing process.	A total of 11 x respondents	11x	Warlord, political and traditional leaders from mostly trauma group
Sports and recreation	Role of sports/recreation in reducing crime and violence	A total of 2x respondents	3x	Young people from development committee from trauma group
Talking about the past	Few respondents not comfortable talking about past, some would say,	A total of 2x respondents	3x	Youth respondents who were warlords,

	‘everything is fine now’.			political and development committee leaders from non trauma groups.
Healing	The goal of talks, meetings and counselling was for the healing process to begin.	A total of x 5 respondents	5x	Warlords, Development committee, traditional and political leaders from both trauma and non-trauma respondents.
Role of men and elderly	Role of talks and meetings, especially when initiated by men or key influential figures.	A total of 5x respondents	5x	Warlords, Development committee, traditional and political leaders from both trauma and non-trauma respondents.
Educational workshops	Role of educational workshops, sports in curbing or dealing with violence	A total of 10 respondents	10x	Warlords, Development committee, traditional and political

				leaders from both trauma and non-trauma respondents.
Religion	Role of religion in healing ones trauma and memory.	A total of x 3 respondents	3x	Warlords, Development committee, traditional and political leaders from both trauma and non-trauma respondents.
Civil Society and civil education programs	Most respondents spoke of the role civil society can play in curbing violence and healing of the trauma.	A total of 10 respondents	10x	Warlords, Development committee, traditional and political leaders from both trauma and non-trauma respondents.
Ambiguous role of SAPS	The functionality of the criminal justice system in healing trauma and curbing violence.	A total of x8 respondents	8x	Warlords, Development committee, traditional and political leaders from

				both trauma and non-trauma respondents.
Leadership	<p>Role of leadership in bringing about peace,</p> <p>Competent, loyal good leadership qualities build stability and peace in communities.</p>	A total of 11 respondents	11x	Warlords, Development committee, traditional and political leaders from both trauma and non-trauma respondents.
Respect	<p>Notion of respect as a tool to connect with positive aspects of Zulu culture.</p>	A total of 4 respondents	4	Warlords, Development committee, traditional and political leaders from both trauma and non-trauma respondents.
Dysfunctional children	<p>Previous experience of violence may lead to impaired academic achievement, future violence as well as dysfunctional</p>	A total of 10 respondents	10x	Warlords, Development committee, traditional and political leaders from both trauma

	behaviour.			and non-trauma respondents.
Loss	Defining loss not only on a psychological, emotional level but on a socio-economic level (financial and property loss)—quotations from people.	A total of 6 respondents	6x	Warlords, Development committee, traditional and political leaders from both trauma and non-trauma respondents.
Dialogue/talks	Role of dialogue, negotiations/talks in bringing about stability.	A total of 10 respondents	10x	Warlords, Development committee, traditional and political leaders from both trauma and non-trauma respondents.
Exposure of children to violence	Children’s exposure to violence, Dysfunctional traumatised,	A total of 11 respondents	11x	Warlords, Development committee, traditional

	(violent) children Violated children may not easily end fights.			and political leaders from both trauma and non-trauma respondents.
Culturally sensitive interventions	Cleansing ceremony and rituals and the role they play in healing.	A total of 6 respondents	8x	Warlords, Development committee, traditional and political leaders from both trauma and non-trauma respondents (adult respondents)

Appendix 3. Phase 2 AND 3 Identifying recurring regularities through coding data

Name	Criteria	Trauma/non trauma category	Identifying common words, phrases, sentences and categorizing accordingly (see Appendix 2)
B1	Development committee	Non trauma	Counselling, Cleansing ritual, Children exposure to violence, Socio impact of violence
A1	Warlord	Trauma	Leadership, Cleansing ritual, Faction fights Children exposure to violence Psycho-socio impact of violence God, Christian God
C1	Development committee	Non trauma	Counselling, Forgiveness, Children exposure to violence Socio impact of violence, God
C2	Development committee	Trauma	Counseling, Forgiveness, Psycho-social impact of violence, Meetings and

			talks, Sports and recreational facilities, Civil Society
C3	Development Committee	Trauma	Counseling, Forgiveness, Psycho-social impact of violence, Sports and recreation, Ambiguous role of police, Education of Civil Society
B2	Community Policing Forum/traditional leader	Non trauma	Counseling, Cleansing ritual, Children exposure to violence, Ambiguous role of police, Leadership, Education of Civil Society, God
B3	Community Policing Forum/traditional leader	Trauma	Psycho-social impact of violence, Leadership, Training and Education of Civil Society, God
BA1	Political leader	Non trauma	Leadership, Sports and recreation, Forgiveness, Respect values, Counseling, Normalcy of violence
C4	Development committee	Non trauma	Ambiguous role of police, counseling, forgiveness, meetings and talks
C5	Development committee	Non trauma	Ambiguous role of

			police, counseling, forgiveness, meetings and talks
C6	Civil society	Trauma	Counseling, Cleansing, Children exposure to violence, Leadership, Education of Civil Society, Recreational facilities
A2	Warlord	Trauma	Leadership, Cleansing ritual, Faction fights Children exposure to violence Socio impact of violence
A3	Warlord	Trauma	Leadership, Cleansing ritual, Faction fights Children exposure to violence Socio impact of violence
B4	Traditional leader and Community policing forum	Trauma	Leadership, Counseling Cleansing ritual, Faction fights Children exposure to violence Socio impact of violence
BA2	Political leader	Trauma	Leadership, Sports and recreation, Forgiveness, Respect values, Counseling, Role of

			talks of meetings
C7	Civil society	Trauma	Role of talks and meetings, Counseling, Forgiveness, Respect,
BA3	Political leader	Trauma	Leadership, Sports and recreation, Forgiveness, Respect values, Counseling, Role of talks of meetings
C8	Development committee	Trauma	Role of talks and meetings, Counseling, Forgiveness, Respect

Appendix 4. Phase 3 and 4 Identifying emerging themes

The table below provides a graphic representation of a complete **Phase 3 (coding data into meaningful categories)** and the basis for **Phase 4 (Chapter 8)** which is the organisation and simplification of emerging themes and emerging patterns and organising data into manageable categories. Fourteen themes emerged from coding data from transcripts, looking closely at words, phrases, sentences and paragraphs respondents from trauma and non-trauma backgrounds discussed as well as recurring regularities. The themes provided below will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Emerging patterns</i>
1.Psycho-social impact violence	<p>Most respondents spoke of the impact of violence on an individual, family and societal level.</p> <p>Current experiences connected to previous exposure to violence. i.e. Previous experience of violence leads to future violence-dysfunctional families</p> <p>Deep sense of loss-psychological, spiritual and monetary loss mentioned.</p> <p>Defining loss not only on a psychological, emotional level but on a socio-economic level (financial and property loss)</p> <p>Respondents neither defined violence, nor explained the causes of the violence but were more interested on its impact.</p>

2. Role of Counselling

The process of expression of painful experiences according to respondents plays a key role in the long-term reduction of violence and in healing.

3. Competent Leadership

Contribution to good governance,
Facilitation of environment where stability, peace and healing happens,
Leadership custodians of cultural practices, morality and peace,
Competent, Loyal good leadership qualities build stability and peace in communities.

4. Children's exposure to violence

Previous exposure to violence and trauma may affect future academic achievement,
Previous exposure to violence, not contained and expressed may lead to perpetration of future acts of violence,
Cycle of violence continues in the absence of counselling and advice,

5. Role of God (Christian God)

Restoration of dignity and respect,
Respondents mentioned belief in God

offers positive hope and a resilient spirit. In religion, respondents mentioned there is expression of feelings and release of pain.

6. Civic Education

Participation of civil society in community education programmes contributes in building stronger resilient communities.

Education is a stabilising factor in ensuring good relationships between community structures (CPF, SAPS, Justice and broader community),

Respondents spoke of the role civic education plays in fostering values of tolerance, literacy and Ubuntu,

There are serious consequences associated with not taking these issues into account which are: intolerance, ignorance and violence.

7. Support needed to curb violence

Emphasis on the role of home, school, church and community,

Civic education, counselling and cleansing cultural practices are the forms of support respondents mentioned curb violence

8. Forgiveness

Forgiveness perceived as a requirement and a prerequisite for peace, healing and reconciliation. Forgiveness was a requirement not necessarily a personal choice. Depending on the severity of the harm and a person's belief system it may or may not help in curbing violence.

Forgiveness may be an unhelpful expectation from individuals who are still hurting and have not had a chance to express their hurt. Forgiveness helps start the healing process. Scars remain in the presence or absence of forgiveness.

Releasing feelings to forgive and not have grudges seemed to be helpful for participants

9. Respect

Theme of respect came up from a total of 4 respondents as a tool to restore human dignity and a positive way of connecting with the Zulu culture. However fewer respondents, mentioned that talking about the notion of respect if one has been violated is not enough.

10. Cleansing ceremony and rituals

Helpful cultural practices that connect positively with respondents over and above counselling.

13. Ambiguous role of SAPS

Some respondents found police helpful and some found them unhelpful and at times corrupt.

14. Role of talks and meetings

Counselling and talks help especially when initiated by men and key in reconciliation and trauma healing processes.

Appendix 5. Focus Group Questions

1. Have there been any forms of violence experienced by your community since the early 1980s?
2. What would you tell someone else about what happens to you when you have experienced violence?
3. How did those experiences change your lives on a personal and community level?
4. When looking at some of the people who have experienced violence in your community and who are still committing acts of violence, do you see any link between what they have experienced in the past and what they are doing currently? Please explain.
5. How do you understand the relationship between violence and politics in the context of the violence you experienced in this area?
6. What has helped and what has not helped you in your journey of healing as a community?
7. Did you receive any support since the traumatic experience? If yes, what was the form of support? If not, why?
8. What form(s) of support did you find helpful? What forms of support did you find unhelpful? Why?
9. Did what you were asked to do in the interventions offered to you clash with your ways of doing things - personally and culturally? If so, why?
10. In your understanding, looking at the violence in your community, what is required in order to achieve peace?