

Conference Report:

Peace From The Ground Up: Post Conflict Socialization, Religion, and Reconciliation in Africa

June 5-7, 2013

Monkey Valley Conference Center
Capetown, South Africa

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Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME



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The Program on Religion and Reconciliation at the Joan B. Kroc
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With gratitude for the support of:

The Catholic Peacebuilding Network
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Program

Wednesday, June 5, 2013

12:00 pm Lunch

1:30-2:00 pm Welcome

Fanie Du Toit, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation
Daniel Philpott, Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame

2:00-3:30 pm **Panel: Religious Paradigms of Peacebuilding**

Moderator: Fr. William Headley, CSSp

Rashied Omar, *Islam and Peacebuilding: Lessons From Africa*

Lyn Graybill, *Religious and Traditional Support for Restorative Justice in Sierra Leone: The TRC and Beyond*

Fr. Elias Omondi Opongo, S.J., *Strategies and Approaches in the Catholic Theology of Peacebuilding in Africa: What Have We Learned?*

3:30-4:00 pm Tea Time

4:00-5:30 pm **Panel: Traditional Practices of Peacebuilding**

Moderator: Theresa Ricke-Kiely

Victor Igreja, *Indigenous Accountability and Healing Practices in the Aftermath of the Civil War in Mozambique*

James Latigo, *Reclaiming the Ethical Foundations for Indigenous African Traditional Reconciliation Practices*

Joanna Quinn, *The Role and Influence of Religious Leaders on the Use of Traditional Practices of Acknowledgment in Uganda*

6:00 pm Dinner

7:30 pm Keynote Speech: *Reflections on Peace From the Ground Up*, Bishop Matthew Hassan Kukah

Thursday, June 6, 2013

8:00 am Breakfast

9:00 -10:30 am **Panel: Religious Actors as Peacemakers in Africa**

Moderator: Ismael Muvingi

Fr. Apollinaire Malumalu, *The Catholic Church and the Peacemaking Process in the Great Lakes Region*

Claudio Betti, *Making Peace: Lessons from the Sant'Egidio Peacebuilding Experience*

John Ashworth, *The South Sudanese Church and Reconciliation*

10:30-11:00 am Tea Time

11:00 am-12:30 pm **Panel: Institutions, Organizations, and Peace**

Moderator: Symphorien Pyana

Rosalind Hackett, *Africa's New Media Revolution: Exploring the Prospects for Peace and Conflict*

Cecelia Lynch, *Peacebuilding and the Ethics of Charity in Africa*

Hippolyt Pul, *The Search for Peace: A Personal Journey on an Institutional Vehicle*

12:30 pm Lunch

2:00-3:30 pm

Panel: The Catholic Church as a Peacebuilder in the Great Lakes Region

Moderator: Cecelia Lynch

Fr. Emmanuel Ntakarutimana, O.P., *The Role of the Catholic Church in Peacebuilding and Human Rights Advocacy in Burundi: Hopes and Challenges*

John Baptiste Talla, *Religious Peacebuilding in the Great Lakes Region: The Catholic Church's Contribution to Rebuilding Social Cohesion in Lesser Great Lakes Countries*

Fr. Paulin Manwelo, S.J., *The Catholic Church and Peacebuilding in the Democratic Republic of Congo: The Missing Link*

3:30-4:00 pm

Tea Time

4:00-5:30 pm

Panel: Civil Society and the Building of Peace

Moderator: Elias Omondi Opongo

Symphorien Pyana, *Grassroots Peacebuilding in (Eastern) Democratic Republic of Congo: The Role of Religion and Local Culture*

John Katunga, *A Key Node in the Web of Social Transformation: Civil Society Participation in Political Competition*

Fr. Jean Nyembo, S.J., *Conflicts Over Minerals? The Congolese Drama is also a Human Drama*

6:00 pm

Dinner

7:30 pm

Keynote Speech: *Reconciliation and Mutual Recognition after Mass Trauma: Why Forgiveness Matters*, Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela

Friday, June 7, 2013

8:00 am Breakfast

9:00-10:30 am **Panel: The Unfinished Project of Peacebuilding in South Africa**

Moderator: Fr. Jean Nyembo, S.J.

Fr. Peter John Pearson, *A Struggle of Incompletion Moving Towards Fulfillment*

Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Reconciliation: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*

10:30-11:00 am Tea Time

11:00 am-12:15 pm **Synthesis and Closing Remarks**

Fanie Du Toit, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation

Daniel Philpott, Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame

12:30 pm Lunch

Peace from the Ground Up: Post Conflict Socialization, Religion, and Reconciliation in Africa

Opening Remarks

Dr. Fanie Du Toit, Executive Director of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, opened the conference by welcoming the participants and noting the importance of creating a space for dialogue and debate on how people might reconstitute society and community from the ground up. He expressed enthusiasm and anticipation for the upcoming panels and recognized the work of the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies and the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation for facilitating the conference.

Dr. Daniel Philpott, from the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, also welcomed the participants, and expressed thanks to the Catholic Peacebuilding Network and the Templeton Foundation for financial support. Introducing the broad issues to be covered in the conference, Philpott noted that Africa has, over the past couple decades, seen an intense wave of transition away from civil war or dictatorship, resulting in a flurry of peace negotiations and politics dealing with the injustices of the past. Such negotiations have traditionally taken place within the sphere of “high politics,” with reconciliation acting as a key objective of transitional societies. A key question, however, is what happens after the high politics have subsided? Are societies now reconciled and the social fabric repaired? As Philpott asserted, though high politics is indispensable, other sources of social repair also deserve analysis. Particularly important is religion, which has played an integral role in peacebuilding in Africa. Closely related to the role of religion is that of culture – during transitional periods, there has been a remarkable adaptation of traditional rituals of reconciliation to large-scale crimes committed in the context of modern states.

Philpott then identified central questions around which the conference revolved. He called for a consideration of whether religion might now prove an agent of reconciliation after and beyond high political processes. More broadly, he asked, what role does culture play, and do religion and culture hold a potential for social integration that high politics lacks? These dynamic cultural processes are not without their ambiguities, as Philpott noted. First, it is not at all obvious that religion and culture are

universally sources of peacebuilding. In some African countries, religion contributes quite clearly to conflict. Moreover, there remains disagreement over the appropriate roles and boundaries of religion and the state, as well as concerns that religion and culture might reinforce traditional hierarchies at the expense of equality and inclusiveness. Further issues on the role of religion and culture as agents of reconciliation revolve around whether they are truly effective and the extent to which they truly resonate at the popular level.

The conference, therefore, presented an opportunity to explore the potential of religion and culture to effect reconciliation in African societies that have emerged from transitional phases post-conflict or post-dictatorship, yet remain beset by divisions and disunity, in some cases to the point of degenerating back into conflict. Focusing on the role of grassroots peacebuilding initiatives carried out by religious and cultural groups, the conference provided a chance to debate their effectiveness and to consider the integral role these groups play in reconciling warring parties and repairing the social fabric.

Panel One: Religious Paradigms of Peacebuilding

Imam Rashied Omar, in a presentation entitled *Islam and Peacebuilding: Lessons from Africa*, developed ideas surrounding the role of Islam in peacebuilding, drawing on two examples of Muslim peacebuilding in Africa, from Rwanda and South Africa. Challenging the perspective of certain Islamic scholars that justice is the *raison d'être* of Islam, Omar contended that although justice is important, it is compassion that is the most crucial attribute of God in Islam. Consequently, any struggle for justice must be located within an ethos of compassion, and there is a need for the central Islamic conception of compassion to be reinvigorated such that it again becomes part of the fabric of contemporary Muslim culture.

Calling for African Islam to be contextualized in a way that enables it be distinguished from Arabism, Omar then provided two unique examples of Muslim peacebuilding in Rwanda and South Africa. Referring to Rwanda, he outlined the efforts of the minority Muslim population to protect Tutsis and Moderate Hutus from the 1994 genocide and the integral role this faith group has continued to play in Rwandan reconciliation efforts post-genocide. A second example of Islamic peacebuilding is that witnessed during the anti-Apartheid struggle in South Africa. Although a minority group in South Africa, Muslims were active in anti-apartheid efforts, and Omar contends that, as a direct consequence of these efforts, they now assume a role in post-apartheid South Africa that far outweighs their minority status. Both examples are characterized by a central focus on compassion and social justice that offer important lessons for Islamic peacebuilding in Africa.

Omar concluded with two possible lessons that could be drawn from the cases he discussed. Firstly, he advocated for a more textured analysis of Muslim peacebuilding within the “non-dominant minority” context of both South Africa and Rwanda. Secondly, he suggested that such examples illustrate the broader possibility that, when unencumbered by the trappings and machinations of power, religious actors may be more successful in the hard work of procuring peace.

Dr. Lyn Graybill then presented on *Religious and Traditional Support for Restorative Justice in Sierra Leone – The TRC and Beyond*. The research upon which this presentation was based was motivated by a common critique of the South African

Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which charged that an overemphasis on religion, coupled with coercion on the wider public to forgive, had stifled legitimate anger. As the Sierra Leonean TRC was modeled extensively on the South African example, Graybill considered whether the critique leveled against the South African TRC also might have merits within the Sierra Leonean context. Guiding the research was an examination of whether restorative justice in the Sierra Leonean Truth Commission was an elite driven process, or whether it resonated at a popular level.

Graybill outlined her research process, invoking extensive interviews of religious leaders and groups who were members of the Inter-Religious Group, an umbrella group of Muslim and Christian leaders who had played an active role in peacebuilding both prior to and during the TRC. She surveyed their attitudes on reconciliation, justice, forgiveness and punishment, and compared their responses to popular polls that were conducted on similar topics before, during, and after the TRC. This allowed Graybill to ascertain whether the views of the religious elite and wider population were complementary or in contradiction. Significantly, she discovered that a restorative justice ethos prevailed at both levels. Graybill then presented on traditional practices such as Fambul Tok in Sierra Leone, which also favor a restorative justice approach over a punitive approach. Within these local practices, the primary goal is social healing, restitution, and the restoration of relationships, not punishment.

The outcome of Graybill's research is significant, as it rebuts the view that religious leaders hold a monopoly over forgiveness in Sierra Leone, or that they somehow coerce their followers to forgive. Moreover, justice in Sierra Leone is more closely understood as the righting of relationships and the bringing together of people in trust, rather than as retributive justice. This is important to note because the international community tends to endorse retributive justice through venues such as the International Criminal Court, giving mere lip service to local preferences for more restorative approaches. As Graybill concluded, this approach means that countries risk losing the rich repository of local values and knowledge that might contribute valuable assets to peacebuilding. Although concepts such as reconciliation and forgiveness can be manipulated – and may even serve as a cover for impunity – when they resonate with the sentiments of local populations, they also have the capacity to restore relationships between former enemies.

The final speaker of the panel, Fr. Elias Omondi Opongo, S.J., presented *Strategies and Approaches in the Catholic Theology of Peacebuilding in Africa: What have we learned?* He reflected upon how the Catholic Church might be more proactive in addressing the multiple and complex challenges faced on the African continent. From the exploitation of natural resources, to human trafficking, social and economic inequality and electoral violence, the many challenges cannot be overstated in their scope, complexity, and magnitude. Describing the strengths and weaknesses of the three main strategies adopted by the Church to address these challenges – pastoral letters, Justice and Peace commissions, and Parliamentary Liaison Offices – Opongo concluded by calling for a move beyond a theology of peacebuilding that is limited to the daily towards one that engages with issues in a deeper and more complex way.

Fr. Opongo described how pastoral letters were used to speak out against the violations of human rights, political freedom and citizen participation in democratic processes as well as economic and social injustices. Justice and Peace Commissions provide a method of engagement through the provision of civic education in areas ranging among community leadership, conflict resolution, and reconciliation. Moreover, they raise the consciousness of the society on what it truly means to be engaged in the process of social justice. Speaking of Parliamentary Liaison Offices, Fr. Opongo described this relatively new concept as a valuable method of engaging directly with decision makers – providing policy analysis, formulation, and advocacy.

After developing the wider landscape of the work done by the Catholic Church in Africa, Fr. Opongo also attended to certain shortcomings that are inherent within its approach. Although pastoral letters provide prophetic critiques of societies, governments, and institutions, Fr. Opongo suggested that they might not be enough, one of their weaknesses being that they lack engagement with the structures themselves, which are driving injustices. The pastoral letters tend to be addressed directly to people at the grassroots and decision makers, but the intermediary level of professionals and academics remains somewhat unengaged. Fr. Opongo stressed the importance of mobilizing this sector, in order to provide analyses of root causes and their inherent complexities, often masked behind the daily reality. Addressing the approach of the Parliamentary Liaison Officers, Fr. Opongo suggested that they were insufficient in their

engagement of the grassroots, and needed to reach out to the community level in order to have a greater understanding of what the pressing issues were on the ground.

To conclude, Fr. Opongo argued that although there are significant virtuous components of the church's approach to peacebuilding in Africa, each approach has certain "blind spots," where it fails to engage comprehensively with some sectors of the population with which it works. In order to provide a theology of peacebuilding that engages with and synergizes the decision makers, professionals, academics, and grassroots actors, there is a need to move beyond the daily and engage with deeper issues, within a Catholic lingua that is informed by Catholic Social Teaching.

The discussion that emerged from this panel focused considerably on the relationship between the effectiveness of religious institutions in the realm of peacebuilding and the relative proximity of these institutions to political power. Stemming from Imam Omar's presentation, attendees called for further investigation into the successes of religious minorities in peacebuilding endeavors, and whether this was because they are not as invested in power struggles or power aspirations. Participants reiterated that, although this concept had been introduced through the lens of Muslim peacebuilding, similar cases were evident in Christian and other faiths. Along these lines, the potential role of Palestinian Christians as "bridging peacebuilders" was raised as a topic for further investigation. Alternative scenarios were also raised, such as that in Senegal, where a Muslim majority regularly elects non-Muslims to power – thus underscoring the importance of conducting further, contextualized research.

The discussion then moved to an expansion of the concept of justice, a topic that had been raised in different ways by all three panelists. It was suggested that "compassionate justice" could be operationalized as the moving beyond a "quid pro quo" response to injustice and that a need exists to look to the values intrinsic to various religions, thus providing a more nuanced and constructive notion of justice. At this point, the notion of social and economic justice was raised, a theme that emerged continually throughout the conference. Graybill pointed to an overemphasis within Western discourse on a legalized notion of retributive justice, compared to a broader understanding of justice as reconciliation and repairing relationships within countries such as Sierra Leone. She reiterated the need to understand the important economic component of justice, as reconciliation and justice must also be understood as being

able to survive. This is, however, so often overlooked during transitional justice practices. Broadening the understanding of justice within transitional justice processes would create a practice with greater resonance, being more significant and responsive to the needs of the communities to whom these policies were addressed. This is also relevant to Fr. Opongo's discussion of the responses of the church, which needs to develop further its strategies so that it is able to comprehend and develop the complex issues of economic (in)justice faced by the communities of which it is a part.

Panel Two: Traditional Practices of Peacebuilding

Dr. Victor Igreja's presentation, entitled *Indigenous Accountability and Healing Practices in the Aftermath of the Civil War in Mozambique*, centered on anthropological research conducted in the central Mozambican region of Gorongosa, and facilitated a more nuanced understanding of local attitudes toward transitional justice. Although elite-level politics in Mozambique gravitated toward amnesty for crimes committed during the country's civil war, the plural nature of Mozambican society ensured that the new government's silence on past crimes was not uniformly accepted. In his presentation, Igreja demonstrated how local traditions of accountability and healing practices have uniquely adapted to deal with the trauma and grievances accumulated during the conflict. The significance of the research further highlighted a need for the centering of African practices of healing within the transitional justice discourse.

Understanding local terms of justice in Gorongosa requires an appreciation of the long history of interrelated healing and justice systems present in Mozambique. Igreja gave insight into this history, focusing on the prevalence of spirit possession in Gorongosa, particularly a new kind of spirit possession, the *gamba* spirit, which emerged in the aftermath of the civil war. Igreja termed this manifestation of *gamba* spirits as "embodied accountability," for crimes committed during the civil war. As a result of these afflictions, alleged perpetrators and their victims are propelled to come together to reach a solution on the crimes that continue to divide them. Where the perpetrator seeks resolution because he fears the transmission of spirit possession to the next generation, the victim seeks justice in local terms.

In contrast to earlier forms of spirit possession, which could only be accessed by people through ancestral lineage, *gamba* can afflict anyone who has experienced war. This constitutes a significant transformation in the field of justice, healing, and local forms of accountability within Gorongosa, because now anyone who has suffered can access *gamba*, consequently having access to voice and to power. Not only does this access enable accusations to be leveled at perpetrators of crimes during the civil war, but it also allows access to channels of healing and justice. A second transformation in healing practices can be seen in the recent development of "televisioning" in Gorongosa. With the introduction of electricity in the region over the past five years, healers have

used a type of accountability where survivors of the war seek accountability through narrating past events on a wooden “television screen.” Televisioning enables these individuals to disassociate somewhat from the traumatic experiences suffered and to seek accountability through the community watching past events on these screens.

Guided by an ethic of reciprocity, the people of Gorongosa do not perceive transitional justice as “drawing a line though the past.” Indeed, without redress, the pernicious effects of conflict would continue to be transmitted from one generation to the next. The development of *gamba* spirit possession and healing systems underlines the vitality of these practices in Africa. Not only are these traditions transforming and adapting but they are doing so in a dynamic way, presenting a rich source of transitional justice practices “from below” that contrast with more elite-level processes.

The subject of James Latigo’s presentation was *Reclaiming the Ethical Foundations for Indigenous African Traditional Reconciliation Practices*. Drawing from the Northern Ugandan experience, Latigo contemplated the ethical foundations for indigenous African traditional reconciliation practices, addressing their utility through three questions – “Where are we coming from? Where are we now? And where are we going?” Latigo opined that traditional rituals and beliefs hold much potential, and should be utilized not in competition – but rather as complementary – to other transitional justice approaches.

Latigo began by interrogating notions of the past as a vehicle through which to bring the present and possible future into better focus. Adopting Acholiland in Northern Uganda as a point of departure, Latigo explained how the region has an illustrious history with well-developed traditional values and concepts and had a pre-colonial system of governance that ensured the welfare of all people. Traditional religion allowed its inhabitants to exist within a morally acceptable framework, satisfy their essential needs, lead lives of meaning and interest, and share fairly in opportunities for social interactions.

The self-sufficiency of Acholi society and the significant socio-economic development that characterized the past in Uganda contrasted with how Latigo determined the current situation. After decades of conflict, Uganda is marked by a dire need for reconciliation. Latigo suggested that such necessity is in no small part due to the colonial history of the country, during which indigenous knowledge and governance

systems were subverted and undermined. Moreover, globalization and resulting deregulation and marketization have compounded current issues. As a result, the contemporary climate is one of intolerance, exclusion, fragmentation, and militarism.

Despite these challenges, Latigo was emphatic that all is not lost, and the opportunity remains to foster national cohesion and reconciliation. Doing so, Latigo asserted, would require looking back into the past and seeking out the positive aspects of Ugandan society and its many rich reconciliation practices. To achieve this, community, bottom-up narratives should be given voice and included in order to synthesize constructive diverse narratives. Overcoming the denial of the voice of culture, ethnic identity, and diversity will allow inter-cultural accommodation, tolerance and inclusiveness to flourish. Latigo emphasized Luutu Mukasa's concept of "cognitive atonement" as a mechanism through which to break free from the pursuit of only one brand of narrative and to remain open and inclusive of other diverse narratives.

Latigo's presentation was valuable in highlighting the rich repository of values and knowledge within local communities and their institutions. Although certainly no panacea, there lies a vast potential in traditional rituals and belief that complement other approaches to reconciliation. It is crucial to remain aware that transitional justice promises no inflexible utopia. Rather, the concept itself is experimental. Latigo ended: "we must imagine transitional justice notions as one incomplete vehicle through which we can understand and start the recovery of a tormented society." Through asking the questions where do we come from, where are we now, and where are we going, there is a greater propensity to appreciate the values as well as dangers of traditional institutions, and to use them, where fit, to facilitate reconciliation.

Dr. Joanna Quinn carried forward the theme of the value of traditional practices in Uganda with her presentation, *The Role and Influence of Religious Leaders on the Use of Traditional Practices of Acknowledgement in Uganda*. Dr. Quinn shared with the conference participants a component of her ongoing research on how social institutions can acknowledge past conflict-related events, focusing on the opinions and attitudes of Ugandan religious leaders toward traditional practices of acknowledgement. Quinn posited that customary practices of acknowledgement hold the potential to assist with the social and emotional traumas of conflict in Uganda. Because traditional

practices are familiar and trusted by Ugandans, they may offer a path to reconciliation that is more accessible than externally imposed transitional justice mechanisms.

Due to the considerable authority Ugandan religious leaders enjoy in both spiritual and everyday life, it is important to consider their official perspectives on traditional processes of reconciliation. By conducting interviews with fifty-six religious leaders of these faith groups, as well as faith-based NGOs, Quinn was able to ascertain their perspectives on the use of spiritual practices as a means for acknowledgment and reconciliation. Her research revealed that Catholic religious leaders, joined with slightly less fervor by their Anglican and Orthodox counterparts, support traditional practices. The doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church explicitly embraces a doctrine of inculturation. By contrast, the evangelical churches – including some Church of Uganda priests, Pentecostals, and Seventh Day Adventists – as well as the Muslim Supreme Council, were opposed to what such practices might represent, rejecting the “spiritual attachment” that customary ceremonies have. This signifies a clear divide in opinions between the religious leaders in Uganda on the place of traditional practices.

Although reluctance toward these practices exist, Quinn further explored the amenability of religious leaders to the modification of some elements of the traditional practices to render them more acceptable – for example, conducting common services of prayer, or holding communal meals to demonstrate reconciliation has taken place. The majority of interviewees responded in favor of this concept. Quinn suggested that this perspective offered the potential for the development of “neo-traditions” and ceremonies to be used as a means of furthering peace, justice, and reconciliation. Finding commonality among traditional and formal religious practices offers promise for future reconciliation, and it is therefore important to assess the perspectives of religious leaders in making use of these practices. Furthermore, it is crucial to employ transitional justice systems that communities trust and understand. Because the promotion of social acknowledgement is an important step toward reconciliation, the blessing of religious leaders for the modified use of traditional mechanism seems promising.

The discussion began with a question regarding the prevalence and scope of traditional cultural practices. It was suggested that many of them were more commonly found in the literature rather than in practice, particularly among the younger

generation. With this in mind, it was queried whether there might be a need to promote such practices, and the pros and cons of such a prospect, particularly with regards to how far back you stretch to find such practices. The panelists widely agreed that such practices did not require “promotion” – and that they did hold varying degrees of daily relevance. As the presentations from this panel displayed, there was the emergence of a hybrid form of traditional practices, based on a coupling of engrained and age old cultural practices with new technology, as was seen in Victor Igreja’s presentation on “televisioning,” and was suggested by Joanna Quinn in her research into the prospects for “neo-traditions.” The appropriation of new types of technology has led to traditional practices gaining new meaning and expanding in scope. All the panelists argued, instead, that what was important was that these practices were *acknowledged*. This is a key difference from promotion, and ties unequivocally back into the position they hold in dominant peacebuilding rhetoric, which tends to under acknowledge or render exotic local practices, cultural values, and knowledge. As Latigo reiterated from his presentation, “we cannot ignore modernization, but we also must not ignore the good things of the past. Let us bring them together.” It was widely agreed that doing so would result in methods of reconciliation and justice that held more meaning and significance to the population they were involved with. The panelists agreed on the importance of ongoing dialogue between groups – local communities, donor agencies, scholars, and the international community alike. Maintaining open lines of communication would assist the degree to which the acknowledgement could be achieved.

The discussion then moved to the incongruities between international perceptions of an absence of transitional justice in Mozambique, and the reality of local cultural practices demonstrated by Igreja’s work on *gamba* spirits. It was suggested that there was a need to develop an accepted language and discourse, so that practices such as spirit possession could be articulated in a way that will be accepted by the dominant knowledge-creation community. This related back to the need for recognition and acknowledgement of what are already flourishing and dynamic practices – without such acknowledgement, there is an incomplete picture of their importance and false attribution of successes and failures to other practices.

The correlation between how a concept is framed and its subsequent acknowledgement and public recognition was further developed through the lens of

“traditional” and “religious” leaders in Africa. One commentator noted a trend of hesitance to refer to traditional leaders as religious, and rather to refer to them as “cultural” leaders. As a result, where formal religions such as Christianity and Islam retained authority, there was a gradual erasure of the formal authority of traditional religious figures with a consequent effect on their national and international significance. The example of Uganda was described, where traditional cultural institutions are required to remain outside of religious institutions and vice versa. The separation of these two notions is artificial.

The discussion ended on a cautionary note, with an observation made that one of the major dangers, when discussing African traditional practices, is that we do the same thing we did to truth commissions – which is to incorporate it into a legal framework, codify it, and thus relate to it within a framework that is not of its own making. Rather than enculturating the law, we may risk legalizing culture. This may effectively stagnate what are dynamic practices. As James Latigo had remarked, we must remain aware of the past, present, and desired future while ensuring that current practices do not adversely disenfranchise or injure vulnerable populations.

Keynote Address: *Reflections on Peace from the Ground Up*, Bishop Matthew Hassan Kukah

Expressing enthusiasm and anticipation for the forthcoming panels, Bishop Kukah noted the valuable contributions the conference would make to the discourse on religion, culture, and reconciliation. Welcoming calls to examine Africa's past in order to have a greater understanding of how its history influences the contemporary situation, Bishop Kukah called on the conference participants to "wear the shoes of the long distance runner," and work for long-term transformation in the contested journey toward reconciliation.

In this address, Bishop Kukah took the opportunity to share with the participants his perspectives on the conflict in Nigeria. The Bishop refuted commonly held assumptions that the Nigerian conflict is a religious crisis between Christians and Muslims. Although religion was a feature of the conflict landscape, Bishop Kukah spoke of other conclusions he had arrived at in trying to decipher the conflict trends in the country. In particular, he argued that the Nigerian state had failed to deal with issues of security, law, and order. It is these administrative lapses and incapacities that are causing tensions, and although serious, Bishop Kukah claimed they could be rectified. As the Bishop stated, the unique religious demographics in Nigeria do pose unique challenges. With a population split almost equally between Islam and Christianity, the rapid pace of growth of Christianity has begun to unsettle the long-established Muslim population. However, Bishop Kukah emphasized that religion was masking other underlying tensions driving the conflict and that it was deployed as a proxy by the political elite in order to further its own interests. Thus, the conflict in Nigeria is not a religious conflict.

At the same time, however, Bishop Kukah suggested that institutional structures appear to have stymied religious leaders from playing a more conciliatory role in the conflict. In particular, religious leaders experience difficulties meeting on common ground, due to the different hierarchical structures of the Christian and Muslim faiths. In Catholicism, there is a clearer hierarchy, however colonialism left a legacy in Nigeria where Muslim Emirs are appointed by the government. Not only does this reduce their moral legitimacy, but it also limits the extent to which they can freely criticize government activity without fear of repercussions. Bishop Kukah stressed that the lack

of progress among religious leaders was not due to a lack of effort on their behalf, but that the issues are made undoubtedly more complex by the nature of the religious diversity in the country and the currencies of power that influence religious institutions. Moreover, the religious landscape is further compounded by an increase in Pentecostal influence, with its attendant perspectives on proselytizing that create certain tensions.

Bishop Kukah concluded with two suggestions on how the reconstruction process in Africa could be accelerated. Firstly, he advocated for a continued commitment to democracy, despite its many distortions and structural weaknesses. Despite certain tensions and challenges, Bishop Kukah asserted that multiparty democracy in Africa, properly placed and executed with discipline, has the long-term potential to build bridges across ethnicities and religions. Although Nigeria faces many challenges, the fact that it has undergone four back-to-back elections has been a measure of the progress it has made and for which it deserves to be commended. Secondly, Bishop Kukah called on civil society to operate in a more vital manner. He urged Church members to retain a critical distance from the vestiges of power in order to ensure that they could play a leading role in speaking truth to that power.

Panel Three: Religious Actors as Peacemakers in Africa

Reverend Apollinaire Malumalu's presentation,¹ *The Catholic Church and the Peacemaking Process in the Great Lakes Region*, discussed the peacebuilding role of the Catholic Church in the Great Lakes Region of Africa. Rev. Malumalu proposed that the Church offers one of the greatest potentials for peace in the region, and that it should be active in its efforts of conflict prevention, conflict management, peace building, and reconciliation. Conflict analysis of the Great Lakes region reveals that religion has been wielded as both a motivation for violence and a powerful force for peace – it is therefore incumbent on the Church to harness the proven and potential relevance it has to contributed to the work of building peace.

Rev. Malumalu outlined the Church's unique advantages in peacebuilding: working at all levels of society, the church is able to access key stakeholders, and enjoys significant credibility among the public and decision makers alike. Drawing on the rich heritage of Catholic Social Teaching (CST), the church is able to remain committed to the core values of faith, hope, and charity as well as truth, justice, and freedom. Moreover, the dedicated presence of the church on the ground ensures that it is able to attend quickly to local developments as they occur. Among the key tasks which the Church carries out, Malumalu noted the significance of providing nuanced and complex conflict analyses; conducting advocacy work in order to publicize pressing issues at both a national and international level; leadership in reconciliation initiatives; and involvement at all phases of the conflict, from emergency humanitarian relief efforts to long-term sustainable development.

In conclusion, Rev. Malumalu noted significant developments in the Great Lakes region over recent months, which signified a momentum that the Church must seize in order to contribute to the construction of peace. The signing of the framework agreement for peace, security, and cooperation for the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the region is an example of such developments. The Church, with its heritage of CST and its transnational nature, is particularly well equipped to act at a sub-regional level, and to foster the moment needed to move toward peace and justice. Rev.

¹ Reverend Malumalu was unfortunately unable to attend the conference in person. This is a summary of the French presentation that was provided by him in his absence.

Malumalu called for the Catholic Church to throw its full potential and efforts into the endeavor of peacebuilding as it was well equipped to utilize the strengths he had outlined in his presentation in order to build a momentum toward peace.

Claudio Betti provided an insight into the inner workings of religious peacebuilding, with his presentation *Making Peace – Lessons from the Sant’Egidio Peacebuilding Experience*. This presentation focused on the dangers of simplification in the face of complexity in the field of peacemaking, drawing from Betti’s three decades of experience in the Community of Sant’Egidio, a Catholic lay community. The community has played an instrumental role in mediating wars in Mozambique, Liberia, Guatemala, Algeria, Kosovo, and many other countries. He argued that when discussing religious peacebuilding, there is a need for the complexity of these processes to be made evident, understood, and supported.

Betti began by recognizing the role of religious institutions in peacemaking but cautioning that this role can at times be somewhat overstated in a way that leads to over-simplification. He warned that religion is not without its controversies, and it is a complex phenomenon that cannot be reduced. Although religious actors are significant forces for peace, at times they are complicit in political power struggles and non-religious motivations. Furthermore, Betti suggested a tendency among elite level actors to view bottom-up, religious approaches as somewhat easier than high-level political processes. This is, unfortunately, far from the case. Moreover, these bottom-up processes of peacemaking are crucial to change generational cycles of conflict. Betti found fault with a tendency to adopt highly complicated tools in response to over-simplified analyses. On the contrary, he advocated for peacemaking to be simple – but not simplistic. According to Betti, dialogue and personal human encounter characterize the tools of religious actors.

Betti introduced several characteristics of the Sant’Egidio experience that he sees as crucial for understanding religious endeavors in peacemaking. These range from the importance of the identity of stakeholders, the avoidance of an oversimplification of complex issues, and the temptation to overtheorize. Additionally, he pointed to the importance of moral legitimacy, time, patience, and the creation of a synergistic approach with many different actors in order to strengthen peacebuilding efforts. Many of these characteristics distinguish the Sant’Egidio experience from that of high-level

actors, and ensure that religious entities such as Sant'Egidio will continue to play a critical role in making peace. Betti ended with a call to acknowledge that the pursuit of peace by religious actors should be a passion, and not a profession.

As the final speaker in this panel, John Ashworth gave an account of ecumenical religious efforts in South Sudan in peacebuilding and reconciliation in his presentation, *The South Sudanese Church and Reconciliation*. Ashworth noted that in Sudan the church – here meaning the Catholic Church as well as protestant churches – was the only institution that remained on the ground with the people during the course of the whole war. In this position, it provided wide-ranging support to the population: health, education, emergency relief, local mediation, advocacy and much more. Ashworth noted that the church never viewed itself as a “peacebuilder,” but rather as a pastoral agent. Moreover, its continued presence in Sudan afforded it significant moral authority, credibility, and legitimacy that continue into the post-war period.

Ashworth identified the People-to-People Peace Processes as a significant component of the church's work during the 1990s. Following a failure to reconcile two rebel leaders – John Garang and Riek Machar – the church convened meetings at the grassroots level among chiefs and elders of the two tribes that were widely associated with the fighting. These efforts culminated in a meeting where over 2000 people met in dialogue that resulted in a peace agreement among the stakeholders. This process offered several lessons for the church. Ashworth mentioned the importance of a long-term commitment and patience for a process that might take years. He emphasized the need to foster trust, share stories, and use traditional reconciliation methods. It was important that throughout the process members of the community recognized that it was the primary actor, with both ownership and responsibility over the process and its outcomes.

The efforts of the church in South Sudan have had wide ranging effects. As Ashworth concluded, the respect and moral authority that the church had built and maintained during its time on the ground had resulted in its active role in the newly initiated national reconciliation process, with a reconciliation commission headed by various members of the faith community. Importantly, there is recognition in this and other peace processes of the importance of grassroots engagement and local ownership.

This recognition is in part driven by the application of lessons learned from the church's long experience on the ground

As this particular panel provided a practitioner's perspective to peace, the discussion revolved around more practical components of peacebuilding, and panelists were asked to provide their views on certain topics pertinent to their daily lives. The discussion began with an observation that these three presentations demonstrated how peacebuilding was truly an art rather than a science, where the work of peace practitioners is often one of careful improvisation, responding to events as they unfold. One participant, however, voiced concern that "improvisation" may imply a certain level of amateurishness, which he cautioned against, while recognizing the fluid nature of peacebuilding. There was agreement among the discussants that peacebuilders needed to retain an element of presence in their work, and to remain open to the emergence of the unexpected.

The notion of "capacity building" was also discussed. Many participants agreed that the use of the word can be misconstrued, and that it is important to reflect on what it implies. On the one hand, there is a tendency for international NGOs and agencies to perceive this term as a way of homogenizing practice along their own vision of peace. On the other hand, there were several respondents who recognized the tremendous value they had received from what was ostensibly capacity building workshops. A common response to this question was the belief that the knowledge offered must be requested, and genuinely given and received, with humility. As one respondent noted, the complexity and multiple levels of the conflict situation may require a greater synergy among actors, and often, successful peacebuilding requires specialized information. In these instances, targeted and sustained capacity building is a vital component of peace efforts.

Burnout and overstretching were raised as significant obstacles facing religious peacebuilding efforts. All of the panelists agreed that these were issues in their individual efforts as well as part of the church's response. However, as John Ashworth noted in his presentation, this was the reality of the long-term, complex emergency they faced on the ground in South Sudan. One panelist noted that, although limited resources were a very pressing issue, there is no limit to empathy and compassion. The need,

therefore, was to work toward mobilizing more resources in order to respond effectively to emergencies.

One interesting point was raised regarding John Ashworth's presentation on the church's efforts in South Sudan. It was suggested that the imagery of the church's work seemed to center more on the "creation of space" rather than the facilitation of processes. This provides a different conceptualization of the role of the church in South Sudan and allows for a different lens to be applied when analyzing that role. Such a re-framing may have implications for how future work is approached, particularly in efforts to keep current spaces open.

Panel Four: Institutions, Organizations, and Peace

Dr. Rosalind Hackett advocated for a more critical analysis of the media dimension when examining the intersections among religion, conflict, and peacebuilding. In *Africa's New Media Revolution: Exploring the Prospects for Peace and Conflict*, Dr. Hackett presented a wide range of empirical research on African – mainly Nigerian, Ghanaian, Ugandan, and South African – media, which underscored the salience of the media in peacebuilding and illustrated the diverse roles of religion in relation to peacebuilding. The presentation revealed not only the ambivalent role that media can play as both a force of liberation and empowerment and as one of incitement and violence, but also how the media shape and are shaped by social, economic, cultural, and political forces. The sheer diversity of these offerings were illustrated by Hackett in her examples of the stereotypical images of religious others found in many Nollywood films, in contrast to radio programs by Mega FM in northern Uganda which sought to facilitate the return of abductees and rebels from the bush during the recent Lord's Resistance Army insurgency, and television programs in South Africa that aim to educate children about religious pluralism.

Hackett began with an overview of Africa's rapidly changing contemporary mediascapes . These include a diversification of ownership, production, and dissemination and a wave of deregulation from the 1990s onwards that has created new neoliberal media markets. Moreover, globalization facilitates a growing convergence between the local and the global. The convergent, diversified and multi-leveled layers of media in Africa produce a complex web that can be challenging for the analyst.

Hackett argued that taking media as the central category of analysis in trying to understand the relationship between religion, conflict, and reconciliation will provide insight into the capacity of media to constitute new communities and publics, the process of identity construction, and the sheer complexity of hegemonic and counterhegemonic forces that shape religious coexistence. Moreover, a more critical analysis of the role of media can illuminate how media can be both part of the problem and part of any solution.

In conclusion, this presentation challenged views that a liberalized media would engender peaceful, open discussions and dialogue among religions, with many examples illustrating that negative media representations and inequitable media access can

reinforce cleavages and tensions. Hackett emphasized in closing that the burgeoning religious media sector represent a significant new interface for negotiating the power relations among and within religious groups and between religious groups and the state. So, although there are many examples of the media in Africa that require caution as to their negative roles in conflict, Hackett also gave cause for hope for the potential of the media to disseminate a message of religious coexistence and tolerance as a powerful tool for peace in conflict or post-conflict zones.

Dr. Cecelia Lynch, in an address entitled *Peacebuilding and the Ethics of Charity in Africa*, explored the impact of global neoliberal and security discourses on Islamic NGOs operating in Africa. This research was situated within a broader effort to understand how global issues may shape the work of local groups involved in aid, humanitarianism, and peacebuilding.

Interrogating the global/local connections in aid work and peacebuilding has allowed Lynch to draw initial conclusions about the dynamics facing the daily operation of Islamic faith-based NGOs. In Kenya, for example, anti-terrorism surveillance has significantly affected Muslim NGOs. However, in Kenyan coastal areas, there is evidence that the “War on Terror” (WOT) has had a somewhat paradoxical effect, with Christian and Muslim groups establishing stronger connections, becoming increasingly politicized and mutually supportive as the anti-terror campaign increased. Peacebuilding efforts burgeoned, and there was a sense that coastal areas were less affected by the post-2007 election violence that spread through Kenya.

A second example illustrated a less positive development in response to the War on Terror and neoliberal discourses. Lynch asserted that such discourses have created pressure among Muslim groups to choose between funding from western donors or from Gulf states. The experience of Islamic humanitarian organizations in these situations differs considerably from those of Christian groups even though Christian groups are themselves distinguished from secular organizations. The politicization of donor funding has also resulted in an internalization of a certain “NGO speak” by both transnational and national Islamic NGOs in an effort to become normalized within the broader aid industry. Lynch suggested that such global dynamics have initiated significant contemporary debates among transnational groups working in Africa on what it means to be a Muslim NGO in a globalized world. There seems to be a tension

between how Islamic NGOs becoming more central to broader peacebuilding discourses while retaining particularly Islamic ethical and experiential bases to their work.

In conclusion, Lynch suggested that some of the obstacles faced by Islamic NGOs are unique, in comparison to those encountered by Christian and secular NGOs. She suggested that there might be a tension within such organizations between developing a uniquely Islamic faith-based theology to guide their work, and the security and neoliberal ideologies that pervade international funding channels. This has resulted in a tendency to downplay their Islamic orientation in order to become more accepted within global channels. Lynch urged greater investigation into how local NGOs may resist the more negative pressures that result from global discourses, and for western policymakers, academics and NGOs to become more receptive to the potential to learn from the epistemologies of local NGOs operating across Africa.

In a presentation entitled *The Search for Peace: A Personal Journey on an Institutional Vehicle*, Hippolyt Pul illustrated the role and strengths of CRS's work in its communities, as well as certain limitations faced by the organization. These reflections allowed insight into a personal and institutional search for peace and provided an intimate reflection on the practitioner's journey along this path.

Pul began by outlining the strengths and accomplishments of CRS in Africa. He identified its faith roots as a key factor allowing it to work closely with local churches and its fundamental commitment to accompaniment, enabling an intimate understanding and presence on the ground. As a result, the organization can play a highly responsive advocacy role. The field presence of CRS provides a greater awareness of what is occurring in the country and therefore a more informed approach in interventions. The commitment to local staff ensures local knowledge and provides a measure of sustainability, with institutional memory proving important for programming. Moreover, CRS brings significant technical expertise at both a regional and global level and enjoys strong international networks that can be tapped into as the need arises. As a result, CRS has the advantage of a strong and anchored presence at multiple levels, including the global, regional, national, and local. Each of these strengths has enabled CRS to contribute to successful peacebuilding initiatives.

In addition to such strengths, Pul also provided an overview of certain limitations an organization such as CRS faces in its work. Carrying forward the theme introduced by

Cecelia Lynch on the influence of global discourses on donor politics, Pul identified a constant pressure to conform to donor-driven benchmarking and targets. He suggested that “projectitis,” driven by donor-requirements of three year funding cycles, limits the kind of relationships and initiatives that CRS can develop or should develop in order to build and institutionalize local capacities for peace. Moreover, a focus among donors on gathering metrics has stymied effective peacebuilding, as it is impossible to “count” the successes of peacebuilding in a quantitative manner. Similarly, there is a view among donors that funding is only required in an emergency or crisis, which negatively affects initiatives operating in fragile contexts that may be less overtly violent or crisis driven. This crisis-driven approach proves detrimental to the work of peace because peacebuilding is not an event but rather a work in progress. A different kind of challenge faced by CRS stemmed from its roots as an American, faith-based organization. As Pul outlined, in certain situations CRS may be operating within a context of violence where the United States is a complicit stakeholder. Thus, it was a challenge to CRS to operate without its credibility being questioned. Moreover, due to its close association with Catholic foundations, CRS is sometimes faced with a dilemma, as it seeks to present itself as a peacebuilding organization first and foremost, and one which does not proselytize.

Pul concluded his presentation with a reflection on the transformation of CRS into the peacebuilding organization it is today. He noted the personal nature of such a journey, as individual members of the organization increasingly recognized that their work needed to be more attentive to issues of conflict and peace, and must not be limited to relief and rehabilitation. With this awareness, CRS adopted a justice lens that embraced Catholic Social Teaching in order to develop a moral guide to hear the voices of local communities and create platforms upon which sustainable change and conflict transformation could be created.

Borne of Dr. Lynch’s discussion of the need to interrogate assumptions among global discourses and advocate for a greater learning among Western NGOs to learn from African discourses and epistemologies, there was a consensus among the discussants that many African NGOs have accepted and internalized a framing of humanitarian flows that delineates Africa as the “recipient of charity,” breeding a conformity to these currencies of power. A question was therefore posed to all the

panelists as to how this position could be altered, and how reframing could take place that attends greater respect and acknowledgment for alternative expertise and epistemologies. One participant spoke of the great need for African peacebuilders to forge their own terminologies. Lynch provided an example of these efforts in the blog www.cihablog.com, which conducts critical investigations into humanitarianism in Africa as a way of working toward a wider objective of transforming current frameworks of peacebuilding and humanitarianism into more egalitarian and less paternalistic and neo-liberal kinds of partnerships. As noted by Pul, when faced with unrealistic demands by donors, local NGOs should seize the opportunity to question and challenge these demands. At the same time, there is a need for Western donors to recognize the assumptions and biases inherent in their approach and for local NGOs in Africa to assume a key role in educating them on these biases and the nefarious consequences of them. Lynch remarked that she sees a key part of her work as questioning the way Western NGOs portray their work and interrogating representational issues that arise.

A question was raised about how the media may subvert government repression in an environment where the media is often called the “fourth arm” of the government. As Hackett noted, with the rise of the new media she outlined in her presentation, new forms of participation are emerging, indicating resistance to state-determined messages. Challenging state discourses can occur both overtly and covertly, and as the media continues to diversify and move away from government controlled avenues it will be important to watch and see whether it has a lasting effect on the power of the state to control mass mediated forms of expression. Hackett also noted the importance of the local-global repercussions of contemporary media, facilitated by the diversification of forms of media expression. Hackett pointed out that although her earlier work had focused on how media was implicated in exacerbating and instigating conflict, she was interested in further developing the analysis to see how media may play a role in sustaining peace efforts.

The discussion then moved on to explore further how one might “measure” peace particularly in light of the difficulties raised by Pul regarding the donor requirement for metrics. Pul described how he was trying to privilege the attitudes of the people who are affected by conflict and consider how they themselves measure peace. This may vary greatly from the notions and attitudes of the donors, however, as Pul reiterated, we

cannot sit outside of the context of conflict and define what peace ought to look like, but rather should begin to try and understand the issues from the perspective of those people who are living the conflict. Pul likened the perspectives of the donor to a “snapshot” and those of the local people to a “movie” – in the latter, there is an understanding of change processes and developments. For these reasons, Pul argues, there is a need to move away from metrics toward a more qualitative and enriched understanding of peace.

Panel Five: The Catholic Church as a Peacebuilder in the Great Lakes Region

Fr. Emmanuel Ntakarutimana opened this panel with *The Role of the Catholic Church in Peacebuilding and Human Rights Advocacy in Burundi: Hopes and Challenges*. He gave insight into some of the many issues facing contemporary Burundi as it is dealing with a legacy of systematic and systemic violence rooted in dictatorships, ethnic conflicts, and open civil wars. The real challenge facing the country is to know how to rebuild and strengthen social capital and resume development in the context of these decades of conflict. The situation remains fragile – regional instability, slow economic recovery, returning refugees and ongoing grievances continue to exacerbate stability. Moreover, the climate of fear and mistrust between ethnic groups must be addressed. As Fr. Ntakarutimana outlined, this is a complex situation in which the Catholic Church must be vigilant. His assessment of peoples' opinions shows very high expectations for the transitional period, particularly in the areas of democratization and economic development. Additionally, Fr. Ntakarutimana asserted the need for significant work to be done in taking care of the wounds of the past and the diffused trauma that exists across communities. There is a compelling need to negotiate space for a new culture of dialogue, exchange, and debate while also addressing accountability for past crimes.

Fr. Ntakarutimana noted that the Catholic Church has some advantages in assisting with this process of transition, despite the many complex challenges facing Burundi. Although the specific role of the Church in such processes is not always clear, the structures and operating mode of the Catholic Church provide a considerable opportunity to mobilize rapidly a very large number of citizens at all levels of society. They are active at the grassroots, intermediary, and national policy-making level. As a result, the Catholic Church in Burundi has been reflecting on what contribution it should make to this period of Burundi's history, with the potential to be involved in missions dealing with political, social, cultural, and psychological mechanisms in addition to traditional direct religious and spiritual involvement.

Fr. Ntakarutimana outlined areas in which he felt that the Church had a valuable role to play. He suggested that the Church should investigate and clarify truth, justice,

forgiveness and reconciliation through a religious lens in addition to the political lens under which it is currently being examined. This is an important role because of the strong relationship between religion, reconciliation, and transitional justice and the theological richness that could be added to ongoing political analysis of these concepts in order to broaden the social analysis within the Burundian context. The Church must also contribute to the restoration of the values basis were shattered during the decades of conflict with a focus on promoting Christian values and strengthening relationships between the people. At the same time, the Church must be attentive to the significant trauma faced by the people, particularly during the TRC, where memories may reawaken. The Church has strong networks across its parishes that can be of great help to build the resilience capacities of both individuals and communities. Finally, it is important that this work is conducted within a framework that develops a preferential option for the poor.

John Baptiste Talla presented *Religious Peacebuilding in the Great Lakes Region: The Catholic Church's Contribution to Rebuilding Social Cohesion in Lesser Great Lakes Countries*. With a focus on Burundi, Rwanda, and the DRC, Talla articulated three key lessons he felt the Catholic Church had learned from its peacebuilding experience in this region. Talla began with the observation that negotiated peace agreements alone do not make peace, but rather people do – hence, a central focus on community-level and grassroots peacebuilding. With this in mind, Talla recognized the Church's significant work in the promotion of reconciliation, justice, and peace with the aim of rebuilding broken relationships from the ground up and developing local structures to decrease social tensions. Talla noted that the Church's valuable peace work from the ground up may have brought more significant change had the church been more aware of its potential to promote peace and reconciliation through all of its services. Although peacebuilding retains a pastoral priority, Talla suggests that the Church would do well to insure that church interventions in development, health, emergency relief and education are conducted with an intention to target behavioral change in terms of rebuilding broken relationships and decreasing violent conflicts.

The second lesson articulated by Talla was the importance of working for justice as an essential component of working for peace. He noted that the Church enjoys

considerable credibility in the region for its actions in favor of the common good and equity as a prerequisite for sustainable peace. The Church's efforts in promoting social justice have resulted in progress toward more just and accountable governance by promoting broad political participation and mobilizing people around issues of extractive industries. This is in recognition that bad governance, mismanagement of resources and social injustices are key drivers of insecurity and conflict in the region.

Talla used the vision statement of CRS to articulate his third lesson in the region – “solidarity will transform the world.” He attested to how powerful the Church is when it capitalizes on its vertical and horizontal constituencies at both the national and international levels and argued that continuing to do so allows the Church to advance the agenda for peace and structural change. He advocated for the Church to try and go beyond national borders in order to construct a regional alliance as a means of building synergies for peace and leveraging the support of sister churches to bring about more effective change in terms of equity and social cohesion. He concluded that despite the many challenges, “together, as a family of God, seeking to heal the Great Lakes Region from violent conflict, we can make a great difference.”

Fr. Paulin Manwelo, S.J., contributed a theoretical assessment in the final presentation, *The Catholic Church and Peacebuilding in the DRC: The Missing Link*. Distinguishing three main phases in the history of religious peacebuilding within the DRC, Fr. Manwelo suggested that, despite some significant contributions, religious peacebuilding efforts were still surrounded with a sense of disenchantment. In order to explore the reasons behind this sentiment, Fr. Manwelo relied on conceptual theories, which then offered him a way to propose a path forward.

Fr. Manwelo distinguished three phases in the history of the Catholic Church's involvement in peacebuilding within the DRC. The “Golden Phase” from the 1960s until 1998 was a time of relative peace, and the Church was active in investing in education, health, housing and economic initiatives. The Crisis Phase emerged at the end of Mobutu's regime, with the collapse of the education system and of socio-economic structures and the spread of conflict throughout the country. Here, Fr. Manwelo said the Church deserved some criticism, as there had been a failure to adequately make the transition from the missionary to indigenous church and a certain failure on behalf of the indigenous church to continue with the same passion and perseverance the work

done by missionaries. Moreover, the Catholic Church tended to be concentrated in urban areas, whereas the greatest need was in rural regions. At the same time, there was a return to more traditional practices and customs, which Fr. Manwelo suggested were not always in favor of the promotion of human rights, dignity, and progress. The most recent phase of reconstruction began in 2006, with elections. Here, the Church made a significant contribution to the efforts for establishing democracy.

To this day, Fr. Manwelo suggests that there is a persistent sense of failure on behalf of the Church. He contends that many believe in a pervasive lack of justice, compounded by the slow process of reconstruction. The key focus of his presentation was answering the question why, despite all of the efforts of various actors including the Catholic Church, so little had been achieved in peacebuilding efforts. In order to further explain this issue, Fr. Manwelo applied several theoretical approaches to the DRC context – the human needs theory, work by Alexis de Tocqueville, and the democracy theory. Each of these theories contributed to understanding the problems faced by the DRC. At the same time, Fr. Manwelo opined that there was a need for an approach which would allow the Church and other peacebuilding actors to address the issue of peace in a new way and visualize a new path forward. Central to such a paradigm would be a multifaceted notion of justice incorporating communicative, legal, distributive and international justice. Thus, Fr. Manwelo concluded, the role of the Catholic Church centers on the promotion of justice as the foundation of true peace.

The three presentations of panel five provoked significant discussion. Fr. Manwelo was asked to expand on his call for the adoption of a more self-critical approach by African scholars and policymakers, and for a cultural readjustment. Recognizing that there were many valuable resources available to African countries, Fr. Manwelo nevertheless reiterated that the culture and values of African countries should be evaluated with a self-critical lens and pointed to a school of African scholars who are increasingly making this call. One panelist suggested that it was important to recognize that the impact of colonization and Western discourses has also been profound and lasting. In light of this, it is necessary to analyze our past and present in order to use what Africa has to build the positive aspects of culture that will help in responding to the challenges it is facing currently.

The discussion then returned to the question of power, a theme that undercut many of the debates at the conference. In countries where the Catholic Church is a large, well-established institution with a thick hierarchy, it can be a force of peacebuilding and democracy. At the same time, however, the more power the Church holds, the more this may be a potential liability as such an institution is likely to be actively coopted by the state. There must be a greater comparative textual analysis done, therefore, to consider the factors that make the church an agent of peace and democratization in some cases, while in other settings it is complicit with dictatorial regimes and violence. Fr. Ntakarutimana agreed, and noted that although many factors are important, a Church that is independent economically and politically is crucial. At the same time, however, he noted that exigent demands are often made of those who choose to seek the path of independence and that this path is also often fraught with danger. Speaking truth to power requires a certain kind of courage, Fr. Ntakarutimana noted, pointing to situations in Burundi that have led to martyrdom.

Panel Six: Civil Society and the Building of Peace

Symphorien Pyana opened the sixth panel with *Grassroots Peacebuilding in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo: The Role of Religion and Local Culture*. Pyana posited that one factor in the continued failure of ongoing peace initiatives in the DRC is that the dominant narratives framing international and national responses to the conflict are precluding alternative discourses on the root causes of the conflict.

Pyana commenced his presentation by introducing what he argues are the three interrelated narratives currently shaping efforts to address the conflict in DRC. Firstly, there is a widely held belief that the root cause of violence is the illegal exploitation of natural resources. Secondly, the major manifestation of violence is sexual abuse of women and children. Thirdly, the primary solution to these issues is seen as reconstructing state authority. Adopting these narratives, international diplomats and advocates have succeeded in placing the issue of the eastern Congo onto the agenda of major world actors, publicizing what has often been characterized as a forgotten conflict. However, these narratives have also orientated international and national responses to three major areas: regulating the trade of minerals, providing care to victims of sexual violence, and pouring money into state and security infrastructure.

There have been unforeseen negative consequences as a result of the prioritization of these narratives. Firstly, an emphasis on resource and mineral conflict has resulted in other root causes being overlooked –corruption, local political and social antagonisms, land conflicts, and poverty. In a similar vein, although valuable efforts have been launched in attending to the survivors of egregious gender-based violence, scarce resources have resulted in the neglect of funding for other serious human needs. Finally, a concentrated focus on reinforcing state authority has sacrificed other necessary measures, including resolving land conflicts, promoting inter-community reconciliation, jump-starting economic development, promoting human rights and civic education, and fighting corruption. Each of these responses highlights a major weakness in current peacebuilding efforts, which are overwhelmingly “top-down,” focusing on macro-level issues and overlooking the local everyday problems that persist in people’s lives.

For Pyana, the efforts in response to the three dominant narratives offer an explanation for the fact that although there are significant attention and resources flowing into eastern Congo peacebuilding efforts, results remain forthcoming. In order to address these weaknesses, Pyana advocates for a more sophisticated understanding of how local Congolese understand peace and how they envision a peaceful society. This is reminiscent of the suggestion of Hippolyt Pul in an earlier panel on “local understandings” of peace. As Pyana noted, adopting a perspective that is more enriched by local understandings and knowledge will afford a greater role to be played by religion and culture in impacting the peacebuilding process.

John Katunga presented *A Key Node of the Web of Social Transformation: Civil Society Participation in Political Competition*. He began with a summary of the contribution of civil society and the Church to peacebuilding, with a particular focus on Kenya and South Sudan. From this, he identified major functions where the church is making a significant contribution to the maintenance of peace and justice.

Using a framework developed by Thania Paffenholz and Christoph Spurk to analyze civil society, Katunga applied this framework to the work of civil society, particularly the Church, in Kenya and South Sudan. Firstly, Katunga outlined how the Church offers protection to the people, and serves as a hub of safety and humanitarian assistance – when violence occurs people rush to the Church for not only humanitarian support and protection but also spiritual nourishment. This role has strengthened local and international credibility and trust in Church institutions. It is upon such trust and credibility that the Church, if recognized and opportunity is given, could become strategically complementary to state recovery and development programs, especially in the crucial domains of reconstruction and reconciliation efforts. The Church also plays a strong role in monitoring and accountability. Kenya has a powerful early warning and response network in play, and efforts are underway to develop this similarly in South Sudan. Coming to a similar conclusion as John Ashworth, Katunga referred to the Church’s shadow negotiations during the Jonglei peace process as an example of how the church provides advocacy and public communication – working to bring real issues to the agenda of those who are making decisions and to fight for the space to participate in negotiations. Katunga noted that these efforts are particularly essential in South Sudan, and because of internal weaknesses there must be sustained external advocacy

work in order to mobilize support. A function of civil society where the Church is particularly involved is that of socialization and the building of a culture of peace. Katunga distinguished between the micro and macro level, and noted that the Church was relatively more involved in local levels among communities, with less to contribute at the macro “peace writ large” level. Katunga outlined how the church provides conflict sensitive social cohesion, such as the ecumenical efforts in South Sudan during the people-to-people peace processes. It further plays a powerful role in mediation and facilitation – being highly instrumental in the promotion of constructive dialogues at all levels, often on an informal level. At the regional level, through the structures of justice and peace commissions, the Church in the Great Lakes region has engaged communities from neighboring dioceses and created space for dialogue and cooperation between Congolese, Rwandans and Burundians.

Fr. Jean Nyembo, S.J.’s contribution to the conference was to explore the role played by religious and other grassroots organizations in engaging with the issue of conflict minerals in the Congo in a presentation entitled *Conflicts over Minerals? The Congolese Drama is also a Human Drama*. He considered what unique assets the Church can bring to these efforts, as well as the limitations and controversies they also beget.

As Fr. Nyembo portrays, the Church has been very vocal in denouncing the systematic fraud, corruption and illegal exploitation of natural resources in the Congo. To execute this, they have adopted methods such as the pastoral letters that Fr. Elias Omondi Opongo earlier outlined in his presentation as well as research and publications on the issues. During the 48th Plenary Assembly, the Church established an ad hoc commission for natural resources, CERN, with the mission to monitor, accompany, and work on issues regarding mineral exploitation. The Church, alongside other civil society organizations, has also focused on building capacity for communities and organizations in order to improve their advocacy and lobbying abilities. They have been highly committed to the promotion of transparency and have worked toward developing mechanisms of corporate social responsibility.

However, despite these efforts, civil society nevertheless faces certain limitations and challenges, which Nyembo articulated. He suggested that for many, civil society in the Congo is seen as a refuge for those who have failed to secure a place of power within

the government or political opposition, and there is thus a level of suspicion directed toward civil society actors. Moreover, civil society remains heavily dependent on foreign aid and has failed to develop a proper language that resonates with the local people. Instead, local civil society organizations have adopted the discourse used by the donors, and are besieged by “NGOism” as characterized by Hippolyt Pul. These challenges continue to pose significant obstacles to the efforts of civil society groups in Congo. Nyembo argued that, in order to ensure that the Church, as a leading member of civil society, is able to advocate successfully against resource conflict and its scourges, it is important that it adopts a peacebuilding framework. This framework would require it to free itself from the biases of stakeholders and donor-driven responses, develop self-reliance complemented by both internal and external synergies, and to remain passionately committed to its work. In particular, the Church must devise a way of working with structures of power without being compromised by that power.

The topics of this panel raised interesting discussion about where the peacebuilding initiatives for Africa, particularly the Great Lakes Region, should originate from – the local, regional, or international level? There were differing opinions on this topic. One panelist emphasized his belief that any answer will come from the local, ground up approach, and expressed doubt that an external solution would be successful. Noting the importance of indigenous approaches, another participant nevertheless stressed the need to combine and synthesize external – particularly regional – assistance, and pointed to recent efforts by the African Union to address the violence. While others agreed to the need for regional assistance, and argued that a sustainable solution must originate from an internal perspective but receive external support, they expressed doubt that regional efforts would offer a true solution.

Further expanding on this theme, the discussion concentrated more specifically on the role of the Church in providing assistance to conflict transformation. One participant highlighted that there needed to be efforts to nurture a culture of peace from the community up and that this is where the Church could play a particularly important role. He also pointed out how the Church has been very proactive working across national borders as a way of creating intentional linkages of influential people in new forms of collaboration. Stemming from this suggestion, a panelist pointed out that the role of the Church in attending to gender-based violence could be significant, with the

possibility of developing a commission on sexual violence similar to the existing commission on natural resources. The discussion closed with an observation that the Church needed to live up to its potential in producing a cohort of value-based individuals, schooled in Catholic Social Teaching, who have the service-minded ability to transform the teachings of the Church into social action for peace.

Keynote Address: *Reconciliation and Mutual Recognition After Mass Trauma: Why Forgiveness Matters*, Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela

Dr. Gobodo-Madikizela delivered an address on the importance of forgiveness, reconciliation, and mutual recognition in the aftermath of trauma. Her speech illustrated the power of narrative and the persistence of cultural memory. Central to Gobodo-Madikizela's thesis was the importance of mourning as a foundation for moving through a deeper process of acknowledging and dealing with the past through the provocation of empathy, thus facilitating the journey toward recognition and reconciliation.

Gobodo-Madikizela began by introducing the notion of “splitting” – a psychological concept that is understood as the division between one's internal true self, and the concealment of this true self when interacting with others. One of the avenues through which Gobodo-Madikizela investigated splitting was a research study that collated narratives on South African's everyday experiences of apartheid. These “apartheid narratives” have provided great insight into white South Africans' denial of their complicity in the apartheid system, and allowed researchers to examine the deeper significance of denial in the context of post-apartheid and post-TRC South Africa. Examining the psychological texture of this denial advances understanding of the struggle faced by white South Africans to understand their complicity in apartheid, and the psychological “splitting” that occurs alongside it. From this point of departure, Gobodo-Madikizela has been able to explore how alternative narratives of repair and transformation might emerge from dialogical processes based on facing – rather than evading – the past.

Linked to the notion of denial is what the psychoanalyst Alexander Mitscherlich termed an “inability to mourn,” which in the South African context has limited the extent to which reconciliation is possible. According to Gobodo-Madikizela, all individuals carry stories of denial, and unless they encounter their former enemies and articulate these inner narratives, there will always be a block in the dialogue process. Consequently, there is a need to present alternative narratives that create a dialogical space of encounter, and it is the importance of mourning that creates the opportunity to challenge a tendency toward denial.

By way of illustration, Gobodo-Madikizela described her work with students born post-Apartheid, whose collective historical memories are a crucial component of the internal narratives they carry. When confronted with the apartheid narratives, Gobodo-Madikizela stated that white South Africans feel a sense of guilt and shame in their collective complicity whereas black South Africans experience anger invoked by the memory of their parents' suffering. The responses elicited by the apartheid narratives are crucial for two reasons. On the one hand, they underscore the importance of attending to the strong emotions they invoke. On the other hand, it is these emotions that stir up the provocation of empathy, and empathic unsettlement serves as a critical starting point in the journey to reconciliation.

Gobodo-Madikizela concluded by highlighting the importance of reciprocal, mutual engagement with the other and the critical role of remorse this engagement must involve. In order for meaningful transformation, she argued, there must be a relational process between former enemies. For atrocities to occur, the perpetrator must have dehumanized the other as well as dehumanized themselves by ignoring and silencing their inner voice of conscience. Conversely, by encountering another person's suffering and experiencing this provocation of empathy, the conscience is aroused. It is at the moment of encounter that the provocation of empathy occurs, and the forgiveness attendant in this empathy matters greatly for its contribution to reconciliation and mutual recognition.

Panel Seven: The Unfinished Project of Peacebuilding in South Africa

Dr. Charles Villa-Vicencio gave a presentation entitled *Reconciliation: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*. He emphasized the importance of socio-economic transformation, attesting that this issue is the major source of conflict in contemporary South Africa. Dr. Villa-Vicencio urged a greater prioritization of the material needs of the poor and hungry, as without this prioritization the integrity of reconciliation is simply immaterial. Today's needs are qualitatively different from those of 1994, when South Africa required a new sense of belonging that reached across existing racial, class, and gender divisions. Today, the most pressing task is to feed the hungry and restore the human dignity of the poor and the alienated, a far more pressing need than drawing people into a restored relationship.

With a new kind of urgency facing South Africa, Dr. Villa-Vicencio suggested that South Africa should perhaps go so far as to call a moratorium on the reconciliation debate, as an environment where economic deprivation fails to be a component of our understanding of reconciliation suggests the presence of a deceptive and misguided notion of reconciliation in the first place. This moratorium, he suggested, is required in order to attend to the growing gap between material extravagance and abject poverty levels that so characterize the South Africa of today. Furthermore, Villa-Vicencio called for a return to the central tenets of contextual and liberation theology, which affirms a "preferential option of the poor," prioritizing food, survival, and human dignity.

Rather than weak reconciliation, Villa-Vicencio advocated for the importance of a "holistic notion" of reconciliation – one that is qualitatively more than the idea of being "nice" to one's former enemies. This kind of holistic reconciliation involves a different way of engaging the other, requiring willingness among all sides to come together to explore options for a different kind of future. Such holistic reconciliation, Villa-Vicencio noted, may lack theoretical clarity and definition but it does involve a deep and creative moral imagination. "Reconciliation," Villa-Vicencio concluded, "is more than co-existence but it is also less than deep and lasting forgiveness. It is a way of endeavoring to negotiate a new and better future, and it is the beginning of a journey that includes radical change in economic policy and lifestyle."

The strong call by Dr. Villa-Vicencio to attend to the wealth chasm and inequality plaguing South Africa was echoed by Father Peter-John Pearson, in his presentation A

Struggle of Incompletion Moving Towards Fulfillment. This title, adapted from the theologian Yves Congar, poignantly captures the complexity of the reconciliation discussion in South Africa.

Fr. Pearson began by listing the strong concepts and icons that dominate international perspectives of South Africa – rainbow nation, Ubuntu, Madiba – and then contrasted the images that come to mind with statistical proof of the social pathologies of the country. This included detailing the racial inequality and damning statistics on income disparity that cuts sharply along racial lines and the high levels of violence and sexual violence that are a daily occurrence in South Africa. Reading these statistics and the reality they present alongside the “icons” that occupy the consciousness of South Africa illustrates the contested space in which reconciliation must find its ideal, and delivers a verdict of ambiguity and fragility to the reconciliation project. Fr. Pearson appealed for a more rigorous social analysis to take place, in order to ensure that the reconciliation project is equipped with the power and imagination needed for the “long haul” of transformation. He suggested three continuities that he considers build upon what South African practitioners have achieved in the reconciliation project and which can be considered efforts salient to those working “from the ground up.”

The first continuity is one of extending the discourse that has taken place on racial unity to the recovery of issues of justice, without which the trend of social pathology will continue. Doing so will require bringing to the table those voices that have been marginalized. As Fr. Pearson points out, this will require a further development of the popular understanding of reconciliation, an understanding equated with racial integration and the lowering of racial prejudice and intolerance. Although this is certainly a development and indicates some progress, reconciliation should also involve changing the institutional structures and addressing the idea of justice, culpability and restitution. At present, Fr. Pearson noted, the racial discourses of reconciliation have absolved many beneficiaries of apartheid from facing their ill-gained benefits of the past and moving toward making some reparation for these.

The second continuity raised by Fr. Pearson lies in the cathartic spaces that were created for storytelling during the TRC era. He argued that there is a responsibility not only to ensure that these spaces for storytelling remain open, but also that they be

extended so that people can participate in them. At present, Fr. Pearson claimed, there is a sense of great frustration that local communities are shut out from conversations that relate to them and they aren't being asked what they want or need. The spaces created for storytelling need to be kept open to allow those same people to strategize, deepen their voices, and make their demands more profound.

Fr. Pearson concluded with the final continuity that should be embraced by ongoing efforts at this expanded reconciliation project – that of a legacy of spirituality which accompanied processes during the TRC, infusing them with a quasi-religious understanding. Fr. Pearson drew on Denise Ackermann's concept of "the spirituality of lamentation," which motivates the emergence of a language in which to communicate pain, grief, and disillusionment but is followed by an engagement with people who have power in order to find ways of expression. It is this lamentation, Fr. Pearson stated, which will allow a break with the past and a release into a space of transition between release from past and hope for future.

Given the thematic consistency on economic injustice and its relation to reconciliation, the discussion followed a similar trajectory. A question was raised as to whether it was necessary during negotiations to remove Marxist and liberationist demands from the table in order to reach an agreement. Both panelists agreed this was true and said that without compromise, no negotiations would have taken place and there would have been no settlement in 1994. However, this very compromise has continued to limit the ability of post-apartheid South Africa to make progress and has contributed to the economic crises outlined in the panel. The panelists also confirmed that reconciliation as an emphasis on the restoration of relationships is crucial, but as Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela described in her keynote address, the provocation of empathy that emerges during reconciliation must lead to action, and in this particular situation, it is the socio-economic divisions that must be addressed.

Synthesis and Closing Remarks

Dr. Fanie du Toit led the session synthesizing the conference. He began by problematizing the notion of reconciliation, raising again the question of what it should look like and what forms it should take. Du Toit called on the participants to help decision-makers and institutions to think and act strategically in their transitional justice policies and to remain in the presence of local communities in order to develop a shared framework for understanding the past and for envisioning the future. What is clear, Du Toit stated, is that reconciliation is radical. Although often dismissed as soft politics, executed correctly, reconciliation has the capacity to transform institutional structures and societies holistically.

Three themes emerged during the course of the conference that du Toit chose to develop further in the synthesis, which loosely correlated to paradigms, actors, and resources, tools and practices. In relation to paradigms, du Toit reminded the participants that they were members of a minority conversation and that the majority paradigm of liberal peace and justice was not represented during the conference. This dominant paradigm promotes an anemic form of reconciliation, one that is defined as coexistence and the rule of law. However, peace and reconciliation is more than exercising justice. The social restorative justice framework within which the conference took place justifies itself in terms of cultural and religious resonance, which offers unique and valuable contributions to the reconciliation process. Du Toit cautioned against an overdetermination or codification of the restorative justice paradigm and advanced the call made by James Latigo in his presentation when he reflected on what has been lost in the first place and how these lost histories, stories, and social practices may help to articulate a new paradigm of reconciliation. A second paradigm that emerged strongly during the conference was that of liberation theology and the pursuit of the preferential option for the poor. This is an area where, as reflected in the vigorous discussion sessions, the current transitional strategies are failing. Thus, it is a paradigm to which much greater attention must be devoted.

Du Toit then moved on to discuss the actors that are central to the reconciliation process and the importance of inquiry into who is the carrier of reconciliation. He noted that there had been a very introspective conversation about the role of religious communities and a particular reflection among the participants on the role of the

Catholic Church. The conference was clearly infused with a perception that the Church could serve as a significant actor in reconciliation. At the same time, as John Ashworth noted in his presentation, there must be a constant vigilance to remember who is bringing what in the name of reconciliation and how these actions leave people empowered and/or marginalized. Moreover, echoing Rashied Omar's address, du Toit indicated the importance of understanding the operation of religious institutions in relation to power and interrogating how close one can be to power for effective peacebuilding.

Moving to the third paradigm, du Toit raised the importance of tools, practices and resources in peacebuilding from the ground up. Adopting Claudio Betti's call for simple – but not simplistic – tools, du Toit suggested that at times the international community might unintentionally add a layer of complexity to the crisis that did not previously exist. In doing so, their actions may not be mitigating, but rather compounding, the risk of a return to violence. Du Toit also noted that there had been several questions as to why the Church is not more active in developing rituals of healing in the communities that they work in. Underscoring Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela's discussion on the provocation of empathy, du Toit pointed to the potential of the Church to play a profound role in this provocation, particularly through ritual. As a challenge to the role of resources, tools, and practices, du Toit warned of the risk for an over-instrumentalization of peacebuilding.

Dr. Daniel Philpott then offered a synthesis on the conference centering on what role religion and conflict might play in post-transition Africa as a force from the ground up. With a focus on the role of religion, Philpott suggested that the panels and discussion sessions had brought forth several unique assets of the Church that, when done well, could contribute significantly to peacebuilding.

Firstly, he suggested that religion could provide a theology of reconciliation, a kind of deep script and way of thinking about justice and social transformation that offers a distinct alternative to the liberal peace. Secondly, drawing on the account given by John Ashworth, Philpott suggested that the permanent and sustained presence of the Church provides a huge asset in the work of peace. In part due to this permanent presence, the Church also enjoys a certain moral authority in the hearts of the people it serves. Fourth, Philpott suggested that religion is a source of mores – he remarked that

churches have a way of inculcating and proposing values and commitments in people that can prove to be great assets to justice and reconciliation. A fifth asset of religion is that it provides an alternative community to the state and occupies this space in healthy contestation with the state: holding it accountable and providing critique. A sixth asset was the connectivity the church wielded at all levels. As many conference discussants had noted, the Church has the ability to operate at all three levels of John Paul Lederach's peacebuilding pyramid, connecting the grassroots to the middle level and the middle level to the top level. Moreover, the Church has a unique ability to address local sources of conflict, in contrast to the dominant top-down model utilized within the liberal peacebuilding framework. Seventh, Philpott suggested that religions may offer capital for economic growth and called for further investigation into the role that religion and the Church may play in economic discussions – both in terms of economic development and economic justice. The eighth asset of the Church that Philpott raised was its unique contribution to the family unit. He characterized the family as an overlooked sector of society in terms of peacebuilding and conflict transformation and suggested that the family could function as a laboratory for justice and peace. The intimate role of religion within many aspects of the family renders this an important component of the peacebuilding and religion debate.

Participants

John Ashworth has spent 30 years working with the Catholic Church in Sudan and South Sudan in a variety of fields including pastoral ministry, education, aid and development, justice and peace, and advocacy. He currently acts as an advisor to the Sudan Catholic Bishops' Conference, the Episcopal Church of Sudan, the Sudan Council of Churches, Catholic Relief Services, and the new "National Reconciliation Committee for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation." He is co-authoring a new book on the role of the Catholic Church during the Sudanese civil war.

Claudio Betti teaches International Relations and Conflict Resolution at the Institute for European Studies University in Rome. He is the Assistant to the President of the Community of Sant'Egidio. He has been Director for Special Operations since 1998 and in this capacity has participated in most of the peace negotiations that the Community of Sant'Egidio has performed since the end of the 1980s. He holds a Masters Degree in Conflict Resolution at the Pontifical University Seraficum in Rome and a PhD and a Post-Doctoral Degree in History.

Fanie du Toit is the Executive Director of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in Capetown, South Africa. He specializes in reconciliation and transitional justice processes in Africa and internationally. With Institute colleagues and other partners, he is engaged in post-conflict interventions in countries ranging from South Africa to Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, Burundi, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Tunisia, Sri Lanka and Uganda. He is editor of three volumes: *Learning to Live Together – Practices of Social Reconciliation; Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Ten Years On* (co-edited with Charles Villa-Vicencio) as well as *In the Balance – South Africans Debate Reconciliation* (co-edited with Erik Doxtader). He was elected a Rhodes Scholar in 1991 and completed a doctoral degree in philosophy of religion at Oxford University in 1995.

Rachel Fairhurst, the conference rapporteur, holds an MA in International Peaces Studies from the University of Notre Dame, specializing in policy analysis and political change. A Fulbright Graduate Award recipient, she has worked as a research assistant at the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Otago and interned in the West Bank at the Applied Research Institute (ARIJ). Her research interests include transitional justice policies, gender issues in war and peace, and international development.

Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela is a clinical psychologist and Senior Research Professor for trauma, forgiveness and reconciliation at the University of the Free State. Since her work on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, her research has focused on the reparative elements of victim-perpetrator dialogue in the aftermath of mass trauma and violence. Her current research explores the psychoanalytic dimensions of empathy in the context of perpetrators'

remorse and victims' forgiveness. Her books include *A Human Being Died that Night: A Story of Forgiveness*; *Narrating our Healing: Perspectives on Healing Trauma*, as co-author; and *Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness: Perspectives on the Unfinished Journeys of the Past*, as coeditor. She was honored among "100 People who Made a Difference" in the *Permanent Exhibit of Hall of Heroes* in the National Freedom Center in Cincinnati, Ohio in the United States, 2005.

Lyn S. Graybill is an independent scholar in Atlanta. She is the author of *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Miracle or Model?* and *Religion and Resistance Politics in South Africa*. Her articles have appeared in *Human Rights Review*, *Ethics & International Affairs*, *Africa Today*, *Women's Studies International Forum*, *Journal of Religion*, *Conflict and Peace*, *Conflict Trends*, and *Third World Quarterly*. With funding from USIP and the Fulbright program, she conducted fieldwork in Sierra Leone and has recently completed a book manuscript, *Religion, Tradition, and Reconciliation in Sierra Leone*.

Rosalind I. J. Hackett is Professor and Head of Religious Studies and adjunct in Anthropology at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. She has published widely on religion in Africa, notably on new religious movements, religious media, regulation of religious diversity, and religion and conflict. A forthcoming co-edited book is: *New Media and Religious Transformations in Africa*. She is the co-founder and co-director of the Gulu Study and Service Abroad Program (GSSAP) in Uganda. She also serves as President of the International Association for the History of Religions (2005-15).

Fr. William Headley, CSSp is a Spiritan religious missionary of his community's USA Province. A sociologist and counselor by academic training, he has been working for decades in the peacebuilding field. He started a graduate peacebuilding program at Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, PA. From 2000-2007, he worked on peacebuilding program development at Catholic Relief Services. Professor Headley became the founding Dean of the first School of Peace Studies in the U.S. at the (Catholic) University of San Diego. After stepping down from the Dean position in July 2012, he continues to serve on his school's faculty, focusing on interreligious peacebuilding. He holds a joint appointment as a Professor of Peacebuilding Practice at the University of Notre Dame's Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, with special service to the Catholic Peacebuilding Network (CPN).

Victor Igreja is Associate Lecturer in Anthropology at the University of Queensland, Australia. He holds a PhD from the University of Leiden (The Netherlands). In the past fifteen years he has conducted anthropological and health research on the short- and long-term effects of the Mozambican civil war. Recently he initiated a study on processes of reconciliation and healing in East Timor. The results of his research have been published in the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *Journal of African Law*, *Journal of Religion in Africa*, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, *Social Science and*

Medicine, British Journal of Psychiatry, Transcultural Psychiatry, Journal of Traumatic Stress, Infant Mental Health Journal, and Advances in Psychiatric Treatment.

John Katunga is a specialist in peacebuilding and conflict transformation in Africa. He is currently the regional technical advisor for peacebuilding and justice in East Africa for Catholic Relief Services (CRS). He is based in Nairobi, Kenya and provides technical assistance to CRS peacebuilding and justice programs in Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, and South Sudan. He holds an MA in Conflict Transformation from the Institute for Peace Building and Justice, Eastern Mennonite University, and an MA and BA in Political Science from the University of Kisangani, DRC. Prior to coming to CRS, he was an Open Society Institute Africa Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, DC. He also was the Acting Director of the Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa.

Bishop Matthew Hassan Kukah is the Bishop of the Diocese of Sokoto, a position that he held since 2011. He was ordained a Catholic Priest on December 19th, 1976. After his ordination, he obtained a diploma in Religious Studies at the University of Ibadan. He received the Bachelor of Divinity at the Urban University Rome in 1976, then a Masters degree in Peace Studies at the University of Bradford, United Kingdom in 1980, and then a PhD at the London School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in 1990. He was a senior Rhodes Fellow at St. Antony's College at Oxford University from 2001 to 2003 and earned an MA in public policy at the JFK School at Harvard University in 2003-2004. He the author of numerous books, most recently, *Witness to Justice: An Insider's Account of Nigeria's Truth Commission*.

Ojera James Latigo is currently Program Director of the Uganda Historical Memory & Reconciliation Council and a Research Fellow at the Marcus Garvey Pan-African University. He is also a support Consultant for Conciliation Resources (UK) – East and Central African Program. Previously he worked as Director of USAID/Northern Uganda Peace Initiative as well as founding Program Manager of Grassroots Reconciliation Group. He has undertaken many consultancy and research assignments and currently serves as Board Chairman of the Trauma Healing & Reflection Center - Gulu. He teaches the Doctrine Class in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Gulu Branch, where he previously served as Branch President. James is a 2005 Fellow of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.

Cecelia Lynch is Professor of Political Science and Director of International Studies at the University of California, Irvine. She has authored, co-authored or co-edited four books, with another in production, and two others on Christian, Islamic and interfaith ethics in various stages of writing and research. She is currently conducting research on faith-based humanitarian NGOs in Africa (as well as Europe, the Middle East and the U.S.), funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and her work on religion, humanitarianism, and ethics has appeared in *Millenium, Ethics & International Affairs, International Theory,*

International Studies Review, Journal of Peacebuilding and Development, and a number of book chapters.

Fr. Apollinaire Malumalu has been a priest in the Diocese of Butembo-Beni, Democratic Republic of Congo, since 1986. He is former Rector of the Catholic University of Graben, where he teaches and he directs a foundation. He is currently the Director General of the School for Electoral Training in Central Africa and Chairman of the Board of the European Centre for Electoral Support. Over the past two years, he has overseen the construction of the Cardinal Martino Pan-African Institute for the Social Teaching of the Catholic Church under the patronage of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace. He was Chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission of the Democratic Republic of Congo from September 2003 to March 2011, for which he received honorary doctorates from the University of Liege in Belgium and from Lubumbashi in the Democratic Republic of Congo. After chairing the Goma Conference on Peace, Security and Development, he oversaw the stabilization program in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. He holds a PhD in Political Science from the University Pierre Mendes France of Grenoble and a Doctor of Philosophy degree from the Catholic University of Lyon.

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Fr. Emmanuel Ntakarutimana has been running the Ubuntu Centre for the promotion of peace and reconciliation in Burundi and the Great Lakes Region since 2002. He is now chairing the National Independent Commission for Human Rights of the Republic of Burundi. He joined the Dominican Order in 1981 with his novitiate in Nigeria. After philosophical training in Bujumbura, Burundi, he received theological training at the Catholic Faculties in Kinshasa (Democratic Republic of Congo). He completed his doctoral theological studies at Fribourg University in Switzerland, submitting a thesis on “Towards an African Theology: Theology and Theologians in Congo: Projects and Challenges in the Post-Independence Period, 1960-1990.” From 1993 to 1999, he was on the General Council of the Dominican Order representing Africa.

Fr. Jean Nyembo, S.J. is Assistant Director of the Boboto Cultural Centre, a Jesuit institution established in Kinshasa whose main mission is to promote art. Recently the Centre has been working on promoting a culture of peace through art and media. Boboto stands for peace in Lingala, the language spoken in Kinshasa. He also serves as spiritual director of Boboto High School and Assistant Parish Priest at Sacred Heart. He is a Congolese Jesuit priest from Bukavu in Eastern Congo. He holds in MA in Peace Studies from the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame.

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Fr. Peter-John Pearson is a priest of the Archdiocese of Cape Town and is Director of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference Parliamentary Liaison Office. He also serves as Vicar General of the Archdiocese. His academic training is in law and he is a graduate of the University of Cape Town and holds an M.Phil in Canon Law. Most of his present work is in the area of applying Catholic social teaching to areas of public policy.

Daniel Philpott is Professor of Political Science and Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame. He is on the faculty of the Kroc Institute, where he is Director of the Program on Religion and Reconciliation. His most recent books are *Just and Unjust Peace: An Ethic of Political Reconciliation* (Oxford, 2012) and, coauthored with Monica Duffy Toft and Timothy Samuel Shah, *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics* (Norton, 2011). He has also promoted reconciliation as an activist – in Kashmir from 2000 to 2006 as Senior Associate of the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy; and in the Great Lakes Region of Africa from 2009 to the present as part of the Catholic Peacebuilding Network.

Hippolyt Pul has worked with Catholic Relief Services since 1990, serving in various capacities at the country program, regional, and global levels. He is currently the Coordinator for the Africa Justice and Peace Working Group (AJPWG), which has responsibilities for supporting CRS' peacebuilding work with strategic church and civil society partners across the continent. The current focus of the AJPWG is on supporting post conflict reconciliation and peacebuilding in South Sudan, the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa, and Côte d'Ivoire in West Africa, among others. The AJWPG is also looking to promote inter-religious dialogue as a platform for interfaith peacebuilding initiatives in Niger, Nigeria, and Mali, among others. He is completing a Ph.D. in Conflict Analysis and Resolution.

Joanna R. Quinn is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science and Director of the Centre for Transitional Justice and Post-Conflict Reconstruction at The University of Western Ontario. Since 1998, she has been engaged in research that considers the role of acknowledgement in overcoming the causes of conflict, which has the potential to affect real and lasting change. She has written widely on the role of acknowledgement in truth commissions in Uganda, Haiti, Canada, and elsewhere. Her current research considers the role of customary practices of acknowledgement and justice in Uganda, and comparatively in Fiji, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu.

Theresa Ricke-Kiely serves as the Associate Director of the Master's program for the Kroc Institute of International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame. In addition to her administrative responsibilities, she teaches organizational leadership and administers the professional development activities in Kroc's graduate program. With a strong background in education, youth and human services, she continues to serve the third sector as a volunteer and board member in several regional and national nonprofit organizations.

Sylvestre Somo Mwaka has been a Human Right Activist in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) since 1995 when he was 17 years old. He worked to defend human rights as a part of several local ngos, including the Centre d'Etudes Juridiques Appliquées and Amis de Monseigneur Kataliko, and was a key contact for several international ngos in DRC. He was tortured and exiled by rebels for his denunciation of human rights violations. He worked closely with Fr. Apollinaire Malumalu for the first free and credible elections in the DRC in 2006, participated actively in the Goma peace process, and is engaged heavily in peacebuilding in the DRC.

Pyana Symphorien is from DR Congo and is working for World Vision as Advocacy and Public Relations Advisor. He is also a visiting lecturer of peace education at the Institute Supérieur de Pédagogie Religieuse (Kinshasa). He holds two Master's Degrees, one in political philosophy from the Jesuit Institute of Philosophy Saint Pierre Canisius (Kinshasa), and another in peace studies and international relations from the Jesuit Hekima College Institute of Peace Studies and International Relations (Nairobi, Kenya). Founder of the Association des Ami(e)s du Pere Tony, he is a member of the Catholic Peacebuilding Network and was the 2010 Institute of Justice and Reconciliation Fellow. He is also the In-Country Representative for Teachers Without Borders. In 2011 he authored a book titled *Gaps in the DR of Congo Peacebuilding Process: Role of Peace Education and Local Tensions*.

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good governance and contributed to the Second Africa Synod on Reconciliation, Justice and Peace. He holds a Doctorate in Philosophy from Yaoundé University (Cameroon), a High Teachers Certificate in Philosophy from Yaoundé University, and Peacebuilding Certificate from Eastern Mennonite University, Harrisonburg, VA and the University of Notre Dame.

Charles Villa-Vicencio is a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. He served the institute as its founding Executive Director for eight years and is an Emeritus Professor of the University of Cape Town. He was earlier the National Research Director in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and is presently a Visiting Professor in the Conflict Resolution Program at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. in the fall semester of each year.