SUMMARY

A BOTTOM-UP PEACE PROCESS IN THE GREAT LAKES

Recurrent conflict in Rwanda, Burundi and North and South Kivu provinces of DR Congo, collectively known as the Great Lakes region, will not be solved by top-down policies. Peace can be effectively attained only by engaging communities in understanding the root causes of the conflict and defining ways to address it. The Peace Beyond Borders programme is working with communities to define why the conflict keeps recurring – issues of competition over land and weak governance are central – and to draft and implement a bottom-up “Regional Roadmap to Peace”.

The following case description covers the period 1 January 2014 – 31 December 2014. The whole project period is 1 July 2012 – 30 June 2016.

CASE DESCRIPTION

AIM OF THE PROJECT

The ‘Peace Beyond Borders’ programme aims to implement a “Regional Roadmap to Peace” across four provinces in Burundi, two provinces in DRC, and three provinces in Rwanda. Based on comprehensive research, it will address the causes and consequences of conflict related to land and governance, seeking the commitment of and building trust among communities, governments and other local, national, and regional stakeholders.

The project aims to reach over 1 million people – about 28% of the total population in the target area – by 2016. These people will benefit through having increased understanding of the causes and consequences of conflict, support for their urgent livelihood needs, and the confidence and skills to participate in the peace process at local, national, and regional level initiated by this programme.

To attain this overall objective, the programme works towards achieving five outcomes:

Outcome 1: After participatory action research on the cross-regional dynamics of issues around land and governance, at least half of the targeted government, civil society, and community representatives understand the causes and consequences of these issues, and have the commitment and skills to mobilise support for a peace process.

Outcome 2: The urgent livelihood needs of vulnerable, conflict-affected women, youth, and former combatants in Burundi, DRC, and Rwanda are addressed.

Outcome 3: A conducive environment and sustainable mechanisms for inclusive dialogue and conflict transformation are established at local, national, and regional level.

Outcome 4: A Regional Roadmap to Peace is implemented, with the commitment of communities and other stakeholder representatives.

Outcome 5: At least half of the targeted women and youth representatives have the confidence and skills to participate in the programme’s peace process and are recognised as valuable contributors by other stakeholder representatives.
The contexts and problems of countries in the Great Lakes region differ in many respects. However, they also share common and inter-linked problems: poverty, armed conflict, and weak or undemocratic governance with limited space for civil society organisations to advocate and campaign. The problems with governance date back to the drawing of the borders between Burundi, Rwanda and DRC in 1885, based on the political interests of the colonial powers and disregarding traditional leadership and coping mechanisms. Rwanda, Burundi and the Provinces of North and South Kivu in Eastern DRC are densely populated, and there is great competition for arable land. Conflicts over land and resources have divided people based on their ethnicity and led to violence.

Exacerbated by migration, competition for land is more commonly a source of conflict than is generally supposed. Reallocations of land during conflict can lead to further conflict, as access to land for many people can be fundamentally altered, for example through massive forced population displacement. More insidiously, conflict changes social relationships in profound ways, and perceptions of mutual rights and responsibilities in relation to land between individuals, social groups, and the state are altered due to changes in perceived legitimacy of institutions and obligations.

Important questions remain about the nature of policy reforms on land issues necessary to prevent violence, during and following conflict. The transition between ‘conflict’ and ‘post-conflict’ is rarely clear: the causes of conflict may never be fully resolved; and violence itself may continue sporadically well past the official declaration of ‘peace’. Transitional governments which seek to be inclusive or conciliatory by incorporating former belligerents, are, in reality, often characterised by wide differences in vision and development objectives, which may translate into struggles between military and civilian leadership, or between ministries. More research is needed on the politics of policy-making in such difficult institutional environments.

Participants in programme design and analysis workshops also concluded that, while most interventions addressing conflict, land and governance issues are implemented at local and national level, they have important regional dimensions too. Improved relations and cooperation between the governments of DRC, Rwanda and Burundi are a precondition for viable cross-border trade and value chain development, and stabilising the region. Interventions that focus on the local and national level miss an important opportunity; regional approaches open the door for much broader, more encompassing, and integrated problem solving.
Through years of experience in conflict and post-conflict areas, Oxfam and partner organisations have found that interventions will be effective and sustainable only if they result from a process of conflict transformation – that is, transforming the institutions and discourses that justify violence. Such interventions are based on:

a) A deep comprehension amongst all involved stakeholders about the root causes of conflicts;

b) The (re)building of trust relations and cooperation among affected stakeholders as a way to build the commitment and structures necessary for effective and sustainable solutions.

Land and governance issues cannot be addressed sufficiently by individual projects. They must be part of a wider, long-term process of network-building between local, national and international institutions to build a constituency for peace and justice. This should involve sustained but low-profile engagement by donors, informed by research and meaningful involvement of grassroots organisations.

In late 2013 and early 2014, staff of Oxfam and partner organisations were trained in conflict analysis, conflict transformation and conflict sensitive programming using the “Reflecting on Peace Practice” methodology. The resulting conflict analyses are a building block on which the rest of the programme will be based. On a regional level, there was consensus that four factors drive conflicts in the region:

a) Lack of political will and capacity to guarantee rights and security;

b) Manipulation of identities;

c) Economic inequalities and competition for land; and

d) Security threats posed by armed groups, including the recruitment of young men.

WHY DID OXFAM NOVIB GET INVOLVED?

Oxfam Novib’s involvement came in response to a call for proposals that fit the priority theme of conflict transformation, which had then just been established.

THE INTERVENTION & RESULTS

Initially the programme was heavily delayed, but its difficult start-up phase laid a solid foundation that was built on quickly. Nearly 95% of activities and outputs planned for 2014 were implemented. There are still a lot of challenges remaining in turning the programme’s outputs into real and tangible effects felt in the lives of the people the programme intends to serve, but there is now a sense of confidence that the programme can finish on time.

PROGRESS TOWARDS OUTCOME I - PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH

The programme successfully implemented participatory research on the cross-regional dynamics of conflict, increasing stakeholders’ understanding about the causes and consequences of conflict in the region. The programme capitalises on this increased understanding by building engagement and capacity among selected peace brokers to mobilise support for the Regional Roadmap to Peace. Outputs included:

- Six national-level research reports and one comparative regional analysis based on participatory research involving 3,161 participants in Burundi, DR Congo and Rwanda. Research findings have been fed back and analysed with targeted communities, increasing knowledge on conflict and conflict transformation.
- The programme identified, selected and trained 72 peace brokers, who are recognised and selected by their peers in their communities as contributing to peace and conflict transformation through their character or actions. These peace
brokers are the drivers of the bottom-up process of developing the Roadmap to Peace.

- All 72 peace brokers expressed commitment to conflict transformation and the Peace Beyond Borders programme by signing a “peace broker contract”, and put this commitment into action by implementing pilot activities on community consultation and dialogue around the causes and consequences of conflict. In total 1,971 people participated – including 1,149 women and 945 people aged under 35.

The programme will continue to use these research findings to align its communications, advocacy efforts and dialogue and will continue to invest in building the capacity of its peace brokers.

PROGRESS TOWARDS OUTCOME II – QUICK IMPACT AND VISIBILITY PROJECTS

Outcome II represents the first of two funding mechanisms to support interventions that contribute to creating a peace dividend through improved livelihood and income generation opportunities for conflict-affected women, youth, and former combatants – a small grant fund for “quick impact” projects to respond to urgent livelihood needs. An important motive is to create visibility and buy-in for the programme in the targeted communities, because the Roadmap to Peace itself will take a longer time to bear fruit. So far 1,758 households have been reached by quick impact activities.

It is too early to say whether these activities are achieving their objective, though the Mid-Term Evaluation confirmed that they “generally were able to target and involve the most vulnerable people” and “in some places, through those activities, social cohesion was reinforced (...) and solidarity was strengthened” by selecting projects and beneficiaries in a participatory way, opening a space for community dialogue. The Mid-Term Evaluation concludes that because projects also reached ex-combatants and youth, it reduced the risk that these people will be recruited into armed groups: “There is thus a peace dividend (...) activities allowed the populations to come together (...) and are considered as an example for neighbouring communities”. However, these positive effects were not noticed in all targeted communities and, where they occurred, the limited scope and budget of the projects limited their impact.

It has been a conscious decision to limit the budget for this component, as larger scale investments in livelihoods and economic activities, linked to conflict dynamics, is planned and budgeted for in the “Roadmap Fund” under outcome IV.

PROGRESS TOWARDS OUTCOME III – MECHANISMS FOR INCLUSIVE DIALOGUE

Outcome III includes the establishment of mechanisms such as the Virtual Regional Parliament to facilitate the inclusive and participatory process of elaborating the Regional Roadmap to Peace. The programme’s philosophy is to build the Roadmap from the bottom up, putting conflict-affected communities in the driving seat.

Dialogues organised by the programme are already attracting high numbers of people from all walks of life: community consultations in Burundi, the DRC and Rwanda ahead of the Virtual Regional Parliament attracted 6,470 participants, most of whom returned for the next round of dialogue, indicating that they valued the discussions. Although some tension was observed between participants, by the end of intensive dialogue participants had developed increased understanding and tolerance for their counterparts.
On the programme’s platform for people from conflict affected communities to take the lead, as an alternative to top-down approaches in which these communities are routinely ignored, the Mid-Term Evaluation concludes that: “The most important asset of the programme is the inclusive dialogue through which the roadmap was developed, the participation of the population during the research, in the community dialogues as well as in the development of the Roadmap.”

Outputs included:

- The establishment of a Virtual Regional Parliament (VRP), bringing together 72 peace brokers representing conflict-affected communities from Burundi, DR Congo and Rwanda to discuss and draft the Roadmap and monitor its implementation.
- Peace brokers arrived prepared at the VRP sessions, after capacity building and having organised community consultations to be able to represent the views and aspirations of their communities. During the VRP sessions, peace brokers debated the causes and consequences of conflict in the region and agreed on its principal solutions. These solutions constitute the basis of the Regional Roadmap to Peace, which will be finalised in the first half of 2015.
- The VRP sessions also produced six audio-visual debating programmes on the Roadmap to Peace, which will be broadcast in the first half of 2015.
- Since September 2013, the programme has produced a weekly radio soap opera broadcast on 15 radio stations. The soap is meant to counteract propaganda fuelling enmity, hatred and incitement to violence by making audiences capable of recognising “psychological patterns” underpinning the cycle of violence.
- Consortium partners have organised inter-ethnic and inter-cultural events in targeted communities in Burundi, the DRC, and Rwanda. 1,179 people participated in activities including example football games, street and improvisation theatre and dances, to raise interest in community dialogue sessions and to communicate peace building messages.

There were challenges. Dialogue participants often had difficulty maintaining focus and we observed sometimes a tendency to formulate long wish lists of solutions that extended far beyond the scope of conflict transformation. Communities found it also easier to formulate what others (government, international actors) could do than to identify what they could do themselves. Therefore in the first half of 2015 the programme will work with peace brokers and their communities to translate the broad and ambitious Regional Roadmap to Peace into focused local peace plans, for which the communities will take responsibility with support from consortium partners. Since early 2015 the programme has also stepped up its engagement in lobby and advocacy to mobilise support for the Roadmap among higher level stakeholders, reducing the risk that the community driven peace plan is ignored.

PROGRESS AGAINST OUTCOME IV – ADAPTATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE REGIONAL ROADMAP TO PEACE

The core idea of the Peace Beyond Borders programme is to develop and implement a Regional Roadmap to Peace, with activities under the other outcomes all paving the way towards its broad adoption. So far a team of experts among consortium members has produced a first draft of the Regional Roadmap to Peace, and learned lessons that will inform how the programme will go about implementing it.

For example, an important decision is that the programme will limit its areas of intervention, identifying those where we can exert most influence in the remaining year of programming. From the draft Regional Roadmap to Peace, we selected a limited number
of closely interrelated causes and proposed solutions, around which a theory of change (see annex 3) was formulated to guide activities and maximise synergy, collaboration and impact. By focusing on these priority areas, the programme also addresses recommendations from the Mid-Term Evaluation: capitalising on community mobilisation and participation, facilitating communities’ access to authorities and promoting cross-border collaboration, both economic and political.

PROGRESS AGAINST OUTCOME V – PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN AND YOUTH

Throughout the programme, Oxfam and its consortium partners ensure that women and youth participate, that their voices are being heard, and that they have real influence on decision making. The programme has a quota to ensure 50-50 representation of women and men, and 20% youth, at all stages and in all structures. While the context and cultures of the Great Lakes region makes it difficult to achieve representation of women and youth in practice, the Mid-Term Evaluation concludes that: “the attention to role of youth and women is key element of the project because often women are the prime victims of conflicts, and because youth being the future of the region without forgetting their role in armed groups in the region” (...) Targets that were set for the inclusion of youth and women were met, for example in selecting peace brokers as selecting beneficiaries in the quick impact and visibility projects. The only reservation could be made about their effective level of their participation in the inclusive community dialogues.”

As the programme had foreseen this challenge, outcome V was specifically built in to make sure that women and youth specific agendas for peace will be developed and integrated into the Roadmap. The programme has been working with women and youth on an ongoing qualitative joint action research to map their specific concerns and needs, the participative nature of which provides an opportunity to train young and female participants on research methodologies, conflict transformation and advocacy, boosting their confidence and knowledge.

CONCLUSION

The programme is confident that it can have limited but real and meaningful positive effects on some of the factors that drive conflict in the Great Lakes Region. As the Mid Term Evaluation concludes: “The activities foreseen in this programme can probably lead to achieving the objectives. If the programme takes in account recommendations [that were made], it is on track with the development and implementation of a Regional Road Map to Peace in a way that allows it to tackle key driving factors of conflicts in the Great lakes Region and to respond to the core problem the programme is intended to tackle: the recurring conflicts in the region.”

LESSONS LEARNED

Oxfam and its partners have learned a number of lessons from the programme so far.

With strict coordination, it is possible to make-up a backlog of more than one year. However, at times this can only happen at the expense of some quality aspects of the programme.

A year and a half after its contractual start-date, only around 5% of planned activities had been attained. In getting this up to 50% a year later, some quality was sacrificed. For example, there was not a lot of time for training and the organisation of community dialogues and consultation between the selection of peace brokers and their participation
in the Virtual Regional Parliament. As a consequence, not all peace brokers had sufficient preparation, capacity and understanding of their role. Still, in the remaining one and a half years there will be increased focus on capacity building and close accompaniment of peace brokers.

**During participatory research and Roadmap dialogues, conflict affected communities have shown excellent understanding of causes and consequences of conflict. If sufficient time is invested in preparation, relationship-building and facilitation, representatives from different countries and identity-groups can overcome their differences and discuss in a constructive manner. Yet, when identifying solutions people have difficulties focusing and prioritising.**

We have confirmed a key underlying assumption of the programme – that it is possible to develop a regional peace plan based on the knowledge and understanding of ordinary people from conflict affected communities. Nevertheless, ordinary people from mostly rural communities often had difficulties maintaining focus on conflict dynamics and identifying what they could do themselves. During the last phase of the programme, consortium partners will be dealing with this challenge through continued investment in capacity building, community mobilisation and accountability mechanisms; translating the Regional Roadmap to Peace into community driven local action plans; and advocacy and communication to showcase how ordinary people can be role models in conflict transformation.

**The programme had to revise one of its underlying assumptions that right holders (women and youth) and duty bearers (principally government authorities) would align on the Regional Roadmap to Peace. Instead, more emphasis will be placed on increasing the willingness and capacity of communities to engage with and hold accountable those who are supposed to guarantee their rights and security.**

In its original design, the programme assumed that strengthening the capacity of women, youth, government and civil society to understand the causes and consequences of the conflict, and facilitating inclusive dialogues, would lead to a more favourable environment for conflict transformation on issues regarding access and management of land, rural economic development, ensuring the rights and safety of citizens and the manipulation of identities. The programme has now replaced the assumption that duty bearers have overlapping interests with right holders with a more pragmatic strategy that focuses on investing in community mobilisation and participation and accountability mechanisms.

As the Mid Term Evaluation puts it: **“It is extremely important to keep supporting and strengthening the capacities of local communities and capitalise on the participatory and inclusive aspect of the programme. Looking for ways to enhance accountability of authorities vis-à-vis their populations and equip them with conflict prevention mechanism seem to offer the best opportunities to contribute to peace building and guarantee rights and security of the populations. An active contribution of those very communities in the activities could guarantee more sustainability of the interventions/activities.”**

**Economic activities have the potential to contribute to dialogue and social cohesion, but only if they are specifically geared towards addressing key factors and actors of conflict.**

As noted in the Mid Term Evaluation on the quick impact and visibility projects (outcome II), **“One of the great merits of the project is having constituted inter-ethnic groups of beneficiaries. People from different origins coming together for common activities, forgetting community differences that divide them and venturing in shared interests (…) It was noted that in some places, through those activities social cohesion was reinforced**
and that community dialogue was stimulated.” Selecting potential spoilers (ex-combatants, youth) as beneficiaries and integrating them in community-based decision-making mechanisms increases their resilience against political and identity-based manipulation and recruitment into armed groups.

In contexts with limited freedom of expression it is extremely delicate to work on conflict transformation. Creativity is needed to avoid endangering staff and beneficiaries.

The programme is specifically challenged to implement its activities as planned in Rwanda. For example, partners selected to implement participatory research in Rwanda found themselves, for the sake of their own security, unable to pose 75% of the interview-questions designed to inform the regional comparative analysis on causes and consequences of conflict. These are questions that the programme could discuss without problems in Burundi and the DR Congo. Some of the ways that the programme deals with the issue of working on sensitive issues include:

- Work with proxy terms to discuss sensitive topics. For example, to discuss manipulation of identities, instead of talking about ethnic identities (which is taboo in Rwanda), discuss less sensitive identities such as gender and age. When working on governance, avoid politics and focus instead on how local authorities engage communities on planning for development and accountability on implementing these plans.
- Focus on the putting in practice of regional agreements and national policies of the government that are in line with the objectives of the programme. Governments in the region have signed numerous agreements and adopted policies that are intended to guarantee the security and rights of the programme’s target groups, but are struggling to turn them into a reality. By presenting yourself as a partner ready to support the government to fulfil their own commitments, one is perceived as less confrontational and has more room for manoeuvre.
- More proactively engage with key people in relevant government bodies to discuss the programme and gauge where boundaries are.

Working in conflict transformation requires a strong focus on local to global advocacy. This requires sufficient resources, including fully dedicated staff as well as integration of advocacy in the programme from the start.

In the initial design of the programme, Oxfam anticipated that the development and implementation of the lobby and advocacy strategy would be delivered by existing resources in its lobby and advocacy teams at HQ. However, it became clear that due to increased workloads and shrinking budgets, the advocacy team could not deliver without additional resources. Therefore the programme added in its budget one Full-Time Advocacy Advisor fully dedicated to the programme, including a budget for travel, and the production and dissemination of advocacy materials. In future, Oxfam should better plan and budget advocacy in the design phase.

Despite the challenges, the benefits of working in consortium have emerged clearly: the partners find the collaboration with other consortium members enriching and have managed to achieve more results by merging skills than would be possible if each organisation worked individually.

One challenge of working in complementarity is that activities of one partner can depend on accomplishments of another, meaning delays in one part of the work spill over into other parts. Oxfam responds to this challenge by strict coordination and information sharing, and taking the lead in developing tools and methodologies for components implemented by several partners in different locations simultaneously. Another challenge has been that not all consortium members were experts in conflict transformation. This is
met by investing in capacity building and exchange between partners and, recruiting additional partners with more experience. In future, Oxfam should be more strategic and critical in partner selection, especially when engaging in a new area of expertise.

**HUMAN INTEREST**

**PEACE BROKERS CONVINCE YOUTH TO LEAVE ARMED GROUPS AND JOIN INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES**

In eastern DRC, peace brokers have been approaching young people enrolled in armed groups to convince them to lay down their arms and reintegrate in their communities. This is the testimony of Jean-Bosco, a young man from Nyabibwe village in Kalehe territory, as told in front of the camera of La Benevolencija:

"In February 2013 I was recruited by the armed group called Raiya Mutomboki, operating in the mountain range between Nyabibwe and Bunyakiri. I was trained in the use of firearms, and I have committed many crimes including the robbing of civilians and the rape of women. One day while we were in the forest, we received a visit from a peace broker and another member of civil society. They talked with us about our life in the armed group, about our deeds, and the consequences for our communities as well as our own lives. They explained to me that it was better to give up the rebellion and come back home. Initially I was hesitant: would my community accept a member of an armed group? Besides, I had nothing to live off. They responded that RACOJ [the consortium partner working with the peace broker] could support me setting up a small business. They also explained that they would organise a dialogue in the community to discuss the peaceful return of young rebels into civilian life, myself included. They convinced me to leave the forest and come with them. After participating in the dialogue I was accepted back in the community. With the help of RACOJ I now have a small bicycle repair shop. I have a compressor with which I repair tires, providing me with a daily income enough to cover my costs of living."

**MEDIATION BETWEEN BAFULIRU AND BARUNDI COMMUNITIES AFTER THE MASSACRE OF MUTARULE**

On 6 June 2014, 30 people were killed in an attack on a church in Mutarule. Although there was no proof that anyone from surrounding villages participated in the massacre, members of the Bafuliro and Barundi ethnic groups accused each other. As tensions rose, people feared revenge attacks and the market of Sange, a Bafuliro town, became off-limits for Barundi traders and customers.
Two peace brokers, Immaculée Bavuga (a Barundi) and Bukene Shandrac (a Bafuliro) sat together after a training on mediation techniques organised by consortium partner ADEPAE and decided to make a mediation attempt. Each of them first lobbied intensively the local leaders in their own communities, then they facilitated two joint meetings between Bafuliro and Barundi leaders in which the leaders reconciled and pledged peaceful coexistence between their communities.

The leaders organised a public reconciliation event, during which the peace broker Shandrac gave an emotional testimony. He explained how his wife was killed in the Muteru massacre. His anger, he said, was directed at those individuals who planned and executed the attack, but he did not blame the Barundi community for it. “We should not generalise and blame or stereotype an entire community. Different ethnic groups must and can live together peacefully.” Thanks to the mediation, trust between the communities was slowly restored, as evidenced by the fact that Barundi and Bafuliro frequent their respective markets again.

USING SEED POTATOES FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION

In the Rwandan district of Musanze, Consortium partner ACORD facilitated rural communities to identify the most vulnerable people amongst them. They became the first to benefit from a rotational scheme involving seed potatoes and piglets – one wave of beneficiaries grows a crop of potatoes and breeds from the pigs, before passing on a portion of the resulting seed potatoes and piglets to the next wave of beneficiaries. At these moments of onward redistribution, community dialogue sessions are organised.

Participants explained how the scheme contributed to conflict resolution. A man called Gasore says: “Even if we are long time neighbours, before we were given seed potatoes, we did not have deep conversation about conflict in our communities”. Participants in various groups agree that after they received seed potatoes and piglets, they are spending more time in their plantations and have time not only to discuss how to improve their crops, but also how to resolve conflicts in their community.

According to another participant, Nyirakamana: “... one man in our neighbourhood was always violent and not responsible with his wife and family. One time, we had a discussion after our farming activities, on how to help this family. We approached men and assigned the task to go and discuss with their fellow man. Now the situation improved, and we are happy to have contributed to the restoration of their marriage”. This is just one
story on how the “quick impact” project is improving social relationships in communities in general and families in particular.

CULTURAL AND SPORTING EVENTS IMPROVE INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN BURUNDI

Cultural and sporting events were organised by peace brokers in collaboration with consortium partners. In Burundi, these events focused on mitigating tensions surrounding the upcoming elections, freedom of expression and the causes and consequences of conflict in the community. For example, consortium partner ACORD Burundi organised a cycling race starting and ending in the commune of Rugombo, in which youth from political parties including CNDD-FDD and FNL participated. The race was used to disseminate poems and songs with messages about peaceful coexistence during the election period, accepting diversity and opposing the manipulation of young people into using violence.