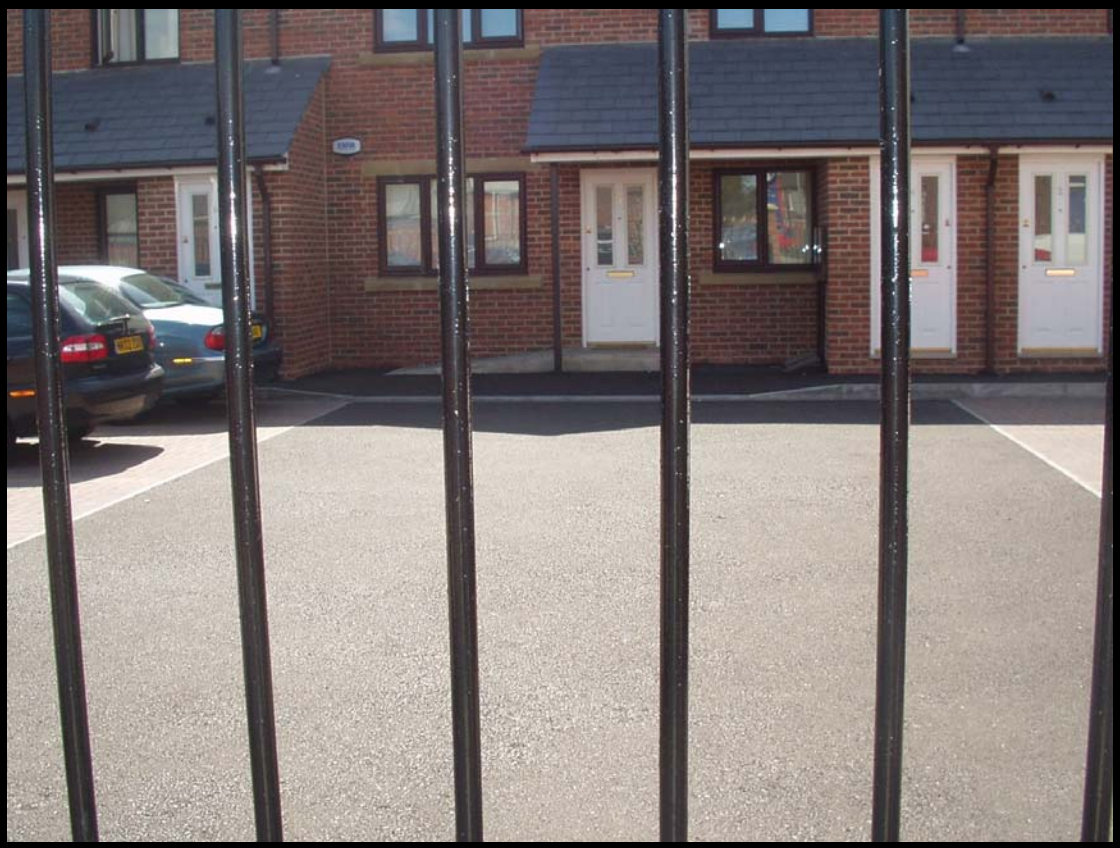
PEACE AND PLACE

A Symposium Exploring Peace in the Home, Community and the Urban Environment

5-7 April, 2006

Centre for Peace Studies, University of Tromsø



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UNIVERSITETET I TROMSØ

Centre for Peace Studies

PEACE AND PLACE:

A Symposium Exploring Peace in the Home, Community and the Urban Environment.

Conference Report.

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From April 5-7, 2006, the Centre for Peace Studies (CPS) at the University of Tromsø hosted a conference entitled "Peace and Place: A Symposium Exploring Peace in the Home, Community and the Urban Environment". The idea for the symposium came about when Diane Lister became the new Academic Coordinator at the CPS in September 2005. The symposium was organised by Diane Lister, Academic Coordinator on the Master's in Peace and Conflict Transformation (CPS); Alberto Valiente Thoresen, Executive Officer (CPS); and Jochen Peters, Project Leader (CPS).

The symposium themes were the issues of peace, place, home and community, which are of increasing importance in current international academic debates about the governance and facilitation of stable communities, the creation of new forms of living and the division of public and private space. These debates focus on the breakdown of community life and the prevalence of street crime, anti-social behaviour and civil disobedience in everyday life, whilst increased security measures, surveillance technology and the curtailment of individual freedoms through legislative and/or social control, appear to be an antidote to such risks. Community development and urban renewal in post conflict areas are also of increasing interest and importance as a range of responses and initiatives, similar to those indicated above, are implemented to create and maintain street peace and sustainable communities.

The main aim of the symposium was to provide an opportunity to look at Peace Studies from the perspective of these current debates and to examine the ways in which risk, conflicts and threats to individual and street peace are managed and avoided. During the symposium, the discussions surrounded the topics of home, community, the urban environment and peace. These subjects had not been considered previously through the lens of Peace Studies. In this sense, the symposium served to open up for new areas of research and interest for Peace Studies. For example:

- How housing policies and urban planning can contribute in the implementation of peace processes and to generate the conditions for peaceful communities;
- Relationship between places, contexts and learning a culture of peace;
- Re-formulations of the notions of peace and community through complexity theory;
- The use of public opinion surveys to *de-ideologise* contemporary notions of place and community that foster violence;
- Human security (including health) as a governance goal for achieving sustainable communities;
- Effectiveness of surveillance techniques and how they affect possibilities for peace;
- Different influences of urban and rural settings on criminal behaviour and violence;
- Hindrances for peace posed by segregating communities through gating or the creation of high security zones.

The symposium also served as a meeting ground for researchers from fields of urban planning, urban geography, psychology, organisational development, peace studies, political science, architecture, medicine and sociology; all of whom are dealing in one way or another with the main topics of the conference.

The symposium presented Paddy Gray and Karina Landman as keynote speakers. There were sixteen additional contributions. The detailed programme for the conference is presented in page iii.

Wednesday, April 5th	Thursday, April 6th	Friday, April 7th
0930 – 1000 Arrival and registration		
1000 – 1010 ***Welcome*** Jochen Peters, Project Manager, Centre for Peace Studies, University of Tromsø		
1010 – 1040 ***Opening remarks*** Ole D. Mjøs, Chair of the Board, Centre for Peace Studies, University of Tromsø	0930 – 1100 ***Public peace and public disorder*** *The necessary failure of public surveillance to detect terrorism* – Floyd Rudmin, Department of Psychology, University of Tromsø *Motives and Values underlying the commission of murder in rural and urban areas of Sindh, Pakistan* – Nazar Hussein Soomro, Department of Psychology, University of Sindh, Pakistan	0930 – 1100 ***'Street peace' and peaceful housing and urban environments*** *Towards a criminology of peace – working with street criminals and delinquent children* – Peter Ndichu Muriuki, Kenya *Peace making is place making, Place making is peace keeping* – Stuart Talbot, General Manager, Yeast City Housing, South Africa
1040-1100 ***Introduction to the conference theme*** Diane Lister, Academic Coordinator, Centre for Peace Studies, University of Tromsø		
1100-1115 Break	1100 – 1115 Break	1100 – 1115 Break
1115-1230 ***Keynote speaker*** – ***Housing and the peace process in Northern Ireland*** – Paddy Gray, School of the Built Environment, University of Ulster, Northern Ireland	1115 – 1230 ***Keynote speaker*** – ***Neighbourhoods of peace, cities of hostility: exploring the socio spatial dimensions of peace and place in the 21st century and its implications for future cities –*** Karina Landman, Cities of the Future, CSIR, Pretoria, South Africa	1115 –1230 ***Barriers to peace and open discussion session*** *How high security zones hinder peace in Sri Lanka* – Augustine Sosai Siluvaithasan, Department of Geography, University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka *Changes and the future?* – Discussion and close
1230-1330 Lunch	1230 –1330 Lunch	1230 – 1330 Lunch
1330-1500 ***Peaceful and not so peaceful communities*** *The importance of place for learning about peace: The potential of summer camps in relatively tranquil settings* – Tove Dahl, Department of Psychology, University of Tromsø *Peace at the edge of chaos: Communities and individuals as co-learning complex-adaptive agents* – Larry J. Krafft, Temple University, Philadelphia, USA	1330 – 1500 ***Governance, control and division*** *Building the Tamil Eelam State: Emerging State Institutions and Forms of Governance in LTTE controlled areas in Sri Lanka*—Kristian Stokke, Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo *Seeking a pertinent and resilient form of democracy in Beirut* – Rachid Chamoun, School of Engineering and Architecture, Lebanon	
1500-1515 Break	1500 – 1515 Break	
1515-1645 ***Peace, territory and borders*** *A challenge for peace studies – de-ideologising contemporary notions of place* – Alberto Valiente Thoresen, Centre for Peace Studies, University of Tromsø *Human security as epistemological attitude and implications of value-ladenness* – Kirsti Stuvøy, Department of Political Science, University of Tromsø	1515 – 1645 ***Violence and Violence Prevention*** *Informal justice in Belfast* - Rachel Monaghan, School of Policy Studies, University of Ulster *What works to prevent interpersonal violence? – A public health approach for peace research* – Klaus Melf, Centre for International Health, University of Tromsø	
1645 *Closing remarks*	1645 *Closing remarks*	
1815 *Trip toTromsø Villmarkssenter*	1930 *Conference dinner at Sjøgata XII*	

This series of CPS Working Papers summarises most of the contributions presented during the conference. The CPS thanks the authors for allowing us to publish these working papers, which provide an opportunity for peace researchers and others, to survey current debates related to the planning, creation and administration of peaceful communities. The wide range of issues covered offer an important contribution to the Peace Studies research agenda.

The cover page photograph was taken by Diane Lister during fieldwork at a case study site for research into 'Gated Communities in England' for the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, London, 2003.

Tromsø, August 2006.

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Centre for Peace Studies

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* Mr. Soomro was not able to attend the conference, but we are especially grateful to him for allowing us to publish his paper in the conference report.

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August 2006, pp. 1 - 24

Centre for Peace Studies, CPS
University of Tromsø

Seeking a Pertinent and Resilient Form of Democracy in Beirut

Dr. Rachid Chamoun*

Abstract

In a time where "peace" is indeed deeply needed—in Baghdad and Fallujah, in the refugee camps of Gaza and Darfur, in a Chechen schoolyard, and yes, even in Manhattan. My question is key not only to Beirut and to these named places, but also to the world community, her peoples, cultures, geographies, infrastructures, her wounds and her healings. My approach to teaching and research is based on five principals that seek to promote and strengthen civil peace and human rights in Lebanon, the Middle East and the world community. 1) Civic education and culture of peace, 2) Immunity, through a culture of agreement and solidarity, 3) Democratization and civil society, by defending, protecting freedom, and negotiating peaceful settlement of conflicts, 4) Social policies: the guarantee of social rights, 5) Prosperity: the move of the economy towards more social justice and development. This paper will examine the conflicting pulls on Lebanon and explores through the examination of current case studies within and beyond campus boundaries. As a teacher and researcher in urban studies, I have been fortunate to contribute to peace building within my studio coursework.

Introduction•

This research aims to investigate and clarify the various urban organizational factors of people, events and places as a means for creating new healing in the war-torn city of Beirut. The study is intended to shed light and make visible the tacit socio-political dimensions of conflict in the city of Beirut, as a result of a seventeen-year civil war. I have situated my study within the context of postwar Lebanon and addressed specific objectives.

> *"This poses a direct challenge to urban planners and architects. How can common and public spaces be rearranged to create conditions germane for peaceful and creative coexistence among groups embittered by years of unresolved hostility? More specially, how can the location of public utilities and daily amenities be restructured in such a way as to meet the needs for intimacy and distance?" Khalaf, 1993, p: xv)*

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• See the Appendix at the end of this paper and *http://www.beiruturbanhub.com/*

Samir Khalaf, in his article ”Contested Space and the Forging of New Cultural Identities” (Khalaf & Khoury,1993) addresses the ability of public interventions such as the kind I am proposing, including “urban planning and design, architecture, landscaping, among other overlooked forms of public intervention, can offer effective strategies for healing symptoms of fear, and paranoia in transcending parochialism.

Jane Jacobs, in her book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 1961, portrays the city through a micro sociological vision. She comments “The city as a social organism is a living structure that is constantly changing and springing surprises. Its interconnections are so complex and dimly understood that planning always risks unknowingly cutting into its living tissue, thereby damaging or killing vital social processes.” In Beirut, this is even more so on account where the conflict presents itself in the planning and reconstruction process of the Beirut central district encompassing ”the economical and political forces” on the one hand and” the persistence of communalism”, (Khalaf, 1985), through the various communities along its peripherals on the other.

As the reconstruction and planning evolution is progressing rapidly in the rebuilding of the Beirut Central District (BCD), the designated construction line is acting as a cutting edge through vital social tissues and providing an intense physical and socio economical barrier and presenting a new form of socio-urban discrimination. This might well contribute to an urban isolation on the one hand and disconnecting a vital interaction among the various communities on the other. Khalaf notes in his article on” Social Structure and Urban Planning in Lebanon” in *Property, Social Structure and Law in the Modern Middle East,* Mayer, 1985, “ One of the basic tools of urban planning is, after all, the promulgation of orderly legislation dealing with the just and equitable conveyance of property from private to public use. By its very nature, such a process involves restrictions on certain freedoms. The Lebanese in general have always resisted such restrictions and have continued to perceive any plan as an unwarranted infringement on the private use of property.” As reconciliation has been a major objective in my study, Khalaf (1985) concludes, “…Such reconciliation has not yet been effectively attained.” Henceforth, Resurrection is a certainty for this war torn city. Reconstruction may evolve economical vision through urban methods, while resurrection balances

social values, ethics, norms and traditions along with urban planning methods. Thus, a balance of methods and ethics is needed in the planning and reconstruction of our cities.

My urban research have lead the way to integrating theory and practice within and beyond campus boundaries and reach beyond the sub-disciplines of urbanism towards a sustainable education and continue to sustain Learning through my involvement and affiliation with local and global communities.

My approach to this research is based on two purposes in mind. The first is to investigate a conceptual, philosophical assessment on which urban design may attain. The second is to illustrate with examples extracted from real life (everyday life) how relevant and applicable is the practical theory to the urban designer.

The research is intended to transcribe individual comprehension of city boundaries by visual means [i.e., architectonics: transformation of human images into architectural language] to define communal boundaries and areas of conflict. The level of debate in this introduction can set clear the many points that have often failed to answer the commonly and specific questions that can be raised from the reviewers to date.

Sociologists, political scientist, urban designers and planners in different parts of the world are trying to comprehend the nature and extent of urbanism against violence and terrorism and to asses the impact of war on urban and rural communities.

> *"Although planners, architects, sociologists, Geographers and cultural critics, among others, continue to operate within conventional subject boundaries and professional organizations, and thus retain conventional methodologies, they also meet in conferences and trans-disciplinary academic courses in which cities-as social, economic, culture and political as well as built entities – are the focus." (Miles, M.AND Hall, T. 2003, p; 3)*

My current research in urban studies is a matrix of both contemporary and historical precedents querying the various stimulating references that have aided in refining of my own professional and personal engagement with architecture, urban design and planning, hence allowing me to focus and discover up to date facts and conditions that are relevant to my research, rather than relying solely on an experiential past. The editors of the Social Control of Cities testify that "There

have been dramatic changes in the fortunes of cities and regions, in beliefs… and states in society, and in the theories used by social scientists to account for these changes" (Gendrot, Sophie Body, 2000, p:ixv). It is my goal to perform in the manner of the 'social scientist' described above and seek an alternative position in urbanism, which may then expose the minutia which formerly was considered marginal, therefore potentially revisiting urbanism through doors un-yet discovered.

As cites are made both of matter and material, my case study may not survive in any single isolated condition, rather it requires a combination of a perpetual layering of writing, graphics and making; consciously blurring the borders of each case. Each case has its own unique approach contributing to the formation of a more complex network of cityscapes encompassing, piercing and fulfilling an alternative understanding of urbanism and urbanization. It is highly desirable that the above cited multidimensional perspectives are a collective effort made to understand post-war and post-industrial cities within the framework of a historical and cross-cultural perspective.

Architectural historian Carlo Hein in his article, *Hiroshima: the atomic bomb and Kenzo Tange's Hiroshima Peace Center*, points out with respect to Hiroshima and other cities that the search for a new image of the city and desire to turn the military city into a symbol of peace... (Ockman, 2002pp:16, 69). The work of Kenzo Tange coincides and testifies with my selected project site of intervention in Quarantine-Beirut; both Hiroshima and Beirut are living examples; Hiroshima was to explode suddenly as planes flew above, while Quarantine exploded repetitively over a 15 year period "when a war has been as complex as the Lebanese Civil War, the post war era is unlikely to be any simpler." (Khalaf, 2003, p: 87).

Furthermore, and in support of my case study, I have investigated new constructive multiple urban projects of relevant literature throughout various cities of the world spanning, but not exclusive to: Balkan, Berlin, Chicago, Hiroshima, Jerusalem, Lisbon, New York, Plymouth and Rotterdam. "For the most part, these responses confirm the perennial resilience of cities in the face of drastic events" (Ockman, J. 2002, p: 15).

The Urban Hub set the scene of debate to the reader with a survey of the many points of agreement and disagreement which is considered inseparable of and a unique addition to the development of the project, presenting an account of the forces and arguments that have caused and structured the case study. The arguments extend

across geopolitical measurements, chronology and layers of history, urban memories, research and methodological issues of political constituencies, social, ecological and morphological assessments, ethnicultural, socioreligious structure and perspective. Furthermore, it elaborated on and embedded in the key issues of the 'social assessment impact' section of this study, outlined and itemized, from **a** to **g.** The Urban Hub performs as a case study on Beirut aimed at merging with "the global picture of a multidimensional perspective and collective effort" **(**Anderson, 1964, p: ix). Hence, contributing to the current process of urbanism and accelerating within the context of "urban reinvention" projects throughout the world.

The Urban Hub: Towards the Resurrection of Beirut

Interactive Ecological Landscape: Healing the Fractious Social Order for Quarantine, Beirut, Lebanon

A partial aerial view of Beirut with a full context of Quarantine, 2004

Geopolitical Context of Quarantine, Beirut and Lebanon: The designated site and the areas of study that I have chosen are important in this work because of their contextual proximities and presenting environmental, administrative, political, and cultural geographies to the current urban changes and their social diversity within the context of post war Beirut. The study area(s) are locations that have experienced 'civil and uncivil violence' (Khalaf, 2002), sporadic warfare, residual urban spaces, rubbish tips, abandoned dockyards, former militias headquarters and present military bases and former industrial sites.

Quarantine: A slum district named after the old immigration quarantine area; was the site of another major episode in the war. Situated so that it controlled Christian access over the Beirut River Bridge to the strategic port area, it became a military

target. Quarantine was populated primarily by poor Kurds and Armenians but was occupied and controlled by a large PLO detachment. On January 18, 1976, Christian forces took Quarantine after battle in which the Palestinians held out for three days and fought to the last man.

Beirut: Its history dates back over 5,000 years. Under the city's downtown area lay remnants of Ottoman, Mamluk, Crusader, Abbassid, Omayyad, Byzantine, Roman, Persian, Phoenician and Canaanite Beirut. It became a Roman colony, only to be destroyed later by a triple catastrophe of earthquake, tidal wave and fire in 551A.D. Arab control then dominated until the Crusaders took over in 1110. Following the Crusaders were the Mamlukes and the Turks, and after World War I there was a French mandate period ended in 1943.

Lebanon: At different periods of its history, Lebanon has come under the domination of foreign rulers. Although often conquered, the Lebanese take pride in their rebellions against despotic and repressive rulers. In 1943 Lebanon gained its independence." There after Lebanon witnessed numerous civil, local and regional wars at different scales, including the most recent 17 years of civil and uncivil hostilities thirty years of Syrian occupation ended 2005.

Research Question: Given the historical background of Beirut as a Cultural Hub subjugated into a war torn city, the question raised is: how to transfer the civil war conflict lines into an URBAN HUB that can act as a catalyst generating a safer, healthier and peaceful urban life towards the resurrection of Beirut?

Objectives: The body of work presented in this study spans from an interdisciplinary theoretical base of urban studies to a range of conceptual designs based on urban-sociological investigation and architectural experimentations, through action research methodologies and applied fieldwork by encompassing public feedback and participation. The following objectives will act as a catalyst in structuring the project goal, and paving the way towards Healing the Fractious Social Order for Beirut and will contribute to the reconciliation of urban-sociopolitical, socioeconomic conflicts, furthermore projecting a balance of methods and ethics in the planning and reconstruction of our cities.

- Deactivate sociourban conditions, terror and civil enmity and activate urban faith.
- Connect us individually and collectively to the urban environment.
- Generate innovative and creative options that fit into the communities
- Build upon the positive and physical aspect of the place
- Create a physical environment that supports economic and social programs that are functional and aesthetically pleasant
- Eliminate conflicting territorial boundaries and unite neighborhoods into a cohesive urban fabric

Scope of Study: The scope of the study is reconnecting the communities (adjacent and beyond the designated site of the Beirut Central District), by suggesting an urban intervention through cultural events such as public schools, museums, public libraries and urban parks, which will act as a social magnet to eliminate the territorial and closed sectarian social whim. Furthermore, the scope of this project will provide an urban balance between the reconstruction of the city and the healing of its urban identity. In turn, this balance may provide a comprehensive understanding of the city and its people as well as to awaken and enhance the spirit of coexistence among the various social groups as reconciliation towards the resurrection of a healthier Beirut.

The study is intended to venture a fused conjecture that may offer as a basis for future explorations, and part of a global visionary wave in perceiving the world as a community. A final product may be the creation of new ground in the areas of action research I am pursuing, with the fusion of urban sociology and urban design in the discourse of interactive landscape, across cultures toward erecting effective public participation. interventions.

Most of the literature on Beirut is primarily based on archeological, historical, political, and economic development and the conflict of the civil war between 1975-1992. There is, however, very little written on the ecological, social structure, cultural change, and public participation means for the reconstruction of Beirut Central District, and the conflict of reconstruction. It is, therefore, quite demanding in the study to focus on a viable planning catalyst in the reconstruction of the city

make urban data available to planners, architects and urban sociologists who may oftentimes, need to make references to existing works, which would regrettably be absent.

Project Urban Vision: The various themes of the URBAN HUB carry the characteristics of translucent contemporary urban strata, within the context of 'urbanism by ecological landscape' and it calls for new informative urban means. The space becomes transformative and the user enlightened. The architectural development of the study seeks to engage the 21st century cultural race with its visually seductive and technologically rigorous style within the context of Urbanism by Ecological Landscape. Furthermore, it provides various spaces and forms of entertainment and educational activities, in turn suggesting an interactive form of cultural growth, such conditions are possible due to the various urban issues taken into consideration while directly participating in a regional arena and global connectivity.

The world charter of city rights claims that 'The city is a culturally rich and diversified space that belongs to all the inhabitants', through such a vision the "Urban Hub" refers to a matrix of activities that together comprise one of the largest and most complex forms of cultural organization, and reflects the above stated theoretical dimension, concern and implication of such theories and that of a practical and action based nature present in the socio-cultural values of the living conditions in Beirut. These complexities of urban conditions will have a decisive impact on the city and the world's cultural connectivity. Hence, they lure us to study the cultural magnitudes of the architectural and urban forms, which reveal themselves as the design criterion of the project. Furthermore, this design complexity makes the physical and socio-cultural dimension of the project both a perpetual and inseparable.

Relevant Urban Reinvention projects: *Open, New Designs for Public* Space, edited by Raymond W. Gastil and Zoë Ryan, (2004) in which it exhibits thirty one case studies within the context of urban reinvention and interactive landscape projects. "Open: *new designs for public space* include projects from six continents that are changing the way we live, work and play in cities…The space have been designed by architects, landscape architect, planners, artist, engineers, and others, together with the individuals and forces that shape and sponsor them, including community groups

government agencies, and the private sector, from street vendors to major corporations." (Gastil, 2004, p: 8).

FROM: OPEN NEW DESIGNS FOR PUBLIC SPACE: Aerial view f the Besos area of Barcelona, Spain, in the north eastern corner of the city, showing the future site of the south-east coastal park and auditoriums, part of the infrastructure for the universal Forum Of Culture in 2004, (photo foreign office architects)

These projects comprised of text, graphics and model making promote my expectations for open space and public life and are considered a reference to the *Urban Hub*. Each case has its own unique approach contributing to the formation of a more complex network of cityscapes encompassing, piercing and fulfilling an alternative understanding of urbanism and urbanization.

FROM: THE URBAN HUB: Aerial view of Postwar Beirut's landfill and urban void of the central district Looking North East with a full context of Quarantine top left, 2004. The current waterfront landfill of Quarantine, being occupied by the Port Authorities and facilitates in part as Military Base.

The "Urban Hub" through its well articulated schemes boasts a range of architectural and urban activities which are developed within the context of a morphological interactive landscape throughout the project. The informative design elements seek to provide new means of urban connectivity within the realm of open space characteristics. I have begun perceiving the urban hub as a sort of advanced urban and cultural environment for the city of Beirut due to its smoothness of spatial qualities. These have been in part influenced by a series of stimulating discussions with my students and the international urban forums.

Research Design and Methodology: This body of research is intended to transcribe individual comprehension of city boundaries by visual means [i.e., architectonics: transformation of human images into architectural language] to define communal boundaries and areas of conflict. Meeting with government officials, ministries, municipalities, tribal, family, community, social, political and territorial leaders of various social groups, urban design scholars, social workers, environmental and archeological analysts as well as many experts in the field of urban studies were included and reviewed through the course of action research methodologies presented below, which have had a positive impact, on my teaching- learning experiences and have greatly added a substantial input of public participation to the present study. An essential component of this research is that the data collected and developed include full public feedback and participation, so that the project builds community even as we are observing it. A further consideration included socio-graphic observations of citizenry based on:

Specific Methodology: Specific modalities for the type of research I am investigating could include any or all of these approaches.

- Action research methodology --- field based applied research
- Qualitative and phenomenological --- interpretive and subjective
- Heuristic and field practice/performance oriented --- a process of discovery and experimentation.

“The Action Research Method, which is heuristic, qualitative and phenomenological, is one of the primary change strategies employed by sociological investigators.

Community based action research is always enacted through an explicit set of social values" (Stringer,1999)

"Action research (AR) is a non-traditional form of research, which is often community-based and carried out by a practitioner in the field" (Stringer, 1996, p.9). The linking of the terms 'action' and 'research' highlight the essential feature of this approach, which involves the testing out of ideas in practice as a means of improvement in social conditions and increasing knowledge (Kemmis & McTaggert, 1988, p.6), to include man's interaction with his environment. Kurt Lewin in *A dynamic theory of personality*, (1935), further developed this idea and concluded that there are interrelations between research, training, and action in the solution of human problems, in the identification of needs for change, and in the working out of improved knowledge, technology, and patterns of action in meeting these needs. His theory of change fostered the necessity of group participation as a mechanism of re-education and introduced the idea of viewing the process of change as part of the research.

Lewin (1935) developed his model by employing the scientific method of inquiry, increasing the collaboration and participation of the various interested parties (in this case, city inhabitant) and increasing the number of dimensions studied as part of the research effort (detailed below). Action Research Method seeks to assess the present state of a social system and aids the social system, in this case the city of Beirut, in determining a preferred future vision for the city.

Action research helps to create a method for moving the socio-urban system from the present state to its ideal future state. Lewin described this concept, in terms of unfreezing, moving, and re-freezing the system in three basic components: diagnosis, action and program management. The change process of Action Research can be seen in five steps: 1) motivating change, 2) creating a vision, 3) gathering political support within the social system, 4) managing the transition process, and 5) sustaining momentum.

Action Research Method encompasses distinctive activities:

- Entry into the social system by the researcher
- Data collection
- Organization of this data
- Feedback of the results of the data to the system
- Action planning to create the intervention strategy for change
- Action taking to implement the desired strategy
- Evaluation of results of the action

Of primary importance is the public participation aspect of allowing the group to identify its present socio-urban condition and its desired future. The researcher facilitates the transition between the two states: present and improved future.

Action Research Framework: Empirical Survey and Fieldwork

The empirical survey and fieldwork included the following structure:

1. Social impact assessment
2. Visual & physical analysis
3. Site Survey
4. Historical Study

Traditionally, in urban planning, an Environmental Assessment Impact study (EAI) is required. In this case, I performed a Social Assessment Impact (SAI) study, outlined in the following paragraphs, respectively itemized, from a to g. The research was intended to transcribe individual comprehension of city boundaries by visual means [i.e., architectonics: transformation of human images into architectural language] to define communal boundaries and areas of conflict. An essential component of this research is that the data collected and developed included full public feedback and participation, so that the project builds community even as we are observing it. A further consideration included socio-graphic observations of citizenry based on the following social assessment briefed below:

1. Social Impact Assessment:

a. Urban Morphology & Typology

"As in scriptural studies: the study of the structure and form of words in language and that of biology that deals with the form and structure of organisms." Considering the city as a text or a human body, study and analyze the systematic classification of types that have characteristics or traits in common, and those of different nature in the diverse social groups and class structures; how they relate, perceive, react and function individually and as a group within the city body.

b. Socioreligious/ Monotheistic[1]

A further consideration included socio-religious and community involvements, so observations of citizenry based on, how often inhabitants use their community church, temple or mosque? And what social clubs exist that you use, and where do you meet, and how often?

c. Event/Place Analysis

Gathering of data both aesthetically and qualitatively using video-graphic, photographic and audio-graphic means from the urban hub of Beirut, used for the text of the website, where one can see the sights and listen to the daily sounds of the city from any number of nodal events and points. Frederick Erickson (1992) emphasizes finding precise beginnings and endings of events by finding specific boundaries and things that mark boundaries or events, specifically oriented toward film and video.

d. Geo-social boundaries

This part of the survey was implemented by combining an architectonic and hermeneutical representation asking sample citizenry to draw a map, sketch and or write a text: to define perception of the boundary of your community by drawing a map or write a text as you see these boundaries. Max Van Manen (1990) defines (hermeneutics = making sense of a written text).

[1] Having only one theme: included socio-religious and community involvements

e. Metaphorical Analysis

Michael Patton (1990), Nick Smith (1981), try on various metaphors and see how well they fit what is observed. Can also ask participant for metaphors and listen for spontaneous metaphors. "Hallway as a highway." how you perceive, understand and define the city.

f. Ethnicity and Identity:

How would inhabitants define their identity (Mediterranean, Middle Eastern[2], Arabian[3], Phoenician[4]). "Lebanon as a Mediterranean[5] country is heir to a long succession of Mediterranean cultures- Phoenician, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Hittite[6], ancient Egyptian, and Arab. Furthermore, this section covered demographic information about inhabitants' background: social class, ethnicity, age, etc. "Despite the different backgrounds and the varying circumstances underlying their *uprootedness*, all these groups had much in common."(Khalaf, 2002, p.181).

g. Pathographic[7]/Memoirgraphic[8]

Memoirgraphic Hostile Imagery Analysis among various age groups in order to detect and scale social enmity encompassing the 17 years of civil war and the 10 years of post war hostile motilities.(Age groups 10-20 = 0% overlap, 20-30 = 50%

[2] When one hears the word Middle Eastern, one thinks of a specific place and perhaps of the area the area comprising the countries of southwest Asia and northeast Africa. In the 20th century the region has been the continuing scene of political and economic turmoil.
Usually an individual who identifies himself as "Middle Eastern" refers to facing the east. It distinguishes his/her Middle Eastern connectivity between the east and the west.

[3] When one hears the word Arabia, one thinks of a specific place and perhaps of the area comprising the peninsula of southwest Asia between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Politically, it includes Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, and Kuwait.
Usually an individual who identifies himself as "Arabian" refers to facing the east. It distinguishes his/her Arabian socioreligious connectivity.

[4] Relating to ancient Phoenicia or its people, language, or culture. A native or inhabitant of ancient Phoenicia (Present Lebanon). A notion of pride to some Lebanese who do dot consider themselves as Arabs

[5] When one hears the word Mediterranean, one thinks of a specific place and perhaps of the great cultures that have surrounded it. Usually an individual who identifies himself as "Mediterranean" refers to the region surrounding the Mediterranean Sea, where some of the most ancient civilizations flourished in the region, which was dominated for millenniums by Phoenicia, Carthage, Greece, Sicily, and Rome. It distinguishes his/her European connectivity from being an Arabian with Middle Eastern connectivity facing the west.

[6] Ancient people living in Anatolia and northern Syria about 2000-1200 B.C. 2. The Indo-European language of the Hittites.

[7] Embedded hostile imagery of the civil war, through scares and scars.

[8] Embedded hostile imagery of the civil war, through scares and scars.

overlap 30-up = 100% overlap). The various groups were asked to: Reflect on acquiring personal healing by recommending a strategy in community building. (Through art therapy, as a "way of knowing" by asking citizens to write, draw, color, or record considering themes such as (…aching city, scares and scars and any other images embedded in their mind.)

I conducted the data gathering, with the assistance of twenty senior architectural and urban planning students in preparation for selecting nodes where social magnets were implemented. We compiled the data, transposed the free hand drawings to scale, and determined the major nodes of the area (s)

Patton (1987, pp, 76, 77) in his book, *How to use Qualitative Methods in Evaluation*, on "Overt and Covert Observations", explicitly evokes my concern through his humanistic vision as a major concern about the validity and reliability of observational data concerns the effect of the observer on what is observed. This basic notion here is that people may behave quite differently when they know they are being observed compared to how they behave if they are not being observed. Patton projects a full range of opinions including Shils (1959) and Dauglas, (1976), concerning the ethics and morality of conducting covert research and the "observations of private behavior, however technically feasible, without the explicit and fully informed permission of the person to be observed. My approach to findings and evaluation will consider people's conflict interest, values, feelings, and actions very confidentially and will be evaluated with their informed permission.

2. Visual and physical analysis: Views, Landmarks, Nodes, Paths, Edges, Boundaries, and Districts as defined by Lynch (1960), were conducted personally and with the assistance of my senior urban planning students. Field investigation by foot; then produced a set of schematic maps, which represented the results of these four activities: Social Impact Assessment, Visual & Physical Analysis, Site Survey, and Historical Study.

3. Site Survey: Building typology and massing: Study of main building types according to plan, distribution, height, number of stories, surface treatment, age of structures, building conditions, this includes representation of floor plans of important edifices (representing architectural, cultural and societal evolution); Façade typology: (This includes a photographic survey of facades redrawn to scale,

and a report on the actual condition of the façade); Land use: (Identification of each building use: commercial, residential, retail, industrial, institutional, gardens; Empty lots: such as dump, parking; Building conditions: vacant, destroyed; Ownership: Identify ownership of lands and buildings and current demographics of inhabitants.

4. Historical Study: History of Site, Typographical Features, Settlement Patterns, Important Landmarks (Churches, Mosques, City Hall, Governmental Centers, Institutions, etc…)

Project Development:

Stage I: Group development of the landscape master plan for the Quarantine

Phase1.1: Based upon the Action Research, Visual & Empirical Survey conducted by twenty of my Urban Planning and Landscape Design senior students and the available cadastral information, aerial photos, selected photographic survey where there is a history of conflict, and other on site reconnaissance, and information were collected on a range of factors, which typically influence the preparation of a viable landscape plan. The following factors were included and mapped in consistent, comparable reproducible format: land use, access transportation and other major infrastructure, public-private realm definition, archeological, vegetation types and major tree cover (location, size and type) slope and orientation, surface water and other important elements detailed in the survey.

Phase1.2: Developed a synthesis of the collected data included the resolution of a number of scenarios at least two, for example, one primarily concerned with conservation and another with development, a third might consider the optimum balance between these two poles for consolidation of future development and mitigation of current environmental and human degradation.

Phase1.3: Developed a landscape master plan (at a scale of 1-2000) for the Quarantine and showing a range of landscape typological solutions, (encompassing a range of social magnets) and a landscape based structuring of the entire study area. This included definitions of public zones and elaboration of private ‘sites’ for at least land use and future permitted three-dimensional volume. The plan provided graphic interpretation of the finished landscape form of the quarantine area and also defined

individual sites for detailed design and planning by each member of the group in the second stage of the project. These were public spaces but private recreational, leisure or culturally significant social magnets. The plan was supplemented with graphic illustration where appropriate to elaborate the intentions.

Stage II: Individual Preparation of detailed landscape design for a site identified via the landscape master plan.

Phase 2.1: Embarked on a detailed *site survey* (scale will be dependent upon the size and character of the site) and analysis elaborating the broad elements of the landscape master plan.

Phase 2.2: Developed, by reference to the landscape master plan and to the community priorities, a *brief* for the development of the specific site. The brief was prepared assuming that the author may not be the designer responsible for development of the site concept. In response to the brief, a *design rational* featuring not less than five and not more than nine key approaches explaining (graphically and verbally) what, how and why each point had been developed.

Phase 2.3: Prepared a graphically articulated representation of the *final design* form of the intended landscape. It presented all *construction* (hard element) and *planting* and had been prepared at an appropriate scale (1-100 or 1-200).

Additional explanatory text to explain the purpose, process and setting of individual designs was provided as considered necessary for the report to be understood as a stand-alone product.

Development of the Interactive Ecological Landscape: The plan provides a graphic and architectural interpretation of the finished landscape form of the Quarantine and defines individual sites for conceptual, detailed design and planning in the final stage of the project. The navigator will view and interact with recommended and proposed design concepts such as public spaces, leisure or culturally significant social magnets. The plan may be supplemented with graphic illustration where appropriate to elaborate the intentions.

Managerial Efforts: Within Beirut, Lebanon it is common knowledge today that the Directorate General of Antiquities (DGA) and the Directorate General of Urbanism (DGU) with their limited human and cultural resources call for immediate help from universities, educational research institutions, engineers, architects and communities at large since their restricted financial means can not single handily manage the various historical sites scattered all over Lebanon and screams aloud again for university students, NGO's and the local community, national and international organizations. Like wise the municipality of Beirut, which is riddled with the same limitation, and can not manage the local sites without the support and direction of the DGA, DGU and relevant governmental organizations and ministries.

I envision managerial efforts that may be viewed and established at two levels:

1. *Macro-Global level:* Legislation, policymaking, building codes, planning and zoning ordinance, etc.
2. *Micro-Local level:* public interventions, urban and architectural deign language, such as the Urban Hub.

The ability of public interventions such as the kind I am proposing, including "urban planning and design, architecture, landscaping, among other overlooked forms of public intervention, can offer effective strategies for healing symptoms of confusion, fear, and paranoia and inscribe an urgent professional intervention to the world community to save the captivated heritage of the city." Khalaf, (1998: 159)

Macro-Projects: For the purpose of investigating and unfolding specific urban characteristics, the designated site (Quarantine) was divided into six distinct zones. Each research team was allocated a zone to perform at a macro-scale, visual analysis, and social assessment impact study and make a conceptual plan proposal. The various concepts suggested proposals and managed to encompass all aspects of Quarantine within each zone. In each zone and for the purpose of being concise and critical, I am including the following four orders:

1. Visual and Physical Analysis,
2. Building Typology,
3. Social assessment impact (interviews), and
4. Conceptual Analysis.

The navigator may encounter a more detailed scope of analysis in selected designated zones where accessible and available.

- Views, Landmarks, Nodes, Paths, Edges, and Districts,
- Geographical boundaries,
- Social boundaries,
- Important landmarks and their history (Churches, Mosques, City hall, Governmental centers, Institutions, etc…),
- Building typology, massing distribution, height, number of stories, building conditions,
- Building conditions: vacant, destroyed, under repair, and
- Ownership: Identify ownership of lands and buildings and current demographics of inhabitants.

Micro- Community Projects: In order to engage public participation and increase functionality to the designated site towards building a sustainable community, a group of citizens and students of landscape architecture were invited to participate in developing micro-community projects. This section presents a variety of conceptual projects accomplished by students and on site citizens, under my direct supervision such as Mythical Park, Bayside Park, Absolution Park, Purification Forum, Market Plaza, Train, Library, and children Graphite.

Contribution and Recommendations to Human Knowledge: In my view this approach in combining urban sociological investigation with urban design, planning and policy making in rebuilding the communal fabric of post war Beirut, and calling in public participation throughout the process is considered a Significant and Original Contribution to Human Knowledge and *Seeking a Pertinent and Resilient Form of Democracy in Beirut.*

As members of the worlds architectural and building design professionals, individually and through our professional organizations, it is our goals to commit ourselves to achieve a sustainable design that responds to the Declaration of Interdependence for a Sustainable Future U.I.A. - A.I.A., Chicago, 18-21 June 1993:

- “restores, preserves and enhances nature and culture for the benefit of all life, present and future; a diverse and healthy environment that is intrinsically valuable and essential to a healthy society
- We are ecologically interdependent with the whole natural environment; we are socially, culturally and economically interdependent with all of humanity; sustainability, the context of this interdependence requires partnership, equity and balance among all parties”

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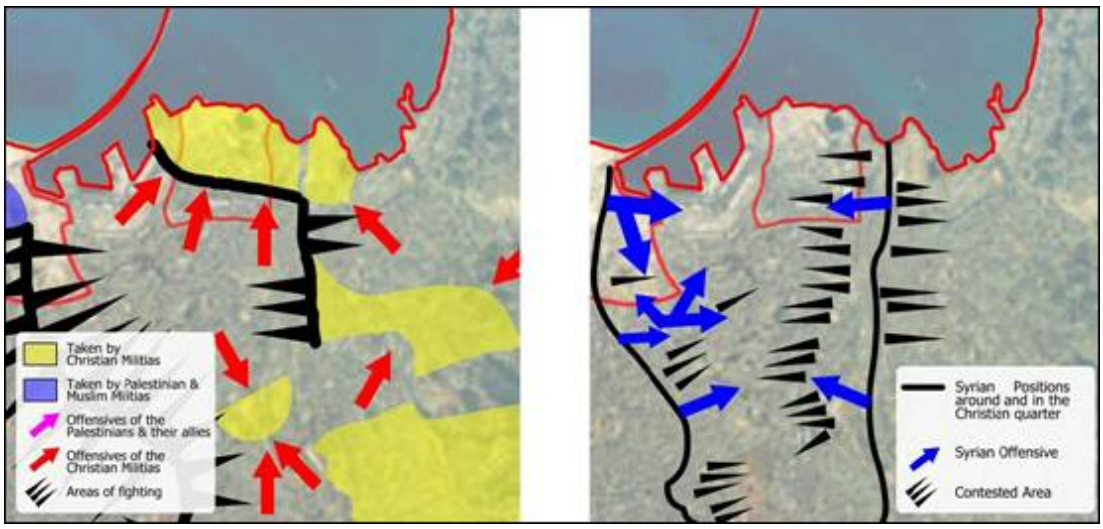
Appendix


Taken by Christian Militias
Taken by Palestinian & Muslim Militias
Offensives of the Palestinians & their allies
Offensives of the Christian Militias
Areas of fighting
Syrian Positions around and in the Christian quarter
Syrian Offensive
Contested Area

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The importance of place for learning about peace: Summer camps as transformative thinking spaces

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Abstract

Do camps provide a particular kind of thinking space where learning that lasts is facilitated? This is explored in relation to peace-related learning through which young people challenge status quo, identify attainable alternatives and develop what they need to attain and maintain them. The argument is built around the concept of transformative learning that involves understanding who we are or wish to be and how we grow accordingly. The nature of such learning is explored through its conceptual relationship with attitudes and values, and through the kinds of opportunities that camps offer as youth-centered thinking spaces found in the "gray zones" of mainstream institutions. Research related to the kind of learning that occurs in camps in general is presented. Those findings are extended with a brief presentation of ongoing research designed to explore the nature of peace-related learning that may be occurring at the Concordia Language Villages in particular – a program focused on facilitating the responsible global citizenship through language and cultural immersion.

I have a conviction that a few weeks spent in a well-organized summer camp

may be of more value educationally than a whole year of formal school work.

Charles Elliot, 1922

Was Charles Elliot on to something? Even though camps were relatively new to the US at that time, the former president of Harvard was already then musing about the potential of summer camps as uniquely powerful learning environments in his treatise on education (American Camp Association, 2005). Is that power there? Still?

When posed with an invitation to contribute to a symposium called Peace and Place, we were implicitly invited to think about place as "where we live". Indeed, many of the papers presented at the Peace and Place symposium were precisely about that. However, place can be somewhere *else* than where one lives. It can also be a place where young people go to experience and reflect on the way they might *ideally* want to live in the place where they actually *do* live. That's what this paper is about thinking spaces created at camps where peace work is core.

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Why would young people seek out such places? Because youth long to matter. They often long for a sense of personal agency and the ability to affect or be a part of positive change (Erikson, 1968; Resnick & Perret-Clermont, 2004). They, like you and me, wish to see their activity mean something to others. In that spirit, many seek out places where they find the kinds of experiences where they can nurture that. Indeed, they may seek out such places because they want to be a part of building a better way to be and a better place to live (Bar-Tal, 2002).

The reflections in this paper are about the kinds of places where young people find experiences that help them develop the values, thoughts, feelings and behaviors commensurate with ideals associated with peace. More specifically, my reflections are about how we may be transformed by learning experiences facilitated by camps in general, and by the Concordia Language Villages in particular. These reflections are developed around four basic premises:

Places frame experiences
experiences facilitate learning
learning can serve as a means to an end
and one important end is peace.

Ideas behind learning that lasts

Peace education programs often seek to help us challenge status quo, identify attainable alternatives and to develop what we need to attain and maintain them. In other words, the goals can involve sharpening our awareness of the way the world is, modifying our attitudes and convictions about the way the world can be, and identifying and practicing the role we can play in actively shaping a better future even after the peace education intervention ends. Such programs are about getting people involved in something that can make a difference.

Peace education of this ilk revolves around serving a grand purpose. Yet these kinds of outcomes prove stubborn to attain, and even more stubborn to maintain. Its grand nature, involving a kind of learning that goes beyond just acquiring a new body of knowledge, is precisely what makes it so difficult to attain (Bar-Tal, 2002). How can consideration of *place* help us crack this nut?

All learners step into peace education programs with experiences and expectations that are influenced by the context from which they come (Bar-Tal, 2002, , 2004; Salomon, 2002, , 2004, , 2006). Though the degree to which that context is present during peace education experiences may vary, it has an inevitable presence when the participants return home. Since peace-related learning may involve experiences and learning that conflicts with what we experience and know from our home contexts, how can we foster learning that endures challenges of home? How can we foster learning that lasts – learning that transforms us?

Transformative learning: Transformative learning is a kind of learning that lasts. It lasts because it doesn't just change what we know. It changes who we are. Accordingly, it is an involved process. The experiences that facilitate transformative learning entail an active use of some concept we are trying to master, an expansion of our original perceptions of that concept, and an expansion of the value we associate with it (Pugh, 2002). This is achieved through motivating experiences, reflection, exploration and experimentation. It takes place through action and discourse, and it leads to the eventual integration of what we have learned into a new way of being (Taylor, 1994).

This learning process gets at the core of who we are because, through it, we develop new frames of mind. This entails far more than simply acquiring particular bodies of knowledge. In terms of our identity, transformative learning involves understanding who we are or wish to be and how we are accordingly. Cognitively, that involves figuring out what we need to know and how we need to think in order to be and do so. Affectively, that involves feeling right in our skin while doing what we are doing, wherever we may find ourselves.

The mechanisms of transformative learning have not yet been solidly anchored in psychological constructs. However, it seems that though knowledge may influence our thoughts, feelings and behaviors, the complex association of that knowledge with our attitudes and values may influence it even more.

Attitudes and values: Though powerful, attitudes and values are tricky matters. It has been claimed that attitudes and convictions (meaning attitudes and/or values that we are certain about or committed to) influence our behaviors and our desire to change in different ways (Dreezens, 2006; Rokeach, 1968; Salomon, 2006). As a

more superficial kind of belief, some attitudes are more susceptible to change than those that we are committed to or that are central to our identity and values. Our convictions and our central attitudes, beliefs and values are, by definition, more resistant to change.

In light of this, it is posited that interventions like peace education programs may have a greater likelihood of influencing our more peripheral attitudes than our convictions (Rokeach, 1968; Salomon, 2006). However, as Salomon also reminds us, even though peace education experiences may alter the attitudes that we bring with us to a program, the constraints in the context that we return to are just as likely to draw our peripheral attitudes back to the where they were before the program. Likewise, the stable nature of underlying values may result in no change at all at a deeper level – either during or after a peace education intervention.

This picture of the kind of transformation one can imagine possible through peace education is quite pessimistic. It focuses on the limits of attitudinal change and the power of situational constraints. However, this depiction oversimplifies the complex relationship between attitudes and values and virtually ignores the potential influence that contextual affordances may have on our learning. After all, we are not born with convictions, and although they may be resistant to change, they are not impervious to change. In order to understand how to design peace education programs that help learners attain and maintain the kinds of attitudes and convictions commensurate with peace education goals, it is important to understand how we can facilitate convictional transformations that will last beyond the program context. Perhaps that is possible by considering not only the constraints that limit us, but also the affordances that empower us.

We know that situations and their trajectories change all the time and that the thoughts and actions of the people within them are important to that process. In light of this, how might one otherwise think about the influence of peace education programs? Could it be that more focus on the affordances available to us through mindful program design could yield a different picture than the one Salomon (2006) paints?

Consider values as conceptions of how we think the world should be and guides for desirable ways to be (Rokeach, 1968; Verplanken & Holland, 2002). They are not themselves goals, but rather cognitions that may help us define a situation, elicit goals and guide our actions. Values tend to be relatively stable constructs, yet

as an interpretive tool, they are variable in how often they are activated and drawn upon when we make decisions and act in our everyday lives. Consider attitudes, on the other hand, as the interpretive tools most readily accessible to us when we interpret, make decisions and act in our everyday lives. Think of attitudes as a "relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner" (Rokeach, 1968). As such, attitudes guide our cognitive, affective and behavioral responses to whatever object or situation we feel compelled to weigh in on.

Both attitudes and values belong to an intra-attitudinal structure where values serve as the foundation for all beliefs, which again serve as the foundation for all attitudes (Dreezens, 2006). Attitudes, beliefs and values that are strongly interlinked become central to us since they tend to be closely related to our self-concept and identity (Verplanken & Holland, 2002).

Though interrelated, the relationship between attitudes and values is indirect. Buffering them are beliefs – a network of thoughts and inferences about the world that are formed "as a result of living in nature and in society, designed to help a person maintain, insofar as possible, a sense of ego and group identity, stable and continuous over time – an identity that is a part of, and simultaneously apart from, a stable physical and social environment" (Rokeach, 1968). Beliefs have three components – cognitive, affective and behavioral. These components help shape the nature and effect of an attitude on our immediate thoughts, feelings and actions. Therefore, how we respond to an object or situation depends upon which beliefs are activated by an object in a particular situation. It is not just beliefs that serve an interpretive function, though. The superficial attitudes and grounding values associated with beliefs also serve interpretive functions.

Attitudes and values affect how positively and negatively we regard any particular matter (I do or do not like where I live), and how important we regard that matter (having a place to live is important or not important to me) (Dreezens, 2006). In that way, attitudes and values are alike, though they vary in which dimension is more defining for them. For attitudes, the positive/negative quality is more defining, whereas for values, the important/unimportant quality is more defining (Dreezens, 2006; Verplanken & Holland, 2002).

If we want to effect change in people's behaviors through attitudes and values, then, research suggests a couple of avenues to consider: (1) the salience of

our attitudes and values, (2) how central our values are to our identity, and/or (3) how certain we are about our attitudes.

As for attitudes, certainty seems to influence how they affect our behavior. First of all, we tend to be more certain of *accessible* attitudes than less accessible ones (Holland, Verplanken, & Knippenberg, 2003). Secondly, the accessibility of attitudes is much easier to manipulate than their centrality. As a matter of fact, it has been shown that we can make attitudes more accessible by simply expressing them repeatedly. In so doing, we become more committed to them, and this commitment can turn into a conviction to act in particular ways.

Nevertheless, strong attitudes, however they are formed, tend to be quite durable, even in the face of resistance. Yet, once a strong attitude *is* changed, it vastly increases the likelihood of a chain reaction that can lead to changes in the beliefs and values that were related to that original attitude (Dreezens, 2006; Rokeach, 1968). However, this requires first that the related values are activated and second, that the link (or lack of it) to the attitude at hand is salient to us.

As for values, two conditions seem to influence how they affect our behavior (Verplanken & Holland, 2002). First, values must be activated, either by motifs implied by the situations we find ourselves in or by the implicit motives we bring to them. Some of us may keep particular values "chronically accessible", though for most of us, "values need to be activated in one way or another to exert an influence, even if the value is central" (p. 436).

Second, the more central the activated values are to us and our sense of identity, the more likely they will motivate us to behave in value-consistent ways. For example, when values that are central to our identity are activated and we are asked to behave in ways that contradict or challenge them, the situation can prompt behaviors from us that help us rectify that sense of imbalance (Verplanken & Holland, 2002).

So how might we use this more nuanced picture of attitudes and values to help us think differently about their role in peace education? Based on the above, the following recommendations, though speculative, seem logical. First, in order to facilitate any change at all, it is important to create an environment where targeted (e.g., peace relevant) attitudes and values are rendered salient. Second, in order to facilitate change in attitudes, it is important to create situations where peace-relevant attitudes are expressed and practiced repeatedly. Third, in order to facilitate change

in values, it is important to make the link between values and attitudes clear to learners by explicitly linking the activated attitudes with their underlying values. Fourth, in order to facilitate change in behaviors, it is important to activate behavior-relevant values in situations where they are challenged, such that we feel compelled to behave in ways that will help us restore our balance.

Budding and troubling convictions: Even with these logical conclusions, we must remember that our convictions premised on the attitudes, beliefs and values that are central to us are, by definition, fundamental to who we are. Changing them therefore requires a certain degree of identity reconsideration. Therefore, we may be most open to modifying or replacing our convictions when they are budding or troubling, i.e., when our values and attitudes are still forming, or when our values and attitudes notably taint the quality of life we experience. Designing peace education programs that specifically and effectively address budding and/or troubling convictions may very well be the key to facilitating lasting transformations through recalibrations of our intra-attitudinal structure. Whatever situations we return to after a peace education program, then, will be changed. If we are notably transformed by a program, the situations will be changed by how we perceive and evaluate them, and how we choose to respond to them accordingly.

Youth-centered thinking spaces in the gray zones: Given all that is involved in a transformation, the transformative learning process can be rather discombobulating. It involves experimenting with unconventional roles and outcomes and potentially modifying our intra-attitudinal structure. With youth, such experimental and experiential processes can be playful, but at times quite provocative (Erikson, 1968). To engage in such learning, then, we need relatively safe places to be.

Societies often try to institutionalize healthy opportunities or places, like schools, for psychosocial moratoria where youth are allowed to engage in selective permissiveness. Yet these fixed institutions do not always meet the needs kids feel when seeking out their niche. When youth feel that institutional void, they often seek out places for their experimentation in other places, in gray zones – in places like youth-centered organizations that fall between the fixed mainstream institutions of society (Heath, 2004).

These alternative places give youth safe and flexible spaces in which to experiment, debate, and take on increasingly more responsibility as accountable members of society (Resnick & Perret-Clermont, 2004). They essentially provide youth with the kind of "thinking spaces" they need to engage in transformative learning. Kids in these spaces regard such places as frontiers of freedom – places where they can develop personally relevant frames of mind and find the resources they need to face the life challenges that they may encounter from their new vantage points (Perret-Clermont, 2004).

Characteristic of a healthy "thinking space" is an emotionally secure environment for decentering experiences (Perret-Clermont, 2004). Such spaces expose youth to different points of view and opportunities to experiment with them. They do so by enabling the exploration of possibilities through critical play with ideas and experimentation with various ways of being – challenging other's ideas and roles while having their own challenged in return. Importantly, such spaces enable this rich kind of sparring and experimentation to occur by providing a social moratorium – a context where young people can play with various roles without challenging the quality of their relationships to each other. This is perhaps the most defining characteristic of a healthy thinking space.

In terms of relationships, other important characteristics of thinking spaces include ample opportunity for interactions between relative experts and novices as well as ample opportunity for horizontal peer interactions (Perret-Clermont, 2004). For the development of complex skills, long-term relationships and sustained interests are also important.

When youth find youth-centered thinking spaces that suit them, they feel a profound sense that "this is the place to be" (Heath, 2004) – a place where people "walk their talk" (Rijsman, 2004). They are places where young people can go beyond learning through the transmission of knowledge that is premised on others' terms. They are places where transformative learning occurs more easily because it is premised on young people's own terms. This is particularly powerful for youth when the focus of the group's work is on learning for a common good that is timely (Heath, 2004) and that is of relevance to broader society (Rijsman, 2004).

How might thinking spaces that specifically address budding or troubling convictions be? Here are some considerations. First, for the establishment or modification of budding convictions, participant age or experience likely matters.

The younger or less experienced the participant, the more likely it is that their values and attitudes are still being formed and are therefore still malleable. Second, for awareness and modification of troubling convictions, the content focus of the thinking space likely matters. Content that creates dissonance in ways that engage young people's attitudes and values may be just the ticket for stimulating work on rethinking and perhaps even restructuring troubling convictions. Finally, for both budding and troubling convictions, the content and quality of the experience while in the space, the duration of young people's participation in that space, and the available sustaining affordances found (and used) in their home context likely matter.

Given all this, the exciting question to ask is: What might happen as a result of young people's participation in youth-centered thinking spaces found in the gray zones where they develop and test possible peace-related futures? It is a big question, and I begin the quest by trying to provide an answer from the context of summer camps.

Camps as places for transformative learning

If we begin with the problem that attainable and maintainable outcomes from peace education are elusive because they involve the more difficult task of developing particular frames of mind more than the transmission of particular bodies of knowledge (Bar-Tal, 2002), then one way of evaluating whether camps may have potential as sites for peace education is to compare the nature of camps with the nature of transformative thinking spaces.

I draw my definition of camp from The American Camp Association. This is, among other things, an accrediting organization for camps in the US. It has been in existence for nearly 100 years and, in that time, has accredited over 2,300 camps (American Camp Association, n.d., ¶ 4). Their goal, "as a leading authority in child development… [is] to preserve, promote, and improve the camp experience" nationally and internationally (American Camp Association, n.d., ¶ 2). As a result, they have developed guiding definitions about what camping is or should be for the entire field of camping and, through their accreditation process, held thousands of programs accountable for it.

The American Camp Association definition of camp is a day or residential program that provides (1) service to the community and the environment, (2) healthy, developmentally-appropriate activities and learning experiences, (3) caring and

competent role models, (4) opportunities for leadership and personal growth, and (5) discovery through experiential education (American Camp Association, n.d., ¶ 3).

By definition, camps are remarkably aligned with Perret-Clermont's definition of the kinds of thinking spaces youth seek. Camps fulfill an institutional void by their very nature of being extracurricular. They are typically goal-oriented towards a common good, they strive to provide an environment that is emotionally secure, they provide opportunities for interactions between experts and novices as well as peers with peers, they provide opportunities for experimentation with leadership, and they are both creative and reflective.

The way camps are organized is *intended* to facilitate personal growth, and recent research has validated that camps actually *do* facilitate notable learning. A recent study documenting this followed 30 5th-grade campers from Morry's Camp over a period of 6 months (Bialeschki, Krehbiel, Henderson, & Ewing, 2003). The campers wrote monthly guided journal entries and participated in focus groups in which they reported substantial intrapersonal growth (with a greater sense of security, independence and personal achievement) and interpersonal growth (with increased networks of support and social skills). Especially interesting, however, were the descriptions of what it was about the camp environment itself that campers believed uniquely contributed to these changes.

The key environmental factors that these urban campers singled out were being away from the city and being in a new, safe and natural environment where clear boundaries and expectations were set (Bialeschki, Krehbiel, Henderson, & Ewing, 2003). Other factors included the nature of the staff (experts) who served as both guides and role models, and the nature of their relationships with their peers who they lived and played with in activities. Finally, they cited the freedoms they were given to make self-suited choices within the program. These unique contributions from the setting are commensurate with the characteristics of the thinking spaces kids seek out in the gray zones.

Another recent camp study investigated their effects on a much broader scale. It involved 3,400 participants from a representative sample of 80 different camp programs of all kinds (American Camp Association, 2005). The campers and their parents filled out surveys prior to camp, just after camp and 6 months later. Ten constructs were measured in four areas: positive identity, social skills, physical and thinking skills, and positive values and spirituality.

Several of the findings from the smaller Morry's Camp study were confirmed. For example, both campers and their parents reported that the villagers grew significantly in their self-esteem, independence and leadership skills while at camp – growth that was maintained even six months later (American Camp Association, 2005). As a matter of fact, they continued to grow in their independence and leadership even after camp (a finding that is difficult to tease apart from maturation, but that at least seemed to be jump-started by their short camp experiences). As one fourteen year-old boy noted, "I believe at camp I have an alternate personality that is different than at home. I'm less cautious to do fun or exciting things and while feeling independent I don't feel as alone as I sometimes do at home" (p 7). Another fourteen year-old girl echoed, "At school there are definite groups of people, but at camp, everyone feels wanted" (p. 11).

Perhaps most interestingly, however, parents reported significant changes in their kids' values both immediately after camp and six months later (American Camp Association, 2005). Specifically, they noted significant differences in values related to respect, thoughtfulness, collaborative action and consideration for others. As one parent wrote, "My child thinks about how s/he can help other kids" (p. 14).

Given what has been learned in these studies, the influence of camp on the intrapersonal skills and the interpersonal skills that kids develop serve as testaments to the kind of secure and positive psychosocial atmosphere camps can foster for learning and behavioral change. The finding about values is also important for what camps may be able to contribute to even deeper transformations.

What relevance may camps have for peace?

These general camp findings point to notable growth in general life skills yet do not address growth related to more specific peace education goals. If we recognize that peace can be challenged by cultural differences, and that peace education is, at least in part, about developing a state of mind where the rights of others who are different from us are recognized and respected in ways that enable us to live together peacefully as legitimate and equal partners (Bar-Tal, 2002), then intercultural sensitivity and competence can be an important part of peace education. The ability to sustain positive interactions with people from other cultures, then, depends upon general life skills, a sense of social responsibility and a healthy degree of intercultural competence.

Social responsibility grounded in the common good is about developing an openness to dialog with people who are different from us and people who may otherwise not be heard (Daloz, 2000). It is about a deep commitment to justice. In transformative learning for social responsibility, it is claimed that certain learning conditions are necessary for facilitating transformation: (1) a safe opportunity for and use of reflective discourse, (2) a like-minded mentoring community and (3) opportunities for committed action that enables us to test our evolving convictions – all qualities of healthy thinking spaces. Additionally, a fourth learning condition deemed necessary is the presence of the targeted other (in digestible doses). In order to pursue social responsibility in a multicultural context with increasingly large doses of targeted others, such a transformation needs to be complemented with opportunities to grow in intercultural sensitivity and competence.

Developing intercultural competence is essentially about developing "an intercultural mind – a mindset capable of understanding from within and from without both one's own culture and other cultures" (Paige, Jorstad, Siaya, Klein, & Colby, 2003). Particular world views or intercultural minds facilitate the mastery of particular kinds of intercultural outcomes. For example, as we grow in intercultural competence, we become more literate in a community that is defined by culture-specific language and norms that also have some qualities that are universal to all cultures. We also grow in our ability to relate effectively and appropriately with others in a variety of cultural contexts – both culturally and linguistically (Bennett, Bennett, & Allen, 2003). Accordingly, the process of becoming interculturally competent entails "acquiring culture-specific and culture-general knowledge, skills and attitudes required for effective communication and interaction with individuals from other cultures" (Paige, Jorstad, Siaya, Klein, & Colby, 2003).

Bennett, Bennett & Allen (2003) postulate that there are different degrees of intercultural competence that span a continuum that is extremely ethnocentric on the one end and extremely ethnorelative on the other. The more ethnorelative our values, beliefs, thoughts, feelings, and behaviors become, the greater our ability becomes to positively relate to people of other cultures as a curious outsider and, increasingly, as an accepted insider. What distinguishes the different stopping points along that continuum is the degree to which we are able to acknowledge the differentness of others as legitimate, the nature and limits of our own cultural heritage, and the degree to which we are able to productively interact with people

different from us. The key to progressively moving along the continuum of ethnocentrism and ethnorelativism, then, is our readiness for the challenge of managing increasingly complex aspects of "difference".

In terms of who we are – people with particular ways of seeing and being in the world – developing intercultural sensitivity and competence involves more than mastering culture-specific and culture-general knowledge and skills. It also involves learning about ourselves as cultural beings, learning about the nature and impact of culture on our communication, behavior and identity, and learning about how to become an effective learner of cultures and languages (Paige, Jorstad, Siaya, Klein, & Colby, 2003). Accordingly, it calls for changes in our values, beliefs, attitudes, thoughts, feelings and behaviors in relation to how committed we are to the idea that our cultural standing is the only valid one or one of many possible cultural standings (Byram, Nichols, & Stevens, 2001).

This kind of intercultural learning entails the development of new meaning structures, typically as a result of experiences that create disorienting dilemmas for us or that otherwise motivate us to critically reappraise previously held views (Bennett, Bennett, & Allen, 2003; Taylor, 1994). Additionally, in order for such learning to be successful, educators need to be sensitive to our readiness to be challenged and to explore more refined views of "difference" (Bennett, Bennett, & Allen, 2003). As many others have claimed, learning about others is one of the most effective ways to notice things and learn about ourselves. However, "learning to change one's frame of reference to a more inclusive and permeable perspective is much more involved than learning about and/or how to do something new" (Taylor, 1994). After all, it entails reconsidering some basic pillars of our identity.

Taylor (1994) has therefore raised big questions about what it takes of a learning environment to facilitate perspective transformations through critical reflection, the exploration of new roles and the planning of new courses of action. Likewise, he has asked how, when intercultural environments are also environments of other languages or cultures, language barriers and even mild culture shock might influence these processes.

Based on what is known about camps so far, they may very well offer the kinds of thinking places that kids can go to to take on challenges through decentering experiences – particularly in relation to budding or troubling convictions. They have the character of providing emotionally secure environments where youth are exposed

to and can experiment with different points of view – exploring possibilities by challenging other's ideas and having their own ideas challenged in return without the risk of simultaneously challenging their relationships with each other. That begins to get at Taylor's first points. But what about when new languages and cultures are introduced into the mix? The Concordia Language Villages is a camp program that attempts to do just this. Perhaps we can begin to seek answers there.

The Concordia Language Villages

The idea: The Concordia Language Villages is a program that is based on an idea that languages are learned best in the cultures where they are spoken. All learning in these programs happens in a community with experiential learning in a language immersion environment. The idea first bore fruit in the post-war United States when a German language camp was established in 1961 by Gerhard Haukebo. The program was developed in the spirit of building peace through understanding. That understanding was facilitated by creating a place to learn the German language in a setting where the learners were immersed in the richness of both the language and the culture of the German speaking world.

Since then, the idea has evolved, and the Concordia Language Villages now offers programs in 14 languages (i) to nearly 11,000 participants annually (Concordia Language Villages, n.d.). It is a residential program with opportunities that run in length from a long weekend to a month of study. The fourteenth addition to the program, established in 2006, is Arabic – a program that is perhaps as timely for American youth today as the German program was for youth in 1961 and, for that matter, the Russian program in 1966.

As the CLV program has evolved, so has its mission. Though the 14 programs focus on languages and cultures that directly shape the content and feel of their programming, all the youth programs share a common mission to prepare young people for responsible citizenship in our global community (Concordia Language Villages, n.d., Mission ¶ 1). More specifically, the curricula in all the programs incorporate into their daily schedules culturally appropriate activities that help participants grow in their ability to (1) understand and appreciate global diversity, (2) communicate with confidence and cultural sensitivity in more than one language, (3) respond creatively and critically to issues that transcend national boundaries, (4)

express empathy for neighbors in our global village, and (5) promote a world view of peace, justice and sustainability for all (¶ 2). As such, its goals are arguably as much about peace as they are about language and culture.

The community: The CLV youth program community consists of 7- to 18-year old participants and the staff who come to teach and tend to their needs. The young people come from all 50 states in the US as well as many other countries around the world. The teaching staff are all speakers of the target language. Many are native speakers from the countries in which the target language is spoken, and many more are speakers who have acquired the language either through experiences in the target cultures, through school or other studies, or in the home.

The young participants and staff all meet at "villages" – sites that are (re)created every summer to represent the cultures of each target language. In the spirit of the communities created, the participants are all referred to as "villagers".

Some of the CLV sites are permanent and are built around architecturally authentic buildings. Others sites are transformed from rented camps that are transformed into "someplace else" through the ample use of signs, artwork, flags, portable culturally appropriate structures, radio broadcasts and so on. Whether permanent or created, all these villages provide the structural framework for the activities that go into the daily life of the place. What transforms these places into vibrant villages and thinking spaces are the people that populate it and the activities that fill their days.

The experiences: Through several years of surveys, interviews and focus groups with CLV villagers and staff, six principles have been identified as characteristic of CLV's programming (Hamilton, Crane, & Bartoshesky, 2005). Though these are present to varying degrees at any given time, CLV curriculum and programming practices tend to: (1) give learners courage to participate and use the language, (2) be learner-centered so that learners become invested in their own learning, (3) take place in linguistically and culturally authentic surroundings, (4) take place out of a real need to interact and communicate, (5) be experiential and hands-on, involving multiple senses and drawing on multiple intelligences, and (6) be embedded within extended projects (Hamilton, Crane, & Bartoshesky, 2005).

Likewise, the work at CLV is typically done in a playful manner, with a "creative tilt"(Hamilton, Crane, & Bartoshesky, 2005). This kind of programming results in a kind of playworld for learning – a world where space and time are used creatively to enable the identities of both the villagers and their teachers to fluidly span a considerable range of possibilities in their activities (Dahl, Clementi, Heysel, & Spenader, In Press; Dahl & Jensen, 2003; Hamilton, Crane, & Bartoshesky, 2005).

Indeed, in all CLV programs, the food served is authentic to the target cultures, items sold in the village store come from the target cultures, some of the activities that the kids participate in are like those kids in the target cultures would participate in at home while others teach villagers about the target cultures in other engaging ways (e.g., through simulations). CLV activities can range from learning to play Cameroonian *djembe* and *tam tams*, to creating a traditional Norwegian *skigard* fence in an immigrant area, to investigating opportunities for study in Sweden and learning how to fill out necessary residency permit applications to live there (Dahl, Clementi, Heysel, & Spenader, Accepted for publication, , In Press). In all of their daily affairs, the target language of each village is the *lingua franca*.

Change: But what, may you ask, does this contribute to villagers' learning about peace? To investigate that, Lisa Sethre-Hofstad and Gavriel Salomon and I recently initiated a study at Skogfjorden, CLV's Norwegian summer youth program. A group of 44 long- and short-term villagers, current and alumni, were interviewed about their Skogfjorden experiences. The activities focused on are summarized in Figure 1. (See Appendix)

One line of questioning in our interviews involved naming the daily activities (presented in Figure 1) and asking the villagers to reflect on the degree to which the activities helped them, among other things, learn about peace, learn about friendships and become more culturally aware. Likewise, they were asked how much reflection took place in each activity. For all these questions, they were asked to respond on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 4 (a great deal).

Overall, the outcomes of peace, cultural awareness, friendship and reflection were, across the board, significantly correlated with each other. However, when these were analyzed by activity and cross-compared, the picture was far more varied.

First of all, the range of the activities ensure that the villagers' days are varied in focus and the kind of interpersonal interactions they encourage. Likewise, they

are filled with activities that were found to facilitate different kinds of learning (see Figure 2 for a visual presentation of the mean outcome scores for each activity). For example, the activity that was, on the average, most related to learning about peace (*Bukkesjøen*) was not the same the activity that was most related to learning about friendship (free time) or cultural awareness (simulations), or that involved the most reflection (language learning groups).

Second of all, when peace, reflection, friendship and cultural awareness scores were compared within each activity, the mean scores indicated that the activities were associated with the four outcomes in significantly different ways (see Figure 2 in the Appendix for indications of how). There were only two interesting exceptions to note.

The first exception was in terms of villagers' learning about peace and opportunities for reflection. Correlational analyses of the activities where these two outcomes were found non-significantly different from each other indicated that these two variables were highly correlated in activities where villagers typically walk in the shoes of others in structured experiences that are debriefed (in *kretser*, evening programs and simulations). They were also highly correlated in activities where the villagers are explicitly afforded the opportunity to stop, reflect on and, at times, share their personal, overall village experience with others (in cabin councils and on trips to *Bukkesjøen*).

The second exception was in terms of villagers' opportunities for learning about peace and friendship. Correlational analyses of the activities where these two outcomes were found non-significantly different from each other indicated that these two variables were highly correlated in activities where the entire village does something all together to create something pleasing or enjoyable (in *allsang* and at the campfire – both times when the whole village sings together).

Though these preliminary findings are simple, superficial indicators of what we are just beginning to analyze, they do give us some hints about what influence particular camp activities may have on overall learning. The findings suggest that the individual ingredients in a camp day can provide variety and differentially service multiple program subgoals. Moreover, the variety of the ingredients and the combination of the subgoal outcomes may, together, also facilitate achievement of other superordinate goals – such as Concordia Language Villages' mission to prepare young people for responsible citizenship.

These findings help us identify which activities in camp life foster critical reflection (e.g., *kretser*, evening programs and simulations). What they do not provide us, however, are answers to Taylor's questions about how the exploration of new roles translates into the planning of new courses of action – both within the program and beyond. Heidi Hamilton and her colleagues have given us indicators of how language abilities and interactions with cultural novelty are nurtured in the CLV context. Still, we have yet to explore how underdeveloped intercultural competencies and experiences of culture shock, however mild or insignificant, may influence transformational processes.

Though my colleagues and I are currently focusing our attention on one CLV program, we are already curious about how our findings will compare with what happens in (1) CLV's other 13 programs, (2) other camp programs elsewhere, (3) in peace education programs in other types of educational settings and (4) in peace education programs being conducted in the context of conflict. There is promise that other camp experiences may be much like those we are learning about in our CLV findings. The Seeds of Peace program in Maine, for example, is a residential camp program held in a tranquil setting that brings together 14 to 16 year olds from regions of conflict (such as Israeli and Palestinian youth) in order to help the participants develop skills that they can use to facilitate positive change in intergroup relations once they return home (Seeds of Peace, n.d., ¶ 1). This program was initiated with the belief that such peace education with youth from conflicted areas was uniquely possible in a tranquil setting (Miller, 2003)

In her description of the program, Miller argues that as difficult as the kids' camp experience can be for them personally, the experience helps the majority of them change the way they relate to "the other side" in fundamental ways (Miller, 2003). Though her comments are anecdotal, she describes the participants' initial anger and hate as being transformed through the program into empathy and respect. She also claims that that new stance survives when participants return home since, as Miller argues, "no matter how dire the situation becomes, most kids can't return to their old stereotypes and prejudices. Not when they remember the soccer game they won together or the discussions they had long after lights out" (¶ 9).

Conclusion

Transformative learning is about the process of developing frames of mind that support how we wish the *world* to be and who *we* wish to be in turn. The psychological mechanisms behind the process are just now being explored. One fruitful direction is related to the inter-attitudinal structures that give meaning to what we know and who we are. If so, the creation of central attitudes, beliefs and values that foster particular ways of being may be an important part of the transformative process.

If, indeed, values and attitudes are an important part of that transformative process, then peace education programs ought perhaps to strive to create places where: (1) peace-relevant attitudes and values are rendered salient, (2) peace-relevant attitudes are expressed and practiced repeatedly, (3) the link between values and their related attitudes are clear, and (4) central values are challenged and restorative behaviors practiced. Likewise, such programs might be more successful by focusing on budding or troubling convictions by working with young people still open to (re)formulating their identities and by working with them in relation to issues that matter to them.

It is important that young people have safe places to be involved in this kind of activity. When young people with peace-related aspirations do not find sufficient opportunities to develop these in mainstream institutions, they sometimes seek out other kinds of places for this. These places are youth-centered organizations often found in the gray zones where safe and stimulating thinking spaces are the norm. Camps seem to provide places for young people that embody these desired characteristics.

The findings from camping research in general underscore that residential camps often operate with the goal of facilitating frames of mind grounded in particular values. Most are grounded in values related to positive intra-personal and interpersonal development. Beyond that, camps are diverse in type and focus. In response to their particular program goals, the content, form and rhythm of camp days also vary. Importantly, camp activities and the relationships that grow out of them *can* provide fertile thinking spaces for peace-related education.

Some camps are grounded in values associated with peace- and intercultural harmony. By offering programming that involves walking in the shoes of others, reflecting on the experience and engaging in enjoyable all-community activities,

programs like those of the Concordia Language Villages may very well facilitate peace-related frames of mind. Given youth's longing to matter and the importance of peace, such camps may provide a kind of thinking space vital to young people who desire to step out of their daily lives and habits in order to experiment with alternatives, in places where they have the freedom to transform themselves into the kind of people they would like to be, as active agents in the world they would like to be a part of.

Perhaps Charles Elliot *was* on to something in 1922. Theoretically, camps may be uniquely situated to provide the kind of thinking spaces young people crave. If focused on budding and troubling convictions related to peace, camps may provide opportunities less possible to enact in mainstream institutions. They may provide the kind of place where young people are offered a social moratorium that enables them to grab onto these opportunities safely, with compelling content, through experiential learning and experimentation scaffolded by supportive peers and adults.

My reflections in this paper have built on that idea, examining how place may matter in creating thinking spaces where young people can explore who they are or wish to be. In the end, these reflections have focused on how camps, as youth-centered places in the gray zones, are poised to offer particular kinds of experiences that can help young people broaden their awareness of themselves and the world, modify their attitudes and convictions about the way they and the world can be, and identify and practice the role they can play in actively shaping a better future for themselves and others – even after camp.

To understand this process better in young people, my colleagues I are delving deeper into other parts of our conversations with our Skogfjorden participants to understand what really goes on at camp and to understand what short- and long-term benefit it may have for our villagers. We continue our work with these basic premises in mind: That places frame experiences, experiences facilitate learning, learning can serve as a means to an end, and one important end is peace.

We invite others to consider these ideas and build on them in their own ways in other places. We invite them to consider doing this with young people – not as only as informants but as collaborators. Why? Because, young people long to matter. Those who care enough and are transformed, may become, if we are lucky, the kinds of people like those we were privileged to meet at the Peace and Place symposium – passionate people who think critically and do things that matter. People like Diane

Lister and Alberto Valiente Thoresen with their critical notions of place; Larry J. Krafft and Klaus Melf with their calls for us to live humanly and humanely when balanced on the edge of chaos; Peter Ndichu Muriuki and Sosai Siluvaithasan with their focus on how to provide for the most basic needs in the most desperate of circumstances; Paddy Gray and Stuart Talbot with their concern about how we design and provide housing for those in need; Rachid Chamoun and his students with their passion for turning rubble into vibrant places for regeneration; Karina Landman, Rachel Monaghan, Floyd Rudmin and Kirsti Stuvøy with their concern for our feelings of safety and security and how we design our communities and policies thereafter. For, as Ole D. Mjøs reminded us with through words of Olav Hauge, all this work is about achieving *draumen*, “the dream”.

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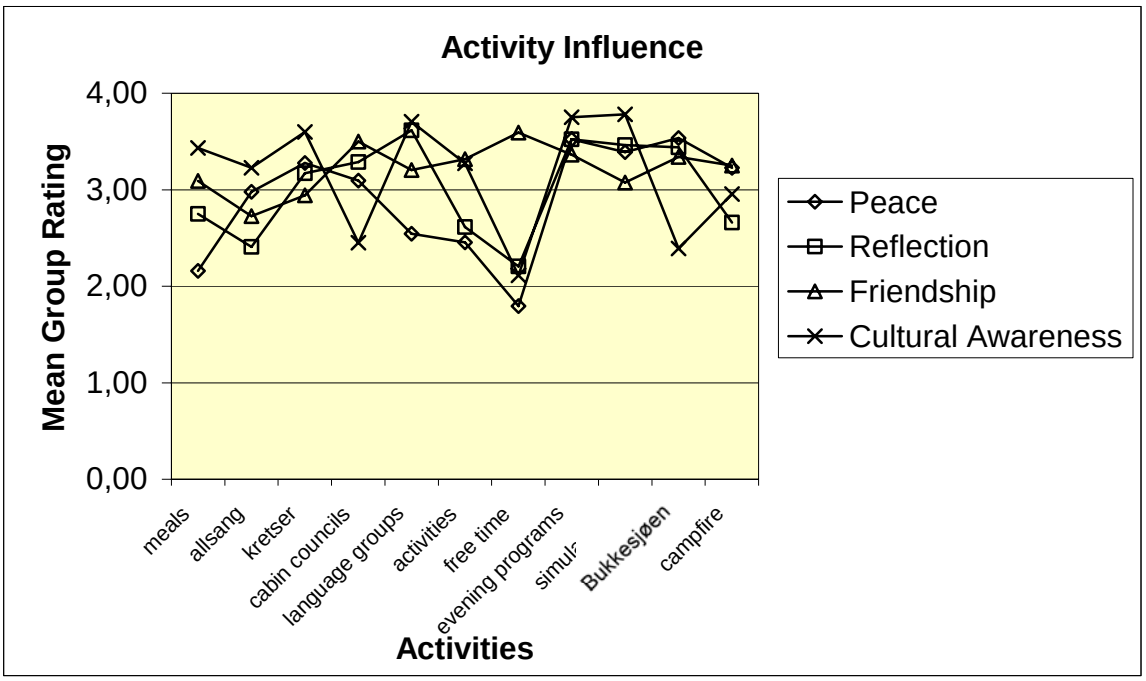
Figure 1. Skogfjorden activities.

Activity Name	**Activity Content**
Meals	Authentically prepared meals (*frokost*, *matpause*, *middag* and *kveldsmat*) are served family style in the village dining hall that is filled with original art from multiple Norwegian and Norwegian-American artists.
Allsang	A half hour of all-village song instruction and singing time.
Kretser	A series of two-hour activities that simulate a particular time, place or event in Norwegian history for medium sized groups of 20-30 villagers who vary in age, tenure and language ability. The centers focus on the themes of Norwegian history, nature and outdoor living, the Sami, immigration and immigrant life, and an annually determined contemporary topic.
Cabin Councils	Times throughout the day when cabin groups composed of 10-14 similarly aged boys or girls gather to talk, problem-solve and hang out.
Language Learning Groups	Two one-hour activities during the day when small groups of 4-8 villagers at the same level of language ability meet to work through a curriculum that, over 7+ years, provides villagers the language skills essential for getting by at the village and for traveling and even living in Norway.
Activities (general)	Two one-hour, free-choice activities that are offered in the areas of sports and games, arts and crafts, performing arts and other hobby-like groups.
Free time	An afternoon time when the library, gift shop, candy store and health center open for villagers to frequent. This time is otherwise used to just hang out.
Evening programs	An entire evening activity when all ca. 100-130 of the villagers and staff get together to participate in a simulation or game that familiarizes them with anything from Norwegian fairytales, the lives and works of famous Norwegians to the role of the world bank in world affairs
Campfire gatherings	The last activity of the day when stories are told, songs are sung and the entire village joins hands in a ring to sing the final good night song (*Lev vel*) before heading back to their cabins to go to bed.
Bukkesjøen	A sacred village site on a west-facing hillside in the woods at the edge of a lake called *Bukkesjøen*. The entire village hikes out to it on Sunday evenings for a time of music, reflective activities and quiet.
Simulations (ii)	Simulations are characterized by a deliberately planned experience with a debriefing afterwards. Simulations involve activities where villagers simulate particular events or activities in order to experience first hand how people involved them might feel, think, make decisions or act. Afterwards, they talk about and reflect on the experience to explore its relevance to the villagers personally, to the village, to Norway and, as appropriate, to the broader global community.

[i] The languages offered as of the publication of this paper are Arabic (2006), Chinese (1984), Danish (1982), English (1999), Finnish (1978), French (1962), German (1961), Italian (2003), Japanese (1988), Korean (1999), Norwegian (1963), Russian (1966), Spanish (1963), and Swedish (1975). The year they were established is indicated in the parentheses (Concordia Language Villages, n.d.).
[ii] Note that even though simulations happen throughout the day in various activities, they are a particular *type* of learning activity in their own right so villagers were also asked to rate and comment on them separately as well.

Figure 2. The influence of activities on villagers' learning experiences related to peace, reflection, friendship and cultural awareness.



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Housing and the Peace Process in Northern Ireland

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Abstract

This working paper begins by looking at the background to the setting up of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive. It explores the Civil Rights campaign in the 1960s and the grievances at that time as to discrimination in housing allocations and gerrymandering. It traces the developments of housing policy over the past 30 years against a background of violence and intimidation and the democratic deficit that existed as a result of powers have been taken away from local councils. It then considers issues that have come to the fore since the signing of the Good Friday agreement in 1998, including the Inquiry into Social Housing published by the Assembly and a similar inquiry undertaken subsequently by the Parliamentary Sub Committee on Northern Ireland Affairs. It also discusses issues of segregation and recent moves to promote a more integrated society including the A Shared Future: Policy and Strategic Framework for Good Relations in Northern Ireland published by the Northern Ireland office in 2005 and the recent Trienniel Action Plan published in May 2006. The recent proposals for the Review of Public Administration are also discussed and how these might impact on the way social housing is provided and managed. The paper concludes with some ideas on how to create a situation where communities can live together and how this might be achieved.

Background

Northern Ireland has often been referred to as a place apart within the United Kingdom. It has been argued that this is understandable given the persistence of violence and the fact that Northern Ireland politics have been determined by the co-existence of two communities with differing identities and aspirations. On the one hand, there is a mainly Unionist population who wish to remain fully integrated within the UK as British Citizens and on the other is a largely Nationalist population with aspirations to be integrated with the Republic of Ireland into a United Ireland.

Housing provision and management has been highly politicised and controversial (Gray & Paris 1999) and there has been little change in the way social housing has been managed for nearly 35 years. The Northern Ireland Housing Executive has dominated the sector throughout this period since power was transferred to it from local authorities in 1971. The organization today has 98,200 dwellings whilst the 38 Housing Associations have grown steadily to account for nearly 22,000 of the housing stock in 2006. Housing conditions are much improved

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since the days in the early 1970s when one in five houses were unfit for human habitation. Although conditions have improved immensely there is still evidence of polarised communities occupying separate space in the cities and town throughout the province. This community segregation exists mainly in social housing estates and the Housing Executive estimates that over 90% of social housing is segregated. Indeed the history of housing has never been far removed from the shadow of civil unrest and sectarian division. The Housing Executive was established out of the civil disturbances that erupted in Northern Ireland in the 1960's. The *Caledon Squatting Incident*, a three-hour occupation of a Dungannon Rural District Council house at Caledon, County Tyrone by a nationalist member of the local Stormont parliament, Austin Currie, is popularly seen as the first link in a chain of events that led to the establishment of the Housing Executive. This incident, long since awash with symbolism for what it represented, hinged on the allocation on 13 June 1968 of a council house at Kinnard Park to a 19-year old single protestant girl. Five days later a Catholic family with three small children was evicted from a neighbouring house in which they had illegally squatted.

Whilst the whole affair rapidly developed as a sectarian metaphor, it is important to stress that sectarianism per se was not the sole cause for concern: the home squatted in by the Catholic family had, after all, been allocated to another catholic tenant. Rather the concern was that the Council had made no attempt to allocate its houses on the basis of need but relied instead on local councillor patronage, with all the associated implications in a polarised society like Northern Ireland. This practice of patronage was not of course exclusive to Dungannon. Having raised the incident to little avail in the Stormont parliament, Currie, in conjunction with two others, publicly and symbolically squatted in the house, which had been allocated to Miss Beattie. After some three hours the police removed them.

The Caledon affair encapsulated the growing concern about many of the practices in local government in Northern Ireland and it led directly to the first local civil rights march. A mere fourteen months after the incident a frightening momentum had been established and the pressure for significant reforms had passed its critical mass. People were killed, there was continuing rioting throughout the Province, and Belfast in particular resembled a war zone and suddenly the problems of a small region with just one and a half million population was making news headlines all over the world. Among its graphic images were streets ablaze, refugees salvaging their

possessions, mass movement in and out of areas, and British soldiers marching into the west of the city. Fifteen months after the Caledon affair the report of the Cameron Commission into the causes, nature and course of the violence and civil disturbance since 5 October 1968 had been published and accepted by the Northern Ireland Government. In the first of its general conclusions it stated:

> *"A rising sense of continuing injustice and grievance among large sections of the Catholic population in Northern Ireland, in particular in Londonderry and Dungannon, in respect of (1) inadequacy in housing provision by certain local authorities. (2) Unfair methods of allocation of houses built or let by such authorities, in particular, refusals and omissions to adopt a points system in determining priorities and making allocations. (3) Misuse in certain cases of discretionary powers of allocation of houses in order to perpetuate Unionist control of the local authority".*

Eventually the British government came to accept that housing conditions had not only produced the dissatisfaction which helped to create the Civil Rights movement but that there was an association between areas with poor housing and social conditions and the occurrence of violence.

A central feature of the social reform programme towards the elimination of grievances and of a strategy that might remove the underlying factors behind violence was to improve housing conditions and violence, in turn, was to be a key feature in many initiatives in housing policy. The establishment of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive was, of course, the most radical. A communiqué by the Westminster and Stormont governments stated that "the governments have concluded that this is an emergency situation requiring emergency procedures". The establishment of the Housing Executive was recognition of the fact that the administration of housing policy in Northern Ireland did not inspire confidence throughout the community.

Much reference has been made to a divided community, civil disturbance, and the establishment of special administrative machinery suited to the exigency of such circumstances. Many references have been made in the past to the poor housing conditions in the province which lagged behind other UK regions and which merited special attention. Both of these issues have played a significant role in determining the structure of the housing system in the province today.

Northern Ireland has moved on immensely since the dark days of the 1960s and 1970s. Unfitness has been reduced from nearly 20% in 1974 to just under 5% today. Over 80,000 public sector homes have been built to very high standards and we generally have a ‘well housed population’. The credit for all of this rests with government commitment to funding when other regions of the UK were suffering major financial cutbacks, and of course the operational and strategic performance of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive and the Housing Association movement all working under severe political upheaval and unrest which still refuses to go away completely despite much progress over the previous ten years.

The context for the early work of the Housing Executive was not auspicious. The "troubles" affected its beginning work in a number of important ways. Commentators have estimated that between 1969 and 1974 around 60,000 people, or nearly one-quarter of all households in Belfast moved house.

> *‘It seems doubtful that anything in the past came even close to the population movements that have taken place since 1969. In August and September of that year more than 3,500 families were forced to leave their homes, 85% of them Catholic. Two years later, during three weeks in August 1971, a further 2,069 recorded families left their homes. Between and after these two periods of exceptional violence, a less spectacular but steady flow of families abandoned their homes from fear or intimidation, and between 8,000 and 15,000 families in the Greater Belfast area alone.’ (Darby (976):*

This population movement in turn had implications for the housing allocations policy. Squatting became a major issue as people sought housing in safe areas and estates became increasingly polarised. Fear and intimidation created boundary issues and territories became even more clearly defined. This then affected the so-called integrated estates where people felt vulnerable and consequently moved. The role of the paramilitary organisations in allocations was also evident. Other factors undermining the activities of the Housing Executive were the intimidation of building contractors, the sectarian basis of some trades and a long and sustained rent and rates strike. Strong feelings about territory and the underlying debate about the nature of the State strengthened opposition to new building programmes. Public representatives were never behind the door in opposing any new developments that might infringe on what was seen as the ‘territory’ of one particular community. Hence thee are

situations today where high demand catholic areas suffering severe housing stress are close to low demand protestant areas with empty housing but no movement can be made into what is perceived as opposite territory. This creates a particular dilemma for housing practitioners who cannot build in contentious areas for to relieve high housing demand close by as this is strongly opposed by those occupying the areas in which they would prefer to build. Physical structures commonly known as ‘peace lines’ dominate the landscape of many parts of Belfast physically preventing any natural housing market to perform.

2006 marks the 35th anniversary of the Housing Executive the organization set up to take housing out any accusations of sectarianism or bigotry and across the political spectrum in Northern Ireland it has overwhelmingly achieved this objective. In that time unfitness has been reduced from 19.6% to 3.8%; large scale urban and rural regeneration has taken place; over 80,000 new homes have been built; over 500,000 housing allocations have been made; some 90,000 homes have been sold to sitting tenants; 350,000 homes have been improved in public and private sectors and most importantly community acceptability has been achieved. The success of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive is unquestionable and a growing and vibrant housing association movement has complimented its work. Unlike Great Britain, where Large Scale Voluntary Transfer (LSVT) of council housing to housing associations has been a dominant housing policy for years, housing associations in Northern Ireland still remain relatively small with the largest owning and managing around 3,500 dwellings. LSVT has not been introduced in NI and it is unlikely that tenants would vote for it anyway given the popularity of the Housing Executive as a landlord. Housing Associations are making great strides in relieving housing demand by building small-scale developments and perhaps the movement is also well placed in moving towards a more integrated society.

Since the signing of the Belfast Agreement or the ‘Good Friday’ agreement, as it is community known, there have been major moves towards community integration and there has been a greater awareness of out highly polarized social housing sector and the need to address these issues with positive policies that will encourage more integration of are housing estates.

Towards Mixed Housing Estates

In 2005 the Community Relations council published *A Shared Future: The Policy and Strategy Framework for Good Relations in Northern Ireland (ASF*). This document highlights the importance of developing and supporting mixed housing. In their analysis of consultation responses to: *'A Shared Future'*: *A Consultation on Improving Relations in Northern Ireland"*, Darby and Knox (2004) noted that the overwhelming view of respondents was the need to move towards a more integrated society, although many respondents felt that shared living is *aspirational*, in the short term at least. Indeed, some respondents felt that the goal should not be one of total integration, arguing that the views of those who wish to live in single-identity areas must be respected, and the vision for the future should be one on increased integration and reduced segregation, recognising that segregation will always be present.

ASF acknowledges how the Government, since 1998, has been committed to exploring ways of providing mixed housing, and acknowledges that the Northern Ireland Housing Executive is committed to promoting mixed housing where it is practical, desirable and safe (2.5.1). ASF states that the highly segregated nature of social housing is unsustainable, both morally and economically. The document argues that residence in a particular area should be a matter of housing need or personal choice rather than an insistence that "only one sort or one colour" live in certain areas (2.5.3). In addition, ASF highlights how segregated housing gets in the way of meeting need and prevents the best use of housing and land (2.5.1).

ASF highlights the Housing Executives intention to work with the Department of Social Development, Housing Associations and others to bring proposals forward for two pilot projects of integrated in the medium term, and states that applicants wishing to live in areas where people of all backgrounds are welcome should have a real choice (2.5.4). However, the document further acknowledges that integrated housing projects cannot be uniformly imposed. The two main areas of development within ASF are:

- To develop shared communities where people of all backgrounds can live, work, learn and play together;
- To support and protect existing areas where people of different backgrounds live together (2.5).

In developing specific polices for the triennial plan:

The Department of Social Development, through the Northern Ireland Housing Executive will:

- Ensure that residence in a particular area should be a matter of housing need or personal choice rather than an insistence that "only one sort" live in certain streets or districts (2.5.6).

The Housing Executive should, as a matter of priority:

- Bring forward as soon as practicable its proposed pilot schemes on integrated housing;
- Ensure that applicants wishing to live in areas where people of all backgrounds are welcome should have a real choice, subject to availability;
- Consider how best, in consultation with PSNI and others, to protect, mixed housing areas;
- Continue, through the new Community Cohesion Unit, to support the relationship building at neighbourhood level (2.5.7).

Policy Context

The Belfast Agreement made a specific commitment to promoting integrated housing and to help people have the right to freely choose his or her place of residence and to be left in peace there (p. 16). The Housing Executive has a statutory duty under Section 75(2) of the Northern Ireland Act 1998. Under this the Housing Executive has a key role to play in promoting community relations and community cohesion. In 2004 it published its first community relations strategy, and in 2005 the Community Cohesion Unit was formed. To promote good relations, the agency aims to:

- Respond quickly and effectively to the needs of people in danger as a result of community conflict.
- Work in partnership with others to address the complex housing needs of a divided society.
- Respect the rights of people who choose to live in single identity neighbourhoods.

- Facilitate and encourage mixed housing as far as this is practical, desirable and safe.

ASF recommends that the Housing Executive implement their integrated housing schemes as soon as possible, and that applicants wishing to live in mixed religion residential areas should have a real choice (2.5.4). Research has shown that mixed religion housing has been highest amongst the middle-classes, Boal (1982) highlighted that residential integration had largely been confined to middle-class areas and more recently, Murtagh (2000) also found evidence of residential integration at the higher end of the housing market. Social sector housing estates or non-market have had the lowest rates of integrated living. The NI Housing Executive classifies integrated estates as having populations of more than 10% Protestant or 10% Catholic, and currently, less than 10% of social housing in Northern Ireland is integrated.

Boal (1982) observed that there was a degree of ethnic residential mixing in Belfast in 1972 when violence was commonplace. Such mixing tended to be of a temporary nature. He was of the opinion that public sector housing tends to have fairly high levels of segregation because of the operation of working class factors. The Housing Executive has a statutory responsibility for homelessness and during times of conflict applicants presenting as homeless are likely to seek security amongst their own ethnic group. Doherty and Poole (1995) suggest that residential segregation is a system of considerable stability derived from the inertia within the system. Once segregated areas develop, they tend to be perpetuated by what may be termed normal residential processes within the housing market. Smith and Chambers (1991) refer to the ratchet effect whereby although segregation falls when there is no conflict, it does not fall back to where it had been before the preceding outbreak of violence. Rather than witnessing an oscillating level of segregation there is a ratchet effect in operation by which segregation rises in a stepwise fashion.

The people who live there alongside a wider process of market and social housing allocation fundamentally determine social relations and social interactions within public housing space. In this respect, the locality and nature of housing is a major determinant of how connections between individuals and communities are formed and maintained. As Manzi & Smith-Bowers (2006) acknowledge, the distribution of residential units and their occupants is not a consequence of random

events but the product of complex social, economic and political processes. One of the most significant results of these processes is that housing consumption patterns can result in segregated areas otherwise known as ‘enclaves’, (suggesting choice) or ‘ghettos’, (suggesting constraint).

Non-market housing development has been associated with *marginalised* households with high levels of unemployment and low incomes, higher than average proportions of children, and a high concentration of single parents. Whilst much of the housing has been located on the outskirts of towns and cities, some was also located in urban centres, a pattern that developed extensively in GB and other European cities as well as in Northern Ireland. There has been a process of *residualisation* in social housing estates throughout Northern Ireland and this has led to spatial polarisation. Key policy concerns to date have included how to avoid social segregation in residential areas and how to employ policies to combat social exclusion by enhancing social cohesion. In Northern Ireland, of course, ethnic divisions further exacerbate this.

Evidence suggests there is greater demand for integrated housing in Northern Ireland than the current supply. The Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey has consistently found that the majority of respondents would prefer to live in a mixed religion neighbourhood.

	Mixed religion	Own religion	Don't know/other
2004	80	19	2
2003	72	21	7
2002	74	19	7
2001	66	26	9
2000	70	22	8
1999	73	22	5
1998	71	21	9

In addition, there are around 400 families on the waiting list for social housing with mixed backgrounds.

The Contact Hypothesis

The most comprehensive reviews of contact literature are those of Amir (1969, 1976). Amir provides a useful summary of the favourable and unfavourable conditions that act to reduce or strengthen prejudices.

Favourable conditions are:

- When there is equal status contact between various members of various ethnic groups.
- When contact is between members of a majority and higher status members of a minority group.
- When an authority and/or social climate are in favour of and promote inter-group contact.
- When contact is of an intimate nature rather than a casual nature.
- When ethnic inter-group contact is pleasing and rewarding.
- When members of both groups in the particular contact situation interact in functionally important activities or develop goals or subordinate goals that are higher ranking importance than the individual goals of each of the groups.

Unfavourable conditions are:

- When the contact situation produces competition between the groups.
- When contact is unpleasant, involuntary or tension laden.
- When the prestige or status of one group is lowered as a result of the contact situation.
- When members of a group are in a state of frustration.
- When the groups in contact have moral or ethical standards which are objectionable to each other.

- In the case of contact between a majority and minority group are of lower status than the majority group.

The costs of segregated housing

Segregated housing dictates a more complex relationship between housing supply and demand that integrated housing would – demand for public sector housing from one religion cannot be met from supply in the other group's territory, even though the two areas may be in close proximity (Boal 1996). The result is that many Protestant areas are under-occupied or redevelopment schemes have left large empty areas whilst in neighbouring Catholic areas there remains a heavy demand for new houses and a greater density of population (Jarman 2002). However, segregated housing can lead to more than financial costs. Segregated residential areas lead of greater community isolation and to community fragmentation (Jarman 2002). Poole and Doherty (1995) state that residential segregation helps to cause what Boal called "activity segregation", i.e., the separation of social groups at non-residential places such as schools and workplaces. According to this viewpoint, activity segregation makes conflict more likely by fostering division and therefore hostility.

Despite the peace process, many communities still experience fear and avoid areas dominated by the other religion. Chill factors are important in explaining this fear; a "chill factor" implies that socially constructed fears impede normal activity. Shirlow (2001) reported on the highly religiously segregated nature of work places in Northern Ireland, and where mixing does occur, it tends to be when employees are more affluent or come from a less religiously segregated area.

The benefits of integrated housing

Most research has concentrated on the scale and effects of residential segregation. The costs of segregation have been highlighted above, however, there has been relatively little research on religiously integrated housing in Northern Ireland. Murtagh and McDaid (2000) highlight the financial, housing management and social benefits of mixed housing. In terms of the positive financial and housing management benefits, greater efficiency in stock occupancy and the use of contested land are key issues. Integrated housing also encourages the development of trust and cross-community relations. Understanding of the other community's values and culture help to build mutual understanding and tolerance. Integrated housing would also be of benefit to housing policy makers and housing professionals as many are

currently forced to operate 'two' housing policies. One for protestant and one for catholic areas this involves in the duplication of services to these areas.

The problems of developing integrated housing

Social housing providers face difficulty in securing land in high demand areas for all new build social housing, The use of land raises another problematic issue for policy makers in Northern Ireland, as communities claim ownership of land, making it difficult for policy makers to treat land as a neutral resource. Darby and Knox (2004) highlighted the important issue of territoriality. Respondents from Protestant groups referred to Republican attempts to take over their territory. Catholic respondents were aware of this contention, but believe that the issue was of one of meeting housing need. As one respondent stated: "Protestants perceive this shift as territorial encroachment whereas Catholics are attempting to resolve problems of need".

Whilst the costs of segregated living and the benefits of integrated living have been outlined above, it is necessary to reflect upon the issue of choice – are those living in segregated areas living there voluntary or involuntarily. Indeed, many choose to live in segregated areas. Furthermore, whilst segregated housing, and its ability to reinforce stereotypes, is clearly not a positive long-term vision for housing in Northern Ireland, Boal (1996) shows how it isn't entirely bad as concentration can provide defence against physical threat and can provide a basis for cultural preservation, amongst other things. However, assessing the difference between voluntary and involuntary segregation is difficult. Poole and Doherty (1995) give the following example: if a city's housing market consists almost entirely of religiously segregated areas, then for example, a Catholic's decision to live in a Catholic district is in one sense voluntary because the options rejected are Protestant areas the mover is reluctant to enter. At the same time, if the decision-makers preference is for a mixed area, which the segregated system prevents from existing, the mover is in fact constrained against their will to live in a Catholic area by the limited options available.

The importance of the ability to exercise choice, that is, that people have viable housing options to choose from, in this case mixed areas or segregated areas, has been highlighted by several academics. For example, Boal stresses the importance of choice over a forced integration policy. Poole and Doherty (1995) also argue that what is more important from a policy perspective is whether there is

sufficient choice of a range of social environments to make a voluntary decision possible. Real choice means that there should be a wide alternative of different environments, both segregated and mixed areas, and is based on the belief that people have a right to meaningful choice.

A Sheffield Hallem University team has researched the contribution of housing management to community cohesion. Although segregation was an important concern for many of the study's respondents, opinions varied about whether it was actually a problem, whether it was an issue that should be tackled, what interventions might be appropriate, and how tackling segregation might promote or undermine community cohesion. (Robinson et al., 2004). One housing association director observed that '*my most sustainable schemes are mono-cultural'*. Residential integration was not seen necessarily as essential for integration to take place, and reservations about promoting residential integration appeared to recognise that people often live in segregated communities for good reason. A key theme was the importance of choice and there was a view that housing management had a key role to play: in provision of relevant and appropriate housing opportunities, in allocations and lettings, through community participation, involvement and development, via equality of opportunity, and through tenancy support and management. (Harrison et al 2005). Examples of practical efforts that were in hand or completed were provided. These included stock conversion as a means to responding to inadequacies in the local stick profile, bringing residents together in a regeneration planning process, changing or enhancing allocations and lettings practices, tenancy support improvements, and training local people to report hate crime. In Blackaby's Good Practice Guide for CIH (2004) a good practice example of how to develop community cohesion is taken from Oldham Housing Investment Partnership and Aska Housing Association.

Here the aims are to:

- Develop and maintain contact with hard to reach groups.
- Provide tenancy support complementing the work of other service providers.

- Co-ordinate and promote community development activity (and develop new projects and activities to encourage social and residential integration and cultural awareness).
- Support communities to move to non-traditional areas.
- Forge multi-agency partnerships to tailor services to deliver more effectively to meet specific needs in deprived areas, and
- Provide 'racial equality' and cultural awareness within tenants' and residents' associations.

Blackaby pays particular attention to the creating of 'mixed neighbourhoods', although indicating that this should not be about compulsion but extending choices and creating new opportunities.

Overall, ASF takes the view that the development of integrated social housing, whilst facilitating increased choice, should not be the main policy driver in new build social housing, but rather as an add-on via projects in selected areas. The notion that all new build social housing should be integrated has been rejected, in line with Boal's and Poole & Doherty's thesis. The Housing Executive has pointed out that creating choice means that those who choose to live in single-identity neighbourhoods must be supported.

Creating integrated housing

The first hurdle to creating integrated housing is to find a site which gives the optimal opportunity for mixed housing to succeed. The availability of land for new build social housing in areas of high demand is a significant problem in itself, and there are further factors which need to be taken into consideration in the development of a mixed religion scheme. Brendan Murtagh (2000) has identified several key issues, including:

- Site circumstances: this includes matters such as the location of key services and facilities, the size of the scheme, the location and route of public transport, and an integrated infrastructure
- Site history: the land should have no political history
- Site design: including tenant involvement

Given the importance of Murtagh's work in this area, the full range of Murtagh's indicators for new build social housing are included as an appendix.

Once a site has been identified and built, the key issue is how to ensure that the scheme is religiously balanced. The use of quotas would ensure that a scheme is religiously balanced, and would be necessary to help maintain the religious balance as tenants move in and out over time. However, allocation polices that control the religious balance of tenants within a social housing estate is at odds with the allocation policy in Northern Ireland. The Common Waiting List and Common Selection Scheme aims to provide housing for those most in need, and has been devised with the very aim of outlawing discrimination. In order for social housing providers to allocate housing on the grounds of religion, legislative changes are required. Without such legislative changes, promoting integrated housing requires different and more imaginative ways of encouraging households to move into mixed housing schemes are needed.

Mixed Tenure

In the UK, the government in recent months has become increasingly keen to promote the idea of 'mixed communities' as a mechanism for delivering sustainable regeneration and social inclusion and de-concentrating poverty. As a result many new developments will be mixed with homes for market rent and sale integrated with social housing and shared ownership properties. The intention is that the introduction of better-off households will bring benefits to lower income residents: not just by physical renewal but a better area reputation, more shops and services, less crime, schools with more balanced intakes, aspirational peer groups for young people, and broader social networks for adults. Research has shown that segregation in Northern Ireland housing estates is mainly confined to social housing estates, which in turn have many other problems besides ethnic segregation. The introduction of mixed tenure estates might assist in stabilising areas that are particularly vulnerable to crime and poverty thus creating more desirable conditions for inter-community living.

Maintaining mixed areas

A key issue is how to ensure maintaining a mixed community once integrated housing has been achieved. The aim of mixed housing in Northern Ireland must be that people from the two religious backgrounds can come together and engage as a community

with shared interests. However, it cannot be assumed that residential integration will naturally result in increased interaction between different groups. Robinson (2005) states that even if ethnic integration can be actively promoted, it cannot be assumed that ethnic interaction will inevitably follow.

Mixed areas need intensive management and investment. There need to be micro-management, relationships need to be developed, and conflicts need to be managed. Local community development initiatives are crucial to the maintenance of mixed communities. Robinson (2005), in examining ethnic residential integration, highlights the importance of facilitating engagement, fostering dialogue and minimising tensions. In order for an area to be regarded as truly mixed, there must be social interaction between the two religious groups. A useful and necessary first step is the facilitation and encouragement of engagement between the different communities.

A shared sense of place

In examining ethnic residential segregation in England, the Independent Review Team (2001) argues that divided communities need to develop common goals and a shared vision to get away from the *them and us* attitude. They highlight that the most successful approach to managing tensions between different groups is to forge unity through a common sense of place and a shared sense of belonging. Robinson stresses the importance of local collaborative structures and communication need to be created The vital first step is the provision of space where the communities can interact. In Ballynafeigh, an established area of mixed communities in Belfast, they have provided the physical space for local people to come together, and currently there are currently 94 user groups. Ballynafeigh Community Development Association (BCDA) highlighted the evolving importance to provide relevant services for a changing population. For example, there are more young professionals and ethnic minorities moving into Ballynafeigh, and the challenge is how to get them involved in the community – how to get them to view the area more than somewhere they have simply purchased a property. As a response to this, BCDA have been focusing on celebratory methods. For example, they held a very successful street festival. In addition, several groups have been formed to deal with local problems, which bring people together who share a common concern about their neighbourhood. For example, there is a planning and environmental group, looking at the increase in

HMOS and are carrying out a land use audit. There is also a community safety partnership, including, Police Service for Northern Ireland (PSNI), Belfast Education and Library Board (BELB), Belfast City Council (BCC), Northern Ireland association for the Care and Rehabilitation of Offenders (NIACRO). It is not simply about tackling practical issues; it's about building civic infrastructure. Representatives from the BCDA feel that bridging social capital (i.e. increased understanding and the fostering of relations between groups) is beginning to happen in the area.

It is important to include the wider community in these community development activities. There is concern that if a new scheme is parachuted into an area, it will be viewed with suspicion. The surrounding area may see resources being put into this mixed area at the expense of their own, and therefore, resources should be extended out to the broader community. It is important that a new scheme shouldn't be in a bubble, it needs to be part of a wider community, and it needs to be integrated into the broader community. It is crucial to support and nurture these mixed communities. Consequently, there needs to be a strong commitment to actively manage the diversity in integrated housing,

In order to build mixed communities, it is important to be prepared to micro-manage relationships. The potential for neighbourhood conflict is not confined to mixed areas. However, what could initially be a non-sectarian conflict between two neighbours could escalate if those involved are of different religious backgrounds, and can quickly polarise the area. Neighbour disputes have the potential to turn into a sectarian problem if the issue is not managed properly. If there is conflict, there clearly needs to be mediation. But who should the mediators be? Possibly the Housing Executive through their mediation project, and Community Cohesion Unit. However, it is important that the voluntary and community sector are included in this process. A key issue therefore is investment – mediating in disputes and coming up with frameworks when conflict happens.

Pre-emptive and proactive measures of dealing with disputes are particularly important. Ensuring that the wider community understands that a dispute is not sectarian is critical. If, for example, there was a dispute in a new integrated housing scheme, media involvement is more than likely. It has been suggested that there should be an assurance process:

- Identify the protractors and go to them first and ask them to commit to non-involvement in neighbourhood disputes. This would involve

paramilitaries, politicians and the media. Explain to them what is going on with a dispute and ask them to commit to letting other deal with it. But who would do this??

- Its important to talk to them, engage them in discussion from the start to get them on board.

Nyden et al (1998) examined 14 diverse neighbourhoods in the US, with the aim of finding what mechanisms worked in order to keep the area stable. One key finding was that no two communities are fully alike. However, some characteristics were common in the diverse communities:

- The presence of *social seams* – points in the community were interaction between different groups is sewn together. For example, the provision of shopping amenities, an integrated school with regular social events where parents can interact as well, community wide events such as festivals.
- Community based organisations and social institutions contributing to maintaining diversity. Communities went about this in different ways:
    - Managing diversity directly: An organisation specifically to promote integration and diversity
    - Maintaining diversity indirectly by addressing community wide service issues: In the course of addressing community need, such as community safety, they are bringing various parts of the community together.
    - Maintaining diversity indirectly by developing interest groups that engage in dialogue to resolve differences: Organisations representing specific groups, for example, a particular ethnic group, advance their interests in community wide debates.
- Religious organisations also play an important role: they often come together to bridge division.

In addition to common characteristics, common challenges to the future stability to communities were also found. The authors note, however, that although these can be seen as threats to stable diversity, they are usually seen as issues that need to be and that unify the community to sustain diversity.

- Transition from older residents to younger residents

- The need to address blight within the community or on its boundaries. This involves the need for more community reinvestment, to, for example, improve unsightly properties.
- Community safety
- Schools. The challenge of attracting a new diverse population relates to the challenge of attracting young families to specific areas. Without good quality schools, marketing the area to target populations can be difficult.

The Housing Executive is in the process of developing two pilot integrated housing schemes. The Housing Executive's Community Cohesion Unit acknowledge the importance of measures aimed at sustaining these new communities, and plan to work in partnership with a range of agencies, as well as with those living in these schemes, with the overall aim of building relationships and brokering good relations between those involved. It is important to remember that if a scheme fails, this does not necessarily mean that the idea is flawed and that other schemes will fail. It may be an issue particular to that individual scheme, for example, with the location. If a scheme fails, it is important to learn from it, what has went wrong. The key point is just because one fails, it doesn't mean that the idea is fundamentally flawed.

Recommendations

Efforts to create and maintain mixed community living should be flexible and it is important not to take a "one size fits all" approach. The recommendations below outline a four-pronged approach, in recognition of the geographical variability of the depth of division within society in Northern Ireland. These recommendations were put forward by (Gray P. & Mc Annuity U 2006) to the Community Relations Council. These would be based on a mapping of estates or neighbourhoods throughout Northern Ireland and fitting them into the first three categories, as this will determine the action that will be taken. Sensitivity should always be central to any actions taken. It is also important to regularly monitor actions, particularly in new developments or where integration is taking place.

4 approaches

1. Those estates already integrated. … Good channels of communications with tenants/residents to ensure that they do not become segregated. Close monitoring required.

2. Those estates where a strategic approach to integration could be implemented. For example where there is a positive response to integration. The setting up an estate strategy team that could work towards encouraging further integration.

3. Those where integration would prove extremely difficult. Monitor closely and establish close links through community groups. Reduce chill factors. Implement training schemes. Introducing "softening' approaches through building new smaller developments at interface areas/peace walls. Try to utilise open spaces as much as possible and encourage environmentally friendly schemes. Encourage community representatives to work alongside those from the opposite community working close-by.

4. Identify non-contentious areas for new developments. The construction of a database on the levels and locations of integration/segregation using GIS on a Northern Ireland wide basis to show patterns/clusters of activity would aid this. The use of Murtagh's indicators should further aid the identification of the most likely areas to sustain a new area of mixed housing.

It is important to include measures to support any new development. It is imperative to select the right location (such as sites in 'intermediate' areas outside but within reasonable reach of traditional areas of settlement). Strategies to open up new opportunities are unlikely to succeed if they simply provide housing and ignore wider issues, such as housing management, support and local amenities. Otherwise what begins as an integrated scheme may well revert to a pattern of segregation as people move out due to issues of anti social behaviour, chill factors etc.

The *Community Cohesion Unit* of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive is well placed to take the lead in the development of integrated housing. It would seem logical to have this Unit lead delivery, integrate policy, develop and share best

practice and learn from the pilot initiatives. The *CRC*, with its focus on community development, would work closely with the Community Cohesion Unit.

There are several specific recommendations, which can be applied in attempting to encourage and foster relationship building in mixed communities

The facilitation and encouragement of community development initiatives is of central importance:

- The provision of physical space for mixed communities to interact

- Encouragement of local community development initiatives: from the provision of funding to set up groups, to other practical support and advice, such as practical issues of how to set up and run a community group, and on community leadership training.

- The inclusion or establishment of groups to deal with issues shared by the whole community, such as community safety, are important to aid in the development in a shared sense of space.

- Build-up a civic infrastructure though community interaction and partnerships with statutory and other agencies. This includes the PSNI, the education and library boards, and the local churches.

- Community relations training for all those involved in mixed areas.

- Generate opportunities for engagement through the development of community activities. Whilst increased interaction is important, promoting a shared sense of community, with common concerns is paramount.

Mediation

- The availability of mediators to deal with disputes. The make up of this should be explored, although including community representatives is vital to achieve viability with the local community.

- Specific negotiations between local community representatives to try and deal with chill factors such as flags and emblems and celebratory practices should take place as a matter of priority.

Wider community

- The development of mixed housing areas, and efforts to sustain them should not occur in isolation, and efforts should be made to include the surrounding, wider community. Resources should be extended to include the surrounding area, and alongside this, regional organisations or networks of community organisations should be established to share experiences.

- Encourage the media to tell positive stories of these community's successes.

Diversity Agenda

- Organisations need to be more culturally competent than in the past. This is particularly important with the increased inflow of migrant workers.

- It is important to bear in mind other dimensions of 'difference' when considering ethnicity. This means trying to take account, wherever appropriate of issues raised by age, disability, gender, and sexual orientation, as well as socio-economic differentiation along lines of class or status.

Housing Associations

- Housing associations and the Housing Executive can play a greater role in bringing about strong positive relationships between people of different ethnic groups (including tackling and reducing racial harassment, becoming positive role models as organisations, building bridges with new minority ethnic groups.

- The setting up of a new Housing Association to deal specifically with the provision of integrated housing would help to move forward this agenda. The Association could operate province wide with the remit of identifying

new sites for this to work. This organisation could work in partnership with other agencies and stakeholders

Affordable Housing

- The literature identified the fact that segregated housing was mainly located in public sector housing estates. The provision of affordable schemes that would attract lower income groups into the owner occupied sector would increase the scope for integrated housing given the higher levels of mixing in private housing schemes. This could also work in mixed tenure schemes and could include the NI Co-ownership Housing Association in providing a tenure mix. The right to buy in the past has created stability on many estates and a further extension of privatisation through affordable schemes would increase an attachment for residents to a specific area.

Establishing sustainable mechanisms for co-operation, capacity building and conflict resolution

- Develop ways of bringing people together for practical and meaningful purposes through neighbourhood management.
- Working towards more effective combinations of localised neighbourhood management or participation on the one hand, and cross-area interests and organisations on the other.
- Countering perceptions that voluntary and community organisations feel they are marginal to local policy debates.
- Applying rules to ensure that participating bodies and community groups conform to good practice on inclusion, or if not then they are trained, excluded or pressured.

Organisations such as the Community Relations Council and the Northern Ireland housing Executive are taking great strides to encourage a more integrated community and the production of ‘A Shared Future’ has set the agenda for wider debate on how to integrate the two communities on a more positive basis. Housing cannot be looked at in isolation and other areas such as education and employment are also important areas to encourage activity integration. As a result the CRC is considering other areas in its approach to tackling the divisions on housing estates.

The seven areas are young people; flags and emblems; community development/community relations; interfaces; mixed housing; race relations and monitoring and evaluation.

Review of Public Administration

The long awaited Review of Public Administration in Northern Ireland was published on 22nd November 2005 proposing sweeping changes to the way Northern Ireland is governed. The aim of the review was to make savings of £200 million per year by drastically reducing the number of councils in the province from 26 to 7 as well as abolishing the health and education boards. The First Minister and Deputy First Minister first announced the Review in February 2002 and it was launched in June of that year following a debate in the Assembly. The original timetable had envisaged a final report by the end of 2003 but with the Assembly having been suspended in October 2002, the Secretary of State announced the following month that the review would continue. The Review of Public Administration is the largest examination for over 30 years of how public services are structured and delivered. In terms of scale it involves nearly 150 public bodies with a combined responsibility of around 80% on all expenditure on devolved services. Earlier in 2005 proposals were issued for consultation and the government review team received over 500 responses. It is expected that there will be a drastic transformation of government in Northern Ireland. At present there are 11 Government Departments, 140 Public Bodies, 3 MEPs, 18 MPs, 108 MLAs, 26 District Councils, 564 Councillors, 60% GDP arrived from the public service; 32% of Adult Workforce employed in Public Service and 250,000 people employed in Public Sector. This is all for a population of just 1.7 million people. The review will not affect the 11 Government Departments which were set up along with the Assembly after the Good Friday Agreement.

There is concern amongst politicians that the new council structure with 7 super councils will increase sectarian divisions in the province. The SDLP and the Ulster Unionists have already voiced fears that the seven council options will create a DUP/Sinn Fein carve-up, permanently splitting the province into a "Green" west and an "Orange" east, with only Belfast as a 50:50 council area. Indeed the SDLP went further by say that the new council structure could cause the "sectarian Balkanisation" of Northern Ireland. It is envisaged that power sharing within the new councils will be made compulsory following the precedent of the Assembly. In order to create roughly

equal areas, a boundary review will finally define the seven new council districts. The fours existing Health and Social Services Boards and 18 Trusts will be replaced by seven local health and social service agencies bodies that are expected to match the new districts. A single support body will replace the five education boards.

The future of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive looked likely to be unaffected by the changes. This was until a recent announcement by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Peter Hain (a Minister of Parliament from GB), that the Northern Ireland Housing Executive may be abolished by 2011 and that core functions like housing allocations, waiting lists and community cohesion could be transferred to the new 7 super councils one they have 'bedded in'. This caused furious reaction from politicians and the public alike with the consensus that the Executive remains. Many comments reminded us that it was the abuse of housing allocations by Councils in the first place that acted as a catalyst to the troubles of the last 35 years.

All local political parties articulated strong support for the Housing Executive during the 2001 general election, whereas none was as enthusiastic about other social landlords (Paris and Muir, 2002). There were no signs at all that any local parties were in favour of the transfer of stock from the Housing Executive to other social landlords the authors noted. According to SDLP councillor Éamonn O'Neill "Those who remember the origins of 30 years of conflict will know that housing was one of the most contentious issues and causes of the Troubles.' To now strip the organisations of several of their major functions and powers is nothing short of vandalism." He continued.

Conclusions

In general terms the effects of the peace process on housing in N. Ireland has been both positive and negative although the balance lies on the positive side. There are still unresolved differences in community aspirations and an uncertainty about the return to violence in the Province although many commentators agree that this is highly unlikely, and recent developments such as arms decommissioning would confirm this. There have been minor skirmishes particularly at certain commemorative events and unfortunately these actions continue to contribute to intimidation and fear. It is during these periods that any advances made on encouraging communities to live together, could prove difficult unless community can be encouraged to work positively to ensure that isolated events are not allowed to

escalate. Organisations like the Community Relations Council and the Northern Ireland Housing Executive are well placed to move the agenda forward on integration and sustainable communities and nothing should be put in the way of any advances that they can make and there is still a need, therefore, to sustain the levels of funding needed to preserve the successful policies to date. Although Northern Ireland has been much more generously funded for social housing than other parts of the UK, this funding has now been declining and this may have a serious effect on its supply in the future. Given that levels of benefit dependency are higher and the fact that the average wage is lower that other parts of the UK there is still a major need for subsidised housing for the less well off. Many commentators in GB will argue that we have been more than well funded in the past but please do not lose the context of the 'catching up' that had to be achieved under difficult times and the intense conflict that the population had to endure for two generations. Why lose all this when future investment will secure well-deserved living standards for a population that suffered more than most and a society that has remained divided despite ceasefires having been in place for more than 10 years. The Housing Executive is entering 'middle age' in 2006 when it celebrates 35 years in operation and recent announcements by government have demonstrated that the organization has full support right across the community spectrum. The Housing Executive has created confidence in local communities and it has engaged a sizeable proportion of the population through community forums. That is why it is difficult to understand the announcement by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland that he may abolish the Housing Executive by 2011 and transfer its powers to the seven new super councils that are being created in 2009. Why he would suggest abolishing the one central body that has proved its success year on year and yet centralize health and education into regional bodies? His decision has obviously been influenced by what is happening in Great Britain where there have been vigorous efforts to transfer public housing to semi private bodies under the guise of registered social landlords (RSLs). These policies are not appropriate in Northern Ireland and time and time again, British ministers have introduced policies more in line with the south of England than with the needs of the local population. Local politicians recognize this have been consistent in their are support for the organization right across the political divide and I would, therefore, urge the Government to allow the Housing Executive to do what it does best! Improve the housing conditions of a population that has been battered and bruised many times

in the past and deserves a proper and decent standard of living: A shared future where both communities can live, be educated and work together to enjoy the benefits denied to them for so many years.

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Peace at the edge of chaos: Communities and individuals as co-learning complex-adaptive agents

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Abstract

Efforts to achieve peace by experts and power-holders reflect two dominant historical patterns. One pattern of interventions is Unification through manipulative means including force, persuasion or controlled education. Resulting social structures are to limit degrees of diversity through within-group boundary establishment and enforcement. The second pattern of interventions is to achieve Separation, aiming to segment social groups by establishing and enforcing between-group boundaries, also by manipulative means. Achieving peace through controlling interventions is suspect for long-term sustainability. Another pattern, defined as Unifying through Diversity (UD) emerges through the lens of constructivism and nonlinear complexity. Unification and Separation approaches and outcomes are compared with UD's edge of chaos complex-adaptive perspectives. UD asserts that communities and individuals co-create their definitions and circumstances. Experts, the media and other collective-mind power-holders may hinder or assist as they highlight positive local capacity and agency or induce fear and feelings of impotence. Belief patterns reify destructive or constructive behaviors. Through complex-adaptive perspectives, differences and messy indeterminacy are valued while ongoing meta-dialogue, seeding and local deep dialogue enable co-learning, communal mind shift and action. Cases from several cultures will clarify contexts, conditions and underlying methods supporting emergence of collective mind, and behavioral, shifts. With UD, peace can be viewed as an edge of chaos condition, balanced dynamically, determined locally. We will examine how constructivism and complexity theory clarify the powers and agency of local community and of the individual, as collective "mind" emerges through broad and dense relational engagement and co-learning.

Community and the Individual

I was born into a deliberately insular community, separated from social contacts that threatened communal beliefs and lifestyles. Although a fifth generation American, I was introduced to a culture that held rigidly to the linguistic dialect, beliefs and behaviors of ancestors from a distant time and place. Strangers were suspect. Even small differences in ethnicity, race or religious expression were poorly tolerated Higher education was discouraged (unless it was to become a religious agent such as minister or parochial school teacher) as it tended to lead one into dangerous questioning of established truths. The community maintained a collective "mind" with social norms and practices that were designed to maximize Separation. Internal community culture supported a superior attitude in comparison with all outsiders while encouraging a humble demeanor.

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Folklore spoke of ancestors who intended to establish an ideal religious community in service to its immigrant members and as missionaries to local “Indians” (who soon departed or died of disease). Through hard work and travail they cleared the land, establishing farms and supporting businesses while the church’s strict teachings formed a communal core as depicted by the church and church schools. Individuals who challenged cultural symbols and truths were shunned if unrepentant, sometimes excommunicated. Although painful for individuals and families enforcement of religious and cultural norms was considered as essential for maintaining a separate undefiled community.

At an early age I internalized and understood these norms. Simultaneously I desired opportunities for expanding beyond this nurturing and controlling community without rejecting established “truths”. As time passed I learned that many truths, depending on experiences and perspectives, can coexist. I was increasingly able to appreciate why this community was formed with such strict boundaries and social rules. I understood the logic of the Separating community. Our ancestors had left a society where they experienced economic duress and status as a religious minority. Emigration to wild, exotic and free America with unbridled opportunity was extremely attractive. They intended to establish an ideal and self-sufficient religious and economic community while also serving the religious agenda of converting natives to the true way for their salvation. This confluent agenda was seen as inherently noble and worthy of careful protection.

Societal Separation for purposes of maintaining internal communal peace was voluntary for the founders. It was not imposed by direct external power holders. However these norms were not voluntary for those members who were born into the community. Those who would challenge norms were subject to sanctions. Deviance was seen as a threat to community. Unification was enforced. Individuals were constrained from search for discovery and meaning beyond narrowly defined parameters.

However larger social forces were at work during the period of my youth. Despite their best efforts community icons could not hold the strict cultural fort. A world war took young men and returned them with new perspectives. New post-war prosperity and national pride made incursions on local insular identity. Government support for higher education and workforce opportunities made a wider world attractive, especially with acquired fluency in the national English language. Farming

and the family farm, the community's economic foundation, eroded with the induction of increasingly efficient methods and technology. Pervasive communications media and ease of transportation transposed communal and individual "mind". Even outsiders entered the community to stay, establishing their respective churches and practices. Outsiders' entry facilitated emergence of new cultural norms, including increasing understanding and appreciation for difference. The community redefined itself through emergent understandings of boundaries that transcended geography and primacy of those descended from the small group of early settlers. By reluctantly accepting "modern ways" new perspectives accommodated a wider culture. Relaxation of socio-cultural borders facilitated accommodation, adaptation and new prosperity. Although the emergent culture has transformed as conditions are now viewed from more global dynamic and uncertain perspectives, a state of "peace" and "place" has morphed from one of defense and control to one of greater openness to new risk and possibility. The dominant local collective "mind" has been altered profoundly.

Although this story represents the co-evolution of a unique community through the eyes of a unique individual (mine), the pattern, even if not the specific detail, is repeated again and again across North America's immigrant history, and across generations of cultural groups around the world. Now, for example, with the demise of the Soviet Union we are experiencing efforts at reestablishment of old states while ethnic/tribal groups perceive opportunities for ancient or new alliances. Such conflicting group "minds" are in search, largely, of protection from alien imposition, for a state of self-controlled "peace". Thousands of local communities are nested within larger systems that affect and are affected by their respective "minds" and actions. All socio-cultural levels are in dynamic flux, conflicting and co-learning, in search of communal and personal identity and peace.

What is "peace?

Recently, when someone asked me whether I was looking forward to going to heaven, I surprised myself with a quick spontaneous response. From my earliest childhood memory heaven was painted as a nirvana, free of stress and conflict, where conditions and relationships are forever perfect. Although I have given this question relatively little focused thought through adulthood it appears now to me that something has been happening to my "mind" about the idea of heaven, and peace. Although my response

was filled with a bit of humorous anecdote about meeting with the gatekeeper, be that St. Peter or the Old Man Himself, I would have strong reservations about entering if one were subjected to an eternity of placid coexistence as I had learned to envision as a child. In my mind that vision is not "living". It is not interesting, not challenging, not filled with risk, tragedy, passion and opportunity.

I suggest that peace is not lack of conflict or pain nor is it continuous bliss. It is not a product or outcome. However it is an idea that has great power. It resides in community and the individual. It is a state of "mind" that allows global and local societies to coexist in dynamic relationship despite or because of apparently diverging locations, ideologies and perceptions. Each group and individual has varied ideations about peace according to experienced needs. My childhood ideas derived from socio-religious sources and from the perception that life is, in general, onerous whereas afterlife is escape from pain. In my current worldview that is not my experience, hence my recent response to the question of heaven. That is, peace is a condition of communal and individual mind. It mutates with perceived temporal needs. I will elaborate and attempt to examine peace through several frames of reference and through case examples of community and individual dynamics.

Unification and Separation

No group is free of conflict nor is a conflict-free state desirable. Social systems thrive on difference and emerge through expression of differences with continuing search for and discovery of cooperation at deeper levels. Efforts at achieving peaceful conditions appear to resolve into three options or patterns.

Few communities or individuals fail to espouse a goal of peace. Peace advocates initiate and engage in local or global war, electing to sacrifice greatly to achieve their vision of peace. The mind-set and strategy are geared to achieve a desirable state by suppressing or eradicating divergent advocacy and action. Peace is imposed through force and persuasion or controlled education. It serves the interests of the dominant coalition, controlling internal deviance and, if necessary and perceived possible, controlling external environments by suppression or conversion. Win-lose views dominate this mind-set that advocates command and control approaches. Norms and laws are established to legitimize peace enforcement.

Peace is waged through two common strategies. The *Unification Strategy* aims to suppress undesired deviation. It requires conformity to regulation that is

based on bounded ideology. If strong oppositional forces threaten, early normal response is one of punishment followed by increased regulation and suppression. If Unification fails to achieve domination of deviance within tolerable limits a *Separation Strategy* may prevail where the differing parties are separated. Peace is then to be achieved through unification within the respective groups, with controlled boundary crossing among the groups.

Unification solutions pervade normal group and social development, often without devastating conflict. Overt control, punishment and suppression may be little noticed as it is part of the cultural fabric that pervades the community and meets group approval. However Separation strategy is likely to be considered when attaining or maintaining Unification is seen as more costly than separating and maintaining independent communities. For example, lack of engagement and accommodation yielded a protracted bloody American Revolution where the separatists did not prevail, at great cost to all parties. East Timor's separation from Indonesia, a recent event, is a continuing experiment. Religious and ethnic/cultural groups around the world rally for their unique communities and identities. Although Separation is sought by groups who claim oppression it is also imposed by those who dominate as in the case of Apartheid-era South Africa. Recently an American general suggested publicly that it will be easier to separate Iraq into three states than to continue forcing a common government on reluctant groups. Although these are large-state examples for purposes of common recognition, parallel processes occur at local community levels, as will later be described through several cases.

Unification and Separation strategies have common underlying perspectives on the nature of peace through control. This view of reality is represented by reductionism, a linear command and control ideation. Unification requires conformity with narrowly constrained deviance. Separation requires boundaries, minimizing relational interaction. These approaches may suffice when groups exist in relative isolation, surviving with minimal interaction. But they become costlier as communities develop in increasing proximity and interdependence. With modern communications and travel capacities it is increasingly difficult to attain and maintain Unification and Separation over time. Individuals and communities are exposed to and aware of social conditions regionally and globally. Awareness spawns alternative ways of seeing, learning and considering local opportunities.

The third pattern represents a “mind-shift” from a command and control perspective that is represented by both the Unification and Separation strategies to a dynamic complex-adaptive relational view of interaction within and among groups. I define this perspective as Unity in Diversity. It represents another approach to Peace and Place. Before elaborating on this view I have outlined comparisons between Command and Control (CAC) and Complex-Adaptive Systems (CAS) perspectives.

CAS compared with CAC

Contemporary literature and practices in the various disciplines are decreasingly based on reductionism. They are enhanced or replaced by nonlinear complex-adaptive chaos and complexity perspectives. In human affairs it is ever more apparent that it is not possible, nor even desirable, to predict and control social dynamics. For example, education is seen increasingly as a lifelong adaptive process of learning to learn rather than infusion of truths. Psychotherapy supports building individual and, increasingly, collective capacity appropriately to adapt in dynamic social milieus. Formal organizations are networked and nested dynamic socially constructed agencies with permeable and overlapping boundaries. All respond to simultaneous and continuous multifaceted feedback from outside and inside the system.

As our socio-cultural world is growing closer, peoples and their views are juxtaposed. Conditions often seem out of control, indeterminate and frenetic, readily inducing anxiety and fear among individuals and groups. When so experienced these conditions are likely precursors for Unification or Separation strategy imposition. However as perspectives are reframed from command and control to complex-adaptive perspectives, opportunities for personal agency are given new meaning.

Comparing Command and Control with Complex-Adaptive Systems perspectives:

VARIABLE	CAC	CAS
METAPHOR	Machine	Living organism
PART-WHOLE	Analysis, hierarchy	Holism, fractal, emergent
INFORMATION	Quantified, hoarded	Synthesized, shared
OPTIMAL CONDITIONS	Balanced, routine	Edge of chaos
AVOID ANXIETY BY	Avoiding ambiguity	Seeking diversity
RELATIONSHIPS	Rigid: we-they, self-other	Fluid, overlapping, co-evolve
IDENTITY	Bounded, segmented	Evolving, situational
MORALITY	Right - wrong	Milieu - based appropriateness
CHANGE	Causal, periodic, incremental	Fractal, dynamic bifurcating
INTERGROUP STRATEGY	Control, contain, dominate	Dialogic, co-learn, adapt
VIEW OF FUTURE	Predict, analyze trends	Possibilities, patterns emerge

As a community or individual holds a worldview that is consistent with a Command and Control reality, one is likely to approach the meaning and method of attaining and maintaining peace as Unification or Separation strategy. That is, one is likely to view a group more as a machine that can be manipulated than as a living dynamic organism that adapts in response to environmental feedback. Living organisms are affected by interventions but responses are not in proportion to the feedback, nor predictable in direction or result. A living organism co-evolves relationally (autopoiesis). It is capable of self-generation and self-modification as a nested system within its milieu. If one sees systems as living organisms one is likely to appreciate and use a Unity in Diversity approach to peace and place.

CAS emphasizes holism; special attention is given to understanding of patterns of relational processes (fractals) and appreciation of “edge of chaos” conditions where the living system is defined as stable in its fluid patterns rather than by rigid bounded structures. A CAC view of the future aims to predict and control through planned manipulations whereas a CAS view observes patterns of relationships, considers possibilities and is prepared to adapt as new information and possibilities emerge.

Optimal conditions of peace through a CAC lens suggest controlled balance and predictable routine (therefore a repressive response is indicated if balance is threatened or experienced). With a CAS perspective optimal conditions are at the “edge of chaos”, so the pattern or flow of the living system exhibits difference and

conflict, generating relational dynamism with underlying patterns (attractors) that cohere the whole in context.

Intergroup strategy aims to contain, control and dominate, if CAC, and to co-learn with diverse others through meta-dialogue (learning that takes place through broad observation and deep listening as one engages in understanding patterns that transcend groups at all social levels and sectors) and direct dialogue that results from keen observation and deep listening with those in direct relationship. CAC values narrowly focused "right or wrong" answers; CAS appreciates ambiguity and contextualized possibility.

From a CAC view, an individual or community finds healthy identity in clear designations and boundaries. Minimal ambiguity is strongly preferred. Community prefers clear roles and relationships. Individuals find security in personal identity that tends to separate "self" into sections such as the physical, mental, spiritual and emotional realms, and prefer clear roles in relationship with a specific community. Personality is seen as something quite fixed, developing in linear stages. The CAS view of self is holistic, adapting with fluid boundaries given emerging relationships. Therefore, although the community or person has identifiable pattern one has choice in selecting behaviors in any perceived situation.

The linear CAC view of agency in relationships indicates that the group and individual can plan and cause others to behave in specific ways and, to the degree that participants share the perspective, they can collude and act in accord with the norms. From a CAS perspective relationships are never quite controllable, and if control is attempted it harbors resentment and resistance. Large directed efforts may result in little desired outcome or small events may result in major changes.

Complex-adaptive Systems accepts that many metaphors are held by diverse groups and individuals so it is advantageous respectfully to understand those held by diverse elements of the community. A mutual continuing search for possibilities allows for a "both-and" view of perspectives, even understanding those who hold fast to a CAC view. For the CAC viewer who is disposed to "either-or" an inclusive stance is quite unacceptable.

Unity in Diversity (UD)

Unity in diversity represents an idea that challenges both the Unification and Separation assumptions. It challenges a command and control view of how the world

works. Espoused methods for achieving peace through deterministically planned interventions, are suspect. Unity in diversity represents a perspective of social evolution as an emergent process. It cannot effectively be controlled.

From this perspective peace cannot be caused but it contains the possibilities for alternative collective behaviors through an evolving perceptual shift that is consistent with Complex-Adaptive System (CAS) perspective or "mind". It highlights open information exchange, dialogue and meta-dialogue. It can restore psychological security and purposefulness among peoples and persons experiencing chaos and enmeshment in uncertainty and deprivation. No specific future is assured but many possibilities are viable. It promises the possibility that emerging futures allow and support presently unknown capacities for social conditions. UD cannot be forced and enforced. It is learned and co-created by diverse constituencies.

Unity in diversity is relational process as opposed to a finite entity. A sense of peace derives from security in collective openness, learning and adaptability rather than being invested in solid barricades against noxious forces. Similarly, place is relational and dynamic rather than bounded by geography or a single group's defined location and norms. So an individual's identity can vary with one's focus. As a person I see my self with highly fluid boundaries, depending on the set of relationships that are relevant at the moment. Family can include physically and genetically proximate and distant persons; it can include those now dead as well as living. Work affiliation groups include persons with offices along the same hallway, yet I am often more deeply connected with persons scattered around the globe. These relational affiliations are in constant flux. Emergence appears unexpectedly. So a sense of fluid relational identity can be "place" despite messy indeterminate and uncontrollable events.

Several Brief Cases

In each of the following cases interventions are viewed from a CAS perspective although from the perspective of involved individuals they may have considered their actions as having been deliberately causal, or incidental and unintentional. The situations cited are described through my personal experiences and eyes.

Indonesian formal public educational system development. Under the Suharto regime considerable resources were expended to develop a comprehensive

system of education. Governmental commitment was to centralize education and adopt a national language. Centralized planning and control systems were established. The nation-building strategy aimed to align diverse and geographically dispersed ethnic and language groups under central governmental control, and particularly under Suharto's control.

Over a period of more than twenty years foreign technical assistance and resources were purchased to assist in design and development of schools, teacher training and management institutions, and curriculum materials production. Aspects of these developmental efforts with which I was associated included training of education personnel who were, in turn, to plan and take roles in implementation of new systems and organizations.

It was clear that outcomes were to be aligned with centralizing commitments, and were evaluated continuously to ensure conformity. Some internal members and external advisors did not ascribe to the idea that centralizing was an optimal option. Despite circumstantial constraints ways were devised to meet outcome goals and to educate participants through a process that, retrospectively, may be called "seeding". That is, just as seed is broadcast by the farmer, some falling on good soil with adequate sun and water, other seeds fall elsewhere. So participants learned by modeling "student active learning" rather than prevailing didactic techniques. This was accomplished through participative learning methods. Professional trainees were spread around the country to assess the current status of educational practice and resources. Subsequently they visited and studied neighboring Malaysia's system, then Western European practices and North American approaches, each time reviewing findings in the real socio-cultural contexts of the host systems. These participants observed and learned much about themselves and their educational system. They learned not just to copy practices elsewhere as these would not fit current culture and governmental controls. They learned to appreciate variation and creativity in their contexts rather than simply to conform

This original group, a cohort of forty trained another larger cohort, all of whom worked together in teams and took on formal development roles. Subsequently many cohorts of educators, and individuals, studied abroad and practiced locally. A significant number of these educators were comparatively

young. They were positioned potentially to survive beyond the unknown duration of the Suharto regime. So despite developing educational institutions and practices that conformed with and contributed to capacity building they, collectively and individually, acquired ways of viewing systemic possibilities that could come to creative fruition in an undefined future.

Given the degree of repressive control that was exerted during these years participants practiced judicious restraint, intelligence and creativity as they undertook their assignments. Although these professionals' acquired ideals and preferences could not be realized in the short term, none revolted. Years later, shortly after a new elected government was formed, new designs for locally controlled educational organization and practice were supported formally. Most of these designs are today not yet implemented as intended progress has been limited due to inadequate resources. Yet local creativity is pervasively evident.

Although "seeding" ideas through those years may have had important impact it is impossible to know the specific genesis of effects. Descriptively, however, the many educators who were involved avoided both destructive conflict and mindless conformity. They maintained a sense of peace under potentially volatile circumstances. Although not so defined as dialogue at the time, recursive forms of broad and deep conversation characterized these educators' and other stakeholders' co-learning process that relate to the prompt post-Suharto legislative support for systemic change.

Western Cape education organization turnaround. Within several years following the Apartheid regime the newly established government of South Africa mandated both integration of the public schools and their decentralization. Integration created extreme stresses as four separate racially segregated organizations were forcibly fused into one. It created confusion and resentment among all groups. The communities were in uproar as many schools were barely functioning and the central system was quite dysfunctional due to the radical reorganization with attendant conflict of cultures and expectations.

The Western Cape's educational system had implemented the required integration at the Head Office and had negotiated with the unions to

accommodate a plan for total decentralization of the bureaucratic system. During this period top administration was engaged in daily “firefighting” with frequent protesters in the streets and communities. Groups were upset to the point, on several occasions, of kidnapping and holding hostage members of the top administration with demands for services and resources. Homes of were threatened and firebombed.

The decentralization plan, quite acceptable to the unions who were concerned primarily with job creation, was to establish subregional bureaucratic entities that mimicked the central head office. Each of these entities would be staffed with personnel having redundant and overlapping functions. Despite this commitment it became apparent that the plan was not viable. The bureaucratic mindset required that decentralization meant more bureaucracy at a lower level rather than achieve goals of decentralization. Rather than place educational resources and control directly into the hands of local communities the plan was devised to increase costly bureaucracy, to divert scarce resources from educational support into costly dysfunctional job positions and to leave communities disempowered and learning resources even more depleted..

Through repeated recursive interviews and facilitated conversations among diverse stakeholders plans were revised radically and past agreements were revisited and amended. The mindset changed from persisting in the dysfunctional plans. The reframed perspectives placed priority on student and community learning with local grass roots responsibility and control. The shift in perspective encouraged the Head Office and other bureaucratic entities to shift from primarily control functions toward primarily service and consultative functions. As these organizational shifts became public and as roles were defined and developed to support local development rather than restrictive control, protest shifted toward constructive local efforts at implementation.

Conditions of duress and the meta-dialogue that pervaded the streets and newspapers facilitated intense dialogue that resulted in an inevitably necessary reversal of “mind”, and organizational practices. The new direction was alien and terrifying to the majority of stakeholders. It released creative energies in service to a new vision. These changes clearly represented

extremely difficult long term effort. A sense of peace emerged slowly as groups clarified their potential for influencing respective local communal and personal futures. It appears that frustrated protesters' energies were transformed into constructive production as they gained their sense of personal and collective agency, despite prospects for continuing turmoil, decreasing resources and indeterminate futures.

Local Magic Several key educators in South Africa's Western Cape expressed considerable concern about wide disparities among the racial groups regarding their readiness and willingness to assert themselves in service to their own community building and educational needs. With decentralization of the educational enterprise to local communities a culture of passivity and entitlement is counterproductive. However, especially those defined as Colored and Indian communities continued to expect government caretaking for their needs, as had been their acquired habit from pre-Apartheid through the Apartheid era.

In contrast I witnessed enthusiastic community learning taking place in some of the least expected places. The "townships" around Cape Town were communities composed primarily of displaced immigrants from rural regions of South Africa and nations to the north. With temporary impoverished housing and facilities, and a social infrastructure including violent youth gangs, schools were being conducted under trees and in abandoned railroad cars. The children, enthusiastic learners, were dressed cleanly and uniformly. Generally their teachers were adults and sometimes older children who were willing to impart as they were able, learning with and from one another despite extremely limited training and academic background. Through daily social interaction and dialogue the disparate community organized to impart curriculum that approximated that of formal schools. Members of the community defended against and negotiated with local gangs to protect their modest facilities and materials. Organization and implementation was accomplished with no governmental assistance, with no expectation of aid.

Communal effort demonstrated and engendered palpable pride among adults and children. Together they organized to raise modest funds for school materials through coordinated production and sales of locally produced

handicrafts. These school-communities were among the most dynamic learning environments I have witnessed around the world, exhibiting the co-creative capacities of "spontaneous" community, lacking the expectation of assistance. The "mind" and actions of these communities and participants contrasted sharply with many nearby government schools where paid certified teachers and their students engaged passively at best, while students, teachers and school heads were often not even in attendance during required school hours.

This networking, engaged, dialoguing emergent community formed and shared housing, policing, production and sale of goods. They developed viable co-learning organization in environments with minimal human expertise and material resources. With their eyes on developing and maintaining schooling for their children and youth these communities demonstrate new patterns of emergent behavior. Their behavior lends coherent purpose to lives under conditions of conflict and deprivation. It demonstrates community with personal identity and a sense of peace under dynamic conditions.

Parkway Nearly forty years ago a novel secondary school was formed within the larger School District of Philadelphia (USA). During the era from the latter part of the 1960's through the early 1970's the United States was enmeshed in political protest, in racial and gender strife and in the general questioning of established institutions, including education. The school district was shaken by a new reform mayor and superintendent who promised to revolutionize education. While many simultaneous efforts were directed at actively including members' voices of demographically changing communities in school issues and management, the Parkway Program gained special national and international fame.

The Parkway Program was an idea that caught the mayor's fancy and support. It was established as a high school without walls, especially to take advantage of the many cultural, governmental and business institutions located along an avenue in the city's center called the Benjamin Franklin Parkway. In the culture of the times this new school was deemed to represent a highly desirable opportunity for students and faculty as they essentially created their

own curricula, schedules and performance criteria in learning cells. Student and faculty applications and selection assured a committed pool of enthusiastic learners. The school had the advantage of comparatively low costs as no building was required, nor extracurricular facilities and materials such as sports arenas and assembly halls. Courses were held in art museums, libraries, music venues, city hall and police headquarters, corporate and manufacturing offices. Additionally the school gained great press coverage and fame. Visitors from around the country and from other nations observed and studied the school.

The program served as an outlet for protest-oriented students and parents as they were channeled toward opportunities for searching alternatives to traditional educational and other institutional forms. It served the larger school district as a living laboratory for learning in diverse configurations, with members having wide-ranging purposes. It focused controversy about educational purposes and forms. Although the program was seen as radical with radical members it lacked the community strife and revolutionary fervor of many local school communities who regularly protested district and local school policies and practices that were often deemed to be discriminatory in relationship to racial and other groups. Parkway served as a controversial and productive model for purposes of comparison.

Over these nearly forty years the Parkway High School Program survives. However, it is no longer sustained with its early characteristics as it now has several physical locations, it has a more standard curriculum and faculty, and is capable of being far less selective with students. However, as much as the school now has lost its perceived innovativeness and luster, its coevolution with the larger district is instructive. The dynamic tension between the program and the district has decreased, in spurts, over time as the program is now but one of many alternative options for schooling foci and forms in the district. The district did not convert to the Parkway design yet benefited by having it absorb and dissipate anti-establishment protest energies. The district also benefited over time by learning from the experiences with Parkway, considering and implementing institutional options that have proliferated since the 1960's. A form of meta-dialogue among a broad range of voices over time has informed the various stakeholders while continuing

experimentation is systemically now more normative. Although various district superintendents attempted to extinguish Parkway the school has had concerted teacher teams, parents and alumni who advocated successfully for survival. The relationship has been a long evolving dance with cycling tensions and conflicts that appear to have served all parties.

Peace as continuing tension: maintain difference and dialogue

Those who hold staunchly to CAC views of reality may increasingly feel threatened in an information-rich world where absolutes as defined in prior times and societal conditions are difficult to "prove" and espouse. It may be increasingly difficult to assert the local cultural and moral certitude that is required to justify initiation and sustenance of dominance over others or for separation, isolationism and border control.

Yet a CAS view of reality that asserts messy and complicated conditions, lacking guarantees of positive outcomes, is not easy. Diversity fuels conflict. It requires continuing living energy that is committed to deep listening to diverging voices. As cultures encounter, new patterns emerge with their own tensions that are essential for continuing vitality.

Peace lives at the"edge of chaos", a place of mind

The "edge of chaos" represents dynamic systemic pattern depicting loosely bounded behavioral flow, or fractals. As we view patterns of human history it is striking that our global population approximates that of all prior humanity. Yet we survive and evolve together, as do other living things, without a single commander who directs us. Our communities exist as an interwoven patterned network. Peace may be described as a phenomenon that we experience as we step back from the apparent messiness of relationships to observe our patterns. Embracing our diversities, although complicated, allows us to engage and co-create our futures locally and globally. Conflict and cooperation are in an essential interrelationship.

To the degree that we hold to command and control views, using Unification or Separation strategies, we attempt to repress the patterned flow of conflict/cooperation. Repression of diverse elements may result in temporary success for some at the expense of others, with increasing probabilities of violent pattern

disruptions (wars) with even more unpredictable, often profoundly devastating, consequences.

Similarly, peace cannot be imposed, although suppression can. Peace may best be waged by engaging in dialogue with appreciation for a shared destiny. Peace can be characterized as dynamic unresolved productive tensions accompanied by a state of communal and personal "mind" that recognizes the music in the pattern.

Dialogue requires thought-bending talk and action. As responsible agents we listen and express. If we are not heard it is in everyone's mutual interest to express in ways that facilitate being heard. While this is not always a gentle process, not to strive for listening and for being heard portends larger disruptions. The future is co-created by all in each moment, as our actions in dynamic environments are instructed by our views of reality. As communities and individuals we are co-learning complex-adaptive agents. Peace is inevitably a dynamic messy unpredictable emergent process. Peace appears to be, for the long term, best enhanced not through suppression and unification nor through walls of separation but through continuing engagement of diverse voices at the edge of chaos.

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Neighbourhoods of Peace; Cities of Hostility: Exploring the socio-spatial dimensions of peace and place in the 21st Century and its implications for future cities

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Abstract

South Africa is changing and along with this, its cities. Crime, anti-social behaviour, community conflict, segregation and the violation of human rights are some of the challenges the country is currently facing. And while people have to come to terms with political transition and social change, the spatial environment is also transformed, in some cases almost over night. In response, there has been a huge growth of physical boundaries through fences and walls, burglar bars and shutters on building facades and boomed barricades on public roads. Consequently, the urban landscape has become a tapestry of fortified enclaves of various forms and sizes. Do these neighbourhood changes facilitate envisioned socio-spatial change and what are their implications for the city as a whole? This paper is concerned with the relationship between peace and place. It explores how the physical space facilitates or negates the establishment of peace through the manifestation of a specific function and form, as well as its meaning for urban residents. In order to investigate this relationship, it also reviews the concept 'piece of mind' and its connection with the nature and sense of place in cities. It argues for a socio-spatial understanding of peace and place and therefore for a multidimensional approach that would not only include peace making and peacekeeping, but also peace building and eventually conflict prevention.

Introduction

I dream of an Africa which is in peace with itself.
- Nelson Mandela

In 1994 Mandela stood in front of a newly elected parliament. After 27 yeas in prison and untold hardships, he used the words of Marion Williams in his presidential inaugural lecture to inspire the new democratic nation.

Our fear is not that we are inadequate, but that we are immensely powerful. Unfortunately, this power is not always utilised for the good of all and to fulfil Mandela's dream of a peaceful Africa. Accepting the Nobel Prize for peace in 1993, he thus reiterated the problem: We speak of the challenge of the dichotomies of war and peace, violence and non-violence, racism and human dignity, oppression and repression and liberty and human rights, poverty and freedom from want (Mandela 1993:1).

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The 1980s and 1990s were a period of urban crisis across the African continent (Mosha 2001). Consequently, the majority of African cities are currently characterised by seven aspects, namely population explosion and urban expansion, deteriorating infrastructure and services, economic stagnation and poverty, inadequate shelter and inappropriate city form, environmental stress, changing institutional settings and war, conflict and struggles (Landman 2006a). Political conflict and a wide range of power struggles in African cities have undermined their sustainability to a large degree, either by their total destruction of the city, including the physical and social capital, or their impact on the resources of another country's cities. It is also common practice for democratic states to favour some cities over other due to power/party differences and this has a significant impact on development in certain cities in Africa (Adebayo 2002).

South African cities are also changing dramatically. The first-all inclusive elections in 1994 marked the turning point and introduced a new era of democracy. However, the road to democracy is not without challenges. In the aftermath of political transition, the country faces many social and spatial changes, as well as challenges. These challenges are growing urbanisation, poverty, unemployment, large income disparities, high levels of crime and violence, and growing levels of fear of crime (Shaw 2000; Smith 2003; Butler 2004; Gotz et al 2004). It is estimated that more than 50% of the population lives below the poverty line and that 30% of the population is unemployed (May et al 1998). In addition, income disparity has also changed. In 1996, 58.6% of all households fell in the middle-income range of R4 801 – R38 400 per year annum, and collectively earned 35.7% of all income. In 2001, the proportion of households in this middle range had fallen to 43.7% and collectively captured a mere 19.9% of the total income. At the same time, the poorest 36.4% of households earned a mere 1.4% of the income, while the top 1.3% claimed a staggering 26.7% of all income earned (Gotz et al 2004:87). Ironically, the patterns of inequality therefore worsened in the post-apartheid era. In support of this Beal, Crankshaw and Parnell (2002:46) argue that the spatial order of post-apartheid is more unequal than the racial apartheid order of the past. This is a new order in which institutionalised inequality based on race has been uprooted, but inequality based on access to resources has been intensified. In this sense, South Africa has become similar to most other developing countries.

Overall crime levels increased by almost 5% between 1997-98, 7% in 1998-99, and 7.6% in 1999-2000 (Schonteich 2002). There was a slight decrease from 2000 to 2001. In line with this, Masuku (2002) shows a stabilisation of many crime types in 2002, albeit still at a very high level. Despite this stabilisation, perceptions are that crime is very high, especially in metropolitan areas. For example, annual Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) public opinion surveys in South Africa targeted a nationally representative sample of respondents about their feelings of personal safety. In 1994, almost three-quarters of respondents mentioned that they felt safe. At the end of 2000, respondents were almost equally divided with 44% feeling safe and 45% feeling unsafe (cited in Landman and Schönteich 2002). The 2003 National Victims of Crime Survey also shows that although crime levels, as measured by the surveys, have indeed declined from 1998 to 2003, feelings of safety were far worse in 2003 compared to 1998 (Mistry 2003).

In response, there has been a huge growth of physical boundaries through fences and walls, burglar bars and shutters on building facades and boomed barricades on public roads. Consequently, the urban landscape has become a tapestry of fortified enclaves of various forms and sizes. This raises several questions within the context the new democracy. Firstly, do these fortified places contribute to greater peace within South African cities? Secondly, what are the implications of fortification and privatisation for the consolidation of democracy? Thirdly, what is the relationship between peace and place, or in other words the role that the built environment and its design and management plays to enable greater peace?

A recent United Nation's (UN) publications reiterated that "there is a need for a culture of planning that promotes inclusive and peaceful cities" (UN State of the World's Cities Report 2005/2006:2). There has been a large international debate about the need for peace on a global and national scale. This has resulted in many programmes such as the UN's Peace Building Commission and Peace Building Missions in many countries world-wide, which links security and development (including Liden and Enestrom 2005; Gueli et al 2005). However, there has been less of a debate about peace within cities and most of these have been with regards to the impact of national or tribal/ethnic wars in urban areas. On the other hand, there have been debates about peace making within communities, especially related to crime prevention, victim empowerment and reintegration of offenders. This paper focusses on the need for peace within cities and between neighbourhoods and the role that the

built environment can play to facilitate greater conditions for peace. Firstly, it introduces the concepts of 'peace' and 'place' to establish the background and foundation for further discussion. This is followed by a discussion of the nature and impact of fortress neighbourhoods in South Africa and the challenges this presents for peace in these cities[9]. The paper will then explore alternative ways to enable peace through the development of various types of places within cities and finally consider the prospects for peace in future cities.

What is Peace?

It is difficult to capture a fixed nature or meaning of peace. As with many other words it has various connotations that differs between contexts and people. Given this, it is not always clear what each person means by peace and how it can be obtained (Onah anon). Some of these include:

- A state of quiet or tranquillity; freedom from disturbance or agitation; calm; repose.
- Exemption from, or cessation of, war with public enemies.
- Public quiet, order, and contentment in obedience to law.
- Exemption from, or subjection of, agitating passions; tranquillity of mind or conscience.
- Reconciliation; agreement after variance; harmony; concord.
- To make or become quiet; to be silent; to stop (http://www.brainyquoate.com).

To be more context-specific, in traditional African societies, peace is not an abstract poetic concept, but a rather down-to-earth and practical concept. It is conceived in terms of order, harmony and equilibrium. Therefore, combining all of these interpretations, one may argue that the components of peace include harmony, order and balance (see Figure 1). These three components are intrinsically linked to create conditions for peace.

[9] This is based on a national survey conducted by the CSIR in 2002 (Landman 2003), four in-depth case studies carried out in the municipalities of Johannesburg and Tshwane (including Pretoria) (Landman 2004) and an attendance of and detailed documentation review of the proceedings from the Public Hearings on Security Access Restriction in both the municipalities of Johannesburg and Tshwane (Landman 2006b).

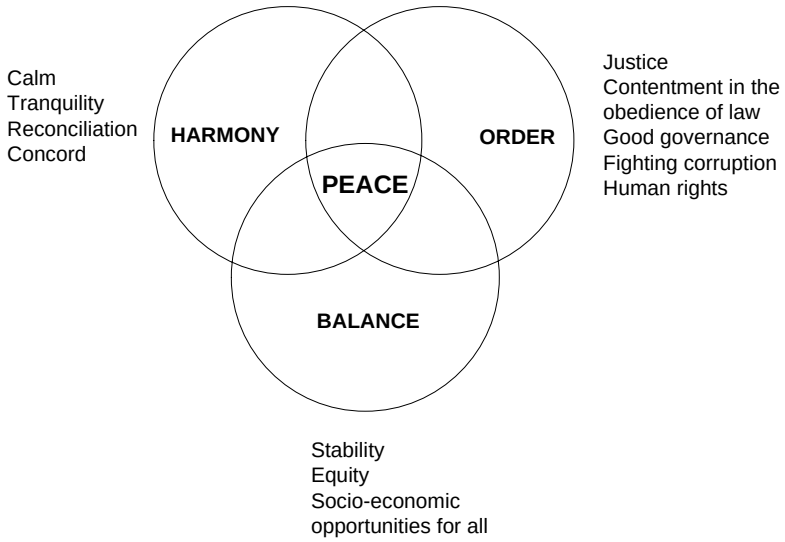

Figure 1: The components of peace

Peace is also often associated with security and both of these are considered the required aims of intervention in conflict-ridden areas. The UN uses four different instruments to respond to conflicts, namely conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace building. However, it has been shown that peacemaking and peacekeeping through security efforts and military or police operations on their own are not likely to establish sustainable peace (Gueli 2005). “It is as true to say that you cannot hope to achieve development goals without peace and security as to say you cannot hope to achieve peace and security without development” (Hannay 2005). This therefore calls for peace building efforts as well. Peace building refers to the assistance to institutions in creating conditions for restoring security, political stability and reconciliation, building capacity for essential social services, promoting respect for human rights and sustainable democratic as well as economic development. An important aspect of peace building is the creation of democratic societies that are based on the rule of law, able to fight corruption and with strong fiscal management. Peace building also needs to include the promotion of human rights, technical assistance for democratic development, as well as incentives for the commencement of economic activities and employment opportunities. Financial investment and viable economic growth must be stimulated in order to give young people alternatives to carrying arms or engaging in criminal activities. “People need jobs, incentives to lead a productive life, and hope for the future” (Hannay 2005:21).

Therefore, former president F.W. de Klerk, one of South Africa's recipients of the Noble Prize for Peace, stated in his acceptance speech:

> Peace does not fare well where poverty and deprivation reign
> It does not flourish where there is ignorance and a lack of education and information.
> Repression, injustice and exploitation are inimical with peace.
> Peace is gravely threatened by inter-group fear and envy and by the unleashing of unrealistic expectations.
> Racial, class and religious intolerance and prejudice are its mortal enemies
> (De Klerk 1993:2).

It is suggested that peace enforcement, peacekeeping and peace building should not be seen as separate phases or aspects of a linear process, but that these should be combined or integrated in countries or cities to address the nonlinear and interrelated nature of war economies and it's close relationship to organised crime within cities (Simone 2004; Gueli et al 2005). A systems perspective [10] highlights that firstly, security and development are mutually interdependent and that the solution lies in combining the symptomatic response (security) and the fundamental solution (development) (Gueli et al 2005). This requires a reconsideration of how we conceive and change places in cities to enable greater peace and security.

What is 'Place'?

The middle to late 20th century focus on place emerged as a reaction to Modernism's form of space, where emotional attachments were discarded in the urban development process. It has also been absorbed as part of Post-modern approaches to design (Ellin

[10] "A system is an entity which maintains its existence through the mutual interaction of its parts" (Von Bertalanffy cited in Bellinger 2004:1). Or in other words, "a system is any structure that exhibits structure and order" (Boulding 1985:7). The key lies in the interaction between the parts, over time, which structures the system[10]. As such, a system is different to a heap or collection. Examples of systems are particle, atom, molecule, cell, person, community, state, nation, world, solar system, galaxy and universe. In truth, there is only one system, "the Universe". All other systems are sub-systems of this larger system, depending on where one chooses to draw the boundaries (Bellinger 2004). To understand the sustainability potential of a settlement, one therefore needs to study the system – that is, the interactions of all the multi-dimensional aspects of settlements described above. Studying the parts in isolation will not provide an appropriate understanding (Bellinger 2004).

1997). Others have also taken the idea of place and place-making further to be applicable to areas wider than just architecture and urban design. Graham and Healey (1999) highlight the value of an emphasis on place for planning, while a recent collection of papers discusses the "Governance of Place" (Madanipour, Hull and Healey 2001). In addition, the promotion of place has also found increasing value in urban development projects and the promotion of cities, as part of a reaction against globalisation or in an attempt to be globally competitive (Pacioni 2004). If place is finding increasing prominence in the planning and design professions, this raises the questions of what exactly is meant by "place" and how it is created or established.

Norberg-Schultz states that "place is the concrete manifestation of man's dwelling, and his identity depends on his belonging to places" (1980:6). He therefore, maintains that the question of "place" came from philosophy, from questions concerning the relationship between life and place. However 'amorphous' and 'intangible' whenever we feel or know space, it is typically associated with the concept of "place" (Carmona et al 2003). Therefore, places are essentially centres of meaning constructed out of lived-experience (Relph 1976). By imbuing them with meaning, individuals, groups or societies change 'spaces' into 'places': for example Wenceslas Square is particularly meaningful to the citizens of Praque (Carmona et al 2003).

Space is therefore the starting point for understanding place. For Norberg-Schultz (1980) a place is a space that has a distinct character. Tuan (1977) states that place is security and space is freedom: we are attached to one and long for the other. Relph (1976) points out that space provides the context for places, but derives its meaning from particular places. Continuous spatial transformation is a characteristic of any settlement, whether it happens relatively regularly (for example in large cities), or is part of a very slow process (for example in small rural villages) (Madanipour 1996). Massey argues for the simultaneous conceptualisation of spatial as social, and social as spatial. If the dynamism of the concept of space-time is employed, place can be understood as open and porous – "place becomes a moment in the ever-changing social relations at all scales" (Massey in Madanipour 1996:23).

Relph (1976) argues that "physical setting", "activities", and "meaning" constitute the three basic elements of the identity of places. Building on his work, Punter and Montgomery located the components of place and a sense of place within urban design thought (see Figure 2). This illustrates how urban design interventions

can contribute to and enhance a sense of place. It also reflects the intricate relationship between society and space. The city, or settlement, is a stage where different actors play out their various roles (Short 1996) or, to be more specific, public space is "the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds" (Carr *et al.* in Madanipour 1996:146). These performances or interactions are socio-spatial. "They all *take place* [emphasis in original text]. They occur in a spatial setting. Space is not just a backdrop. Space and place are crucial to what performances are given and how they are received" (Short 1996:252).

Tensions, however, emerge when over-emphasis on individual places leads to the transformation of public spaces into privatised common spaces for only a selected few through, for example, privatisation and access control. Precincts are fortified and privatised in this way as a result of the actions of private business, large corporations, wealthier citizens, and sometimes also those of local authorities (Dillion 1994; Flusty 1995; Madanipour 1996; Oc and Tiesdell 1997; Ellin 1997; Marcuse 2001; Graham and Marvin 2001). Consequently the nature of the public realm has been changed through the privatisation of public space, services and governance. Davis, referring to "Fortress LA", and the militarisation of public space in Los Angeles, describes a city in which the "defence of luxury has given birth to an arsenal of security systems and an obsession with the policing of social boundaries through architecture" (Davis 1992:154). In this way gated communities contribute to the wide-scale phenomenon referred to as the loss of the public realm in contemporary cities across the world.

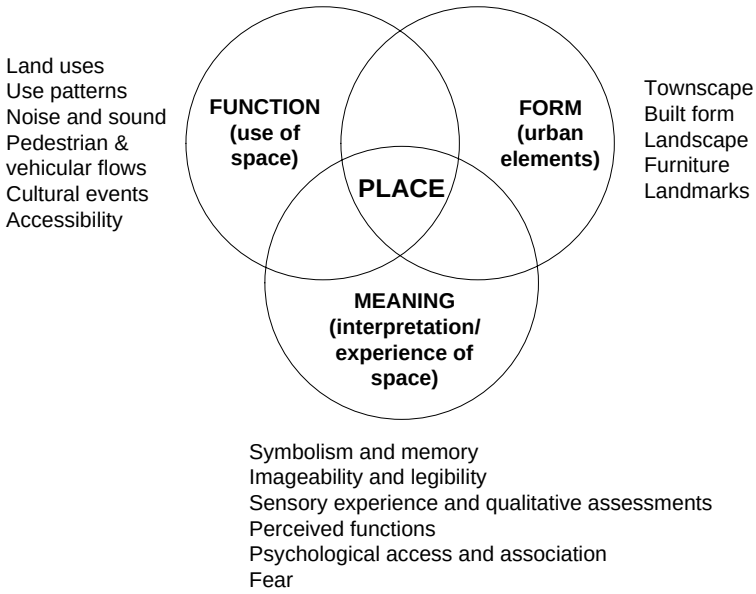

Figure 2: The components of place (adapted form Punter and Montgomery cited in Carmona et al 2003).

The question is whether this poses a problem in cities. In order to address this question one needs to explore the relevance of public space in cities. There are many definitions of public space, highlighting different aspects such as the common ground (Carr et al)[11], sharing through contact with strangers and peaceful coexistence (Walzer)[12], or free access (Tibbals)[13]. In essence, public space can be summarised as "… space that allows all the people to have access to it and the activities within it, which is controlled by a public agency, and which is provided and managed by public interest" (Madanipour 1996a:148).

Public space is important because it "expresses and also conditions our public life, civic culture, everyday discourse" (Walzer cited in Madanipour 1996a:146). Tibbals points out that the public realm is "the most important part of our towns and cities. It is where the greatest amount of human contact and interaction takes place" (in Madanipour 1996a:146). It is therefore important that the development of urban

[11] For example, one definition considers public space as "the common ground where people carry out the functional and ritual activities that bind a community, whether in the normal routine of daily life or in periodic festivities" (Carr *et al*. 1992, cited in Madanipour 1996a:146).
[12] For Walzer (1986), "Public space is space we share with strangers, people who aren't our relatives, friends, or work associates. It is space for politics, religion, commerce, sport; space for peaceful coexistence and impersonal encounter" (cited in Madanipour 1996a:146).
[13] Another definition of the public realm is concerned with access: "all the parts of the urban fabric to which the public have physical and visual access. Thus, it extends from the streets, parks and squares of a town or city into the buildings which enclose and line them" (Tibbalds, cited in Madanipour 1996a:146).

public space, as part of a larger public sphere, addresses the tensions inherent in the contemporary transformation of the urban public realm and contributes to the emergence of an urbanism which promotes social integration and tolerance (Madanipour 1999:879).

Neighbourhoods of Peace

Gated communities in South Africa, including enclosed neighbourhoods[14] and security estates[15], have grown significantly in the past five years. They occur in various forms across the country and contribute to a significant transformation of the urban landscape (Landman 2003). Recent studies also confirmed that the desire for safety and security is the main driver behind their growth, although not the only one (Landman 2004). Other influencing factors include a sense of community and identity, a search for a particular lifestyle and a desire for places that would fulfil these needs.

Jenny (all names changed) lives in an enclosed neighbourhood in Pretoria east. The enclosed neighbourhood officially came into existence on 1 September 2001. The case-study area comprises one enclosed neighbourhood with 122 plots that are accessed from inside the enclosed area. Three roads are closed off to restrict access into the neighbourhood. At present, two of the three entrances are closed off by electronic gates, while Elizabeth Grove has a controlled-access point through the use of booms and gates manned by private security officers. There are no pedestrian gates next to these gates, and pedestrians are required to use the main entrance at Elizabeth Grove Avenue. Before the closure, Protea Avenue could be accessed from two sides out of Kings Highway, on both sides of a small triangular park situated at this intersection. As part of the road closure, the left entrance and south boundary of the park have been fenced off. This small park now falls within the closed-off area. This is therefore also a case of privatisation not only of roads but also of other public spaces. Indeed, the concern over congregation in this park seems to have been a key

[14] *Enclosed neighbourhoods* refer to existing neighbourhoods that have been fenced or walled in and where access is controlled or prohibited by means of gates or booms that have been erected across existing public roads.

[15] *Large security estates* in South Africa are mostly located on the urban periphery. They offer an entire lifestyle package, including a secure environment; a range of services (garden services, refuse removal, etc.); and a variety of facilities and amenities such as golf courses, squash courts, cycle routes, hiking routes, equestrian routes and water activities. These are private developments where the entire area is developed by a private developer. These areas/buildings are physically walled or fenced off and usually have a security gate or controlled access point, with or without a security guard.

reason for the action in the first place. The side gates have a sign informing pedestrians to make use of the main entrance further down the road.

When she was asked about the impact on her feelings of safety in the area, Jenny commented on her peace of mind when going on holiday, and on the absence of any suspicious-looking characters in the street. She felt that there was no doubt that the gates and fences had added to the sense of security. She added:

> *I think especially when one goes away on holiday you always have that anxious feeling. Let's pack at the back of the garage, so that no one will see that you are going away. You didn't pack outside, because the street was full of people. Now, with the street closures, there is a minimum of people walking around. Those that you watch are your neighbour's people that you almost trust, who work here – so, definitely, it makes a big difference.*

All residents interviewed agreed that the neighbourhood closure had reduced crime significantly. They also all felt safer now, to varying degrees. One of the interviewees, a mother of three, was very excited about the impact of the gates on the reduction of crime and said that, as a result, she was no longer concerned if her two smaller daughters (in primary school) wanted to go outside her property to play or ride their bicycles as this was now a peaceful neighbourhood. As long as they remained inside the neighbourhood enclosure, she felt they were safe.

Susan lives in a large luxury estate on the outskirts of Pretoria. Security was used very effectively to draw potential buyers. The estate prides itself on providing residents with a tranquil atmosphere in a secure environment. The following extract from an estate agent's brochure sums it up:

> *On entering the Woodhill Residential Estate and Country Club the country atmosphere of the estate takes you back in time. Homes built with open gardens extending onto sprawling fairways or along pretty lanes where family life can be enjoyed unhindered by the insecurities of the modern world, and peace of mind is a prerequisite not a luxury (http://www.egchapman.co.za/body_woodhill.html).*

This extract promises a secure lifestyle away from all "the insecurities of the modern world'. The estate therefore offers an escape from insecurity, worry and the

city. The location of the estate offers a connection to the tranquillity of the countryside as it was in the past, expressed by the phrase “the estate takes you back in time”.

The estate comprises 709 residential stands, of which 313 have golf-course frontages. The design of the estate features curvilinear roads around the golf course. Plot shapes and sizes vary, depending on their position within the larger development. The design makes provision for a variety of options and tastes. The land use promotes the lifestyle concept. Land uses include residential areas, the golf course, roads, pedestrian walkways and cycle routes, the area for the clubhouse and sports facilities, and an area for the development of the school. Security plays a major role in the design of Woodhill. Features such as guardhouses, entrance gates or booms, fences and walls become characteristic architectural and urban design elements. Security is not an add-on; it is an essential part of the design and layout of this estate. The estate has two very prominent entrance gates displaying the name and reflecting an image of architectural elegance, security and an upmarket lifestyle.

All the residents agreed that they felt much safer living in a security estate. Susan’s husband pointed out that moving into the area had had a huge impact on his and his wife’s sense of security.

> *A huge impact. I mean, if you look at the number of incidents. Don’t get me wrong – there have been one or two incidents but they are very isolated and you certainly feel much safer – sometimes you forget to lock your door – don’t worry too much about it.*

This couple does not have a fence around their house. The garden is part of the common garden, flowing into the golf course.

> *It is amazing – there are probably about 17 houses but we have got about 50 kids in this small street. They are all friends. They play. You have to actually grab them back. The girls are in Woodhill College, which is just there. Very, very convenient. It is close, it is safe, there is no traffic. If I’ve got a problem they walk home. It is very secure.*

Therefore, the common spaces (outside space within the estate) become an extension of the home and peace inside, allowing the members of this community to

gather in a peaceful environment. This reflects the feeling of peace within the neighbourhood, created through strict control of access and use of resources inside.

Cities of Hostility

These 'peaceful' neighbourhoods, however, does not guarantee peace for everyone inside or for those outside these areas. The research findings have identified several levels of conflict related to gated communities in South Africa, including conflict between residents inside, as well as conflict between those inside and outside. This includes conflict between gated communities residents and those from surrounding neighbourhoods, as well as conflict with the local council.

According to the existing legislation in the Cities of Johannesburg and Tshwane, at least 80 % of all the residents staying within a neighbourhood have to be in favour of the closure before an application can be submitted and considered. This means that up to 20% can oppose the application. While there is room for formal objections, these often do not carry enough weight and in many cases neighbourhoods are granted approval. This has given rise to conflict between those in favour and those against, creating conflict between neighbours, leading to statements such as:

> *My direct neighbour is one of those who decided she did not want to be a part ... but now she leaves her gate open. Those who are not in must also have an ID card like the black domestic workers. …. They don't sign in or anything else. But one feels that they should sign in and out every day if they don't want to be part of the group.*

This extract clearly indicates hostility towards the neighbour. This particular resident, however, fails to consider that the person may not agree to the closure in principle and that it may in fact restrict her personal choice to a free and open neighbourhood.

Neighbourhood closures also create conflict between residents inside and outside enclosed neighbourhoods, as became evident from the responses at the Public Hearings in both Tshwane and Johannesburg. Those on the outside often accused residents inside, for example in relation to using crime as a justification:

> *"I have lived in this house for 22 years and my family and visitors have never experienced a single criminal act or threat thereof to our property or persons. I seriously question the allegations of rampant criminality in the area and also suspect*

> *that criminality is being used as smokescreen for other selfish and self-serving motives (Roodt, City of Tshwane Public Hearings Proceedings 2003).*

Others feel that those inside are benefiting at there expense, as Mr Gouws indicated:

> *The first negative impact is that all pedestrians and vehicular traffic now have to move around the exclusive area, therefore increasing the use of my street. I cannot walk freely with my dog on routes as previously; I must now keep to the routes that are still open. I cannot ride on my bicycle through the area any more, as the closed gates block me. I must now make use of a steep hill next to the area as this is the only remaining open road. I am however still better off than my garden worker. He does not have a bicycle and has to walk around the exclusive area to reach me. Previously he walked through the area with much less effort. (Gouws, Public Hearings Proceedings 2003).*

In this way gated communities cause great discomfort and inconvenience for those outside, leading to frustration and resentment. This is also exacerbated in cases where some residents are denied access to public spaces inside enclosed neighbourhoods. As pointed out by the Human Rights Commission, this contributes to a violation of human rights related to the constitutional right to freedom of access to public spaces[16]. This highlights the tensions and emerging hostility between residents and groups inside and outside the gated neighbourhoods related to the loss and privatisation of urban space and resources.

Gating also creates conflict between local councils and residents associations. While one neighbourhood closure may not have such a significant impact on the city, problems start to escalate when increasing numbers of neighbourhoods close off roads, especially if they are not suited for road closure or are located on major routes. A traffic engineer responsible for many traffic impact studies for applicants of neighbourhood closures in Johannesburg explained the problem:

> *Well, if you take an area in isolation … you could close those in such a way that you don't create significant impacts. But there will be obviously a local impact. Now*

[16] The Human Rights Commission in South Africa found that the use of road closures / boom gates has the potential to and does indeed in practice violate a number of rights. They also pointed out that these measures cause social division, dysfunctional cities and lead to further polarisation of the city. The Commission therefore does not support the use of boom gates and gated communities (Human Rights Commission Report on Road Colures / Boom Gates 2005).

> *you do another one close by. Now those impacts [are] … like two stones being thrown into a pond – the ripples start to overlap and interfere with one another. Now you add two or three more, and you have got overlapping influences which can create problems … That is why I actually said I don't want to do any more of these individual ones, because we are building up a problem like a rush. In fact, I was involved in one and said absolutely no problem whatsoever because of the street layout and the access. And then a group literally half a kilometre down the road said, we want to apply for ours now and I actually had to say … I'm sorry, that one won't work, because of this and because of that. And of course the group said that was not fair. They were allowed to do theirs and we are not allowed to do ours. I said that is part of the problem … theirs does not create a problem but unfortunately yours does, because you are a slightly different part of the street network. And then I got … more and more … I never realised so many of these would happen. So actually I went back to the council and said, you know, this is wrong. This is the wrong approach. What we should be doing at the metropolitan level is actually maybe split the metro up into regions and say, okay, you need to actually look at this region and see if we do this and that, whether that can be managed, and then look at the relationships between regions.*

This illustrates the tension and conflicts emerging as a result of applications that are denied and also starts to highlight the cumulative impact of a large number of gated communities, which also creates many problems for urban management and maintenance. Many road closures also cause problems for the functioning of emergency services. Both municipalities, Johannesburg and Tshwane, expressed concern about damage to service vehicles, problems with waste removal and the reading of water and electricity meters. The rapid response times of police and other emergency services, including fire-trucks and ambulances are also compromised by a large number of road closures.

Security estates also pose problems in some cases regarding efficient service delivery and the maintenance of infrastructure, for example in the case of Woodhill Estate. Residents from the surrounding area complained to the council regarding the extensive use of St Bernard Street on the way to the Woodhill entrance. They maintained that this contributed to an increase in crime in this area, as well as to loitering and increased traffic congestion. The Woodhill Residents' Association had prohibited all construction vehicles or workers involved in the development of sites in the estate, as well as domestic workers, from entering at the Garstfontein entrance. This caused extreme frustration, inconvenience, traffic friction and illegal activity

along St Bernard Street, and major resentment on the part of property owners along this street and from the surrounding area. The council informed the Woodhill Residents' Association and board of directors of the complaints, who did not respond. Consequently the Tshwane City Council took the case to the Pretoria High Court. The Court ordered that both entrances serve as access to the estate, and that the public and domestic workers (in taxis and buses) could enter the estate at any time. In addition, the judge ordered that another entrance from De Villebois Mareuil Avenue be opened temporarily for construction vehicles. This incident does, however, indicate that actions taken by the people inside the estate can lead to tension in, and even conflict with, the surrounding areas. They can even involve the local council and the High Court. Therefore, rules imposed within the estate also have an impact on social relations and other people's perceptions.

An Emerging Urban 'Civil' War

From the previous discussion, it has become clear that the establishment and operations of gated communities can lead to a number of tensions and conflicts related to the fortification and privatisation of public spaces and the impact and implications of these actions. Discontent with these developments has therefore created a growing resistance, threatening peace within the city as a whole. It was perceived by many outside gated communities that those inside are getting or enhancing control over local resources inside, including former public spaces such as roads, sidewalks and parks, as well as a range of facilities and amenities. It also included the privatisation of natural resources such as dams and rivers or access to these. Many saw their own role as that of stopping these actions as a civil duty to all the residents in the city and towards greater freedom of movement as advocated by the post apartheid ideology. These protestors questioned the moral implications of physical interventions and maintained that the levels of crime have been exaggerated to justify physical enclosure. This also gave rise to many questions regarding the implementation of democratic governance and fair taxation. Given this, transforming urban space through gated communities was perceived as "social injustice", "land grabbing", "a new form of apartheid", and "images of anarchy" (Proceedings from the Public Hearings in Johannesburg, 2003 and Tshwane, 2004). In this way the response to gated communities in South Africa reflects a divided city and contributed to further

division as different groups lobbied either for or against them, which signals the emergence of an urban civil war.

This division is further enhanced through the various responses of different political parties. In general, a political distinction was found between the responses, with the more right-wing approach praising the gated places, for example the New National Party and Freedom Front, and a more left/liberal approach resisting them, for example the African National Congress, Pan African Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party.

The tensions and conflict between the different opposing groups become so heated that local authorities were forced to intervene. This was the case in both municipalities studied and as a result, they convened the Public Hearings to find suitable solutions. According to Short (1996) planning authorities can respond to conflicting pressures in five ways: resistance to growth, deflection of development, deflection of blame, control and planning gain. In both cases, the municipalities responded through a combination of these approaches. In the initial phases there was a deflection of the developments and blame, as municipalities recognised the need for safety and almost turned a blind eye to these developments. In the cases of security estates, some officials acknowledged the benefits for the council related to private infrastructure development and a large tax base. However, as time passes and the impact and implications become more apparent, the local authorities are taking a stronger stance, revising their policies and enforcing stronger regulations and control. These actions have not managed to address the issues of conflict sufficiently and needs to be complemented and gradually replaced with alternative interventions to enable the creation of places of peace.

Peace of Mind: Reconciliation and Peaceful Resolution

Peace is not an absence of war, it is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence, justice.

- Baruch Spinoza

The first step in creating places of peace is to acknowledge the need for an alternative state of mind that would enable this. In his Nobel lecture, De Klerk (1993) mentioned that peace is a frame of mind.

> It is a frame of mind in which countries, communities, parties and individuals seek to resolve their differences through agreements, through negotiation and compromise, instead of threats, compulsion and violence (De Klerk 1993:2).

He continues to note that in our quest for peace we should constantly ask ourselves what we should do to create conditions in which peace can prosper (De Klerk 1993). Therefore, we should search for ways to transcend 'gated minds' (Brunn 1994) and work towards reconciliation that will enable us to start moving towards the components of peace, namely harmony, order and balance. This would necessarily involve initiatives of peace making, peace keeping and peace building.

With regards to peace making, South Africa already has a great example of a peace process, namely the process initiated and carried out by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The TRC was set up by the Government of National Unity to help deal with what happened under apartheid. The conflict during this period gave rise to violence and human rights abuses form all sides. No section of society escaped these abuses[♣] (). The TRC's hearings reached beyond the limitations of secular law and explored new potentials for forgiveness and national reconciliation. Nowhere else has secular legislation produced such an unsecular and almost scriptural understanding of what it takes to heal a nation (Storey 1999). The lesson seems to be in the opportunity given to people to voice their concerns and explore alternatives. This also relates to the African idea of peace, that one has to talk about it (Onah anon.). A similar process within cities, although obviously on a much smaller scale within cities, that would involve different communities could start to initiate the process of peace making. This is indeed what organisations such as the PeaceJam Foundation are engaged with.

De Klerk (1993) also pointed out that peace is a framework:

> *It is a framework consisting of rules, laws, agreements and conventions – a framework providing mechanisms for the peaceful resolution of the inevitable clashes of interest between countries, communities, parties and individuals. It is a framework within which the irresistible and dynamic processes of social, economic and political development can be regulated and accommodated (De Klerk 1993:2).*

[♣] http://www.doj.gov.za/trc/ Retrieved 06.23..2006

The question is however, how this framework is enforced: through draconic measures and exclusionary practices, that may give rise to many side effects and unintended consequences, such as gated communities, or through alternative approaches to crime prevention and security. Through community participation and crime prevention partnerships within cities, neighbourhoods can start to explore alternative mechanisms of peace keeping. Some alternatives have been attempted. Saxonworld, a neighbourhood in northern Johannesburg has opted not to physically enclose its area. Instead, it has established a vibrant community organisation that initiates and manages a range of projects. These include safety patrols, regular neighbourhood clean-ups, sharing information and monthly newsletters to the community. The residents work closely with the local authority and police to ensure that the maximum impact is achieved through their efforts. Other communities have established neighbourhood patrols (foot patrols) and have reported success in terms of crime reduction. Through these efforts committed communities are achieving results, without physical barriers. As discussed earlier, peace making and peace keeping approaches alone is not likely to achieve sustainable peace within cities. These need to combine peace building efforts as well.

Place of Peace: A New Urban Function and Form

Peace building is all about development and in this case would include all the various dimensions of urban development. Infrastructure development is a crucial dimension and often establishes the preconditions for social and economic development. It is therefore an important part of urban reconstruction and one of the crucial components of peace building. This starts to link the concepts of peace and place. As was discussed, spaces can become places in the true sense if the function and forms starts to merge with the meaning. Given this, it is important to also explore the role of ‘peace landscapes’ in cities. The generic label ‘peace landscape’ is often randomly applied to very different symbolic and political spaces. For example, during 1998, the term was equally applied to a nature reserve on the Israeli West Bank and to the Lady Diana memorial garden intended for Kensington, London. Gardens, parks and other physical interventions can fulfil a variety of political and symbolic functions, from contemplation, through protest, to recreation (Gough 1999). It therefore depends on the meaning of a place within a specific context, which in terms of this paper is South Africa.

a) Peace gardens

Most peace gardens are tiny in scale and reflective in character, designed for commemoration or remembrance (Gough 1999). However, it can also be implemented to resolve conflict and aid with development and peace building in cities. Examples of such gardens can be found in South Africa. Amalimi Bezekhaya is a NGO working in the Cape Flats in Cape Town, with some of the poorest communities in the city and has won the Peace Gardens Award in 1994. Ambalimi means "the people who plant". One example of a successful project was the Phathisanani ("let's hold together") Community Allotment Garden in Phillipi in Nyanga. The garden was started by 12 women who obtained 1 200m^2 land at the Mzamomhle Primary School. These women, together with two other groups, are now beginning to market their organic vegetables to retailers outside the townships. In 40 hours over 11 days, over R 1 200 worth of produce was sold outside the area. Vegetables that are not sold are consumed or sold to neighbours at home. Any losses are recycled as fertilizers. Organic vegetables are increasingly in demand and have led to the establishment of the first permanent micro-ecological gardening jobs be established (Ambalimi Newsletter 2000). Other successful examples have been implemented in Hamanskraal outside Pretoria in the municipality of Tshwane. These gardens assist to create more conducive conditions for peace as it provides spaces of reconciliation and opportunity as previously unemployed people not only find a steady stream of income, but they also assist towards greater food security in the neighbourhood. It also changes hostile environments into soothing environments through vegetation and landscaping.

b) Peace Parks

By comparison to peace gardens, peace parks are often large in scale. Trans-National Peace Parks can span several continents and straddle lengthy national borders (Gough 1999). Africa has a number of these and the most well known in South Africa is located on the borders of South Africa, Swaziland and Mozambique. However, smaller peace parks can also be created inside cities to reconstruct old battlefields or create transition / neutral zones between warring communities, or just to provide a safe place in volatile neighbourhoods.

One such an example is Freedom Park. This park celebrates the road to freedom, from a conflict ridden past to a vision embedded in the African Renaissance.

Comprising a memorial, interactive museum and garden of remembrance, the park strives to accommodate all the country's unfolding experiences and symbols to tell one coherent story of the struggle to freedom in South Africa – the struggle for survival, land, resources and how they shaped the social, economic, political, cultural and historical landscape of the past. Therefore one of the aims is to establish peace through greater understanding of the diversity and differences within the country and city. The garden of remembrance, interspersed with monuments, statues and sculptures – symbolises the final resting place of the fallen heroes of the conflicts which shaped the history of South Africa. In 2003, a series of cleansing, healing and symbolic reparation ceremonies took place in each province across the country, acknowledging the seven main conflicts in South Africa's past –genocide, slavery, the wars of resistance, the Anglo Boer wars, the first and second world wars, and the struggle for liberation from apartheid. Some soil from the site of each ceremony, along with a plant unique to each province, was collected and sent to form part of the garden of remembrance, in honour of those affected by each of the seven conflicts. A role of people who died during the conflicts will also form part of the garden[•]

However, 'peace parks' can also be less grandiose and located within troubled communities, but through their existance start to symbolise healing from conflict and through development of infrastructure and places for recreation, enrich people's quality of life. The park system along the Jukskei River in Alexandra, northern Johannesburg has been such an example. Through the Alexandra Urban renewal project, the urban spaces along the river has been upgraded and provided with places for recreation of various groups, with new environmentally friendly housing overlooking these spaces, providing safer places in a much traumatised and conflict-ridden community. This has reduced opportunities for crime in these areas through the design of safer spaces and providing recreational opportunities for the youth, as well as gathering spaces for a variety of people, giving vibrancy to a once desolated space.

c) Peace Squares

Peace Squares plays the same role as peace parks within cities, but refer to the design of hard open spaces, instead of predominantly soft open spaces in parks. Significant

[•] http://www.southafrica.info/ess_info/sa_glance/history/freedompark.htm Retrieved 06.23.2006

squares, sometimes combined with peace memorials, can not only start to act as physical symbols of peace, but also provide important gathering places for people to reaffirm their sense of place and belonging within cities, for example Ghandi and Mary Fitzgerald Squares in Johannesburg.

The Ghandi Square was officially opened in 2003 with the unveiling of a bronze statue of Ghandi in Johannesburg. The tall statue depicts Ghandi as a young lawyer in his gown, with a book under his arm, looking determinately forward. He looks into the centre of the square, and on top of a 5m tall plinth, makes for an imposing figure in space. The plinth has wooden benches positioned around the base, making it people friendly and offering spaces for reflecting or resting. Ghandi practised as an attorney at the Johannesburg Law Courts in what was known as Government Square (now renamed Ghandi Square). The courts were in used until 1911 when the Pritchard Street Supreme Court building was built. They were eventually demolished in 1948 and made way for the city's main bus terminus, which is still functional. Ghandi left the country for India in 1914, after having established his policy of "Satyagraha" or peaceful resistance[♦]. Today the square do not only serve as a vibrant meeting of place a very diverse population, but also as a place of remembrance and reconciliation between different groups within this population.

The Mary Fitzgerald Square was launched by President Thabo Mbeki in 2000. Originally known as Aaron's Ground and later renamed Mary Fitzgerald Square, this former wagon site was used for many striker's meetings at the turn of the century. The Square lies in the heart of Newton, which has also been upgraded significantly in the past few years. The Square was renamed in 1939, in honour of the first woman trade unions who played a key role in the 1910 miners strike. The new square has a capacity for 50 000 people and provides an outdoor space for a wide array of activities, including film festivals, concerts, markets, carnivals and exhibitions. Two sky disks depict the stellar constellation as at the birth of Mary Fitzgerald, and secondly depict the constellation as at the first democratic election of 27 April 1994. There is a third, which can be found at the entrance to the Museum Africa depicting the constellation as at the official launch of the square on 16 December 2001 – Reconciliation Day. The disks use unique fibre optic lights that glow in the dark. The lighting in the square, designed by the French engineer Partrick Rimoux, provides

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[♦] http://www.southafrica.info/ess_info/sa_glance/history/gandhistatue.htm Retrieved 06.23.2006

essential street lighting, whilst giving the area a distinct ambience and greater feeling of safety and coherence. The square is also surrounded by a large number of smaller statues, which were manufactured by Newtown artists from disused railway sleepers, depicting the different faces from the African continent. In this way the square becomes a symbol of peace and reconciliation after conflict and a place where the people can start to build greater peace for today and tomorrow in an open and integrated way.

Prospects for Peace in Future Cities: A Nightmare or a Dream

Gallopin et. al. (1997) investigated the current situation and developed six possible scenarios that can influence the future sustainability of cities. The first group is *Conventional Worlds*, which two variants, *Reference* and *Policy Reform*, which is based on no or minimal changes, including typical technological change or in other words 'business as usual'. The second class is *Barbarisation*, which is based on the grim possibility that the social, economic and moral underpinnings of civilization deteriorate, as emerging problems overwhelm the coping capacity of both markets and policy reforms. The result is either a Fortress World or complete Breakdown. The *Fortress World* variant features an authoritarian response to the threat of societal problems and breakdown. Ensconced in protective enclaves, elites safeguard their privilege by controlling an impoverished majority through force and managing critical resources, while outside the fortress there is repression, environmental destruction, and misery. This will, however, eventually lead to a breakdown. The *Breakdown* variant leads to a complete collapse of the system, influencing everyone and everything. It is characterised by unbridled conflict, institutional disintegration and economic collapse (Gallopin et al 1997:vii). Fortunately the situation is not completely lost. The *Great Transitions* explore visionary solutions to the sustainability challenge, including innovative socio-economic arrangements and fundamental changes in values. In this event, the transition will be to a society that preserves natural systems, provides high levels of welfare through material sufficiency and equitable distribution, and enjoys a strong sense of social solidarity.

The signs of moving to a Fortress World and its concomitant nightmares are very eminent. According to Gallopin et al (1997) we are now at a branching point. Unless there is significant intervention towards eco-communalism, with an increased focus on 'open' sustainable neighbourhoods and cities and eventually to a new

sustainability paradigm, the world's cities may in fact be transformed into a Fortress Cities. Fortunately, South Africa is also a place of great forgiveness and hope. It is the only country where those in power went to the ballot box and, with no way of predicting the consequences, voted to give up their power. The oppressed then formed a government of national unity with their previous oppressor – choosing reconciliation over retribution. South Africa also produced four Nobel Peace Laureates and gave the World the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Du Plessis 2002). Therefore, despite the barriers that are still remaining, the country tries to create a society in which people will start building bridges towards greater peace. Integrated urban development and the creation of places of peace can go along way to break the barriers and facilitate greater peace building.

Conclusion: Building Bridges Rather than Barriers

Peace cannot be kept by force; it can only be achieved by understanding.

- Albert Einstein

In the light of this, there is a need to understand what is necessary to achieve greater peace in cities. This paper has shown that in order to work towards sustainable peace within cities and communities it is necessary to follow a socio-spatial approach and consider both the components of place and peace in the process. Only focussing on peace, may create the pre-conditions for peace, but limited spaces to express or experience this in cities. Focussing only on place may lead to the creation of exclusionary spaces for only a selective few without understanding the negative implications this has for peace between communities and the city as a whole, not only in terms of urban functioning, but also in terms of the consolidation of democracy.

Democracy is not only dependent on political democracy. Although the first step towards a more balanced democracy is clearly political democracy, it can only be a first step. Thus democracy cannot only be political, but should also be institutional, socio-economic and spatial. Given this, there is a need for democracy on a spatial level as well. This can be interpreted in two ways:

- *Spatial democracy*

Spatial democracy refers to the democratic distribution of facilities and services, such as infrastructure, adequate housing, sanitation and water to all urban areas. This is

very closely related to socio-economic transformation. Spatial democracy also requires a paradigm shift institutionally in the form of constructive institutional reforms and strategies to guide urban development practices in such a way that these do not raise the needs of one group above those of another. Such an approach also necessitates the careful evaluation of all types of urban development according to the principles set out in the main urban development policies, such as the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001), promoting aspects of spatial democracy.

- *Democratic space*

Democratic space refers to open, secure and well-developed public urban spaces for all urban residents where people should be able to mix with various groups and experience the benefits of urban environments. Again, the local authority has a major role to play in promoting and supporting the development of democratic urban spaces throughout the city. It is also needful to reconsider the contribution of security agents and private management bodies to democracy within these spaces, as well as the role of public private partnerships in promoting democratic space.

In many aspects, South Africa has reached a respectable level of political democracy, where all people can vote and where there is a focus on addressing discrimination and promoting human rights. However, the danger is that increased crime, together with physical responses to crime, may in fact start to undermine the political achievements of the past seven years and undermine existing policies pointing towards spatial democracy and the development of democratic spaces. Are gated communities likely to produce democratic spaces and will they contribute to spatial democracy? Signs from initial research and comparisons with similar countries raise serious concerns, pointing to a preliminary conclusion that many types of gated communities (at least in their present form) in South Africa are building barriers to democracy on many levels, especially on a city-wide scale.

One therefore has to understand the close relationships between peace and place to start formulating programmes and projects that may assist towards greater peace in future cities. This begs us to take consider four actions:

1. Tolerance and sharing

This calls for a process towards healing the wounds of the past and creating a common ground for negotiation and reconciliation, starting to build bridges between warring communities and initiate dialogue beyond the barriers. Such a process would aim to establish greater harmony between communities, providing the foundation for future peace efforts through peace making.

2. Finding alternatives

Given the realities of high crime levels and the fear of crime, it would also necessitate finding and implementing alternative methods of crime prevention in the built environment, beyond the walls and the gates. These could include safety patrols, regular neighbourhood clean-ups, sharing information, domestic watch-groups and monthly newsletters to the community. Residents should work closely with the local authority and police to ensure that the maximum impact is achieved through their efforts. Through law enforcement and appropriate intervention in the built environment, peace keeping efforts can contribute to ensure greater order and justice, including the provision for human rights for all citizens.

3. Greater flexibility

This refers to flexibility in the design and use of urban spaces in cities. In this regard city planners, urban designers and architects also have a significant role to play towards more peaceful cities. As shown, there is an intricate relationship between the nature and sense of place in cities and the possibility to enhance peace. Designers need to be aware of this, focussing on the creation of vibrant and accessible public spaces for all residents, including peace gardens, parks and squares. In this way, peace building could be combined with peace making and peace keeping through a focus on sustainable urban development that would create opportunities for everyone in the city and start preventing opportunities for crime and conflict at the same time.

4. Hope for the future

However, the most important aspect is to never loose hope in times of great conflict and violence. As Mandela noted, we are immensely powerful and these strengths should be used to start creating a more peaceful future for all. In this way we could also dream of an Africa and world that is in peace with itself.

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What works to prevent interpersonal violence? - A public health approach for peace research

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Abstract

Interpersonal violence is a serious public health problem. Each year, more than half a million people die from homicide. Direct violence in families, schools, workplaces, and communities is one of the major causes of death in the age group between 15 and 44 years. Often, violence does not kill, but has a lasting impact on people's physical, mental, social or spiritual wellbeing. Concerned about the health and life of individuals and communities, the health sector has increasingly become involved in the prevention of violence. Like with other health challenges, a systematic public health approach can be applied to direct violence. This approach encompasses the surveillance of the problem, the identification of risk factors, as well as the development, evaluation and implementation of effective interventions.The World Health Organization (WHO) has taken the lead in drawing attention to the problem of violence, and to the role and responsibility of health professionals in its prevention. When publishing the World report on violence and health in 2002, WHO launched the Global Campaign for Violence Prevention to encourage action at all levels of society. Faithful to their scientific commitment, public health experts have investigated the effectiveness of various prevention strategies. This paper suggests that public health may contribute to the development of evidence-based methodologies in peace research.

Introduction

„Violence is often predictable and preventable. Like other health problems, it is not distributed evenly across population groups or settings. Many of the factors that increase the risk of violence are shared across the different types of violence and are modifiable. "
(Gro Harlem Brundtland, In: Krug, Dahlberg et al. 2002, preface)

Peace research and public health have a lot in common: Both disciplines are normative, are concerned with the prevention of unnecessary suffering and misery, and both care about social wellbeing and human security. Nevertheless, there seems to be little sharing of concepts, methodologies and evidence used and produced by the two disciplines. This paper intends to present to a peace science audience the public health approach to violence prevention. It is my hope that it contributes to mutual learning and to a fruitful collaboration between the interconnected disciplines of peace and health science.

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It is clearer than ever before that public health has its distinct role to play in violence prevention. Despite of the outstanding peace work already one hundred years ago by prominent health professionals, such as Rudolf Virchow[17], Charles Richet[18] and Maria Montessori[19] (Lewer 1992), it was not before the end of the 20th century that the prevention of child abuse and intimate partner violence, or the prevention of nuclear or other types of wars entered into curricula and research agendas of medical and public health schools.

Important for this development might have been the growing understanding among doctors and other health workers that violence and war are serious health problems, hence they have a professional responsibility for its prevention. Also essential might have been the progress within the peace field in itself: Concepts like multi-track diplomacy[20] or multi-level peace building (Lederach 1997) were introduced, assigning a distinct role in peace work to many sectors and societal levels. In addition, the scope of peace work and peace research was broadened over time, addressing more and more levels and types of violence, and not only war as extreme form of direct violence on macro level. This development was heavily influenced by the feminist critique which made clear that there wouldn't be peace without reducing personal violence in the homes, working places or institutions.[21] (Brock-Utne 1997)

1. Public health approach to violence

The primary goal of public health is not, like that of classical medicine, the curative treatment of the individual's diseases and infirmities, but their prevention on societal level. Beside the preventive focus, public health also works towards equitable access to high-qualitative health care, as well as towards the promotion of health, which in

[17] German physician and politician who fought against famine, epidemics and war. Considered as the father of social medicine. (1821-1902)
[18] French physician awarded the Nobel Prize in Medicine in 1913. Champion of international arbitration and the European peace movement. (1850-1935)
[19] Italy's first female physician. Devoted her life to peace education and the healthy development of children. (1870-1952)
[20] www.imtd.org/about-theory.htm (Retrieved 05.15.2006)
[21] "War against women" as unorganised personal violence on a large scale level

the constitution of the World Health Organisation (WHO) in 1948 was positively defined as "complete state of physical, mental and social wellbeing"[22].

In order to pursue its goals the health sector can draw on specific assets: It has for instance surveillance systems and world-wide infrastructure, global ethical standards, broad experiences in epidemiology and strong research design, attention and confidence from policy makers and the public, and a long tradition in collaborating with the educational, the judicial and other sectors in order to reduce health deficits.

In the following a classical public health approach to interpersonal violence will be presented. It embraces the definition and classification of the problem, the measurement of its magnitude, the identification of risk and protective factors, the development and evaluation of interventions, and finally, the implementation of effective interventions on a grand scale level.

Interventions in public health can be categorised according to their timing (see Figure 1: Prevention phases in a cycle of violence in the Appendix): Primary prevention are interventions which attempt to avoid that a health problem occurs in the first place. Infectious diseases, for example, are prevented through reducing unhygienic conditions and through vaccination. With regard to violence, primary prevention means to reduce identified risk factors for violent behaviour and to strengthen factors which have protective effect.

Secondary prevention constitutes an intervention to a health problem that already exists. It focuses on preventing a further deterioration of the problem, as for example in cancer screening. In the case of violent behaviour secondary prevention would mean the early warning of existing violence through screening and the detection of physical, mental and social symptoms. Interventions could concentrate either on perpetrators or their victims. Even the de-escalation of a violent conflict and the constructive conflict handling might be considered as a secondary preventive approach.

When acute health problems are under control, interventions can contribute to the rehabilitation of individuals or societies through the prevention and mitigation of negative long-term effects. This is referred to as tertiary prevention. An example here

[22] http://policy.who.int/cgi-bin/om_isapi.dll?hitsperheading=on&infobase=basicdoc&record=%7B9D5%7D&softpage=Document42 (Retrieved 05.15.2006)

is the physical therapy after a bone fracture. In the area of violence prevention this term could be used to label measures that work towards the psycho-social rehabilitation of both the offender and the assaulted person. Tertiary prevention would also try to prevent a re-entry into a new cycle of violence. Keywords here are restoration, resolution and reconciliation.

2. Definition and classification of personal violence

In 1996 the World Health Assembly concluded that violence is a major and growing world-wide public health problem, which has serious consequences for individuals, families, communities and countries, and a damaging effect on health care services. The Assembly of the health ministers asked WHO to set up public health activities to deal with the problem. (Resolution WHA 49.25 *Preventing violence: a public health priority*. In: Krug, Dahlberg et al. 2002, p. 22)

As result, WHO published in 2002 the *World report on violence and health*, which defines and classifies personal violence and gives a global overview of the magnitude of this problem. It also presents possible interventions, calls for the engagement of health professionals, and formulates recommendations for the member states.

Personal violence is therein broadly defined as “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation.” (In: Krug, Dahlberg et al. 2002, p. 5)

Of importance is the fact that personal violence is, in distinction to accidents, defined as an intentional act, and that even the threat of violence is violence in itself. In this report, WHO brings for the first time all different levels of personal violence together; self-induced, interpersonal and collective violence.

Interpersonal violence is further differentiated into family/partner and community violence, the first one including child, partner and elderly abuse, the latter one youth violence and stranger violence. The nature of violence is seen as physical, sexual, psychological, as well as deprivation or neglect.

Through the collecting and analyzing of data about "who, when, where, what and how?" public health surveillance serves to reveal the magnitude of the health problem that violence constitutes, and document its impacts.

3. Magnitude and impact of interpersonal violence

Each year about 500.000 people are killed by interpersonal violence, which means about 1.400 persons every day. Homicide is one of the major causes for death among 15-44 year-olds; most perpetrators belong to this age group, too. The global mortality rate of interpersonal violence is about 8.8 per 100.000 people per year, with vast differences within regions, and even within countries.

While a study revealed that the homicide rate in Colombia was 146.5 in the year 1994, this figure was 12.6 in Cuba. In the United States of America, a clear difference in the homicide rate of youth was documented in relation to their ethnic background. The mortality rate in 1999 was for African-American youth 38.6, for Hispanic 17.3 and for youth with Caucasian background 3.1. (Cited in: Krug, Dahlberg et al. 2002, p. 10-11)

Yet, the mortality rate represents only the tip of the proverbial iceberg. For every death perhaps hundreds of victims survive. Many are physically injured or psychologically traumatized. Studies have shown that for every homicide among young people there are 20-40 non-fatal cases which require hospital care. (Butchart, Phinney et al. 2004, p. 2)

Most victims are not hospitalized, and their pain and suffering are often hidden in the statistics. Violence as an intentional act has devastating effects on the individuals, their families, communities and the society at large: It not only brings about disease and infirmity, often with life-long scars, but also heavily deteriorates physical, mental and social wellbeing. Violence can lead to unhealthy behaviour and further violence, can reduce economic development and severely damage the social fabric of families and communities.

More attention has lately been given to violence against women, which is not longer seen as only a family concern, but as serious and widespread public health problem.[23]

A review of data from 1999 revealed that between 10% and 52% of women in 35 countries reported having been physically abused by an intimate partner at some point in their life. Millions of women suffer from sexual violence conducted by an intimate partner, an acquaintance or a stranger; a huge number of women and girls are

[23] See for intstance the conference "Violence against women – a serious global health problem", University of Tromsø, 2005. http://uit.no/sih/voldmotkvinner/ (Retrieved 05.15.2006)

trafficked into the sex trade. 10-30% of the interviewed women quoted that they had experienced sexual violence in their life. It is calculated that rape and domestic violence together account for 5-16% of healthy years of life lost by women of reproductive age.

Child abuse and neglect is another form of interpersonal violence, existent in all societies and social classes. It affects tens of millions of children each year. Studies indicate that sexual abuse in childhood is a considerable risk factor for suicide, depression, alcohol abuse, fear and anxiety. In some studies up to 10% of males and 20 % of females reported having been sexually abused as children.

Over the last years violence against elderly people has moved into the focus of public health research, too. Many reports document elderly abuse in institutions. Even 4-6% of older people declare abuse at home. (Figures from: Krug, Dahlberg et al. 2002, p. 10-11)

Violence is not only a health problem, but also a socio-economic disaster. It leads to loss of productivity and manpower, and destruction of infrastructure, national treasure, properties and environment. It creates enormous additional expenditures for the health system, and draws resources from other important health challenges.

4. Identification of risk and protective factors

Health scientists have a long tradition in identifying and modifying risk factors that endanger the health and lives of individuals and communities.

Data collection and analysis also contributes to answering the question why violence is actually occurring. It serves to define populations at high-risk of conducting or experiencing violence, and to suggest specific interventions.

Violent behavior cannot be explained by one single factor, but is the result of a complex interplay of many. Research has shown that the different types of violence are linked to each other, and share many of the identified risk factors. (Krug, Dahlberg et al. 2002, p. 13-15)

In the WHO publications, an ecological model is used to group these factors into individual, relationship, community and societal level. (See figure 2: Ecological model for violent behavior)

On the *individual level* it is shown that being victim of child maltreatment, having a personality disorder, an alcohol/substance abuse, or a history of violent behavior predestinates interpersonal violence.

Relationship factors for violent behavior include poor parenting, marital discord, low socioeconomic household, and violent friends.

At *community level*, important risk factors for violence are poverty, high crime rates, high residential mobility, high unemployment, local illicit drug trade, weak institutional policies, or inadequate victim care.

Finally, *societal risk factors* encompass rapid social change, economic inequality, gender inequality, policies that increase inequalities, poverty, weak economic safety nets, poor rule of law, high firearm availability, war or post-war situation, and a culture of violence. (Krug, Dahlberg et al. 2002, p. 12-13)

5. Development and evaluation of interventions

A review of violence-preventing interventions by Dahlberg and Butchart points out that most of the initiatives against youth violence focus on primary prevention and are perpetrator-oriented, while measures against domestic violence often belong to the secondary and tertiary preventive phase and mostly target the victims. In addition, the current interventions mainly try to influence the individual or relationship factors; little is done to change factors at the community or societal level. (Dahlberg and Butchart 2005, p. 94-95)

In order to improve preventive measures it is important that the process, impact and cost effectiveness of any intervention are assessed and documented. Typical public health methods for testing include prospective randomized controlled trials, controlled comparisons of populations for occurrence of health outcomes, time series analyses of trends in multiple areas, and observational studies such as case control studies. (Thornton, Craft et al. 2002, p. 216)

Possible outcomes, which are used for measuring the success or failure of violence preventive interventions, are changes in knowledge and attitude, or stronger; changes in violent behavior. Measurements of health outcomes include changes in the mortality rate (homicide or suicide) or in the prevalence of violence related health symptoms like injuries, depression, Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), eating disorders, or of unhealthy behavior. Public health interventions against violent behavior have been evaluated as effective, if the following criteria are fulfilled: (Mihalic et al. 2001, US Department of Health and Human Services 2001, In: Dahlberg and Butchart 2005, p. 96-97)

1. Strong research design, either experimental or quasi-experimental
2. Significant preventive effect
3. Sustained effect (beyond the intervention)
4. Replication of the intervention with demonstrated preventive effects

Evidence for what works in violence prevention is presented by Dahlberg and Butchart, and subsequently used in the WHO publication *Preventing violence: A guide to implementing the recommendations of the World report on violence and health.* Due to the lack of comprehensive studies and follow up, both publications accept an intervention as effective, when criterion 1 (strong research design) and 2 (significant effect) are documented:

Individual-level interventions intend to change people's attitudes, beliefs and behaviour directly. Evidence was found that social development and life skills training, which build social, emotional, cognitive and behavioural competencies, contributed to reduce the level of youth violence. Counselling and therapeutic approaches were also effective in relation to youth violence, when combined with skills training and educational-vocational services. Psychotherapy alone did not work. Specific programmes for men who abuse their partners demonstrated effect, particularly when delivered over long period, when able to discuss own behaviour, and when combined with a strict criminal justice system at breaches. A cognitive-behavioural therapy shortly after a sexual assault showed to reduce trauma and suicide attempts among the victims.

Interventions on relationship-level try to modify behavior by influencing close, interpersonal relationships and proximal environments. There is evidence that family therapy, parent training and home visitation, focussing on family management, problem solving, and parenting practices, contribute to the prevention of child abuse, and later on youth violence, too. A significant effect on youth violence could also be shown in mentoring programmes. However, there was actually a negative impact of such interventions when the mentors were little trained or when a breakdown in the relationship with the mentor occurred.

Community-level interventions deal with the attitudes, beliefs, and norms of the community. They seek to alter the settings and institutional environments that promote violent behavior or create the conditions for violence to occur. Multi-component public information campaigns about gang violence, bullying, child maltreatment, or domestic and sexual violence have demonstrated an improvement of knowledge and awareness, and even led to some shift in social norms concerning domestic violence and gender relations. Yet, these prevention campaigns did not consistently result in behaviour change.

Interventions on societal-level aim to influence the cultural, social and economic factors related to violence. Intended changes might only be measurable over a longer time period (10-20 years). There is evidence that reducing access to means of killing, e.g. guns, high bridges, roofs, pesticides and fertilizers, or prescription drugs, correlates with a reduced suicide rate. In regard to homicide the studies showed inconsistency in their findings or their methodology was questionable. Positive impact on social norms was also demonstrated for some interventions on legal remedies and judicial reforms, such as the criminalization of intimate partner abuse and of harsh children punishment, the broadening of the definition of rape, or mandatory reporting laws for child and elderly abuse.

Many other reviewed interventions were merely assessed as “promising”, because they were either lacking a strong research design or because of inconsistent findings in the literature. While a great number of interventions still are untested, some interventions are even found to be ineffective, as for example drug-resistance education or gun-buy-back programs. Dahlberg and Butchart recommend that donors should redirect their funds into effective or promising interventions, but they also remark that most of the research on violence prevention has been conducted in developed countries. Whether their findings are valid also in developing countries still has to be tested. (Butchart, Phinney et al. 2004, p. 36-37; Dahlberg and Butchart 2005, p. 97-100)

6. Implementation of effective interventions on grand scale level

The final stage of the public health approach is the implementation of interventions that have been proven effective in terms of impact and costs, and that have not demonstrated any serious unintended negative effects. In order to translate their findings into positive health outcome on grand scale level the field of public health draws on different strategies: the advocacy of policy makers, building of network and partnerships, and public health campaigns.

After the publication of the world report in 2002, WHO launched *The Global Campaign for Violence Prevention*[24] with the objective to "raise awareness about the problem of violence, highlight the crucial role that public health can play in addressing its causes and consequences and encourage action at every level of society". Activities within the campaign include national launches and policy discussions of the report, poster series, training materials, and even a special season of radio programs at BBC World Service entitled "Violence Begins At Home".

If the Global Campaign should succeed in its efforts, it can only do so if many sectors and societal levels get involved. WHO therefore established the *Violence Prevention Alliance*[25] as a global partnership of ministries, NGOs and research institutions with the goal to strengthen multi-sectoral collaboration in the reduction and prevention of violence. The recommendations made in the report were also followed up with specific guidelines for decision makers (Butchart, Phinney et al. 2004), in order to transform the knowledge into national policy.

7. Challenges in peace and public health research

Although some major steps toward preventing interpersonal violence have been made over the last years, many challenges remain. Most of the promising interventions still require rigorous testing, and there is a long way to go if violent behaviour and their supportive structural and cultural aspects should vanish from homes, workplaces, communities and societies.

The collaboration between many sectors and disciplines will be a key factor for success. Both peace research and public health have therein a crucial role to play. It is therefore important that both fields are familiar with the concepts, methodologies and findings of the other one. This paper is written as a contribution to this dialogue

[24] www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/global_campaign/en/index.html (Retrieved 05.15.2006)
[25] http://www.who.int/violenceprevention/en/ (Retrieved 05.15.2006)

and in the hope to inspire peace researchers to include medical databases in their research inquiries, and to encourage the collaboration between peace and health scholars in the field of violence prevention.

Peace research could make use of the long quantitative research tradition of public health. This would further strengthen multi-disciplinary peace science, and might in the end contribute to the relief of human suffering and the attainment of peace for all.

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Appendix

Figure 1: Prevention phases in a cycle of violence

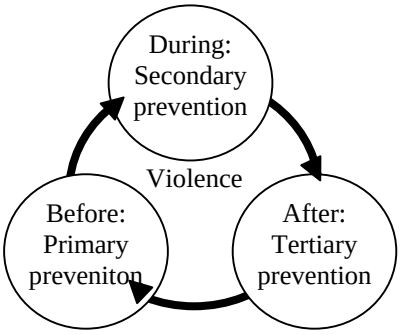
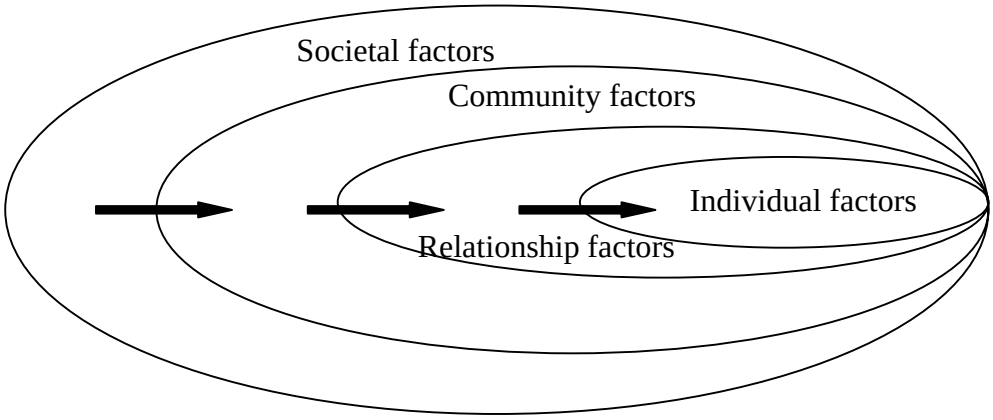


Figure 2 Ecological model for violent behavior (adapted from Krug, Dahlberg et al. 2002, p. 12)



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Informal Justice in Belfast

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Abstract

The use of violence by paramilitaries to punish and to discipline members of their own respective communities is an established practice developed throughout the course of the 'Troubles' and continues in the post-conflict period. Paramilitary 'punishments' are primarily an urban phenomenon with the bulk of recorded 'punishments' occurring within Belfast. This paper draws upon the author's own database of such attacks and examines the on-going nature of paramilitary 'punishments' including the 'punishment' process, their frequency and location. Furthermore, community restorative justice initiatives aimed at ending paramilitary 'punishments' will be discussed.

Introduction

Informal justice and policing mechanisms have developed in both Catholic and Protestant working class communities from the early days of the Troubles albeit for different reasons. In Catholic areas Citizen Defence Committees (CDCs) were established and provide the earliest example of organized activities. Their primary aim was to protect Catholic enclaves from loyalist attacks. To this end they erected and supervised barricades and mounted foot and car patrols (Connolly, 1997; Hillyard, 1985). With the introduction of internment without trial, the Catholic Ex-Servicemen's Association (CEA) supplemented the activities of the CDCs in Belfast and supervised the barricades in places such as Ballymurphy in west Belfast (Hillyard, 1985; The Tatler, 1972). The CEA like the CDC sought to protect Catholic areas from attacks by Protestants. Although unarmed its members had previous military training and numbered some 8,000 at its peak in 1972. The 'punishment' meted out usually took the form of a stern lecture regarding the need for solidarity in the area (McCann, 1993).

Loyalist paramilitaries have also undertaken a policing role in the communities in which they operate since the early 1970s. Indeed, the largest loyalist paramilitary group, the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) established in 1971 following the amalgamation of Protestant vigilante groups/defense associations in Belfast adopted

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as its motto *Codenta Arma Togae*, meaning law before violence and sought 'to see law restored everywhere, including the no-go areas' of nationalist Belfast (Boulton, 1973). The UDA assumed the role of area defenders against attacks from Catholics and the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA), mounted roadblocks, patrolled the streets and gathered evidence against petty criminals. Similarly, the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), a group formed in 1966 also adopted a policing role. For example, it established a special patrol group in the Shankill area of Belfast. If an individual was caught by the patrol they were either warned to stay out of trouble or handed over to the police. Patrols by paramilitaries were not designed to usurp the police but to assist them. Paramilitaries reserved the right to mete out their own form of justice if the police and courts did not adequately deal with offenders.

Activities liable for 'punishment'

The informal justice of the paramilitaries in Northern Ireland is in part a response to community pressure for the organizations 'to do something' about crime in their areas. For example, in the autumn of 1970, the IRA launched a purge against 'anti-social' elements in the Ballymurphy area of west Belfast. Those targeted included alleged local criminals, two of which were shot dead, minor drug abusers, teenage girls suspected of fraternizing with British soldiers and anyone believed to be connected to, or having sympathy with the British state (Cusack and McDonald, 1997). Thus activities liable for 'punishment' can be divided into two main categories, 'normal' and 'political' crime. 'Normal' crime would include vandalism, car theft, joyriding, muggings, the selling of alcohol to minors, rape and drug dealing. Offences of a sexual nature attract harsh 'punishments' and those punished are usually shot or badly beaten. In one case, an ex-Presbyterian minister given a warning by the police for possession of an illegal homosexual pornographic video, died from injuries sustained from a UVF 'punishment' beating. 'Normal' crime also encompasses 'anti-social behavior'. Activities considered 'anti-social' by the paramilitaries are diverse in nature and range from youths gathering at street corners, the playing of music too loudly, the verbal abuse of senior citizens, the dumping of trash and fighting with their volunteers or members. As one 'punishment' shooting victim explains,

> *I was never involved in any paramilitaries, no. I had a bit of an argument with one, he lifted his hand to hit me and because I was able to beat him he went and*

> *told them that I picked on him and blattered him. The law of the land was "you do not touch our members". (Interview, March 2000)*

In contrast, 'political' crime would include informing, misuse of the organization's name, collaborating or fraternizing with the 'enemy'. Therefore, the decision by paramilitaries to assume a policing role is also based in part upon a need for the organizations' to ensure their own security and survival. As Burton notes within nationalist areas, 'informing is particularly threatening. It attacks the fabric of the community in its capitalization on what cannot be controlled, the public nature of knowledge…Systematic informing would rip the district apart and smash its tentative organizations laying it open for a Protestant or British Army takeover' (Burton, 1978: 5). Subsequently, individuals suspected of informing or 'touting' have been dealt with by the paramilitaries. For example, the Red Hand Commando (RHC) shot dead Michael Anderson in October 1992, who they allege had been a police informer. A claim denied by the police at Anderson's inquest. In nationalist areas, a variety of 'punishments' have been undertaken against informers including the shaving of hair of female teenager 'touts', kneecappings and exiling (An Phoblacht, 1974a, 1974b and 1975).

Not only do paramilitaries take action against alleged criminals but they also punish their own members for disobeying orders or breaching internal codes. 'Punishments' range from a beating for leaving a gun out of an armory to being shot for 'bringing the movement into disgrace'; this would include self-gain robberies or misusing the organization's name. To this end within the Provisional IRA an internal police force known as the 'Nutting Squad' was established to deal with matters concerning Provisional IRA Volunteers (Collins, 1998). According to a member of the RHC Brigade Staff,

> *Well most of it ['punishments'] would be internal. A lot of it would be anti-social, drug-related or discipline with the paramilitary ranks…The levels would, if it is a misdemeanour it could be a slap round the head; if it's something serious he could get one in the leg; the very extreme is being shot in the head, which is very unusual. (Interview, November 2005)*

For many loyalist groups, drug dealing is seen as an acceptable way to raise funds although the leaders of the main loyalist paramilitaries publicly deny this. Silke

(1999a) suggests that the vast majority of internal 'punishments' by loyalist paramilitaries involves money, for example swindling, skimming funds from the group, payment of misappropriate 'cuts' or self-gain robberies, a view confirmed by local media reports (Sullivan, 1999). Within both republican and loyalist paramilitary organizations, members suspected of informing are usually executed. For example, in November 1981 the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) a cover name for the UDA; shot dead Arthur Bettice a UDA member at his home in the Shankill. As a former Provisional IRA Volunteer explains, the 'Nutting Squad' 'are the ones who put a hood over the heads of informers before "nutting" them with a shot in the head and leaving their bodies at border crossings' (Collins, 1998: 142).

Some paramilitary members join the organization to avoid being 'punished' either by the group they joined or by a rival grouping. One interviewee subjected to a 'punishment' beating by one loyalist paramilitary group joined another group as it 'sort of offered me protection from these other guys' (Interview, September 1999). Throughout the 'Troubles' both republican and loyalist paramilitaries have taken action against other paramilitary groups within their respective communities. In the 1970s, the Provisional IRA launched purges against the Official IRA (OIRA) in some parts of Belfast. The OIRA was formed as a result of the split within the IRA in 1970 when the organization divided into two factions, namely the OIRA and the Provisional IRA (for a detailed account of this split and the reasons for it see Smith, 1997). The Provisional IRA also took action against the Irish People's Liberation Organization (IPLO) in October 1992. The IPLO had a history of criminal activities including a gang rape of a woman in the Divis flats complex and involvement in the growing drug trade. The Provisional IRA's action resulted in the execution of one IPLO member and the shooting of a further 20 members with assault rifles in Belfast (An Phoblacht/Republican News, 1992). The IPLO disbanded shortly after this.

The Provisional IRA is not the only republican paramilitary group to mete out 'punishments'. The Official IRA also 'kneecapped' alleged criminals in the early 1970s, indeed a number of individuals received 'kneecappings' from both the Official IRA and the Provisional IRA. The Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) although publicly distancing itself from a law and order role has shot a number of alleged criminals and informers dead. For instance, in April 1984 John George, an alleged criminal, was found shot dead at his home in Twinbrook. The INLA has also taken action against its own members suspected of informing. In June 1991, it executed

INLA member Gerard Burns, his body was found at the back of a house in Ballymurphy. The now defunct IPLO also undertook similar 'punishment' actions. More recently, the Continuity IRA has moved into the administration of informal justice and claimed responsibility for a "punishment" beating and the exiling of a drug dealer.

Feuds between the rival loyalist paramilitary groups are nothing new as Bruce (1992: 124) notes, 'like any two competing organizations, the UDA and UVF have rarely been on good terms for long'. In the early 1970s disagreements were limited to fist fights but in March 1975 this escalated into a more violent feud in Belfast resulting in bomb attacks against the homes of both UDA and UVF men. The feud of 2000 between the UDA/UFF and the UVF on the Shankill linked to a drugs and turf war spread to other areas of Northern Ireland including Ballymena, Carrickfergus and Coleraine (Bruce, 2004; O'Neill, 2000). Seven men lost their lives in the feud that lasted from July until December 2000 and unlike the 1975 feud, women and children were endangered. Indeed, an 11-year-old girl was shot in the back in Coleraine and more than 281 households in the Shankill area approached the Housing Executive, the regional public housing authority, for assistance after being forcibly evicted from their homes or decided to leave, in fear of intimidation (Springfield Intercommunity Development Project, 2001). British soldiers were re-deployed in the areas affected by the feud. A more recent feud between the UVF and the Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF) has seen the UVF blamed for five murders and 15 attempted murders since May 2004. Indeed the International Monitoring Commission (IMC) suggests that the origins of the feud resided in 'the rivalry and extreme animosity between the two organizations and referred to competition, greed and power as factors in the upsurge of violence during the summer… [the IMC] concluded that the UVF leadership had decided that it was now the time to finish off the LVF' (IMC, 2005: 19). At the end of October 2005, it was reported that the LVF had taken the decision to stand down in response to the Provisional IRA's move to decommission arms in September and is considering the decommissioning of its weapons as well (Thornton, 2005).

Thus, paramilitaries mete out 'punishment' to individuals involved in crime and/or 'anti-social' activities, to members of their own grouping and to members of rival groupings as a result of feuds. In addition the threat of 'punishment' has been used as a method of press-ganging new recruits, especially within loyalist areas (Silke, 1999a).

The 'punishment' procedure

Both republican and loyalist paramilitaries assert that their 'punishments' are a response to community pressure. Incidents can be brought directly to the paramilitary organization or they become aware of an incident themselves. As a UVF Commander in Belfast explains,

> *We want to see the end of punishment attacks in the same breath there is a community out there who is reliant on the UVF to mete out punishment, because in many cases the PSNI {Police Service of Northern Ireland] aren't responding and in other cases the PSNI are directing people to us knowing they will get more satisfaction. (Interview, November 2005)*

This is a view echoed by a 'punishment' shooting victim who stated 'there's people out there doing them, there's people out there want them done, the people's not going to the [police]… They want to see these people either punished or put out of the area' (Interview, December 1999).

Paramilitaries insist that individuals are only punished once an investigation has been undertaken. Initially within the Provisional IRA, a special unit was established for dealing with crime and the republican youth movement, Na Fianna Éireann, undertook early policing activities (Munck, 1988). In 1975, the Provisional IRA declared a cease-fire, which was to last into the following year. It was at this time that informal justice was taken out of the hands of the Provisional IRA field commanders and moved to the control of the emerging Sinn Féin. With the ending of this cease-fire, the 'incident centres' established by Sinn Féin to monitor breaches of the truce, evolved into 'advice centres'. These centres were referred to locally as 'Provo Police Stations'. According to Joe Austin, a Sinn Féin councilor for north Belfast, once a crime or incident of 'anti-social behavior' has been reported to Sinn Féin and the details recorded, an investigation would be launched. Following this investigation, if an offender had been identified, they would be brought before the Civil Administration Officers dealing with the case and allowed to defend themselves, although in practice this did not always happen due to limited resources and demands upon the system. A further decision would then be taken as to whether a warning should be issued or if the case should be passed to the Provisional IRA for them to carry out a 'punishment' (Human Rights Watch/Helsinki, 1992). Sinn Féin's Gerry

Kelly has denied the existence of Civil Administrators tasked with informal justice in a Channel 4 News broadcast on the 21 May 2000. If the offenders were not known, then a warning would often be placed in local newsletters, the republican press and sometimes via a leaflet drop in the area. With the adoption by the Provisional IRA of a cellular structure, a Provisional IRA Auxiliary made up of former prisoners, low-calibre members and new recruits took over responsibility for 'punishments'. Other Provisional IRA members regard them with distaste: 'They're…the dregs of the organization, people who aren't any good at anything else but beating people up' (Silke, 1999b: 62).

In contrast, little is known about specific loyalist informal justice mechanisms. The UVF at least in parts of Belfast has a 'Provost Squad' or 'Provost Section' that deals with the 'punishment' of group members and individuals living in the communities in which they operate. As a member of a UVF Brigade Staff explains,

> *Investigations are always carried out where punishment may result. The investigation is carried out by an 'Internal Investigation Unit' headed by a command staff officer. If or when punishment is decided, the actual punishment is carried out by what is termed the 'Provost Section'. Each battalion has its own 'Provost Unit'. Decisions aren't taken lightly. (Interview, October 2005)*

Over the years, a graduated scale or tariff system consistent with the seriousness of the offence under consideration has developed. This tariff ranges from warnings, threats, curfew, fines or restitution, placarding, tarring and feathering, beatings, shootings, exiling and ultimately death. Paramilitaries can order people out of a local area, city, Northern Ireland or Ireland. The exiling or expulsion of alleged criminals can vary in time from six months to a year and so on. In some cases, people are ordered out indefinitely. Expulsion orders are usually accompanied by both a leeway period of between 24 and 48 hours and an 'or else'. Such orders are attractive to paramilitaries as they remove undesirable elements from the community and are less brutal than other forms of 'punishments'. Males, females, youngsters under 16 and, in some instances, whole families have been exiled.

The 'punishment' ordered in theory would be influenced by mitigating factors such as age, gender, past criminal record and family background particularly those from a strong republican or loyalist tradition. In cases involving children, the parents

of those involved would be approached and requested to exercise greater parental control (An Phoblacht, 1971). In some cases those due to be punished are told to turn up at a certain time and place in order to receive their 'punishment'. Failure to do so often results in a harsher 'punishment'. In practice, however, the level of 'punishment' can be arbitrarily brutal or lenient, depending upon whether the offender was 'connected' in some way to known paramilitaries or influential members of the republican or loyalist movement. As one 'punishment' shooting victim explains, 'There's one rule for one and another rule for another. See if your da[d]'s in the [Provisional I]RA, you're sweet, you get away with everything. See if your uncle's in the RA you get away with so much and then they just beat you. See if you've nobody in the RA you're fucked!' (Interview, September 1999).

Beatings administered vary and can be inflicted by either the Volunteers' own fists and feet and/or the use of an implement. Implements used include baseball bats with and without nails in them, hurley sticks, pickaxe handles, iron bars, hammers and sledgehammers. Those beaten may be tied upright to fence railings thereby leaving them unable to shield themselves. Individuals have also had breezeblocks dropped onto their limbs. Also not all 'punishment' shootings are the same, a gunshot wound to the fleshy part of the thigh heals relatively quickly compared to injuries to the bone which can lead to permanent maiming. The seriousness of the crime will affect the number of times an individual is shot, the calibre of weapon used and the proximity of the wound to the joints (Bell, 1996).

Both republican and loyalist paramilitary organizations' assert that individuals subjected to 'punishments' are both investigated and warned about their behavior prior to the use of physical 'punishments'. Interviews with individuals 'punished' found this not to be the case. As interviewees explain,

> *They don't go and investigate nothing like. If they hear something or if they just don't like you, they'll do you anyway. That's all anybody expects from them. They don't investigate, no nothing like [that]. (Interview with person under threat of a 'punishment' shooting, September 1999)*

> *Two car loads came and got me and took me away and they stabbed me, left me with thirty-six stitches in the stomach, and told me to come back at seven o'clock [for a beating]…In fact when they took me away I thought I was just going away to be*

questioned because I hadn't done anything. (Interview with a 'punishment' beating victim, September 1999)

As already noted, individuals suspected of informing are dealt with the severest with their 'punishment' dependent on the type of information passed to the security forces. Both republican and loyalist paramilitaries have offered time-specific amnesties to those within their respective communities or organization members providing information to the security forces. Provisional IRA Volunteers suspected of informing are investigated and brought before a 'jury of their peers' for interrogation and if found guilty, sentenced accordingly. Provisional IRA statements reported in *An Phoblacht* carry details of such trials:

The Irish Republican Army has accepted responsibility for the execution last Friday, March 5th, of former IRA Volunteer Seamus Morgan…[who] admitted to agreeing to act as an informer…he was court martialled by a jury of his peers – comrades of equal rank – found guilty and executed for treachery. (An Phoblacht/Republican News, 1982a)

The Belfast Brigade of the IRA claims responsibility for the execution of Patrick Murray from the Short Strand area…as an IRA Volunteer, [he] was fully aware of his right to be tried by a jury made up of his peers who could not pass a sentence of execution unless the evidence…against him was substantiated and proven…Murray admitted his role as an informer. (An Phoblacht/Republican News, 1986)

Similarly, loyalist paramilitaries have executed their own members for informing following investigations. Coverage of UFF actions reported in *New Ulster Defender* are illustrative of this:

Edward 'Ned' McCreery, a former UDA commander was shot dead outside his home…by a lone member of the UFF. In a statement admitting responsibility for the killing the UFF said that he had been executed by its Special Assignment Section after an investigation [into] his activities. The statement said that McCreery had colluded with both the Special Branch [of the police] and "the enemies of Ulster" (New Ulster Defender, 1992).

Individuals have also been punished as a result of mistaken identity. For example, John Brown a 79-year-old man was mistakenly identified as a pedophile and

shot in both knees and ankles. In some cases, the organization involved has publicly apologized to the person concerned. The Provisional IRA has in the past placed apologies in the local republican press including *An Phoblacht/Republican News* and the *Anderstown News* (see for example An Phoblacht/Republican News, 1981 and Andersonstown News, 1992).

As noted already, the type of 'punishment' meted out would (in theory) be based in part upon the individual's age, gender and so on. Republican paramilitaries such as the Republican IRA appear to have been reluctant to shoot women and those found 'touting' and/or fraternizing with the 'enemy' were often tarred and feathered or had their heads shaved (An Phoblacht, 1974a). Burton (1978) suggests that tarring and feathering represents an expulsion ritual in that the punished individual knows that they are to leave the area. It has been suggested that within the nationalist community there existed a reluctance 'to accept wounding as a legitimate form of punishment for female offenders' (Morrissey and Pease, 1982: 164). The 'disappearance' of Jean McConville by the IRA in December 1972 from her home in Belfast's Divis flats is contrary to this and may explain why her body was only recovered in August 2003). The Provisional IRA contends that Mrs McConville admitted to being an Army informer, a claim strongly contested by relatives. Interviews with the UVF and RHC suggest that like their republican counterparts there is reluctance to physically punish females within the community and that exiling them is the most severe 'punishment' undertaken. According to a RHC Brigade Staff member,

> *Well, the women ones are very very difficult. You can't take a woman up an entry and give her a beating or put a bullet in her leg. It's a lot easier a hard man or someone with that image. In circumstances where women are involved it is usually left to tell them to stop whatever it is they are doing and if they don't stop then expulsion is basically one of the only things you could use. (Interview, November 2005)*

According to available police statistics, only two women have received a 'punishment' shooting between 1990 and 2001 with a further 36 having been beaten between 1989 and 2001. A victim of a 'punishment' beating explained that on his housing estate the UDA as a rule do not physically punish females: 'They don't beat girls…If you're a girl you're all right' (Interview, January 2000). In contrast to this is the death of Donna Wilson in November 1992, who was attacked by at least six men

with baseball bats in her home in south Belfast following a complaint by a neighbor regarding noise from her flat. The neighbour received a two year suspended sentence from Belfast Crown Court for calling in a gang to beat the woman (McKittrick *et al*, 2001).

In the past youngsters under the age of 16 would not usually have received a 'punishment' shooting or beating. A sentiment expressed by both loyalist and republican paramilitaries. As an anonymous youth worker explains,

> *The rule is that the Provos don't "punish" – that is, don't shoot or severely beat – kids under sixteen. Some of our younger kids have been "branded" – that is, made to stand against a lamppost, or outside church on a Sunday, with a placard around their necks saying, "I am a hood," or "I am a joyrider." It's the softest option the Provos can take – public shaming. (Quoted in Human Rights Watch/Helsinki, 1992: 47)*

Other 'punishments' used against those 'too young to be kneecapped' include curfewing, tar and feathering, being tied up and publicly painted and the punishing of parents. For example, the Provisional IRA (An Phoblacht/Republican News, 1987) claimed responsibility for the painting and feathering of 16-year-old Francis Finnegan for joy-riding and the shooting of a 39-year-old father for 'repeatedly ignoring IRA warnings to discipline two of his sons who had been involved in persistent acts of anti-social behavior' (An Phoblacht/Republican News, 1982b: 3).

Despite these alternative 'punishments', according to figures cited by Kennedy (2001), republicans have meted out physical 'punishments' to 147 youngsters under the age of 17 and loyalists 114 (see Table 1).

Table 1: Loyalist and Republican 'Punishments' of Youths between 1990 and 2000

	Loyalist 'punishment' shootings	Loyalist 'punishment' beatings	Republican 'punishment' shootings	Republican 'punishment' beatings
Under 14 years	1	3	0	0
14-17 yr olds	35	75	36	111

Indeed both loyalist and republican paramilitaries appear to have moved into the realm of extending 'punishment' beatings and shootings to young persons under the age of 16. For example, the INLA are believed to be behind a 'punishment' shooting of a 14-year-old boy in north Belfast and the UVF are suspected of beating two 15-year-olds with hammers and a baton in east Belfast (McCambridge, 2004; Police Service of Northern Ireland, 2004).

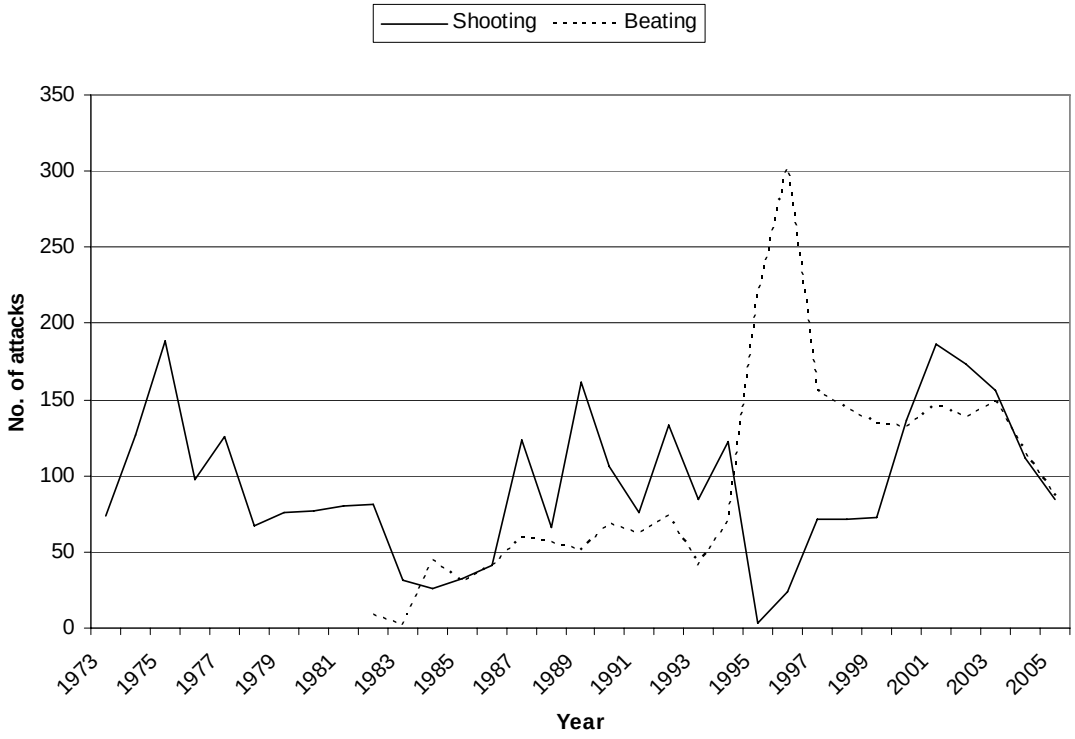
In some instances, those 'punished' receive more than one beating through the course of their teenage years as the following case shows:

> *I was about thirteen or fourteen, I got the first beating…masked men came round but they only hit us a couple of times in the arms and that was it, and then the next time was about fifteen. They just beat us again. It was a wee easy beating, it wasn't hard, and then the last time was March…I got black eyes and they beat us all about, beat us about the legs and all. And then it happened…again, broke my nose, broke my arm and I was beat with hammers and all, all over my body and I had staples in…my head. (Interview, January 2000)*

Frequency of 'punishments'

Police statistics on reported paramilitary 'punishments' have been kept in the case of shootings since 1973 and 1982 for beatings. It should be noted that police statistics represent only the tip of the iceberg in terms of actual numbers of individuals 'punished' as many incidents do not get reported for a variety of reasons including fear of reprisal. Between 1973 and end of December 2005 there were 3090 recorded 'punishment' shootings. Republicans were responsible for 1553 (50 per cent) and loyalists 1537 (50 per cent). Although beatings occurred in the 1970s, they were not reported in the republican and loyalist press in the same way as shootings and police statistics are only available from 1982 onwards. Between 1982 and the end of December 2005 there were 2328 recorded 'punishment' beatings. Republicans were responsible for 1125 of these (48 per cent) and loyalists 1203 (52 per cent). The overall trends can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Recorded Paramilitary 'Punishments 1973-2005



Source: Police Service of Northern Ireland. (2005 figures are provisional and are subject to minor change).

The use of shootings as a 'punishment' peaked in 1975 with 189 being recorded by the police. Republicans were responsible for 139 of these. While the Provisional IRA is not the only republican paramilitary organization to undertake 'punishments', it is fair to assume that it is probably responsible for the majority of 'punishment' shootings given its size, resources and support and/or control of working class Catholic areas. Silke (1999b) suggests the peak can be attributed to the Provisional IRA cease-fire of 1975. At this time Sinn Féin was attempting to establish itself as a political power in nationalist areas, in addition there were more Provisional IRA Volunteers available to mete out 'punishments'.

Loyalists have also meted out 'punishment' shootings. In 1986 an increase in 'punishment' shootings can be observed with loyalists undertaking more shootings than republican paramilitary groups for the first time. The signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement in November 1985 is cited as the reason for this as many loyalists felt betrayed by the British state. This agreement established 'a joint ministerial conference of British and Irish ministers, backed by a permanent secretariat…to

monitor political, security, legal and other issues of concern to the Nationalist minority' (Flackes and Elliot, 1989: 7) A policing vacuum began to develop in working class Protestant areas due to the growing mistrust between the communities and the police. The police had also begun to direct counter-terrorism measures against loyalist paramilitaries and to enforce bans on loyalist marches. This situation has been exacerbated by community perceptions of the perceived leniency of the formal criminal justice system, the inability of the police to deal with ordinary crime and the recruitment of petty criminals as informers. For example, in 1989 the West Belfast Brigade of the UVF shot a convicted sex offender in the legs and elbows and ordered him to leave the area after he received a lenient sentence from the court.

Like 'punishment' shootings a number of changes can be observed in the use of 'punishment' beatings. Republican 'punishment' beatings begin to rise in 1984, the same year as a perceived increase in petty crime in nationalist areas evidenced by letters within the republican press calling on the Provisional IRA to 'punish' local petty criminals. A 300 per cent rise in the number of loyalist beatings can be seen in 1986, the year following the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Thus, it would appear that 'punishment' beatings and shootings are linked not only to changing circumstances in the communities in which paramilitaries operate but also to the wider political context.

In the initial phase after the cease-fires of 1994 both republican and loyalist paramilitaries resorted to 'punishment' beatings rather than shootings. As Winston (1997: 123) notes this 'change came about as a result of the cease-fire emphasis on removing the gun from the political picture'. Paramilitaries have tried to deflect criticism from their political representatives regarding the maintenance of their cease-fires and thereby preserving their inclusion in the peace process. Under the terms of inclusion in the multi-party talks which culminated in the Belfast Agreement (April 1998), political parties were required to affirm their commitment to six fundamental principles (the Mitchell Principles) of democracy and non-violence. The sixth principle urges that 'punishment' killings and beatings cease and political parties take effective steps to prevent such actions. Indeed, in 1995 the year following the cease-fires there were no reported 'punishment' shootings by republicans and only three by loyalists. Beatings increased by over 300 per cent on the previous year.

In terms of 'punishment' shootings an increase can be observed in the year 2000, when recorded numbers of 'punishment' shootings (136) exceeded the number

of beatings (132). This increase can in part be explained by the failure of Northern Ireland Secretaries of State to rule that 'punishment' shootings and indeed beatings constitute a breach of the cease-fires. Interestingly in the year following the signing of the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement up until the end of 2005, the number of loyalist 'punishment' attacks has been greater than the number of republican attacks in each year. Loyalist paramilitaries have accounted for 65 per cent of 'punishment' beatings and 69 per cent of shootings between 1999 and 2005. Since 2003, we can observe a reduction in the number of 'punishments' and last year (2005) the total number was at its lowest since 1994. The Independent Monitoring Commission (2006: 19) noted that since the IRA's statement of 28 July 2005 it has ceased sanctioned 'punishment' attacks although it was aware of at least six unreported assaults mostly resulting from 'personal disputes …[that] have been without leadership authority or planning, though in the process can carry with them the aura of PIRA threat'.

Distribution of 'punishments' in Belfast

Using the author's own database of media-reported 'punishments' over a seven-year period since the signing of the Belfast Agreement on the 10 April 1998 until 10 April 2005, the location of 700 paramilitary 'punishments', namely shootings and beatings in the greater Belfast area, have been mapped which can be seen in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Map of 'Punishment' Attacks in Greater Belfast

Paramilitary 'punishments' occur throughout the greater Belfast area. A number of hotspots can clearly be identified. To the north of the city, these would include Monkstown, Rathcoole and Mount Vernon – these areas would be clearly identified as loyalist housing estates. Other hotspots marked are the New Lodge in north Belfast and the Whiterock area in west Belfast – republican areas.

Restorative Justice in Northern Ireland

The concept of 'restorative justice' is not a unitary one nor does it propose a singular academic theory of crime or justice. Consequently, it is a difficult concept to define. Restorative justice has become "a convenient shorthand expression that is commonly applied to a variety of practices which seek to respond to crime in a more constructive way than is conventionally achieved through the use of punishment" (Dignam and

Lowey, 2000: 3). Although there is no universal definition or theory of restorative justice, there is agreement within the literature that restorative justice represents a unique approach in terms of responding to offending behaviour and is distinctly different from traditional retribution. Hall (2000) outlines the distinction between the two approaches as follows:

Retributive	*Restorative*
Crime violates laws set by government	Crime violates relationships between people
Focus on placing guilt	Focus on needs and responsibilities
State is central to the process	Victim and offender are central to the process
Rules are key	Assumption of responsibility is key
Victim plays minimal role	Victim's participation vital
Offender takes mostly passive role	Offender required to be active in the process
Offender marginalised from the community	Offender marginalisation decreased
Directed and led by professionals	Community and voluntary involvement
Focus on the past	Focus on the future
Low percentage of restitution	High percentage of restitution

Restorative justice involves a tri-partite relationship between victims, offender and the community. Thus any scheme or project based upon the principles of restorative justice must seek to a) meet the needs of victims; b) make the offender accountable for their actions and offer a pathway back into the community, and c) give communities a sense of ownership and responsibility over dealing with crime in their areas (McEvoy, 1999).

Within Northern Ireland in each respective community community-based restorative justice schemes operate - the Greater Shankill Alternatives Programme on the loyalist side and the republican Community Restorative Justice Scheme.

The Greater Shankill Alternatives Programme

The genesis of the programme in the loyalist community is rooted in a research project undertaken during 1996 by an ex-political prisoner (Winston, 1997) in the Greater Shankill District of Belfast. The research was initiated in both communities

by the Northern Ireland Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders[26] (NIACRO) and funded by a private American donor (widely reported to be Charles 'Chuck' Feeney). It was designed to explore, with a range of community activists (including loyalist paramilitaries), the potential for an alternative strategy to 'punishment' beatings and shootings.

This work provided the context for the Greater Shankill Alternatives Programme, which began in September 1998 with the endorsement of the paramilitary groups, the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and the Red Hand Commandos, but not the Ulster Defence Association (UDA). This, in itself, is significant and demonstrates the factionalism within loyalism. The rationale for the approach adopted is based on the perceived failings of the formal criminal justice system where crime is treated as a violation of the law which elicits retribution - hence equating punishment with justice. This scheme treats crime as a breakdown in human relationships and the focus is on healing and repairing the harm caused by crime. 'Alternatives' receives referrals from Social Services, the Probation Board, victims, and the families of offenders and paramilitaries. Although as Tom Winston, the Project Manger for Alternatives acknowledges less referrals 'are now from paramilitary organisations, maybe about 5-10 per cent…where in the past it would've been 80-90 per cent and that's simply because people are aware of us now and they're coming directly to us for help' (Interview, December 2005).

An 'investigation' is carried out to establish the facts and veracity of the victim's claim. When complete, the needs of the victim are determined and a contract is drawn up with the offender to fulfil those needs. To assist in this process, a trained community mediator facilitates a face-to-face meeting between victim and offender. The outcome is an agreed determination, endorsed by a community panel of local volunteers, between the victim and offender as to the appropriate form of 'justice'. This may, for example, be restitution for damage caused, an apology and/or an agreed period of volunteer work in the community linked in some way to the original 'anti-social behaviour'. Victims may decide not to meet offenders but their views are

[26] NIACRO is a major charity working with prisoners, their families, ex-offenders and young people at risk of offending. It also works 'for a more humane and effective criminal justice system'. The position of NIACRO is an interesting one, in that most of its core funding comes via the Northern Ireland Office who were very sensitive about any direct linkage with this work, lest it be construed as encouraging or endorsing parallel justice systems.

incorporated into the process in a way that is not provided for within the formal criminal justice system.

Additional projects have now been set up in north Belfast (Ballysillan), in east Belfast (Woodstock area) and in Bangor on the Kilcooley estate.

The project claims good relations with the major statutory agencies for the work they do, although the position of the police is rather ambiguous. There appears to be support from local police where 'Alternatives' is seen as a useful collaborative model but there is suspicion amongst the higher ranks. In part this has to do with the police's long standing monopoly on tackling crime, compounded by their role in policing terrorism within the very areas where they are now expected to work in partnership with communities. Police involved in the Shankill scheme point out that if the police endorse the 'Alternatives' programme it might create political pressure for them to endorse restorative justice programmes in republican areas where the police, by design, are not involved and it is this scheme which we now turn to.

The Community Restorative Justice Scheme

The republican Community Restorative Justice (CRJ) scheme had similar origins. With private donor backing, NIACRO approached Sinn Féin to explore ways in which non-violent alternatives might be found to tackle community crime. This resulted in a series of seminars, organised by NIACRO, on crime and justice issues which looked at topics such as policing in an international context, the nature of offending and juvenile delinquency. This was followed by a week-end residential, out of which came a publication entitled 'Designing a System of Restorative Community Justice in Northern Ireland' (1997), referred to as the 'blue book', representing the agreed views of republicans who participated in the process. The model which emerged contained the following key elements. A community liaison team would be established made up of trained volunteers with wide respect in the community. This team would receive and investigate complaints of 'anti-social behaviour' from the community, engage in informal mediation, issue informal cautions or refer more complex cases to the mediation service, a group of trained voluntary mediators, to reach an agreed solution. As a last resort, contested cases would be referred to a community forum that has the 'power' to impose an outcome. Typically these could include a mediated agreement, work with families, restitution, payment of damages, referral to a programme or statutory agency and community service. The ultimate

sanction envisaged by the forum was a community boycott or 'the right of the community to refuse to have persons living in its midst who consistently and seriously flout the norms of tolerable behaviour as codified in a community charter' (Auld et al., 1997: 27-33).

In January 1999 CRJ, with the backing of Sinn Féin, launched 5 pilot projects in Derry and Belfast aimed at addressing 'anti-social behaviour'[27]. This has grown to more than 14 projects throughout Northern Ireland involving some 300 volunteers working in the scheme, and demand is still growing from communities for participation. Reports from project workers suggest that about two-thirds of their workload is with adults and the remainder largely young males under the age of 25, the target group for victims of 'punishment' beatings. Sinn Féin advice centres now refer dispute cases directly to CRJ who, in turn, collaborate with a range of statutory and voluntary organisations when they do not have the expertise to deal with particular cases/issues such as alcohol and drugs problems. Republican schemes have experienced problems in collaborating with statutory organisations. Senior managers 'because of political interference from the Northern Ireland Office' officially object to working with CRJ but middle management co-operate in a pragmatic way. It is, they argue, up to the statutory bodies, in particular the police, to come to terms with the fact that vibrant republican communities exist and they should be working with and developing new models of best practice through monitoring standards and ongoing support.

In 2005, the Northern Ireland Office (2005) entered into a consultation period in relation to community-based restorative justice schemes and produced draft guidelines for such schemes. The consultation period is now over (closed 24 February 2006) and we await their findings. Media reports suggest that private funding for such schemes is due to run out shortly and existing schemes would need to sign up to Government guidelines in order to secure funding (Thornton, 2006). Jim Auld, the Director of CRJ, recently wrote that although CRJ 'supported these [draft guidelines] in principle…We will not be able to formally implement agreed arrangements for processing criminal cases until there is an overall political settlement on policing' (Auld, 2006: 10).

[27] Pilots project were launched in Derry (Ballymagroarty) and north and west Belfast (Clonard, Beechmount, the New Lodge and Twinbrook).

Conclusions

The informal justice systems established and developed throughout the 'Troubles' in both republican and loyalist working class communities share many of the same characteristics. 'Punishment' beatings and shootings exist for three main reasons: the absence of a legitimate or adequate policing service; the rising levels of petty crime and 'anti-social behavior'; and, the perceived failure of the formal criminal justice system. In republican areas alternative justice and policing measures were developed in contrast to the formal State system as the police have long been regarded as lacking legitimacy. This view is further reinforced by the use of petty criminals as informers by the security forces. The Provisional IRA and Sinn Féin have attempted to fill the policing vacuum, which emerged in nationalist areas by developing their own system of informal justice. In addition, the Provisional IRA and other republican paramilitaries have used 'punishments' to deal with transgressions by their own members or members of rival groups. In contrast, early loyalist paramilitary policing functions were intended to aid the police and to provide internal discipline to the organizations' members. Over the years the relationship between loyalist paramilitaries and the police has changed. The formal justice system is regarded as being weak on criminals and 'punishments' are taken against those alleged to be involved in criminal activities and 'anti-social behavior'. Loyalist paramilitaries also take action against individuals who come into conflict with their members and rivals during feuds. Republican and loyalist systems in theory operate a tariff or graduated scale of 'punishments'. On deciding on the type of 'punishment' mitigating factors can also be considered in both systems.

Restorative justice schemes do offer an effective mechanism for resolution of disputes and petty crime but they cannot survive as alternative justice systems that attempt to work outside the rubric of the state under the auspices of paramilitaries who see themselves as administering the ultimate sanction for the less compliant. In Northern Ireland, there is still strong support for summary justice, a legacy of years of violent struggle. With the move to a new political dispensation there has been an attempt at 'regulatory capture' of community-based restorative justice schemes by the state, ostensibly in the interests of human rights protection and securing due process for those accused. This has resulted in a hiatus. The transition to an acceptable and effective policing and criminal justice system inevitably is taking longer than envisaged which provides justification for paramilitaries to tackle crime. Meanwhile

restorative justice schemes operating outwith the state system are criticised as ‘alternative’ justice systems. It should be borne in mind that the legitimacy of local restorative justice programmes comes from the community who must recognise their value and support their modus operandi. If this community ownership is wrested from them and they become part of the formal justice system, then they may not be seen in the same light.

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Towards Criminology of Peace: Working with street criminals and delinquent youth in urban set-ups

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Abstract

Criminologists have generally had three areas of focus during the process of understanding the nature, causes, and intervention of society on matters relating to violence and crimes. The first area of focus is based on the societal making of laws.. The second aspect of criminology is that of law breaking. The third main focus of criminologists is that of analyzing the societal reactions to breaking of laws. While taking these three areas as the directing themes on understanding violence and crimes, this paper focuses on the practical social work and rehabilitation of street children, youth and juvenile delinquents in urban set-ups. The paper draws heavily from the seven-year working experience that the researcher has had in Nairobi as a street educator, social worker and training manager for halfway house residents. The analysis is therefore of interest to peace workers, social workers, criminologists and law enforcement agents during their work in justice adjudication and reduction of street violence, fear and crime.

Introduction

As a researcher, I have found myself admiring those who are so sure of what is wrong and what has to be done. Why do I say this? The answer is very simple from my side; *working as a social worker with vulnerable groups is as complex as problems themselves.* The question that we put forward in this forum is one that asks what is the nature of social work profession that addresses issues of peace in urban setups? There are thousand and one ways where social workers have addressed issues of peace and it is for this reason that this paper focuses on issues of crime, homelessness and deviance. Hardly a day passes without reports in the media and within security systems that a war, famine, drought, disasters, crimes, and catastrophes have caused people to move in search for safety far from dangers and violence. The late Mother Teresa [Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhiu] while accepting the Nobel Award summarizes this aspect of social problems and says that

> *"I choose the poverty of our people. But I am grateful to receive [the Nobel] in the name of the hungry, the naked, the homeless, of the crippled, of the blind, of the lepers, of all those people who feel unwanted, unloved, uncared-for,*

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throughout society, people that have become a burden to the society and are shunned by everyone"[28].

Within an emerging subject area of criminology of peace, there is an increasingly important area of reconciliation and mediation. This area deals with victims, offenders, and the justice process that addresses issues of crime and deviance within communities. One noticeable aspect is that of *victimology* that deals with victim-offender reconciliation programs. The idea behind such a model is to avoid the formal courts process by mediating disputes between victims and offenders. Social workers who in this case are the bridge between individuals and the society will therefore find a lot of involvement in such situation where social relations need a balance.

Bringing social workers to the front of crime and delinquency in urban areas

Definitions of urban areas change from country to country with varying standards and criteria for distinguishing such places. According to Gilbert and Gugler [1992][29] a city is a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of heterogeneous individuals. It is in such places that populations account for individual variability marked by absence of intimate personal acquaintanceship coupled by human relations that are anonymous, superficial and transitory. Urbanization process is closely associated with the percentage of population living in urban areas.

The rapid urbanization marked by developing countries of East Africa [Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania] has however brought in both opportunities and challenges. Crime has become an area of concern and a big challenge to both community and security structures as a result of uncontrolled urbanization that has greatly reduced the possibility of social control agents in containing the violence. It is such uncontrolled urbanization that brings about not only the problem of crime but also problems of housing, sanitation, education, health and hygiene, environmental degradation and *conflicts of space ownership and control.*

With very few exceptions world over, crime and delinquency is several times higher in cities than in rural areas. Urban centers [cities] are therefore places dominated by formal social control mechanisms in response to breakdown of rigid

[28] Mother Teresa gives this statement during her acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1979.
[29] Alan Gilbert and Josef Gugler 1992]. Cities, Poverty and Development. Oxford University Press, New York

social structures, increased mobility, instability and general insecurity. Young adults and youth who migrate to cities find themselves meshed in crimes such as robbery with violence, pick pocketing, theft, prostitution, bigamy, and other deviance behavior such as beggary, alcoholism and homelessness. From a legal perspective, crime is simply considered as the breaking of laws. There is therefore the tendency for the legal process to focus on the breaking of law per se, forgetting the actual harm that has been done or on what the victim and the offender [criminal] have experienced. The bulk of the work becomes the determination of guilt, which is defined legally. In short, it becomes a process whose goal is to determine the criminal mind i.e. *mens rea* [intent]. The process of determining this guilt within the rules of the law translates to *justice*. *For justice of this dimension to be experienced, two parties are brought together in an assumed irreconcilable situation if at all there has to be an outcome i.e. a victim and an offender [criminal]. This process encourages a refereed conflict between the accused [defendant] and the accuser who in most cases is assisted by the prosecutor in criminal matters.* It is a situation of winner takes it all.

Experience in the field has demonstrated that one has to try as much as possible not to reach before a magistrate [referee] if at all one has to escape *becoming* a criminal. Once street teenagers and young adults are arrested by the police, the OB [occurrence book register] will have all sorts of statements that implicate the accused. Those who come out of police cells, especially after giving their bribery or after pardoning by the OCS [officer commanding station] tell of the fabricated stories that are written on the OB. If forced and doctored statements of these kind happen to reach before a magistrate whose work is only to interpret the law and fix judgment which is commensurate to the crime that the accused is purported to have committed without looking further at the social-economic, political and psychological influences of the accused and the victim, then a whole point is missed. *The law in this case will have assumed that the victim and the offender come from the same social-economic, psychological situations and environment.* I remember one case while in the field walking with my director who was American and a religious clergy who served as secretary to the late Pope John Paul II. A street boy came across and snatched his watch and ran with it. His immediate reaction was that the boy might have had nothing to buy food with and therefore needed to steal in order to raise for food.

Though such an interpretation might be taken as reflecting on his religious belief, a critical analysis might also bring forward to the social economic pressure that

the boy would be in if the assumption of hunger and lack of money would hold. It is therefore the work of the justice system to look at both the offender and the victim from a different dimension far from the sole responsibility of determining guilt. Howard Zehr, who has written a lot on juvenile justice, has put this appeal forward into what he refers to as "restorative justice"[30]. Justice of this kind looks at both the offender and the victim from a different lens. The question we raise at this point is whether street life and homelessness amounts to crime and deviance.

One has to be aware that crime is relative in nature. What is criminal in one place and at a particular time might not be the same in another place and in other times. What is criminal in Norway might not be the same in Kenya or in Sweden. For example boxing is a sport in Kenya while it is translated as violence in Sweden. Abortion is illegal in Kenya while it is legal in other countries. At the same time, not all deviance is crime and not all crimes are deviance.

Deviance behavior is considered as such by a belief that society has agreed norms, values and ways of acting. Any behavior or action that goes beyond or falls less of the approved standards will therefore be interpreted as a violation of the norms and values thus a deviation from the normal. For the sake of understanding each other, this paper considers street life and homelessness as deviance and not as criminal as such. Street life should therefore be interpreted sociologically as deviation from the normal, orderly social life. For those who want to consider street life negatively, then it will definitely be seen as an alien element from the socially approved way of life. However, *street life and homelessness viewed with the lens of criminology of peace should be interpreted as deviations from the normal and at the same time accept the reality that it is a form of adjustment and adaptation to a given social physical and psychological environment.*

At the individual level, street life can be attributed to what Emile Durkheim refers to as anomie. An individual feels less attached to the existing values of the *normal* social life. Experience in the field will make one to doubt whether there is a person who will agree to go hungry the first day, second day and approach the third day while the neighbor is throwing left-over food to dogs and to the dustbins. While not trying to sympathize with deviants and criminals; environmental criminologists will attribute opportunity theory of crime to such situations. Firstly, there is the factor

[30] Zehr, Howard [1995]. Changing Lenses; A new focus for crime and justice. Herald Press, Waterloo, Ontario.

of target attractiveness i.e. what is to be stolen or be achieved illegally [illegitimately]. Secondly, there is the factor of accessibility i.e. visibility ease and the absence of physical surveillance.

The above case [of a hungry person] might therefore go for the dustbin or the dogs for sharing of a meal in situations where surveillance is limited. When taken in this manner, anomie therefore requires the attention of social control agencies and this is where social work as a profession comes in. Deviant behavior, crime and delinquency in particular have in most cases been left to conservative criminal control agencies or the rule of law agents without going to the root causes of it. *The goals, objectives and strategies of interventions in many cases focus at remedying the anomie without going further to ask why this anomie and how to restore social balance between the three conflicting parties i.e. victim, offender and the community [society].*

The Position of Children, Youth, and Young adults in the Legislature

While it is easy to define who is a child, the concept of youth is a transforming one and in many occasions very amorphous. For Africa and developing countries, social workers and practitioners are put in a dilemma as to whether to take the concept based on age factor, the legal definitions provided within the law or the outcomes of social responsibilities and roles that one is playing. Experience on the streets of Nairobi has showed that it becomes extremely difficult to distinguish between a child, youth, and young adults. The question is - what would one call an adolescent girl or boy performing the roles of a parent and having children on the streets? The Children's Act in Kenya defines a child as "any human being under the age of eighteen years".[31] The same Children's Act goes ahead to consider 14-16 year old children as juveniles and those between 16-18 years are classified as young persons.

As a social worker, I was faced by a big dilemma on whether to consider parenting individuals as children, youth, adolescents, adults or teenage mothers and fathers based on the multiplicity of roles that they performed while on the streets. Existing legislations have neither been precise nor consistent as to who constitutes the youth. The constitution of Kenya recognizes the concept of youth but does not entrench its attributes. The term is therefore ambiguous and anyone can become a *youth* depending on his/her political standing and the privileges to be enjoyed. The

[31] The Children's Act [2001] Government Printers, Nairobi, Kenya.

challenge is therefore on the side of peace workers and social workers in particular to shape the policies and laws as to what points of reference to be given to the street youth, be it in terms of age, responsibilities, roles, height, size, or capacity to bear children. *A converging point however that is common to social work profession is that such individuals and families are vulnerable groups that require protection and care.*

The family institution in particular has seen a lot of changes within urban set ups. Kenya is marked by what Tibaijuka [The executive director of UN Habitat] refers to as *chaotic urbanization*. Such development is against the principles set and agreed by nations during Rio summit where it was agreed that nations should work towards developing a culture of safety[32]. While the virtues of urbanization and modernization remain to be supported by developing nations, crime and delinquency will always undermine these developments. A major draw back by crimes and delinquency is the loss of human resource and the associated brain waste. Nairobi has attracted many young adults who are in search of employment from other areas of Kenya.

The city is also the central place for political administration and economic activities and therefore acts as a pulling factor for young adult who have completed their secondary school, college and university education. Street children phenomenon tends to follow this logic with every district being represented by a street child in Nairobi. While it is hard to raise bus fare to Nairobi, street children follow *survival routes.* A child who comes from miles away will make numerous stopovers in other towns but the main destination points toward Nairobi or other major cities. While wanting to know about how they arrived in Nairobi, children told stories of how they hide inside transport lorries or engage in beggary as a way of fundraising bus fare that would reach them to Nairobi. Some have perfected the art of beggary in a manner that would trigger sympathy and persuasion. Some will create artificial wounds and injuries while others specialize in artistic attributes such as clay modeling, playing musical instrument, bible recitation and preaching, acrobatics and gymnastics.

Beggary as a form of deviant behavior attracts young children under the age of 10 years who are yet to be introduced to street labor and those that have not graduated to engage in other street crimes such as mugging, snatching and theft. This age category receives much sympathy from the public and therefore a source of income to the street families. A street child might take days or weeks to arrive in the city based

[32] Report on Earth Summit: Agenda 21 held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil from 3-14 June 1992.

on the availability of *infrastructural* development of the home district. Others will literally start by trekking to the nearby shopping centers where they are able to gang up with friends and start the journey together. On arrival, they are exhausted but with the relief that their goal has been achieved. Such a child will be very problematic on the proposal that he/she should go back home and in many occasions will not want to welcome the idea of reunification with relatives. The child will take time to identify friends and groupings with varied considerations. While age plays a big role in joining a group, other considerations such as gender, ethnicity, language, street life experience, place of birth and orientation towards drugs and substance abuse are also important.

In Westland constituency where I worked as a social worker, there were numerous groups of street youth operating in different *bases*. These bases define the geographical areas of operation and territories that must not be crossed by other gangs unless one wants to welcome violence. My first orientation to these bases was at *Vietnam* base. This was a base for young adults between the age of 16 years and above who were primarily on crime. The name of the base tells more of the identity and the attitude of what the youth would want to refer to as *their home*. This base was inside a bushy area located behind the shopping malls and residential areas. On top of a tree was a young man by then 23 years named Watene who was carrying out his kitchen duties with a charcoal stove. He was preparing *chapati*- pancakes and while the priest who had taken me for introduction asked what he was doing on top of a tree, the young man said that he was enjoying the cool air while at the same time taking charge of the watchtower.

Watene had already spotted us when entering the base and therefore had sent a signal to others who were busy enjoying their sleep under the trees and others who were inside a temporary house built using iron sheets. The watchtower was a precautionary measure for what the occupants referred to as disaster preparedness mechanisms. Other bases included, *Uchumi* base, *Nakumatt* base, Michigan base, S*hamba Mai* base, and *Westi* base. Each base had an orientation to the social economic and survival tactics employed by its members.

These bases have their own power structures and hierarchies of leadership based on resources and violence that an individual has shown to the other group members and the errands that one has run on behalf of the gang. The one who metes

the highest level of violence to gang members and the community around tend to command more authority within the gang. There is also a form of street language that one has to master before joining the ranks within the group. The commanding aspect of street language is one that is considered the language of the *ordinary*. An *ordinary* is a person who has graduated within the group and who in many occasions has been arrested many times, taken to police cells, remand or even to prison but managed to survive through the cunning of his/her statements, argumentation and the language used in courts.

While Nairobi represents all the ethnic groups in Kenya, *Kikuyu* language seems to be the popular street language. For many, *Kikuyu* is stereotyped to be the language of thieves and conmen. The gangs also tend to operate within this *Kikuyu* cultural practice where a member has to undergo some rituals and perform some rite de passage for graduation. Remarkable membership identification is through circumcision. Various ethnic groups graduate their children to adulthood in various forms. The *Kikuyu* in particular, circumcise boys and girls as a way of initiation into adulthood. A girl who is not circumcised is referred to as *kirigu* and is looked down upon by others who have already passed through this stage.

For a teenage boy who is uncircumcised, the label of *kihii* is given to him and he cannot engage circumcised boys into any arguments and his work is only to respond without questioning [thus passivity]. Other children coming to the street are forced into this popular and dominant street culture regardless of their ethnic background. They have to work on the streets in order to raise money for this activity. Many teenage boys will therefore approach social workers and street educators with proposals of being taken to *kiambu [circumcision]*. Sometimes they might approach social workers as a result of the amount of pressure that is put to them and to some extent; this experience is traumatic to some. Social workers, probation officers, criminologists, medics and peace workers in general must therefore be prepared to work with and for victims and offenders who are in difficult circumstances knowingly very well that there lies more complexity than the legal interpretations of who is a child, youth, adult, criminal, victim and offender.

Personal Identity and Street identity

In an attempt to tackle the challenge inherent in defining the concept of social identity, Jenkins [1996] suggests that social identity must be seen as both individual

and collective.[33] At the same time, social identity should be taken as a process as it involves 'being' or 'becoming'. Jenkins agrees that even death cannot freeze the picture of identity, as there is always the "possibility of *post mortem* revision of identity".[34] This *post mortem* aspect of identity is manifested within street life through domestication of death. Any person who dies on the street will undergo reunification process even while dead. It is within the customs and rites of many ethnic communities in Kenya to take their dead and bury in family land and clan homesteads. Failure to do this will imply that the person never died from the eyes of the clan and the family.

Identity and the process of identification allow for a comparison between two things or persons. It brings into light the social construction of similarities and differences. It forges the *they and we* relationships. Seen in this way, street people are identified based on a number of differential forms. The first and obvious form of identification is based on physical appearance of an individual. This could be based on one's color of skin, height, size, hair, clothing etc. and mostly carried through overt observations. This identification process places people in different groupings based on myths, narrated experiences and the mental map that one has acquired during the process of socialization. Street children and youth on the street are heaped into one category labeled *chokora. Chokora* is a Swahili word that means scavenging thus considered as scavengers.

Experience has however exposed the ever-changing identity that street individuals engage in and the social economic political value that is accrued by such multiplicity of identities. Street children and youth will operate on the street with false identities until a rapport has been stricken for any meaningful discussion and openness. At first meeting, no street individual will give his/her true identity. Strangers will normally be given alias names unless something special is perceived from the side of the street individual.

This giving of alias names is as a result of frictions experienced between the law enforcement agents and street families. Young adults who are frequently arrested will want to carry a different identity each time they are taken to the police station as a way of minimizing the risk of victimization. They will therefore give different

[33] Jenkins, Richard [1996]. Social Identity. Routledge, New Fetter lane London.
[34] Ibid

names in every different arrest as an adaptation to the harsh environment. In many cases, they give street names that they are given within the gang. While wanting to visit arrested boys and girls, it was only with eyesight that the social workers would tell who is arrested owing to the complex names they give at the police stations.

As a way of countering this trickery method, the police would introduce finger printing but with constraints that finger printing is only reserved for criminal cases. Even at levels where a crime has been committed, arrested street individuals have a way of tampering with the fingerprints. Majority explained how they littered themselves with glue and created false grains on their fingers using razor blades. The police would find it hard to trace the grains of the fingers and would keep them in police cells for weeks to allow healing and cleaning. Street families also give practitioners working on the streets labels and alias names for easy identification. My colleague social worker was nicknamed *Mathee* [mother] while I was given the label *Odijo* [teacher] for easy identification. So, exactly what work did we do on the streets? Before answering this question, it is advisable to look at the government interventions strategies that address the issue of street life and homelessness and thereafter focus on efforts by non-governmental organizations that supplement the work of the government.

Government intervention strategies and initiatives

While every person is equal before the law, children and young persons have a special Act whose idea is to correct rather than to punish when they commit any offence. This is why there is a Children's Court. It is also within this premise that a sitting judge cannot use words such as "you have been sentenced or you will be punished" when dealing with children cases. This is a form of judicial system that aims at building confidence with children and the public in general. Intervention by Kenya government in areas of rehabilitation and protection of children is carried out under the Children's department housed by the Home Affairs ministry and the ministry of Local Government. The major functions of children's department within the Home Affairs ministry are:

- To investigate cases of children who are neglected, orphaned or abandoned and who need care and protection

- To investigate cases of delinquent children and make recommendations to the juvenile courts as to what should be done to help them
- To register and inspect all statutory Children's institutions like approved schools, voluntary children's organizations, homes and local authorities which deal with the welfare of children
- To train, rehabilitate and discipline children who are committed to approved schools with a view of fitting them back in the society as better citizens
- To follow up by way of after-care work, the welfare of children who have been placed under care of fit persons, and settle ex-inmates of the Approved schools into institutions of higher learning, institution of skill training or gainful apprenticeship[35].

The department performs very dismally especially in areas that focus on the last two functions. A lot of children and youth operating from the streets have continued to show little confidence in formal social control agencies such as the police, courts, probation, and correctional facilities. Many children run away from approved schools and rehabilitation centers as a way of responding to the over-protection and security measures applied in these institutions. Experience in the field has demonstrated that there is positive response to informal social control agencies such as religious organizations, community based institutions and their families. These organizations are perceived to be less discipline oriented and therefore appeal to children and youth. The government on its side and in collaboration with local government ministry initiated a street family and rehabilitation trust fund in March 2003.

This was an initiative supported by private and public sectors and with partnership with other service providers. The main objectives were specified as: to mobilize resources, educate the public, manage a fund to support rehabilitation activities and encourage decentralization of activities to local authorities. It was estimated that there were 300,000 street youth and families countrywide by 2003. Street children accounted for 250,000[36] of this figure. Nairobi city at the same time was estimated to have 60,000[37] street children. In its report of 2005, Street Families

[35] Report of a workshop held on April 1986 focusing on Criminal Justice and Children sponsored by UNICEF in conjunction with the government of Kenya.
[36] These statistics are given in the report by Street Family and Rehabilitation Trust Fund of October 2005.
[37] See ukweli.net

Rehabilitation Trust Fund [SFRTF] enumerated some success in its operations. 6,000 street children and youth and families had been removed from the streets. 100 ex street mothers and adolescent girls have also trained in sewing and have been place in Export Processing Zones garment factories. Currently, 800 youths have completed basic drills in vocational training in various National Youth Service units. Young adults have also been assisted in acquiring national identification cards to legitimize their citizenry. To date, there have been more challenges than success owing to unpredictable political atmosphere and associated corruption.

The probation department, which is an alternative to imprisonment, is at the same time faced by challenge of client monitoring and evaluation. Any offender or juvenile delinquent forwarded to probation department becomes a case in failure, as it is a requirement that the person has a fixed abode. Street children and homeless persons are in constant mobility making it a challenge for the probation officer to offer meaningful recommendations. Rehabilitation of adult non-serious offenders also follow this logic especially those that are homeless and have no relatives within their community of operations. Young adults and youth who are sentenced to undertake community work under Community Service Orders Act will therefore find it a challenge to operate from the streets to their places of community service. Such rehabilitation programs end up having no meaningful offender-victim-community reconciliation in situations where one serves in communities that he/she did not offend.

Interventions by Non-governmental organizations

Education, Resocialisation and Training of Street Children, Youth and Families

People's attitude towards commission of crime and deviance are not uniform. Some believe that such behavior is a social menace and only retribution-just dessert can work. Others will have a softer stance and take it as a form of social nuisance, indifferent and disapproved behavior that society should be protected from. At the same time, there are those who have become accustomed to crime and deviance as a way of life and will not see any difference unless it falls on their doors. Such attitudes and perceptions will therefore condition individual, group and societal response given to lawbreakers and deviant individuals.

Before tackling some of the intervention strategies sought by street workers and charitable organizations, it is advisable to ask the question why children and

youth take to the *streets as an alternative to the ideal normal homes.* It is very hard to come up with a single reason since the rationale for every child taking to the street is different and varied. Though poverty plays a big role, it cannot offer an adequate reason for children who come to the street as a result of

- Land pressure
- Peer pressure
- Leaning towards drug and substance abuse
- Child abuse from relatives and families
- Neglect by parents
- Loss of parents and breadwinners
- Lack of school motivation
- Imprisonment of parents
- Lack of school fees and learning material
- Mere desire for uncontrolled freedom etc.

The above reasons invite different intervention strategies based on case specificity. *Both preventive and curative measures are taken.* Preventive measures start at the family institution, which forms the basic socializing agency. However, there is no specialized training on parenting especially in urban centers where parenting has been left to house helps [house girls and house boys] who by nature of their age and training, fall short of quality parenting. There is therefore a close relationship between delinquency in children and the time that parents spend with their children especially in cities where parents have taken much of their time while working and in recreation.

Homeless people and criminals who operate on the street have different reasons as to why they have taken this direction. For many, the city offers a better option owing to its heterogeneity and anonymity as opposed to rural setups where they are too well known. They therefore choose the city as a *comfort zone*. This goes well with the Kikuyu saying that *mundu damiaga kiraro* [one does not relief himself [human waste] where he sleeps. A criminal will therefore commit crimes in areas that he/she is least known. However, one has to be careful not to bulk every individual into a general class of criminals and street families. There are different categories of homeless people and street families. Firstly, there are street children and families who visit the streets during the day and go back to their homes at night. Mainly these

individuals live in slums, squatter settlements, and peripheries of the city. The problem of slums and squatter system has been inherited right from the colonial period.

During the colonial period nearly all the land was vested in the government as crown land. At independence, the same land was vested in the government of Kenya, this time in the hands of the African leaders and petty bourgeoisies. The constitution of Kenya describes a special category of this land as Trust Land. The constitution states that all trust land shall be held in trust by the county council and the same council is empowered to set apart an area of trust land for the purpose of use and occupation[38]. One should however note that township plots unless otherwise through the directive of the president are to be sold through auction, making it very hard for poor people, poor communities and homeless individuals to acquire. The second category of street families and homeless people are parking boys and young adults who help in parking of motor vehicles along the busy streets. This group is of much help in mitigating the crisis that is in the irony of many cars and few parking spaces in towns. Thirdly, there are criminal-oriented homeless individuals and groups. These are individuals and groups that thrive through crime as their main activity thus a great threat to the public order. Fourthly, there are beggars mainly coming from young children, physically and mentally challenged individuals. These are a special group owing to the *marginalization* and victimization that is directed to them by city council guards and the public in general. The fifth category is of commercial sex workers, drug users and peddlers. These individuals and groups engage in crimes that are considered as *crimes without victims* owing to the assumed choice of trade and usage of drugs. The last group is that of unemployed new urban migrants. They will be found on the streets idling and in search of work. Some of the newly migrants might have not found any kinship ties in town or have been kicked out of houses by their hosts as a result of congestion in rooms rented by their hosts.

One aspect of housing in urban cities that should be worth noting by peace workers is the *rooming phenomenon*. The rooming phenomenon is a situation where urban houses have been built without a family house plan that comprise of a kitchen, living room, bathroom, toilets, bedrooms or even car garages and store. Such ideal family houses are only to be found in high-class suburbs living the common workers

[38] Kenya Land Alliance [2001] Land: Mali Ya Umma. Land Reform Vol. 1. Kituao Cha Sheria, Nairobi Kenya.

and middle class families to occupy rooms in slums and estates. A big family that cannot afford two or three rooms will negotiate every space found within a single room thus *putting pressure on privacy and space management.* This is the pressure experienced by slum dwellers and tenants in Nairobi and its environs. There is therefore an undeniably very close relationship between land control and ownership to poverty levels in urban centers as well as its environs. My work as a social worker and street educator was carried out within the slums of *Korogocho, Mathare, Kibera, Kangemi* and *Dagoretti*. These slums house millions of impoverished people and offer the highest dramatization of poor urban planning and social-economic decay. These urban poor areas have exemplified failure by government in pre-disaster planning as people have continued to build in risky and vulnerable environments.

On-the Street Interventions

Interventions by Non-governmental organization are varied ranging from preventive ones to curative methods as mentioned earlier. These organizations however should be seen as helpers to the government and not as the alternative obligated agents when it comes to serving street and homeless people. The major services offered to street children and families include but not limited to counseling, medical, education, housing, feeding, skill training, entrepreneurship, and other parental support and reunification services. While counseling calls for a professional relationship between a counselor and a counselee, street work invites workers to practically carry out crisis intervention and therapy implementation without much etiquette.

Experience in the field has showed that counseling should not be mystified or be made too professional for workers operating on the streets. Children and youth in need of care and protection will identify and relay their problems to those who are close to them and avoid visiting high-class and professional counseling offices. Children will even not feel at ease or welcomed in such *intimidating* places. For those who feel the need to intervene and play a role in the lives of street victims, then one has to accept the reality of forgetting formalized counseling rooms and set-ups. Creating meaningful rapport with youth in crisis requires a prolonged time of getting to know each other and sometimes it is a painful journey for the worker. The issue is how can we then carry out a successful street counseling?

Years of street counseling in Nairobi have demonstrated the effectiveness of informal counseling techniques. For many children in crisis situations, they at most

need a person they can talk to and pour their pain and problems. They will do this to a person they can trust and one who is known to them. At times, it is not only in sharing their problems but also their successes while on the street. Counseling intervention is done any time and all the time that there is contact between street workers and his/her clients. It can be done under a tree, in roundabout, along the pedestrian lanes or in informal drop-in centers on the streets. Some juveniles and young adults will come with medical problems and complications and will seek for medical support. The organizations I worked for collaborated with a medical practitioner and any case requiring medical attention was refereed to this doctor.

Many of the diseases reported are the common street diseases such as skin diseases, stomach aches, vomiting, coughing, stabbings, injuries caused by car accidents and venereal diseases such as gonorrhea, syphilis, herpes, etc. Social workers will therefore find First Aid training quite important in situations where one is called to save a life before referring the case to hospitals and other networking agencies. Feeding programs on the street are also of great importance. While the public interprets this as one way of encouraging street life, experience on the streets will prove otherwise. Food is one of the basic needs for every human being. Lack of food will mean that the children and young adults have to work or to some extent commit crimes for the sake of gaining food purchase power. The part to be focused is the nutritional aspect especially for the under-five year category.

Children born on the streets stand a high risk of respiratory diseases and malnourishment. Street mothers and fathers will be under drug influence and will in most cases forget about their children. Some are too young for quality parentage and will require interventions by street workers if not divine intervention. Street informal education is the other intervention strategy sought by non-governmental organizations. It is to be understood that many of the street children have been to schools before and are aware of the educational structures and systems. Some of them are on the streets by the virtue that they feel less motivated to schooling. For such cases schooling is secondary. They therefore don’t want to be in formalized educational structures that they have recorded as violent in their perception. Teachers have abused some or fellow schoolmates and taking them back to formal setups will rekindle the suffering that they have experienced. As a street educator, the guiding policy was for the child to decide and then be motivated.

Informal classes are given in drop-in centers, social halls, or in church and mosque compounds. Some children and youth will come when they are drunk and under drug influence and the teacher or social worker has to be flexible, accommodating, and offer discipline with passion. Much of the education offered on the streets is on basic writing skills, simple mathematics, grammar, languages and mainly geared towards skill training and entrepreneurship. For those who respond positively, there is a chance for rejoining formal schools and thus have to be taken out of the streets to join their families or foster care institution. For any meaningful rehabilitation and resocialisation, it is prudent for organizations to have rescue centers and boarding facilities where monitoring and evaluation of client's progress can be done. Though expensive, it is worth since this is where social workers can be able to analyze and predict success rate of a given case. It also offers a window period for behavior monitoring and observation.

Planner in social engineering in these organizations must however be very careful of the effects of prolonged institutionalization. Such institutionalization makes a child or client to interpret the organization as the substitute family, which is a risk by itself. Such attitudes and mentalities will make reunification and resocialisation back into the community difficult and sometimes lead to failure. The idea is to have institutionalization that is sensitive to family and community spirit where a child or client is encouraged to have contacts with relatives and community. This can be done through holiday visits, shopping in the community, engaging in community service and sporting activities etc.

Over-institutionalization will greatly affect those individuals with physical and mental challenges whose area of operation is sometimes reduced to geographical area of the organization's premises. De-institutionalizing on the other hand can be as complicated as the initial problem. Placing children, young adults and clients back to their families and community require a thorough assessment of the situation. After care support to the family and clients must be prioritized and organizations should not shy away from the financial implications involved. Poverty generates the highest percentage of street families and homelessness and therefore there has to be commitment from the organizations to cut into the cycle of poverty and reduce dependency. Any haphazard reunification is just but a postponed problem.

Health care, drug addiction and rehabilitation

The list of Kenya's problems and Africa in general is quite long. The outcomes of such problems have resulted to a "culture of poverty and poverty of culture"[39]. Life expectancy has continued to reduce and people have become poorer than before. The case of Kenya's urban slums and squatter settlements is that of deprivation and impoverishment, making the streets to be a better option. While writing on culture of poverty, Oscar Lewis has argued that such way of life has some structural connotation as it is characterized by slum dwelling. Culture of poverty consists of "values found among a group of people who have resigned to fate and see little hope of breaking away from their poverty"[40] On the other hand, poverty of culture exist "when people in a community or country lose the value meaning of their culture"[41]. Such poverty of culture is manifested in Kenya by rampant corruption, land grabbing and illegal allocation, nepotism, interpersonal conflicts of undermining each other at places of work, domestic violence etc.

Statistically, Kenya has a total of 4,355 health facilities [500hospitals, 611 health centers, and 3,310 dispensaries]. This means that each health facility serves 6,887 people, while the hospital to population ratio is 1:60,000. There are 57,208 registered medical personnel whose ratio to population stands at 188.2[42]. These statistics only serve to tell that Kenya is a sick society. This sickness is manifested openly on the streets of urban centers. At the individual level, children and youth have continued to die on the streets while at the same time engaging in drug abuse and unprotected sex. Studies conducted by National Council Against Drug Abuse [NACADA] have confirmed that drug problems are acute in urban and peri-urban area of the country. The common drugs used by street children and youth include alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, tranquilizers, *miraa* [*khat*] and volatile insolvents such as petrol and glue. Most of these drugs are cheap and hence affordable to street and homeless individuals.

The most common drug used by children and juveniles in urban centers is glue. This glue is meant for other industrial use such as leatherwork and repair. Shoe

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[39] Judith Mbula Bahemuka and Joseph L. Brockington. East Africa in Transition. [2001]. ACTON Publishers, Nairobi Kenya.
[40] Judith Mbula Bahemuka and Joseph L. Brockington. East Africa in Transition. [2001]. ACTON Publishers, Nairobi Kenya
[41] Ibid
[42] These figures are based on the Economic Survey, 2002 GoK Central Bureau of Statistics/Ministry of Finance], 2002.

shinning business and repair is a common profession on the streets of Nairobi. The business is a booming one bearing the fact that many people walk long distances to their places of work to avoid hiked bus fares. A middle class worker will therefore want to dust his/her shoes before signing for duty. An unlucky worker will have his/her shoe tear on the way thus calling for a thorough repair. While the shoe-repair business is common, it is also very competitive since it is a job that needs very minimum training skills. This is when shoe shiners and repairers extend their business to children who want to feel *highry* [drunk] and sell to them glue in quantities of as minimum as Ksh.5. A bottle that cost Ksh. 10 can last a child for six hours while sniffing before it dries while its effect can last between 6-10hrs. A child will stagger and lose body coordination while under influence of this drug.

For some, it makes them avoid the feeling of hunger and cold during the night. Others will sniff it for fantasy and pleasure. NGOs working for and with street children have lobbied and advocated for banning of this substance and in 2003, they succeeded in this project when the government criminalized the practice and behavior of selling glue and petroleum distillates to minors. *While it is encouraging to have the behavior and practice incriminated, the question rests on why governments have not incriminated use of toxicants in products at the manufacturing level. Glue has continued to be manufactured using toxicants [toluene], which should be substituted with other healthier substances.* In Latin America *Resistol* has become a brand name that produces *resistoleros* while *Henkel* and *Bata* shoe companies continues to amass profits in Africa.

Child labor and exploitation on the street

By 2002 when NARC government came into power, it was estimated that 3million children in the primary school age band of 7-14 years were out of school. This is part of the price that Kenyans had to pay for a decade of cost sharing in education. Urbanization and industrialization processes have at the same time impacted on the sociology of work. The difference between *home* and *work* places has been redefined and recently, has been transformed by information technology. Any serious study on African kinship and family set up will appreciate that children are central to the family economic production unit. Children serve the family depending on the social economic occupational status that the family commands. In fact, children's work is

regarded a part of socialization and this is not the kind of labor that parents should shy away from.

It is the exploitative labor away from *home* that is of focus in this symposium owing to the changes in the concept of work and places. The nature of *homes* away from home is however the biggest challenge that this paper has identified for families found on the streets. These are *mobile homes* without proper land ownership, control or with defined means of production. Furthermore, these homes are found in urban areas and particularly in the core of the city where agriculture is limited. It is a situation of *do anything that can make the family unit to survive*. It does not matter therefore whether children will be socialized into beggary, crime, drug peddling, paper and scrap metal collection, scavenging the dustbins or in commercial sex and sale of human body parts. Within the geographical area of operation as a social worker, children and youth were involved in various street occupations and activities. These activities range from carrying of loads by hands or by *mkokoteni* [cart], parking of cars, collection of waste paper and scrap metal, car washing, selling of firewood, fetching water, gardening etc. Other children were entirely in commercial sex business organized by street marketers and drug peddlers. Boys were easily lured into sodomy while girls are kept as sex objects in slums and estates. Prison and remand experiences in boys have accelerated this sexual behavior owing to congestion that is found in Kenya prisons. Boys and young male adults talked of the *seventh world*, which by its description meant going into sex business. The letter 7 [seven] was associated with the sexual posture taken while performing the act.

For those engaged in waste paper and scrap metal collection, they will be spotted with giant sacks nick named *pajeros* where all the collected waste is put. One must however approach these *pajeros* with care. These *pajeros* at the same time act as their mobile homes. Inside these sacks will be personal clothing, blankets [wardrobe], foods [kitchen], and weapons [armory] for defense in case of danger. Any street person will therefore spend a night where his/her energy has reached him or her. Statistics showing child labor in East Africa are alarming and are contrary to the objectives set by ILO towards abolition of child labor. In Uganda, 45.3% of all aged children between 5 and 14 are engaged in labor in one way or another while Kenya

and Tanzania stands at 41.3% and 30% respectively[43]. Offences committed by employers and guardians of children in relation to violation of the employment Act attract very lenient punishment to that of mere fine of Ksh. 2000 [approximately 200 NOK]. Owing to chronic poverty by parents and guardians, child labor is relegated to crimes without victims.

Collaborating and networking issues of children, youth and young adults

The task of finding a solution to the problem of crime, street life and delinquency is certainly a complex one that no single agency can succeed. The government through various ministries and particularly through the ministry of Home Affairs which deals with convicts, delinquents and abandoned children has spearheaded many initiatives such as paralegal programs, Community Service Orders, fundraising and development in areas of non-formal education etc. However, such initiatives remain financially strained and cannot cover the work of social control agents such as police, probation officers, children officers, social workers, prison wardens and the court officers. The government intervention has mainly tended to bulk children and young adults into one category of delinquents. This is a limited perspective because it sees the child or the youth from a criminal perspective. Rehabilitation and *resocialisation* therefore tend to focus on discipline at the expense of other social-economic-political and psychological therapies.

Interventions are also limited bearing in mind that the government has limited finance, facilities and staff. Problems experienced in families and on the streets are also varied. Some problems are medical, social, economical, political, psychological, thus requiring a coordinated effort by different stakeholders. Some organizations specialize their services based on gender, geographical location, and nature of social problem within their policies and frameworks of operations. This has generated an informal and hidden *competition* between organizations that are responding to regional and global economic dimensions. There is over-representation in some slums and streets owing to the returns accrued from these *selling interventions* that target women and children. The end result is duplication of services, efforts and wastage of resources.

[43] The East African Journal of Human Rights and Democracy. Volume 2 No. 1 March 2004. The East African Human Rights Institute, Nairobi.

Conclusion

This paper has generally advocated for a redefined and restructured way of responding to crime and deviance in urban areas. While it is important for law enforcement and justice processes to deal with offenders for their crimes committed, institutionalized justice falls short of addressing all the losses and suffering by victims, offenders and the community. Imprisonment, court fines, probation sentences and other negative sanctions given to offenders may not address the social-economic-psychological gaps experienced by victims and communities. At the same time, incarceration of offenders has served to harden criminals as indicated by high recidivism that is found in individuals and groups on the streets. The question of street families and homelessness can be remedies from various approaches but the case of Kenya calls for thorough reforms in ownership and control of land. The phenomenon of land grabbing or illegal allocation of land as private property to individuals has to be pursued in a transitional justice methodology. *Justice and reconciliation has to be sought from the victim and offender's residence i.e. on the streets.* This is the case for a country, which is on structural democratic transition as well as social-cultural and economic transformation. Legislation that takes into account the establishment of structures to address economic crimes, repossession of public land and guaranteed future protection of public property be it flora or fauna should therefore be encouraged in order to cover the lacuna. Addressing corruption is central to addressing the problem of poverty since past white collar and politically engineered economic crimes have affected more people than direct violation of personal security. The issue of establishing Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission as a way forward must also be taken with seriousness. Social workers and helpers in both public NGOs and private sectors must be afforded space within such structures to address issues of street families and internally displaced persons.

The current global consumerism has also seen billions and billions of dollars spent on popular music, sports, movies, cosmetics, space exploration and weaponry. How come we cannot eradicate homelessness and poverty? There has to be an overt commitment to millennium development goal number 7 target 11- "achieving significant improvement of 100 million slum dwellers in the world by 2020"[44]. At the institutional level, governments in developing countries and Kenya for this case

[44]This Millennium development goal targets to reduce poverty through improving urban and rural shelters of the most poor.

require development and expansion of halfway houses for prisoners and institutionalized youth and young adults. This will improve resocialisation and integration back into the community for individuals and groups involved. Finally, there is a reminder from the late Mother Teresa to peace workers on issues of social problems when she says that

> *"I believe that we are not real social workers. We may be doing social work in the eyes of the people, but we are really contemplatives in the heart of the world……There is so much suffering, so much hatred, so much misery, and we with our prayer, with our sacrifice are beginning at home. Love begins at home, and it is not how much we do, but how much love we put in that action"*[45]

Peace workers, social workers, paralegal officers and justice structures have tended to do work that might improve families, schools, social services and neighborhoods. The fear is that unless such professionals and structures significantly alter the underlying social political and economic processes that affect street individuals, groups and families; then they are simply part of the problem.

[45] This is part of Mother Teresa's acceptance speech as the Nobel Laureate of 1979.

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Motives and Values Underlying the Comission of Murder in Rural and Urban Areas of Sindh, Pakistan

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Abstract

The present study was designed to explore the motives for and values underlying the commission of murder in rural and urban areas of Sindh Province, Pakistan. Sixty male convicted murderers, randomly drawn from central prisons of Karachi City and Sukkur, were administered the Murder Motives & Values Questionnaire (MMVQ) and Personal Information Questionnaire. Under "Motives," the rural murderers scored significantly higher than the urban murderers on "woman's honour" and "land possessiveness", and higher under "Values" on "fatalism" and "social conformity." The metropolitan city-dwellers scored higher than their rural counterparts on "power" motives and "economic" values. The study suggests that criminal behaviour is often learned behaviour and that many people learn to commit murder due to the powerful influences and the intentional will of the social milieu in which they are reared.

Every society has a moral code mostly driven by cultural and sub-cultural norms and values. These socio-cultural values often suggest which kinds of aggressive or violent behaviours are prescribed or prohibited in a particular situation (Freshback, 1974; Fraczek, 1979). It has been found in Pakistan that many violent crimes take place only because a situation with a tremendous amount of social pressure compels an individual to commit an illegal act. The tradition of taking revenge is so highly acceptable that people, instead of abiding by the law, adhere to the socio-cultural norms; they succumb to the pressure and commit an act which may be legally criminal because they feel that not committing it would leave an intolerable social stigma (Tariq and Durrani, 1983).

Socio-cultural tradition in this sort of situation compels an individual to commit an act considered illegal by the law of land. An act, for example a murder to avenge a transgression against the honor of family, may be commended by the society or sub-culture and sometimes even reinforced by appreciation upon its commission. *Karo Kari* (honor killings) are crimes committed under the socio-cultural traditions widely adhered to in rural Pakistan.

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In rural Sindh, if a man and a woman allegedly involved in an illicit sexual relationship are extra-judicially killed, such an act would fall under the traditional norm known as *Karo Kari* (HRCP Newsletter, 1999). People think the killing has to be done to save the honour of the family and to wash off the slur on its name. In such a case, *a Kari* (literally a black woman) and *a Karo* (a black man) are ritualistically killed and hacked into pieces (Amnesty International, 1999). According to some studies (for example, Icli, 1994; Tariq, 1981, 1993; and Tariq & Durrani, 1983), women-related issues such as those resulting in *karo kari* were among the main causes of murder in rural society.

Another typical feature of all peasant societies is an intense attachment to land (Redfield, 1956). The peasants consider land as their "mother" and a "symbol of pride and honour." When a "land dispute" arises, cultural traditions advocate fierce reactions and provoke those who feel threatened or insulted to retaliate violently. Some of these land-related disputes are chronic and long-standing and are passed on from generation to generation. Many studies (for example, Icli, 1987, 1992; Tariq and Durrani, 1983) have found that the major causative factor for murder in rural areas was a dispute over land and/ or water supply.

This phenomenon can better be understood in terms of differential association –reinforcement (DAR) theory. DAR theory (Akers, 1985) proposes that criminal behaviour is learned behaviour and that people learn to commit criminal acts through the intentional will of their social environment. But the strength of deviant behaviour is a direct function of the amount, frequency, and probability of reinforcement. Crucial to Akers' position is the role played by social and non-social reinforcement, the former being more important. Akers defines social reinforcement as verbal rewards for participating in or agreeing with the norms and expectations. For example, an honour killing committed in accord with group or sub-cultural norms is rewarded with a verbal "way to go," "great job," or "good going," or with a "pat on the back" or a "friendly grin," Criminal behaviour of this sort is most likely to develop as a result of social reinforcement given by significant others, usually within one's family or peer group (Bartol and Bartol, 1986). When considering violations of law, the group first adopts normative definitions of what conduct is good or bad, right or wrong, justified or unjustified, favourable or unfavourable. These normative definitions become internalized and provide cognitive guidance to what is appropriate

and to what will most likely be reinforced by the society. Thus normative definitions operate as discriminative stimuli—special signals transmitted to the sub-cultural or peer group to indicate whether certain kinds of behaviour will be informally reinforced or punished within a particular social context. Southerland and Cressey (1974) believed that criminal behaviour may develop even if association with a criminal group is minimal. For example, law abiding individuals such as parents may communicate subtly or bluntly that it is all right to take revenge for the sake of honour. Sutherland and Cressey also argue that messages such as those seen on T.V, and not just social or criminal contacts, are crucial in the development of any behaviour.

Investigations conducted in urban areas (for example, in Chicago by Hepburn and Voss, 1970) have found that offenders' motives for killing are often based on minor altercations or domestic quarrels, during which both parties were equally aggressive. Wolfgang (1958) in his studies found a substantial number of cases of killings instigated by relatively trivial events such as an argument, threats, or an insult. A cross-cultural study found a moderate association between inequity of income and rate of homicide (Gibbons and Krahn, 1986). Goldstein (1986) presents an analysis of the motives for murders and suggests that only about 20% of murders could be related to another crime such as robbery, whereas over twice as many (44%) were associated with arguments. In another study, Little (1989) found that the most common motives for homicide are the result of arguments over property, or disputes arising from a romantic triangle or some such matter. Similar results were obtained in Pakistan by Tariq and Durrani (1983) who found that the major motives for murder in urban settings were related to political disputes and property issues.

Other common motives for murder in urban areas are those prompted by "inequity of income" and by the desire for power over others. The "power motive" is one exhibited by those with certain personality traits which predispose them to find pleasure in using force to subdue others.

It can be inferred from the above cited studies that the nature of murder in urban settings is different from that found in rural settings. Most of the murders in cities occur as the result of minor altercations, domestic quarrels and political disputes, whereas the main motives for murder in rural societies are based on "women's honour" and land related issues, the latter being undergirded by traditional socio-cultural values.

Objectives of the study

The present study aims at exploring the motives and values underlying the commission of murder by convicted murderers coming from rural and urban settings in Sindh. It was hypothesized that mean scores of rural murderers would be higher on "land-disputes"' and "women-related" issues, whereas the city-dwellers would rate higher on "inequity of income" and "political" issues. This is a first attempt to make a comparative study between rural and urban offenders convicted of murder in Sindh, Pakistan. Furthermore, the results of this investigation will help document and elucidate the seemingly differential nature of violence in rural and urban areas, and can thereby serve as a foundation to better inform prevention and intervention efforts in both settings.

Method and Procedure

Sample

A sample of 60 male convicted murderers was randomly drawn from the central prisons of Karachi and Sukkur. Half of the subjects came from rural areas and the other half from urban areas of Sindh, Pakistan. The mean age of rural and urban subjects when they committed the crime of murder was 23.37 years and 24.5 years respectively. The majority of the convicts belonged to working class families. Most of the rural convicts were non-literate, whereas most of their urban counterparts were literate.

Table 1

Background characteristics of rural and urban murder convicts

Background characteristics		**Rural sample n=30**		**Urban sample n=30**		**Total n=60**	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Age							
Crime committed (mean)		**23.37**		**24.50**		**25.0**	
Present age (mean)		**37.50**		**35.00**		**36.0**	
Linguistic Group							
Sindhi speaking		**22**	**73.33**	**09**	**30.00**	**31**	**51.66**
Urdu speaking		**02**	**06.66**	**16**	**53.33**	**18**	**30.00**
Others		**06**	**20.0**	**05**	**16.66**	**11**	**18.33**
Socio-economic status							
Upper-middle class		**01**	**03.33**	**03**	**10.00**	**04**	**06.66**
Lower-middle class		**02**	**06.66**	**05**	**16.66**	**07**	**11.66**
Working class		**27**	**90.00**	**22**	**73.33**	**49**	**81.66**
Education							
Intermediate & above		**00**	**00.00**	**12**	**40.00**	**12**	**20.00**
Matriculation		**05**	**16.66**	**05**	**16.66**	**10**	**16.66**
Primary		**07**	**23.33**	**10**	**33.33**	**17**	**28.33**
Non-illiterate		**18**	**60.00**	**03**	**10.00**	**21**	**35.00**
Parental presence/absence							
During Socialization (0- 3 yrs)							
Father	**Present**	**21**	**70.00**	**24**	**80.00**	**45**	**75.00**
	Absence	**09**	**30.00**	**06**	**20.00**	**15**	**25.00**
Mother	**Present**	**24**	**80.00**	**24**	**80.00**	**48**	**80.00**
	Absence	**06**	**20.00**	**06**	**20.00**	**12**	**20.00**

Instrument

Murder motives & value questionnaire (MMVQ)

The murder motives & values questionnaire (MMVQ) measures the subject's perceptions about the motives and values underlying murder in rural and urban areas of Sindh. The motives questions consider the motives behind the particular murders, whereas the value items explore the underlying social values which compel a person to commit murder. MMVQ consists of eight variables:

- Women related issues/ women's honour killing (including old enmity on marriages)
- Land disputes and/or old enmity on land
- Inter-personal petty problems
- Political issues
- Power Motive (use of force as a source of pleasure/subdue others)
- Inequity of income
- Social conformity
- Fatalism

Each variable consists of four items. The subjects were asked to respond to the statements in terms of "Yes**,"** "No" or "Undecided**."** Some items of the questionnaire were selected from the studies of Eckhardt (1979).

Procedure

The interview was conducted with the consent of the convict after the interviewer had developed rapport with the subject. The interview was held in an atmosphere of mutual confidence. It was also clearly stated to the convicts that their answers would be strictly confidential and that their identity would not be disclosed. During the interview, notes on the subject's responses to various questions were taken.

Results and Discussion

To compare the results of rural and urban convicts in terms of their motives and values regarding murder, t-tests were used for all the variables of the MMVQ. Only one variable (i.e. inter-personal petty problems) was not found significant. However, significant mean differences were found to exist between rural and urban murders (see Table 2).

Table 2
Mean, standard deviation and t-values for MMVQ scores for rural and urban convicted murderers

Motives and Values	Rural Group		**Urban Group**			
	Mean	**S.D**	**Mean**	**S.D**	**t**	**p**
Women related issues	11.7	0.95	10.1	1.48	4.89	.001
Land disputes	11.4	1.85	10.83	2.11	2.63	.02
Interpersonal Petty problems	9.35	1.19	10.05	1.66	1.84	NS
Political issues	6.25	2.54	10.75	2.82	6.38	.001
Power Motive	7.75	5.41	9.85	1.93	3.66	.001
Inequity of income	7.6	2.24	10.2	1.80	4.87	.001
Social Conformity	10.0	1.45	8.55	2.38	2.80	.01
Fatalism	10.7	1.75	7.30	2.82	5.52	.001
Total MMVQ	75.23	4.76	78.65	4.93	2.68	.01

The results show that urban convicts had significantly higher mean scores than did rural convicts on “political issues” (t=6.38, $p < .001$), “inequity of income” (t=4.87, $p < .001$) and “power motive” (t=3.66, $p < .001$), whereas the rural convicts had significantly higher mean scores than urban convicts on “women-related issues” (t=4.89, $p < .001$), “land disputes” (t=2.63, $p < .02$), “fatalism” (t=5.52, $p < .001$) and “social conformity” (t=2.80, $p < .01$)..

It is interesting to note that the rural convicts perceived “women” and “land-related issues” as the main motives for murder whereas the urban convicts perceived “political issues” and “power motives” as the main causes of murders. These findings

are further supported by the convicts own reports and/or by official documents in their files.

The present study suggests that most murders committed in rural settings are provoked by the socio-cultural norms of the rural society. The specific social environment motivates, encourages and appreciates the taking of revenge to settle their problems. Thus in keeping with the view of DAR theory, the rural culture develops normative definitions of what conduct is good or bad, justified or unjustified, and applies those definitions when there is a violation of the law of the land. Furthermore these definitions become internalized and provide cognitive guidance to what is appropriate and will most likely be reinforced by the rural society. It is interesting to note that in rural and urban areas, people develop different normative definitions; and in both cases the crime committed under the pressure of cultural norms is not considered a deviant behaviour. On the contrary, it is behaviour which is exactly in accord with the demands of the social norms (Tariq and Durrani, 1983). Individuals from childhood on internalize these values and they become an integral part of their personalities. Moreover, when someone acts in a way society condones, the behaviour is reinforced by the appreciation received from the family and society at large. The individual's revenge-taking is called a "heroic deed," and the perpetrator is not only appreciated but also honoured. Rural offenders have been portrayed as less likely to display qualities of the criminal social type ordinarily associated with their urban counterparts (Choldin, 1944). The results of this study are consistent with previous similar studies. For example, Icli (1994) found that homicide committed in order to protect honour is approved by the society as a tradition that results from the pressure of cultural norms. A similar conclusion was drawn by Wolfgang (1958): "There maybe a subculture of violence which does not define personal assaults as wrong or antisocial, in which quick resort to physical aggression is a socially approved and expected concomitant of certain stimuli and in which violence has become a familiar but often deadly partner in life's struggles." He further suggested that "most murderers are normal rather than emotionally disturbed." In a recent study it was also found that intimate homicides (those involving spouses, ex-spouses, boyfriends, and girlfriends) made up a larger percentage of murders in rural areas than in suburban or urban areas (Fox and Zawitz, 2004).

The findings of the present study, therefore, support the hypothesis that there are significant differences among the motives and values underlying the commission of

murders in rural and urban areas of Sindh, Pakistan. It is suggested that similar studies be conducted on larger samples from various prisons located in different parts of Sindh and other provinces of Pakistan.

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How the High Security Zones are a Hindrance for Peace in Sri Lanka

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Abstract

During the last two decades Sri Lanka has been dreadfully experiencing the horror and malicious outcome of civil war. The two major communities in the island, the Singhalese and the Tamils are recurrently warring against each other due to political reasons. The minority Tamil community claims that they are discriminated in socio-economic and political participation in the country owing to partial administrative policies adopted by the government of Sri Lanka (GOSL). Such alleged discriminative policies drove the Tamils to initiate non-violent campaigns against the government in the beginning and subsequently the agitation grew up into armed conflicts. The Sri Lankan government took stern measures to curve the military activities of the armed groups formed by certain politically motivated and enthusiastic young Tamil guerrillas (like LTTE) who have been aspiring to win the lost rights of Tamils. Certain areas are under the control of LTTE and the rest are GOSL army controlled areas in the northeast region of Sri Lanka. Certain parts of the army-controlled areas have been declared as High Security Zones (HSZ) and the peoples who occupied these parts have been forcibly evacuated and rendered homeless and jobless. This situation also contributes to the failure of achieving peace. As a part of the state measure to curtail the Tamil military activity, security zones have been established particularly in the northeast of the country. The setting of the High Security Zones poses a threat to the socio cultural and economic development of these regions and also remains as a huge block against the peace initiative. This paper focuses mainly on High Security Zones (HSZ) in the Jaffna peninsula.

Introduction

Sri Lanka has its location in the Indian Ocean. Due to its significance geographically and globally and the ongoing civil war in the island during the last two decades, it has drawn the attention of the international community. In this country with a heterogeneous society, the population of Singhalese is 73%, Tamils 17.8%, Muslims 7.5 %, and others 0.8 %. Linguistically 76% of the total population speaks Singhalese and 24% speak Tamil. The north and east provinces comprise eight administrative districts where the Tamil speaking people are a majority of the population. The Singhalese are a majority in the rest of the seventeen districts.

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The northeast province has been the traditional homeland of the Tamils. Since ancient times Tamils have been living in these areas, sticking to their socio-cultural values which the Singhalese refuse to accept.

The basis for the ethnic conflict

When Sri Lanka was freed from the British colonial rule in 1948, the administrative power came to the hands of the Singhalese. Communal ideologies of the Singhalese political leaders and their certain deliberate political activities paved the way for the ethnic conflict. The main causes for the agitation of the Tamils for a separate state are as follows,

- The deliberate colonization scheme to settle down Singhalese in the Tamil areas caused the decline of the percentage of Tamils in these areas. For example, Singhalese have been settled in Amparai and Trincomalee, in the eastern province.
- The Singhala Only Act was introduced in 1956 during the rule of Prime Minister SWRD Bandaranayake. This act brought down Tamil language to an inferior status.
- The standardization scheme enacted in the year 1970 affected the admission of Tamil students to the universities.
- Discriminative policies in employment opportunities were adopted. This move deprived the Tamils of the fundamental rights in employment.
- The Tamil politicians attempted to show the opposition against these unjust policies of the government through non-violent means for about three decades, but all their efforts were futile. Therefore Tamils resorted to armed struggle to win their rights.

The High Security Zones in the Northeast

In the post-war north eastern provinces we find two types of administrative structures: the liberated areas controlled by the state and the non-liberated areas controlled by the LTTE. The significant features with regard to the military activities in the state controlled areas are the declaration of High Security Zones (HSZ). Certain areas from

which the residents were ousted forcibly have been occupied by armed forces with their camps for the sake of national defence and security. The so-called high security zones with the objective of manoeuvre and strategy have been located adjacent to the major harbours and airports.

The establishment of HSZ directly and indirectly affect the people of the area. The state acquired private land for HSZs. People have been displaced in large numbers as a result of this. In the mean time, the people who lived in close proximity to HSZ also had to leave because they felt insecurity due to the violent nature of the conflict.

There are HSZs in all the districts in the north east of Sri Lanka. The army has captured many areas in the Jaffna district. This paper focuses mainly on the Jaffna peninsula.

Geographical background of the Jaffna peninsula

- Total area of the Jaffna district/ Jaffna Peninsula. 1052sq.km

- Physical characteristics of Jaffna Peninsula.

    - Land masses – Valikaamam, Vadamarachy, Thenmaradchy and the Islands.
    - Lagoons – Jaffna lagoon, Elephant pass lagoon, Vadamarachy lagoon (Thondamanaru), Upparu Lagoon.

- Population in 1981 (Before the war)
    - Peasant Population and Distribution of population 598.000

- Growth of High Security Zones.
    - 1980s Karainagar naval area and small area around Palalyand Elephant pass
    - 1985s Northern sea area from the Talaimannar to Chundikkulam.
    - 1990s Expanded area of Karainagar naval base, expansion of Palaly HSZ and Elephant pass HSZ.

- 2000s Expansion of Palaly HSZ, establishment of new areas – Jaffna, Islands

- Muhamaalai, Nagarkovil and many sentry point Ariyalai, Kerativu

- Details of present High Security zones in Jaffna peninsula
  - Palaly
  - Karainagar
  - Islands
  - Ariyalai
  - Kerativu
  - Muhamaalai
  - Nagarkovil

- Number of affected people …….84917
- Number of affected families…….30388
- Number of fully affected GS division…….67
- Affected total agricultural area……..12259Hec.
- Affected number of industries……40
- Number of affected schools……47
- Number of affected religious places…… 246
- Number of affected fishery villages……..44
- Length of coastal lines affected…….81
- Number of families in welfare centres……..2458
- Number of families outside the welfare centres……...18226

Pattern of High Security Zones

The fall of *Elephant Pass* to the government in the early 2000 has altered the pattern in which the military is controlling Jaffna. The present pattern of HSZ surrounding Jaffna peninsula is nothing less than a military noose set-up around the peninsula. This HSZ loop has pushed the 598.000 people of Jaffna into the inner regions of the peninsula. Most of the restrictions applied on the 598.000 people are effectively tightening this noose on the people. The condition in Jaffna, surrounded by the military noose, is like an open prison.

The Palaly airport and the KKS camp forms the core of the military base from which the noose is controlled. The south of the Valigamam area forms the inner circle of this HSZ noose. The outer circle stretches from Nagarkovil, towards south Varani, Kilali, Muhamail and westward to Ariyalai, Mandaithivu, and Kalytes.

Five kms. of sea along the Valigamam North HSZ area, that is the core of the Jaffna HSZ, is also declared as HSZ. Similarly, a no-go zone is maintained in the sea-lanes to connect the land HSZs circling the peninsula, thus completing the military noose on Jaffna. A total area of 145 sq.km. and a total coastal length of 81.5 km. have been declared as HSZs. This is a third of the peninsula area. Approximately 60,000 uniformed military personnel are living in these HSZs. The 598,000 people living in Jaffna are forced to live in the area between the inner circle and the outer circle of the HSZ. One uniformed military man controls effectively 9 civilians. Throughout the peninsula a tight network of military camps cover the entire remaining peninsula.

The majority of the displaced people from these areas have been sheltered in welfare camps. They lead a life amidst famine, poverty and disease. As per provision 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, subsequent to the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE in 2002, occupants of places of worship, schools and public residences had to leave. The controlled areas were to be handed over to the owning authorities. Even after the lapse of four years of MoU, what is directed in the provision has not been enacted.

Following office of the new president, the recent military activities indicate the intensification of the government's logistic performance. For instance, the proposed arrival of prisoners from the south to Wali in the north to be work in cultivating to supply food for the military; the construction of Buddhist *vihara* in certain places of HSZs areas and extension of Palaly air base. The frequent visits by the foreign military chiefs to the base in the HSZs have posed threat to the peace of the natives and created panic among them

Table 1, shows that fishing and agriculture had been the two main livelihood activities of the people of north east. It is also clear from the figures that the presence

of the HSZ has denied these activities for the people and pushed the people into a state of extreme poverty and hopelessness.

Table 1 Statistics regarding High Security Zones of other Districts in the NE

Districts	**Area Covered**	**Farmland (Acre)**	**Families Affected**	**Houses occupied**	**Religious places occupied**	**Schools occupied**	**Banned Coastal lines(Km)**
Mullaitivu	16800	16711	1004	1004	14	04	19
Vavuniya	1000	106	1103	1505	23	21	00
Batticoloa	700	86	193	399	04	01	01
Trincomalee	2200	50	286	305	00	00	20
Ampara	260	40	32	72	02	00	01
Total	**20960**	**16993**	**2618**	**3285**	**43**	**26**	**41**

Source . Peace Secretariat, Kilinochchi, 2006

Table 2 shows statistics regarding High Security Zones in Mannar

D.S. Division	No of Villages	No of Families Lived	No of Families Live in WC	No of Families Live with Friends/ Relatives
Mannar Town	17	2594	129	394
Nanattan	09	1339	24	129
Madhu	08	1094	469	259
Total	**34**	**5027**	**622**	**782**

Source. H. S. Hasbullah 2005 (Kachcheri, Mannar)

While this HSZ phenomenon is there throughout the northeast, its implementation in Jaffna exhibits a ferocity that has destroyed the very base on which people existed. The scale and severity of HSZ in Northeast is effectively squeezing the life out of the people. Jaffna has the highest density of people per land because its resource is rich in water and fisheries. Human resource potential in Jaffna is also best. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that Jaffna is effectively the heartland of the north east. How do the HSZs hinder the peace process?

Fisheries

4436 families from 40 villages have been expelled from their villages. 2458 families are still dependent on relief. This relief amounts to Rs. 1200,00 worth of dry rations. These people have lost their land, their income, their way of life and their community. Absolutely no compensation has been given. Neither has any alternate livelihood options made available to these people. The refugee camp life has destroyed the education of its children and the health of the community too. For example people from Valigamam have been living in refugee camps for more than 15 years as a result of the declaration of their territories as High Security Zones.

Some fishing families have been displaced to other fishing villages. The right to fish has longstanding culturally enshrined patterns. Those displaced to other areas while tolerated by the local fishermen out of sympathy at start, face internal conflicts for land and fishing rights. Such problems demonstrate the need for the fishing families to return to their own villages.

Along the 81.5 km of coastline that have been declared as HSZ are several harbors used by fisherman. For example Point Pedro, Mayiliddy, KKS, and Kaytes have important harbours that have been taken over by military. From Thondamanru to Mathahal (10km) from the coast line, 5 km into sea is also denied to the fishermen along the Palaly airbase. Outside the 81 km of seacoast that is denied to all people of Jaffna, the use of the remainder of the Jaffna seacoast is strictly controlled by the military. The controlling methods include a pass system for access to seacoast and strict limitations on where one can enter and exit sea.

Pass system

Everyone needs a pass to go to the beach. If they are fisherman going to sea to fish they need a pass for their boat as well. Fisherman can go only in the boat for which

they have been given permission to go. They cannot go in another boat. There are a lot of red tapes and delays in obtaining a pass. If a boat is in repair, fishermen cannot go fishing in another boat. They also need to get permission to take the boat from the beach to inland for repair and again to take it back to the beach. The same applies to bring new boats to the beach. The process of obtaining permission for such activity is not centralized in one place. Fishermen have to obtain permission at three separate levels, and this causes a lot of delays. The letters requesting permission also must be given in English and letters written in Tamil are not accepted. This causes additional expenses to the fishermen because most of them do not know English.

The entrance of fishing boats into the sea is limited to fixed corridors. Fishermen going to sea outside the HSZ can enter and exit the sea only through these corridors. Military checkpoints for every 50 km. along this remainder of coastline control this access into sea. Fishermen can enter and exit the sea through these corridors only between 6.00 am and 5.30 pm. Those who enter sea at 5.30 pm for example cannot return to land until 6.00 am for whatever emergency. The horsepower (HP) in engines that the fishermen can use is limited to 15. They cannot take more than one engine with them.

Multi Day Boats are not allowed in Jaffna. These boats permit for deep-sea fishing staying in sea for many days at a time.

Harassment

Any fisherman who has gone to sea for fishing in Jaffna would say most emphatically that SLN personnel do not conduct themselves in a disciplined manner expected of a security force treating its own people whom it is expected to serve.

All of this has displaced half the fishing population (nearly 50,000) from Jaffna. This loss of fishermen and the tightening of the HSZ noose, has reduced the fishing production from 48000 mt. During the period from 1980’s to the fish production declined. The slight loosening in 2002 has seen the production increased to 21000 mt. Under the present set up it is very unlikely that the production will rise above this level.

Marketing problems

Since some streets are closed due to HSZ, the catch cannot even be taken to Jaffnan markets in time. In some areas, the Sri Lankan Navy (SLN) will not let the market open for long. Then the fishermen must take it to other places and they face transportation problems.

Impact on Agricultural Sector

In the Jaffna Peninsula, the agricultural sector plays a vital role in the development of the economy. In the high security zones in the peninsula, around 30.388 families of peasants have been evacuated. The majority of these families are still being looked after in the welfare camps and their main sources of survival are the charitable organizations and dry ration stamps. The heads of these households are attempting to compensate deficiencies of their requirements via means of minor trades such carpentry, labor, masonry, etc. Such families deplorably experience deterioration of life subsequent to the expulsion from their traditional fertile prosperous lands.

The areas having red soil in the Valikamam region are significant for the cultivation of chilies, onions, grapes, etc. and areas with gray soil in the Themaradchy region are popular for the cultivation of paddy coconut, fruits, etc. These areas have been occupied by the state forces and hence left uncultivated.

The resumption of recent peace talks in Geneva has revived hope in the minds of displaced masses, as they envisage the possibility of going back to their native lands. According to the news items in the press media recently, initiative has been taken by military authorities to bring some prisoners from the south to the Vali-north area to engage them in farming to produce adequate food required for the forces serving in the Jaffna peninsula. The report adds that presently 1,5 metric tons of food are being transported by air from the South to satisfy the need of the forces, and this amount is not sufficient for the entire force. This explains the governments move. The hope of the natives has been shattered by this press report, and they have grown further desperate, since they are compelled to relinquish their expectation of going back to their hometowns. Besides, it has created panic and anguish in the minds of the natives, since they feel that a new colony of Singhalese is to be established in their traditional living areas.

Impact on Education

Nearly 69 government schools are in the areas of High Security Zones. Most of such schools are not functioning and in an abandoned state. Some pupils of such schools have gotten admission to the schools in the neighborhoods and continue their studies. Certain schools particularly J/Methodist Girls' High School and J/Hartley College of Point Pedro are adjacent to the major army camps at Point Pedro. Both these schools, were highly reputed for academic performance, and have been the leading ones in Jaffna. The majority of the university students admitted to diverse faculties, including medical and engineering faculties, were from these two schools. However, at present, since these schools have been confined within an area absolutely controlled by armed forces and have a common entrance guarded by military personnel, students using this entrance are always in a state of fear and dread. There is no guarantee of their safety during their stay in the schools or movements outside the school while entering and leaving the school. The students of these schools together with the assistance of the public protested to remove the camps from the surrounding areas of both schools. In order to suppress and disperse the demonstrators, army personnel resorted to crackdown. Presently, more than 2000 children are studying in both of these schools. The deployment of armed forces close to the schools will not create an appropriate atmosphere for pleasurable and successful learning. The denial of provision of education to children in a calm environment can be deemed as a form of child-abuse. NGOs including ever UNHCR and UNICEF are indifferent to the detrimental trend of education encountered by the children of these schools.

Impact on Native Culture

The arrival of the members of Buddhist clergy in the peninsula to engage in Buddhist religious practices and the construction of Buddhist Viharas are apparently on attempt of establishing Buddhist authority and dominance in the Tamil areas. Such attempts are believed to jeopardize age-old values and norms pertaining to cultural, social and religions aspect of Tamils. Several Hindu temples in the High Security Zones have been partially or fully destroyed due to civil war. Hindu devotees are to seek permission from the military authorities to visit some ancient, significant temples such as Kirimalai and Mavittapuram to observe religious practices concerned with funeral.

To sum up, the declaration of the High Security Zone and the restriction imposed by military authority, which may curb the liberal activities of the public would without doubt serve as an obstruction in the peace process.

Other major threats

1. Expansion of Palaly airport area without the consent of people. Their lands are taken for the expansion without any legal process or compensation.
2. Expansion of KKS harbor and its environment without consulting people of the area.
3. Building Buddhist temples without the knowledge of local people.
4. Actions are being taken to change the cultural landscape of the area
5. Cultivating lands that belong to the displaced people without their permission by military persons and prisoners
6. Disregard of land ownership boundaries of people. *Bulldozering*, leveling and annexing private lands into a big land area.
7. Quarrying limestone and coral reef, cutting trees, collecting fruits from the security forces.
8. Restriction of the movement of people to Keerimalai spring, Mavidapuram and Naguleswaram temples and restricted access to do religious rituals to the dead people.
9. Restricted access to the cancer hospital in Thellippalai.

Conclusions

Existing HSZs in the Jaffna district are a big hindrance to the resettlement, rehabilitation of displaced people and return of normalcy to the region and people. Even now, one in six people in the district are classified as an Internally Displaced People. Jaffna has a very high density of population per square km. There is an acute shortage of land and the land price is very high. It is very important for the state to take the private lands by force and keeping the land by force. The poor displaced people are unable to get justice from institutions. The price of the land that some of the families have lost is much higher than what it was when they lost it.

To resolve the problem of the displaced and to bring peace; the government of Sri Lanka should allow the displaced people to resettle without delay. Solutions to the

HSZ will contribute to get the peace process moving. Otherwise it will create tension among the people.

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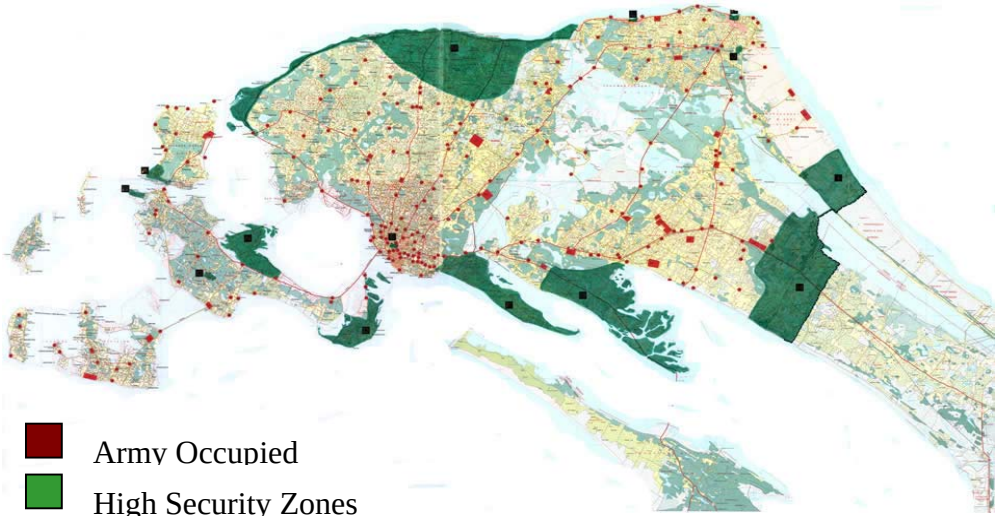
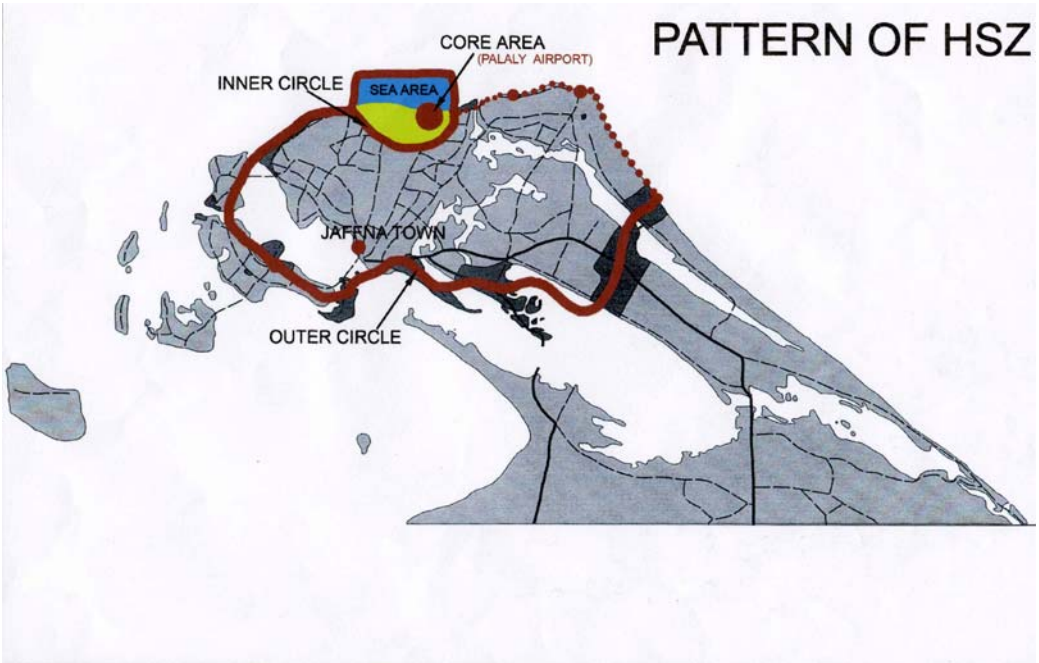
Appendix

High Security Zones and Military Occupied





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Peace making is place making.
Place making is peace keeping. Building Peace Space by Space.

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Abstract

NGO's are well placed to pioneer the development and policy direction for the establishing of models and tools for social integration in the best sense of the word. A holistic picture of community building, which includes social housing undertaken by Yeast City Housing (among the many services offered) contributes in part to peacemaking in the community. Often, safety by environmental design is limited to hard functions and buildings. This paper will address the issue of integrated design of social space as fundamental to community integration and therefore a contributor to social peace. The integration of various aspects of community building and the building of sustainable living environments can contribute to social cohesion and development. Social housing institutions are one of the few vehicles that can ensure Social Integration, Functional Integration, Spatial Integration, Sector Integration and Community Integration.

Walls and Balls

What are walls
Especially tall walls
Ones we can't kick balls
Over

Introduction

Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are well placed to both pioneer the development and policy direction for the establishing of models and tools for integration in the best sense of the word. As a community building organisation the Tshwane leadership foundation has made a concerted effort to present a holistic picture of community building, which includes social housing undertaken by Yeast City Housing among the many services it offers.

The nature of the NGO world is that it allows for integration of various aspects of community building, if one takes a wider view of the social fabric and the building of sustainable living environments. The specialization of NGOs into tight core functions either by policy directives or funding criteria will often restrict the integration needed to address the desires of the urban poor and marginalized. This restriction has grave implications for the development of inclusive cities that are

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places where all can feel part of the social fabric ." the strength of the urban economy is key how the residents feel about their city and the willingness to commit to it as a place to build their future[46] " shows the level to which all the citizens are included .

Often safety by environmental design is limited to hard functions and buildings. This paper will address the issue of integrated design of social space as fundamental to community integration and therefore a contributor to social peace. The integration of various aspects of community building, if one takes a wider view of the social fabric and the building of sustainable living environments can contribute to social cohesion and development. **"**Identifying and preserving sources of community satisfaction and learning to foster them where they are missing would represent a radical new direction in development policy[47]"states Chawala as a challenge to all to create cities and spaces that include the most marginalized in her case children. President Mandela challenged the nation of South Africa with the notion that how we treat our children will be measure of our freedom and nation building.

Background

Often safety by environmental design is limited to hard functions and buildings. One will observe a large portion of most works that deal with environmental safety by design are devoted to the built environment and its construction,[48] although concession is given that design needs to be complimented by management approach that needs to include the entire town or city but can also be extended to smaller area such as neighbourhoods or complexes .[49]

The issue of integrated design of social space is fundamental to community integration and therefore a contributor to social peace. The integration of various aspects of community building, if one takes a wider view of the social fabric and the building of sustainable living environments can contribute to social cohesion and development.

A holistic picture of community building, which includes social housing undertaken by Yeast City Housing among the many other welfare and human

[46] State of the cities page 76
[47] Chawala growing up in an urbanizing world page 231
[48] Designing safer places , Kruger Landman Lieberman CSIR 2001
[49] designing safer places pg 81

development ,community development services offered contributes in part to peacemaking in the community in which it finds its self , the Berea/burgerspark area or precinct[50] within the capital city of Tshwane / Pretoria in South Africa .

Initial research in four cities Durban Pretoria Pietermaritzberg Johannesburg , on the role that church/faith based organisations or non governmental organisations can play in housing[51] and work on community safety issues in Durban South Africa led to interest in community safety and the notion of place making.

Now the researcher works in Yeast City Housing and draws on experience and action research of housing development that is integrated with community formation/building as a notion of placemaking and peacebuilding .

History of the project

Yeast City Housing formed in 1998 as a section 21 company by 6 inner city churches and has developed organically from managing bad buildings to point it was recognised for its innovative housing delivery in 2002.It was recognised by the Gauteng Institute for housing for "*its contribution to transitional, communal, institutional and special needs housing and related social services, giving access to vulnerable people in the inner city of Pretoria*[52]"

This is the start of placemaking in that it makes place ,ie the city or part of it ,accessible to those whom may not ; due to history in the South African scenario or economic considerations, have had access to all the benefits of city living usually expected to be afforded to all the citizens of a city .

Yeast has created a diversity of housing options and also has developed community facilities in a marginalised community. It has a community base in that up to 90% of the staff are inner city residents and many have come through the housing ladder into the community and employment

As a value driven organisation Yeast City Housing has to develop its housing according to certain value driven principles, such as, the city as a place of hope, an opportunity, compassion and community , which drives the organisation to draw people into community, social justice , and location which seeks to give access to affordable housing in centrally well located opportunities. These opportunities have

[50] Burgerspark Village A small story of Hope Consortium of Urban Transformation 2004
[51] Talbot S Published master thesis University of Natal
[52] Citation of the Gauteng Branch of the South African Institute of Housing Annual Awards

been only a dream to many of this nations population and still today escape the vast majority of our citizens .

Housing opportunities and the housing spectrum a quest for a place on the housing ladder and a place of peaceful existence

Housing opportunities need to be created across the housing spectrum taking into account that shelter is a right conferred by the constitution and declaration of human rights[53]. As a first step on to the housing ladder , the homeless need to be given the opportunity to enter into shelter accommodation which will often take substantial sectoral co-operation. This also demands service providers that are able to operate the shelter. This co operation will relate to the provision of the many services need to assist and integrate the marginalised into the world of housing and the city from which they are often effectively excluded by lack of property or tenure. One often speaks of locational disadvantage[54]and the way in which cities marginalise its citizens through transport and economic requirements for good locations to live. [55]

The next step up from this level of shelter provision is short term transitional facilities that provide its beneficiaries with a start in the lower income rental housing market . This should be a short term solution and not result in long term accommodation's the person establishes themselves they could move to a communal housing opportunity which has sharing of the public facilities often single room facilities, or limited family accommodation.

Movement from the transitional and communal is into the social housing institutional rental unit , which are subsidized by a government capital subsidy to accommodate those who fall short of affordable market related accommodation. At present this is targeted at two levels R3500 the deep down reach and R7000 the subsidy market, both of these are calculated at household income level.[56] If and when the beneficiaries of the above forms of housing are able they could move either into the rental market or even private ownership .

This movement up the housing ladder creates the affordability steps that should be both supported and encouraged on both the local government level and

[53] Constitution of South Africa Section UNhabitat Declaration
[54] State of the Cities South Africa 2004 pages 76-110
[55] State of the cities 2004 pg 112 UN State of World Cities Report 2005/2006 2
[56] National Dept Of Housing Subsidy Regulations

provincial and national policy. NGO are in place to deliver this spectrum of housing, given the support and space to do so. Due to the nature of either their work which is largely integrative or the use of their extensive and integrated network of service providers they can act as agents of placemaking and peacebuilding[57] through the integration of various aspects of community integration that will be now explored and linked to the notion of placemaking.

The Pieces of placemaking

Integrated social housing design and community development / formation

Wheeler states "urban problems, in fact, are serious enough to cause many to doubt that the city as we know it can survive beyond the twenty first centaury……. For the city to be sustainable, radical change must occur in the way it operates to serve its population "[58] th9is change he posits must take place on at least three levels for the health of the city to re establish its self; environmentally so that people have a good place to live ;economically so that they have the means to live; and socio-spiritually so that they have the way to live. This final dimension he states creates a focus that binds people together in a common purpose that refocuses the lives of urban people into a social community. The need for inclusive cities is highlighted again and again in the UN State of World Cities and the state of South African cites report of the South African cities network.

Social integration

The development of mixed income housing opportunities is often seen as too difficult to achieve but there is a need for integration of the community if society is to overcome the spatial skewing inherited from the apartheid era.[59] Very often mixed income communities are seen as devaluing the property but as we shall see it is possible and desirable to achieve for the community and the city and even the nation at large.

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[57] Refer to the notion of peacebuilding peacekeeping and peacemaking as outlined by Landman in her paper at same conference Peace and place Tromso university April 2006 Pg 5

[58] Wheeler S Urban policy and practice Forum www.oncampus.richmond.edu/academiics/urban/forum

[59] SACN report pg 9 and following sets out the challenges of the post apartheid city in south africa

Functional integration

Is the integration of a project to include multiple uses which increases the accessibility to services for both residents and the wider community. In combating the separation of the city as Rusk calls it , not by building different kinds of cites, but by how we organise cities in a different fashion.[60] This functional integration can create a more productive city that utilizes a mixed enterprise zone [61] and this paper will suggest a mixed use residential zone in which people can have both their residential space and work place is the same location. A privilege that should not only be afforded to the loft generation of new urbanites and city dwellers.

Spatial integration

This is the demand for the integration the into the wider spatial planning of the local government to ensure that the housing and community developments are part of the local government's Integrated development plans and spatial frameworks .Spatial structures are often obstacles to equitable ,efficient and sustainable development especially for the urban poor. Concomitant with our urban sprawl and draining travel time and economic costs of transport infrastructure and subsidies has developed an intense sense of individualism aloneness and aloofness that has stifled and community spirit and community pride.[62] This notion of spatial integration is the eternal people versus place argument[63] but as we shall see in the following section places are not without people. To guard against the unsustainably of the city and its ever consuming ecological footprint .One need the restriction of good spatial planning that accounts for the need of the marginalized to access to city resources without over burdening transport systems, impeding people movement while at the same time creating a string of under serviced decentralised cities and city structures. This is the challenge of spatial integration.[64] The reshaping of the post apartheid city demands a new spatial democracy that is contained in the White paper on Spatial planning and land use management drafted in 2001.

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[60] Rusk D Cities without suburbs in Urbanization Pp 15 –16
[61] State of cities report pg 70
[62] Wheeler S Pg 2 Urban policy and practice Forum www.oncampus.richmond.edu/academiics/urban/forum
[63] Sviridoff pg 212 seeds of urban revival urban forum
[64] State of the Cities SACN Pg166-170

Sectoral integration

The integration of various sectors to ensure the delivery of services , programmes and products , which demands a high level of partnership and co operation both at the level of public - private partnership but also inter- governmental sectoral and community organisation co- operation. Very often this is seen it the notion of CIDS(city improvement districts) or Bids (Business improvement districts) the notion of area based management and planning also demands a high level of sectoral integration from all the players in that area.

Community integration

Community is not just a locality but a place where you live. To ensure the integration of the community and the integration into the community of the beneficiaries and the developments is fundamental to the success and the peaceful co existence of any community there is a need to create third or good places in our communities [65] says Oldenberg . *Good place is a center of gathering where we can relax and be with members of our immediate community* . It is about being intentional about the community and neighbourhood and its integration is such a way that all feel they are included even the most vulnerable and marginalized . Cohesive community identity is a major contributor to what makes a city a good place for young people relate that a are able to recognise this as a aspect that they desire in good places[66]. The redevelopment of urban spaces as spaces of consumption whose cultural amenities a re intended to harmonise different social interests and improve the quality of urban life is a aspect of city redevelopment that is encouraged in the state of the world cities report[67]

NGOs are one the few vehicles that can ensure integration at all above levels and a t the same time build these into the notion of place making as we shall now explore .

[65] Oldenberg ray in my hometown vol3 number 18 11 2004
[66] Driskell Creating better cities with Children and young people Pg 24-25
[67] State of world cities report Pg 32

Places and Spaces for peacebuilding and keeping the peace.

In terms of place making we shall look at six notions of place making that are outlined by the project for public spaces[68] namely the concept its self of place and place making as a community building activity; then the notion of sociability the livingness of spaces; the uses and activity of the space; its accessibility and linkage ; the vibe and aesthetic and look at who should drive the process of place making in the community.

Place making

A community building activity .Mayor Enrique Penalosa of Bogotá Colombia is well known for his program to make cities more accessible and livable places through his passion for parks , states that *"parks have a non obvious role in constructing society and making our cities more egalitarian"*[69].It is his contention that where citizens lack so much in terms of amenities and consumption, it is quicker and more effective to distribute quality of life through public goods such as parks than to increase incomes or improve individual income distribution[70] neighborhood parks integrate communities and thus contribute significantly to the areas safety .

Sociability living spaces

This is noted as a difficult aspect of place to achieve and it seems to be less and less achievable on a large scale as we pursue it on a micro scale in the likes of gated communities and estate living . This is the unmistakable feature of a place that creates a easy living , more friendly living space for all who are in it . As mentioned already the redevelopment of public spaces that harmonize different social interests and improve the quality of life is the desire of many new urban advocates . Bartlett states that " Children who grow up in a environment that provokes fear and limits social interaction are handicapped by this distorted view of community life , and are less likely to develop the understanding and skills fundamental to civic involvement [71] " in later life. Space

[68] Project for public spaces What makes a Successful place www. Pps .org
[69] Parks for livable cities Penalosa pg 2 Case for places www. Pps .org /place making tools
[70] Parks for livable cities Penalosa pg 5
[71] Bartlett Pg 121 Cities for children

is a good place when it lives in the heart and mind of all who inhabit it and use it.

Uses and activity of places

This are very often seen as the cement of the places' identity. Recreational activity can contribute to the community identity of safer spaces and thus the need is advocated by Penalosa and others for access to green spaces for all in our cities . Penalosa believes that parks and pedestrian ways are essential to the city's happiness. The activities that happen in a place are the building blocks of that place thus we designate areas of our cities and neighborhoods the fashion district the financial district the government boulevard . People live and use the space as defined by its use and dominant activity . Empty or dormant space in the city often becomes an area for concern and could be the genesis of anti social activity. The greater the use of a place by the greatest number of people and over the longest time frame the better the place will be .The management of the uses and activity of a place is seen as important in the design of safe spaces both at a micro level and macro city wide level[72]

Access and linkages

Linking places and spaces to the people who use and live in them is another aspect of place that makes it good . Children again a good measure of a good place note that safety and freedom of movement creates a general feeling of safety and therefore interaction in a place . So aspects such as gated communities limited access park and pay for use facilities in the public realm , take these out of the public realm and privatize them thus limiting their use for the greater public good.

The ability to create places that are easily accessible to all , often measured by the foot soldier not the motor car driver ,as Penalosa advocates will make for a environment that will build a peaceful neighbourhood . When neighbourhoods are dangerous and threatening places children are limited in the use of the space and are forced to take risks beyond their body and mind . The parkwatch programmme in Durban sought to make the local park both

[72] Landman designing safe places pg 81

accessible and safer to the children of the area [73]. Bartlett and others affirm that location common space and neighborhood relations are all intimately linked [74]

Vibe and Aesthetics .

Beauty in places, fun spaces in an article entitled making cities fun Fondersmith[75] says of the cites of the future that they will bear little resemblance, to the science fiction images of the past but will rather build their own unique character. Nurturing this new spirit of fun and vitality has been a major factor in the resurgence of American downtown. This however must not be at the cost of the marginalized as both Wheeler and Penalosa [76] advocate in their pleas for both beauty inn the city and access to green spaces, and has been the aspect that has most challenged the Berea/ Burgerspark working group[77].The importance of pedestrian public spaces cannot be measured, but most other important things in life cannot be measured either friendship, beauty, love and loyalty are examples. Parks and pedestrian spaces are essential to the city's happiness[78] The vibe and beauty of a place is the essential characteristic that makes good or third places that have been referred to earlier citing Oldenberg [79] The good places…… hangouts at the heart of a community., one only has to see the use of hair salons in South African inner cities as example of this . The project on public spaces refer to the vibe and aesthetic of a place as the comfort and image of a place or space that is safe, clean ,green ,walkable, sittable, charming, attractive, historic and spiritual.

To achieve this there needs to be a high level of community participation in the planning of the space as we shall now see .

Community driven versus discipline driven space planning

A peace keeping activity. Adults may know how to create any environment that promotes the health and safety but youth and children are experts on what

[73] Owning safety Goodenough Pg 72 and 108
[74] Bartlett Pg 72 –74 working for childrens urban rights
[75] Fondersmith J down town 1040 Pg 234-240
[76] Penalosa pg 7 A city is not better when it is rich but when its people are happier.
[77] Berea burgerspark action plan july 2005
[78] Denalosa pg2
[79] Oldenberg R cited in Reinventing the well considering design for healthy neighbourhoods

fosters or fractures their personal sense of well being states Chawala[80] .Spaces that reflect respect for people especially the most vulnerable of our societies members, the poor the old, and children will have to include them in the process of planning that space . This is often not the case as was seen in the plea of the children of the Berea /burgerspark to the city council to reopen access to their park and play space that had been closed of as it posed a perceived threat to the safety of the tourist visitors of a local hotel .When the users of space shape their place they often have very different criteria for it than do professional discipline driven project teams. These have narrow goals and are often politically motivated or interest driven to design out a series of constraints that are hindering a predefined problem/solution. This design is then given as faux au compli to the community for comment prior to implementation. There is inevitably community resistance and a sterile design and a very limited experience of both peace and place, often relying on heavy external management of the place , notice the security presence at shopping malls.

A community driven approach will involve the community in the definition of the space and its usage and build a compelling shared vision for the future of the place , identify those that will want to build that space and look at the present use and who can be involved locally and professionally in a support role to assist the design toward the stated uses etc. solutions are often based on short tem flexible experiments that build upon the previous success, thereby increasing community buy in and commitment . this in tern cuts down on long term management expenses as there is continual evaluation and improvement of the place/space created. Activities of this nature are not only more participative but are community building/forming and as such build and keep the peace in a given place.

We shall now look at case studies of the integration of various Yeast city housing projects and how they model or attempt to model some of the principle of peace building and placemaking stated above in this paper .

[80] Chawala growing up in an urbanizing world 228

Social integration

The development of mixed income housing opportunities is often seen as too difficult to achieve but there is a need for integration of the community if society is to overcome the spatial skewing inherited from the apartheid era. Very often mixed income communities are seen as devaluing the property but as we shall see it is possible and desirable to achieve for the community.

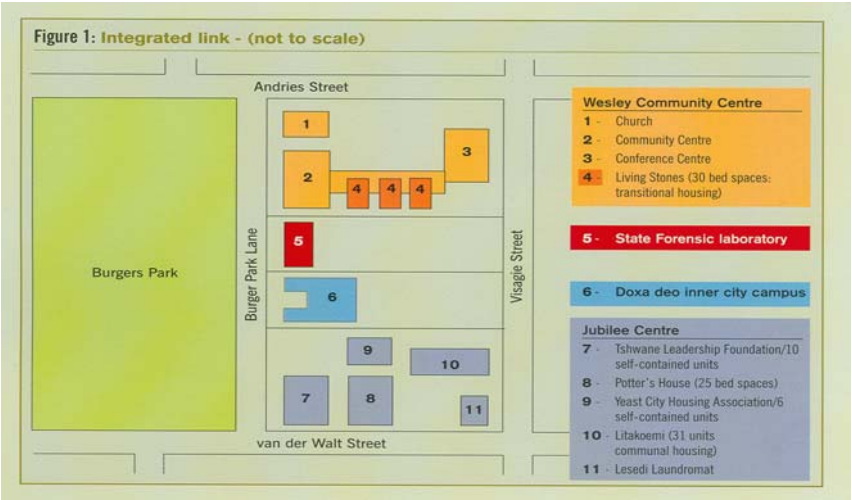
Social integration

Burgerspark /Jubilee complex

Consists of A Special needs (woman in crisis) residential facility for 25 Women and their children and office complex for the service provider . Along side this in the same location are 16 Institutional affordable housing units for people who have a household income level of R3500 or below.

Communal /transitional housing is the next in the mix , 31 single and family room accommodation with shared public facilities.

Community service providers (9) are housed in a office complex office. They offer : drop in centre for women's issue, legal advice clinic and resource centre ,community common recreation space, that is used for children's programmes democracy participation and development and a community arts programme that focuses on music and performing arts , a training institute, community forum office that deals with the issues of local government ,housing office for both housing advice and allocation and management , community resource centre and internet facility.



Thembelihle project

Proposed in concept and detail design plans, to have the following mixed income and uses. Communal housing for 81 units these would be SRO with shared facilities.

- Intuitional social housing units for 460 families
- A Child care facility for at least 50 children
- Market related Rental accommodation in 30 units
- Commercial/retail/ space that will provide the option of live and work to small medium and micro enterprises owners and workers .Community and recreational space

By way of a community hall and recreational space for youth such as a skateboard park and basketball area, within a indigenous landscaped garden. This development is centrally situated in the countries capital and has a face onto the future planned government boulevard .

This sort of development brings those previously denied access to the benefits of city living into the ambit of a vibrant city life offering them easer access to other facilities such as libraries art galleries , educational facilities, arts and culture become accessible and transport costs are minimised. This is the opposite of wheeler contention that for the most *part our urban centre have been left to the poorest sector of our population to live in deteriorating housing stock abandoned by the affluent in their rush to the city periphery, read suburbia leaving the city a ghetto of denial* [81] for this reason we need models of social integration

Functional integration

Is the integration of a project to include multiple uses ,increases the accessibility to services for both residents and the wider community .

Sediba House a project downtown Pretoria houses :offices , church and NGOs along side Institutional housing for 45 qualifying social housing beneficiaries earning below R3500 per month. There is also a Short term residential for 400 people, a primary Health clinic that provides affordable medical care to the community .

[81] Wheeler S Urban forum on policy and place www. Richmondeu.edu

Child support aftercare and After school programme for teenagers also operate out of this facility as do many small medium micro enterprises such as hair salons, bookshops , driving schools, printers .

Livingstones

Is another project where functional integration happens within the Wesley community centre where the Livingstone's project is based are a worship centre , a conference facility that also provided catering , a day care facility for 60 children 3 -6 year olds and a aftercare facility for the same number. There are two health facilities on site a HIV aids testing and counselling centre and a care facility /hospice of 6 beds that also provides home based care and training . There is a refugee service provider as well as 6 small businesses ranging from a one stop copy and binding shop to a bookshop and garment maker and wafer manufacturing outfit. All this is surrounding the 2 thirty bed transitional living facility and the home of the minister of the congregation.[82]

Spatial integration

This is the demand for the integration the into the wider spatial planning of the local government to ensure that the housing and community developments are part of the local government and its planning process .Spatial structuring can be an obstacle to equitable ,efficient and sustainable development especially for the urban poor , therefore spatial integration to prevent exclusion and marginalization are important.

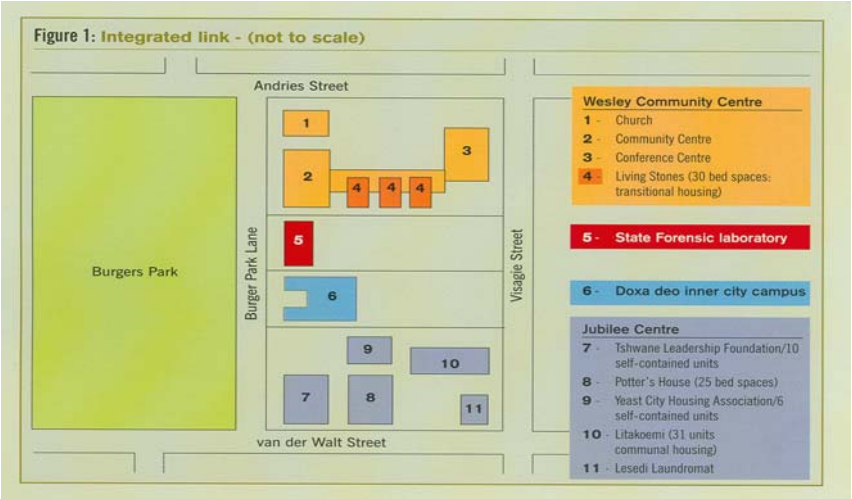
Rivoningo zoo precinct

Contains within walking distance of 2 Kilometres a Health care 20 bed facility providing hospice type care for homeless aids suffers as well as a housing for workers in the area. Girls in crisis facility are housed at Lerato 15 bed home that also has on its premises a health care drop in faculty and a baby care for mothers whom work .Small medium micro enterprises and training in business skills , as well as a church ministry training programme and accommodation and

[82] Shift project review issue 1 2005 has a detailed description of the project

conference facility al take place in his area which is adjacent to the inner city zoo a world renown tourist attraction.

Burgerspark village precinct



Jubilee centre whose many services have been detailed in the section on social integration, but cover a drop in for homeless and women, housing advice centres, legal aid resource centre and local resource centre for community among the many services offered from this area . In close proximity is the Wesley centre/Livingstones complex 30 transitional housing units and many other facilities , Hofmeyr House Transitional 54 room old YMCA that has been refurbished . The Park and kiosk which is a business training and employment centre and international study house for interns and overseas visitors. At the top end of the park is Melrose house Museum and

Kopanong Sixty two institutional social housing units . this area also hosts an Annual Community street festival , the feast of the clowns , because Artistic events have traditionally been community rituals that bring together the inhabitants of the city in a quest for its spiritual, cultural, ethnic glue which is a binding force that celebrates the soul of the community [83]

[83] Wheeler S

Sectoral integration

The integration of various sectors to ensure the delivery of services , programmes and products , which demands a high level of partnership both at the level of public private partnership but also inter -governmental sectoral and community organisation co- operation. This is very difficult to achieve but form the cornerstone of most successful community building and peacekeeping .It is often dealt with, at least on theoretical level in the integrated development plans of local government. However seldom does this work out to on the ground plans that have high community buy in and participation.

Burgerspark Precinct and the action plan for the redevelopment needed the input from the following sectors:-Parks and recreation ,social services, police ,community liaison bodies , religious bodies , museum services, sectional title body corporates ,business and tourism, local residents ,a child participation group

Thembelihle project will demand a working partnership of

Social services , child and family services , a charity/welfare group working with children and teenagers called Pen, and the various local municipality departments and line functions .

Salvokop area that houses Inkululeko community centre and day care centre means working with Transnet , Propnet, recently privatised state agency working with rail and transport infrastructure, the Salvokop development forum and freedom park trust, local government, school governing and administration body are all drawn into discussions around the redevelopment of the freedom park area in Pretoria

The establishment of a Homeless shelter had the following working together.

Human Science Research Council , on whose door step slept the homeless , Tshwane homeless forum , police, housing, welfare and social development, public works, local government housing section, and welfare and community development services.

All these areas show the level of need co operation and work that dependant on the levels of both trust commitment and continuity make for a more peaceful long term solution to many of a local areas problems, if the process is honoured patiently , rather than seeking a political quick fix.

This leads to the final level of integration that needs to be sought and perhaps the most crucial.

Community integration

Community is not just a locality that is well integrated but a place where you live to ensure the integration of the community and the integration into the community of the beneficiaries and the developments. Local community participation and ownership and integration of local community people into the benefits and services as well as wider community building of the city. One hopes that this is seen in the following examples or case studies.

Burgerspark /Jubilee

Berea community development forum is the independent non political forum for the expression of community desires and involvement and they have been involved in the past in local clean up campaigns and lobbying for the closure of taverns and access to the park for all.

Salvokop

The wider community is anchored around Inkululeko community centre and the local School . The Salvokop development forum is a community based development initiative that monitors and engages other developments such as Freedom park development forum and Pop up and shelters for the best interest of the community.

In both of these examples the success of the Parkwatch programme in Durban [84] of communication within the community and with other organisations and the flexible use of available resources have been replicated to a degree .

Challenges

Sustainability and affordability of these initiatives over the long term

Facilitating social cohesion through investment in social capital over and above deliver of units and bricks and mortar the people in the places are the reason for the places, they are the ones for whom the place must be a place of peace and happiness

The challenge in the new policy to ensure that housing is still offered all the way down the ladder to the lowest levels of those needing housing in the city.

[84] Owning Safety Goodenough 2002 pg 67-77

Governance of the city and neighbourhood and spaces in such a way that it makes for peace and is in fact a peacebuilding activity. This will come when one allows meaningful community participation at all levels

To Ngos to develop their volunteer structures and governance to meaningfully engage in the process of development and community formation so that the resource and passion of the sector is not dissipated in the mire of red tape. Planning is a challenge to all when we seek to adopt a peacebuilding, peacekeeping approach that acknowledges the community and its commitment of resource and human capital over the professional driven approach. Community formation/building along with participation will continue to be a challenge if we are true to the principle of wide ranging participation. Flexibility in application of policy and legal frameworks.

Inclusion of all aspects with equal weight so practitioner once said wrongly I believe 5% social housing is social the rest is the delivery and management, even the delivery and management must be of such a nature that it builds peaceful places and keeps the community at peace.

Conclusion

In summing up the activities and actions that can flow from these placemaking peacekeeping actions what can be done:

- Develop models that respond to needs on the ground can be pioneering and demand innovative engagement.
- Participation of _ women, children , the wider community, homeless and other marginalized groups into the processes of placemaking particularly those that have a high level of professional input such as Consortium for Urban Transformation process.
- Planning that seeks to build peace and community and community spaces that will endure because of their nature and vibe

- Projects can grow organically from small beginning come great things , thousand trees make a forest, ten thousand knots make a rug A million daisies make Namaqwaland floral carpets [85]

Hundreds of NGOs together make a sustainable livable city a city that works for you

[85] This is a region of the cape province in South Africa that has fantastic natural indigenous floral display , almost carpeting horizon to horizon in spring of each year

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De-ideologising Contemporary Notions of Place: A Challenge for Peace Studies

Abstract

A system of ideas is an ideology when it is composed of general, secular principles prescribing social realities. Without a critical conscience, human beings are likely to accept ideologies and stereotypes as permanent and sanctified. The notion of de-ideologisation is relevant for the field of Peace Studies as a means to create a critical conscience about the ideologies that support violent resolution of conflicts. Public Opinion Research can uncover what people think and the conditions surrounding them, and it can work as some sort of counter-propaganda, which contests many of the principles contained in ideologies with violent characteristics. An example of such an ideology is the nation state-system, which is not a given. It is in itself supported on an ideology based on the principles of sovereignty and fixed territoriality. It is an ideology that oversimplifies a complex and changing social reality, the understanding of place and community. In many cases, it justifies the use of violence in the pursuit of interest and power. It is a challenge for Peace Studies to contest the oversimplifications of such an ideology. This paper presents some examples of how this has and can be done.

Introduction

An ideology can be defined as a system of ideas that represent, make sense or explain certain aspects of reality. According to Nigel Gould-Davies (2005: 105-106) there is no agreement amongst scholars on a final definition of ideology. It is a term that is on occasions interchanged with culture, philosophy and mentalities. However, a particular acknowledged trait of an ideology is that it implies a "commitment", but not in a religious sense, because ideologies always refer to "earthly things" and not necessarily to "divine" commands. Further, an "*idea-system* is an ideology when it is composed of universal, (secular) principles prescribing collective human arrangements" (Gould Davies 2005: 106, emphasis added). Teun van Dijk (1998: 8) defines ideology as the "basis of the social representations shared by members of a group… ideologies in this framework are not simply a 'world view' of a group, but rather the principles that form the basis of such beliefs."

Paulo Freire (1970) introduced the notion of *de-ideologisation* as the result of acquiring a critical conscience about intellectual re-actualisations of reality, which would enable the oppressed to *emerge* from unfair social and political structures where they were *submerged*. The notion of *de-ideologisation* is relevant for the field of Peace Studies as a means to create a critical conscience about the ideologies that

support violent resolution of conflicts. This critical consciousness would allow individuals to emerge from structures that promote violent conflict resolution.

Freire's notion has had more influence in the field of education (Freire 2000), but it has also inspired research in the field of social psychology. For Martín-Baró (1994) all human beings have a "history, community, political commitment and social loyalties" (Aron, Corne, 1994: 5). According to him, if social psychology (or any social science) wishes to understand humanity and contribute to solve its problems, it needs to comprehend human beings as well as their natural and social realities, and contribute to create "*concientización*" (a critical consciousness) about the ideologies that are the ideal representations of "history, community, politics and society". Without a critical conscience, human beings are likely to accept "ideologies and stereotypical orders as immutable and consecrated as natural" (Aron, Corne, 1994: 5). This is problematic, because ideologies are always a limited version of reality. Zubiri's (1980) philosophy on sentient intelligence, qualified by Samour (2003: 3-5) as an *materialist open realism*, serves to illustrate how *closed* intellective representations are always a limited version of reality, because intellect will understand only partially openness, process and the vastness of reality. This means that real issues can never be fully understood by one single system of ideas. The closest we can get to this is when an ideological system is self-critical, open to new inputs, promotes learning and change. When limited and inflexible ideal orders are accepted uncritically, they can contribute to perpetuate certain aspects of social realities. This is unfortunate when the outcomes of these realities are undesired, like different forms of oppression and violence (Opotow 2000: 404-405). Therefore, ideologies are an important object of analysis for Peace Studies, a field that should attempt to explain how to overcome those ideologies that are an obstacle for peace.

According to Martín-Baró, a precondition for the generation of a collective critical conscience about ideology is the existence of *social mirrors* (1994: 187). By this he means social channels that represent a closer, broader and more dynamic version of the social realities experienced by particular individuals. Commercial mass media is generally not a social mirror, because its main purpose is profit, instead of reflecting a close, broad and dynamic version of social reality. Such a claim is complemented by *Gramscian* suggestion that mass media is part of the superstructure that sustains the hegemony of the dominant groups in society (Smith 1973). In other words, more often than not, commercial mass media will work as a

mirror for the interests of the dominant classes and will contribute to reproduce their ideology and not the one of the weakest in society. According to Geertz (1973) this connection is not so straightforward since ideologies

> "Are not always rooted in, or devised in order to legitimate, interests and power. They may also be a response to social problems and contradictions ('strains') as lived and experienced by social members." (Geertz 1973, in Teun van Dijk 1998: 321-322)

Therefore, it is important to distinguish between mainstream ideologies that often reflect the interests of the dominant classes and peripheral ones, which might actually oppose these interests. According to van Dijk

> "In most cases, ideologies are self-serving and a function of the material and symbolic interests of the group… Ideologies thus operate both at the overall, global level of social structure for instance as the socially shared mental monitor of social competition, conflict, struggle and inequality, and at the local level of situated social practices in everyday life." (1998: 8)

It is evident that the weakest in society have less resources and greater difficulties in getting their realities reflected broadly in social arenas to form part of collective consciousness. Martín-Baró labelled a situation where the realities of the weak are ignored as a *Social Lie*. To a certain extent, every ideology will be a lie in that it will not explain every aspect of reality. Another way of expressing this is to say that ideologies represent basic *social myths.* It is social science's task to demystify these versions of reality. Martin-Baró suggested that,

> "Given this environment of the Social Lie, there arises a need to increase critical consciousness through a process of *de-ideologisation* to which social psychologists should be contributing. What involves is introducing into the ambience of the collective consciousness elements and schemata that can help dismantle the dominant ideological discourse and set in motion the dynamics of a process of de-alienation." (1994: 189)

During the Salvadoran civil war that officially lasted from 1980 to 1992, Martín-Baró (1994) used research "to make explicit what people thought" and the conditions surrounding them, "as a form of counter-propaganda, undermining many

of the arguments that where used to sustain violent ideologies" (Burton 2005: 15-16 emphasis added). In 1986 he founded the University Institute of Public Opinion (IUDOP, for its initials in Spanish). The purpose of this research institute was to use opinion polls to generate knowledge that would contest and contribute to construct a critical conscience about socially accepted myths and ideologies. In order for this sort of research to "help break down … discourse and assist people in confronting their reality, it needs to meet certain criteria… systematisation, representation, wholeness and dialectic" (Martin-Baró, 1994: 191). This means public opinion polls should be carried methodically, striving to embody populations, attempting to present the fullness of the issues and the results should be communicated to the population in a discussion that can contribute to transform their consciousness.

Martín-Baró conducted this type of research in a civil war environment during the last phase of the Cold War, a time when there is no question that ideologies defined social and political life. In our days, there are several scholars that have claimed the end of ideologies (Francis Fukuyama 1992) or at least the end of conflicts between entire systems of thought (Gould-Davies 2005: 131). This may have to do with the apparent success certain dominant groups have had in imposing their interests and resulting systems. However, this does not imply that these ideologies do not in occasions come in conflict with reality; reason for which there is a need to contest them in a scientific manner.

The specific social situations that require *de-ideologising* public opinion research vary according to context. However, in a reality where territoriality has and continues to *unbundle* (Ruggie 1993) and the ideal boundaries that define *place* are questioned by an increasingly dynamic and complex global social reality, it is possible to point to a prominent and widespread ideological system whose uncritical acceptance is in many cases the source of disputes, the perpetuation of oppression, violence and unfair structures; namely, the principles that form the basis that supports the nation-state system. This ideology implies a particular understanding of the terms *place*, *home* and *communities* that are of relevance to the possibilities of promoting *globally* a commitment to a culture of peace. In local politics, the nation-state ideology also permeates mainstream discourse, influencing issues as social planning, the understanding of crime and the development of laws to curtail it.

1. Ideology and the Nation State System

It can safely be stated that the *modern system of state rule* is dominant throughout the world. Although in reality it is exercised with variations in different societies, the different versions of this system belong to a bigger *system* that "has differentiated its subject collectivity into territorially defined, fixed, and mutually exclusive enclaves of legitimate dominion. As such it appears to be unique in history"(Ruggie 1993: 151). In support of this claim Alan James writes

> "An increased formalisation of international relations has resulted in almost every square kilometre of the earth's land surface being allocated to one sovereign state or another, with virtually all frontiers being tidily delineated and clearly demarcated… jurisdictionally speaking, there is never any doubt where one stands, and that one always stands on the domain of a single *sovereign state*. The exceptions are so small or so literally out of the way as to prove this rule and now they are even fewer than they used to be." (1986: 31)

This *modern system of state rule* is a socially constructed reality with a long history, well summarised by Stein Rokkan's (1999) theory of state formation and nation building. Perhaps the most important historical events that defined the characteristics of the *system* as it is experienced in this era can be found in Western Europe, at the end of what is often regarded as *the middle ages*. *Medieval culture* was overcome as a *main culture* by what came to be known as *modernity*. According to Gould-Davies the "dominant ideational system of modernity" is ideology, which worked as an "intellectual response" to

> "The societal transformations that eroded the traditional bases for authority, raised new questions about the legitimate foundations of political, economic and social order and the purposes of state power, and created growing numbers of literate, thinking people seeking answers to them." (2005: 106)

The process that led to modernity was well underway in the XVI Century, and it started perhaps around the XIII century. It is in the end of this transition process that the origins of the main ideologies of *interstate relations* of our era are to be found. These currents are *Realism* and *Idealist Institutionalism*.

According to John G. Ruggie, the collapse of the *medieval system of rule* and its substitution by the *modern* one is explained by the interaction of *material changes*, *changes in strategic behaviour* and *changes in social epistemes* (1993: 148-160). Ruggie regards the changes in security concerns as part of the changes in *strategic behaviour*. One of the factors that influenced the final outcome of changes in *security concerns* was the development of "new weapons technology and a shift in advantage to the offence" and this "allegedly drove the desire for larger and fiscally more capable political formations" (McNeill in Ruggie, 1993: 156) that eventually became modern states. But Ruggie is clear in that this element cannot be but a small part of the explanation for the development of territorially exclusive units of power, and they operate as cause and consequence of an intricate process.

Realism and *Idealist Institutionalism* are the two most influential paradigms in the field of inter-state relations. They reflect the end of the process of changes in the field of *security concerns*, as two opposing approaches to inter-political-unit relations that operate within a system of territorially exclusive units of power. When the *modern system of state rule* was finally implanted, these two visions developed as ways to suggest how states could achieve *state security*[**]

Realism should be understood as an intellectual tradition that sees international relations as "a discrete area of political life where normative, moral and idealistic considerations cannot be used as a guide for action". It is an ideology that sees the relations between state units as anarchical and consisting "of competing sovereign states, where the currency is power, the duty of each state is to take whatever action is necessary to protect its physical, political, economic and cultural identity." (Williams 1993: 192) For realists, *balance of power* between states is the only way to guarantee their *security*.

Idealist Institutionalism[***] is the view that the world we experience can be moulded by intrinsic truths to the nature of humans. Immanuel Kant is perhaps the most prominent representative of this line of thought. He proposed that there was a general moral obligation; the categorical imperative that determines other moral obligations of humans and which should determine behaviour regardless of wishes

[**] From now on referred to as *security*, which should not be confused with related concepts as *human security*

[***] From now on just Idealism

and desires. Out of it, one can deduce universal laws for humanity. Applied to international relations, this form of thought presumes that out of a categorical imperative, universal laws for humanity could be deduced, and they would guarantee *perpetual peace*. But these universal laws had to be applied to the reality that was experienced, which was that of clearly defined and territorially exclusive political units called states. In order to guarantee interstate security, this way of thinking influenced the development of international law, the League of Nations after the First World War and eventually the United Nations.

1.1 Central pillars in the nation-state system

The most important notions in the ideology supporting the nation-state system are perhaps: *fixed territoriality* and *sovereignty* over the territorial units. Both Realism and Institutionalism are based on the existence of *territorially exclusive states* that are conceived as being *sovereign*. They would not have been possible in medieval Western Europe, because according to John G. Ruggie, the *medieval system of rule* despite being a system where territoriality was fixed had a "prevailing concept of territory (that) did not entail mutual exclusion." (1993: 149) There was a "patchwork of overlapping and incomplete rights of government" (Joseph Strayer, 1959 in Ruggie 1993: 149) which were

> "Inextricably superimposed and tangled… (It) was structured by a nonexclusive form of territoriality, in which authority was both personalized and parcelised within and across territorial formations and for which inclusive bases of legitimation prevailed. The notion of firm boundary lines between the major territorial formations did not take hold until the XIII Century. Prior to that date there were only 'frontiers' or 'large zones of transition'. In addition, common bodies of law, religion, and custom expressing inclusive natural rights legitimated the medieval system of rule. But these legitimations did not pose a threat to the integrity to the political units, because they viewed themselves as municipal embodiments of a universal moral community" (Ruggie 1993: 150) with a centre in the Vatican.

As a consequence, the noblemen of the different political units did not necessarily need to distrust each other. *International relations* did not necessarily have to mean political units that pursued their own interests. The fact that

territoriality was nonexclusive did not allow room for *realist* interpretations of relations between these units and a concept of *balance of power* was not needed to guarantee *security*. Ruggie justifies this by saying that the medieval ruling class could move in an unprecedented manner, able to take up governance from one part of Europe to the other without so much difficulty, because "public territories formed a continuum with private estates" (Ruggie 1993: 150). *Medieval* noblemen were often bound by family relations and this made the mobility easier. Likewise, *idealist* programs for the assurance of *security* were not needed since the political units were also members of a moral-religious community. There was no need to try to build inter-territorial-unit law based on moral imperatives because the religious community with centre in the Vatican filled in this role.

1.2 The Consolidation of the Nation-State Ideology

Charles Tilly (1985) provides an explanation of the process of transition from this *medieval system of rule* to *modern system of state rule*, with a focus on the ability of the dominant class or medieval nobility to influence the process of social construction of reality. He sees the medieval noblemen of Europe as people in pursuit of their interests, seeking to achieve increasing power. Social reality became in a great measure a reflection of their behaviour, which is that of individual political units, protecting their physical, political and economic integrity. Tilly states that nobility in Europe gained power by having ability to wage wars by extracting resources from the populations they controlled. This process began with the efforts to monopolise the means of violence within a delimited territory. He adds that,

> "The distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate users of violence came clear only very slowly, in the process during which the state's armed forces became relatively unified and permanent." (Tilly 1985:173)

According to Tilly, technological developments in weapons came rather late into this process (1985: 178) and played a role by influencing *security concerns* and stressing the desire for bigger administrative units with armies that monopolized violence in a territory. Though as Ruggie, Tilly states that this role is generally overestimated as a part of a more complex process. Another of the elements that is to be considered is economic interest, because the armies of nobility started by

guaranteeing security to travelling merchants in their territories by charging a fee. Protection was business for the nobility and the armies had then an interest for there to be threats merchants could fear. This explains why there was an interest for these armies to create situations of war to guarantee their own existence. Tilly suggests an analogy of this "racketeering" with "organised crime". At the same time, these mercenaries had shared interests with capitalists, since capital accumulation was important for weapon development, and armies were important protection for entrepreneurs. The ruling classes eventually came to have agents that under the general course of organised violence did the activities of war making (armies), state making (eliminating or neutralising enemies in their territories), protection (to their clients) and extraction (what came to be taxes to do the other three activities). All of these were interdependent and since the control over populations executed by these agencies was big, eventually the subjects started to defy forcefully and the establishment made concessions: guaranteed rights, created the institutions of representative democracy, reformed the judicial system to enforce those rights, and so on. "Those concessions, in their turn, constrained the later paths of war making and state making." (Tilly 1985: 183) *Modern* European states formed from these concessions.

According to Tilly, since the beginning, "war became the normal condition of the modern system of states" (1985: 184), because a local lord had to defend the area in which he monopolised the means of violence. This increased the income he got from tribute and thereby continued the logic of war, while capitalists also benefited from this. This model was expanded to the rest of the world through European colonisation-decolonisation of other territories. The history of these new peripheral nation-states was written as the history of the dominant classes, which imitated Europeans. Therefore, the prevailing ideologies did not reflect the realities lived by the majorities in these countries (Nkrumah 2004: 68). After colonies throughout the world gained independence, and as a consequence of catastrophic world wars, the nation-state system was promoted internationally by the creation of "state-certifying organisations" like the League of Nations and the United Nations. Tilly adds that the extension of this model did not result in the creation of states in the exact European model (1985: 185), since in most cases popular majorities in the former colonies, or

periphery, have not obtained the concessions that noblemen and elites have granted in the metropolis or centres (Wallerstein 2004, 42-75)[•].

These aspects that have characterised inter-state relations (Tilly 1985:169) apparently render *Realism* valid in a system that has persisted until our days. In other words, it is a fact that the past of most inter-political-unit relations in the *modern system of states*, together with the way most of the power holders in them have behaved can be largely explained by *Realism*. But there is a long way from recognising that fact to pretending that this is the essence of international relations and that it represents the way things will always be. The uncritical acceptance of the *territorially exclusive modern system of sovereign states*, and its inherent war making, state making, protection and extraction, leads to consider this stereotypical order as "immutable and consecrated as natural" (Aron, Corne, 1994: 5) This is the *trap* in which *Realism* falls in. Actually, it is also the trap in which *Idealism* falls in, reason for which this ideology is often disregarded as naïve and paradoxical. On the one hand, *Idealism* promotes moral constraints and a commitment to peace, while on the other hand it sanctions the very system that is based on everything it opposes.

Tilly's view says nothing against the idea that the *modern system of state rule* and its *security concerns* are a social construction and supported by an *ideology* that is in fact constantly contested by experience. In the words of R.B.J. Walker.

> "Though some may be convinced that this must be the essence of a realistic politics, others are more likely to be persuaded about the purely formal and even utopian quality of state sovereignty given the messy picture that can appear through other constructions of the empirical evidence. Even - or perhaps especially – large states are liable to experience sovereignty as a tremendous problem rather than as a simple given. Even the most self-satisfied states exert enormous energies sustaining a sense of national identity and integrity. At best, theories of international relations predicated upon the claim to state sovereignty involve an extraordinary degree of oversimplification and wishful thinking." (1993: 179-180)

In other words, the nation-state system, along with its territoriality and sovereignty is many times treated as a given unquestionable fact of life. What

[•] Immanuel Wallerstein presents a summarised account of his extensive research on the rise of the state -system and the creation of a geo-culture in 2004, *World Systems Analysis. An Introduction*, Durham: Duke University Press

scholars have called *ideologies* have been other secular universal systems of thought, which create some form of conviction and establish how to organise human communities within the *nation state system*. Examples of these systems are Fascism, Communism, Socialism, Nazism, and so on. However, the *nation state-system* is not a given. It is in itself supported on an ideology. In each concrete form the system takes in different parts of the world, the mainstream nation-state ideology represents the dominant voices in the interplay of interests in each territorial unit. Nation-state ideology has been so successfully imposed on populations throughout the globe, by governments investing resources in developing national identities and creating a sense of integrity, that it is indeed accepted as "immutable and consecrated as natural".

1.3 The Importance of a Critical Conscience About the Nation State Ideology

Ruggie (1993) coined the expression "unbundling territoriality" to refer to the empirical evidence that contradicts the ideology of the nation-state system. This unbundling of territoriality is experienced for example through a growing flow of people, products and capital that blurs the fixed political borders that have traditionally divided territorial states in the modern era. This unbundling of territorial borders is evident and acknowledged as a result of the inter-state character of economic and human relations. It is for example admitted without controversy that the apparatus of the modern state system can seem as an outdated hindrance to the Russian supply of gas to Western Europe; that the politics of the modern state system can sometimes hinder the flow of oranges from a peace-loving kibbutz in Galilee to an anthroposophist community in Southern Trøndelag or the wedding between a Morrocan and a Spanish citizen.

When it comes to the understanding of international conflicts, *fixed territoriality* justified by the notion of *sovereignty* has functioned traditionally as an ideological tool used to confine conflicts to the territorial borders of a state. Conflicts happening *in* particular territorial states become the conflicts *of* those territorial states, even when the conflicts are greatly caused and explained by events that took place outside the borders of those territorial states. A clear example of this is the defining influences of imperialism, colonialism, anti-Semitism, Nazism and the Second World War on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which in the ideology of the

Modern State System is referred as such: the *Israeli-Palestinian conflict*, not the *British-Franco-American-Nazi-German-Jewish-Zionist-Arab conflict* that would tell a little more territorially unbundled part of the story. Another example is Paul Collier's et. al. (2000) research on *African Civil Wars* as a deterministic result of greedy individuals operating in territorial states in Africa with abundance of raw materials. Not disregarding some of the merits of such analysis, this sort of research explicitly makes these wars *African wars*, and disconnects these problems from a historical legacy of colonialism, neo-colonialism and dependency. In this sense, the territorially exclusive *modern state ideology* contributes to create *conflict areas* and to disconnect conflicts from the rest of the global community. In other circumstances, the territorial borders between *states* function as ideological borders between *human individuals* established in the same *place*. For example, the ideal categories of *foreigner* or *immigrant* are imposed on criminals that fit in certain conditions, like a particular skin colour, even when these criminals have lived their whole lives in the cities where they developed as criminals.

In the opposite direction, *security concerns* of *territorially exclusive* and *sovereign* states can also serve to authorise the unbundling of violent control of territories. In other words, an accentuation of the fundamental principles of the nation-state ideology lead to a territorial expansion of war making, state making, protection and extraction. For example, the state ideology that justified security concerns because of *communist expansion* or *capitalist imperialism* during the Cold War, served as an argument for the United States and the USSR, among others, to expand military intervention in foreign local conflicts (Martín-Baró 1994: 129), and today, the ideologies that fear *terrorism* or *imperialism* in every corner of the world, serve to legitimise a global war that is fought with direct war making, state making, protection and extraction in foreign states, along with the curtailment of the civil liberties that establishments have granted populations after a whole history of efforts. (Tilly 2004 and Ibarra 2003)

The nation-state system is not a one sided reality. As such it has aspects that in some cases are conducive to peace and others that are not. In any case, when like Walker puts it "even the most self-satisfied states exert enormous energies sustaining a sense of national identity and integrity" (Walker 1993: 180) it is fundamental for Peace Studies to produce public opinion research that can counterbalance nation-state ideology and the propaganda that promotes it. This research would function as a

social mirror for those situations that do not fit in the nation-state ideology and it could contribute to generate a critical conscience that could among other things contribute to *de-ideologise* the modern understanding of *place,* which is largely conceived as being naturally divided by *territorial borders* guarded by *sovereigns*, which have legitimate rights to extraction in order to guarantee security and protect a way of life. Such spatial divisions are easily transcribed to human individuals through a *fetishisation* of citizenship-based identity. Citizenship becomes a thing that people either have or do not have. It justifies individuals' rights, behaviours and existence as human beings. Such ideological arrangements can easily promote conditions that oversee the weak, for example, those that are lacking certain rights because they do not belong to a particular sovereign territory: Palestinians in Israel, Jewish people in Nazi Germany, illegal Mexican immigrants in California, and so on. Such ideological situation can also lead to oversimplifying complex conflicts. Institutes of Peace Studies must strive to develop these lines of research in their specific contexts, and these projects have to be conducted systematically, striving to represent populations addressed, attempting to present wholeness of the issues and the results should be communicated to the population in a discussion that can contribute to transform their consciousness.

2. A Related Example. Martín-Baró's Public Opinion Research During the Salvadoran Civil War

In 1985 Martín-Baró published "Public Opinion Research as a *De-ideologising* Instrument" in the Colombian journal *Cuadernos de Psicología*, from Universidad del Valle, Cali (7, 1-2, 93-108) (Martín-Baró 1994: 186). In this article he describes how in the first years of Salvadoran civil war he performed research on issues that "have ignited campaigns to mould national and international public opinion so as to show that the Salvadoran population supports a particular position." These topics were "United States intervention, the role of the elections and dialogue negotiations between the government and the insurgent forces of FDR/FMLN." The mainstream ideology was the official one. The authorities were interested in claiming that public Salvadoran opinion on those issues was broadly homogenous (Martín-Baró 1994: 192). The propaganda supporting that ideology sustained that there was "no intervention by the United States in El Salvador; rather, the country was a victim of an aggression from Cuba and Nicaragua." Moreover, official propaganda

suggested that the "US economic and military aid was not intervention, since it was just a legal response to communist aggression" and it was necessary to defend the territorial and sovereign integrity of El Salvador, Latin America and ultimately the United States. War making for this protective purpose justified extraction from the American and Salvadoran populations through taxes and direct military recruitment mostly of the Salvadoran poor. (Martín-Baró 1994: 193, emphasis added)

The data gathered by Martín-Baró in universities in 1981 showed how a part of the population thought differently. It was not a representative sample of Salvadoran population, but at least it showed the relevance of certain central sectors that took distance from official versions. 31,9 per cent of the ones surveyed saw Salvadoran dependency to the United States as one of the biggest obstacles to peace. 51,7 per cent felt that the United States used an unfair position in the war, whereas 25,1 per cent regarded the FMLN was unfair. Later, in 1983, Martín-Baró gathered again data showing that 65,4 per cent did not agree with the belief that the Soviet Union, Nicaragua and Cuba were to blame for the Salvadoran civil war. 81,4 per cent agreed that the United States Embassy was running the country. 69,1 per cent thought that the United States was only involved in the Salvadoran conflict to crush the revolutionary movement in El Salvador and as high as 55,4 per cent blamed the United States for the failures in peace negotiations. (Martín-Baró 1994: 193)

Another example is when in 1984, the government of El Salvador called upon two rounds of presidential elections. According to Martín-Baró, the official propaganda machinery presented such elections as democratic, when some opposition parties were excluded from participating. The official version presented the elections as a way to achieve peace. Polls performed by Martin-Baró amongst high school students in 1983 showed that only 5,8 per cent believed that elections would end the war, whereas 55,9 per cent thought that people voted with the purpose of putting and end to the war. 7,3 per cent of "professionals and university students" thought the elections could end the armed conflict and 17,5 thought that the elections were to be free. In a survey taken from a representative sample of Salvadorans in 1984, just before the elections, only 32 per cent trusted the situation would improve and 28,5 per cent thought elections would bring about peace. (Martín-Baró 1994: 194)

Another issue surveyed on a representative sample of Salvadorans was support to dialogue to end the armed conflict. The official propaganda considered

negotiation a tactic of the insurgents. The official position was that *national security* could be compromised by negotiation with *communist terrorists*. However, the sample showed that a majority of the Salvadoran population supported dialogue and there was actually a five to one ratio in relation to those supporting war (Martín-Baró 1994: 195)♦.

3. Possible Research Projects

3.1 Public Opinion in Israel about a boycott action

A pamphlet entitled ”How to get Israel to behave according to International Law” given out by the Joint Committee for Palestine in Norway refers to Israel as the ”last colonial project”. It also compares the country to Apartheid South Africa and suggests that the solution to the Israeli policies in the occupied territories of the West Bank, Golan Heights and in the Gaza Strip (which are policies that have been condemned by the United Nations in several occasions) is to boycott the Israeli state economically, diplomatically and academically. The municipality of Southern *Trøndelag* adopted a similar policy on December 15th, 2005. These opinions say that the operation of the principles of national security and sovereignty in the nation-state ideology of Israel is so special and different than in other nation states, that the only possible way to modify the undesirable aspects of it is through a generalised boycott of the state.

It is practically impossible to predict with certainty whether or not these actions would be effective or if they would be counterproductive. On the one hand, if they received broad support within Israel and internationally (which for the time being seems highly unlikely) they could impose pressure on Israeli authorities and make them modify their policy. On the other hand, they could accentuate ideological principles present in Israeli public opinion and strengthen the support to Israeli authorities and their policies.

It is even harder to establish possible developments when there is little research reflecting the actual opinion about these policies within the Israeli state and

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♦ In 1986 Martín-Baró founded the University Institute of Public Opinion (IUDOP for the initials in Spanish). This center has continued doing research with the purpose of de-ideologising reality in the direction of peace. Most recently in 2001-03, in cooperation with the National Security Council, The Study Foundation for the Application of Rights (FESPAD, for the initials in Spanish) and the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO, for its initials in Spanish), IUDOP performed a study entitled “National Survey on Attitudes, Norms and Values Towards Violence and the use of Firearms” as a part of the research project “Firearms and Violence” financed by the UNDP-El Salvador and its programme “Towards a Society Without Violence”. This is another example of how public opinion research can be used to contest violent ideologies.

internationally. All we are left with are *ideological* statements that transfer the experience of boycott of the state of South Africa and the end of Apartheid to the Palestinian/Israeli case. This is done despite the fact that documents like the pamphlet by the Joint Palestine Committee acknowledge important differences between the two cases.

A *de-ideologising* study could take a starting point in the following ideological principles formulated by the pamphlet:

> There are two parts in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The territorial borders of Israel and Palestine confine the actors in the conflict. The West intervenes in the conflict, since it is not an actor in the conflict. Israel is a colonial project of Zionists, which operates with a racist and elitist ideology. Israel separates citizens by ethnic criteria. Contemporary Israel can be equated to Apartheid South Africa. A boycott from the West will be experienced as a loss by Israeli authorities. The loss of power of Israeli state authorities will be greater than the gain of power due to the effects of the boycott.

Out of representative samples of Israeli's and internationally, surveys and other data collection can be conducted systematically, treating opinion and information about the veracity of these ideological statements. These surveys have to treat the issues holistically and in constant debate. Such a study would contribute to create a critical consciousness about the situation; it would avoid oversimplifications and blunt decisions. Moreover, it would contribute to foresee more clearly the possible effects of the proposed policies and if they at all would contribute to improve the pressing situations experienced by Palestinians.

3.2 Public Opinion About Integration Policies in Norway

Finding a sense of balance to the strengthened *differences* among citizens/residents of the state, brought about by increased immigration is a matter of increasing significance for the Norwegian authorities. The 1st of January 2006, the Norwegian government created the Integration Department (IMDi, *Integrerings-og mangfolds Direktoratet)*. Immigrant *integration* policy is summarized in "St. meld. Nr. 49 (2003-04). *Mangfold Gjennom Inkludering og Deltakelse. Ansvar og Frihet*". As this title suggests, the policy attempts to balance diversity, inclusion,

responsibilities and freedom. An evident illustration of the difficulties implied in this is exposed in page 10,

> The inclusion of adult immigrants in the working and social life is determinant for the quality of life of both adults and children. The responsibility lies in the hands of the authorities and their partners in the working life, but also in the adults' disposition to life in Norway. New immigrants *must* learn Norwegian. The government will therefore make Norwegian a right and a duty for adult immigrants and impose the local governments the obligation to offer language instruction for this purpose. The value foundation of the government and the policy for diversity through inclusion and participation goes against racism and discrimination. The government underlines this by putting forward a law proposal against discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, religion and variations, within the start of 2004. This law will be the first one in Norway that ensures protection against discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, religion, etc. (St. meld. Nr. 49 (2003-04). Mangfold Gjennom Inkludering og Deltakelse. Ansvar og Frihet: 10).

It is an attempt to achieve inclusion of immigrants through at least apparently balancing rights and duties. It is a policy that relies heavily on the acceptance of several ideological principles: There is a sovereign Norwegian state demarcated by its territorial borders. Individuals that are born and raised within these borders form automatically a part of Norway. Individuals that are born and raised outside the confines of these borders but come to live in Norway are different, and they require to be integrated.

Note that the concepts of integration and differentiation in mathematics refer to functions. Social reality here then is conceived as having variables operating in functionality, in opposition to being a discrete addition of entities in a zone; an ontological stance that has been suggested by Fowler (1998)[°]. In math's differentiation of functionality is used to establish marginal change rates, while integration is used to calculate the value of the geometrical surface composed by the function and the variables intervening in it. Bluntly put, differentiation leads to

[°] Fowler, Tomas, The Formality of Reality: Xavier Zubiri's Critique of Hume's Analysis of Causality, *The Xavier Zubiri Review*, Volume 1, 1998, pp. 57-66
URL : < http://www.zubiri.org/general/xzreview/1998/xzreview1998nophoto.pdf >

analysis, while integration leads to synthesis. Because of its desire for an *integration policy,* the government actions are telling us that *social mirrors* that reflect nuances and differences are to be substituted by those that synthesize social life and reflect a whole new national project. Not surprisingly, some groupings from civil society have claimed that the policy document is not successful in representing the interests of certain immigrant sectors. These interests are important variables in the functions of diversity and inclusion. According to these critical voices, some immigrants experience some aspects of the integration policy as compulsory instruction in Norwegian as discrimination on the basis of ethnicity (SOS Rasisme). If the editors of the document felt that there was a need to wave away any hint of ethnic discrimination, it is perhaps the reason a paragraph that tries to defend against ethnic discrimination follows one that states the need for compulsory Norwegian lessons, something that in practice only refers to non-European immigrants. However, it is clear that there are contradictions between these two paragraphs. On the one hand, the government obliges immigrants to learn Norwegian, and on the other, it says that it will protect them from discrimination on the bases of ethnicity. The government elected in September 2005, has expressed ideas that do not seem to contradict this aspect of St. meld. Nr. 49 (2003-2004). In the chapter on "Indigenous Peoples and National Minorities", the platform for the Labour-Socialist-Centre coalition does not acknowledge the *right* of immigrants in developing their own language and culture, because according to mainstream ideology, immigrants are not necessarily considered part of a particular *national* ethnic minority. In Kymlicka's (1995) words, immigrants would not be a part of multinational Norway but of polyethnic Norway. The document perpetuates the ideological conviction that: "the state of Norway is established on the territory to two peoples, Samis and Norwegians, and both peoples have the same right and requirement of developing their culture and language…Jewish people, people of Finnish stock, travellers and Finns have status as national minorities. We will guarantee their basis for developing their own culture." (Soria Moria Declaration pp. 64). Page 62 of the same declaration states that "Norway is a little language area, and the Norwegian language is under a constant press. There is a need for an offensive language policy, so that Norwegian remains the preferred language in all parts of Norwegian social life." These ideological affirmations define the borders of ethnic rights and who has a *status* of ethnic minority and is therefore *included* and reflected as beneficiaries of ethnic minority

rights and who is not entitled to such treatment. However, at the same time, the declaration is strong on the implementation of positive discrimination laws that would help to assert the immigrants' social and economic rights.

In many cases, such contradictions can lead to undesired results, as voluntary ethnic segregation from minorities that feel misrepresented by mainstream ideology and therefore not included. For example, immigrants may be attending the compulsory Norwegian instruction, but they may not be learning the language, and if they do, they might not use it. A study titled "A Theory of Social Forces and Immigrant Second Language Acquisition", which compared the contrasting legislated standards for immigrant second language acquisition in Israel, Germany and Canada, found that "in the absence of economic incentives, government compulsion to acquire a second language does not induce second language acquisition but increases the incentives for return migration or leads to cultural and labour segmentation." (Devoretz & Werner 2000: 2) When other possibilities of compulsory cultural programming are considered by certain political parties as forbidding the use of *hijab* in schools and workplace (Dagbladet, "*FrP vil ha skautforbud*", 2005), these contradictions in the government's policies become increasingly relevant.

Some public opinion research has been done about the effects integration policies are having but it is still too early to make conclusive statements about it. An example is *Integreringsbarometer 2005* a report published by the Norwegian Integration Department in 2006, based on the results of a survey sent by mail to a representative sample of Norwegians. Some of the most interesting findings of this report show that an average of 38 per cent of a representative sample of Norwegians have neutral attitudes to the words integration, diversity and inclusion (2006: 8). Up to 42 per cent of the people surveyed answered that the integration policy had an indifferent effect and 31 per cent think it works quite bad (2006: 9). Up to 68 per cent think that it is quite hard to "come in Norwegian society" (2006: 10). 31 per cent of the ones surveyed think that immigration is a threat to Norway's national distinctive character and up to 27 per cent are willing to vote for a political party that will restrict the rights of immigrants in society (2006: 27). Up to 47 per cent think that the government "should not allow more immigrants in the country" and up to 29 per cent think that the less attention is paid to immigrants the better (2006: 29).

About 90 per cent suggest that it is important or necessary for immigrants to adopt Norwegian customs and practices (2006: 30).

This sort of research is important, but it is also a sort of *official research* that contributes to reproduce ideological categories legitimised by *national state law*, for example the definition of immigrant that can lead to a misunderstanding of the notions of *integration* and *functionality*, substituting them by the notions of *equation* and *discrete sets.* State law defines immigrants as a *set* of citizens of other states that desire to set up residence within the territorial borders of the state. In this way, immigrants are seen as an *addition* to an already existing *distinctive character* of the *set* of Norwegians. According to state law, before the immigrants we could think about the following *equation*:

Norwegians within the territorial borders of the state = Norway's distinctive character

According to the legal definition, after immigration we get Equation A:

Norwegians + Immigrants = Some new character

In these equations, Norwegian identity is seen as something static and the only new addition to it are the *set* of immigrants. Not surprisingly, such an ontology and understanding of social reality makes immigrants a threat to Norway's distinctive character for many and therefore such a high percentage of the population would like to see immigrants adopt Norwegian customs and practices. However, if we move away from the legalist definition and conceive Norway's distinctive character as a *function* manifesting change according to new generations of humans, either they were born within the territorial borders of the state or outside, we would get the following function (or Equation B):

$$\frac{d(\text{Norway's character})}{d(\text{New human beings in Norway})} = f(\text{History, new human beings, ideas, socialisation, material conditions, other…})$$

In this case *integration* refers to finding the *solution* of this *differential* function. This makes national character independent of the state's *legal categories* that define and classify humans, like the notion of immigrant. In Equation B, integration leads to valuing those aspects that people living within a territory have in common, instead of focusing in those aspects that explain change and make these people different.

In the discrete and legalist interpretation of immigration (Equation A), inclusion with the purpose of maintaining national character leads to minimising or making zero the effect added by immigrants. Which is perhaps the understanding with which people surveyed operate with and the reason for which 90 per cent want immigrants to adopt Norwegian customs and practices.

In the continuous, dynamic and functional understanding of Equation B, integration is a constant challenge for the state, a situation where national character is constantly being redefined by several factors, whether or not there is an influx of people from abroad or not. With the understanding of Equation B, the only possible way of finding a solution to the issue of national character and integration lies in the constant creation of *social mirrors* (integrals) that reflect all of the variables involved in the function, even when they do not correspond to official ideology and the legal system. These social mirrors have to be present in mass media, policy documents, law and other legitimate public arenas. These mirrors contribute to create a critical *consciousness* in society about what it implies to live within the borders of the state for different sorts of people, and they lead to conditions that make those that the legal system treats as *immigrants* feel accepted and included. Moreover and most importantly, these social mirrors have to contest the ideological principles that categorise human groups and promote to differentiation.

Peace Studies can contribute to this by elaborating methodical, representative, holistic survey's whose results have to be communicated broadly in constant discussion with key social actors. Peace Studies' surveys could question the category of immigrant, find out who it applies to, if it is related to a particular skin colour or nationality, people that have moved from one city to another or just the ones that have trespassed certain territorial borders, and in such case, which territorial borders. Once this is established, surveys could attempt to find out which of these immigrants

are to be subject to integration, which are not, why and how people understand the notion of integration; either in a legalist-discrete sense or a socio-dynamic one.

4. Conclusion. What can Peace Studies achieve with this sort of research?

The nation-state ideology is prominent due to its extension throughout the globe, its influence in different contexts and its violent principles. However, the nation state-ideology is not one-sidedly violent. In many ways, certain communities have taken advantage of the system to create rather peaceful conditions within the territories they are confined to by the system. Nonetheless, it is an ideology that is well described by Realism when seen in a global perspective. It oversimplifies a complex and changing social reality, the understanding of place and community. In many cases, it justifies the use of violence in the pursuit of interest and power. It is a challenge for Peace Studies to contest the oversimplifications of such an ideology. This paper has presented some examples of how this has and can be done. In practice, such research might imply opposition from the defenders of these ideologies and this presents challenges to withholding the compromise to systematisation, representation, wholeness and dialectics. Such opposition also implies running personal risks or on occasions the actual loss of lives. Martín-Baró himself was murdered in his residence in the University of Central America in 1989, most likely because the powerful and promoters of the myths he contributed to *de-ideologise* in El Salvador felt threatened. However, Peace Studies does not fulfil its task if it does not attempt empirical studies that have the purpose of creating new ideologies that support cognitive frames, discourses and models of reality that are self-critical, open to new inputs, promote learning and change and thereby set in motion possibilities for peace.

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Policy Statement

Traditional peace research has focused on violence and its consequences. Such a focus may divert attention from nonviolent conflict handling and similar action which often exist even in the midst of massive violence. It is possible that traditional peace research has thus neglected nonviolent conflict handling as well as the capacity for nonviolence in peoples and cultures.

Therefore, the main task for the Centre for Peace Studies (CPS) at the University of Tromsø is to contribute to examining ways of creating peace by peaceful means and to make nonviolent handling of conflicts more known and recognized. We believe that valuable knowledge may be found in areas of low levels of violence and that more useful lessons may be learnt from successful conflict handling than from areas of atrocities and from failures.

Peace studies are concerned with inter-state relations, but also with a wide range of other social conflict lines, such as those related to gender, generation, culture, class, race, ethnicity and nation, as well as the conflict between human society and nature. Although our studies are global, our position in the peaceful Far North, a vast and sparsely populated area in a tough natural climate, with a history of complex ethnic and cultural relations including the problems of hierarchy, recognition and cultural oppression, gives us a chance to learn from a wide range of nonviolent conflict handling. The wider region of the North of Europe also gives us a unique context in which to study conflict handling. Another aim is to compare our experience with experiences from other areas.

Peace studies consist of theoretical-empirical, critical and constructive work. As an applied science, peace studies should pay attention to the constructive part of the work.

From numerous and diverse cases, ranging from everyday quarrels to large-scale massive unarmed revolutions in the last two decades, there are experiences to be learned which may have been underestimated, lost or unjustly treated as insignificant by researchers. Even in the midst of violent conflicts, there are often actors using active nonviolence. CPS will study nonviolent conflict handling empirically and comparatively and will apply a multi-disciplinary and a pluralistic approach, a realist as well as the approach of the realist and the idealist. We will discuss the theoretical implications and communicate the results to a wide audience

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