

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

*ZUZA ITHEMBA!*¹- HOPE FOR LASTING PEACE
THROUGH SUSTAINABLE PEACE EDUCATION
IN RICHMOND, KWAZULU-NATAL

by

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¹ Zulu term: literally, “seize hope!” from *zuza* (seize) and *ithemba* (hope).

Declaration

Ideclare that

- (i) The research reported in this dissertation/thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
- (ii) This dissertation/thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
- (iii) This dissertation/thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
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Abstract

This study aims to undertake a thematic investigation of core issues and concerns around peace, conflict and security for residents of three municipal wards of Richmond, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. I provide a contextual analysis of the socio-economic and political circumstances prevailing in 3 municipal wards of Richmond, suggest core contextual issues to consider when designing a sustainable peace education programme for Richmond and finally, reflect on my application of Freirean methodologies in the study.

While collecting the data I was project manager of a UKZN peace education programme in Richmond and my research participants were either directly involved in the programme, or peripherally, as NGO workers in complementary peace projects in the area. Data was gathered from minutes of project meetings, structured interviews, and collegial reflections on the project work, but predominantly from informal face-to-face, telephonic and email dialogues with participants during the course of regular project work.

Both the theoretical and methodological approaches I adopt for this action research study are centrally framed by a Freirean pedagogy which emphasizes authentic dialogue, praxis, problem-solving education, the importance of social and personal transformation, collaborative inquiry and the production of knowledge that is collectively owned and shared.

My findings, which I present in the form of discussions around the generative themes which emerged from the data, largely corroborate my documentary analysis of the context. Historical violence issues such as “unfinished business”, police and military complicity in the political violence, and the proliferation of weapons emerge as powerful generative themes, while displacement of people and families, trauma and fractured families (which also stem from the history of violence), emerge as serious current social

challenges to peace and stability. Substance abuse and prostitution, poverty and unemployment, and lack of development also feature strongly as generative themes. One of the key findings of this study is the extent to which political partisanship, power struggles and patronage hamper the implementation of peace and development initiatives.

While I suggest some specific contextual issues which need to be considered when designing an holistic peace education programme for Richmond, I recommend that significant stakeholders (including affected communities and their leaders, the university, various NGOs, religious groupings, organs of state, and traditional healers) unify and direct their respective capacities towards a common goal of peace and reconciliation in order to address these issues: creating a culture of healing through jointly organizing cultural events and peace rallies, helping to establish and support Peace Committees, training people in non-violent conflict resolution skills, providing counseling for survivors of political and domestic violence, supporting fractured and vulnerable families, providing better recreational spaces and job opportunities for the youth. Each of these initiatives would furthermore provide a useful opportunity for non-formal peace education. In addition, I suggest the university could partner with the provincial Department of Education to explore ways of integrating peace education throughout existing school curricula, and the establishment of learner peace clubs where learners could form peace committees to provide in-school peer mediation services.

I conclude by reflecting on my application of Freirean methodologies. While I lament my failure to apprehend the extent to which my privileged background and my position as a member of the elite class prevented me from experiencing authentic dialogue with my primary participants, and how I consistently missed opportunities to dialogue and employ core Freirean pedagogical techniques such as problem-posing, and how I failed to get to the point of “re-presenting” to participants the generative themes as problems, and co-investigating solutions to these problems, I manage to end on an optimistic note by recognizing the significance of the personal transformative learning I gained from the experience.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my daughter, Jade Mbali Houghton. It is for her and her generation that I continue my work in peace education.

And to my parents, Sally and Brian Houghton, whose unconditional love and support has nurtured and sustained me throughout my life

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List of Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CAE	Centre for Adult Education
CBO	Community-based Organisation
CEPD	Certificate in Education (Participatory Development)
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CPF	Community Policing Forum
CPP	Community Peace Programme
EFP	Education for Peace
GFSA	Gun Free South Africa
IFP	Ikatha Freedom Party
IPT	Independent Projects Trust
ITP	Integrative Theory of Peace
ITU	Investigative Task Unit
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NRF	National Research Foundation
OBE	Outcomes-based Education
PACSA	Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PC	Peace Committee
PEP	Peace Education Programme
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SAPS	South African Police Services
SDU	Self-defense Unit
SPU	Self Protection Unit
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UKZN	University of KwaZulu – Natal

Chapter 1: Introduction

Brief outline of study

This study aims to undertake a thematic investigation of core issues and concerns around peace, conflict and security for residents of three municipal wards of Richmond, KwaZulu-Natal. On the basis of this thematic investigation, the study will suggest core contextual issues to consider when designing a sustainable peace education programme for the area.

Specific aims

The study will:

- provide a contextual analysis of the socio-economic and political circumstances prevailing in 3 municipal wards of Richmond;
- suggest core contextual issues to consider when designing a sustainable peace education programme for Richmond.
- reflect on my application of Freirean methodologies in this study.

“My study” and “the project”

While I did the research for this dissertation I was working as coordinator of the Peace Education Programme (PEP), of the Centre for Adult Education in the School of Adult and Higher Education, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

As PEP coordinator, I managed a peace education project in five municipal wards of Richmond, KZN. I henceforth refer to this work as “the project”. It’s important to note that the six primary participants in “the project” were also the six primary participants in my masters study. I henceforth refer to this MCom. research process as “my study”.

My data collection formally began in January 2006, during the lead up to local government elections in KwaZulu-Natal and ended in December 2006.

“My study” and academic research aimed at publication

As a lecturer at UKZN, part of my responsibilities included academic research aimed at publication. While I conducted my study I was also involved with my supervisor Vaughn John in research which focused on ways of sustaining peace education and I was part of a broader international fellowship of scholars and practitioners who shared knowledge, experience and expertise relating to efforts aimed at sustaining peace education in post-conflict societies. Understandably, “my study” fed into this research as much as this research fed into and informed my study.

Peace Committees

Ongoing attempts by PEP to find ways of securing reliable income for peace activists involved in our projects began to pay off in 2006 as these efforts resulted in a partnership between CAE and the Community Peace Programme (CPP) at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and joint funding initiatives in an attempt to secure support for two emerging Peace Committees in Richmond.

The Community Peace Programme had, in collaboration with various communities in which they worked, developed a model of peace making and peace building which is implemented by community Peace Committees. A Peace Committee (PC) is basically a group of up to 15 people who provide a mediation service to the community. Group members receive outcomes-based payments for the mediation work, for the interviews they conduct for research purposes and for the case summary reports they submit to the university (Cartwright & Jenneker, 2005).

As my study began, four of the six primary participants were actively lobbying for the establishment of Peace Committees in their respective communities. Given that four of the six project participants in this study were actively involved in setting up Peace Committees at the time data collection began, Peace Committees, as will be seen later, are an important context in terms of this study. A fuller discussion of the Peace Committee model will be found below on pages 2 and 17.

Scope of the study

The Peace Education Programme began working in Richmond in July 2004 with a grant from the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust. The Programme brief was to train a cadre of peace educators/workers who would subsequently be supported by programme staff in the implementation of peace education projects within their communities. A second grant was awarded to continue the work between July 2005 and June 2006. We were able to extend this grant beyond 2006 as the peace education projects consolidated and gained momentum. Ongoing action research consisted of regular evaluations and reviews by staff and a yearly external evaluation, both of which provided a platform for reflection on the efficacy of our work and which led to revisions and shifts in our approach.

My study aimed to contribute to this broader research project and to provide the opportunity for a deeper and more structured engagement with project participants that could lead to insights which would enhance the project work. What my study hoped to provide was a clearer indication of how our peace education work could be sustained and extended within the community, initially with CAE support, but later, independently of our intervention. My aim was to produce a set of guidelines for a more sustainable peace education programme. When I wrote my proposal for this study in 2005, I had hoped that the guidelines could be developed into a proposal for donor funding to support an implementation phase while further study, perhaps a PhD, could track, monitor and guide

the implementation of a peace education programme developed from my set of guidelines.

University Context

Centre for Adult Education Peace Education Programme

During the eighties and early nineties, the Centre for Adult Education was involved in peace work which took the form of violence monitoring and reporting, short workshops on conflict resolution, and building the capacity of various non-governmental and community-based organisations to respond to the challenges of anti-apartheid action (Houghton & John, 2005b). After 1994, the Centre did less and less of this kind of work, as the social context shifted and the work was increasingly done by other organisations. However it was apparent that there was still a need for conflict resolution training for the non-formal sector. *Towards More Peaceful Communities* was the Centre's first peace education offering designed to respond to this need, and took place in 1998.

For various reasons, despite a favourable independent evaluation (Verbeek, 1998, p. 3), which made some useful recommendations, peace education per se within the Centre was not resumed until 2002, when donor funding was sought and secured, and a staff member appointed as coordinator and trainer. There is now a dedicated Peace Education programme located within the Centre which offers a new course: *Educating for Peaceful Change*, designed to educate and train community-based development workers and educators in the Midlands of KwaZulu-Natal.

The Programme's current focus is peace in the context of sustainable development and responds to a shifting context of violence in the province. Although political intolerance remains a source of conflict, particularly during times of local government elections and floor-crossing in parliament, there is an increasing incidence of conflict sparked by the competition for scarce resources allocated for development projects.

The Programme has both a formal and non-formal component, each consisting of two phases. Formal students register for a Certificate in Education (Participatory Development) and, after a year of foundational study in adult education and development facilitation, choose peace education as an elective module in the first semester of their second year. They complete their studies with a service-learning module in the second semester.

Non-formal students come to the Programme as part of the Centre's community outreach work. A process of consultation with key stakeholders in the peacebuilding and development sector in a specific community results in the recruitment and selection of up to 20 peace workers who attend two five-day residential workshops (the equivalent of the formal elective module, with assessment being optional). These trainees are then supported intensively for one to two years by Programme staff as they implement peace education and/or peacebuilding projects in their communities.

The non-formal component of the Programme is premised on the conviction that training that is not supported, is not effective. Simply put – once off, short workshops, however well-received by participants, are not going to yield the kinds of training returns upon which sustainable peace education depends (Joyce & Showers, 1988).

The sustained period of follow up support which is central to this work, attempts to create a conducive environment for the support and development of the novice peace educator. There could be some advantage to considering this environment as a community of practice – see my discussion of this in the literature review (see page 16).

Programme Outcomes

The Peace Education Programme results in the recruitment, training and support of twenty educators/development practitioners who:

- have the foundational skills required to act as change agents for the non-violent transformation of conflict in their communities;

- better understand the interrelatedness of peace, gender, human rights, development, environmental and social justice;
- better understand, lead and teach personal development and peace processes in their communities, and have begun to realise the potential offered by conflict for individual and collective transformation;
- will initiate and sustain peace-building/peace education projects in their communities (Houghton & John, 2005a).

My own research on the topic

In 2005 my supervisor Vaughn John and I wrote a paper entitled “*Towards sustainable peace education: theoretical and methodological frameworks of a programme in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa*”. The paper was presented at a conference “Sustained Peace Education Efforts for Social Cohesion in International Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies” held between the 6th and 8th of June 2005, in Jerusalem, Israel and was published in a 2007 edited volume: “Addressing Ethnic Conflict Through Peace Education” (Bekerman & McGlynn, 2007).

The paper traces the history and development of the Peace Education Programme and examines how action research shaped our course. We discuss the concept of communities of practice and try to show how nurturing and supporting our trainees and students in communities of practice may contribute to sustained peace education in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. In many ways my study is an extension of this research towards sustainable peace education, focusing on action research, and emphasizing the importance of collaborative curriculum development using Freirean methods of dialogue (Freire, 1996). My study did not go as far as I would have liked in terms of achieving its aims of collaborative curriculum development. In my concluding chapter “Reflections on my application of Freire” I discuss what I perceive to be the reasons for this failure.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Aims of the review

The literature review has three sections.

Section One provides a broad overview of the theory and practice of **peace education** globally since 1970. The discussion includes specifically:

- the content of peace education programmes and how context shapes content;
- how mutual respect, trust, support and encouragement shape the ethos of peace education
- the importance of attitude and behaviour change;
- the debate about which level of education peace education efforts should be focused at;
- the increasing support for an “integrationist” as opposed to an “autonomist” approach to curriculum;
- the challenge of assessing affective learning outcomes;
- the perceived lack of peace education research.

Section Two provides a brief overview of the **theories of adult learning** relevant to this study, in particular:

- the links between Mezirow’s theory of transformative learning, Freire’s concept of “false consciousness” and conscientization and Hill’s ideas on “Ethnostress” as a barrier to learning;
- the relationship between situated cognition, experiential learning and communities of practice.

Section Three discusses the merits of and compares the **two models of peace education** which inform my study, namely:

- the Zwelethemba model of PeaceMaking and PeaceBuilding (Western Cape Province, South Africa), which emphasizes the link between peace and development, experiential learning of non-violent conflict resolution methods and outcomes-based payment of mediators (Cartwright, 2005; Cartwright & Jenneker, 2005);
- the Education for Peace (EFP) programme (Bosnia-Herzegovina) – an ambitious “comprehensive” and “integrative” programme which, while focusing on schools, children and youth, also targets school teachers, parents and the broader community (Danesh, 2005, 2007).

Because both the theoretical and methodological approaches adopted by my study were so centrally framed by the work of Paulo Freire, the discussion of this literature will be found in the theory and method chapters.

Peace Education

Context and content

The kinds of themes, methodologies and content which could be expected of “good” peace education programs in a diverse number of settings have been discussed by various authors (Bar-Tal, 2002; Burns & Aspeslagh, 1983; Evans, 1999; Haavelsrud, 1983; Hadley, 1974; Harris, 1999). Gender relations and the environment, holistic peace, communication, self-esteem, respect for diversity, and issues of governance and citizenship are key frames of reference, while a grounding in foundational skills of creative conflict transformation are also considered important.

In 1982, the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) formulated five “current trends in the conceptualisation and experience of peace education (from a Western viewpoint)” (Burns & Aspeslagh, 1983, p. 324). The inclination was towards issues such as development, justice, human rights, a balance between the social and the psychological, questioning structural violence and forms of oppression. Practitioners were exploring

what it meant to learn and how to teach effectively, employing “innovative educational approaches to a variety of learning situations” (ibid., p. 326). There was a fresh take on action research, an acknowledgement of the need for praxis (see “Emancipatory education and praxis”, p. 23). There was clearly a “political, participatory strategy...set...in a historical context” (ibid., p. 326). These five issues are just as relevant in 2007 as they were twenty five years ago. Certainly, the conceptualization of the PEP curriculum was informed by these issues.

The concern that peace education students “should be critically aware of the realities of structural violence and how a philosophy of development based on justice is a preferred alternative” (Castro, 1999, p. 167), is common in the literature (Harris, 1999, 2002; Summy, 1995; Toh Swee Hin, 1988). Shapiro argues for a “pedagogy of justice”, insisting that “...an education concerned with peace must teach students how societies create hierarchies that privilege the experience, culture, and humanity of some and devalue that of others” (2002, p. 67). This emphasis on peace education as a vehicle for social justice is another key conceptual framework of the PEP.

In post-1994 South Africa the importance of education for democracy and multi-cultural education has increasingly caught the attention of peace educators. Some authors make an important link between peace and democracy (Cartwright, 2005; Cartwright & Jenneker, 2005; Shapiro, 2002). Importantly, these authors are not talking about representative democracy but rather participatory democracy which is directly related to peaceful resolution of conflict. If people are learning to dialogue and participate in decision-making which affects their lives, they are learning to negotiate, and thereby to resolve differences of opinion in peaceful ways rather than resorting to violence and are thus taking responsibility for their own lives (Cartwright, 2005). Shapiro agrees that democracy is about assuming responsibility. It “requires a sustained and persistent education” (Shapiro, 2002, p. 66).

In a new democracy, the value of multi-cultural education in giving voice to the voices previously excluded cannot be underestimated. Shapiro defines multi-cultural education

as an inclusiveness that addresses the diversity of cultures and languages in a classroom, and which has the potential for replacing “the anger and resentment that come from exclusion and invisibility” with a sense of hope and possibility (Shapiro, 2002: 66).

While the CAE Peace Education Programme chooses to focus its contribution in a commonly neglected area - peace education for adults, it supports an integrated, *holistic* peace education model for society situated within a sustainable livelihoods framework. The word ‘holistic’, although more common today, does not appear in the peace education literature until 1986. The Catholic Education Office & New South Wales Department of Education, note the tendency, in attempts to clarify parameters of peace education, towards a more holistic, rather than fragmentary framework (Catholic Education Office & New South Department of Education, 1986). Castro (1999, p. 166) maintains that for peace education to be sustainable it needs to be holistic and it needs to be linked to sustainable development.

Ethos of Peace Education

However, it is important to note that peace education is not only about content and what is taught. “Its foundations lie in respect for (learners) as people, the acceptance of their ideas and sensitivity to their feelings. The atmosphere of the classroom should be one in which cooperation and trust flourish” (Burnley, 1983, cited in (Catholic Education Office & New South Department of Education, 1986, p. 138). Affirmation, enhanced self-esteem, support and encouragement are frequently cited as key principles of a peace pedagogy (Harris, 1999, 2002).

Attitudes and behaviour

Although evidence suggests that peace education can change attitudes, it may be argued that it is just as important to work at bringing about behaviour change, because it is ultimately action that leads to creating a more peaceful world. Brown (2000, p. 3), discussing the Cape Town Quaker Peace Centre “whole school” approach, echoes a

common concern of critical peace educators to close “the gap between theory and practice or attitudinal change and behavioural change”. The centrality of behaviour change to a successful peace education intervention is a key concern for authors like Harris (2002), Bar-Tal (2002) and Shapiro (2002), and as a researcher and peace educator, naturally, of particular interest to me as well.

Different levels of education

To the educator focused primarily on peace education for adults, the emphasis in the literature on peace education for youth is glaringly obvious. Most contexts described in peace education literature are about peace education in formal school settings, targeting children and youth. The trend has been noted by others. Nevo and Brem found that between 1981 and 2000, while almost one thousand articles had been published on peace education, “only a few” of the peace education programs mentioned in these articles “aimed at adults” (Nevo & Brem, 2002, p. 5).

Maxwell (2003) points out how educators can differ in their understanding of which level of education is best suited for the most effective peace education intervention. Some argue that pre-school is obviously the best place to start because then peaceful values can be inculcated from an early age, when learning is so formative (Carlsson-Paige & Levin, 1985; Maxwell, 2003; Stohl & Stohl, 1985). Others assume that because people spend so many years at school, the formal schooling context is where peace education can best take place (Cairns, 1996; Shapiro, 2002).

While I support peace education at all levels of education, as an educator of adults, I would argue not only that we learn values in the home and so it makes good sense to focus educational efforts on parents (Cairns, 1996, p. 164), but also that “(p)each education for the teachers of the world is a necessary parallel development to peace education for the young” (Heywood, 1986: 195, cited in Maxwell, 2003, p. 15).

The autonomist versus the integrationist approach to peace curricula

Maxwell (2003) refers to two distinct approaches to the conceptualization, development and implementation of peace education courses and material. Peace education can either be “seen as a separate discipline within the curriculum” (Evans, 1999, p. 2) - the “autonomist” approach, or, as Bar Tal (2002, p. 6) argues, neither as a specific subject nor a specific educational project but rather as “an educational orientation which provides the objectives and instructional framework for learning” across school curricula – the “integrationist” approach (Page, 1991). While most peace educators would likely support the latter approach in principle, the integration of peace education throughout existing school curricula (Danesh, 2005, 2007; Evans, 1999), is an enormous and costly undertaking for any education department and therefore is seldom seen as a viable option.

Assessment issues

Bar-Tal’s (2002) reflections on the elusive nature of peace education echo my own experience in terms of how challenging it is to assess aspects of affective learning and personal development. Burns and Aspeslagh (1983), write that some of the controversy around assessment of peace education is how to achieve a balance between assessing skills, behaviour and attitudes, as opposed to knowledge and understanding, which are tremendously important in more formal contexts.

Peace methodology

In terms of approaches to teaching peace, participatory methodologies have been found to be consistent with the kinds of values espoused by most peace education efforts (which I discuss in more detail under adult learning theories, immediately below).

Lack of peace education research

As recently as 2004, the lack of published research on sustained peace education was drawing the attention of academics: “Despite (a) wealth of short term peace programs and projects, there is a great paucity of scholarly work to accompany it; research on sustained educational efforts in this field is even more rare” (Bekerman & McGlynn, 2004). Bekerman and McGlynn went on to convene a conference on the topic of sustaining peace education, in Jerusalem, in June 2005. Selected papers presented at this conference have been published in an edited volume: “Addressing Ethnic Conflict Through Peace Education” (Bekerman & McGlynn, 2007). My study attempts to contribute to the body of literature on sustaining peace education in post conflict societies.

Adult learning theories

The theory and practice of adult learning is an additional framework which informs this study, and provides a lens through which evidence will be scrutinised. Because the theoretical framework for this study draws on the ideas and work of the Brazilian educator and revolutionary, Paulo Freire, his approach will be more fully discussed in Chapter 4: Methodology.

The majority of participants in the Peace Education Programme and therefore the primary participants in this study were:

- adults between the ages of 20 and 50;
- English second language speakers;
- engaged in other work or voluntary activities and had family and community commitments;
- products of a disempowering schooling system; (Tromp and Houghton, 2000).

It followed therefore that any intervention upon which I embarked with these adults necessarily required cognisance of these factors and an approach grounded in sound theories of adult learning. The limited scope of this dissertation does not allow an in-depth discussion of adult education theory nor a thorough review of the literature. However, this section attempts to provide a brief overview of some key theories which have relevance to my study, namely transformative learning(Mezirow, 1991, 1995, 1996, 1997), Ethnostress(Hill, 2000), situated cognition and communities of practice(Lave & Wenger, 1991; Lave & Wenger 1999; Lave & Wenger, 1999; Tennant, 1988, 1997; Wenger 2003).

The issue of participants in my study being products of a disempowering schooling system was to prove a critical limiting factor as I attempted to engage them in authentic dialogue. The notion of authentic dialogue is explained and explored in detail below (see “Dialogue”, page 23). In my concluding chapter I reflect on the impact my participants’ disadvantaged schooling experience had on my interaction with them.

Transformative learning

The PEP approach to working with adults includes experiential learning components specifically designed to facilitate transformative learning. Drawing on the theory of communicative action (Habermas, 1984, 1992), Mezirow (1991, 1995, 1996, 1997) and Cranton (1994), have written about the ways in which psychology, society, culture, language, education and religion shape our attitudes, values, beliefs and assumptions about the worlds we inhabit. Mezirow especially (1991) writes about how these assumptions constrain our own perceptions of ourselves and our relationships with other people. The information and knowledge that becomes available to us through life and how we use that knowledge and information is invariably influenced and filtered by these “distorted meaning perspectives” (Cranton, 1994, pp. 29-33). The distortion of meaning perspectives thus leads to what Mezirow calls false consciousness: errors of knowledge, errors in understanding social functioning, and errors in understanding our own true motives (Mezirow, 1991).

This concept of a “false consciousness” is central to the learning theories of both Freire (1995, 1996) and Hill (2000). Both write about the debilitating effect on indigenous peoples of colonisation and how, as

the masses have a construction of reality imposed upon them, which is false to their own heritage...a false self-identity emerges, one that perpetually undervalues the indigenous culture and, therefore, native people come to see themselves as subordinate (Jarvis, 1996, p. 84).

Hill describes the phenomenon as “Ethnostress”, a condition of separation from their “true consciousness” experienced by colonised indigenous peoples and suggests that educators sensitively address this condition in order to overcome the resultant disruption before effective learning is possible. She holds that western approaches to teaching and learning tend to focus on the intellectual and practical aspects while indigenous people have a more holistic tradition of learning which, while acknowledging the intellectual and practical, places equal value on the emotional and spiritual dimensions (Hill, 2000). See also Dirkx (1997), who argues that an “holistic conception of transformative learning involves an understanding of the self through spiritual, emotional, and mythological dimensions of experience”.

Emancipation for the oppressed Freire suggests, is achieved through a process of conscientization (Jarvis, 1996). As I mention in the introduction to this findings chapter, a key realization for me, as I wrote up these findings was how I missed so many opportunities for authentic dialogue, for exploring problem-posing techniques, for theorizing with my participants in an authentic co-investigation into the limit-situations they experience as peace educators and people in Richmond. In Chapter 8 I reflect in some detail on my application of Freirean ideas and methods in this study.

Succinctly put, learners reflect upon the ways in which they construct meaning from their socio-cultural surroundings and are encouraged to take action to free themselves

from injustice. This cycle of reflection and action he names praxis (see “Emancipatory education and praxis”, p. 23).

For Mezirow, crucial to the process of transformative learning is becoming aware of and then questioning one’s construction of meaning. Skilled critical questioning is an effective method through which ingrained assumptions can be externalised, reflected upon and judged for their usefulness to us all as learners, educators and social beings.

While Mezirow has been criticised by Jarvis (1996) and Pietrykowski (1998), for focusing on the personal transformation of learners, and thus neglecting the importance of macro-level social and political transformation, his theories about the kinds of educational and life experiences which can precipitate transformational learning moments in students and his understanding of “distorted meaning perspectives” and how they create barriers to effective learning are useful and will provide another framework for the interpretation of my data.

Situated cognition and communities of practice

There is a body of literature about situated cognition and communities of practice which informed this study. The scope of the study however precludes a fuller discussion here. To summarise, theories of situated cognition (Lave & Wenger, 1991, 1999; Merriam & Cafarella, 1999; Tennant, 1988, 1997) informed the conceptualisation and design of the Peace Education Programme while Lave and Wenger’s notion of *Communities of Practice* (Lave & Wenger 1999; Wenger 2003) provides an extremely useful framework for understanding situated cognition and how community (learning as belonging), practice (learning as doing), identity (learning as becoming) and meaning (learning as experience) interact in a social theory of learning (Wenger 2003, p. 5). “This model of learning proposes that learning is a social process which takes place through a process of participating in a community of practice” (Houghton & John, 2007, p. 196).

CAE staff involved in the Peace Education Programme began in 2003 to reflect on how our trainees struggled, post-training, to practice the skills learnt in workshops. Closer engagement with learner feedback and adult learning theories led us to the conclusion that what our trainees lacked was the kind of nurturing and support which could only be provided by their participation in communities of practice.

Apart from its research goals, this study also intended to consolidate, through closer engagement with programme participants, the work PEP staff was already doing in structures such as Peace Committees (see below), that provided opportunities for participants to practice, in a supportive and learning environment, the conflict resolution skills learnt during training. Belonging to a Peace Committee provides a member with the positive identity of a peace maker while instilling in him or her a sense of belonging and community. With practice, and the support of more experienced peers and PEP staff, members gain valuable experience, build their confidence and can become skilled peace practitioners and leaders who provide a valuable mediation service to the community.

Models of Peace Education

Here I discuss two particular models of peace education. The first, the Zwelethemba model, I choose because at the time I conducted my study, four of the project participants were actively engaged in implementing the model in their communities. My own understanding of peace education theory and practice has been strongly influenced by this model and I was actively involved in raising funds for implementing the model in various local communities. The second model I discuss because my supervisor Vaughn John and I reviewed a paper which described the model and I was interested in exploring, as part of my study, what the project participants thought about the applicability of such a model in Richmond.

The Zwelethemba model of PeaceMaking and PeaceBuilding.

During the formal PEP training phase of peace educators, participants are introduced to the Zwelethemba Model of PeaceMaking and PeaceBuilding (i.e. Peace Committees) as a

potential mechanism for implementing peace work in their communities. More than 20 such Committees currently exist in South Africa and, between them, have facilitated the resolution of over 11,000 conflicts. Gatherings and events associated with the Committees have also raised in excess of R2.5 million in revenues, which are ploughed back into peace work and development projects in the communities themselves (Cartwright & Jenneker, 2005).

According to this model, residents of a neighbourhood establish a Peace Committee which then assists the community with resolving local disputes. Peace Committees basically provide a mediation service for which members receive outcomes-based payments on a case by case basis. Each case also generates monies which are channeled into a PeaceBuilding fund and the Peace Committee, in consultation with the community, identifies local development priorities and decides how these funds will be disbursed (Cartwright, 2005).

The model was developed by the Community Peace Programme (CPP) at the University of the Western Cape, and proved popular with PEP participants many of whom, once formal training was completed, enthusiastically pursued the establishment of Peace Committees and requested assistance from the Programme to secure financial and organisational support for their operations. Consequently, the CPP approached PEP to act as the provincial implementing agency for Peace Committees throughout the province of KwaZulu-Natal (Houghton, John, & Jones, 2006).

The ongoing support of the Peace Committees by an implementing agency² provides a regular, albeit modest income for dedicated PC members and for the implementation of

² The intellectual property holder of the Zwelethamba Model, *Ideasworks*, licenses an entity/service provider which is then referred to as the implementing agency (eg: NGO or university unit) to utilise the model and all its relevant support materials at no charge. The CPP provides initial training for the Peace Committees, trains relevant personnel at the implementing agency in Peace Committee management, monitors implementation of the model, and engages in regular reflection with the implementing agency on progress and adaptation of the model where appropriate.

small-scale development projects, while donor support for the implementing agency ensures rigorous accountability for the disbursement of funds as well as quality education, training and support for the Peace Committees.

The Education for Peace (EFP) program

Danesh (2005, 2007) has developed what he terms an Integrative Theory of Peace (ITP), a holistic model of peace education which has been practically applied in various contexts, through the vehicle of the Education for Peace (EFP) programme.

In Bosnia Herzegovnia the programme has been implemented in over 100 schools in more than 65 cities and villages (Danesh, 2005, p. 2). What makes the programme different from most other models described in the literature, is that it does not target one specific sector of society, (e.g.: early childhood, primary or secondary learners in formal schooling, adults, survivors of violence, the poor, etc) but distinctly sets out to include all sectors of society, using schools as loci of learning.

Although the focus is schools and children and youth, the model targets school teachers, parents and the broader community. Interestingly, the largest portion of the huge budget is spent on the training and subsequent payment of the teachers who actually “do” the peace education. This feature had particular relevance for me as the coordinator of PEP as I increasingly came to realise that our peace work had little chance of sustainability if we did not assist (our mostly unemployed) participants to secure an income for the peace work which they did.

The EFP curriculum is “comprehensive” and “integrative” (Danesh, 2007, p. 138) in the sense that it speaks to all aspects of human life (biological, historical, intellectual, emotional, social, political, moral/ethical and spiritual), and it includes all members of the community, taking the formal school and formal curriculum as its starting points. Four “universal” principles of peace are espoused in the curriculum, namely (bullets mine):

- humanity is one;
- the oneness of humanity is expressed in the context of diversity;
- unity in diversity is a prerequisite for peace; and
- peace requires the ability to prevent and resolve conflicts without resorting to violence

(Danesh, 2007, p. 138).

While these “universal principles” transcend differences of ethnicity and culture they are applied specifically, to honour and preserve the unique cultural context.

Danesh identifies four basic conditions as a prerequisite for a successful peace education programme, namely, “a unity-based worldview, a culture of peace, a culture of healing, and a peace-based curriculum for all educational activities” (ibid., p. 139).

Following on from these four conditions, EFP has four main goals. I have expressed these goals as outcomes. Participants in the EFP programme will learn to:

- reflect on their own worldview and come to develop a peace-based worldview;
- create a culture of peace in and between school communities;
- create a culture of healing which develops the capacity of the whole community to recover from war and ongoing conflict;
- prevent and resolve conflict non-violently (ibid., p.140).

Comparing the models

Unlike the Zwelethemba model, which places strong emphasis on peacebuilding through collaborative community development projects, Danesh’s model fails to take into account the important role that broader community development can play in complementing peace education initiatives. The EFP programme also fails to provide sites and communities of practice for conflict resolution skills acquired through the curriculum, whereas Peace Committees provide a very effective form of experiential peace education

through the actual resolution of neighbourhood disputes. The members of each Peace Committee are essentially peace educators, trained to educate community members in the non-violent resolution of disputes – not through lectures, workshops or seminars (although such spaces may form part of their repertoire and have their place), but experientially through active peacemaking - daily peace gatherings, attended by significant numbers of people, at which local people learn, first-hand, how day-to-day disputes may be settled amicably through dialogue and without violence and enmity.

The EFP model is based on the assumption that in order for people to shift their worldview – from a survival or identity-based worldview to one of unity – they need to be guided through a reflection on their current mindset, which reflection then leads to a shift towards a more unity-based perspective. This concept of learning aimed at attitude and behaviour change is similar to Mezirow’s theories of transformative learning (Mezirow, 1991, 1995, 1996, 1997). Danesh however downplays the assumption that people ravaged by war and plagued by ongoing and seemingly intractable daily conflicts and prejudice are willing and able to make that shift. My experience of some three years working in peace education in Richmond, alongside other organizations doing similar work, is that shifting negative mindsets is a tricky and lengthy process.

Nevertheless, Danesh makes some important points about hope and trust which are seminal to my own study. The worldview component of EFP, he argues, *engenders hope* by providing participants with “a clear and accessible intellectual frame of reference” (Danesh, 2005, p. 25). This is achieved as they reflect on their own worldviews through a process of self-evaluation and self-knowledge which is deemed necessary for transforming attitudes and behaviours. Likewise, the Zwelethemba model has shown its potential to engender hope by harnessing a community’s own strengths and assets to address a range of conflicts and development challenges, while providing an income for the peace makers.

According to the EFP model, the work of building a culture of peace and healing begins with encouraging trust among programme participants. Once trust has been established,

there is a recognition of “points of unity” (ibid., p. 26) which draws them together. The Zwelethemba model succeeds in building trust among neighbours who come together to uncover the root causes of conflicts which affect their lives and then collaboratively find resolutions to the conflicts. Through dialogue in the spirit of restorative rather than punitive justice and group commitment to monitoring the restored peace, community residents learn increasingly to trust one another (Cartwright, 2005). As trust grows, so does the faith and hope that a more peaceful coexistence is possible.

Danesh found that peace events were a powerful tool for building peace and healing in these post-conflict communities (Danesh, 2007, pp. 150-151). Peace events bring together people who previously regarded each other as enemies. By coming together to commit to a common goal of peace they are better able to trust the goodwill of former adversaries. The unity of peaceful purpose and coming together without incidents of violence enables people to hope that a better future characterized by peaceful coexistence is indeed possible. My own experience and indeed the findings of this study attest to peoples’ faith in peace events as a means of creating a culture of peace and healing in strife-torn Richmond (see “Transforming violent attitudes and behaviours through education”, p. 90).

In conclusion, it’s significant that both models acknowledge the importance of training and paying the people who actually “do” the peace work. The Zwelethemba model provides for outcomes-based payments for Peace Committee members for all aspects of committee work and allocates substantial resources for regular institutional support of the committees, while EFP reserves the biggest part of its budget for the training and payment of the teachers who actually do the peace education.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Both the theoretical and methodological approaches I adopt for this study are so centrally framed by Freirean ideas, that my discussion of Freire takes place in both the theory and method chapters respectively. In this short chapter I explain why I chose a Freirean approach, and then provide a brief overview of his main ideas before concluding with a discussion of a seminal critique of his work by Facundo (Facundo, 1984a, 1984b, 1984c, 1984d). I discuss Freire and the approach he espouses in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1996) more fully in the subsequent chapter on Methodology.

Why Freire?

I was interested in Freire's ideas about how intellectuals/educators and "the oppressed" can participate in a co-investigation into the conditions of oppression and peoples' own perceptions of these conditions. I was also inspired by his conviction that this endeavour constitutes a righteous and intelligent struggle to liberate both oppressed and oppressor. Freire's approach to education and community engagement furthermore resonated with an action research methodology and analytical framework of successive approximation (Neuman, 2000, pp. 456-457). This concurrence of ideas between successive approximation, action research and Freirean methods is discussed below in the chapter on methodology.

Freire's main ideas

Emancipatory education and praxis

Freire is well-known as a proponent of "emancipatory literacy" (Gismondi, 1999, p. 2). For Freire, no education can be neutral and therefore must always, necessarily, be a political act (Jarvis, 1996, p. 83), a process through which the oppressed, guided by

educators through dialogue and a process of self-reflection, come to critically understand their social circumstances in a way that enables them to recapture their freedom, their land, in short, the human rights of which they have up to that point, been deprived. This dialogic process which involves reflection leading to action, Freire coined *praxis*. According to Freire, transformation cannot occur unless both aspects are present. Action without reflection is mere activism (acting without thinking), while reflection without action, mere verbalism or “blah” (Freire, 1996, pp. 68-69)

Banking education

Banking education, involves “the educator making ‘deposits’ in the educee” (Smith, 2005, p. 1). In Freire’s words, the “banking educator” is “anti-dialogical”. “(T)he question of content simply concerns the programme about which he will discourse to his students; and he answers his own question, by organizing his own programme” (Freire, 1996, p. 74). The “dialogical, problem-posing teacher-student” on the other hand, knows that the “programme content of education is neither a gift nor an imposition – bits of information to be deposited in the students – but rather the organized, systematized, and developed ‘representation to individuals of the things about which they want to know more’ (ibid.).

The impact on the participants in my study of the banking approach to primary and secondary education which they had been subjected to under Apartheid was a concern from the outset. I worried that such a prescriptive, authoritarian approach to teaching and learning would compromise peoples’ ability to think for themselves and therefore would jeopardize my attempts to create authentic dialogue with participants and to introduce a “problem-posing” approach (see below) to our cooperative research project. I discuss this issue in more detail later in the section “Education and Ethnostress”, p. 105).

Problem-posing education

Freire describes his method as “problem-posing education...” the antidote to banking education which “involves a constant unveiling of reality... (which) strives for the *emergence* of consciousness and *critical intervention* in reality” (ibid., p. 62). It is a method by which “people develop their power to perceive critically *the way they exist* in the world *with which* and *in which* they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation” (ibid., p. 64).

Conscientization

Although Freire later eschewed the term ‘conscientization’, the word, which he coined in the seventies, has stuck. Succinctly put, conscientization “is a permanent critical approach to reality in order to discover it and discover the myths that deceive us and help to maintain the oppressing dehumanizing structures” (Freire, 1976, p. 225) cited in Jarvis, 1996, p. 85). It is conscientization which assists us in overcoming ‘limit situations’ – those situations which cause us to see ourselves as “victims of circumstance with limited options for survival” (Noguera, 2007, p. no page number). The notion of ‘limit-situations’ and the oppressed overcoming limit-situations as they liberate themselves through ‘limit-acts’ is central to Freire’s pedagogy. He explains in a footnote to *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1996, p. 80) that he borrows the term from Pinto’s (1960) *Consciencia e Realiade Nacional*. According to Pinto, limit-situations are not “the impassable boundaries where possibilities end, but the real boundaries where all possibilities begin” (Pinto, 1960, p. 284). Freire believes that:

...it is not the limit-situations in and of themselves which create a climate of hopelessness, but rather how they are perceived... at a given historical moment: whether they are perceived as fetters or as insurmountable barriers. As critical perception is embodied in action, a climate of hope and confidence develops which leads men to attempt to overcome the limit-situations (Freire, 1996, p. 80)

Understanding how my participants perceived their limit-situations and working with them to devise 'limit-acts' aimed at overcoming these situations was central to my own practice and study.

Dialogue

For Freire, education and liberation go hand in hand and true education is contingent upon authentic dialogue between the educator (the teacher-student) and the student (student-teacher). "Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world" (Freire, 1996, p. 69), the way that people achieve significance as human beings by communicating as equals. Authentic dialogue is premised upon mutual love and trust between dialogers and presupposes a climate of hope that it is possible to transform the world (ibid., p. 73). The goal of dialogue is an investigation which aims to transform concrete reality by investigating the factors which limit people's full participation in naming, creating and participating in their world as equals, as well as the perceptions they hold about this reality, the limit-situations which constrain them, how they respond to these constraints, and what action could be taken to change the world.

Critiques of Freire

One reason for me choosing a Freirean theoretical approach for my study is personal. Working as an educator and development practitioner in Freire-inspired education programmes for almost ten years, I was struck by the way in which Freire was almost deified by some proponents of radical education practice. I had grown increasingly uncomfortable with a reluctance to criticize and to unpack the limitations of applying Freirean techniques in different contexts.

I personally find Freire's ideas appealing and his optimism refreshing and inspiring. Perhaps because of my own tendency to embrace Freire uncritically, I felt this study would be a useful opportunity not only to test the application of Freire's ideas more

directly, but also to engage with respectable critiques of his work, especially critiques which examined the application of his ideas in various contexts.

Freire's writing has attracted the scrutiny of numerous critics since he first published *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in 1972. Obviously, the space to discuss these critiques in any depth is limited by the scope of this half dissertation. I therefore limit myself here to an overview of some critiques pertinent to my study.

The first criticism of interest to me is that Freire is perceived by some to downplay or at least underestimate the extent to which the social identity of the educator can undermine the kind of liberatory educator-learner dialogue which he believes is possible (Facundo, 1984d; Weiler, 1994). I discuss Facundo's critique in more detail, below.

Taylor (1993, p. 148), analyzing Freire's literacy programme, finds a banking education system masquerading as liberatory method. He criticizes a failure of the programme to honour the rhetoric of "dialogue, engagement, and equality", falling, as he puts it, into the trap of "subliminal messages and modes of a Banking System...which he (Freire) so eloquently criticizes" (cited in Smith, 2005:3).

Ironically, considering how in the 1970s Marxists criticized Freire for "neglecting the class struggle in his analysis of the oppressed" (Hendriks, no date), he is also accused of "essentializ(ing) oppression under the rubric of class conflict" (Peckham, 2003, p. 228). Although Marxists might argue that society has little changed, and that today there is even more urgent cause for revolution, some opponents of Freirean pedagogy, for example, Miller (1998, p. 228), maintains that his revolutionary ideas are considered out of place in a non-revolutionary society.

Freire's language has caused concern among some readers of his work. These critiques are leveled at the religious character of the language in his earlier work which has had the effect of alienating potentially allied audiences, while others find his writing "pompous, inaccessible and elitist" (Hendriks, no date). Well-known feminist writer bell hooks

found Freire's sexist language "a source of anguish for it represents a blind spot in the vision of men who have profound insight" (hooks, 1993, p. 148). Later editions of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1996) use more inclusive language in deference to these criticisms, while Freire himself, in *Pedagogy of Hope*, (Freire, (1995) "acknowledges and concurs with this criticism, apologizing for his use of neo-colonial and discriminatory language which is incompatible with his message of liberation" (Hendriks, no date).

Facundo's critique of Freire

As the editor of Facundo's essay points out in his introduction (Facundo, 1984a, p. 1), her critique of Freire, although written in 1984, remains highly relevant today because it "deals with the basic issues of how political/educational practices arise, how they are adapted to local circumstances, and how activists may mislead themselves about what they are accomplishing".

In her critical analysis of Freire's theory and methods Facundo examines a decade of her own efforts to apply Freire's theories in the United States and Puerto Rico as well as the actions of a group of "Freireans" in the USA. She aims, in her own words "to raise and discuss issues that, from my perspective, are key for an evaluation of Freire-inspired programs in the United States, but which are seldom examined by practitioners" (Facundo, 1984d, p. 3).

Application of Freirean ideas

Facundo expresses frustration that Freire provides little guidance on *how to apply* his "vague", "bookish" definitions in actual situations. In her own experience, with groups of educators and activists in Freire-inspired programmes in the United States and Puerto Rico between 1979 and 1983:

(e)ach had to invent his/her way at each site, not without a great deal of ideological and power struggle within each site. Ultimately, “we” represented a very heterogeneous group of self-appointed rebels (or radicals) that in three years could not agree upon a single definition upon which to act collectively (Facundo, 1984d, p. 7).

This critique is not, in my view, accurately identifying a weakness, and may indeed point to a strength in Friere’s theory. His ideas are meant to be inspirational and it is up to individual educators and groups of educators to interpret Freire and adapt the ideas according to specific contexts. I came to understand Freire’s “failure” to provide directives, refreshingly un-prescriptive.

I acknowledge that the construction of this dissertation which was largely done without the input of the research participants, and to some extent the nature of my work, with me as project manager attempting to steer people and processes towards preconceived project objectives already precluded an absolutely faithful adherence to Freire and critical action research. However, in good faith, I set out to be as true to Freire as possible under the existing constraints, bearing in mind that Freire urged practitioners to reinvent his approach according to the demands of their respective contexts (Gadotti & Tores, no date; Peckham, 2003; Tan, no date).

Identity and power

The challenge Facundo poses to all Freire-inspired educators and activists captured my imagination and became one of the central themes of this study:

(a)n answer to the questions “Who are we?” and “What motivates us?”, it seems to me, is crucial in any attempt at evaluating our work in Freire-inspired programs. We should not avoid an examination of our personal histories, our class position, our jobs, our salaries, our zone of residence, and why (and how) all these “fit” with our overt and perhaps not so overt

objectives. Freire's theory does not provide for this type of analysis. It may be beautiful to think that we are (1) acting out of love, (2) *non-elitist*, (3) prepared to commit "*class suicide*," and (4) prepared to *learn* from the learners, who we consider our *equals* in a common quest for *effective* ways to *fight* against *oppression* and create *a new world*. Beautiful, but, is it true? (Facundo, 1984d, p. 6).

As it turns out, despite having been impressed by this insight when I read it, I was not able fully, while gathering data, to appreciate the extent to which my class position and my job and salary was influencing the interaction with my participants. In retrospect, I should have been more vigilant. As (Peckham, 2003, p. 230) points out, Freire consistently warns "intellectuals from privileged socioeconomic positions" to be mindful of the influence such a social identity can have on learners. I will discuss this in more detail in my analysis.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The research problem

At the time the proposal for this study was written, the CAE Peace Education Programme was training and supporting a small group of peace educators in Richmond (the six primary participants). Part of my work with these educators/development workers included weekly visits during which we discussed and planned the implementation of peace education projects which they had initiated. We tried to identify barriers to project implementation and potential conflict scenarios and how best we could prevent such conflicts from arising. Throughout the course of my study, this work continued with varying degrees of intensity.

In terms of tangible, measurable outcomes in the Richmond peace projects up to the point where I conceptualized my study, it was my perception that progress had been painfully slow; my interactions with participants, while friendly, characterised by frustration on my part – frustration at what I perceived to be the inability of people to focus, to pursue goals with any sense of sustained purpose or energy, to take responsibility, to take initiative.

Despite my frustration, perhaps because of it, working with these people over a period of just over a year, struggling with them to overcome the personal and social constraints to peace education imposed by their history and milieu, I was inspired to deepen my understanding of their situation through more focused research, and to offer some solutions.

I framed my research problem in the following way:

How could I best engage with the project participants to better understand their socio-political context and together with them generate some

practical ideas for a model of peace education which would usefully address the challenges of their context in a sustainable way?

The reflections on addressing this research problem will lead to a short chapter (see Chapter 7: Design of a sustainable peace education programme in Richmond, page 97ff) which sets out some practical considerations for the design of a sustainable peace education programme for Richmond.

Research Paradigm

“The goal of research is to empower” (Neuman, 2000, p. 77).

Given that two central concerns of peace education are personal development and social justice, the choice of a critical research paradigm is almost a non-choice. My study predictably adopts a critical approach, and aims to investigate the socio-economic, political and cultural realities which dominate the lives of ordinary people living within the municipal boundaries of Richmond. The aim of my study is social transformation. I hoped, through dialogue with key stakeholders, to collaboratively create a better understanding of the social context to inform the construction of a workable model of peace education which, if adopted, could contribute to lasting peace and reconciliation in the area.

My assumption is that reality is shaped by power relations that often (especially in post-conflict communities) work against the desire of ordinary people to live in peace. These power relations often persist through distorted perceptions (Cranton, 1994; Mezirow, 1991) (e.g.: the myths and commonly-held beliefs which limit the oppressed in such relations). These are the illusions that inform a person’s worldview.

A further assumption is that “The potential of people can be realized if they dispel their illusions and join collectively to change society” (Neuman, 2000, p. 78). People are constrained by their material, social, cultural and historic conditions, but by developing a

vision for the future and hope for a better future, they can work together for change, overcome their constraints and through praxis, create a better life for themselves.

Through my weekly interactions with the primary participants I tried to develop and nurture my already personal relationships with them. Interviews with these participants were aimed at gathering data as well as at supporting individuals as they grappled with the day-to-day realities of educating and lobbying for peaceful change within their communities.

I saw my role in the research process as that of the “transformative intellectual” (Guba & Lincoln, 2000, p. 115). In the section below, I elaborate on my understanding of this role.

Approach

My study specifically adopts a Freirean approach to research which I will argue below, closely resembles Participatory Action Research (PAR).

Action Research (AR)

Brief overview

Action research is a systematic process of inquiry which involves research on the actions of a practitioner (e.g.: teacher, community development worker) aimed at informing the future actions of the practitioner. In this way action research may be regarded as a kind of professional formalization of the transformative learning process described by Mezirow (Mezirow, 1991, 1995, 1996, 1997) where a learner’s critical reflection on his or her experience results in a change in attitudes and behaviour.

While John (John, 2003, p. 5) points out that “(t)he action research community is not an homogenous one. There are distinct variations of approach and divides along lines of participation, ownership and purpose,” Bhana asserts that there is increasing consensus

among social science researchers that the slight differences in approach (between Action Research (AR) and Participatory Action Research (PAR)) are being regarded as inconsequential and that both terms refer to “any kind of research with an action and/or participatory orientation” (Bhana, 1999, p. 228).

I would argue that a distinction between AR and PAR is useful in the sense that while the term Action Research refers to cycles of action, reflection and evaluation in the research process, generally aimed at generating new theoretical knowledge whilst improving practice, the very *raison-d’etre* of PAR is that the research participants themselves are intimately involved in the conceptualization, design, process and evaluation of the research project. With the former, while a key goal is social transformation, the research can be carried out “on” or “for” “on behalf of” the participants. With the latter, the broad aim is the same but the critical factor is that the research is carried out “with” the participants.

These more critical and participatory forms of Action Research such as PAR, Collaborative Action Inquiry (Yorks, 2005), Social Action Research (see (Pilotta, 2001)) and critical action research have an ontological base which resonates with the Freirean notion of praxis and the importance of social and personal transformation, collaborative inquiry and the production of knowledge that is collectively owned and shared. Freire himself, in the early seventies, participated in some of the early experiments with and reflections on participatory research (PR), and more lately, in 1997, wrote the foreword to *Nurtured by Knowledge: Learning to Do Participatory Action-Research*, which has become one of the most popular books ever published by IDRC (International Development Research Centre) (Hall, 2005, p. 17).

This study as part of a broader action research project

In my introductory section where I describe the scope of this study I briefly contextualized my research within a larger action research project of the Centre for Adult

Education. Here I elaborate on how my study fits within the cycles of action, reflection and evaluation of this larger project.

As mentioned in my introduction, the CAE had for over a decade prior to South Africa's independence in 1994, been involved in such activities as violence monitoring, conflict resolution and capacity building with anti-Apartheid organizations. Post 1994, CAE offered its first peace education course: "Towards more peaceful communities" as a response to prevailing political circumstances in the province. An independent evaluation of the course (Verbeek, 1998) and the shifting nature of conflict in the province to the context of competition for scarce development resources led to the implementation of new formal and non-formal peace education programmes in 2003 which attempted to respond to these shifts. A research paper (Houghton & John, 2007) traced the history and development of the Peace Education Programme and examined how action research had shaped our programme. It reflected on the follow-up support component of our programme and focused on how nurturing and supporting our trainees and students in communities of practice could contribute to sustained peace education in the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

Throughout this development of peace work in CAE which spanned two decades, ongoing action research consisted of regular evaluations and reviews by staff and participants as well as external evaluations which lead to reflection on the value of our work and subsequently to revisions of our approach and offerings.

My study aimed to contribute to this broader research project and to provide the opportunity for a deeper and more structured engagement with current project participants that could lead to insights which would enhance the project work. What my study hoped to provide was a clearer indication of how our peace education work could be sustained and extended within the community, initially with CAE support, but later, independently of our intervention. My aim was to produce a set of guidelines for a more sustainable peace education programme. When I wrote my proposal for this study in 2005, I had hoped that the guidelines could be developed into a proposal for donor

funding to support an implementation phase while further study, perhaps a PhD, could track, monitor and guide the implementation.

A Freirean Approach

How I formulated my method using Freire

By the time I wrote the proposal for my study I had already shared my intentions regarding this dissertation with the six peace workers whom I visited and supported weekly and who would be the primary participants in the study. All had readily agreed to take part.

The next step was to share with the participants in more detail my intentions for the investigation and seek their approval and commitment to a process we would attempt to collaboratively design. The intention was, I explained, to week by week begin focusing more closely on the concrete situation they experienced in relation to violence and conflict in their communities and how they perceived that experience. “In order to communicate effectively (I needed to) understand the structural conditions in which the thought and language of the people (were) dialectically framed” (Freire, 1996, p. 77).

In this initial, investigative phase of the study, my aim was, through dialogue, to “discover generative themes and to stimulate people's awareness in regard to these themes” (ibid., p. 78).

According to John (2008, p. 5)

Generative words and themes serve as a key pedagogical device to stimulate dialogue within learning contexts, allowing learners to be able to name their world, to write about it and to gain a critical awareness of their situation, such that they feel empowered to take action to change their world. To be effective and relevant, generative themes must emerge from

the lived reality of the learner group and relate to their local contexts. The investigation of themes grounded in the lives of learners is a crucial and ongoing process in the development of peace curricula.

My purpose was not the investigation of people as objects but rather the “thought-language” through which they perceived their reality. Limit-situations were to be thus identified and unpacked. Again, it was not so much these situations themselves which I deemed important (because they negate hope and action), but the way in which these situations were perceived (Freire, 1996, p. 80).

Investigating the “links between themes”, posing “themes as problems”, and a “concern for their historical-cultural context” was key to my study. An analysis of these themes was to be an integral stage not only in the process of my own reflection for the purposes of this study, but also in my process of interaction with project participants which was aimed at assisting them in the implementation of peace education-related activities they were planning.

The next step I, as “dialogical teacher”, planned was to “re-present” this thematic universe (as I understood them to understand it) to the people... “not as a lecture, but as a problem” (ibid., p. 90). This was to be done through the exploration of carefully designed “codes” (Freire, 1996, pp. 95-96) (pictures, words, phrases, images, poems, etc) which I hoped would evoke strong reactions in participants in relation to the themes which they had identified.

The plan was to explore how these generative themes or key challenges could be engaged in Richmond and also in other post-conflict, resource-poor, black communities. I hoped this would ensure flexibility of the model in the light of context specifics.

The aim of using codes is that through reflection and analysis (decoding), participants come to reach a “perception of their previous perception” and hence create a fresh understanding of themselves and their ability to act in the world and to transform it (ibid.,

p. 96). Freire describes a fairly elaborate process of investigating themes and then devising, presenting, re-presenting, decoding and analysing codes and how this process informs the collaborative construction of an educational project (in this case a model peace education programme).

As generative themes began to emerge and were explored in more detail with participants, I planned to focus on suggesting essential considerations, themes, issues and structures for a durable peace education programme in the municipal wards in which the study took place.

However, Freire (Freire, 1996, p. 101) also advises that educators “will recognize the need to include some fundamental themes which were not directly suggested by the people during preceding investigation ... If educational programming is dialogical, the teacher-students also have the right to participate by including themes not previously suggested”. This advice proved helpful to me as, towards the end of my data collection, I felt that I had not managed to take dialogue with participants deep enough in terms of eliciting and exploring generative themes. Encouraged by Freire’s suggestion that the teacher-student has a right to include themes not previously suggested, I designed an interview schedule which enabled me to explore specific themes of interest to me as researcher (see “Face-to-face structured interviews (November – December 2006)43).

The challenge

However, the challenges, within Freire’s framework, for me as a researcher and “transformative intellectual” seemed enormous: was it possible for me as an outsider, a member of the oppressor class, in Freire's words, to open myself up and be authentic, to be truly human? Was it possible to love, to trust, to have faith in people's ability to dialogue, to reason, to actualise themselves as fully human, to create and transform their world? (Freire, 1996). Did I have the capacity to sustain hope and share that sense of hope for a better future, with the people who were to be my co-investigators? I discuss the extent to which I feel I met these challenges in “Reflections on my application of Freire”, p. 103).

Data collection

Introduction

As mentioned in the introduction to my study, I make a distinction between ‘the project’ and ‘the study’ (see ““My study” and “the project””, p. 1). In this section, I will first discuss the sampling of the participants in the study. Next, I describe the methods of data collection, including discussing the choice of interview questions in relation to the research questions. Finally, I engage some methodological reflections on the extent to which the data are reliable and trustworthy.

All interviews were conducted in English then typed into Microsoft Word and stored electronically. All participants were assured that their identities would not be divulged. Original transcripts have been stored and this raw data will be destroyed once the thesis has been written up and submitted.

Research ethics

Before I began the data collection I shared my intentions regarding this study with the six peace workers whom I visited and supported weekly and who were to participate in the study as primary participants. I also communicated my intentions with the NGO colleagues from whom I also intended to collect data. All readily agreed to take part. Each primary participant in the study signed a declaration of informed consent in line with the University policy on research ethics.

The relationship between the primary participants and I was more complicated than simply that of researcher and subject as I was also an educator and project manager to these same people, which emphasized issues of power. I was “the teacher” with all the respect and awe this position brought. I was also the bringer of resources with the power

to bestow or withhold the social capital which accrues with their participation in a university development project. I tried hard to remain conscious of the potential for such power dynamics to not only skew research findings but more importantly, entrench inequality and mask potential for critiquing inequality.

Given Richmond's violent history and the delicate political climate which prevailed around the local government elections in April 2006, confidentiality was also a key ground rule.

Sampling

The six primary participants in "the project" were also the six primary participants in my study. I refer to these six individuals as "primary participants" in order to distinguish between them and other participants in my study and the project. During the course of data collection I also interviewed various people who lived or worked in Richmond. Some were peripherally involved in "the project", others were not. There were also a number of other individuals who were in various ways involved in both "the project" and "my study".

The participants

Names have been changed to protect identities.

Participant Name	Status
Zweli Mabaso	Primary participant. Ex-councillor, political and community leader.
Sbu Mbanjwa	Primary participant. Political party office-bearer and community leader.
Simpiwe Dlamini	Primary participant. Political party office bearer and community leader.

Dudu Ntombela	Primary participant. Politically active. Volunteer worker with vulnerable children.
Busi Dlodlo	Primary participant. Volunteer worker with vulnerable children.
Bheki Khumalo	Primary participant. Political and community leader.
Mary Botha	Member of Richmond Community Policing Forum (CPF) ³ .
Dennis Abbot	Retired journalist and Richmond resident.
Thuli Buthelezi	NGO worker.
Zandile Ntuli	NGO worker.
Themba Nxumalo	NGO worker
Chris Nel	Member of Richmond Community Policing Forum (CPF).
Thembi Zondi	NGO worker.
Mthembeni Cele	NGO worker
Dumisani Zulu	Political party office bearer and influential political leader

³ A Community Policing Forum is a formal body, consisting of representatives of various stakeholders and individuals concerned with safety and security in a particular area. Each CPF works closely with the South African Police Services (SAPS) in the area. Office bearers receive a stipend from the state.

Data Collection Methods

Informal dialogue (January – October 2006)

Data was gathered from informal face-to-face, telephonic and email dialogues with participants. Data was gathered on the day-to-day historical, social, economic and political circumstances of ordinary people living in Richmond during the course of regular project work. I asked open-ended questions about what issues most limited young people and people generally from living the kinds of lives to which they aspired. I asked what the most obvious barriers to peace and stability in Richmond were. I asked what events from the past had had the most negative impact on people today. The opinions, attitudes and perceptions as well as the dreams, hopes and aspirations of the participants were canvassed in much the same way. Weekly dialogues with the six primary participants during regular project meetings constituted the most significant portion of this data which I then later organized into generative themes for analysis (see section: “How I formulated my method using Freire”, page 36).

Minutes of meetings

Minutes of meetings conducted with various stakeholders in my capacity as coordinator of PEP in Richmond between June 2004 and December 2006 were also consulted.

Collegial reflections on the project work

Reflections on my own experiences as coordinator of the Peace Education Programme in Richmond, as well as the reflections of my colleague Zamile Mbanjwa and colleague and supervisor, Vaughn John, both intimately involved in the work, further inform the study.

Face-to-face structured interviews (November – December 2006)

As my understanding of the context and my own study deepened through perusal of and reflection on the data coming in, I formulated an interview schedule for face-to-face structured interviews. These interviews were conducted during November and December 2006. Below I give motivation for and describe each of the questions I asked.

Oppression

I asked specific questions about oppression because the notions of “oppressor” and “oppressed” are so central to Freire’s theories about authentic engagement between teacher and learner within a development context. I wanted to clarify how the various participants in my study perceived the terms and what the terms meant for them in the context of working towards sustainable peace in Richmond. I suggested to each of my respondents that under apartheid, black South Africans could be clear about who “the oppressor” was, but that today it seems less clear. I asked if they thought that poor black people of Richmond were still oppressed in 2006 and if yes, who, or what, was “the oppressor”?

The challenge of authentic dialogue

Engaging people as equals in authentic dialogue premised upon mutual love and trust between dialogers in a collaborative effort to liberate both oppressed and oppressor is a key tenet of Freire’s approach to education and development (Freire, 1996). From frequent interactions with NGO colleagues (each of whom worked for NGOs involved in peace education and peacebuilding in Richmond), I was aware that many of them shared my frustration that it was challenging to engage in this way with our respective project participants. I asked the NGO participants in this study, what they thought hindered us as service providers from engaging as equals and trusting the people we work with.

Hope

Zuza ithemba!— hope for lasting peace through sustainable peace education in Richmond, KwaZulu-Natal, is the title of this study. For Freire, authentic dialogue presupposes a climate of hope that it is possible to transform the world. Doing peace and development work in Richmond where people are challenged by poverty, unemployment, HIV/AIDS and a lack of service delivery, one is acutely aware of a prevailing gloom and lack of hope. I asked all the research participants what they thought created hopelessness and what they thought gave people hope.

Towards a model of peace education

In gathering data aimed at collecting participants' ideas about a model of peace education I summarized Danesh's four basic constituents of a successful peace education programme, namely that it should aim to create:

- 1) a unity-based worldview,
- 2) a culture of peace,
- 3) a culture of healing, and
- 4) a peace-based curriculum for schools. (Danesh, 2007, pp. 139, 140)

I deliberately avoided including any further detail about how the programme is structured in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as I wanted to get original ideas from respondents – specific to the Richmond context. I asked each participant to broadly sketch how they would construct a peace education programme for Richmond, based on the four basic constituents.

Reflections on methodology

Informal dialogue

The informal dialogues with participants carried the benefit of putting participants at ease. While they knew that I was gathering data for my study, most of my questions had the dual purpose of providing descriptions of the context to inform the project work and giving participants the opportunity to tell their own stories of the context in which they lived and worked. I found participants eager to share their experiences and perceptions on most topics with me. I was able to ask direct questions like:

- “what historical factors most impact on the current context of political conflict?”
- Why don’t young people wear condoms?
- If everyone had jobs, would Richmond be a more peaceful place?”

The answers to these questions invariably raised new questions for me and I was able to probe in ways which lead to rich insights not only into the lives of ordinary residents, but also into the lives of the participants who served the community as political and development leaders. Nonetheless, as the study progressed I became increasingly frustrated that a lack of trust between the participants and me was impeding the kind of authentic dialogue for which I had hoped. Few participants were prepared to speak, even off the record, about the intra-party conflict which was so obviously hampering peace and development efforts in Richmond and as implementation of PEP peace projects began to falter; I began to realize a complexity of the context that I was not able to probe more deeply. I identified a number of factors which impeded my ability to engage participants as I had hoped, but the most important one, sadly was the fact that I was not able to overcome the dynamics created by my own privilege and power, and that I underestimated the potential for this power dynamic to not only skew my research findings but more importantly, to entrench inequality and mask the potential for critiquing inequality (see “Reflections on my application of Freire”, p. 103).

Structured interviews

These structured interviews provided a very different context for data collection. Each interview took a maximum of one hour, questioning proceeded briskly, and there was limited scope for probing responses. In fact, in some instances, I ran out of time towards the end of the interview, which resulted in disappointingly shallow responses to the last question which required participants to sketch their ideas for a peace-based curriculum for schools in Richmond.

Data Analysis

I began my study with the research question and a broad framework of assumptions and concepts based on my experience of working in the area and on the documentary analysis I had already done. As I collected data through the informal methods I outlined above, I also started start interrogating the data that was coming in, and questioning the evidence to see how well my initial assumptions and concepts fitted the data, while looking for emerging generative themes. I then began to see gaps in the data and designed a structured questionnaire in order to “insert” new themes and to collect additional data to address some unresolved issues and questions and to gain a richer perspective by following a slightly different tack.

While Neuman calls the method of data analysis I describe above as “successive approximation” (2000, pp. 456-457), other authors link this approach more broadly to grounded theory analysis or simply call it qualitative data analysis (Henning, van Rensburg, & Smit, 2004, pp. 114 - 117, 127, 128).

Had I realized the extent to which my social status and my salaried position would impede my ability to engage my participants in authentic dialogue as I had hoped to do, I would have paid more intention to the potential benefits offered by a discourse analysis

(ibid., pp. 117-122) which may have provided me with a more effective tool for analyzing the “thought-language” in which my participants as well as my own perceptions were dialectically framed.

Chapter 5: The research site

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief overview of the physical, historical, social and political context of Richmond, KwaZulu-Natal, the area in which my study was conducted. The chapter looks at demographics, describes some of the peace work being done by local NGOs, chronicles the history of political violence since 1979 and explores some of the historical and current social and political issues which affect peace and stability in the area.

Demographics

Richmond is a small town in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands, just a few kilometers off the R64 highway, thirty eight kilometers south-west of Pietermaritzburg, the capital city of KwaZulu-Natal. The area is comprised of 7 municipal wards which fall under the jurisdiction of the Richmond municipality. Sugar and timber are the predominant industries and employers of labour.

Census data place the population at 63 224 people, of whom 47% are male and 53% female. Richmond has a relatively young population with 34% between the ages of 0 and 14 and 36% between the ages of 15 and 34. Eighty two percent of households earn less than R1,600 (roughly \$208 US) per month while unemployment stands at 43%. (Statistics South Africa, 2003)

Organizations involved in peace work in Richmond in 2005 and 2006

Because of its well-publicised history of violent political conflict, Richmond has been the recipient of numerous (mostly uncoordinated) peace efforts. Each of the organizations

listed below (like the CAE Peace Education Programme) received funding for peace-related projects in Richmond from the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust (JRCT) during this period. As such, each of the organizations was a member of the informal Richmond Consortium which met monthly to coordinate peace efforts in the area and to ensure that there was effective communication between these bodies and their respective projects.

The Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (PACSA)

PACSA describes itself as “an independent ecumenical non-governmental organisation committed to the transformation of our society based on principles of freedom, equality, human dignity and mutual respect” (PACSA, no date).

They work predominantly in the KZN Midlands region, seeking to “facilitate the empowerment of” the unemployed, women and youth of marginalized communities by working directly with such groups on current issues of social concern; by conscientising the churches to the social implications of their faith; and by establishing strategic alliances with other agencies concerned with the achievement of a just and empowered society.

PACSA’s core peace work in Richmond involved working with the Richmond Minister’s Fraternal, a grouping of church leaders concerned with the church’s role in peace and development in the area. Working with the Fraternal, PACSA was instrumental in introducing the Healing of Memories programme for survivors of violence in Richmond (see section: “Creating a culture of healing”, p. 93).

IPT

The IPT is a “facilitation, training and research consultancy which seeks to help organisations, both public and private, who are undergoing transformations owing to

political, social and economic changes” (IPT, No date). IPT have been active in KZN since 1990 and are known for their work which focuses on “building and strengthening interpersonal and inter group relationships” (ibid.). A strong research unit monitors and reports publicly on IPT interventions.

In 2003 and 2004 IPT trained over 50 community mediators in the Richmond area and in 2006 their core peace work involved the training and support of municipal ward councils and local government councilors in Richmond.

Gun Free South Africa (GFSA)

GFSA describes itself as an organization committed to “reducing the number of firearms in South Africa, helping to build a safe and secure nation, free from fear” (GFSA, No date). They do this through advocacy and lobbying aimed at building “broad-base popular support for the reduction of firearms”, targeting education programmes aimed at the youth and by facilitating “projects and campaigns within communities to reduce gun-related crime” (ibid.). They have contributed to important legislative change in South Africa, notably the Firearms Control Act (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2001).

While active in KZN, they also have branches in Cape Town and Gauteng, as well as conducting campaigns in Malawi, Namibia and Lesotho. During 2006 and 2007 they conducted youth education programmes in a number of Richmond schools.

Sinani (KwaZulu-Natal Programme for Survivors of Violence)

Sinani/KwaZulu-Natal Programme for Survivors of Violence is a non-government organization which aims to “work towards a peaceful, empowered, dynamic society... rebuilding the social fabric of communities most severely affected by violence” (Sinani, no date).

Sinani's three main programmes focus on peace, poverty alleviation and HIV/AIDS. Projects within these programmes are aimed at helping people “deal with painful experiences of violence... feelings of anger and guilt”, developing and supporting “income-generating projects which offer hope and alternatives to violence”, promoting “reconciliation within communities, families and individuals previously in conflict”, and developing “good governance in the form of leadership which empowers communities to participate collaboratively in their own development” (ibid.).

Sinani's core peace work in Richmond in 2005/2006 involved trauma counseling for survivors of violence, poverty alleviation projects and facilitation of dialogue between political leaders and other influential stakeholders, primarily through monthly meetings of the Richmond Leaders Forum. Efforts aimed at reconciliation and peacebuilding in the area culminated in a high-profile cultural “Cleansing Ceremony” which took place in October 2006.

The story of physical violence (1979 - 2000)

Richmond was one of the areas worst affected by the political violence which wracked KwaZulu-Natal during the eighties and nineties. This conflict has been well documented (Aitchison, 2003b; Butler, 1994; Greenstein, 2003; Jeffery, 1997; Levin, 1999). Taylor (2002) reports as many as 20 000 deaths by political violence in the province of KwaZulu-Natal alone between 1984 and 2002, with deaths in the Richmond area accounting for well over 7 000 of that total.

In March 2003, at a Human Rights Day celebration in Richmond, then Deputy President of South Africa Jacob Zuma said the following:

The Richmond conflict left many visible and invisible wounds and traumatized many families. It has distorted family institutions and has left behind widows and orphans, while many young people languish in jail for serious crimes (IPT, 2004, p. 6).

The social and psychological scars of this drawn out civil war are clearly visible in Richmond, where political acrimonies, predominantly between ANC and IFP supporters in the period 1984 to 1997, were exacerbated by violent competition for support and turf between warring ANC and UDM factions between 1997 and 2000. The deaths and injuries from this violent conflict as well as the disruption of employment, education and family and social life continue to impact on inhabitants of the affected areas of Richmond. John and Rule (2005, p. 183) found that “Violence and poverty have fractured the lives of people in Richmond, both individually and collectively”.

Origins of the violence in KwaZulu-Natal (1979 – 1989)

Inkatha (Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe) was formed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in 1975 to “(foster) the spirit of unity among black people (in South Africa), and (work) for the complete abolition of racism and discrimination” (Jeffery, 1997, p. 23). This was done with the blessing and support of the ANC Alliance in exile who saw Inkatha’s primary role as that of furthering the aims of the alliance in South Africa. However, the spirit of cooperation between the two organization was shortlived.

Chronology of events in KZN between 1979 and 1989

This section is a brief summary of events between 1979 and 1989 which traces the origins and progression of the ANC Alliance – Inkatha conflict in KwaZulu-Natal (see (Jeffery, 1997, pp. 15-212).

1979: Buthelezi leads a large Inkatha delegation to meet with ANC Alliance members in exile in London. ANC and Inkatha fall out. The ANC cites Buthelezi’s collaboration with the Apartheid government, his pursuit of a personal agenda for power, his refusal to stop criticizing the ANC strategy of armed struggle and sanctions and his breach of confidence by leaking news of the meeting to the press, as the main reasons. Buthelezi blames

the rift on ANC fears of Inkatha's growing popularity and influence at home and their attempts to bring him under control, which he resisted.

- 1980: Inkatha supporters violently attempt to suppress student boycotts of schools in the greater Durban area. Inkatha claims its efforts are aimed at "safeguarding pupils against coercion" by pro-UDF trouble-makers (ibid., p. 131).
- 1983: Four students killed and over a hundred injured in clashes with Inkatha Youth Brigade at the University of Zululand.
- 1984: Violence flares up when residents of Lamontville and Hambanathi, near Durban, protest the townships' incorporation into the KwaZulu Bantustan. Several lives are lost on both sides and scores injured.
- 1985-1986: Inkatha steps up vigilante attacks on students and known UDF supporters, particularly in the peri-urban areas around Durban and Pietermaritzburg (including Richmond). Inkatha claims it is defending itself against militant left-wing youth bent on 'making South Africa ungovernable'.
- 1987-1988: Increased haemorrhaging of support from Inkatha to UDF spurs Inkatha to a province-wide "campaign of forced recruitment to compel allegiance to Inkatha" (ibid., p. 61). Resultant clashes in this period leave over 1000 dead and more than 30 000 displaced (ibid., p. 96).
- 1989: Peace talks between UDF and Inkatha fail. Violence intensifies and the townships worst affected by the violence begin to resemble war-zones. The UDF blames the violence on an orchestrated campaign by Inkatha, with the support of apartheid police and military forces, to destabilize the alliance. Buthelezi continues to insist that his movement is merely resisting the ANC's strategy of violent revolution.

Having described the broader context of ANC- Inkatha conflict in KwaZulu-Natal during the 80's, the focus now shifts to trace the development of violent conflict in Richmond between 1990 and 2000.

Chronology of events in Richmond between 1990 – 2000

- 1990: In February, the ANC is unbanned and Nelson Mandela is released. The province explodes as Inkatha (renamed the Inkatha Freedom Party – IFP) and the ANC alliance compete for control of the province. Throughout the nineties, violence between the ANC and IFP in KwaZulu-Natal is fuelled by a “Third Force” – namely subversive elements within the police and South African Security Forces (see (Gould & Lamb, 2004). In Richmond, the IFP under leader Paulos Vezi invades Magoda and by early 1991 has a considerable force of armed men established in the area from where they launch attacks on the ANC stronghold of Indaleni.
- 1991: In March the tables are turned dramatically in what is now the legendary “Battle of the Forest” in which ANC forces drive the IFP from Indaleni and then Magoda.
- 1990-1991: Paramilitary Self Protection Units (SPUs) of the IFP and Self-Defence Units (SDUs) of the ANC play an increasingly pivotal role in the violence and the smuggling into Richmond areas of thousands of firearms.
- 1992: Tensions within the Richmond SDUs escalate.
- 1993: SDUs commander Mafani Phungula is murdered in Magoda and tensions escalate still further.

- 1994: Mzwandile Mbongwa (ANC Youth League and founding SDU member) murdered along with 4 other ANC members in Richmond.
- 1995: ANC member and SDU leader Sifiso Nkabinde is elected mayor of Richmond. Nkabinde and IFP counterpart, Paulos Vezi hold joint peace rallies. SDU killings continue unabated prompting the National Minister of Safety and Security to commission an Investigative Task Unit (ITU) to address the problem. This and other, internal ANC investigations into internal party conflicts fail to address the tensions or get to the root of the problem.
- 1997: In April Nkabinde is expelled from the ANC, ostensibly for being an apartheid-era police spy. To date, no documentary evidence to support this allegation has ever been produced. Party insiders believe that Nkabinde was disciplined by ANC high-ups when he dared to challenge Jacob Zuma's leadership of the province. Ex-Security Branch members deemed to be Nkabinde's handlers have persistently denied the allegations. (D. Abbot, personal communication, 1 December 2005). Nkabinde joins the United Democratic Movement (UDM), taking most of his supporters and control of Magoda with him.
- 1997: A sharp escalation in violence ensues. In April, nine Richmond councilors resign in support of Nkabinde. Mayor Andrew Ragavaloo and his deputy Rodney van der Byl do not resign.
On 22 July van der Byl is murdered.
In September Nkabinde is arrested and charged on 16 counts of murder.
- 1998: On 30 April Nkabinde is acquitted on all counts. "The case failed partly because state witnesses retracted their statements" (John & Rule, 2005, p. 171).

In July ANC deputy mayor Percy Thompson is gunned down with 7 others in the notorious Richmond “tavern massacre”.

On 13 August National Minister of Safety and Security intervenes and closes down the Richmond police station. All 58 officers are transferred out of the area and a National Intervention Unit, reinforced with SANDF troops is deployed to the town. “After the close of the station and the introduction of the National Intervention Unit it was estimated that on any given day there were as many as 950 security force members deployed in the area” (Network of Independent Monitors & Human Rights Committee, 1999, p. 17)

1999: On 23 January 1999 Sifiso Nkabinde is assassinated by ANC bodyguards outside Bridgeway supermarket in the main street of Richmond. Hours later Nkabinde’s bodyguards retaliate, slaying 11 members of the ANC-aligned Ndabezitha family.

The death of Nkabinde, together with a massive deployment of SANDF troops, new police officers and special anti-violence police investigation unit which leads to the arrest of over 30 alleged perpetrators of violence, has the effect of stabilizing the situation in Richmond. The violent conflict between ANC and UDM supporters between 1997 and 1999 costs the lives of over 1200 Richmond residents (John & Rule, 2006, p. 170).

Historical and current social “themes” emerging from the literature

“Unfinished business”

While I was working in Richmond between 2003 and 2007, the issue of “unfinished business” as a barrier to peace and stability was raised in various fora by a number of participants in the Peace Education Programme, as well as by other roleplayers in the Richmond peace process, including political leaders. Unfinished business refers to the

unsolved cases of political violence in the area. To this day, although over 32 people have been successfully prosecuted and imprisoned for violent crimes committed during the time of the violence (Segar, 1999), many residents of the area still do not know what happened to relatives and friends who disappeared. While some continue to grieve the deaths of loved ones, it is not possible for them to forgive and move on with their lives when they still do not know who was responsible for the deaths (D. Zulu, personal communication, 19 February, 2005).

For others, the killers of their loved ones and neighbours are known to them but for whatever reason these murderers were never brought to book for these crimes and some now hold respectable political and/or government office (Dennis, personal communication, 1 December, 2005).

To add complexity to the situation, not all survivors of the violence agree on how to address this unfinished business. As one survivor put it:

There are many people who want to know what happened in the past and then there are others who would rather not know. For some it is about closure while for others it is about not wanting to reopen old wounds.
(Injobo Nebandla, 2005a, p. 23)

Role of police and the military

The complicity of the police and the military in the violence has been exposed and to date over 32 perpetrators have been successfully prosecuted and imprisoned. The role of the security forces has also been well documented in the literature (Injobo Nebandla, 2005a, 2005b; IPT, 2004; Network of Independent Monitors & Human Rights Committee, 1999) as well as reported in the press. Members of the South African Police have long been accused of fuelling the political violence in the province and Richmond was no different. Mistrust of police integrity by Richmond residents continues to obstruct peace and stability in the area. At the height of tensions between the ANC and IFP, the police (as

elsewhere in the province) were known to be siding with and providing arms and ammunition to the IFP while they actively sought out and disarmed, and even openly attacked and killed known ANC cadres.

Low-intensity Conflict (LIC)

Dugard (2003) maintains that the complicity of the SAPS and SANDF in destabilizing the country, particularly the provinces of KZN and Gauteng, between 1990 and 1994, was the “LIC proper phase” of the National Party Government’s LIC strategy, “which employed the dual strategy of negotiations and destabilisation, whose prize lay in securing during negotiations a set of basic conditions which would limit fundamental reforms to the socio-economic order and deny the ANC the two-thirds majority necessary to renege on the ‘deal’, while at the same time accelerating socio-economic divisions among black South Africans” (Aitchison, 2003a, p. viii).

This destabilisation strategy continued well after 1994 through ‘agents provocateurs’ still active within the SANDF. In some Richmond circles it is well-known that during the military occupation between 1998 and 2000, certain members of the SANDF were involved in the selling of arms and ammunition as well in actively planning and carrying out attacks on both sides aimed at if not escalating, then at least keeping the conflict on the boil (Dennis, personal communication, 1 December, 2005; Zweli, personal communication, 23 November, 2005).

In 1999, Chris Macadam, head of the special anti-violence unit in KZN took over the criminal investigation into politically-related murders in Richmond. His efforts resulted in the arrest and prosecution of former members of the SAPS VIP Protection Unit and SANDF 121 Battalion (Anderson, 1999; Segar, 1999). However, despite these successful prosecutions the perception that only limited justice has been done prevails as “many criminal conspiracies remain intact” (D. Abbot, personal communication, 1 December, 2005) and known and unknown killers still walk the streets as free men (see “Unfinished business” , page 56).

SDUs, SPUs and the proliferation of weapons

During the early nineties both IFP and ANC recruits from KZN received various forms of military training and were armed by the state and ANC structures respectively (Injobo Nebandla, 2005a; Jeffery, 1997) In 1990, the ANC set up Self-Defence Units (SDUs), reportedly to protect their political strongholds from attacks by state-assisted Inkatha impis.

These units were structured along military lines and many were armed by the ANC's Central ordinance and trained by *Mkhonto we Sizwe*⁴ (MK) personnel. (Injobo Nebandla, 2005b, p. 10).

In 1993 the IFP, with support from apartheid state military and security personnel trained and armed over 8000 members who were deployed as Self-Protection Units (SPUs), ostensibly to protect IFP members from attacks by the SDUs (ibid., p. 11).

During the worst years of the violence, scores of men died in Richmond as local SDUs and SPUs waged war on each other. Conflict within these structures (especially within the Richmond SDUs) fuelled intra-party violence which resulted in violent attacks and murders.

As a result of the presence of these warring paramilitary structures, thousands of weapons found their way into the area. It is common knowledge that much of this weaponry remains unaccounted for (Dennis, personal communication, 1 December, 2005; D. Zulu, personal communication, 19 February, 2005).

⁴ *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (literally "Spear of the Nation"), was the military wing of the national liberation movements in South Africa. More commonly known as "MK", the armed movement was established in 1961 following a decision by the movements to take up arms against the white minority government.

Displacement, trauma and fractured families

Estimates of the number of people displaced by the violence in and around Richmond vary from 20 000 to 39 000 (Injobo Nebandla, 2005a, p. 19; John & Rule, 2006, p. 172)

In the early nineties the situation in Richmond bore close resemblance to that in Pietermaritzburg: tens of thousands of homeless and displaced families crammed into safe houses, church and community halls, tents and hastily erected *mjondolo* (shacks) as fierce fighting swept through the surrounding areas.

Especially in Richmond, few families remained untouched by this violence. The massive upheaval and displacement resulted in the widespread loss of breadwinners and loved ones and the general disintegration of family life for much of the populace (John & Rule, 2006, p. 172).

A large National Research Foundation (NRF) project in Richmond which looked at barriers to basic education for children and adults in the area noted in a draft summary of findings that “(t)he second most significant finding (of the research project) was that most of the participants in this study have experienced many losses of parents, siblings, relatives and caregivers. These losses have come about because of HIV/AIDS, violence and other causes” (School of Education and Development, 2006, p. 2).

This kind of trauma has an insidious and long-term impact on the ability of people to return to “normal” life and to contribute in meaningful ways to the development and progress of the community. A significant consequence of trauma (compounded by conditions of poverty and unemployment) which I pick up on in the analysis section, is that of apathy. In the years of working in peace, education and development projects with people in Richmond and other “post-conflict” communities in the province, I have observed a general lack of ambition, a tendency to avoid planning for or thinking about the future, an inclination to a culture of dependency. A conflict monitor in the area of Shoboshobane, another violence “hotspot” on the South Coast of KZN, makes the

following observation, which encapsulates a prevailing disposition in post-conflict communities:

Many people...just exist from day to day, they do (only) what is necessary to survive...because they are disillusioned. This disillusionment has led to some people sitting back and saying government is responsible for us and they must deliver (Injobo Nebandla, 2005a, p. 20).

Substance abuse and prostitution

Ironically, as the physical violence began to abate with the substantial presence of the military around 2000, so the people of Richmond started to reap the bitter harvest of having hosted a military presence as illegal *shebeens*⁵ sprang up virtually overnight and the scourge of alcohol and drug abuse, prostitution and unprecedented levels of HIV infection began to take hold. This social trend has been documented by John and Rule (2006). Their research further links these social pathologies to trauma and stress caused by the violence and how substance abuse is fast becoming a significant barrier to learning for young people.

Their paper corroborates the perceptions of many Richmond residents that the arrival of the army precipitated a drastic increase in demand for alcohol and recreational spaces for its consumption which spawned illegal *shebeens*. These *shebeens* became one of the only sites of recreation for young people, and young girls, driven by poverty and boredom, took to prostitution. As a result, the incidence of HIV/AIDS infection and unplanned pregnancy soared. I discuss this in more detail in my analysis of the data.

⁵ Informal, often unlicensed bar or tavern.

Poverty and unemployment

There is a growing perception that while “(t)here are many causal factors to violence and, while politics is the most obvious, ... poverty and lack of opportunity make everything worse” (IPT, 2004, p. ii). The data I analyse later show quite clearly that unemployment and poverty are regarded as key obstacles to peace and stability in the area and therefore discussion of these factors is accorded some depth in my analysis. However, a brief sketch of the situation is appropriate here.

During the violence many businesses – shops, factories, workshops and service industries, closed down. Even farmers sold up and moved away. While the problem of poverty and unemployment to some extent predates the era of violent conflict, this exodus obviously had a further deleterious impact on the availability of jobs in the area.

The lack of employment opportunities, especially for young school-leavers, compounded by inadequate recreational facilities is linked to an escalation of crime, drug and alcohol abuse and prostitution as young people with little hope for the future, seek income and or oblivion by whatever means available (M. Cele, personal communication, 9 June, 2006).

While there has certainly been reconstruction and increased investment and development since 2000, the problem of unemployment remains a serious barrier to peace and stability in Richmond.

Lack of development

As I mentioned above, the years of violence disrupted business in Richmond. This led not only to increased unemployment and poverty, but importantly also a decline in investor confidence and a subsequent scarcity of venture capital (D. Abbot, personal communication, 1 December, 2005). The ability of local government to function effectively has also been hampered post 1994 with the mass resignations, assassinations and intimidation of councilors, and the inter- as well as intra- party turf wars within the

council. ANC political in-fighting intensified and came to head in 2006. On 13th of April 2006, a concerned member of the public who, along with 8 other people, including two journalists, was asked to leave the municipal council chambers during a meeting of the Richmond Executive Council remarked “(w)e need a miracle to save Richmond from the council’s internal disputes that have haunted this sphere of government for a long time”(Msomi, 2006).

While the lead-up to local government elections in Richmond in 2006 attested to the prevailing climate of political tolerance and residents could then, for the most part, move freely through previously no-go areas (D. Abbot, personal communication, 1 December, 2005), the legacy of violence continues to plague development efforts. “(D)eep-seated suspicions, divisions and tensions between people residing in the different areas continue to pose serious challenges to development” (Injobo Nebandla, 2005a, p. 22).

Conclusions

The purpose of this documentary analysis of the historical and current social and political context of Richmond is to provide a backdrop for a discussion of my findings below. As I anticipated, the importance of some key issues emerging from the documentary analysis was confirmed by the ‘generative themes’ which emerged from the data analysis. Historical violence issues such as “unfinished business”, police and military complicity in the political violence, and the proliferation of weapons, I will show, emerged as powerful generative themes for participants, while displacement of people and families, trauma and fractured families (which also stem from the history of violence), emerged as serious current social challenges to peace and stability. Substance abuse and prostitution, poverty and unemployment, and lack of development also feature strongly as generative themes and will be discussed more fully below.

The politicization of development projects continues to fuel tensions between councilors and Richmond residents. One of the key findings of this study is the extent to which political partisanship, power struggles and patronage hamper the implementation of peace and development initiatives (see “Power, politics and patronage”, p. 79).

Chapter 6: Findings

Introduction

In the first section of this chapter I describe and discuss the generative themes which emerged from the data collection process. I explained the notion of “generative themes” in my chapter on methodology (see “How I formulated my method using Freire”, p. 36), drawing attention to how the “investigation of themes grounded in the lives of learners is a crucial and ongoing process in the development of peace curricula” (John, 2008).

Also in my methodology chapter I noted Freire’s assumption that authentic dialogue requires the engaged “teacher-student” to identify the need to insert for discussion ideas and themes which had not emerged from previous dialogue with learners/participants (Freire, 1996, p. 101). The second section of this chapter is devoted to discussing the themes/issues which I as “teacher-student” inserted into the process of dialogical educational programming. Although the notion of hope emerged from the data as a generative theme, I discuss it in this second section because I specifically “inserted” focused discussions on the topic towards the end of the data collection process in an effort to clarify whether indeed people in Richmond had lost hope in the future. If so, what would give them hope? If not, what reasons were there to have hope?

In my analysis of the data I make use of two vignettes to illustrate points I wish to make about apathy and about family. The use of these anecdotes has the dual purpose of providing examples of the context whilst also offering the reader insights into the project context within which this study was conducted.

In Chapter 8 I elaborate on why I think I failed to grasp the opportunity to dialogue more authentically with participants in order to unpack what could be learnt from narrating their memories of violence and what impact the violence has had on their lives, from their

stated perception that if everyone were employed they wouldn't experience the current social problems they identify as barriers to peace and stability.

For example, it seems to me that I could have explored, using problem-posing techniques (Freire, 1996, pp. 64-65) in what ways their memories of military occupation impose limit situations upon them today and what could be done to prevent a recurrence of such manipulation of people by one leader such as Nkabinde? In Chapter 7 I suggest that teaching history critically as part of a peace education programme could help communities to learn from these negative memories.

In terms of their perception that unemployment and poverty are the main barriers to peace and stability and that jobs for everyone would solve all their problems, there was a missed opportunity to problematise these perceptions as "limit-situations" (Freire, 1996, p. 80) and explore to what extent these situations perceived merely as "fetters or as insurmountable barriers" (ibid) and whether it would be possible to devise a plan of action to overcome these barriers.

Generative themes

Memories of violence

While the issue of historical violence came up in the course of informal discussions with participants about the current context I asked them what violent events of the past had had the most negative impact on the current situation in Richmond.

Most of the respondents identified the rise to power, reign, and subsequent death of Sifiso Nkabinde (see p. 54) as the key factor. I discuss other factors mentioned, below.

Presence of the army

One of the respondents said that SANDF troops were responsible for fuelling the violence by spreading rumours, selling guns to both sides and actually shooting people whose deaths they knew would incite retaliation from the other side (Zweli). Four of the 11 respondents believed that the army was responsible for bringing HIV, shebeens, prostitution and unwanted pregnancies to Richmond. There was obvious resentment displayed towards SANDF personnel as a result of the residents' experiences while troops were deployed in the area. These perceptions corroborate the findings of John and Rule (2006) and provide good reason for further studies in the field into the role of the military in peacekeeping.

Weapons

One participant complained that thousands of ANC weapons were still "stashed and unaccounted for" (Dennis), highlighting the need for a concerted effort to demilitarize the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

Impact on children

One of the women interviewed felt that the fact that children were born into and raised in an era of violence has led to the current social problems experienced by Richmond today.

The children of those years are the criminals of today. During those years of violence children witnessed violence and grew up in an environment where violence was common. They haven't been educated to know that violence is wrong (Mary).

For her, there is clearly a link between the violent historical context and the subsequent psychological trauma and deviance which lies behind the current problems with youth

and criminal activity. A number of respondents drew links between disaffected youth and crime, prostitution, and the high incidence of HIV/AIDS infection.

Poverty and unemployment

Thirteen respondents cited poverty and unemployment as the biggest current barriers to peace as well as the biggest current social problems in Richmond. It was the youthful participants, in fact, who had the strongest views about the plight of youth and the link between bored, jobless young people and HIV/AIDS, crime, substance abuse and prostitution:

Unemployment and poverty is a major problem - youth are at home and unemployed without work. That means you are suffering. That's why youth are so involved in drugs and crime (Sbu).

Youth are stranded. As a result AIDS is speeding up. They are involved in alcohol and drugs, prostitution (Simpwiwe).

When I began to work in Richmond in 2004, my initial contacts with people working there informed me of an emergent but very influential youth organization. Early attempts to contact someone from the group came to naught and I forgot about their existence until it came up in conversation with one of the primary participants when we were chatting about the plight of youth in Richmond:

We had a CBO – youth group...but now the majority of them are employed so they don't have time ...but we had a consortium to establish a youth centre. The plan was to use the old college building in Ndaleni – there are funds in the province for youth. The problem is that these guys aren't available now. We are trying to recruit new members and engage them in this idea. I foresee the problem will be that people are involved in

the beginning and put in a lot of work then after time they find employment and leave then we have to start all over again (Simpiwe).

This raises important questions about the sustainability of peace projects in the face of poverty. There is an interesting but in some ways unfortunate dynamic here that CAE staff experienced within the peace education programme in Richmond and elsewhere which is that projects are initially implemented with young (mostly unemployed) people who are energetic and committed but who then find themselves employment and subsequently don't have time to participate in implementation processes and drift away from the programme. Sometimes these people simply find work unrelated to peace and development and take a job merely because they need to put food on the table, but we have also seen how participation in a programme provides people not only with new skills but also with new-found self-confidence and enhanced self-esteem (Z. Mbanjwa, personal communication, 24 August 2006). As a result of finding themselves operating in a new context in which they come into contact with new knowledge and ideas and develop new skills, as well as new ways of relating to others (often people in influential positions), with the confidence to act, they make contacts and are better able to position themselves to take advantage of opportunities. A growing body of literature on social capital theory which explores the notion that value resides in one's social relationships and networks (Bourdieu, 2004) provides a rich theoretical framework for understanding these relationships. The scope of this study however precludes a detailed discussion here.

These opportunities then often whisk them away from the volunteer work to which they had so dedicated themselves. In a very real sense, one cannot hold this against them and there is cause to celebrate the advancement of these individuals. One hopes that the knowledge, skills and experience they acquired as volunteers will be put to good use for the benefit of the community. However, it does pose capacity problems for programmes such as ours and for community-based organizations who cannot afford to provide salaries for their members.

This dynamic echoes a similar dilemma CAE staff have been confronting and discussing since the inception of our Certificate programme⁶ – that of “educating people out of communities”. The target audience of the CEPD is community-based educators and development workers involved in NGO and CBO work. The aim of the CEPD is broadly to provide these students with the knowledge, skills and attitudes they require to be effective educators and community development workers where they live. The problem is that the programme attracts upwardly-mobile youth who see the certificate as a passport up and out of the community towards a better life. The challenge for us and for peace education generally is: how do we help to keep people serving their communities?

The link between poverty/unemployment and conflict and lack of hope in the future was clearly drawn by a number of participants. “Unemployment, poverty – it leads to conflict because the people blame the government. There is dissatisfaction; a loss of hope, there is no alternative” (Zweli). This data corroborates the findings of a large NRF research project in Richmond which looked at barriers to basic education for children and adults in the area. The study found that

(p)overty seems to be part of a web of human rights violation that children and their families experience in this context. Children and families who are poor are also those who live in conditions of crime and violence, fractured/disjointed family units, gender violence, geographical isolation, poor health, poor infrastructure, poor educational opportunities, contexts of underdevelopment and poor infrastructure, violence, abuse and are those most affected by HIV and AIDS (Muthukrishna, 2006, p. xliii).

A serious barrier to successfully sustaining projects is conflict over money – who gets how much money, for what and why some people should get more or less than others. Research participant Sbu summed it up when he made the following remarks in response to a question about the recruitment of peace committee members:

⁶ Certificate in Education, Participatory Development (CEPD)

Mention anything that asks for commitment and they want to know if it will lead to a job. ...we need to avoid emphasizing money for what they will be doing (because) once people know that there is money to be made it will complicate things. We need to avoid chaos when we talk about money. There will be greediness and self concern and we run the danger of getting the wrong people. We (should) avoid giving details until they attend the workshop where they will be trained and informed. If they know there is money they will all fight to be on that structure (Sbu).

When asked what poor people would say when asked how sustainable peace could be achieved in Richmond, five of the respondents felt that jobs would “give people hope and create conditions for lasting peace” (Zweli).

In my foreword I briefly touched on the importance of securing income for peace workers/educators if we are to ensure the sustainability of peace education activities in Richmond and other resource-poor communities where we work. While I still strongly support this view, from my own experience, the reality of coordinating projects which provide income in the form of stipends and outcomes-based payments for participants is a key challenge. People compete vigorously for and fight over meager economic resources - often openly, sometimes cunningly, at times bitterly and tenaciously. The issue of money and how its distribution is negotiated and communicated is frequently fraught. This is a common phenomenon in third world community development projects which Mansuri and Rao (2004) call “elite capture”.

Class, jobs and salaries

One colleague from the NGO sector made a comment which struck a chord with me because of my own sentiments. He said that it was “poverty and unemployment” that sets such a huge gap between us and our participants;

our participants see us service providers as the bringers of resources so there is always the issue of what can be got from us, how best to interact with us to ensure that the funds flow where they want them to (Themba).

He felt that people are always careful to say and do what they think are the “right” things for fear of losing out. He said that competition for the scarce resources within the community also lead to a lack of trust between participants as well as to the lack of trust between them and us and that this sets up a dynamic where honesty and transparency is tricky – for us and for them (Themba).

If we are to properly understand this dynamic and the frustration we experience trying to implement Freire-inspired peace projects, then it seems to me that a deeper “examination of our... class position, our jobs, our salaries” (Facundo, 1984d, p. 6) is required. It is a dynamic which I identified as a challenge at the outset of my study and wondered whether it would be possible to meet such a challenge. The short answer has to be “no”, I did not manage in the year or so I devoted to this challenge to bridge the gap between my participants and myself, to bridge the gap between the teacher and the learner. I did not succeed in establishing authentic dialogue based on mutual love and trust, I did not succeed in overcoming the issue of “boss-ism” and I must acknowledge that to the end of my study I remained to my participants, on the whole, the white manager of an university-based, internationally-funded development project which had the power to either dispense or retract resources destined for them.

Psychological factors – trauma and apathy

Twelve months after this study began, I wrote in my research journal that had I failed to engage the primary participants in the Freire-inspired way that I had hoped to and was greatly frustrated by the barriers I perceived to this way of interacting. As I expressed this frustration to a grouping of NGOs at a meeting, one of them tried to explain that I always need to acknowledge that “these people are traumatized and may be confused about what

they want. One day they tell you one thing, the next day it's something else. We need to try and (better) understand the context of their lives" (Zandile).

With the history of violence in the background and poverty and unemployment in the foreground, with no real prospect of improvement, it's not surprising that young people struggle to find meaning in their lives and lose themselves in self-destructive recreation. One of the primary participants said that despite the high HIV/AIDS infection rate, young people still don't use condoms because of "alcohol and frustration and despair – people don't have hope" (Simpiwe).

A number of respondents in my study concurred that poor people in Richmond had reached a point where they believed there was little hope of escaping the endless round of unemployment, poverty and illness and that the government was doing little to alleviate their plight. There was a perception that the system was failing them and that they were helpless to do anything about it. One of my respondents, an NGO employee, when I asked her why she thought our (NGO peace) work is sometimes so frustrating, responded: "People have very little hope – there is a lack of energy, a lack of faith in (the) success of development efforts" (Zandile).

Pilotta (2001) found that people living in situations of "poverty, dependency and illiteracy" (p. 192) tend to see no way out of their present situation and have no hope of a better future. They come to believe that "the system" is failing them and is therefore to blame for their plight. They often display symptoms of trauma, seek refuge in self-destructive behaviour and find it difficult to commit to any action which could lead to improvement in the current situation (Hill, 2000). Researchers, social workers and NGO workers experience this reluctance to commit to research and/or remedial action projects as apathy. Pilotta concludes that poor self-perception and self-esteem are systemic root causes of apathetic behavior and points out that "apathy is a very reasonable response to such an environment. It is a powerful coping mechanism and a functional antidote to the apparent lack of socially legitimate forms of opportunity" (Pilotta, 2001, pp. 176, 177).

The following are a few examples of situations I commonly experienced as a project manager and researcher and which I interpreted as apathetic behaviour. Certain project participants frequently arrived late or failed to attend scheduled meetings and when questioned about it replied that they hadn't known about the meetings or had forgotten. They failed to report that they would not be attending a meeting that they admitted to having known about. They failed to bring specially issued project notebooks to meetings, claiming they had forgotten, thereby rendering scheduled discussions impossible.

As I mentioned earlier in my description of the research site (see section: "Displacement, trauma and fractured families" p. 60), the issue of behaviour which I perceived as apathetic was one of the most consistent causes of my frustration both as coordinator of the peace education project and as a researcher, and an issue, into which I hoped to gain better insight through this study. What this study certainly helped me to understand was that there can be a significant difference between behaviour I perceived to be apathetic and the reality of the situation precipitating that behaviour. I will elaborate on this point below.

An anecdote

Among the many pages of hand-written reflections from my years of peace work in Richmond and from a journal I kept during my study are a number of anecdotes of frustrating experiences. From these, I have selected just one example because it so powerfully illustrates how a deeper understanding of the prevailing circumstances provides insight into what life for people in these communities can be like, and puts the importance placed on project meetings and my own agenda (as the coordinator of a donor-funded education/development project and academic researcher), more clearly into perspective.

Just after the local government elections in March 2006 I had a scheduled meeting with one of the primary participants to discuss the finer details of a big community peace event that we were planning together. Despite feeling that we made progress towards

getting him to take equal responsibility for creating his project, to discussing potential limit-situations and what could be done about overcoming them, and getting him to appreciate his own capacity to make things happen the way he wanted them to, I was frustrated by the delays caused by the elections and was impatient to get on with the arrangements. At our last meeting he had committed to drafting a plan and presenting it to me.

On the day of the meeting, something unexpected came up at work which required my urgent attention and I needed an hour in the office to sort it out. I tried three times (from 7.30am) to call the participant to ask for a short postponement of the meeting. I could not reach him on his cell phone and left three messages, before angrily driving to Richmond for the scheduled meeting at 10.00, leaving the urgent matter unfinished. As I drove into the town he phoned me to postpone the meeting because something had come up which he needed to attend to. Already frustrated by many delays, miscommunications and seeming lack of a sense of urgency on the part of this individual, I fumed. If he had phoned me timeously, I could have finished up at the office and made it to Richmond by the new time. Now angry and anxious by this time I then drove the 38kms back to Pietermaritzburg, finished up what I had to do, then drove back to Richmond again.

Hours of project time, and hundreds of rand of project money had been wasted and I was furious at the expense and inconvenience. I was furious at the expense and inconvenience. However, an apologetic explanation offered when he finally arrived at our meeting, was indeed sobering. He explained that it had been a hectic post-election week as “political party B” contested the results on the streets of his neighbourhood. He explained that members of this party had been intimidating residents for weeks and people had appealed to him to intervene in the situation which was why he had been so preoccupied. He reported that that morning he had been called to a situation where someone had been publicly shouting abuse and brandishing a handgun. He had been trying to calm the situation. He had called the police who said they were on their way but never arrived. Another resident had then overpowered the trouble-causer and severely assaulted him. He had, with some misgivings, then decided to leave the situation to attend

the meeting with me. He was clearly flustered and finding it difficult to concentrate on the business we had agreed to discuss. What I experienced, in that moment, was a paradigm shift.

Once again Facundo's point that a closer examination of our privileged positions (Facundo, 1984d) and Freire's insistence that we learn to trust the people we work with (Freire, 1996, p. 72) is key to understanding the ways in which we perceive situations and the ways in which we interact with, "the oppressed", seems to me most apt. Although I have no reference, I am reminded of a talk I once heard on the radio by the well-known self-help guru Steven Covey. Illustrating the concept of paradigm shift and how it relates to empathy, he tells the story of being irritated one morning on a New York subway by the unruly behaviour of a family of children, while the father sits nearby, distracted and seemingly uninterested in calling them to order. Covey, unable to contain his irritation, confronts the man who emerges from his reverie to apologise and explain that they have just come from the hospital where his wife, the mother of these children, after a long illness, passed away mere hours previously. Covey recalls an immediate and powerful shift in his attitude to the man and his family – from irritation and an urge to complain and correct, to empathy and a desire to comfort and help out.

The point is that we bring our own frame of reference, our own paradigm, to bear on situations and draw assumptions based on our particular paradigm. However, when our assumptions are challenged by the reality, or paradigm of another party to the situation, the result can be a powerful paradigm shift. My own paradigm shift in the anecdote I describe here relates to privilege, status and security. Once I was privy to information about the circumstances which had led to the so-called "apathetic", "unreliable" behaviour, I was forced to reflect on how my personal and professional circumstances had so influenced my reaction to a situation about which I had very little information and even less understanding. My attitude shifted immediately. Instead of being angry and confrontational, I became sympathetic and conciliatory.

My NGO colleague Zandile agreed that our positions as staff members of education/development organizations can create distance between “us and them” and that we tend to forget how the day to day hardships that poor people endure significantly impact on their ability to perform in ways that we expect them to. She felt that “...people have so many challenges...we need to understand the context of their lives, what influences them” (Zandile). This observation powerfully emphasizes the importance of empathy and understanding on the part of peace educators and practitioners working in disadvantaged communities and post-conflict societies.

Vulnerable families

The dearth of data from this study highlighting the context of vulnerable families and AIDs orphans in Richmond constitutes a significant gap in these findings. Regrettably it is a gap which I did not pursue in my data collection processes, and which, given the scope and focus of this thesis, will not be properly investigated here.

Very much related to my previous discussion about the importance of understanding the context of peoples’ lives is the following anecdote which illustrates the kind of challenge which researchers like John and Rule (2006) and others (Muthukrishna, 2006) found to be commonplace in Richmond – that of fractured and vulnerable families.

In April 2006 I had become frustrated with one of the primary participants, a person who had previously stood out as a committed and passionate peace educator. From early February 2006, I had been trying to contact her to set up a meeting at which project issues could be discussed and during which time I could conduct the first semi-structured interview of this study. I consistently struggled to get hold of her on her cell phone, she did not return my calls and her coworker on the project reported that she was never around and that he too was struggling to make contact and meet with her. He put it all down to the fact that she was a member of a rival political party and that she had been told not to work with him as he was unpopular with the rival party leadership. It sounded

like a feasible explanation but I needed to speak to her personally and hear from her what was preventing her from participating in the project.

When I finally managed to get hold of her, the story emerged. This young woman was a primary caregiver, supporting a family of six on a single foster care grant. In addition, she had been frequently away in another town, caring for her sister, who was terminally ill. She said: “It’s very difficult to be away so long (because) they depend on me here” (Busi). She had been afraid that if I confronted her about her absences, I would terminate the stipend she received as a project participant. She told me that the foster care grant lasted until mid-2007 after which there would be no income for the family. When I asked her what she would do when the grant expired she shrugged non-committally. After a long and challenging discussion, we agreed that as she no longer was participating in the peace education project, she could not be entitled to the monthly stipend. The stipend was subsequently terminated. It was, in terms of project integrity, the “right” thing to do, but to this day the decision does not sit comfortably with my conscience.

Substance abuse, prostitution, crime and HIV/AIDS

The interrelatedness of these generative themes has given rise to the discussion of the issue of substance abuse, prostitution, crime and HIV/AIDS under other headings. However, I feel it is important to highlight the central role that past violence and present unemployment play in these current social pathologies.

The violence in the past has affected people. Drug-addiction is a problem. During the camping time⁷ when people ran away from home, it was traumatic so people escaped from the situation into alcohol, zol⁸ and

⁷ The “camping time” refers to the early nineties when groups of ANC youth hid out from the IFP, police and military in the vast forestry plantations around Richmond.

⁸ Zol is common South African slang for marijuana.

mandrax⁹. HIV/AIDS, I believe, is caused by that violence. Lack of hope but also boredom... doing nothing all day leads to this kind of thing. The worse thing is peer pressure. Talking about Richmond we are talking about an area victimized by violence” (Sbu).

The following statement summarises two common assumptions about HIV/AIDS among the primary participants: one, that the government is failing to adequately address the pandemic and two, that people hold the army responsible for bringing the disease to Richmond.

Government is not doing enough to avoid spread of the disease. The high rate of HIV/AIDs was caused by the army, police. SANDF ... those people came with AIDS. Outsiders were responsible for bringing it here. They brought it from other countries too. They travel too much. As from now a lot of youth and people are dying and many of those people were infected by the police and soldiers – especially the girls and then they spread it among the boys here. The soldiers and police all had many girlfriends. This was not a problem before they came. Now the girls are dying and we know they were going with the soldiers. AIDS was here but not so much as when the soldiers come. We are all scared here especially when we hear that someone is sick because the next day they will be dead. We live in fear here (Sbu).

Rule and John (2008, p. 79) write about ways in which “the stigma associated with HIV/AIDS manifests itself in a radical ‘othering’ of those infected or otherwise directly affected by the disease” among the people of Richmond.

⁹ Mandrax is a highly addictive synthetic illegal drug (Methaqualone). The Mandrax tablet is usually crushed and mixed with marijuana and is then smoked in a pipe or "Bottle neck".

Participants clearly made the link between historical political violence and current despondency, substance abuse and crime among youth. The other firmly held belief was that the strong army presence and police impunity during the most violent times was what fuelled the current HIV/AIDS epidemic. Participants tended to blame the government for inaction on addressing AIDS. Had three of the six primary participants not been engaged in HIV/AIDS-related work, one might have assumed a tendency on the part of people to avoid taking responsibility for action. However, the fact that these three informed and engaged participants all strongly voiced their frustration with state incapacity to confront the problem, is an indictment of the government's failure on this critical issue.

But once again, I feel that here was a missed opportunity to dialogue more authentically with participants as co-investigators in unpacking not only the origin and validity of such assumptions regarding the link between the military occupation and HIV/AIDS, but also to examine the ways in which their memories of the military occupation impose limit situations upon them today and what the implications might be of considering other ways of interpreting this history which may provide opportunities for transformative action.

Power, politics and patronage

Although the local government elections in March 2006 proceeded without serious violence and intimidation which was cause for guarded optimism, it could be that Richmond's past political violence somewhat lowered local expectations of what the term "free and fair elections" in the area actually meant. Underlying political tensions were quite clearly revealed to those who live and work in Richmond during the lead up to and period immediately subsequent to the elections. I gave an example of post-election intimidation and violence and how it impacted on the peace programme in the subsection on psychological barriers, above. It must be acknowledged however, that this was one of only a few incidents that I was made aware of and relatively-speaking, this kind of event is not widespread these days.

Far more insidious and debilitating for development processes than the election itself was the period leading up to the elections. It was very frustrating for me that participants refused to work on project implementation during this time, urging me to be patient and to wait until the fervour of political campaigning and lobbying had died down before they could resume their project commitments. They maintained that anything they did to further the aims of the projects would jeopardize the whole programme after the elections because people could not separate the participants' peace agenda from their political identity: "(e)verything is politicized. I can't work for peace without people believing I have a ... political agenda... people still see me as partisan while I am trying to work for peace" (Bheki).

It became increasingly clear as the study progressed and as relationships between Peace Education Programme staff and community and political leaders developed and became more complex, that "...political and various power allegiances, loyalties and turf" (Themba) add yet another layer of complexity to the trust relationship. Themba (one of the NGO participants in the study), thought project participants on the whole believe that if one has a relationship with one of the NGOs then other people who work with or for any other NGO must be rivals and opponents. He was of the opinion that the primary participants had become accustomed to operating in a climate of mistrust. He said that "they are not sure whose side you are on" and they assume that the NGOs are also competing for status, for allegiance and for resources, so they play the power game, playing various NGOs off against each other in ways they believe will bring the most benefit either to themselves or to their own constituencies (Themba).

This lack of trust and power struggles between participants and leaders in community development projects is a key issue in a post-conflict context in terms of the relationship between peace and development and the identity of development workers (John, 2008 (forthcoming)). Freire himself writes about the manipulation of comrades and the community by the post-revolutionary popular leadership in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1996, pp. 128-133). Elsewhere in the book, he suggests that this kind of "horizontal violence, striking out at their own comrades" (ibid., p. 44) results from the

oppressed having internalized the image of the oppressor and cannot therefore see how such 'divide and rule' behaviour merely serves to advance the interests of the oppressor (ibid.).

During the data collection process I engaged participants in discussions about identity politics and about the dangers posed by a freedom to assert one's own identity because I sensed that much of the present-day low-intensity conflict and negative peace which cripples real peace and development in Richmond had a lot to do with destructive tensions around personal and political identities. Shapiro (2002, p. 68) notes that "(i)t is easy to see how the freedom to assert one's identity becomes not the road to less violence and more peace, but the vehicle for all kinds of hate-filled intolerance".

It was not only inter-party and identity conflicts which hampered peace and development in Richmond during my study. Media reporting on the town in 2006 was undoubtedly dominated by ANC political infighting between councilors and their supporters (Mbajwa, 2006; Msomi, 2006; Pewa, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c). This intra-party conflict is such a sensitive issue that none of my participants were prepared to speak on the record about it for fear that anything said may be traced back to them. Even the NGO workers whom I interviewed were reluctant to speak openly. While personal power struggles definitely play a role in the conflict the bottom line is that everything is politicized in this arena as well. A crude but also fairly accurate generalization is that the conflict is between two camps and is a microcosmic manifestation of the same polarity in the ANC at regional, district, provincial and national level – that between the Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma camps¹⁰.

¹⁰ In December 2007, representatives from nearly all the ANC branches in South Africa met in Polokwane to confer and elect a new president of the ANC. The succession race became broadly-speaking predominantly a battle between the proponents of two conflicting ideologies within the ANC, namely the neo-liberal or centre-left camp led by current president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, and the more radical left camp which purports to represent the workers, the poor and marginalised of South Africa, which seems largely to be the voice of the SACP and COSATU and which, despite his historical lack of open support for the left, has come to be represented by then Deputy President of the ANC and ex-Deputy President of

The three NGO workers I interviewed all highlighted political power struggles as a key barrier to the peace and development process in Richmond. And while Richmond still reels from the historical legacy of turf wars between the ANC and IFP, followed by turf wars between the ANC and UDM, all development, service delivery and administration at municipal level is currently dominated by identity and territorial battles within the ANC itself.

One respondent said that “power struggles between and within political parties and leaders and within local and provincial government, between officers, councilors and cabinet ministers” is the single biggest obstacle to peace and stability in Richmond and the province (Themba).

The most frustrating aspect of doing peace work in Richmond, one NGO worker confided, was what she rather euphemistically termed “protocol” – the hidden curriculum of successfully doing any development work in Richmond:

you have to talk to the right people, in the right order...even then you will be blocked by someone because you didn't go through him! You must know the right door to knock on...it's so territorial...political power mixed with personal power struggles and internal party conflict...you have to be so careful to find the right balance...(Thuli).

South Africa, Jacob Zuma. In KwaZulu-Natal the power struggle at provincial level was between current premier Sbu Ndebele and his supporters (the Mbeki men) and high-profile provincial ministers Bheki Cele, Zweli Mkhize and Willies Mchunu, and their supporters (the “Zuma” men). To even briefly outline the history and current state of this power struggle within the Richmond Municipality would take a mini-dissertation in itself. Suffice it to say that in 2006, the struggle manifested itself as a battle for power between The Speaker (and ex-mayor) Andrew Ragavaloo and his supporters, and the Municipal Manager, T. J. Nene (confidant and friend of ex-mayor, Bheki Mtolo) and his supporters. Insiders say the real power struggle is between Ragavaloo and Mtolo.

Although the term ‘low-intensity conflict’ is more commonly associated with “covert action and non-conventional methods of warfare” against “mass resistance and liberation movements” (Dugard, 2003, p. 1), it differs from context to context and it would not be misplaced to describe the ANC intra-party conflict within the Richmond Municipality as ‘low-intensity conflict’, (what Hill, 2000, p.10) calls “internalized factionalism”¹¹, characterized as it is on both sides by “undermining and de-legitimising,... demonisation and criminalization of the opposition (and the) waging (of) psychological media warfare to win people’s hearts and minds” (Dugard, 2003, pp. 2-3).

This situation of intra-party political power-struggle and patronage is perhaps the most significant and new theme to emerge from these findings. Unless political leaders acknowledge these struggles and seek ways to address the conflicts through collaboration and dialogue, there is little hope that the situation will improve. Clearly a sustainable peace is impossible in Richmond while political leaders politicize development and service delivery in pursuit of their own petty agendas - rewarding patronage, blocking the peace and development initiatives of opponents, sowing seeds of dissent and mistrust among opposition supporters and trumping up charges to discredit rivals.

Communication

One NGO worker highlighted the crucial role communication plays in our relationships with project participants. She said that although we do our best to understand the needs and wishes of people, “they don’t always communicate clearly what they want or

¹¹ See discussion on Hill’s concept of *Ethnostress* in subsection “Oppression” below. “Internalized Factionalism” is a characteristic sign of *Ethnostress*, a “behaviour pattern that is perhaps the most damaging when Aboriginal people are attempting to unite their people and move towards a common goal. The factionalism is acted out in political meetings, at social functions, and amongst families. When these behaviour patterns overtake us, we can easily attack, criticize, or have unrealistic expectations of anyone who has the courage to step forward and undertake leadership responsibilities within the community. When we continue to act in ways that emphasize our differences, we fail to provide the support that is absolutely necessary for effective leadership to emerge and for group strength to grow” (Hill, 2000, p. 10).

expect”, then we end up “not giving participants what they want and what they expect”. She felt that this paves the way for misunderstandings and resentment, leads to a lack of trust and the emergence of conflict (Thuli).

Inserted Themes

I mentioned in the section on Data Analysis (see p. 46) that as I began to see gaps in the data I designed a structured questionnaire in order to “insert” new themes (Freire, 1996, p. 101) and to collect additional data to address some unresolved issues and questions and to gain a richer perspective by following a slightly different tack. These inserted themes were ‘Oppression’ and ‘Hope’. In this structured questionnaire I also inserted questions I hoped would give some idea of what participants felt were important components of a sustainable peace education programme for Richmond (based on Danesh’s ‘Education for Peace’ (EFP) programme (Danesh, 2005, 2007)).

Oppression

Under apartheid, black South Africans could be clear about who “the oppressor” was, but today it seems less clear who or what the “oppressor” is. Are poor black people in Richmond still oppressed in 2006? If yes, who, or what, is “the oppressor”?

Interestingly, seven of the respondents (including one of the primary participants) revealed a class analysis in their responses. Five felt that what had changed since 1994 was that now more black people are rich than before, but for the majority, things have not changed and are perhaps even worse. In her introduction to *Changing Class* (Chisholm, 2004), Chisholm suggests that while the stated intent of post-apartheid policy-makers has been democratization and redress for the dispossessed, the twinning of this reconstruction and development rhetoric with a neo-liberal macro-economic agenda has resulted in the entrenchment of privilege of the new de-racialised middle-class (ibid., pp. 5-11).

Freire also analyses this oppression of the oppressed by the previously oppressed new elite in a way which bears striking resemblance to what some would lament has happened in post-apartheid South Africa. He suggests that the Left

is almost always tempted by a “quick return to power”, forgets the necessity of joining with the oppressed to forge an organization, and strays into an impossible “dialogue” with the dominant elites. It ends by being manipulated by these elites, and not infrequently itself falls into an elitist game, which it calls “realism” (Freire, 1996, p. 130).

Freire’s observation that “(o)ne of the methods of manipulation (employed by the dominant elites) is to inoculate individuals with the bourgeois appetite for personal success” (ibid.) resonates with the view of the participants that the greed of the new elite is what is oppressing the poor today.

There was one participant who felt that BEE¹² policy is a central factor in depriving poor people of a livelihood in that it favours the already wealthy and well-connected (Zweli). Sentiments such as these suggest that ordinary people are beginning to recognize that BEE is simply replacing the old white economic elite with a new black one, leaving fundamental inequalities intact.

One response neatly sums up the sentiments of these respondents:

The rich oppress the poor and the gap is widening...it’s about... corruption and greed. The rich black elite have turned their backs on the poor, unemployed majority – there is a culture of enrichment and entitlement...forgetfulness (Thuli).

¹² Black Economic Empowerment. South Africa's legislated affirmative action policy aimed at economically empowering the historically disadvantaged through neo-liberal economic growth strategies.

This perception that the gap between rich and poor is widening is corroborated by (Pauw & Mncube, 2007) who, while acknowledging debate about whether or not there are fewer South Africans living in poverty in 2007 than there were in 1994, observe a growing consensus among analysts that inequality has escalated since independence

Two of the respondents, on a similar note, strongly felt that the oppressor was “unemployment and poverty...the problem is youth are out of school and they have no jobs... they are unemployed and unemployable” (Simpiwe). One felt that unemployment and poverty was partly a result of disadvantaged schooling which made youth unemployable once they left school.

Both these latter interviewees also named HIV/AIDS as a key oppressive factor for the people of Richmond.

One respondent was convinced that “people are oppressed by their own attitudes and negative thinking”. She said that “apartheid lives on in peoples’ consciousness” (Zandile). Her opinion was that apartheid was such a powerfully debilitating psychological weapon that the majority of people were not able to move beyond the mental limitations that seeing themselves as inferior for so many years had imposed upon them. Hill (2000) calls this “Ethnostress” – the “disruption of the Aboriginal identity” caused by the “physical, psychological, emotional and spiritual abuse that came with the force of ‘colonialism’” (Hill, 2000, p. 1). She argues that the effects of ethnostress “become deeply internalized within the community's psychological make-up (and) remain within the community long after the oppressive forces are removed... feelings of powerlessness and hopelessness ...disrupt our ability to achieve our basic needs... It is in this way that the force of the oppression continues as people now work to oppress each other (ibid., pp. 3-4).

There is, for Freire, a profound link between oppression, hopelessness and apathy in the minds of the oppressed. “Self-depreciation is another characteristic of the oppressed, which derives from their internalization of the opinion the oppressors hold of them”

(Freire, 1996, p. 45). However, while they, “nearly always express fatalistic attitudes towards their situation...(this) (f)atalism in the guise of docility is the fruit of an historical and sociological situation, not an essential characteristic of a peoples’ behaviour” (Freire, 1996, p. 43) and therefore this fatalism can be addressed by instilling hope in people through authentic dialogue, problem-posing education and praxis.

Hope

The title of this dissertation – “*Zuza iThemba!*” means “seize hope” in Zulu. My initial readings and grasp of the context suggested that a majority of people had lost hope. The circumstances of poverty and unemployment, disruption of family life, widespread substance abuse, growing prostitution and an HIV/AIDS pandemic had deprived them of any reason to hope that a better future was on the way.

Most project participants reinforced the notion of the majority of residents having little or no hope: “(people) don’t have hope for the future – they can’t study, they can’t get employed... after a few years they begin to lose hope.” (Simpiwe)

Zandile, one of the NGO respondents said:

There is a lot of negative attitude in people. People have very little hope – there is a lack of energy, a lack of faith in (the) success of development efforts. But they are desperate so they’ll try whatever comes along but without much energy or faith that it will succeed. (Zandile)

She puts this down to “trauma and unemployment...people have so many challenges...we need to understand the context of their lives, what influences them.” (ibid.)

There was a strong belief among the primary participants that poverty and unemployment deprived people of hope and that “jobs and food” would give people hope. When asked

how sustainable peace could be achieved in Richmond, five of the respondents felt that jobs would “give people hope and create conditions for lasting peace.” (Zweli)

Freire argued that “dialogue cannot be carried on in a climate of hopelessness” (Freire, 1996, p. 73). If people are despondent or have given up on the future then they will not engage. However, he believes that hope “does not consist in crossing one’s arms and waiting. As long as I fight (for my humanity against injustice), I am moved by hope; and if I fight with hope, then I can wait” (ibid.). Freire is insisting that hope is engendered by action. In order to have hope, people have to take action against what they perceive to be the unjust order. For Freire, inaction in the face of injustice perpetuates the cycle of despair and hopelessness and it is up to the “teacher-student” to engage poor people. The challenge, it seems to me, is that on the one hand Freire seems to be saying that hope is a precondition for dialogue, and dialogue is a tool for encouraging the oppressed to reflect on and act against the oppressive order, while on the other hand he is also saying that it is action which leads to hope. How does one then dialogue with a person who has lost hope and given up on action? This remains for me a key problem for peace educators in post-conflict communities.

Reasons to hope

While this gloomy picture and peoples’ general lack of hope and motivation clearly indicate that there is cause for concern for their wellbeing and for the long-term prospect of recovery for Richmond, there was also, I found, reasons for people to have hope and people themselves who were hopeful.

One of the optimists was an ex-councilor and long-time resident of Richmond. His perception is clearly informed by his political allegiances, and some of the findings of this study clearly contradict his assertion about freedom of speech and association within the ANC, but the take, given his years of experience as a politician and development worker in the area, is worth considering and certainly bears further investigation. He said:

People have got hope – people vote ANC and hope that one day things will begin to change for the better. They stick with the ANC because there is room for dissent, criticism and challenge...also, there is no alternative. (Zweli)

For Zweli, voting for the ANC in the hope that things will get better is obviously purposeful action by ANC supporters. But is it the same as fighting with hope against the unjust order? There appears to be growing dissatisfaction among poor folk with ANC councilors in municipalities across South Africa, and the ongoing protests against lack of service delivery in local government suggest that people may be waking up to the fact that putting one's trust in elected leaders and waiting with hope is indeed not the same as fighting and waiting with hope.

One of the key issues for some was the progress Richmond had made since the days of extreme violence. The understanding among these respondents was that peace equals the absence of physical violence:

Yes people have hope – town is developing and if we look back we can see there have been huge changes for the better – hardly any politically-motivated physical violence, people are able to voice problems and complaints. Much more peaceful place than it was before (Thuli).

Another respondent optimistically observed that when people think about the history of violence it gives them hope because they compare it to how Richmond is now – there is a degree of reconciliation and much less violence than in the past. However, he conceded that it seemed as if progress towards peace and stability had reached a point of stagnation (Sbu).

Conclusion

So while the data overwhelmingly reveal a desperate situation with very little in the socio-economic environment to give people hope for a better future, there are those who believe there is cause for optimism. My observation however, is that it's predominantly the "outsiders" who are securely employed in fairly well-paid jobs and who don't physically live in Richmond itself, who, while able to articulate and understand the hopelessness that poor people are experiencing, are able to achieve a degree of objectivity and perspective and are so clearly able to articulate feelings of hope of a better future for Richmond. It is these, often influential individuals then who help to construct the public and media image of a Richmond well on the way to recovery, peace and sustainable development.

As I mentioned in the introduction to this findings chapter, a key realization for me, as I wrote up these findings was how I missed so many opportunities for authentic dialogue, for exploring problem-posing techniques, for theorizing with my participants in an authentic co-investigation into the limit-situations they experience as peace educators and people in Richmond. In Chapter 8 I reflect in some detail on my application of Freirean ideas and methods in this study.

Towards a model of Peace education

Transforming violent attitudes and behaviours through education

There was a strong emphasis by participants on the need to change moral values. Two of the respondents believed it was important to begin with parents. They felt that as values were predominantly learnt in the family, so moral teaching should begin at home. Such sentiments are echoed in the peace education literature by practitioners like Cairns (1996) who similarly points out that as moral values are learnt in the home that it makes pedagogical sense to focus on educating the parents. These participants felt that the

values of honesty, value for life, discipline and respect could be encouraged and taught through massive adult education programmes.

Five respondents suggested that a large-scale moral regeneration drive using people that the youth look up to and regard as heroes would be the strategy most likely to meet with success. They suggested church leaders, musicians and performers, youth leaders, anyone who had the potential to preach values of peace and respect and who were likely to be respected by the youth. The EFP model is strong on cultural and other peace events which have the capacity to bring people together in safe spaces with the broad aim of reconciliation.

peace events provided powerful and effective mediums for demonstration of uniqueness and unity of the participants in the context of their diverse admirable qualities. Peace events have served as powerful forces for creating interethnic harmony (Danesh, 2005, p. 16)

Respondents suggested prayer days, music and cultural events, popular rallies, radio and television shows as events to bring people together. Thuli said:

we don't need to spend so much money on these things. We could use existing community structures – the minister's fraternal, churches, preachers...role models... like survivors of violence...get inspiring people to tell their stories. (Thuli)

Creating a culture of peace

The idea of 'contact' events was also suggested by many participants (both primary participants as well as the NGO workers) as a potentially powerful tool for reconciliation, healing and peace education, articulating the faith that it was such events which had the cultural and emotional power to bring about significant change for the better in Richmond. I discuss 'contact theory' briefly at the end of this section.

Mary, broadly echoing the sentiments of several other respondents, felt that churches, in particular ministers, lay preachers, and church leaders, could work together to play a central role in bringing a message of peace and reconciliation. This is the approach of PACSA, which, in 2005/2006 was working the Richmond Minister's Fraternal to build peace in Richmond "by conscientising the churches to the social implications of their faith" (PACSA, no date). Mary suggested that churches should link up with activists and community organizations to embark on community-wide campaigns with the support of the media and local TV stations to create a culture of peace among the people of Richmond (Mary).

Zweli expressed similar ideas, emphasizing that such initiatives however "must always start from the bottom up otherwise they won't get off the ground". He suggested a big, inclusive annual event which consistently motivated and inspired residents to keep their focus on peaceful coexistence, supported by smaller, more focused educational and motivational events throughout the year. He felt that in order to work this must be a popular event "something like the comrades marathon¹³...something which is on everybody's lips" (Zweli).

Both Zandile and Themba (supporting Zweli's comments about the need for a bottom-up approach) felt that it was vitally important to canvass the opinions and desires of Richmond residents themselves:

start by working with the people – what do they think? What do they want to see happening, how do they think we can achieve peace? We need door to door to gather quality information (Zandile).

¹³ The Comrades Marathon is an annual road race between the cities of Pietermaritzburg and Durban, KZN. It covers a distance of some 90kms and draws over 10 000 entrants, mainly from South Africa but increasingly, from all over the world.

Creating a culture of healing

Many of the respondents felt that creating a culture of peace and culture of healing could not be separated and would best be achieved through concerted efforts to bring people together at large gatherings focusing on reconciliation and peacebuilding, and that these initiatives must necessarily be premised on a “bottom-up” approach (see discussion about contact events, above).

Two respondents referred to a Church/NGO initiative which introduced “Healing of Memories”¹⁴ workshops to Richmond residents. They felt that more workshops should be conducted and this work should be strengthened and supported by donor funding.

Two other participants (Thuli and Themba), while supporting peace events felt that it was important not to forget that a culture of healing begins in the home and that there was a strong tradition of holistic and spiritual healing which should be tapped and integrated into a broader initiative.

Zweli strongly supported the “five-a-side” programme which had included an event at which several prisoners (Richmond residents serving prison sentences for violent crimes committed during the violence) had publicly apologized for their crimes and asked for forgiveness. He said that this moment had been extremely powerful and had contributed

¹⁴ The Institute for the Healing of Memories (IHOM) facilitates Healing of Memories workshops in response to the emotional, psychological and spiritual wounds that are inflicted on nations, communities and individuals by wars, repressive regimes, human rights abuses and other traumatic events or circumstances. Fr. Michael Lapsley initially developed the Healing of Memories workshops while heading the Chaplaincy Project of the Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture. Through his own experience of living in exile, losing both hands in a parcel bomb explosion, and listening to the stories of the survivors whom he counselled at the Trauma Centre, Fr. Lapsley realised the importance of giving people a space in which their experiences could be told and acknowledged. He became a driving force in developing Healing of Memories workshops as an alternative form of providing support for victims and survivors of apartheid violence (Institute for Healing of Memories, no date)

significantly to creating a culture of healing in the community. He lamented the lapse of the initiative and strongly recommended that it be revived and expanded.

A peace-based curriculum for schools

I got some very different responses to this question and was not really satisfied with participants' engagement with the topic. However, this could be because it was the very last question of the interview – two of the participants were clearly fatigued by this stage of the interview and two participants did not respond because of time constraints.

Three participants felt that the design of peace education curricula was largely the responsibility of the provincial Department of Education, but also said that it was important that the Department synchronise this curriculum development effort with the broader community peacebuilding campaign (creating a culture of peace and healing):

use the opportunity of the guidance (Life Orientation) period... reinforce the broader community campaign of healing, tolerance and peace stuff.
(Thuli)

Interestingly, Thuli was the only respondent who thought that peace education should be integral to all subjects in the formal curriculum: “but the holistic approach is important – integrate peace into every subject” (Thuli).

However, while most of the other participants felt that peace education should be taught as a subject and did not mention the integration of peace into every subject, as Thuli did, none thought that this was sufficient and there was a general consensus that formal peace education lessons should be complemented by broad consultation about peace education outside the school as well as extra-curricula activities aimed at non-violent resolution of conflict. Zandile said that we need to “(M)ix school youth with out-of-school youth to get ideas and design curriculum.” Themba and two other participants suggested that peer

education and peer mediation programmes in schools could be very effective ways of ensuring that youth learnt healthier methods of resolving conflict.

Zandile also echoed a common belief expressed by respondents that “it’s important to educate them about the history of Richmond and how we can learn from the mistakes of the past”.

Conclusions

What struck me as particularly interesting as I engaged participants on the issue of creating a model for sustainable peace education in Richmond was that so many of them expressed a strong faith in large rallies, movements and contact events to create a culture of peace, healing and reconciliation and to effectively begin to change peoples’ attitudes and behaviours. Despite the popularity of ‘contact theory’ however, “there is no empirical evidence or theoretical rationale to suggest that contact *per se* will either influence salient political beliefs or have any impact on sectarianism in the society” (Trew, 1986, pp. 104-5, cited in (Nolan, 2007, p. 206). Nolan provides a useful summary of contact theory critique and suggests that while contact events are not sufficient as a tool for peace-building, they may nonetheless be a necessary component (ibid., p. 206).

Something else that struck me particularly was that none of the participants mentioned the Zwelethemba model or our own “Educating for Peaceful Change” programme as having any place in a future model for sustainable peace education despite the fact that evaluations of our programme indicated that it had been well received and that four out of the six primary participants had opted to implement the Zwelethemba model as a vehicle for peacemaking and peacebuilding in their own municipal wards. I suspect that this has a lot to do with the structure of data collection here. I administered a structured questionnaire, designed to elicit responses to specific questions which provided limited scope for probing responses. In fact, in some instances, I often ran out of time towards the end of an interview, which resulted in disappointingly shallow responses. Certainly, given another opportunity, I would not choose to use a structured questionnaire to gather

the kind of data I wanted from participants about structuring a peace education model for Richmond.

Chapter 7: Design of a sustainable peace education programme in Richmond – key contextual issues

Introduction

Two of the specific aims of this study were to provide a contextual analysis of the socio-economic and political circumstances prevailing in 3 municipal wards of Richmond and to develop practical suggestions for sustainable peace education in the area (see “Specific aims”, p.1). In chapter five I provided a documentary and anecdotal analysis of the context. In chapter six I presented my findings (in the form of discussions around the generative themes which emerged from the data), which largely corroborate the analysis in chapter five. In this chapter seven I very briefly summarise the main points from the previous two chapters as I present what I believe are the core contextual issues to consider when designing a sustainable peace education programme for Richmond.

In addition to the existing Centre for Adult Education peace education programme for adults ‘Educating for Peaceful Change’ (see “Centre for Adult Education Peace Education Programme”, p. 4), which includes implementation of the Zwelethemba model, I strongly recommend an integrated, holistic peace education model situated within a sustainable livelihoods framework.

Key issues

My findings clearly suggest that **job creation** for the youth is a priority. But what kind of jobs? A lot of effort is going into formal sector job creation, but what about livelihoods, what about jobs for peace workers? The Province funds its own Community

Development Worker programme. If government is so concerned about the impact of a history of violence why not resource a Community Peace Worker programme whose trainees could be deployed in previous violence ‘hot spots’ such as Richmond, Trust Feed, Estcourt, Shoboshobane, Mtubatuba, KwaMashu and other areas? Such a scheme would provide jobs for young people committed to peace to train people in conflict resolution skills, counsel traumatized survivor of violence, help establish Peace Committees, work with religious bodies and other NGOs to organize peace events and rallies aimed at building peace and kindling a culture of reconciliation.

The creation of a **culture of healing** would be an essential component of any holistic programme. Some suggestions for how one could achieve this are: large-scale cultural events and rallies aimed broadly at reconciliation and peace building, the revival and expansion of the “5 a side” peace process, the “Healing of Memories” programme and other peace initiatives which have been started in Richmond.

Counseling and other interventions for traumatized survivors of violence should be expanded and linked to a broader peace education programme.

Municipal service delivery and in-fighting – there needs to be more coherence, communication, cooperation and consultation in terms of service delivery and education about and focus on a bottom-up, assets-based rather than the current top-down approach. Where possible, peace educators should assist municipal employees to explore the critical link between sustainable peace and democratic practice through training workshops, programmes and other fora. Also there is a need for a commitment at this level of government to concerted conflict resolution processes aimed at addressing the current intra-party power struggles.

The Police and Community Policing Forum (CPF) need to play a more community-based and community-friendly role by establishing community policing sub-fora, and by making a concerted effort to transform negative public attitudes to the SAPS (primarily through improving their service to the public!)

The issue of **disarmament and demobilization** of ex-combatants must be given priority. Gun-free South Africa (GfSA) has the commitment and know-how to make progress in this regard, but they are poorly supported and resourced by the provincial government. Unfortunately, the reality is that until people can depend on municipal service delivery, on secure employment and livelihood, on political stability, and until they can feel that justice has been done with regard to crimes committed during the years of violence and there is no fear of a sudden resumption of violent conflict, then the existence of illegal small-arms will continue to plague efforts aimed at achieving lasting peace and stability.

Recreational programmes and spaces for youth is a priority if we are to make any impact on crime, violence, substance abuse and HIV/AIDS.

Linked to the point above – the young adults of Richmond today grew up witnessing violence as the preferred method of resolving political and other conflict. There is a pressing **need for non-violent conflict resolution skills to be taught**. Ways should be explored for adopting and resourcing models like Zwelethemba which serve the dual purpose of resolving day to day conflicts constructively while providing sites for the experiential learning of peaceful conflict resolution methods within effective communities of practice.

Linked to the point above, while **income for peace educators is critical** (the Zwelethemba model budgets for this), recognizance needs to be taken of the fact that **conflict over money is common** and therefore provision should be made and mechanisms sought for addressing these conflicts.

Consultation with residents - more research is needed to gain a better picture of what ordinary Richmond residents feel are effective ways of educating the community for peaceful change. What forms of peace education would they like to see? In this regard, the notion of hope is a key concept. We can ascertain from the contextual analysis the reasons people have for losing hope. We have data to suggest that secure jobs would give

people hope but my sense is that it is more complex than that. In order to move toward a brighter future, people have first to be able to envision that future and then believe that it's possible to achieve it.

When asked to consider how best to bring about a culture of peace and culture of healing in Richmond, the overwhelming majority of respondents expressed faith in a sustained community-driven campaign, given impetus by **high-profile, popular cultural events and rallies aimed at reconciliation and peace building.**

Although gender issues like **domestic violence and rape** did not feature prominently in the data, there is anecdotal and documentary evidence that the issues are serious and wide-spread and are a major barrier to peace and stability in the area. It is of vital importance that a peace education programme seeks to address issues of gender violence.

Linked to the point above is the pressing issue of **fractured families and vulnerable children.** Centres like the Indaleni Drop-in Centre¹⁵ do good work but the centre itself is under-resourced. Initiatives like this which work with vulnerable children need to be supported, resourced and given their daily contact with the children and their caregivers, are well placed to contribute significantly to peace education efforts.

Religion also did not feature prominently as an issue for peace education, but there is an active body, the Richmond Ministers' Fraternal, which has the influence and potential to make a significant contribution to peace education in the area. Other religious communities – Muslims and Hindus, for example - also have representative bodies and having an interest in and commitment to peace, are also well-placed to contribute to a broader peace education effort.

¹⁵ A Drop-in Centre is a place which provides psycho-social and nutritional support specifically for orphans and families affected by HIV-AIDS. The centres are jointly funded and resourced by the state departments and NGOs.

Education – there is a **need to teach history critically**. Much could be learned in schools, especially by reflecting on the history of political violence in Richmond. For example: what lessons could be learned from examining the rise to power of a warlord like Sifiso Nkabinde, and the deployment of SANDF troops in the area? The SANDF has provided a useful scapegoat for many social ills but it would be transformative for the community to examine their own complicity.

Linked to the point above is a much bigger concern – that of **inadequate schooling** generally. As Simpiwe pointed out, disadvantaged schooling renders youth unemployable for anything other than manual labour once they leave school – perpetuating the cycle of unemployment and poverty and fuelling crime, domestic violence, substance abuse, prostitution.

Finally, it was noted by one of the participants that there exists a **strong cultural tradition of holistic and spiritual healing** which could be tapped and incorporated into any peace education programme.

Conclusions

While this study reveals specific contextual issues which need to be considered when designing an holistic peace education programme for Richmond, it also identifies a number of significant stakeholders, whose respective capacities could, if boosted and directed towards a common goal of peace and reconciliation, constitute a powerful force for transformation in the area.

The donor-funded peace organizations I mentioned in chapter five (see Organizations involved in peace work in Richmond in 2005 and 2006, p. 48), including the University of KwaZulu-Natal are well-placed to address some of the key issues I raise. For example, these organizations could extend membership of their current consortium to include community representatives and leaders, religious groupings, the Indaleni Drop-in Centre and representatives of traditional healers associations to focus on creating a culture of

healing, to jointly organize cultural events and peace rallies, to help establish and support Peace Committees, train people in conflict resolution skills, provide counseling for survivors of political and domestic violence and to support fractured and vulnerable families. Each of these initiatives would furthermore provide a useful opportunity for non-formal peace education.

If the municipal councillors could take responsibility for their internal conflicts it would go a long way towards improving the ability of the municipality to provide better recreational spaces and job opportunities for the youth.

Likewise, if SAPS could get its house in order they could provide much-needed services for survivors of domestic violence and rape. The SAPS too would greatly benefit by members of the force receiving training and support in non-violent conflict resolution.

The provincial Department of Education could be lobbied by the NGOs and specifically the University, to train teachers to teach history critically and to integrate peace education throughout existing school curricula. Schools could also, with the support of the university and NGOs, explore the establishment of learner peace clubs where learners could form peace committees, along the lines of the Zwelethemba model to provide in-school peer mediation services (a pilot of such a programme is currently underway in 100 schools in the Western Cape).

Chapter 8: Reflections on my application of Freire

On reflection I have to say that I feel I failed to engage project participants in the Freirean manner that I had eagerly set out to follow. At times, my perceived failure was a source of great frustration and stress. In this final chapter I discuss a number of reasons why I think I failed, while ending on a somewhat more optimistic note.

Project goals versus my study goals

The decision to gather data during the course of regular project work and meetings, I think, was an unfortunate strategy. Project goals and the project agenda invariably “hijacked” the research agenda.

As I have already mentioned, the project participants were all involved in urgent preparations for the local government elections which were held in March 2006 and early in January requested the time and space to get on with this important work. Soon after these elections, the Joseph Rowntree Trust indicated willingness to fund the Peace Committee model (see page 17) in Richmond which threw both participants and myself firstly into urgent lobbying, recruiting and organizing as a precursor to the launch of the two respective Peace Committees and secondly, once the funding came through, a flurry of new organizing, the setting up of systems and structures, and the ironing out of numerous problems which arose.

This process also saw the sudden influx of about twenty new project participants who had not been involved before that time. It was a time of all action and little reflection. In short, there was no praxis. Looking back, I realize that I was often so caught up in the project work that I made little time to stop and reflect on how it was impacting on my

research study and what I could be doing to respond as a researcher and as a teacher/learner to include the participants in reflection on what was happening and how they were perceiving the process. As I write my reflections at this stage of the study, it is with a profound sense of frustration at an opportunity lost.

When project imperatives first threatened to displace planned research goals, it was a golden opportunity for transformative learning, to turn these crises into moments of reflection, to collaboratively search for creative ways to apply Freirean methods such as critical dialogue, problem-posing, and conscientization. However, as a project manager, feeling keenly the pressure to deliver outputs, I lost sight of how these moments, these 'limit situations', could become sites for my own critical reflection and learning and how I could have directed problem-solving dialogues towards the achievement of both project and study goals.

Language

Language was a barrier – my inability to speak Zulu fluently severely limited my ability to dialogue as equals with the participants and be privy to discussions which would have given me valuable insights into the process I was attempting to implement.

Privilege and power

During my study I tended to become frustrated by what I perceived to be the shortcomings of my participants rather than question how my own agenda and identity could be creating communication problems between us. Key to my own reflections on why I was not able to engage my participants as effectively as I would have liked in the project as well as in my study therefore is Shapiro's point that "social justice requires one to confront one's own advantages rather than blaming those who are disadvantaged or oppressed" (Shapiro, 2002, p. 67).

As I explained in my chapter on methodology, the relationship between the primary participants and I was more complex than that of researcher and research participants. I was also project manager and “teacher” to these people, which emphasized issues of power. I believed that I had remained conscious of the potential for such power dynamics to not only skew my research findings. As it turns out, I was not as vigilant as I ought to have been, especially considering my espoused dedication to following a Freirean pedagogy of liberation.

Education and Ethnostress

Although, as I noted in my literature review and in the discussion of my theoretical framework, I was aware that the disadvantaged educational background of my participants was likely to prove a barrier to effective dialogue, I was nonetheless frustrated by my inability to engage participants in authentic dialogue as I had hoped. Shapiro observes the damage to people’s ability to think for themselves wrought by conventional “chalk and talk” teaching methodologies. “It can be profoundly disorientating after years of what Paulo Freire called ‘banking education’ to be expected to overcome the mental passivity that authoritarian teaching instills in people” (Shapiro, 2002, p. 66).

My observation further, is that Ethnostress (Hill, 2000) is a profoundly internalized condition within my participants’ psychological framework which disrupts their ability not only to engage with me as an equal, but also to cooperate with each other towards a common goal of peace and stability. As an educator I did not succeed in sensitively or effectively addressing this factor.

Trust, power and dialogue

Shapiro makes a point which reinforces Freire, Danesh and other peace educators and which supports the kind of pedagogical approach I was determined to adopt. It's about the importance of a pedagogy of love and compassion. He says:

(A)s teachers we need to seek those aspects of our students' moral or spiritual traditions that speak to the extraordinary value of human life – whether that is found in their religious values, political convictions, or cultural beliefs (Shapiro, 2002, p. 70).

In terms of opening myself up to be authentic and truly human...to love, to trust, to have faith in peoples' ability to dialogue, to reason, to transform my world, I have to admit that I struggled to earn peoples' trust and myself struggled to trust the people I worked with and to have faith in their ability to create and transform their world. Again I suspect this has a lot to do with me being seen as a "teacher", as a programme coordinator, as an outsider with an NGO agenda, chasing outcomes, doing a job. Right up until December 2006, the response to my (friendly) observations that participants had failed to act on commitments to action which would have consequences for their project, was: "sorry Mr Tim, sorry to let you down" (Sbu). This from a man who for years has been involved in political and community structures, who is employed in an NGO, with whom the issue of community ownership of projects has been discussed on many an occasion.

In writing up this dissertation I have grappled with frustration that my years-long endeavor to "empower" community leaders through relinquishing my control of the peace projects which have been conceptualized and driven by community members themselves seemed to have borne little fruit; frustration at the reluctance of the project participants to engage me as an equal, to dialogue, to plot the way forward and implement actions collaboratively.

My conclusion is that at the end of the day, I was always the white, well-educated, University programme coordinator who wrote the funding proposals, called participants to account, administered the funds. In short: I was always the boss! In “A Future for the Excluded” (Carmen & Sobrado, 2000), the authors offer the following explanation:

...the fundamental problem lies in the fact that the peasantry, accustomed as they are to paternalistic interventions, and to assistentialist relationships, for reasons of a long history of relationships of domination, remain rooted in their conviction that they will be forever inferior and ‘incapable’: they therefore refuse, if not in words, then in deed, to participate in actions based on precisely the type of dialogical analysis proposed by Paulo Freire. On this very subject, Freire comments in his early work *Extension or communication* that ‘it is only natural that they [the oppressed] should show an extreme reluctance to dialogue. (Freire, 1974, p. 121, cited in Carmen and Sobrado, 2000, p. 42).

I feel that I ought to have taken greater recognizance of the potential for such power dynamics to not only skew research findings but more importantly, entrench inequality and mask potential for critiquing inequality. As researchers, as Freire-inspired transformative intellectuals we need to be acutely aware of the impact our own class, race, gender, income bracket could have on the way we interact with the people with whom we work and who we like to think are our co-investigators. While it is important to understand the structural conditions in which the thought and language of the people is dialectically framed, it seems to me equally critical that we interrogate the structural conditions in which our own thought-language is dialectically framed (Freire, 1996, p. 77) .

Trust and Identity

It is interesting to note that the Zulu stem word for both ‘trust’ and ‘hope’ is *themba*. *iThemba* is hope and *ukuThemba*, trust. Trust, or rather the lack of trust is a dynamic

which frequently gives rise to conflict and which dominates all peace work in Richmond; trust between project participants themselves – within the same political party, between parties, between participants and the NGOs they work with, as well as between the NGOs who do peace work themselves!

My sense is that these conflicts have their roots in Richmond's history of political intolerance and violence. People struggle with accepting that two different organizations could be working towards the same goal (peace) using different methods and having different foci. You've either got to support and work with NGO A or NGO B; you can't work with and support both. People seem to struggle with dual allegiances. One NGO colleague said that we have to be patient with people because they've been traumatized and will take time to understand the concept of unity of purpose among different groups working towards a similar goal (Zandile), while another colleague complained: "the trouble is, we just can't trust the people we work with" (Thembi).

Trust and money

The issue of money is fraught and frequently undermines trust between people. There are numerous examples of misunderstandings and conflicts which arise over money – who gets what money, for what work, how it compares to what everyone else is getting, etc - which I have not the space to elaborate upon here. Suffice it to say that misunderstandings about budgets, stipends, and the allocation of resources take up an inordinate amount of project time and, in my case, in 2006, frequently derailed attempts at other dialogues. While it was nearly always possible to stimulate a certain degree of participatory process around issues of finance and decisions were recorded and checked for consensus, misunderstandings or dissatisfaction would always surface at some time.

Trust and time

I feel that I was never able to spend the quality time with participants which could have led to more informal connections, to deeper understanding and trust between us. As a result I never got to authentically exploring the way people saw themselves and how they perceived their reality. There was never enough trust developed for participants to share honestly with me the real motivations for their behaviour, how they really understood the political and personal dynamics which created the conflicts that I wanted us to tackle collaboratively.

Another feature of my time constraint was that there were aspects of peace education theory and practice I did not get to examine with participants as I had planned. Issues such as the autonomist vs integrationist approach to peace education in schools, the links between peace and democracy, the link between peaceful attitudes and behaviour change I felt were not only important for me to explore together with my participants, but I had hoped that such explorations would provide useful insights I could have shared in my findings and which should have contributed to more comprehensive recommendations in my concluding chapters.

Limit-situations

I did not, as I had planned, get to unpack the limit-situations which constrained both our peace work and the data gathering process. For Freire, it's not so much the limit situations themselves which are important (because they negate hope and action), but the way that people perceive them to be constraining and examining why they perceived them to be limiting situations. I did not succeed in challenging participants to get beyond blaming others for the obstacles which were encountered.

Generative themes and codes

Once generative themes began to emerge, I was not able to get to the point of co-investigating the “links between themes”, nor to posing “themes as problems”. Likewise, by December 2006, stressed by being so far behind the project schedule, I had still not represented the generative themes and presented limit situations to participants as codes to be decoded and analysed. So in a very real sense, I did not succeed in attaining the point of meta-level analysis in which participants are guided through a process of reflection and analysis (decoding) in order for them to reach a ‘perception of their previous perception’ which is a prerequisite to the collaborative design of a model for sustainable peace education in Richmond.

Collaborative design of a peace education programme

I also did not engage adequately with participants in the co-design of a sustainable peace education programme for Richmond. My plan was to spend considerable time trying to understand why participants had chosen the Zwelethemba model (see pages 17 and 20ff) as a practical peace education project, and then engage them in critically assessing the long-term sustainability of the project. I was particularly interested in how such an exploration could have provided data on the extent to which these participants accorded value to communities of practice. In the end all I managed to do was engage participants in a brief discussion on the key tenets of a peace education model from Europe – in a sense this could be seen as a last-ditch attempt to at least get some input from participants on the possible components of a peace education programme. So while I am able to suggest some essential considerations, themes, issues and structures for a sustainable peace education programme in Richmond, and can offer my own conclusions about why I think participants chose the Zwelethemba model, I cannot claim that it has been a truly collaborative effort. In fact the process fell far short of the sustained and constructive engagement I had envisaged.

Simply put, I ran out of time – I underestimated how long it would take to follow the processes I had planned. However, what is more challenging to acknowledge is that I also failed to apply Freirean methods to situations which may have offered very appropriate opportunities for praxis but which seemed at the time rather to be distracting us from our research goal.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have documented what I perceived to be the biggest shortcomings of my study, namely the missed opportunities as so-called dialogical teacher to apply Freire's key pedagogical instruments - problem-posing education through dialogue.

But perhaps it is not so much achieving the research goals that I set myself in relation to this study which is of most importance, but rather whether I have usefully reflected on how and why my goals were not accomplished, and whether I can articulate what significant learning took place as a result of my critical reflection.

It seems to me that my first really important lesson for me was the realization that Freire intended reflection to be part of the process of action. In other words action and reflection, the processes of praxis, are codependent and coexistent. Action is a component of reflection just as reflection is a form of action. In retrospect, I can see how I tended to separate the two both in my mind and in my practice, to the detriment of the study and the project.

The second important lesson for me, linked to my first point above, was coming to a gradual but transformational understanding of the extent to which my struggle to connect action and reflection, theory and practice was a result of my own deeply entrenched dysfunctional learning habits which were instilled in me by my experiences of banking education in my formal schooling years.

A third lesson, I learnt somewhat painfully, despite the warnings of Freire as well as critics like Facundo, was the extent to which my privileged background and my position as a member of the elite class, prevented me from experiencing authentic dialogue with my primary participants.

Lastly, I think I discovered the extent to which, in embracing Freire's pedagogy of social transformation, I downplayed the significance of personal transformative learning as described by Mezirow. This undertaking of this study, while at times painfully frustrating, has led me to keenly reflect on the assumptions and distorted meaning perspectives which limited me both as a researcher and project manager, and thus has been instrumental in the process of my own transformative learning. Reflecting on this learning in turn, I believe, has helped me to improve my work as a peace educator and researcher.

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