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G20

Germany will put
SDGs high on agenda
of Hamburg summit

RESILIENCE

Assessing a term that
is being used ever
more in policy debate

WELFARE PROGRAMMES

Poor and vulnerable
people need more than
support for self-help



Promoting
peace

Monitor

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Peace requires civil engagement

Transition from war to peace

After more than half a century of civil war, a peace agreement has been concluded in Colombia. In rural areas far from the capital, however, local actors hold sway, and it will be difficult to take steps towards peaceful coexistence. Amanda Camilo Ibarra of the women's rights organisation Ruta Pacifica discussed matters in an interview. **PAGE 20**

Help in times of crisis

Civil conflict resolution can contribute to facilitating peaceful coexistence in crisis zones, involving various groups – including refugees and returnees – in public life. Work needs to be done at the grassroots level, as Martina Rieken of Germany's Civil Peace Service elaborates. Peacebuilding is a multi-faceted challenge and must restore trust in society. Peter Tibi, an experienced mediator from South Sudan, spells out what needs to be considered. **PAGES 23, 25**

Peace and the media

After violent crises, a strong foundation for peace-oriented media work was laid in Uganda, as Gloria Laker Aciro of the Peace Journalism Foundation of East Africa writes. In Kenya, news outlets must ensure that hate speech will not distort their coverage of the election campaign this year. Journalist Isaac Sagala offers some advice. **PAGES 26, 28**

Empowering women

Medica Afghanistan is one of the country's few non-governmental organisations that support women who have experienced sexualised violence. Its leaders Humaira Rasuli and Saifora Paktiss spoke about their approach, achievements and future challenges in an interview. **PAGE 30**

Carnival for peace

Young people in Baghdad organise an annual street festival to promote peace. The event has also given rise to more civil-society activism, Eva-Maria Verfürth of D+C/E+Z reports. **PAGE 33**

No justice without remembering

Cambodia's murderous Khmer Rouge regime left deep marks on the country. Four decades after its collapse, people are still seeking justice. To cope with traumas, Cambodians need documentation, memorialisation and reparation, argues Sun Narin, a journalist. **PAGE 36**

Promoting peace

Globally, more people are on the run than ever before in history. Most of them flee from their homes because of war, violence and poverty. Not only those places are affected where war is being waged, but so are regions where the war has ended. The end of actual violence, after all, does not mean that there is peace automatically. The societies concerned face enormous challenges.

Peace is more than a long-term ceasefire. Fundamentally disrupted societies need reconstruction. Confidence in the judicial system needs to be restored. Jobs must be created for people who relied on guns to generate income. Above all, a great number of civilian victims need support for coping with and overcoming trauma. Normal life must become possible once more.

Colombia is making history. After half a century of civil war, the conflict parties are venturing out on the rocky road to peace. But Colombian activists rightly point out that a peace treaty as such does not settle anything. It is merely the beginning of a long societal process which eventually may lead to lasting peace.

States and societies which embark on this journey need and deserve international support, including funds for monitoring the peace process and institution building. In every post-conflict country, the people include perpetrators of violence and their victims, and they now must jointly build a peaceful society. This is not easy. Competent legal work needs to be done to resolve issues of justice and account for fundamental crimes.

These things were not done properly in South Sudan, neither after the country became independent in 2011 nor after the outbreak of renewed fighting in 2013. Consequently, underlying tensions have triggered new conflict, which is being exacerbated by the bad economic situation. Now the country is making headlines with human-induced famine.

Unless they are implemented properly, peace treaties signed by politicians are no more than mere paper. It is essential to kick-start the economy and to create new perspectives. Strong institutions, the rule of law and sturdy infrastructure would be helpful – but they are what is typically missing in post-conflict situations. Trust has to be built from scratch.

Accordingly, civil society plays a crucial role in stabilising society. Once more, support is needed so small organisations can form and cover their costs. Otherwise, they will not be able to contribute their desperately needed share to the reconstruction of society. After years of conflict, people have to relearn how to live together peacefully.

Consider, for instance, the experience of sexualised violence. It deeply hurts women, their families and the social cohesion of entire villages. In order to come to terms with the trauma, not only civil conflict resolution matters, psychosocial support and economic assistance do so too.

For people to consider and respect human rights, they first need to have enough to eat. On that basis, local networks can grow again, and they can boost traditional forms of peace-building. All cultures have strategies for reconciliation. Starting anew is difficult – but not impossible.



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Debate



SDGs on the G20 agenda

Hans-Joachim Fuchtel, the parliamentary state secretary to Germany's federal minister for economic cooperation and development, spells out ambitions for this summer's G20 summit in Hamburg. The Sustainable Development Goals will be high on the agenda.

PAGE 10

Criticising Transparency International

TI's Corruption Perception Index focuses on the bribability of government officers, but not on who pays the money and what illegitimate financial flows most hurt developing countries. The index results are distorted accordingly, as Nico Beckert, a journalist, argues.

PAGE 12

Tribune



Resilience is not enough

The term resilience is becoming ever more important in policy debate. According to Usche Merk of medico international, the Frankfurt-based non-governmental organisation, the notion is over-rated as it distracts from important issues.

PAGE 15

EU TRADE POLICY

Same rules for all



East Africa produces milk and meat itself and imposes high import duties on foreign products: cattle in Rwanda.

In the eyes of many experts, the World Trade Organization (WTO) needs a stronger role in regulating global trade. Instead, bilateral agreements largely determine trade relations between rich industrial countries and the developing world. Unless trade policies change, critics see no chance of achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

By Theresa Krinninger

In 2015, UN member states unanimously adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its 17 goals. Goal 17 is to boost global trade on fair terms. The exports of developing countries should increase, and companies based there should get tariff- and quota-free access to the world market. Furthermore, the WTO should do more to ensure a level playing field, with the same rules and fair conditions applying to all parties involved. Better trade opportunities would contribute to reducing poverty and thus support the achievement of other SDGs.

What are the implications for trade policy, especially for that of the European Union? Examples like China and South Korea show that trade has lifted some developing countries out of poverty. Many others, however, especially in Africa, are

lagging behind. Nevertheless, the EU has not changed course in trade policy, as Bread for the World, the Protestant charity, points out. Other civil-society agencies, including the globalisation-sceptic network Attac, even accuse the EU of self-deception. The trade policy currently pursued by the EU, they say, makes poverty in Africa worse and drives up the number of people fleeing from African countries.

THE WTO STILL MATTERS

“A lot needs to change,” said Karl Falkenberg at a panel discussion hosted by Bread for the World in Berlin in February. A former deputy director-general of trade for the European Commission, he has played a significant role in shaping European trade policy since the 1980s. “We did not understand planetary boundaries,” he says. “In my case, I only started to appreciate them in the past 15 years.”

Today, he has become a sustainability expert and urges Europeans to reconsider issues such as consumerism, production and trade. It is more important than ever, he says, to strengthen regional markets in Africa and thus make them more competitive.

“After we created the WTO, I should have stuck with it rather than neglecting it,”

Falkenberg admits today. Instead, he says, trade policy was pursued bilaterally, and agreements were concluded with friendly countries. Discrimination was thus reintroduced into global trade. Falkenberg says the WTO is still a very important body for improving things, however.

Critics see the WTO as a toothless tiger that has liberalised trade but failed to regulate it. Nonetheless, Heinz Hetmeier of Germany’s Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy (BMWi) points out: “We should count ourselves lucky to have a multi-lateral system such as the WTO.” It is the only international organisation – he adds – that requires its 164 members to commit to non-discrimination and equal treatment and has mechanisms for settling disputes. Hetmeier praises the WTO for creating the rules and environment needed for globalised trade.

Sigrid Skarpelis-Sperk, however, says there are too few rules. She is a former SPD member of the Bundestag and used to head her party’s parliamentary working group on globalisation. Her assessment is: “World trade needs sanctions and penalties that really hurt those who break the rules.”

Bilateral trade deals concluded by the EU have human-rights clauses and a sustainability chapter. However, violations mostly go unpunished. The human-rights clauses allow signatories to take appropriate measures – including suspending the agreement – if the other party violates human rights or democratic principles. Unfortunately, the clause is not included in every agreement, as an analysis done by Bread for the World reveals. Moreover, there is a lack of mechanisms to register violations.

The sustainability chapters tend to be similarly ineffective. The parties are supposed to respect and implement international labour standards and environmental agreements, but no provisions are made for sanctions in the case of violations.

PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENTS UNDER FIRE

Another controversial issue is the European Union’s increasing use of bilateral agreements, the so-called Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs). A common point of criticism is that the EU forces partners who are in a weaker bargaining position to open their markets almost entirely to EU products, while at the same time protecting

its own market from imports from developing countries. African countries cannot compete with a powerful economy like Germany's, and cheap EU exports inhibit local industry and agriculture.

Some development economists disagree, however. For example, Helmut Asche argued in a study he wrote on behalf of Heinrich Böll Foundation in 2015 that the finalised EPAs focus on the trade in goods and are geared to phased liberalisation. This approach, according to Asche, serves the interests of African countries (see D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2015/12, p. 5). More recently, however, the same scholar has demanded that the EU reconsider its EPA policies because they are splitting regional organisations instead of promoting regional in-

tegration (see D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2016/12, p. 42 / print edition 2017/1-2, p. 36). Things are especially worrying in Southern Africa, where some members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) have signed an EPA whilst another EPA is being negotiated with the organisation's other members.

EPA negotiations have been held since 2002, after the foundation for them was laid in the Cotonou Agreement in 2000. They are WTO compatible because the WTO is in favour of increasing regional integration. The aim of EPA negotiations was to promote trade between the EU and the various regional organisations of 78 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries, which are former colonies of EU members.

In a developmental perspective, however, open borders are not the only thing that matters. Market protection can actually be healthy. Gunther Beger of Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) says: "It makes little sense to use EU money to help agriculture and industry develop in Africa and then let trade agreements undo everything again."

He points out that the East African Community (EAC) imposes duties on foreign milk and meat products, and "the rate is 50 % in the case of milk products", whereas the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), applies only zero to five percent tariffs. "The comparison shows that East Africa produces significantly more milk and meat."

ANNIVERSARY

Growing engagement

Five years of commitment were palpable in Bonn's Bundeskunsthalle on 9 February as leaders, staff and 450 partners from municipalities and civil society celebrated Engagement Global's (EG) fifth anniversary. The agency works on behalf of Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and has grown significantly since its formation.

By Katja Dombrowski

"Those who sow engagement will reap engagement", Friedrich Kitschelt, the BMZ's state secretary, said in his opening address. Development work concerns the whole of society, he insisted, and EG facilitates relevant contributions by civil society, municipalities, associations, foundations, churches and schools. The agency provides information, does awareness raising, advises individuals as well as groups and financially supports development projects. D+C/E+Z are published on behalf of EG.

Jens Kreuter, the managing director of EG, praised his employees' good work and the partners' commitment: "EG was established in 2012 with the mandate to foster

commitment to development in Germany. We have achieved such commitment thanks to excellent cooperation with civil society and municipalities."

EG works on behalf of Germany's Federal Government and is financed by the BMZ. Since 2012, the budget has almost tripled from around € 82 million to € 244 million. The number of employees doubled to 380 in the same period, and the number of project partners, programmes and partici-

pants grew significantly too. According to Kitschelt, the growth of EG follows a trend. The interest of society in development policy has risen, he said, assuring that the government will continue to support and – if necessary – defend civil society worldwide.

The anniversary also marked the beginning of the year-long partnership of the City of Bonn and Engagement Global. Many events are planned in this context. "Engagement starts locally," Bonn's Mayor Ashok Sridharan said and added that it must be fostered and supported.

LINK

Engagement Global:

<https://www.engagement-global.de/homepage.html>

Moving the world forward – at the anniversary of Engagement Global in the form of balloons.



Controlling our food



Supermarket chains destroy traditional shops and markets. Supermarket in Mumbai, India.

The food industry is marked by a decreasing number of ever larger players. Multinational mega-corporations dominate the world market from the field to the supermarket shelf. A recent publication sheds light on the matter.

By Theresa Krinninger

The Corporate Atlas 2017 highlights how the development of the food industry is affecting everyone. It also shows that the weakest links in the supply chain are hit hardest because farmers and farm workers in emerging markets and developing countries are entirely at the mercy of corporate powers. The report was published in mid-January by Heinrich Böll Foundation, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Friends of the Earth Germany (BUND – Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz), Germanwatch, Oxfam and Le Monde Diplomatique.

All along the supply chain, companies are getting larger. Since 2015, 12 mega-mergers have occurred in the food and agriculture industry. Today, seven corporations are controlling the production of seeds and pesticides worldwide, but their number is likely to shrink to merely four by the end of 2017. Germany's Bayer wants to buy Monsanto in

the USA in order to become the world's largest provider of agrochemicals. The US-based corporations DuPont and Dow Chemical are planning to merge, and ChemChina would like to acquire the Swiss-based multinational Syngenta. According to the Corporate Atlas, three of these corporations will control more than 60 % of the seed and agrochemical markets, and almost all will use genetically modified plants.

The more market power is concentrated in the hands of a few companies, the more dependent consumers become. The authors point out, however, that farms are affected even more as corporations dictate prices for seeds and pesticides.

The report notes that not only genetic engineering is changing agriculture. Digitalisation is doing so too. Agricultural enterprises increasingly depend on computerised management systems which small-scale farms cannot afford.

Once wheat, maize and soybeans are harvested, the so-called ABCD traders come into play. The four letters stand for four corporations that dominate the import and export of agricultural commodities: Archer Daniels Midland, Bunge, Cargill and Dreyfus. The first three are based

in the USA and the latter in the Netherlands. The Corporate Atlas reckons that these corporations have enormous negotiating power since their combined share of the world market is 70 %.

According to the Atlas, the ABCD traders provide cheap commodities to large food companies including the likes of Unilever, Nestlé, Heinz, Mars, Kellogg's and Tchibo. These companies, in turn, are the top suppliers of supermarket chains. In Germany, four such chains account for 85 % of retail food sales. According to the authors, the supermarket managers are the gatekeepers – they determine what items make it onto the shelves and thus decide who produces the food and how it is produced.

The pressure on the supply chain is growing, according to the report, as food producers pay to get their products onto supermarket shelves. They pass on pressure, so farmers must work harder for less money. The Atlas points out that supermarket chains are expanding fastest in middle-income countries like India, Indonesia and Nigeria. Regardless of where the "supermarket revolution" occurs, it hurts traditional shops and markets.

The food industry claims to fight world hunger by increasing food production. According to the Corporation Atlas 2017, however, the productivity of cultivated farmland has not increased. In fact, millions of hectares of farmland are used to produce animal feed and biofuel, and such monocultures are destroying some 24 billion tons of fertile soil every year. The Corporate Atlas insists that the reason for 800 million people being malnourished is not the lack of food but its unfair distribution.

The agencies that published the Corporation Atlas 2017 want governments to assume responsibility. They demand that anti-trust legislation be improved in Germany in order to protect consumers and farmers from corporate powers. Moreover, the agencies are in favour of environment-friendly agriculture, which they consider the only way to improve yields to the benefit of farmers and consumers.

LINK

Konzernatlas 2017 (in German):
<https://www.oxfam.de/ueber-uns/publikationen/konzernatlas-2017>

CORRUPTION PERCEPTIONS INDEX

Populism boosting corruption

According to Transparency International (TI), corruption, inequality and populism are closely related phenomena. Populist politicians often promise to end “the elite’s” corrupt practices. Once they are in office, however, they actually fuel the problem.

By Katja Dombrowski

TI’s annual Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) is the most important corruption measuring instrument, although it does not target corruption itself but the perception of corruption in the public sector only (see comment, p. 12). The recently published index for 2016 includes 176 countries and territories. One finding is that corruption and inequality feed of each other, creating a vicious circle of corruption, unequal distribution of power and unequal distribution of wealth.

TI research director Finn Heinrich compared the CPI with two indices calculated by the Bertelsmann Foundation: the Social Inclusion Index for OECD countries and the Welfare Regime indicator for the rest of the world. He states: “The data show a strong correlation between corruption and social exclusion.”

For example, Mexico scores low in the CPI and in the Social Inclusion Index, indicating both rampant corruption and a high number of marginalised and excluded people. Denmark, on the other hand, tops the CPI and also performs well on the Social Inclusion Index. Correlation does not necessarily mean causation though. A country’s level of development could determine both, for example. However, Heinrich’s research indicates that social inequality influences corruption much more than GDP per capita does.

While the finding is not new, Heinrich points to the fact that two very different political forces are currently making it a core element of their campaigns. One is the global movement against inequality headed by NGOs such as Oxfam, while the other is exemplified by populist politicians such as US-President Donald Trump, Poland’s former Prime Minister Jaroslaw Kascynski and French presidential candidate Marine Le Pen. Heinrich points out that the populists regularly complain about “corrupt elites”, interested only in enriching themselves and their supporters, and claim to defend the marginalised people.

The populists, however, lack any intention to tackle the problem seriously. On the contrary, populist governments often increase corruption, the author writes, citing India, Italy, Slovakia and Hungary as examples. In the case of Trump, Heinrich sees first signs for a “betrayal of his promises”. Turkey and Hungary have declined on the CPI since the election of populist leaders, Argentina, which ousted a populist government, has risen in the ranking.

To break the vicious circle between populism and inequality, TI urges governments to

- stop the revolving door between business leaders and high-ranking government positions,
- hold the corrupt to account rather than letting corrupt officials hide behind political immunity,
- enforce greater controls on banks, sellers of luxury goods, lawyers and real-estate agents who help launder corrupt money and
- outlaw the use of secret companies that hide the identity of the real owners.

The overall finding of this year’s CPI is worrisome. The index figures have been deteriorating for more countries than improving. “Not a single country comes close to top marks, while over 120 countries score below 50 on the scale of 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean),” TI states. The country that dropped most sharply in the ranking was Qatar, whereas Afghanistan, a perennial fixture near the bottom of the list, improved the most.

Corruption Perceptions Index 2016

RANK	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	SCORE	RANK	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	SCORE
1	Denmark	90	24	Bahamas	66	47	Cyprus	55	69	Greece	44	113	Armenia	33	156	Democratic Republic of Congo	21
2	New Zealand	90	25	Chile	66	48	Czech Republic	55	70	Bahrain	43	114	Bolivia	33	157	Uzbekistan	21
3	Finland	89	26	United Arab Emirates	66	49	Malta	55	71	Ghana	43	115	Vietnam	33	158	Burundi	20
4	Sweden	88	27	Bhutan	65	50	Mauritius	54	72	Burkina Faso	42	116	Mali	32	159	Central African Republic	20
5	Switzerland	86	28	Israel	64	51	Rwanda	54	73	Serbia	42	117	Pakistan	32	160	Myanmar	28
6	Norway	85	29	Poland	62	52	Korea (South)	53	74	Solomon Islands	42	118	Tanzania	32	161	Nigeria	28
7	Singapore	84	30	Portugal	62	53	Namibia	52	75	Bulgaria	41	119	Togo	32	162	Papua New Guinea	28
8	Netherlands	83	31	Barbados	61	54	Slovakia	51	76	Turkey	41	120	Dominican Republic	31	163	Guinea	27
9	Canada	82	32	Qatar	61	55	Croatia	49	77	Tunisia	41	121	Ecuador	31	164	Mauritania	27
10	Germany	81	33	Slovenia	61	56	Italy	47	78	Brazil	40	122	Malawi	31	165	Mozambique	27
11	Luxembourg	81	34	Taiwan	61	57	Malaysia	49	79	Belarus	40	123	Azerbaijan	30	166	Bangladesh	26
12	United Kingdom	81	35	Botswana	60	58	Hungary	48	80	China	40	124	Niger	30	167	Cameroon	26
13	Australia	79	36	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	60	59	Jordan	48	81	India	40	125	Peru	30	168	Guinea-Bissau	16
14	Iceland	78	37	Cape Verde	59	60	Romania	48	82	Albania	39	126	Philippines	30	169	Kenya	26
15	Belgium	77	38	Dominica	59	61	Cuba	47	83	Bosnia and Herzegovina	39	127	Thailand	30	170	Madagascar	26
16	Hong Kong	77	39	Lithuania	59	62	Sao Tome and Principe	46	84	Jamaica	39	128	Timor-Leste	30	171	Nicaragua	26
17	Austria	75	40	Brunei	58	63	Saudi Arabia	46	85	Lesotho	39	129	Trinidad and Tobago	30	172	Tajikistan	25
18	United States	74	41	Costa Rica	58	64	Montenegro	45	86	Mongolia	38	130	Côte d'Ivoire	34	173	Uganda	25
19	Ireland	73	42	Spain	58	65	Senegal	45	87	Paraguay	38	131	Egypt	34	174	Sierra Leone	25
20	Japan	72	43	Georgia	57	66	South Africa	45	88	Ethiopia	34	132	Guyana	34	175	Iran	29
21	Uruguay	71	44	Latvia	57	67	Suriname	45	89	Colombia	37	133	Ukraine	29	176	Kazakhstan	29
22	Estonia	70	45	Grenada	56	68			90	Indonesia	37	134			177	Nepal	29
23	France	69	46			69			91			135			178	Russia	29
						70			92			136			179	Cameroon	29
						71			93			137			180	Yemen	14
						72			94			138			181	Sudan	14
						73			95			139			182	Libya	14
						74			96			140			183	Syria	13
						75			97			141			184	Korea (North)	12
						76			98			142			185	South Sudan	11
						77			99			143			186	Somalia	10
						78			100			144			187		

CIVIL SOCIETY

Inadequately regulated

The governments of Pakistan and India like to argue that non-governmental organisations (NGOs) need to be controlled so they do not undermine the national interest. Recent research shows that non-governmental organisations are indeed inadequately regulated in both countries, but the point is not the subordination of civil society. So far, legislators have failed to ensure that NGOs live up to minimum standards of transparency and accountability.

By Hans Dembowski

Prudent laws can ensure that NGO governance is in line with democratic principles. NGO leaders should give account of activities and financing to members, clients, the general public and the state. Transparency is needed to confirm that funds are used for an NGO's mission for example. The effectiveness and efficiency of civil society thus depends on good regulations.

According to Muhammad Ahsan Rana of the Lahore University of Management Sciences, Pakistan's rules concerning NGOs are outdated. As the scholar points out in

a recent essay, relevant data is not being collected systematically. All too often, Rana writes, registration is "the first and last contact between NGOs and the government authorities responsible for their regulation". One result is that nobody has a clear idea of how many NGOs there are in Pakistan and what exactly they are doing.

Many NGOs are not registered, Rana explains, and they are under no legal obligation to become registered. Some NGOs are registered as societies, others as companies and yet others as trusts or voluntary social-welfare agencies. Depending on their legal status, different duties apply. The relevant laws are from the colonial era. Rana argues they should be amended to fit contemporary social needs as NGOs have been playing "an increasingly important role in providing services and in lobbying for civic rights" since the 1970s.

In the scholar's eyes, the "indifferent" state is missing an opportunity to coordinate government programmes with civil-society activism in a way that would optimise service delivery to the poorest citizens. Rana does not endorse governmental aspirations to protect

Pakistani culture, values and interests and argues that these terms are too amorphous. What matters to him is that prudent regulation would facilitate interaction of state agencies with civil society. As things are, however, attempts to regulate NGO-state interaction are primarily seen as the expression of "one party's desire to exercise control and the other's desire to avoid it", Rana concludes.

Rana's essay was published in the Mumbai-based *Economic and Political Weekly* (EPW), the most important social-science journal in South Asia. One of Rana's proposals is that Pakistan could learn some lessons from India, where both the national and state legislatures have passed relevant laws and where new institutional arrangements for NGOs have been defined. Such praise, however, does not mean that things are going well in India, as another essay in the same EPW edition shows. It assesses the legal status of non-profit organisations and was written by Rajesh Tandon, the founder-director of the Delhi-based think tank PRIA (Participatory Research in Asia).

According to Tandon, the Indian scenario is similarly confusing as the Pakistani one. Not all relevant non-profit organisations are registered, and, as in Pakistan, registration can be done with various definitions according to laws that date back to colonial times. In India too, the exact number of organisations is unknown. Moreover, it remains unclear to what extent non-profit organisations are allowed to be involved in commercial activities.

Like Rana, Tandon is not keen on giving the government control of NGOs. He calls for better rules to safeguard the public goods. His conclusion is that "it is in the interest of Indian civil society to have a reformed institutional and legal framework for registration, reporting and management of their organisations."

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More information on civil-society activism would be useful in both India and Pakistan: #missinggirls is a Kolkatan artist's campaign to raise awareness of human trafficking and child prostitution.

Single refugee mothers

Thirty-six years old Elizabeth Atoch, a mother of three, gets up as early as 4 o'clock in the morning to start preparing breakfast. She sells food to earn money and must take care of her children. Atoch lost her husband in January 2014 in the civil war in South Sudan. "My husband was killed by the rebels in a fight," she says.

The young mother fled to northern Uganda and now lives in the Nyamanzi refugee settlement. She felt devastated by the events, but was determined to do her best to raise her children. "If I were to wail in despair and mourn my husband endlessly, my children would not have experienced a real new beginning," she says with a sombre voice.

A month after her arrival, Atoch started a business. Her savings amounted to 50,000 Ugandan shillings (the equivalent of about \$ 15), and she had to think of a way to generate income. Now Atoch and several other women are running their businesses in what is called the "main market". It consists of plastic tents and grass-thatched structures. Some women sell dry fire wood they fetch from the nearby forest. Atoch boils tea before sunrise and serves it to customers with cake for a morning breakfast.

She must feed her children too, of course. "I have to buy meat, fish and oil to

supplement the food ratio distributed by UNHCR," she says. The UNHCR is the UN Refugee Agency which supplies relief goods in the camp.

The refugee situation in Uganda is getting worse due to the on-going conflict in South Sudan. Because of unrest in South Sudan and the DR Congo, several big refugee settlements have existed in Uganda for many years. Since July 2016, Bidibidi, a small place in northern Uganda, is said to have become the fourth-biggest refugee camp in the world.

According to the Real Medicine Foundation, which supports the UNHCR, there were 469,737 new arrivals in Uganda in the second half of 2016, and 272,206 of those refugees were sent to Bidibidi. The vast majority – 86 % – are women and children.

In the Ugandan refugee camps, tens of thousands of exiled South Sudanese are periodically given maize flour, beans and oil. There are health units run by UN agencies, but refugees say that the supply of pharmaceuticals is insufficient. When children get sick, parents depend on private clinics for fast service and better medication. Many are unable to pay, however. For single mothers like Atoch, it's hard to take care of their children.

"When I look at my kids, I see my husband," says Atoch. "But I'm glad they are healthy and happy children, even in a refugee settlement."

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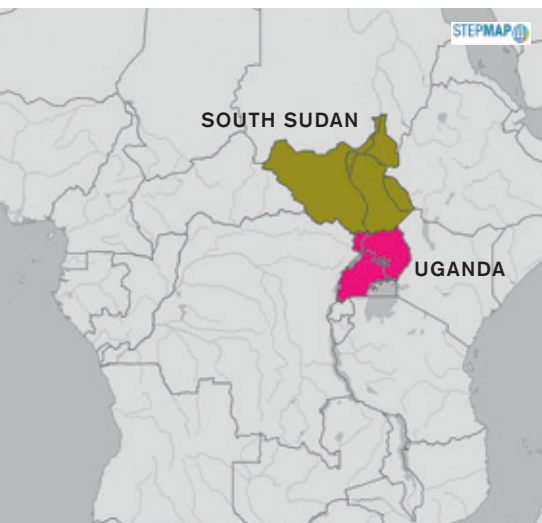
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G20

One world – our responsibility



“The stability and resilience of the international community’s health-care systems need to be enhanced”: examining a pregnant woman at a hospital in Brazzaville.

Germany’s Federal Government will put the Sustainable Development Goals high on the agenda of this year’s G20 summit in Hamburg. Hans-Joachim Fuchtel, the parliamentary state-secretary to the federal minister for economic cooperation and development, spells out what needs to be done.

By Hans-Joachim Fuchtel

Globally, we have achieved a great deal with our development policy: absolute poverty has been reduced, more food is being produced worldwide, diseases are being combatted successfully, and an increasing number of people have access to education. Despite these successes, we need not only to continue but to step up our efforts to eradicate poverty, hunger and inequality once and for all, and to mitigate the effects of climate change.

It was in response to the huge global challenges of our time that the international community decided at the UN summit in New York in September 2015 to adopt the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The Agenda is like a pact on the world’s future and its goal is that, by the year 2030, everybody in the world should be able to live their

lives in peace, dignity and freedom in an intact environment. Its seventeen goals for sustainable development combine the principle of sustainability with the three dimensions of development – namely social, ecological and economic development. The goals reflect the spirit of a new global partnership that, for the first time ever, calls upon all of the world’s countries – rich and poor alike – to work towards achieving these goals.

The Group of Twenty leading industrialised and emerging economies, known as the G20, will play a pivotal role in the realisation of the 2030 Agenda. A first step in this direction was the adoption of an action plan at the G20 summit in China last autumn. This year, Germany holds the presidency of the G20. It is a good opportunity to push ahead and quickly breathe life into the implementation of the 2030 Agenda.

It is our government’s intention, during the German presidency, to boost the Group of Twenty’s role as a central forum for international economic cooperation. Germany’s objective will be to ensure that the G20 countries work together to meet major international challenges. These include the continuing threat posed by climate change and the

growing risk of environmental disasters such as droughts and floods, as well as the need to tackle the root causes of displacement.

Also, what happened during the Ebola crisis showed us that the stability and resilience of the international community’s health-care systems need to be enhanced. We want to remedy this on a very practical level by holding joint exercises to curb pandemics. And we feel it will be important to work together on tackling resistance to antibiotics.

Furthermore, the G20 will also look at the rapid spread of digital technologies worldwide and the deep impact this is already having on how we do business and live our lives. Our aim must be to ensure that everyone – and in particular women in developing countries – can benefit from the opportunities that digital technologies have to offer. Other key topics will be the exchange of information, equity in taxation, transparency and sustainable supply chains.

A particularly important objective for Germany will be to foster a strong partnership between the G20 and Africa. During Germany’s presidency, we want to work with interested African partners with a view to boosting sustainable private-sector investment in Africa. To achieve that, the general conditions prevailing in some African countries will have to become more attractive and reliable, and companies – including German ones – will need to show willingness to do business in Africa.

Governments, businesses and civil society will have to work together to meet these challenges. Only if we all work together, will we be able to find solutions and carry them through successfully. That is why practical experience at grassroots level counts too: every citizen in Germany can make a contribution, discuss solutions and exchange ideas with others both at home and abroad, thereby playing an active role in shaping our world. I have meetings with various interest groups and actors all the time, and I see again and again how committed people working at the local level are to achieving sustainable development. We need to build on that!



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GOVERNANCE

Kenya's game of personality politics

African leaders have played the anti-western card, the tribal card and the jobs card, although only very few voters still fall for the last one. Kenya's President Uhuru Kenyatta has played them all. What has not worked in Africa is the anti-establishment card. The political elite tends to be hard to topple. Once more, Kenyatta is an example.

By Sella Oneko

At 55, he still appeals to the youth. He is well-spoken and was groomed to follow in the footsteps of his father Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's first president. His chances of being re-elected in August look good, but that does not mean that everything is fine in Kenya.

Human Rights Watch, the international NGO, sums up the situation as follows: "Kenya's efforts to tackle its escalating security crisis have been marred by serious human-rights violations by Kenyan security forces, including extrajudicial killings, arbitrary detentions and torture. The government rarely investigates or prosecutes security officers for such abuse. (...) Kenya has tried to restrict civil society and independent media. There has been no tangible progress on accountability for crimes committed during the post-elections violence of

2007/08, which left at least 1,100 dead and 650,000 displaced."

Kenyatta and his vice president William Ruto were involved in those riots, though on opposing sides. The two men belong to different ethnic groups, and the clashes resulted from ethnic rivalry.

It is telling that Kenyatta managed to benefit from the turmoil twice. First, he became finance minister in the government of his predecessor Mwai Kibaki, who was confirmed in office in 2007/08. Later, after forging his alliance with Ruto, he mobilised Kenyans against the International Criminal Court which had started a case against them because of their alleged orchestrating roles in the violence. Kenyatta and Ruto argued that the ICC was a neo-colonial institution. After witnesses in Kenya were intimidated, the ICC had to drop the case for lack of evidence.

The tribal card has become difficult to play in Kenya nonetheless. The laws against hate speech have been revised, and a new constitution was adopted which grants considerable power to the governors of sub-national counties. The presidential elections in 2013 were peaceful.

However, ethnicity or tribe, clan and family ties still matter – whether you want to get a job or win an election. People generally assume that only their kinsfolk will feed



them, support them and develop their area. Tribal identities are old, and the British colonial power reinforced them in order to "divide and rule".

Kenya is also haunted by corruption. Whether funds are siphoned off in the National Youth Service or Kenya's Ministry of Health, one would expect the president to assume some sort of responsibility. He does not; he merely disassociates himself. To foster a sense of national unity, he emphasises the fight against terrorism, in which Somali refugees, ethnic Somalis in Kenya and the country's Muslim minority have borne the brunt.

Kenyatta is not Kenya's only scion of a political dynasty. Raila Odinga, a former prime minister, is the son of Kenya's first vice president. And while his political life began in activism against the former authoritarian regime, he has become part of the old guard in Kenya's game of personality politics. Odinga ran against Kenyatta in 2013 and against Kibaki in 2007. Today both he and Kenyatta are among Kenya's richest people.

Kenyatta will probably cling on to power in elections this year. The big question is what will happen in five years. An extension of the constitutional two-terms limit seems unlikely. The danger of the country collapsing into utter chaos would be too great. He is young, so he can still run businesses or take on honourable roles as a crisis negotiator in neighbouring countries. So assuming Kenyatta wins this year, many Kenyans hope he will not run again in five years.

It is most unlikely, moreover, that any future government will prosecute Kenyatta for wrongdoings. Coalitions shift constantly in Kenyan politics and who, in the end, is not guilty?

Now we are friends: Kenyatta (left) and Ruto at a campaign event shortly before the presidential elections in 2013.



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CORRUPTION

Misleading index



Police officers guard the entrance of a bank in Panama accused of money laundering by US officials.

Internationally, African countries are considered to be particularly corrupt. This reputation amounts to an immense oversimplification of a much bigger problem and partly results from questionable methods of measurement. Tax avoidance by international corporations costs African governments far more money than the corruption of politicians and civil servants.

By Nico Beckert

The best-known instrument for measuring corruption is Transparency International's (TI) Corruption Perceptions Index (see article, p. 7). The index does not measure corruption directly, but rather compiles people's perception of corruption within a country.

The index is problematic in two ways:

- It defines corruption as the bribability of public officials and politicians, thus neglecting corrupt practices within the private sector.
- It does not rely on a survey of a country's people, but basically uses information provided by business people and so-called country experts.

The people surveyed share views and information among one another, however, and they tend to adopt the perceptions of their peers. This is especially so if they have little personal experience of the country in question. Such feed-back loops can boost the perception of corruption in unjustified ways. Moreover, media coverage of corruption can similarly inflate the perception of corruption in African countries or Brazil for example. The index is, therefore, a topic of debate within TI itself.

It matters that the international dimension of corruption does not get adequate attention, even though corruption is often driven by western structures. The implications of the corrupt behaviour of international corporations must not be underestimated. African states lose more money due to tax avoidance by international corporations than they receive as development aid.

The UN Economic Commission for Africa estimates that illegal financial flows cost Africa around \$ 50 billion per year. If one takes OECD estimates as a basis, more than \$ 30 billion (or two thirds) stems from "commercial transactions", including tax

avoidance and tax evasion. Only an estimated 2 to 3 billion dollars result from corruption in the sense of officials' bribability, as assessed in TI's Corruption Perceptions Index.

Tax havens facilitate the large outflow of potential tax revenues, and they are by no means limited to the Caribbean and Switzerland. According to the Tax Justice Network's Financial Secrecy Index, the USA ranks third, Germany eighth, Japan 12th and Britain 15th. A global network of "safe havens" has evolved for the capital of international corporations and corrupt politicians.

BRIBERY BY FOREIGN COMPANIES

A recent UN report sheds light on cases of cross-border corruption in Africa. In 99.5% the cases involved non-African firms. This means that African companies active in neighbouring countries are not the main culprits who pay bribes to "host" governments. Mostly multinational corporations do so. It is true, however, that the report only examined cross-border corruption, making no assertions concerning domestically paid bribes.

Nonetheless, the report does expose another deficiency of the TI Index. It does not include the predominantly international financial actors that pay bribes, but only focuses on the public officials and politicians who accept them. This one-sidedness makes "the Africans" appear more corrupt than multinational corporations even though the corporate money is what drives corruption in the first place.



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MYANMAR

From euphoria to disillusionment

Hopes were high after Myanmar's parliamentary elections on 8 November 2015. After decades of repressive military dictatorship, the National League for Democracy (NLD) won a majority. A new era was supposed to begin. Today, however, the democratic transformation leaves much to be desired, and ongoing conflicts have actually intensified.

By Christina Grein

Before the election, Aung San Suu Kyi, the leader of the NLD and internationally celebrated democratic icon, campaigned for a new, democratic and just Myanmar and promised her government would listen to all citizens. In particular, she wanted to promote national reconciliation and the establishment of a federal democratic union.

The new government took office on 1 April 2016. Suu Kyi was appointed "state counsellor" which makes her Myanmar's de facto head of state. The military continues to hold a quarter of all parliamentary seats, however. Its blocking minority gives it tremendous influence on policymaking. Nevertheless, hope and optimism were strong initially that a real democratic transformation would take place.

Increasingly, dissatisfaction and disappointment are becoming evident, however. The year 2016 saw old conflicts intensify. Armed conflicts between ethnic groups and the national army intensified. In particular, tensions escalated in Rakhine State.

The peace process between Myanmar's government and ethnic groups is stalling. The Panglong Conference, which was initiated by Suu Kyi, was supposed to become a milestone – but it hasn't made much of a difference. Contrary to government promises, some parties to the conflict were not invited to attend, and there was virtually no space for open discussion and exchange of views.

The price that ethnic militias must pay for getting a seat at the negotiating table is



Aung San Suu Kyi planting a tree during the opening ceremony of the National Reconciliation and Peace Center in January in Naypyitaw, Myanmar.

high. The military demands that they disarm and demobilise. Doing so is risky, however, given numerous government military assaults on ethnic groups. Without prior government concessions, not much will change in this regard in the foreseeable future.

Recently, new skirmishes occurred, mainly in northern Kachin and Shan States, where a new alliance of ethnic militias has formed. It calls itself the Northern Alliance-Burma. The fighting has led to the displacement of tens of thousands of people in the past few weeks. Many people have fled across the Chinese border, and the authorities are hampering the supply of humanitarian aid in the conflict zones. The military appears to want to put on a show of strength to boost its negotiating position.

These events, however, have been overshadowed by the dramatic developments in Rakhine State which have attracted international media attention (see D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/02, p.6). State security forces have perpetrated numerous human-rights abuses after attacks on Myanmar's border posts in October 2016, which have been blamed on an Islamist movement among the Rohingya minority. To date, some 70,000 people have fled to Bangladesh. The UN considers it likely that crimes against humanity were committed, including rape and extrajudicial killings. The government has so far denied all accusations.

There has been little improvement in regard to civil rights and political liberty. Some progress has been made. The so-called Emergency Provisions Act, which served to suppress dissidents, has been lifted, and first steps have been taken towards ending impunity. However, under Suu Kyi's leadership, civil-society actors and journalists have come under pressure on numerous occasions.

One must bear in mind, moreover, that the political power structures have hardly changed in Myanmar. According to the constitution, the military is not only beyond of the government's control but is even in charge of the three most important ministries: home affairs, defence and border affairs.

Suu Kyi and the NLD have very little room for manoeuvre. The government should make every effort to steer the country on a path of democratic reform. It could bring about decisive progress by forming alliances with civil society this year.



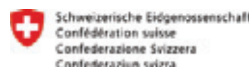
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<http://www.asienhaus.de/burma>



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RESILIENCE

The rise of a concept



Survivors of Typhoon Yolanda in the Philippines: their plight became a testing ground in 2013 for private investment and profit opportunities.

Resilience has become a buzzword in development affairs. All major actors have drafted resilience concepts, and resilience orientation has become a yardstick for funding decisions. In regard to security, climate change, natural disasters and terrorism, resilience is given an increasingly dominant role in crisis management. According to the scholars Jeremy Walker and Melinda Cooper, resilience has become “a pervasive idiom of global governance”.

By Usche Merk

“The costs of humanitarian crises are escalating. There is an urgent need to help people and communities withstand and recover from growing shocks and stressors – in other words, to help them build resilience.” These words from the current EU Action Plan for Resilience in Crisis-Prone Countries 2013-2020 exemplify the trend.

By 2010 at the latest, it was apparent that resilience had replaced vulnerabil-

ity as the core concern of humanitarian aid and development cooperation. The focus is no longer on the weaknesses and needs of people and communities; it is now on their strengths and their capacity to cope with disasters and crises.

This shift has an emancipatory quality, in that it directs attention to people’s and communities’ endurance and potential for self-help, emphasising survival strategies, capacity for action, self-empowerment and support networks. Funding decisions increasingly depend on them. Critical NGOs have been calling for such an approach for a long time.

The irony, however, is that with the spread of the resilience notion, local capacities in crisis regions have been “discovered” as resources for crisis and risk management. The focus has thus shifted away from the need to prevent crises. In the technocratic logic of resilience, floods, droughts, hurricanes, wars, expulsion, displacement and poverty are merely perceived as “shocks”

and “stressors”, not as root problems that need to be prevented or overcome. People’s desperate fight to survive in inhuman conditions has been redefined as “resilience”.

CRISIS AS NORMALITY

This trend may have serious consequences in a health crisis, as the international experts Stephanie Topp, Walter Flores, Veena Sriram and Kerry Scott have argued. Building resilience rarely seems to involve a direct examination of, and even less challenge to, the structural conditions that contribute to overarching health-system dysfunction. Among the underlying reasons of dysfunction, the authors list historical legacies, current trade and aid patterns, taxes and health insurance coverage.

In their perspective, the rise of the resilience notion means that debate on long-term visions is being preplaced by short-term action-oriented debate. As crisis is accepted to be the normal state of affairs,

the resilience concept is superseding the sustainability concept. The latter was supposed to restore a global equilibrium, while the focus of the resilience discourse is on managing an unbalanced world.

The Janus-faced quality of the resilience approach to disaster management is evident in the new “role” of individuals, communities and crisis regions in need of help. Crisis management is now largely their responsibility, with success depending on their resilience.

This notion can become a trap, as a case study by Mara Bernadusi shows. The Italian researcher assessed resilience building in Sri Lanka after the 2004 tsunami. The result was, that, if local people are merely vulnerable, they fail to meet the requirements for resilience-strengthening support. If they are too resilient, however, they over-fulfil the requirements and risk being classed as not being in need. To receive aid, survivors had to consider carefully how much resilience they should show, Bernadusi pointed out. They had to be “just resilient enough” to be eligible for support, and at the same time, they had to appear to be “vulnerable enough” to deserve support.

MONITORING TOOLS AND SELECTION CRITERIA

To find out how to make a community more resilient, specific measurement instruments have been designed. The European Union, for instance, uses a resilience marker which serves to assess the success of aid efforts and can also be used to determine need. The US Agency for International Development (USAID) has designed sophisticated tools that enable it to define the need for aid with increasing precision. Its “depth of poverty” measurements shows how much poverty can be tolerated without eroding resilience. The “moderate-to-severe hunger” indicator defines the point at which a person actually experiences hunger. The “global acute malnutrition” scale shows when malnutrition exceeds the customary level.

One implication of this trend is that the quest for ever-greater resilience has become obligatory. Resilience building has become an issue of monitoring as well as selection criterion for aid. The humanitarian principle that anyone in need must get support has thus been called into question.

In humanitarian aid, the concept of resilience has thus triggered a paradigm shift. For good reason, critics had been discussing whether it made sense to separate humanitarian aid from development cooperation. They had also been pointing out that the lack of coordination between various humanitarian agencies compounded legitimacy problems. The problem is that such arguments now serve to cast doubt on the entire system, as is exemplified by the EU’s Action Plan for Resilience in Crisis Prone Countries. It redefines the extent of humanitarian needs and, accordingly, the entitlement to aid. The consequence is that a whole range of EU programmes that relate to risk management, disaster prevention, climate change adjustment, social protection and food security are now conflated under the cross-sectional principle of resilience. As a result, budgets can be slashed.

UN agencies, the EU and Germany’s Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) took part in a recent humanitarian conference where delegates heard phrases of the following kind:

- “People and communities need to learn to overcome crises on their own and get back onto their feet faster.”
- “They need to become more drought-resilient.”
- “How can need be reduced to curb costs?”

Such rhetoric indicates what the “cross-sectional principle of resilience” means in practice. The responsibility for managing crises is shifted onto the shoulders of those who suffer the crises.

NEW SCOPE FOR BUSINESS

At the same time, humanitarian aid is increasingly being opened up to private enterprise. The private sector is generally wooed as a fourth pillar of development cooperation alongside government, civil society and academia. New scope for business has been found in disaster prevention. In 2015, 70 % to 80 % of new investment in “disaster risk reduction” was made by private sector entities.

International forums like the Global Disaster Relief Summit put private investors in touch with UN agencies, the World Bank, security consultants, financial service-providers, philanthropic foundations,

relief organisations and government agencies such as USAID. Everything is for sale – from vehicles and logistics products to communications, security technology and pharmaceutical products. Disaster management has become a business model with “resilience dividends”.

One NGO study shows in detail that reconstruction became a testing ground for the profitability of private investments after Typhoon Yolanda in the Philippines in 2013. The promise of reconstruction programmes was to “building back better”. In fact, however, matters deteriorated dramatically for many poor families, whereas whole new business opportunities arose for private companies in mining, farming and tourism.

The ascendancy of the concept of resilience represents a turning-point in humanitarian aid and development cooperation. It must be about more than merely boosting the “resilience” of people and communities who are mobilising what they can – including crisis strategies, capacities, networks and creativity – in desperate attempts to survive disaster. The local actors concerned need resources and support that empowers them to make those who cause crises to contribute to crisis management.

The resilience notion is not entirely wrong, but its proponents’ tendency to co-opt and exploit the efforts of the people who are affected by disaster is irritating. Independent social activists must resist abuse, critically monitor impacts and promote narratives that reject the logic of permanent crisis.

This essay is an abbreviated version of an article to be featured in the medico publication “Fit für die Katastrophe? Kritische Anmerkungen zum Resilienzdiskurs im aktuellen Krisenmanagement” (Fit for disaster? Critical comments on the resilience discourse in current crisis management), which will be launched in May 2017 by Psychosozial-Verlag.



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ODA

Cash transfers help the extreme poor



Illness has made the breadwinner (right) in this Cambodian family unfit for work.

At home, Germany and other industrialised states consider social protection very important and spend a lot of money on the matter. But when it came to development assistance, the idea of social transfers to the needy was next to taboo around the world for a long time. Things are changing – and that may help put an end to extreme poverty.

By Frank Bliss

A new trend has been building up for about a decade. In a number of countries, support has been provided to set up health insurance schemes, for example. The focus, however, was primarily on technical insurance issues rather than financial contributions.

In recent years German official development assistance (ODA) has contributed to providing extremely poor target groups with health care vouchers. However, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and its agencies remained sceptical in regard to cash transfers to the poor, even when such transfers were linked to conditions such as children's regular school attendance. With only few exceptions, including a programme in Malawi, Germany did not support such schemes.

As recently as 2011 and 2012, the Bundestag, Germany's federal parliament, rejected proposals that would have provided social cash transfers to poor people in partner countries. In June 2016, however, the discussion opened up anew. For the first time, the Bundestag explicitly called for stronger German involvement in social protection in developing countries. The new approach should include (temporary) social cash transfers, but it is too early to assess the decision's impact. It is very unlikely, however, that Germany will buck the trend towards supporting social protection in ODA efforts.

Other donors, for instance the UK, have been taking this approach with vigour for years (see E+Z/D+C e-Paper 2017/01, p. 38). The Asian Development Bank (ADB), moreover, has been supporting social-protection programmes for a long time in countries like the Philippines and Pakistan. These programmes serve primarily to boost school attendance among poor children. In both cases, ADB loans worth about \$ 400 million have triggered national efforts that cost ten times as much.

The impact of such measures needs to be assessed. One evaluation showed that making conditional payments of about \$ 15 a

month to poor households with school-age children in the Philippines meant that almost all children in extreme poverty were sent to school in the years 2012 to 2015. The national school enrolment rate rose from 92 % to 98 %. In Pakistan, social cash transfers are now the third priority in the national budget.

CREATING ACCEPTANCE

Providing social assistance to the extreme poor will significantly shape development aid in the future. There are many questions, however, concerning how such aid will be distributed. The first challenge is to identify the poor. This is easier said than done in countries with weak logistical capacities and serious governance problems. The methodology used by Pakistan's government costs more than \$ 120 million, which is certainly too expensive for most countries. And since poor people's circumstances tend to fluctuate considerably, poor households must be identified more often than only every five to seven years.

Cambodia's "ID Poor" programme, which was designed in part with German support, can serve as an economical and participatory model. The programme identifies

poor people through a relatively transparent process and allows families who have not been categorised as poor to gain insight into why others are considered to be poorer than they are. This approach boosts acceptance of the cash-transfer scheme even among those people who do not benefit personally.

The people who have been categorised as poor are given an ID card and thus get access to free health care, for example. The programme is run by the Health Equity Fund, a national agency, which gets a part of its funding from Germany's KfW Development Bank. Another strong point of the Cambodian system is that poor people can be covered by the health programme even if they do not have an ID Poor card, provided they fill in a short questionnaire.

CONDITIONAL OR UNCONDITIONAL

One contentious issue is whether cash transfers should be linked to conditions. There is no easy answer. In Chad, for example, it would not make sense to require expecting mothers to regularly visit health centres or children to regularly attend school. The reason is that doing so is not possible everywhere in the country. In such settings, un-

conditional payments to poor households are the only option.

Yet another issue is widespread corruption. According to official policy, for example, one third of the people of Tajikistan in Central Asia have been getting compensation transfers for rising energy prices in recent years, but investigations have shown that hardly anyone has actually received such benefits.

In the future, social cash transfers could be made by mobile phone, and that would reduce the scope for fraud at the grassroots level. Kenya has been using the M-Pesa service to this end with great success for ten years. Other models are being tested all over the world. It will, however, take time to find the right solution for every situation. We must bear in mind, for example, that the most important indicator of a family's extreme poverty today is that it does not have a mobile phone.

Another challenge is to determine who exactly should get the monetary transfers in order to achieve the strongest anti-poverty impact. Should "the household" be paid, or perhaps just mothers, who would then use the money primarily to provide food for their families?

German ODA will likely devote more attention to these questions from now on. The upshot is that German aid may help to lift the poorest of the poor above the poverty threshold by 2030 without leaving anyone behind. That is what the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) demand. Moreover, a fundamental decision will have to be made concerning the provision of a basic income to approximately 250 million people worldwide who cannot help themselves because they are too old, too young or too disabled to work. For obvious reasons, self-help-oriented ODA will always bypass these people.

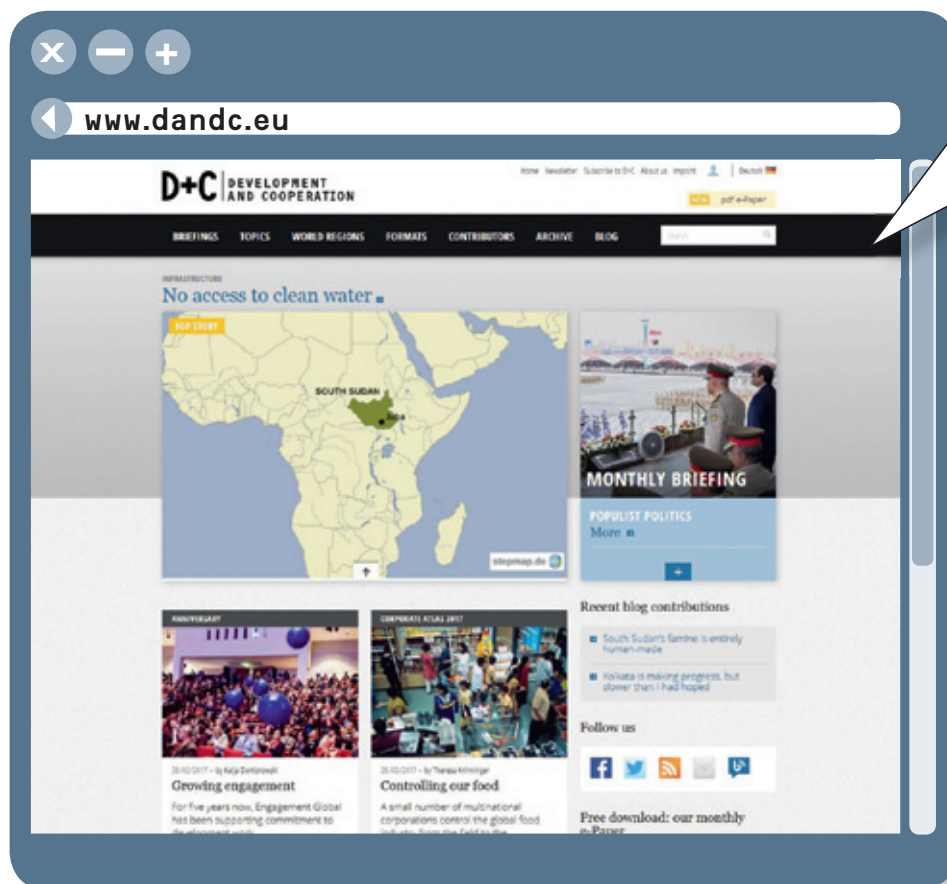


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Practicing non-violent politics in Mazar-e-Sharif, Afghanistan: a young woman slips into the role of the UN general-secretary and gives a TV interview.

Peace requires civil engagement

Making and safeguarding peace is easier said than done. One reason is that acts of violence can shatter trust in a second, but it takes a long time to build trust. Lasting peace depends on people's confidence that conflicts will be resolved in a non-violent way. For that to happen, they need non-violent means for pursuing their interests. Armed security forces matter, but they are ultimately unable to inspire the needed sense of trust in society. Their authority hinges upon their weapons, after all. Civil engagement and responsive institutions are needed – both to prevent violent conflict and stabilise society in post-conflict scenarios.

“This is the transition from war to peace”

After more than half a century of civil war, a peace agreement has been concluded in Colombia. Guerrilla groups, paramilitary organisations and the government are now discussing how to implement disarmament and bring about reconciliation. Colombia's rural regions have been particularly hard hit by the civil war and the illegal drug trade. Far from the capital, local actors hold sway, and it will be difficult to take steps towards peaceful coexistence. For two decades, Ruta Pacifica de las Mujeres, a women's rights organisation, has been campaigning for peace. Amanda Camilo Ibarra understands the issues well. She is a teacher and represents Ruta Pacifica in Putumayo, in the south of the country, where fighting was fierce.

Amanda Lucía Camilo Ibarra interviewed by Sheila Mysorekar

Why did you start campaigning for peace?

After completing my training as a teacher, I left the capital, Bogotá, for my hometown in Putumayo. My daughter was born, but as a young child she became ill because she was given an expired vaccination. She was left paralysed on one side. Health care was very poor in our region. I began campaigning to improve living conditions so this would never happen to another child. In our little town, Puerto Caicedo, a group was promoting peace and justice. It was led by Father Alcides Jiménez Chicangana, who was later murdered. I joined them and became involved.

Why did you join the feminist organisation Ruta Pacifica de las Mujeres?

I am a teacher by profession, but a human-rights advocate by conviction. In 1996, the first women's march for peace took place in the north of the country; that was the beginning of Ruta Pacifica. In 1997, we cooperated with Father Jiménez on organising a regional meeting of women in the south of the country, where we live. I thought that was a good way to promote human rights and women's rights. Since then – that is, for the past 20 years – I have been a coordinator for the organisation in Putumayo.

How does Ruta Pacifica promote peace?

The full name of our organisation is: “Ruta pacífica de las mujeres por la tramitación política de los conflictos en Colombia y la visibilización de las violencias contra las mujeres” (“The peaceful way for women to find a political solution to the conflict in Colombia and raise awareness of violence against women”). The name reflects our programme. Our peace work has the following order:

- incident,
- investigation,
- public education, both formal and informal,
- mobilisation,
- knowledge generation and
- empowerment of women, leaders and their organisations.

Everything is based on the principles of feminism, pacifism, anti-militarism, non-violence and dialogue.

Have you or your organisation ever been threatened?

Many people oppose peace. All of our top people have been threatened. I have been stalked constantly and put under pressure by the paramilitaries. In 2009, they forced their way into my house and started shooting. They killed one of my neighbours and injured my brother-in-law. I happened to be away from home that day. Another time, a paramilitary group kidnapped one of my brothers. I searched for him in the mountains and fortunately found him alive. Many women have been murdered; others have left the movement out of fear. We have a radio show called “Mujer, Caminos y Futuro” (Woman, Paths and Future) and we have frequently been put under pres-



Many women fought with the FARC.



sure to discontinue this. Another threat rural people must live with are anti-personnel mines, munitions depots and improvised explosive devices, which are still buried everywhere.

How did the armed conflict affect your village?

It was terrible. About half of the residents were displaced. People disappeared one after the other, particularly women. There were threats, rapes, massacres, arbitrary detention, power struggles between different armed groups and narco-terrorism. The state was completely absent. Its only intervention was to spray our fields from the air with glyphosate in an alleged effort to destroy coca plants. Paramilitaries forced young girls from our village into prostitution. A friend of mine was murdered and her genitals were mutilated. The paramilitaries cut out the tongue of an indigenous woman and then killed her. The victims' families were often not allowed to collect the bodies and bury them in the Christian way. Father Jiménez was murdered in 1998 while he was celebrating mass.

Did people in this area vote in favour of the peace deal?

Yes, the vast majority did.

What do people in rural areas expect now?

They expect the government and the guerrilleros to stick to their agreement. Fear and distrust are still widespread. Our insti-

tutions are not yet prepared for the post-conflict era. But the overwhelming majority of former FARC guerrilleros support the peace process.

How can people live together peacefully who, until recently, wanted to kill each other?

That's a good question! The answer lies in making forgiveness a central pillar of our nation's reconciliation. We also need strategies for peace education and measures for trust building.

How will disarmament work?

It won't be easy, but it isn't impossible. The government has to uphold its agreements and safeguard the reintegration of the rebels into civilian life. A pardon could give former FARC guerrilleros security. But there's no question that they will have to surrender their weapons.

What challenges do you foresee?

Implementation must begin as soon as possible, and it must be adequately funded. It should stay under control of local communities, which must be well prepared for the task. The trust of the people must be earned. But there are a variety of obstacles, including the fact that we will soon have elections and that we still have to deal with high levels of corruption, patriarchal relations, massive social inequality and an economic crisis.

How can trust in the state and the justice system be regained?

It can be done if the state truly cooperates with communities and involves people in strategies for social development. The citizens must be informed about the implementation of the peace process. With regard to the justice system, there has to be a process of transitional justice and some kind of cleansing of the judicial apparatus.

Is reconciliation possible in a village where everyone knows who killed whom?

Yes, but the preconditions are that truth is confronted honestly, justice is served, reparations are distributed and a guarantee is made that this kind of thing will never happen again. We need training to promote reconciliation. Memorial events can serve to prevent forgetting and impunity.

What are your personal expectations for peace?

I want people to be able to once again live with dignity, and I want to be able to live in my beloved village without fear. That is what I want for myself and for all other women too.

Is this the true end of the war?

Well, we must bear in mind that the peace deal only heralds the transition from war to peace. Peace is a collective effort. It is everyone's right and duty. I will continue to work for it.

How does the younger generation see the future?

Young people do not see themselves as the future of the country, but rather as its present. They are demanding an active role in the peace process. The student and youth movements have been very engaged on this front. In December 2016, a national meeting was held in the city of Medellín, where a youth agenda for peace in Colombia was drafted. My daughter, who is now a university student, was there too. I was very pleased!



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From guerrillero to peace activist

Sabas Duque is a former combatant of the FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia), the oldest guerrilla movement in Colombia. He now is director of the “Centre for Reconciliation” in Suba, a poor neighbourhood of Bogotá, Colombia’s capital city. His life story is typical of many former guerrilleros in Colombia.

Born in 1968, Sabas Duque grew up in poverty on the Caribbean coast. Like his 22 siblings, he could only attend school long enough to learn how to read and write.

At the age of 15, he and a dozen other young boys were selected by a FARC commander to maintain order in their village as militiamen. “My greatest dream came true when I was given my first gun,” he recalls. Where he lived, only people with guns had authority. Membership of the FARC earned Duque respect. The son of poor farmers would not have been able to achieve that kind of status in civilian life.

Duque married during his time with the FARC. One afternoon, when he was away from home, one of his comrades raped his wife. The guerrilleros punish this kind of offence severely. His commander gave Duque the permission to kill the rapist. “I killed him, but I was haunted by what I did,” he says. “After that, I retreated from the FARC. I wanted a legal existence.” The couple moved to the city of Barranquilla, where Duque found work in a factory, and they had their first child.



Sabas Duque, a former FARC combatant, is now the director of a Centre for Reconciliation in Bogotá.

Then Duque got an attractive offer. He was invited to work in the FARC logistics division and to organise deliveries to the “Caribbean Block”. The good pay was tempting, so he took the job. Over the years, he rose through the ranks and ultimately became the head of logistics for the Caribbean. In this time, he and his wife had two more children. One day, while delivering a weapons shipment, Duque was captured by the military and handed over to the paramilitaries. They tortured him, demanding information on behalf of the military. “I spent a year in prison until my commander bribed a judge. The FARC needed me to keep working in logistics.”

Six months after his release, Duque became the victim of an assassination attempt. “I was lucky to survive, but I was left paralysed and almost deaf.

I couldn’t keep working for the FARC,” he says. In 2004 he finally turned his back on the guerrilla organisation.

Together with other ex-combatants, he founded a committee for reconciliation and reparation in Bogotá. He has been working for the Foundation for Reconciliation for the past nine years. The Foundation is an international civil-society organisation that offers training to promote a culture of forgiveness and reconciliation. The Foundation runs several centres of reconciliation, and Duque directs one in Bogotá.

He says he wants to make it easier for former FARC combatants to reintegrate into society. To that end, his centre cooperates closely with the Colombian Agency for Reintegration. The centre offers a space for peaceful coexistence, where former enemies from

the FARC and the paramilitary outfits, as well as victims of the conflict and other neighbourhood residents can meet. Many in the area consider Duque a role model, both because of his warmth and his commitment to a peaceful Colombia.



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LINKS

Foundation for Reconciliation:
<https://www.insightonconflict.org/conflicts/colombia/peacebuilding-organisations/fundacion-para-la-reconciliacion/>
Colombian Agency for Reintegration:
<http://www.reintegracion.gov.co/en>

Help in times of crisis

Civil conflict resolution can help to facilitate peaceful coexistence among people in crisis zones, including refugees and returnees. Above all, work matters at the grassroots level. Outbreaks of violence are prevented by analysing conflicts, bringing all parties involved to the negotiating table and developing non-violent solutions.

By Martina Rieken

“Our experience shows that civil conflict resolution gets people off the path of violence. So, in cooperation with local partners, we promote peace on the ground,” says Martin Vehrenberg, spokesman of the Civil Peace Service (CPS) Consortium. “We help to put an end to people being forced to leave their homeland against their will. And if they have to flee from violence, we help to mitigate the consequences for all parties concerned and prevent further violence.” The following examples from the work of the CPS (see box, p. 24) show how this can be achieved.

AFGHANISTAN: CREATING PROSPECTS

Even after years of international military presence, Afghanistan is still haunted by conflict, violence and dire human-rights violations. About 64 % of all Afghans are under 25. Unemployment is high, and many young people face an uncertain future. Local civil-society organisations help them to improve their lives and their environment. The aim is to get young Afghans to assume responsibility for their fates, their society and their country. They should play an active role in shaping the future.

In Mazar-e-Sharif, for example, the New Leaders Platform trains young people for half a year in civic awareness, leadership skills and non-violent conflict resolution. “The Platform enables young people to solve their own problems and those of others around them,” says Andreas Selmecci, the CPS programme coordinator in Afghanistan. “We strengthen young people’s ability to network and stand up for their own interests and the rights of others.”

The initiative is successful. One hundred youngsters or so are involved, and they have launched numerous non-profit initiatives. For instance, they have arranged events for International Women’s Day, helped refugees in Mazar-e-Sharif and visited hospitalised victims of violence. A number of young people found jobs with non-governmental organisations or state agencies. Their training and their commitment made them attractive candidates.

MEXICO: SAFEGUARDING HUMAN RIGHTS

People on the run are defenceless and depend on the help of others. Many become victims of violence. Since former President Felipe Calderón declared war on the drug cartels in Mexico, the country has experienced tremendous violence. Human-rights violations occur daily, even within the criminal justice system. Migrants passing through Mexico to the United States are particularly vulnerable. An estimated 400,000 people a year undertake that hazardous journey. They receive help at the few migrant hostels along the route, which dispense humanitarian aid as well as psychological support and legal assistance. Such support, in itself, is a form of civil conflict resolution.

The hostels are run by local groups, who campaign for refugee rights and document human-rights violations. Such activism is dangerous. “Anyone working with migrants in this country runs the same risk as the migrants themselves,” says Alberto Xicotencatl, manager of the migrant hostel in Saltillo in the north-eastern state of Coa-

huila. “We get death threats, we are assaulted, and we are threatened with weapons.”

In the face of such threats, it is hard to keep up the courage required for carrying on. However, international support, lobbying and training in threat management enable human-rights defenders to work in relative safety. The mere presence of international experts such as those deployed by the CPS protects them.

LEBANON: MAKING ASYLUM POSSIBLE

Bar Elias is a small town in Lebanon on the Syrian border. The community has taken in a large number of refugees, but the town struggles to cope with the influx. There is too little accommodation and a lack of jobs, day-care facilities and schools. Other problems include energy and water supply as well as waste management. The atmosphere is tense.

To reduce tensions between local residents and refugees, projects to promote civil conflict resolution have been launched. Individuals are selected from all relevant groups. They are trained to do community work and are instructed in non-violent conflict resolution and other things. In constant dialogue with all parties, they create opportunities for locals and refugees to discuss problems and fears. They also identify ways to improve coexistence and help to follow up ideas with action.

One proposal that has been implemented, for instance, is a recycling project in which Lebanese people cooperate with Syrian refugees (see D+C/E+Z e-Paper



Conflict parties at a ceremony celebrating a settlement of conflict.

2016/06, p. 26). The project puts them in touch, and they get to know each other's views. This approach does more than facilitate peaceful coexistence; it paves the way for discussing conflicts and identifying ways to resolve them. The project also generates financial profits, which benefit the community.

BURUNDI: FACILITATING REPATRIATION

Refugees returning home must face perpetrators of former violence, wrecked homes and uncertain prospects. In many cases, they are resented by those who stayed behind. Since gaining independence, Burundi has been beset by violent conflicts which have regularly resulted in waves of refugees. People have been displaced and repatriated. Such movements typically cause land conflicts, as Emmanuel

Nibayubahe, director of MI-PAREC, a CPS partner, reports: "The returnees – many of whom belong to the second generation – want to get back the land that was left behind, but that land has since been taken over and cultivated by people who stayed. This is at the root of many – and often severe – conflicts.

Local peace committees are supported by CPS experts. They bring people involved in a dispute to a negotiating table so peaceful settlement can be reached. The committees succeed, as an example from Nyanza Lac in southern Burundi shows. When the Nyabenda family fled to Tanzania, the Mpigiyeke family took over a piece of their abandoned land. In 2015, the Nyabendas returned and demanded their land, but the Mpigiyekos refused to hand it over. Even the Land Rights Commission was unable to settle the dispute. At that point, the

Nyanza Lac Peace Committee stepped in. Negotiations were restarted and a solution was found that both families could live with: the land was divided between them. A basis for peaceful neighbourly relations was created.



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LINKS

Civil Peace Service:

<https://www.ziviler-friedensdienst.org>

<http://www.facebook.com/ZivilerFriedensdienst>

<http://www.twitter.com/zfdnews>

Preventing violence, promoting peaceful coexistence

Civil conflict resolution is a tool for lowering tensions in a community, balancing interests and building peace. It is at the heart of the work of the Civil Peace Service (CPS).

The CPS is a programme for preventing violence and promoting peace in crisis zones and conflict regions. It is funded by Germany's Federal Government and run by nine German peace and development agencies. Since 1999, the CPS has been striving to contribute to a world in which conflicts are resolved without violence. Approximately 300 international CPS experts are

currently active in 43 countries.

In many cases, the CPS experts work with people affected by displacement and migration (see main article). Civil conflict resolution is of a preventive nature, avoiding violence and allowing people to live together under difficult conditions. If people are forced to flee nonetheless, civil conflict resolution can significantly help mitigate the effects of displacement by providing non-violent assistance to refugees and everyone concerned. Psychosocial support, legal aid, physical

The CPS promotes peaceful coexistence: a cultural festival in Faizabad, Afghanistan.



protection and respect for human rights all matter.

When people need to take refuge, civil conflict resolution promotes constructive coexistence between local residents and refugees. Once the situation in the refugees' homeland stabilises and the displaced return home, civil

conflict resolution can help resolve conflicts between returnees and those who stayed behind. It can also mediate between perpetrators and victims. In such situations, it also has a potential to prevent new outbursts of violence. It lays a foundation for a shared future.

Restoring trust in society



Water carrier in Terakeka, South Sudan, with jerricans of Nile water on sale.

Peacebuilding is a multi-faceted challenge. The following dimensions must be considered, according to Peter Tibi, an experienced mediator from South Sudan.

By Peter Tibi

As argued in last month's edition, South Sudan slipped back into violent conflict because the peace process was not implemented well (D+C/E+Z e-Paper, 2017/02, p.15). Success depends on paying sufficient attention to the following five issues:

RECONCILIATION

Violent conflicts destroy normal values and networks of social interaction. They cannot be repaired without reconciliation. Envisioning a new future is impossible without acknowledging past abuse. Lack of familiarity and outright distrust in routine interaction foster dysfunctional relations. Personal fears must be overcome so communities can be rebuilt. Communities who have suf-

fered violence repeatedly need a new sense of security, and that requires a social foundation. For ordinary life to resume, paranoia and irrational behaviour must be dealt with. The ability to trust depends on the re-establishment of morality. It was undermined by betrayal, apprehension and outrage. Without reconciliation, antagonism and distrust are likely to thwart any formal political process.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

To heal the wounds of war and stem lingering feelings of resentment, economic recovery is essential. Development has to improve a social reality that has proved incompatible with human well-being. Post-war economic reconstruction must alleviate unjust socio-economic conditions, which are the main causes of war. Getting economic development started is difficult after conflicts, however, because there is a lack of human capital, and physical infrastructure has been destroyed. Environmental degradation is a typical, impact of war, and it too blocks economic de-

velopment. Yet another challenge is that, due to high military spending, governments tend to be indebted after conflicts. It takes time to rebuild the systems of transport and communication, banking, health care, education and agriculture. High nominal growth rates are not enough, since development must benefit the people in general.

LOCAL EMPOWERMENT

National elections and other formal procedures are detached from everyday life, and so are newly established national institutions. Dominance of government agencies, moreover, does not serve long-term peace, but empowering civil society at the local level can contribute to changing repressive structures. Many relevant grievances can only be tackled at the local level, so local capacity building is needed. Human development helps to build civil society and serves community survival.

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Social stability can be enhanced by strengthening community networks and cultural traditions that promote peace and justice. Coordination is necessary at national and community levels. Antagonistic relationships can be improved by social reconstruction designed to reduce inequalities. The notion of broad-based participation is important in social and economic development. Adequate decision-making power has to be given to individuals and groups who were previously alienated.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Improving the human-rights situation is a major component of building civil society. Public confidence will not be gained unless fundamental rights are guaranteed. Human rights are needed to deal with injustices and oppression that are often linked to authoritarian religious, political or military doctrines.



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Uganda has benefited from peace journalism

Uganda has a history of conflict and violence. In particular, the strife caused by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda from 1995 to 2004 made peace efforts necessary. At the time, a strong foundation for peace journalism was laid. Its principles are of lasting relevance in view of unrest in border regions and the refugee population which is growing due to civil war in neighbouring countries.

By Gloria Laker Aciro

After years of failed military interventions and series of futile peace talks, the Ugandan army opted for peace journalism in order to try to reach out to LRA insurgents. In 1998, the first peace radio was established in Gulu, a town in northern Uganda. It was called Radio Freedom. The army used it to communicate not only with displaced people, but even the rebels, inspiring hope among child soldiers that demobilisation might be possible.

After the media highlighted atrocities collectively, international attention turned to the LRA conflict. Donor agencies started to consider radio programming and professional media work as a way to promote peace and later to reduce tensions in the post-conflict situation.

Important principles of peace journalism are to avoid hate speech and involve voices from all sides of a conflict. Balance, fairness and factual accuracy matter very much. The idea is to convey an understanding of a conflict's reasons, history and possible non-violent solutions rather than to fan the flames. Attention must be paid not only to acts of violence, which are easy to report, but also to longer term developments in society, which are harder to cover.

Effective peace reporting does more than merely report events. It puts them in context by engaging communities. Various approaches matter, including social media, local discussions and drama performances. They all serve to enhance the news

reporting, talk shows and public service announcements.

SUCCESSFUL APPROACHES

From 1999 to 2002, Britain's Department for International Development (DFID) fully backed the use of persuasive radio programmes to urge rebels to abandon fighting. DFID funded the establishment of Mega FM radio in Gulu. The station went on air in August 2002, covering parts of Uganda as well as of southern Sudan and eastern DR

congo. It broadcasts general information on conflict and development as well as specific items geared to conflict resolution and promoting the peace process in the region.

Over 22,000 child soldiers and commanders responded to the appeal and abandoned the rebellion, significantly weakening the LRA. In short, the LRA conflict could only be ended after the intervention of peace journalism.

Today, the LRA has retreated into the Central African Republic. The Ugandan army is still using the come-back-home radio format, as Innocent Aloyo, host of Mega FM's Kabake programme, reports. The host is flown into the CAR to interview child soldiers there.

Since the LRA was defeated in Uganda, local community radio stations have been reaching out to the public through peace reporting with a focus on development. The next crucial step is for media houses to adopt in-house policies and guidelines. Many ra-



Peace journalists from Uganda and South Sudan.

Congo. It broadcasts general information on conflict and development as well as specific items geared to conflict resolution and promoting the peace process in the region.

In a surprising innovation, Ogena Lacambel, the host of Mega FM's flagship programme Dwog Paco (which means "come back home" in Luo), invited former child soldiers to share their stories on radio. They were assured free passage. Today, Mega FM still has several peace-building programmes including Kabake ("community dialogue") and Teyat ("stakeholders' debate"). Open dialogue and call-ins with community members and rebel LRA sol-

dio hosts in rural areas are not aware of what peace journalism requires, and even some who are aware have proven unable to handle people who call in by phone to incite hatred.

International agencies that promote media development such as Internews and DW Akademie have trained hundreds of local journalists in peace reporting. The impact of trainees on the peace process has been assessed. A number of community radios were set up with a commitment to peace journalism and are still active today.

Today, the sensitive issue in Uganda is reporting about refugees. Even though the country hosts thousands of refugees, the



matter is under-reported. The point of view of the refugees is rarely included. When Chris Obore, a well-known journalist, highlighted the plight of a Burundian refugee girl, his reporting changed the girl's life for the better.

Peace journalism must give marginalised people a voice. Moreover, these efforts must transcend national borders. Since refugees from South Sudan, the DRC and other

countries live in Uganda, conflicts spread to the border region.

It therefore makes sense for Ugandan and South Sudanese journalists to cooperate on covering refugee issues. Speak FM, a small community radio in Gulu, is doing just that. Station manager Jane Angom says that "exiled South Sudanese journalists contribute important information about the refugee community in northern Uganda, which our radio otherwise would not be able to access". Language matters, after all.

In 2005, the media were a key player in the Juba peace talks that led to the signing of a cessation of violence and hostilities agreement (CPA) in South Sudan. Traditional leaders who were active in the peace and reconciliation efforts point out that peace journalism as a tool was "useful in mobilising people and reaching out to rebels".

Professor Steve Youngblood heads the Center for Global Peace Journalism at Park University in Missouri in the USA. He says that "the best thing Ugandan journalists can

do for their country is to promote peace, not inflame passions and hatred, by seeking to present accurate and impartial news." In his experience, good reporting reduces conflict. He maintains that peace reporting is in line with "the principles of good journalism".

LINKS

Peace Journalism Foundation East Africa:
<https://pjfeastafrica.wordpress.com/>

Center for Global Peace Journalism:
<http://www.park.edu/center-for-peace-journalism/>



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Balance and fairness in daily reporting

As a peace journalist, I was asked to help to monitor hot-spot districts known for election violence in 2011. I assisted in the establishment of community peace clubs to watch over Ugandan broadcasters as they covered the 2011 general elections. It was nice to see that they indeed had a positive impact on the election.

We asked representatives of community leaders to monitor the election reporting in their locality and alert radio managers of any hate speech that was aired. The manager would then take action to reduce the likeliness of violence. Our message to community

peace clubs was simple: "Without peace, you will not run your business or live happily with your family, so protect peace by listening to radio and report any hate speech."

The goal was to boost good reporting and thus contribute to a peaceful election. Peace reporting is basically good journalism. Balance, fairness and factual accuracy are essential if one wants to reach all parties involved in a conflict rather than merely add to the tensions by providing only one perspective on the issue at stake.

In view of their proven usefulness, the peace clubs were not dissolved after the

election. They now help to mediate and resolve land conflicts for example.

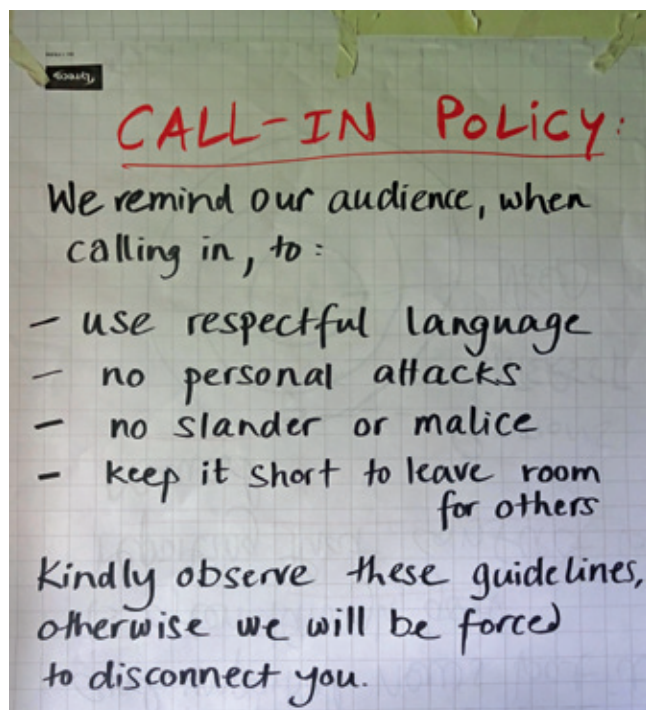
Social media have been becoming more influential all over the world. In terms of peace journalism, platforms like Facebook and Twitter are playing positive as well as negative roles in Uganda and neighbouring countries. Unverified, aggressive posts can prove quite harmful, even though many people do not have access to the internet. Peace Direct, a civil-society organisation, argues that social media has been "instrumental in fuelling violence leading to suffering" in South Sudan. Peace journalists in Uganda offer counter-narrative reports and present facts.

Social media can be used in peace-promoting ways too. Organisations like the Christian Children's Fund (CCF), which

supports mothers and war victims, has moved to use social media as a tool in sharing life stories of young mothers in northern Uganda. According to Sam Lawino, a media trainer with CCF, "when the girls and war victims share their story on the website, they feel connected, thus addressing issues of stigma and trauma. This visibility also helps our staff to learn how to evaluate the impact of skill work they are giving to these young mothers," Lawino points out.

Today, a number of Ugandan media houses are partnering with community-based NGOs like women's groups, peace advocates and cultural institutions. They want to promote non-violent methods of conflict resolution, regarding a broad range of issues from gender relations to land disputes.

Hate speech unchecked



Guideline for callers of community radio in Kisumu, Kenya.

An incident in early January showed that hate speech is likely to surge in Kenya because of elections that are due in August. A short audio clip went viral in social media platforms and eventually made national news. Apparently, a prominent politician was stoking resentment. Kenyan media reported a “national outrage” and condemned the remarks.

By Isaac Sagala

In the recording, a voice is heard calling for the mobilisation of youth, with violence if necessary, to stop a certain community from registering as voters in the politician’s constituency. The voice is similar to the one of Aden Duale, the leader of the majority in Kenya’s parliament.

In mid-February, the authenticity of the recording had not been verified, and Duale denied responsibility for the inflammatory remarks. According to him, the audio was fabricated by “political enemies”.

In Kenya, hate speech remains largely unchecked during election campaigns. It is

well understood, however, that it often precedes violence. Aggressive rhetoric is common at public rallies and political meetings, and sometimes it is contained in song lyrics.

According to observers like Willy Mutunga, Kenya’s former chief justice, the country is at a dangerous precipice. Mutunga has warned of “drumbeats of possible violence in the next elections,” referring to “signs of politicians inciting people along ethnic lines”.

In a similar vein, civil-society activists have noticed simmering undercurrents of provocation and incitement. They argue that the current political atmosphere is similar to what preceded the post-election violence in 2007/08, when up to 1,300 people were killed and more than 600,000 displaced (see comment on p. 11).

Hate speech is expected to increase as the hunt for votes intensifies. Political rivals openly refer to each other as “enemies”. They attack each other openly, stoking emotions and animosity among their supporters. Some politicians from the two main political camps – the ruling Jubilee Party led by President Uhuru Kenyatta and the CORD coalition led

by opposition leader Raila Odinga – are outspoken and engage in hate speech openly.

Moses Kuria, who belongs to Jubilee, has called for the assassination of Odinga, for instance. On the other hand, Millie Odhiambo of CORD caused a stir when he insulted Kenyatta. “Who does he think he is, he does not even compare to me, leave alone Raila Odinga, tell him he can take me to court,” Odhiambo said, “he is extremely stupid and my conscience tells me so.”

Impunity is the norm. Legislation has not effectively stemmed hate speech. Only one case has been successfully prosecuted. A university student was sentenced to two years in prison for insulting the president on the social media site Facebook, but he was soon released.

The government has cautioned politicians, their supporters and media owners against misusing digital platforms to stoke ethnic tensions in the upcoming elections. However, its action to de-escalate the situation remains half-hearted.

In a highly sensational first episode of its kind, eight politicians from both CORD and the Jubilee Party were arrested in mid-June 2016. They were accused of alleged hate speech and incitement to violence. The lawmakers spent a night behind bars. Upon release they made a short-lived pledge to “travel the country on a peace caravan to preach peace and conciliation”. That commitment never materialised, however.

ANTI-SOCIAL USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA

Facebook and Twitter are proving to be fertile ground for hate speech expressing tribal stereotyping and contempt. Kenya’s Communication Authority estimates that 85 % of the citizens have internet access and mostly use social media. On Twitter, Kenya is the fourth most active African country, according to the PR company Portland Communications.

Ordinary Kenyans launch vitriolic attacks relating to the issues of the day and reflecting political loyalties. They deride each other with ethno-insults, some of which are extreme. Arrests and prosecutions are rare, and perpetrators seem to know that legislation is weak. They take full advantage of loopholes.

Kenya’s police accuse the courts of not punishing those who are responsible for hate speech. Stringent sentencing could in-



deed serve as a deterrent. The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), moreover, seems to be incompetent and overburdened. Its duties include dealing with hate speech, but its budget is tight.

Kenyan media houses must bear some of the blame for perpetrating hate speech. Especially in an election year, their appetite for sensational political stories on prime time news is not helpful. Vernacular radio stations, moreover, are known to broadcast coded messages against other communities.

Social media sites also use vernacular languages for doing so.

The NCIC has recently launched investigations of a local vernacular FM station associated with President Kenyatta. A voter registration advertisement had stirred controversy. In the 90-seconds recording, the presenter urges the Kikuyu community to come out in large numbers to defend their “throne”. Kenyatta belongs to the Kikuyu community, and he is the forth president to do so.

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE

Victor Bwire of the Media Council of Kenya, a self-regulatory statutory body, says matters should improve: “The indiscipline of vernacular radio and TV stations must be dealt with without fear or favour.” In his eyes, the relevance of political contributors must be vetted in regard to whatever topic is being discussed, but ethnic identity as such should not be considered important.

Experts agree that it will take sustained efforts to deal with hate speech. Law-enforce-

ment agencies, civil-society organisations, religious establishments and traditional leaders all have a role to play. Success will depend on coherent action and cooperation.

Shitemi Khamadi, a prominent blogger, has made some suggestions. He does not want the media to rebroadcast statements when politicians have used hate speech. The reason is that such rebroadcasts are divisive. Moreover, the media should insist on politicians clarifying dubious statements. Finally, Khamadi wants the media to deny airtime to political leaders known for fanning ethnic tensions and using hate speech.

The Communication Authority of Kenya says it is investing \$ 19 million to acquire equipment to monitor online and offline communications during the election campaign. It is to be hoped that it will use the equipment well. The country’s peace may depend on it.



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Empower, support and provide resources

Medica Afghanistan is one of a few non-governmental organisations for women who have experienced sexualised violence, and the NGO also fights discrimination against women. Humaira Rasuli, the director, and Saifora Paktiss, her deputy, explain how they work, what they have achieved so far and where they see future challenges.

Humaira Rasuli and Saifora Paktiss interviewed by Sabine Balk

How does the situation in Afghanistan look like today, especially for women, 15 years after the Taliban were overthrown?

Humaira Rasuli: The change is obvious, and progress is measurable. The participation of women in the public domain is prominent – may it be in the education and health sector, in sports, in social media as well as in decisionmaking. Women were appointed as ministers, governors, ambassadors and members of the High Peace Council. Some were elected for parliament. Others serve as doctors, teachers, lawyers, judges, journalists or human-rights activists. Nevertheless, we witness rising violence against women. As an example, I would like to highlight the case of Farkhunda, a girl that was falsely accused of having burnt a Quran and brutally killed on the spot in Kabul in 2015. Not all perpetrators of that heinous incident were sentenced. Some sentences were changed after their appeal. The public is still waiting for a re-evaluation of the verdicts by the Supreme Court.

Saifora Paktiss: There are further incidents: women working in the security sector are harassed, female students are attacked with acid and poisoned on their way to school, female journalists and lawyers are targeted and killed. The maternal mortality rate is increasing again and pushed Afghanistan back to the second last place in the world ranking just ahead of Sierra Leone. Laws related to women's rights are challenged in parliament, gender budgeting is not mainstreamed by the government, the Ministry of Women

Affairs is not supported, and challenges in the recruitment of women for higher ranks in the civil service grow day by day.

What are the main problems women face in Afghanistan?

Rasuli: The main problems for Afghan women are lack of security, insufficient involvement in the reconciliation process, lack of access to an unbiased justice system and legal representation while the traditional justice system prevails. Women have inadequate access to basic health services and schooling. They are systematically discrimi-

dles. But there are other actors in the public arena that obstruct processes.

Why is the law for the elimination of violence against women not really implemented?

Rasuli: Non-implementation of the EVAW Law (elimination of violence against women) is evidence for the lack of political will to mainstream women's rights in the policy and procedures of the government. Other reasons for the poor implementation of the law are systemic barriers to women's access to justice, a lack of understanding of the types and extent of violence, a weak judiciary system, corruption, nepotism and a lack of public understanding of the law and its purpose, thus its misinterpretation.

How does the work of Medica Afghanistan look like?

Paktiss: We focus on direct services for survivors of sexualised gender based violence

Rally against sexualised gender based violence and for women's rights in Kabul in 2013.



nated against and are experiencing various forms of violence: physical, economic, psychological and sexual. We observe the lack of political will to accept women as one half of society and the lack of will to involve them in the revival of Afghanistan as a progressive country. The Afghan president, the First Lady and some cabinet members are fully supportive and work on removing the hur-

(SGBV) in Kabul, Herat and Mazar-e-Sharif. Our legal assistance serves to empower, support and provide resources for women to claim their rights through the formal justice system. We try to address barriers to women's access to justice by direct advocacy with government authorities. Through our stress- and trauma-sensitive psychosocial support, we help women to rediscover their strength,

abilities and resources. During counselling, they learn to use their own protection and coping mechanisms to improve their well-being. We offer psychosocial services to clients individually in five government-supported hospitals and in groups in women prisons, in the Women's Garden in Kabul and in shelters supported by women-run non-governmental organisations. In addition to direct services, we offer training for national and international NGOs on the ramifications of violence against women, trauma and consequences, mediation and self-care. We address mullahs, police officers or judges in order to raise their awareness on women's rights and persuade them to change their attitude and behaviour. We provide training on our stress- and trauma-sensitive approach for staff in hospitals and for other service providers, such as women protection centres on SGBV. It is our goal to explain Afghan women their rights and to change their lives. These are situations where all other key players remain silent.

Can you give tangible examples of your work?

Rasuli: I would like to present two examples of our interventions. N. (an alias) was the third wife of her husband. She faced several kinds of violence by her husband and his first wife and even lost her unborn child due to an act of violence. After three years of marriage her husband left her, and her in-laws consequently kept her locked up. A former client of Medica Afghanistan drew our attention to her case, and we took it up. Her husband was eventually sentenced to three months imprisonment and agreed to a divorce.

As to the second example: L. (an alias) was forced to marry a man with obvious mental problems when she was 12 years old because her brother wanted to marry that man's sister. She spent 18 years with her husband and suffered from violence by him and her in-laws. The only reason she didn't ask for a divorce was her son. In June 2016, when she again faced a serious act of physical violence, she went to the provincial directorate of the Ministry of Women Affairs. They referred her to the mediation centre of Medica Afghanistan. As she was in a bad psychological condition, we referred her to our psycho-social health programme counsellor, and one of our lawyers informed her

about her rights. She decided to separate from her husband through mediation. When this failed, she addressed the family court. With the help of a lawyer, the court decision was in favour of her, and she was divorced. A social worker of Medica Afghanistan referred her to a literacy course.

What are your main goals?

Paktiss: Our main goal is to raise awareness and build capacities for women's rights in the fields of health, education and law. To that end, it is also about sensitising men to the key issues of SGBV and including them in finding solutions. For example, Medica Afghanistan offers advanced professional trainings to male and female lawyers, attorneys, doctors, social workers, religious leaders and police personnel on the impact of violence against women. We also address the traumatic impacts of all forms of violence against women upon survivors, families, institutions and society. By lobbying for change in structures and policies in order to create better quality of life for women and girls we also promote a more equitable and peaceful Afghanistan. We encourage exchange and cooperation between women from different countries, cultures, social backgrounds and conflicting parties and thus contribute to a process of reconciliation and peace.

What has Medica Afghanistan already achieved?

Rasuli: On the "advocacy front", Medica Afghanistan was the leading organisation that fought successfully against child marriage and demanded the mandatory registration of marriages at the courts. We were in the forefront for the ratification of the family law and in campaigns for the protection and implementation of the EAW law. Other achievements of our work are group campaigns for the establishment of EAW courts and EAW prosecution units. We are one amongst a limited number of NGOs that regularly record the analysis of cases that are followed by their lawyers, cases of women that have been indicted based on EAW law implementation. Providing relief to the sorrows and healing traumatic sufferings of the survivors of SGBV are certainly further striking successes.

What are your main future challenges?

Paktiss: Our main challenges will be safety and security. We cannot expand our services



to rural areas where women are suffering even more from domestic violence than in the cities. Due to the security situation we cannot easily invite international consultants to improve the quality of our work. As an NGO, our sustainability depends on the continuous flow of funding for our projects. We fear that international donors might lose interest in funding Afghanistan due to frustration with the situation and the unknown future of the country. The delivery of direct services as well as our advocacy work for women's rights face daily hurdles. Our commitment, however, is strong and will last.

Is your work dangerous for you?

Rasuli: We are credited with prominence within our society for our work, and this prominence brings both prosperity and threats in a conflicting environment like Afghanistan. Our work represents pure service to women, with the ultimate goal to bring hope, peace and serenity to our society. Unfortunately, we continuously receive threats from those who are opposed to our ideas and work, and who fear that they are going to lose control and power.



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The fight against sexualised violence

In April 2002, the German women's rights organisation *medica mondiale* began a new project in Afghanistan: *Medica Afghanistan*. It is the only organisation in the country that offers psychosocial and trauma-sensitive counselling to women who have survived violence. At the end of 2010, *Medica Afghanistan* became an independent NGO.

From 2012 to 2015, *Medica Afghanistan* supported 1,357 victims of violence in the cities of Kabul, Mazar-e-Sharif and Herat. They all survived sexualised violence and availed of the non-governmental organisation's psychosocial services. In 2016, the organisation implemented an evaluation of three projects from the years 2012 to 2015. External specialists conducted the evaluation using quantitative as well as qualitative methods. They included 296 representative surveys and 14 in-depth interviews with clients of *Medica Afghanistan*. They also engaged

in conversations with relatives. Furthermore, the experts assessed workshops with the *Medica Afghanistan* employees as well as feedback from governmental and civil-society actors. The goal of the evaluation was to understand the physical and emotional wellbeing of *Medica Afghanistan*'s clients and their satisfaction with the NGO's psychosocial programmes.

The main findings are as follows: 83% of clients believe that they can influence or change something, and 78% of women consider themselves self-confident. They know their rights, moreover, and are aware of what institutions they can turn to if they need help. However, almost all of the surveyed women exhibited signs of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

At first glance, this result may seem paradoxical. However, it confirms a study from 2014. In it, *medica mondiale* and *Medica Zenica* examined the long-term

consequences of sexualised war violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. One result was that the symptoms of PTSD persist if the persons concerned perceive the societal conditions as unsafe, stigmatising and unsupportive.

Many of the surveyed women consider the services of *Medica Afghanistan* a turning point in their lives. "I am better now. The more often we go to *Medica Afghanistan*, the less pain we have. (...) The psychologists are good, and they understand us," one woman said. The report especially praises the self-help groups. It found that they anchor support in the communities in a lasting way. The groups provide the women with a special sanctuary, in which they can exchange ideas and strengthen one another, according to the report. The reason is that social ties counteract the impact of traumatic experiences.

The evaluation also showed that *Medica Afghanistan* enjoys a high level of respect among both civil-society organisations and governmental agencies. Furthermore, the evaluators pointed out that the work is done in a most challenging

context. The security situation is fragile, many people live in great poverty, and women's rights are violated. Women depend on male family members in social and economic terms. Disentangling themselves from violent relationships is thus a huge challenge.

The *Medica Afghanistan* employees describe their working conditions as difficult and potentially burdensome. Nevertheless, only a small number indicated in the evaluation that they were exhausted, and 90% of them considered their work to be fulfilling and were very happy with it. The authors of the evaluation consider this to be due to the team's culture of care and the availability of further training.

Despite the overall positive assessment, the evaluation does reveal some weaknesses. It recommends that more should be done to ensure that counselling sessions remain confidential. On the other hand, there should be more feedback opportunities for clients.

The evaluators' conclusion is that the work of *Medica Afghanistan* contributes decisively to stabilising Afghan society and making it more peaceful. The recommendation is that the women's-rights organisation should expand its activities to other cities and regions.

Mechthild Buchholz,
medica mondiale



Two doctors and a psychosocial counsellor discussing in Rabina Balkhi hospital in Kabul.

LINKS

Summary of the evaluation report on *Medica Afghanistan*:

<http://bit.ly/2iSEcnI>

"We are still alive" – Research on the long-term consequences of war rape and coping strategies of survivors in Bosnia and Herzegovina:

<http://bit.ly/2jwHP4y>

Carnival for peace

An annual event shows what the Iraqi people want most of all: peace. Young people in Baghdad organise a major street carnival to set positive images against the daily news of violence and war. The event has also given rise to regular participation in civil society.

By Eva-Maria Verfürth

Iraq is a divided country haunted by violence. A political solution seems a long way off. On UN World Peace Day, 21 September, Baghdad hosts the City of Peace Carnival – a major event. According to its organisers, it attracted around 15,000 in 2015 and 23,000 people last year. In 2016, 500 volunteers contributed to make it happen.

The spectators span all generations and ethnic groups. Broadcasted live on TV and radio, the event features music and dance performances, play areas for children, art and craft stalls and discussion groups. Everything is put together by hundreds of young organisers in months of hard work. Qayssar Alwardii is one of them. He says: “The Peace Carnival is a symbol of hope, especially for young people.”

The idea for the carnival was born a few years ago when a group of young activists googled images of their city. Every picture that came up was of war or destruction. Determined to create new images of their city, the activists founded the Baghdad City of Peace Carnival.

The event was launched on a small stage in Al-Zora Park in 2011. Young bands played traditional Iraqi music, and young artisans sold arts and crafts at small stalls. The three-hour event was organised by 30 volunteers and attended by around 300 visitors.

“Many people say it’s crazy to celebrate peace in the current situation. They ask: ‘What peace?’” But Alwardii and his fellow campaigners will not be discouraged. They see peace as more than the absence of armed violence. Peace, to them, is a life marked by fundamental rights, including the freedom of expression and movement, and with peaceful interaction in society. The carnival is supposed to promote this notion: “Our dream is to make the city of Baghdad a better place and help to create a better society for future generations.”

The event itself is not the only thing that matters. The young people are aware of the months of preparation uniting them for a common goal. They want to build a better society and promote a more peaceful way of life. Their engagement starts on a small scale – getting volunteers to cooperate – and ranges up to active participation in social affairs.

“The volunteer meetings strengthen social cohesion, which is very important for our society,” Alwardii explains. “There is a lot of resentment between people of different cultural, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds in Iraq. We teach young people to respect one another.”

In the youngsters’ lives there are only few settings in which girls and boys come together on equal terms. The volunteer meetings are one such setting. The media team – which was led by Alwardii last year, was made up of an equal number of girls and boys. The volunteers need to work hard to secure parents’ permission. “Parents often come along to the first meetings because they are worried,” Alwardii reports. “We talk to them on those occasions.

Ten thousands of people come together at the Baghdad City of Peace Carnival to celebrate peace.



Photo: Alwardii

Fortunately we manage to persuade most of them to let their children get involved.”

The organisers, moreover, want to establish a new culture of responsibility. “In Iraq, people like to stay in the same job – whether they are in business or politics,” Alwardii says. At the peace carnival, things are different, and participants must assume new responsibilities. A new organising team is put together each year, and anyone who worked in the coordinating team the year before can only take part in an advisory capacity. “The idea is to show young people the benefits of reassigning roles. After a few years, you have a whole new generation of carnival organisers.”

The carnival has also given rise to a number of youth groups, which are active throughout the year. They include small associations, bands and breakdance collectives but also social action groups. For example, one group was formed by medical students who demand improvements of public health care.

The carnival volunteers have gained a strong voice in civil society. They use their event to raise awareness of society issues. The Baghdad carnival has a different motto each year. In 2014, when growing numbers of refugees fled ISIS and came to the city from the civil-war zones and neighbouring provinces, the motto was: “Peace begins with rights for the internally displaced people (IDPs).” Alwardii recalls: “We wanted to help displaced people because they receive no care and attention.” During the carnival preparations, the or-

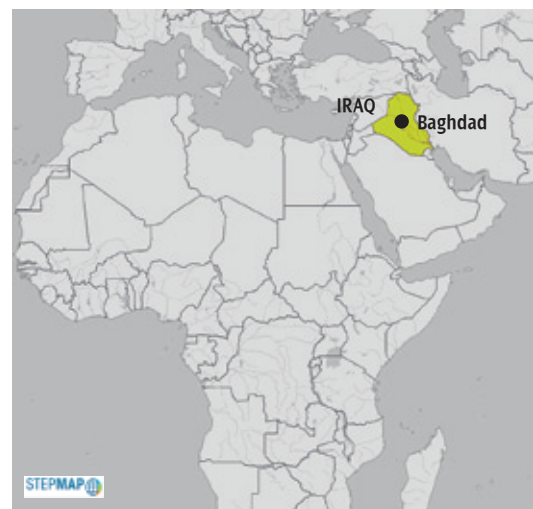
ganisers looked for sponsors and raised money for IDPs.

In 2015, they continued in the same vein, promoting peaceful coexistence with the slogan “Peace begins with our diversity.” The point was to convince people that diversity is the solution, not the problem. “We have lived in a mixed society for decades,” says Alwardii, “the real problem is how to accommodate so many more people in one single city.”

In 2016, the motto was: “Youths are future leaders.” The point was to emphasise the view of young people in regard to creating opportunities and fostering development. Alwardii says that the young generation must have an “unstoppable, unique power”.

Today, the City of Peace Carnival can even rely on government backing. In 2014, the youngsters received an official offer of support from the ministry for youth and sport. Iraq, it seems, has moved on since the days when politicians took a sceptical view of any kind of youth movement. Alwardii reports: “They were afraid because youth protests triggered the Arab spring in countries like Egypt and Tunisia. But we showed them that we do not want to protest – we simply take matters into our own hands.”

For a number of years, the City of Peace Carnival has only been funded by small non-governmental organisations. The event now has private sponsors, including a major telecommunications company and famous restaurants, but it still is organised exclusively by volunteers. For



many of them, the commitment has paid career dividends. The band Project 904 performed at the first carnival and now has a regular slot on daily social media news. It is known nationwide. Other volunteers have found jobs with international organisations or major telecommunications companies. Their experience impressed recruiters.

“Being a City of Peace Carnival volunteer has become a recommendation for employers,” Alwardii reports. He himself works as a professional for the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), a UN agency. At the age of 25 years, he is by far the youngest member of his team. “My colleagues appreciate my experience.” He also volunteers for the UN Development Programme. “To work for the UN, you need a good CV and good contacts. I acquired all that over the last four years at the City of Peace Carnival.”

The organisers of the Baghdad City of Peace Carnival wish to network with peace activists in other countries and they welcome support. Anyone interested is invited to contact Qayssar Alwardii: alwardiicaesar@gmail.com.

LINK

Baghdad City of Peace Carnival:
<https://iqpeace.com/>



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The Baghdad City
of Peace Carnival
is organised by
volunteers only.

Resolving conflicts over land and water

The Middle East and North Africa, or MENA, is arguably the world's most turbulent region. With the civil war raging in Syria and instability in Iraq, Libya and other North African countries, prospects for peace appear grim. Establishing peace parks could be a first step towards improving matters. Such an initiative was proposed for the Golan Heights as early as 2002.

By Lisdey Espinoza Pedraza and Markus Heinrich

Peace parks are transboundary initiatives to protect nature. The precise definition is still being debated, but it is generally accepted that the approach serves peace, cooperation and natural resource management.

One goal is to contribute to resolving conflicts between countries concerning access to territory and water. Sustainable, long-term solutions are obviously needed. Moreover, peace parks offer opportunities for other joint ventures, including business projects.

The Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park is the world's first peace park.

It was established in 1932 and is located in the Canadian province of Alberta and the US state of Montana.

According to Adrian Martin et al. (2011), peace parks bring about several benefits:

- environmental protection as the investment in environmentally sustainable ventures will help to prevent the degradation and depletion of natural resources,
- economic benefits as institutionalised transboundary cooperation will support economic growth,
- peaceful development as political tensions will be defused, promoting regional security and reconciliation between conflicting parties, and
- empowerment of civil society as a sense of civic responsibility towards the environment will be fostered and spaces for more interaction between all strata of society will be created.

In the MENA region, a peace park was first proposed for the Golan Heights in 2002. Since Israel was created in 1948, its relationship with Syria has been char-

acterised by hostility. The proposed peace park could serve as an incentive for peaceful cooperation. The idea was to create it on the Sea of Galilee and give Syria formal sovereignty over the Golan Heights and the north-eastern coastline. Israel would thus get water and regulated access to land, while Syria would get land and regulated access to water.

Muna Dajani (2011) identified some problems however. Israeli opposition to Syrian presence in the Golan Heights and sharing of water resources must be expected to continue. As long as Israeli water policies emphasise the dogma of water security, a peace park will not be viable. In 2008, two thirds of Israelis opposed plans to return the Golan to Syria, and that attitude will hardly change in view of Syria's brutal civil war.

For the time being, Syria plainly does not have a government that might promote peace. In the long term, however, the peace park in the Golan Heights may become viable. In the meantime, it would make sense to consider how peace parks might contribute to national reconciliation in post-conflict situations. The point, after all, is to engage parties to a conflict in the joint pursuit of the common good – and that is much needed all over the Arab region.

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Israeli tanks during a training exercise on the Golan Heights near the Syrian border.



No justice without remembering

Cambodia's Khmer Rouge regime collapsed in January 1979. It left deep marks, having claimed an estimated 1.7 million lives. Thirty-eight years later, people are still seeking justice. To learn from history and cope with the trauma, Cambodians need documentation, memorialisation and reparation.

By Sun Narin

Cambodians continue to suffer the impacts of their country's violent and traumatic history. Under dictator Pol Pot, who ruled the country from 1975 to 1979, most people became victims in one way or another. Many were executed; others starved. Forced labour and forced marriages were common. Masses of people were separated from their families.

In 1997, after years of inaction, the Cambodian government asked the UN to assist its efforts to put senior Khmer Rouge leaders on trial. Many hurdles had to be taken, and the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) were only established in 2006. Cases are still being heard.

The Khmer Rouge Tribunal – as it is commonly known – offers survivors the opportunity to seek truth and justice by holding perpetrators accountable for their crimes. The goal is to ensure remembrance and prevent the recurrence of a genocidal regime. “The tribunal facilitates reconciliation and at the same time provides an opportunity for Cambodians to come to terms with their history,” says Neth Pheaktra, a spokesman



Skulls at the killing field Choeung Ek near Phnom Penh, which is now a memorial.

for the UN-backed court. He also points out that the special court serves capacity building and institutional reform in the sense of promoting national reconciliation and reaffirming the rule of law.

In November last year, the court upheld life sentences for two former top Khmer Rouge leaders. Ninety-year old Nuon Chea and 85-year old Khieu Samphan were found guilty of crimes against humanity. In another trial, both are accused of genocide of ethnic Vietnamese and Muslim minorities, forced marriage and rape.

So far, only one other Khmer Rouge leader has been sentenced. Kaing Guek Eav, alias Duch, was the chief of the notorious S21 prison in the capital Phnom Penh and oversaw 14,000 prisoners' death. He too was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Some key leaders have died and thus escaped justice. “Brother Number One” Pol Pot died in 1998. Ieng Sary, the former minister of foreign affairs and his wife Ieng Thirith, the former minister of social affairs, died in 2013 and 2015 respectively.

“IMPORTANT MECHANISM”

Yun Bin, who is 62 years old, only narrowly escaped death under the Khmer Rouge. He

was taken to a killing site, beaten with an axe until he was unconscious and then dumped into a well. Nonetheless, Yun survived. “In the well, I saw many dead people all around me. Their bodies were swollen and with worms,” he recalls the past.

The Khmer Rouge soldiers threw a grenade into the well, he says, to silence the people who were not dead and screaming for help. The grenade did not injure Yun, and he managed to escape by piling dead bodies on top of each other. “I asked the souls of the dead in the cave to help me get out and promised to seek justice for them,” says Yun. Now, he is involved in the court cases as a civil party with similar rights as the prosecutors.

Some ask whether the conviction of a handful of leaders is sufficient in the eyes of the victims. Chhang Youk, director of the Documentation Center of Cambodia, admits that the tribunal does not provide a comprehensive solution, but he considers it an “important mechanism” which reminds people of the need to respect human rights. “Cambodia is still haunted by the Khmer Rouge disaster. We are the children of both perpetrators and victims,” he says. Chhang has spent 30 years collecting and archiving documents pertaining to the murderous regime.



The Documentation Center is run by an international non-governmental organisation (NGO). Its mission is to raise awareness and disseminate information about the Khmer Rouge. The Center is also the place to look for information concerning lost family members. According to Chhang, it has collected around 1 million names. “We are reaching out to people in the provinces who are still looking for lost family members and find it hard to travel to the city,” he says.

TRAUMA AND HEALING

Bin has been diagnosed with trauma due to his past sufferings. “I still remember everything, and it seems to appear in front of me all the time. I cannot forget it, and it makes me sick,” he says. “I take medicines every-day.” Yun gets help from the Transcultural Psychosocial Organization (TPO), a local NGO, which is supported by GIZ’s civil peace service (see article on p. 23).

TPO has been working closely with the Khmer Rouge Tribunal since 2007. It supports witnesses and civil plaintiffs who are affected by trauma. TPO sees trauma recovery and reconciliation as long-term processes that require more than just retributive justice.

Bun Lemhuor, the NGO’s clinical psychologist, explains how TPO helps witnesses deliver testimony: “We provide help to relieve their psychological pressure. We also accompany witnesses to court if they have strong emotions when giving testimony.”

There are self-help groups for people affected by trauma. “We let them share their suffering and use some methods to relieve their trauma,” Bun says, adding that religion can also help to find peace. “They pray to Buddha for the dead, asking not to take revenge.” According to Bun, the tribunal recognises TPO groups as one way of rehabilitating and compensating victims.

COLLECTIVE COMPENSATION

The court has a Victims Support Section (VSS). It facilitates Khmer Rouge victims’ meaningful participation in the legal proceedings. According to Hang Vannak, who heads the VSS, some 4,000 civil parties and 4,000 complainants are involved in Case 002 which concerns Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan. “We inform them in forums, workshops and training,” Hang says.

The witness Beit Boeurn testifies before the Trial Chamber of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal in Case 002/02 against Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan.



The VSS also coordinates reparation seeking through legal and non-judicial measures. “We also work with them to design and implement projects of reparations and non-judicial measures that benefit them and the young generation.” The VSS only provides moral, collective reparations, not individual ones. It works with both government agencies and civil-society organisations to establish memories, compiling stories of survivors and building memorials.

“What the tribunal is doing is regarded as a healing process rather than an ultimate solution,” Hang says. “The court alone cannot make transitional justice perfect.” In his eyes, healing must be holistic and has many aspects, including psychology, education and health.

Initially, the Khmer Rouge Tribunal was meant to last only a few years. Currently, Case 002 is still ongoing, and so are Case 003 and 004 in which four other Khmer Rouge leaders are accused. Nobody

knows how long the proceedings will take. It depends on how much time investigators need to collect evidence, how many more people are put on trial, how many witnesses are called and how many appeals are made. Cambodia’s government has announced it will establish a Legal Documentation Center as a “repository”, where soft and hard copies of the court documents will be kept.

Chhang hopes that once the Tribunal concludes its work, the King as representative of the Cambodian people will cremate the bones of the Khmer Rouge victims. It would be a major national ceremony. “And there should be a day for national commemoration. That would be a big symbol after the court finishes its work,” he says.



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Crucial knowledge

In most cases, why conflicts erupt and how they develop are very complex matters. The issues are emotionally charged and clouded in divergent narratives. If third parties want to contribute to a peace process they need to interpret those narratives prudently.

By Karoline Caesar

The year 2015 produced an unprecedented number of violent conflicts, as is evident in the international conflict databases that publish annual statistics on armed conflicts. The data is compiled in indices that give insights into the duration of conflicts, underlying issues, fatalities, military spending and diseases. Because of the methods used, the indices enjoy high credibility.

One of the oldest databases belongs to the Swedish Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP). The UCDP attributes the increased number of conflicts, in part, to the involvement of non-state actors. It registered more internal conflicts than in the past. The yearbook of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) publishes UCDP findings and other data. According to SIPRI, some variable compound problems. One is external interference in internal conflicts through military or logistical involvement.

The Global Peace Index emphasises the high costs of war. It is published by the Institute for Economics and Peace, which is based in Australia and the USA. The index shows that violence cost \$14.6 trillion worldwide in 2015. That was eleven times more

than the total amount of global direct foreign investments. Only two percent of conflict-related spending served peacebuilding and peacekeeping missions in 2015.

UNDERSTANDING THE PEOPLE

Qualitative data is key to interpreting and classifying quantitative data in sensitive and complex conflicts. Far many reasons, purely statistical estimates – of the number of victims of sexualised violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo, for example – can be very hard to establish. One reason is that interviewing victims of violence is difficult, not least because of the risk of retraumatising them.

Qualitative studies, moreover, can help to explain issues and help to assess

International aid workers – as pictured here in Rwanda – should have a thorough knowledge and understanding of the country and its people.



what impact proposed solutions will have. The interesting question is how civilian peacebuilding personnel staff use such data.

It matters what kind of knowledge they bring along on missions in crisis countries. In an ethnographic study, Séverine Autesserre of Columbia University has advanced the theory that, in conflict countries all over the world, a war is being waged between locals and foreigners over knowledge “jurisdiction”. Her book is based on five different databases plus more than 600 interviews. According to Autesserre, the disparity of how reality is read in conflict countries results from the members of international missions relying on distorted information and misconceptions. She doubts that western peacebuilding projects are effective and does not believe that the local community regards them as relevant and credible.

The author describes an imaginary place called “Peaceland” and the daily life of peacebuilders there. Peaceland could be the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Bosnia or Burundi – anywhere where civilian and military personnel’s task is to contribute to a peace process. Autesserre considers daily rituals, standards, norms and behaviour, noting how staff create a bubble of self-referential knowledge, thus engendering resistance within the local community. She reports how local experts with “local knowledge” compete with international experts who have “technical knowledge”. The local experts know places and people and have a deep understanding of history as well as political, social and cultural dynamics. The external peace workers, on the other hand, have a detailed professional knowledge of things like conflict management, humanitarian aid or project management.

According to Autesserre, local communities are prone to rejecting international interventions if foreign experts outrank local experts and are better paid. Foreign organisations are accountable to donors, but do not report sufficiently to local communities. In many crisis regions, foreigners are perceived as arrogant outsiders trying to impose their ideas on locals. These perceptions are not so much shaped by what is communicated, however, but by the way it is communicated.

Autesserre, moreover, claims that many foreign peace workers are unaware of their actions’ symbolic significance. In

places haunted by violence, such lack of awareness causes deep frustration. Rotating foreign experts from country to country compounds problems because the experts concerned become even more alienated from the target groups.

Autesserre points out that it is hard for experts to get a clear picture of the overall situation. Different cultural backgrounds and ideologies may result in totally contradictory reports. Because international experts rarely leave the capital of a crisis country, they have little understanding of how data is and should be collected in the field. They are mostly unaware of the likelihood that their own assessments may be based on flawed information.

MISTRUSTED OUTSIDERS

Autesserre writes that local grass-roots activists told her about changing their stories, supplying false information or concealing critical data because they mistrusted outsiders or wanted to protect themselves or their family. This is particularly common in conflict countries, where intimidation and use of force are among the “problem-solving strategies” in widespread use (also note “Take agencies by their word” in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2016/12, Page 31). Autesserre came across numerous reports stating that data were modified to keep foreign supervisors happy moreover.

International workers are often ignorant of cultural codes because they lack local expertise. Rwandans, for instance, distinguish public from private. Burundians consider it impolite to contradict someone, whereas Europeans and North Americans assume they will be told if they make a wrong assumption.

Many international workers live apart from the target communities and thus have little or no personal experience of life on the ground. Peacebuilding organisations, moreover, tend to underestimate the complexity of conflicts because they all consult the same people for advice. Foreign aid workers are generally unaware of making mistakes because they all use the same data sources and references. The author claims that the international intervention network in crisis areas thus creates self-referencing bubbles. Narratives are subconsciously selected on the basis of personal affinities and sympathies.

Autesserre argues that the small minority of international aid workers who maintained close and productive relations with local people worked more effectively in intervention areas. Relationship building, communication, friendship, mutual learning and trust facilitate the success of international interventions. People from conflict countries all over the world regularly reported that they were able to build real relationships with those foreigners who spent time in the field and made an effort to get acquainted. The important thing was credible, intrinsic motivation.

Autesserre advises foreign aid workers to spend years in one and the same country, learn the local language, become familiar with the customs and make friends with people in different social groups. Peacebuilding organisations should review their policies accordingly and revise recruitment procedures, project design and training programmes. Doing so would serve to leverage staff’s thematic competence. Prudent assessment of qualitative information would enhance the efficacy of peacebuilding.

LINKS

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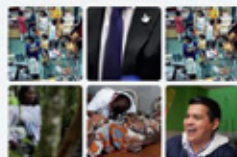
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