Small Money, Big Impact.

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Social justice, peacebuilding and the Contribution of philanthropy

Why a foundations for peace network?

"A global network of independent indigenous funders working to advance equality, diversity and interdependence in areas of entrenched and persistent communal conflict, with a history of, or potential for, violence." (Excerpt from the Foundations for Peace Network Strategic Plan, 2005-2010)

One of the three strategic objectives of the Foundations for Peace Network is to draw learning from the practical work of its members and to share models of good practice in grantmaking that are designed to promote approaches to peacebuilding, human rights and equality work. The experience from which these lessons are drawn is varied and reflects the very conditions and circumstances that the members of the Network find themselves addressing on a daily basis. The current membership of the Network includes independent charitable Funds and Foundations working in India, Georgia, Colombia, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Serbia, Israel, Nepal and Northern Ireland. The Network was initially established in 2004.

Why the emphasis on social justice?

The concept of social justice can mean different things to different people when considered in various societal contexts and in different parts of the world. For the Foundations for Peace Network, a social justice approach entails striving for structural change both within, and between, societies by increasing consciousness of the implications of the existing distribution of power and resources, and identifying strategies for change. There is also an emphasis placed on working with disadvantaged or marginalised groups to augment their self-awareness and mobilisation in order to challenge the consequences of unfair political, economic, environmental and social systems. Proactive social justice work is not about alleviating or addressing the symptoms of injustice alone, but rather about highlighting and confronting the causes of such injustice. Systems and attitudes that perpetuate injustice must be transformed, and those groups of people that have been excluded, disadvantaged, oppressed and/or marginalised must be supported to define their own struggles for human rights, equality and justice.

Social justice is often conceptualised in terms of distributive justice, with an emphasis on how advantages and resources are distributed to people across a society. Within this framing of the issue, questions are asked as to 'What do people owe one another as a matter of justice?' The linkage between social justice and the rights of citizens has thus been linked in the preamble of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) –

"The ideal of free human beings enjoying civil and political freedom and freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his economic, social and cultural rights, as well as his civil and political rights".

However this aspiration also requires an awareness of the need for equity of participation in decision-making and of what has been termed 'positional injustice'.[1] The latter results from situations where the social positioning of a group, or community, of people can mean that there are limitations on their opportunities and access to power. This can occur where there is a 'lack of fit', or disjuncture, between the attributes of certain groups and the dominant societal structures, attitudes and perceptions. Where social justice is lacking the potential for violent conflict is enhanced.

The interface between social justice, conflict and peacebuilding

Galtung noted that 'structural violence' is a situation where discrimination, oppression and marginalisation are experienced by specific groupings or classes within society. Lederach[2] noted that people who engage in direct violence are often trying to address the perceived injustice of manifestations of structural violence – "That is, they are trying to achieve systemic changes in the underlying economic, cultural, social and political structures as those are perceived to detrimentally affect their lives. Where action around issues of structural injustice moves from a position of latent conflict into overt conflict, then approaches to both social injustice and peacebuilding collide. However, in such circumstances, there is even greater complexity with Lederach emphasising how the experience of violent conflict can become even more oppressive than the initial clustering of injustices – "In other words, direct violence added onto the existing latent structural violence creates a situation in which everyone perceives themselves as oppressed and worse off than they were before".

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[1] Iris Marion Young (2008) Structural Injustice and the Politics of Difference, in Craig, G.; Burchardt, T. & Gordan, D. (eds) Social Justice and Public Policy – Seeking Fairness in Diverse Societies: Policy Press.
[2] John Paul Lederach (1996) cited in Remember and Change Conference Paper: Fermanagh, Northern Ireland.

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The member Funds and Foundations of the Network of Foundations for Peace note –

- How issues of community and group difference can be ignored and denied during periods of muscular nation-building where the dominant political myth is on societal homogeneity.

- How the position of minorities – particularly substantial minorities – can be deemed a threat to the stability of the state in situations of a contested society.

- How the assertion of minority group rights can be vigorously, and violently, rejected when it flies in the face of inherited assumptions and current societal 'common sense'.

- How human rights and socio-economic demands can be conflated with a perceived anti-state political agenda thus casting the advocates as 'disloyal'.

- How the outbreak of violent struggle rapidly allows the demonisation of the 'other side' – whosoever the 'other side' may be; and fosters a simplification of the lines of conflict and a rejection of any raison d'etre for the violence.

- How the experience and impact of violent conflict becomes the predominant discourse thus preventing any consideration of social justice issues.

- The longer the violent conflict continues the more tenuous is the purchase of social justice issues, no matter how intrinsic they might have been to the cause of the violence. Instead it is seen that –

- The emphasis shifts to 'victory over' rather than 'accommodation with' the respective protagonists.

- There is a double, and even, quadruple feeling of victimisation – (i) the original victims of perceived injustice that resulted in violence; (ii) the victims of the violence perpetrated by people in resistance; (iii) the creeping violence experienced by communities that are seen as 'disloyal' to whatever side; and (iv) the increasing brutalisation of the state reaction against perceived opposition forces and communities.

- Attention is fixated on the impact and outworkings of the violent conflict rather than on any underlying social justice issues.

- External peacekeeping and peacemaking initiatives become instrumental in nature with the declared aim to establishing short term peace.

Lederach also reflected on this last point pointing out that it was important that the issues of structural injustice are not overlooked in the general war weariness, He identified the danger of 'the justice gap' opening up, holding that –

 "The justice gap emerges in part because we have not adequately developed a peacebuilding framework that reduces direct violence and produces social and economic justice".

This is the challenge for any peacebuilding process that will be longterm in nature and inclusive in practice.

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From latent conflict to violence to peacebuilding.

In order to be clear about the opportunities for positive philanthropic interventions, it is important to track the stages of conflict and conflict transformation in contested societies. Clearly there is no 'one route' map, but certain idealised forms can offer a framework for discussion of the opportunities and challenges during varying stages of a society riven by either structural violence or overt conflict. One framing was offered by Curle (1971)[3] and is replicated below -

Figure 1 The Progression of Conflict
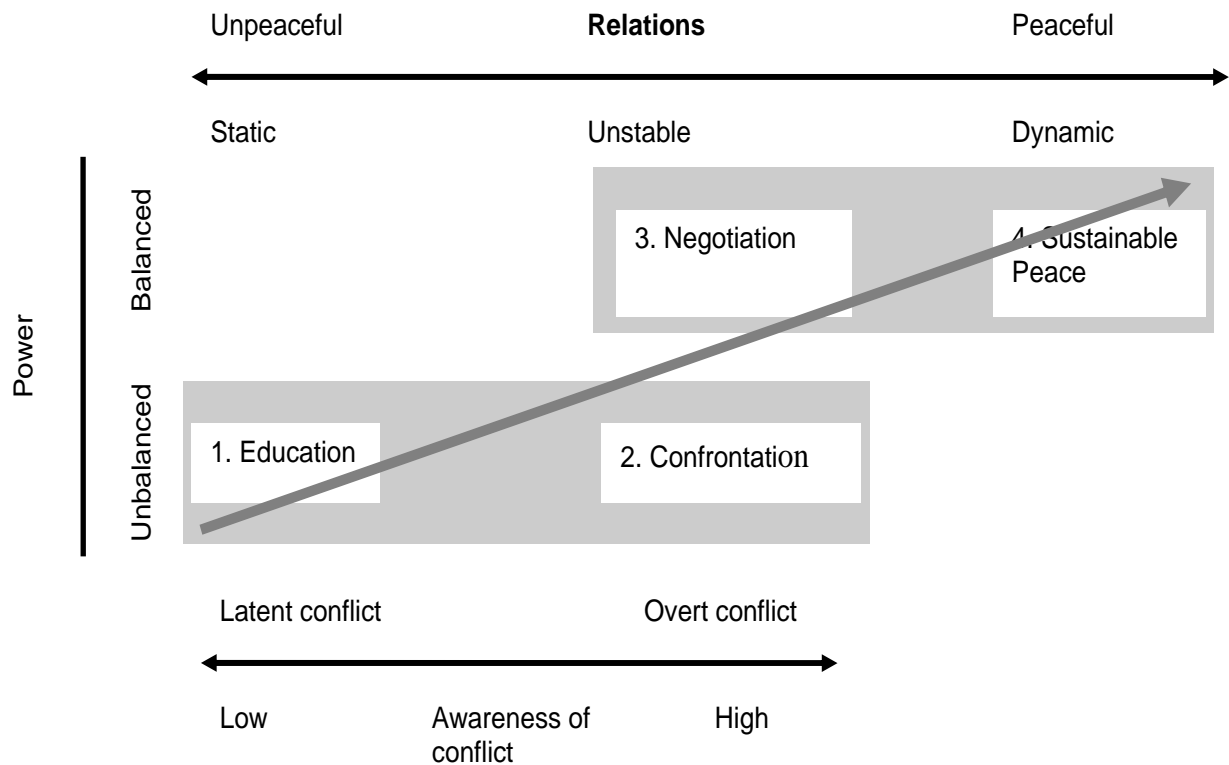
What the Curle matrix suggests is that initially the causes of conflict can be hidden – or deliberately silenced, particularly in circumstances where there are unbalanced power relationships within society; any challenge to the status quo is in danger as being seen as subversive. Given the often hidden, or unacknowledged, nature of social injustice, awareness of the latter may well remain low, notwithstanding a situation of frozen violence. However, as relations within a society become more unstable, and power remains unbalanced, then violent confrontations may be more evident, leading to overt

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[3] Adam Curle (1971) Making Peace: London, Tavistock Press.

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violence. Quadrant 3 represents a movement away from confrontation – although violence may be still ongoing – but negotiations may occur between the various protagonists as it becomes clear that there are no 'winners' in the situation. Finally, Quadrant 4 represents societies in transition from violence, where the building of restructured societal relations and the negotiation of a sustainable peace is paramount – but where the latter does not always take cognizance of underlying social justice issues. While the Curle matrix is a useful tool to help conceptualise the progression of conflict, it cannot capture the shifting nature of peacemaking and peacebuilding in many societies which experience an often frustrating political dynamic of 'one step forward, two steps back' – the political dynamic between Quadrants 2 and 3, and even Quadrants 4 and 2. The situations experienced by the members of the Foundation for Peace Network constantly bear witness to this unstable dynamic.

A different representation of the peace-war continuum was presented by Rupesinghe and Anderlini (1998),[4] which also offers a means of conceptualising not only the continuum itself but the different stages of possible intervention –

Figure 2 Stages of Intervention along the Peace-War Continuum
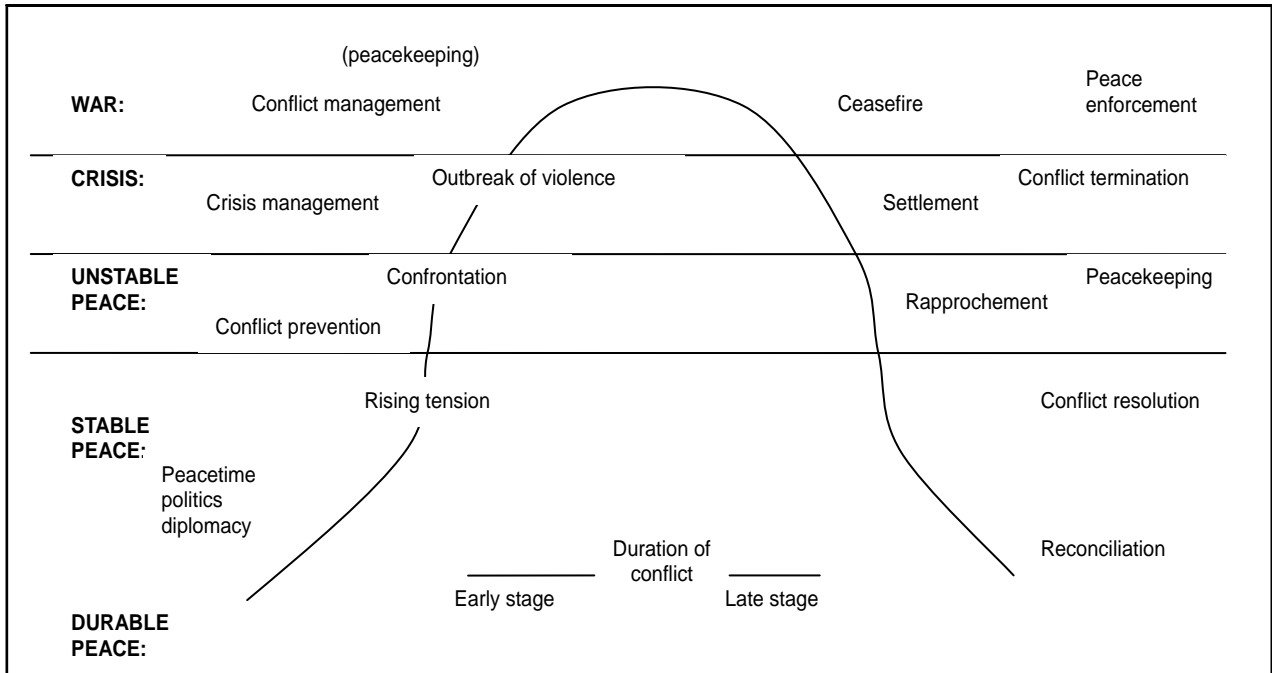
Source: "Civil Wars, Civil Peace: an introduction to conflict resolution" by Kumar Rupesinghe with Sanam Naraghi Anderlini (1998)

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[4] Kumar Rupesinghe & Sanam Naraghi Anderlini (1998) Civil Wars, Civil Peace: An Introduction to Conflict Resolution.

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The same caveat applies to the above diagram concerning the reversibility of the political dynamic which always has to be factored in to any mapping of the drivers of change in a conflict situation. Notwithstanding this, it is clear that the risks and opportunities that potential philanthropic intervention will be faced with in any conflict-prone, or conflict-affected situation, will depend on not only the causes of conflict, but also on the stage that the conflict is at.

Found

We found we could have ideals.
We found we could have identity.
We found we could have education.
We found we could have the vote.
We found we could have civil rights.
We found we could have hope.
But at what price?

(Geraldine McKee – A Woman's Part: Community Arts Forum, Northern Ireland)

Making clustered injustice visible.

Social justice philanthropy can act at an early stage (Curle's Quadrant 1) to work with groups within a society that are experiencing exclusion and demonisation. The nature and causes of social injustices – particularly where they cluster in a reinforcing manner – need to be identified, articulated, presented and debated in a public arena. The power imbalances that lie beneath such injustices need to be laid bare, and the established belief systems and traditional hierarchies that often give succour to power imbalances need to be open to question. Independent philanthropy can stand alongside those groups and communities that are disempowered within society. In prioritising actions and interventions to be funded, philanthropists can pose the questions delineated during a Convening on Philanthropy for Social Justice and Peace (Cairo, Egypt – 2009) –

- What problem are we trying to solve?

- Who is the most marginalised/disadvantaged by the problem/situation?

- What do we know about the history of the problem that needs to be addressed? (Institutional structures, policies, systems, attitudes, beliefs, etc.)

- What institutions/systems impact on the causes of the problem?

- What are the possible starting points to open up opportunities for structural transformation?

- What are the potential reactions and challenges?

- Who do we have to be in relationship with to develop the opportunities?

- How will we know if we are heading in the right direction for positive change?

The Dalit Foundation (India) highlights the importance of working within a transformatory framework that seeks to bring positive change through the empowerment of Dalits themselves – but which also challenges the stereotypes and assumptions of other groups with Indian society. It is a daunting venture to confront an issue like caste discrimination which, despite legislation to the contrary, is rooted in age old certainties that have become norms and influence daily practice. This can result in the internalisation of social injustice within the most disadvantaged sections of the Dalit community, as well as circumstances of direct caste and gender violence. The Dalit Foundation stresses the imperative of empowering Dalits themselves to challenge current societal attitudes and to lever change.

Independent philanthropy can effectively provide financial and technical support to –

- Fund consciousness raising, educational and empowerment initiatives amongst marginalised and/or discriminated groups and communities (including the use of the arts as a means of developing a positive identity).

- Work in partnership with members of excluded groups to help develop their own organisational structures and forms of action.

- Local action to protect individual and collective human rights.

- Invest in research studies; action-research initiatives; and evidence collating activities to highlight and make public aspects of social injustice

- Work in partnership with other organisations to encourage public and media debate about what a just society would look like.

- Encourage contact and shared learning between groups that have experience of both disempowerment and empowerment.

- Fund exercises in cross-community dialogue, exchange and shared understanding.

- Provide expertise, training and financial support to enable excluded groups to develop non-violent forms of campaigning, advocacy and direct action.

- Offer international contacts and points of advocacy to support the campaigning and awareness raising activities of local groups.

Working with minority ethnic communities in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, the Manusher Jonno Foundation recognized the importance of listening to often silenced voices, and worked with local communities to provide facilities in their own languages.

"We never thought it would be possible for us to educate our children in our own language. It is like a dream – but now the dream has come true as my daughter is now going to the Phulchhora Community School."

(Boda Soga, Rangamati District, Bangladesh)

Equally, however, a Nepalese Folk Saying – offered by the Tewa Fund in Kathmandu, highlighted the importance of lobbying and campaigning work – "You can wake up someone if they are sleeping, but if they are pretending to sleep – you cannot". One of the common themes emerging from the experience of the members of the Foundations for Peace Network, where there is systemic sleep relates to the rights and the treatment of women. Based in Hyderabad, India, the Women's Fund, Nirnaya argues 'In your liberation lies my liberation' – but in situations of structural injustice, the position of women can often act as an indicator of the genuine inclusiveness of society. Notwithstanding the difficulties experienced, Nirnaya speaks about how - supported by a female community facilitator, Faizunnisa – a cross-community group of Muslim and Hindi women in the city of Kurnool (Andhra Pradesh) took strong action to prevent violent rioting when their menfolk were drawn into confrontation in 2007. The Taso Women's Fund in Georgia also has stories about the important role of women in mediating a divided society.

At the heart of the inferno – the no-go of violent conflict.

Many philanthropists feel that there is little that they can effectively contribute during the course of violent conflict, and it is true that in extremely sensitive, and often complex, situations that they have to tread with care. It is not true, however, to suggest that nothing can be done until the last bullet has been fired and the last bomb defused. Indeed it is the experience of many societies that credibility is developed when philanthropists are prepared to work with communities in crisis; such work is often quiet and supportive, rather than headline grabbing or invasive. Linkages between philanthropists that are external to a crisis area and independent indigenous funders (where they exist), are critical in the circumstances outlined in Quadrant 2 and 3 of the Curle matrix, and the Unstable Peace to Crisis and War curvature of Figure 2. Where they are themselves committed to peacebuilding and social justice, the indigenous funders can provide a mapping of the challenges, opportunities and activities in their particular society. Where appropriate, local funders can also act as the on-the-ground partners of external philanthropists.

Of course this is not to say that local institutions are necessarily free from impacting on the conflict around them. Bush (2009), in 'Aid to Peace',[5] argues for the need to carry out a risk and opportunity assessment with regard to any proposed interventions with a two-fold focus – (a) the Impact of the peace and conflict environment on an initiative; and (b) the Impact of an initiative on the peace and conflict environment. He compares the risk assessment process applied to initiatives with an essentially developmental emphasis, which asks the question – Is this initiative possible within the current conflict, and what can I do to reduce the risk of failure caused by the conflict? As compared to the question posed by a Peace & Conflict Impact

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[5] Kenneth Bush (2009) Aid to Peace – A Handbook for Applying Peace & Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) to PEACE 111 Projects: Ulster University/INCORE, Northern Ireland.

Assessment – How might (or has) this initiative create conflict or build peace – directly and indirectly – and what changes might be made to ensure sustainable positive impact and minimise negative impact? Arguing that peace and conflict stakeholders should be identified, Bush suggests a number of sample questions that funders might pose –

- Will the initiative's benefits generate tensions or build bridges between groups in conflict?

- Will beneficiaries be specifically targeted because of the project?

- Will the initiative support (directly or indirectly) groups using violence, or groups using genuine dialogue and participation?

The experience of the Foundations for Peace Network members would also suggest the following –

- Will the initiative create space to make contact with the various protagonists to the conflict (and the broader communities) in order to identify potential bridge-building?

- Will the initiative bring forward social justice and human rights issues and concerns that may have been overlooked or blunted because of the violence?

- Will the initiative be seen as being disproportionately aligned with the established power holders as compared to the disempowered?

While philanthropic intervention at this stage of the conflict continuum is undoubtedly risktaking in nature, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility. What it does require, nevertheless, is a careful analysis of the specific conflict situation.

During the period prior to the current military solution in Sri Lanka, the Neelan Tiruchelvam Trust provided funding for the Centre for Women's Development, based in the north of the island. The Centre worked primarily with survivors of domestic violence, but also provided support to families that had been victims of disappearances or who had family members that had been detained by military or armed groups. Due to security fears these families often felt targeted or shunned by the community and as a result felt stigmatised. The Neelan Tiruchelvam Trust worked in partnership with external philanthropic organisations to raise the necessary funds to support a range of such initiatives.

However there is a range of effective approaches that interested and concerned philanthropy might consider –

- Strengthening local capacity for peacebuilding by peer learning and training; and introducing new ideas and organisational ability to pose alternatives to violent conflict.

- Generate opportunities for inclusive dialogue which can seek to humanise 'the enemy' and enable people to hear what 'the others' have to say.

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- Support individuals, groups and local communities – often through investment in women – that have been devastated by conflict to rebuild their lives in such a way that they do not become symbolic of previous or ongoing divisions.

- Seek initiatives and ways to ameliorate the direct impact of the conflict on groups within the communities affected (eg. On young people; women; victims of the violence, etc.)

- Fund specific initiatives that can ameliorate the ongoing violence, such as networks of community activists to prevent the circulation of rumours and to undertake localised interface negotiation.

- Look for new voices that can challenge the simplification of the societal divisions within their own communities, using – where possible – more inclusive mediums, such as the arts.

- Support those groups and organisations that continue to advocate for social justice and human rights issues throughout the conflict; including offering monitor and witness provision.

- Focus international attention on the nature and the impact of the conflict in order to seek to ameliorate the worst excesses of the violence.

- Invest in organisations that seek to develop a clear value base with regard to their work for social justice and peacebuilding within a conflict situation.[6]

What cannot be over-stated when working in these circumstances is the value of taking the time to listen to local people and being prepared to see progress as a winding, and often looping, road. It is usual for every intervention to be viewed through a political lens – even those funded by philanthropists. The question will always be asked – Whose side are you on? The challenge for philanthropy is to work with local organisations and local charitable funders to shift the paradigm of that question.

"Inequalities, social justice and peace are tied together. Up to now we as grantmakers have looked at everything with tunnel vision. We have a lot to learn from each other. This is a very important moment in society – for the rights based organisations to look at the causes and the intersections of social injustice and conflict."
(Sithie Tiruchelvan – The Neelan Tiruchelvan Trust, Sri Lanka)

Emerging from violent conflict.

In a study funded by the Barrow Cadbury Trust in 2005, Elworthy and Rifkind [7] held that simply attempting to hit back at violent terrorism provides only short-term solutions and is woefully inadequate. They argued that –

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[6] B. Nelson, L. Kaboolian & K. Carver (2003) The Concord Handbook – How to Build Social Capital Across Communities: UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research, Los Angeles.

[7] S. Elworthy & G. Rifkind (2005) Hearts and Minds – Human Security Approaches to Political Violence: Demos, London.

"After a war, re-constructing buildings is the easy bit. Re-building the fabric of society is more difficult. What is most challenging to deal with, and least attended to, are the deep wounds left in the hearts and minds of those who live on. If these wounds are left untreated, they fester into further horror. That's why serious skill and serious money must be invested in this healing, why human security is the issue of the time, and why war prevention is the coming science."

However there is an important role for philanthropy to support interventions that can help societies emerge from violent conflict and to etch out the wiggle room to test variations of possible agreement and solutions. Although the in-country/state situation may still be unstable, as reflected in Curle's Quadrant 3 and the decline from the apex of Rupesinghe & Anderlini's peace-conflict continuum, there are examples of interventions that have been helpful during such a period. These can include –

• Funding back channel communication through intermediaries to explore possible room for accommodation or principles to offer the basis for discussion.

• Training skilled negotiators and mediators.

• Support for Centres for listening and documentation, so that local communities can feel that their hurt is being recorded as more than a statistic.

• Identifying possible useful international examples/experiences that can be utilised by exchanges and expert visits.

• Support for community-based and civil society initiatives that seek to challenge and transform patterns of violence and create space for discussion of sensitive and controversial issues.

• Invest in the capacity of both non-governmental organisations and appropriate statutory agencies to integrate social justice strategies with direct violence reduction approaches.

• Raise awareness of, and provide technical assistance, with regard to transitional justice strategies and approaches.

• Provide support, and trauma management interventions, for the direct victims of the conflict and their families on an inclusive basis.

• Work with the local media on both peacebuilding and social justice issues.

• Offer scholarships to local activists to study aspects of conflict transformation, social justice, diversity education, human rights and other relevant disciplines.

There have also been useful examples where philanthropy which has the ability to fund beyond recognised charitable purposes, has strengthened the infrastructure of emerging political groupings in order to enhance the likelihood of their emergence from conflict.

The AlvarAlice Foundation in Colombia found that their funding of a major international Restorative Justice Conference in Cali in 2005, brought useful experience from South

Africa, Peru, Northern Ireland, the Philippines and East Timor to share ideas and approaches for conflict transformation. It was found that often people who have themselves experienced conflict, but that are external to a situation, can suggest ideas that would be automatically dismissed if they were proposed by local activists.

In Humla, in the Mid-Western region of Nepal, a volunteer with Nagarik Aawaz, a peacebuilding initiative reflected –

"At times when I fell down, at times when I was lost, at times when I was looking for support, at times when I was involved in war, at times when I was walking on the wrong path, Nagaril Aawaz lit the candle of peace, power and confidence in my life through counselling, consoling and support."
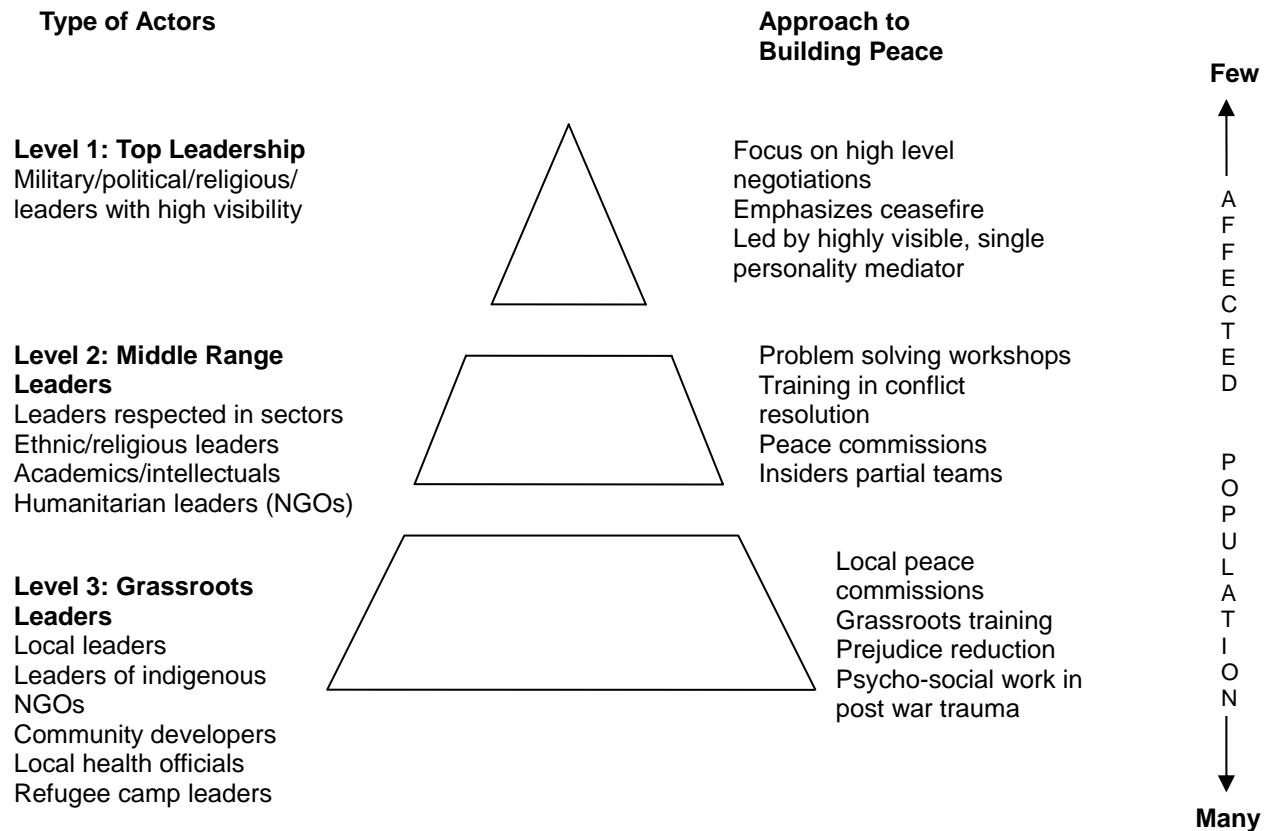
(Surya Bahadur Rawat, a Nagarik Aawaz Volunteer)

Philanthropy can support such initiatives, which are particularly important in posing alternatives and offering hope when societies tether on the brink between ongoing violence and conflict transformation.

The long road to conflict transformation.

Peacebuilding has been described by Lederach as 'An open and accessible system that rests on a broad base of participation and responsibility rather than one which relies on the owners of the negotiating table. To understand this as an interdependent model means that we recognise the place of the table but we don't rely on it as the exclusive deliver or sustainer of peace'. Lederach offers a peacebuilding paradigm that is inclusive in nature –

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Figure 3 Actors and Peacebuilding Foci. [8]

Type of Actors		Approach to Building Peace

Level 1: Top Leadership
Military/political/religious/
leaders with high visibility

Focus on high level negotiations
Emphasizes ceasefire
Led by highly visible, single personality mediator

Level 2: Middle Range Leaders
Leaders respected in sectors
Ethnic/religious leaders
Academics/intellectuals
Humanitarian leaders (NGOs)

Problem solving workshops
Training in conflict resolution
Peace commissions
Insiders partial teams

Level 3: Grassroots Leaders
Local leaders
Leaders of indigenous NGOs
Community developers
Local health officials
Refugee camp leaders

Local peace commissions
Grassroots training
Prejudice reduction
Psycho-social work in post war trauma

Few ↑ AFFECTED POPULATION ↓ Many

Lederach argues that there is a need to (i) recognise that peacebuilding is an organic system that requires relationships and the coordination of multiple activities, multiple roles and at multiple levels; (ii) increase the mutual understanding at each level of the particular approaches and activities required by others – and the problems that each experience; and (iii) build vertical as well as stronger horizontal relationships within the levels of the pyramid – particularly amongst people that are not like minded and like situated within society. The inclusive nature of Lederach's peacebuilding framing brings together the articulation of social justice issues in the mix with peacemaking and peacebuilding. However, this is not always easy in practice, particularly when elected representative democracy (i.e the remit of elected politicians) is posited against the involvement of participative democracy (community and activists from other sectors).

Consequently, independent philanthropy can support an inclusive framing of peacebuilding as proposed above through –

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[8] John Paul Lederach (1999) The Challenge of the 21st Century – Justpeace, in European Centre for Conflict Prevention (ed.) People Building Peace – 35 Inspiring Stories from around the World: European Centre for Conflict Prevention in cooperation with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Coexistence Initiative of State of the World Forum.

- Fund marginalised communities/groups to help in their articulation of issues and concerns, and support both advocacy and participative social change strategies of action.

- Work with indigenous funders, and other interests, to identify what groups are likely to be excluded from the peacebuilding processes and identify strategies to promote the inclusion of their voices.

- Build the understanding of civil society organisations of the political processes and offer them access to information about other peacebuilding processes and the types of settlements concluded.

- Support the building of alliances that are forged around a shared understanding of peacebuilding which includes the social justice/structural violence dimension.

- Invest in mechanisms and programmes that enable the convening of communities – particularly the most marginalised and socially excluded – in order that they are consulted in a proactive manner on issues that affect them.

It has been the experience in many contested societies that external peacemakers can have a short-term focus on political settlement without taking the time to engage in the longer term process of peacebuilding. Partnerships between external philanthropy and indigenous funders can provide the necessary support for the long term.

Women in Black, Belgrade, is a feminist and anti-militarist peace organisation that was established in 1991. In making its non-violent resistance to militarism, war, sexism and nationalism visible, Women in Black has led some 700 street actions, from protests to performances. It also built a women's solidarity network, organised peace education, called for demilitarisation and disarmament, and demanded accountability for the waging of war and war crimes. The Women's Reconstruction Fund (set up in 2004) grew out of the experience of Women in Black and still funds peacebuilding and social justice activities in Serbia and related areas.

"The fall of the Berlin Wall and the wars in former Yugoslavia showed us feminists how much more still has to be done, and the necessity of political mobilisation. This has to be done against the permeating attitude of exclusion, against the tide of racism, against the ethnic cleansing, and against the closure of one's own borders. Our principle was to persistently cross the borders, and that is what the women's groups persistently did, even when others did not."

(Zarana Papic, Feminist activist and theorist, Belgrade)

In seeking to consolidate peacebuilding and to achieve conflict transformation there are a multiplicity of opportunities for philanthropy –

- Funding local initiatives to examine and deal with the causes of the conflict (often clusters of social justice denied), and to address abuses of power.

- Supporting work for the re-integration of political ex-prisoners and ex-combatants.

- Investing in approaches that can result in the demobilisation of armed groups and the decommissioning of their weaponry in an ordered manner.

- Promoting the empowerment of the victims and survivors of the conflict in an inclusive manner.

- Addressing issues of how the history of the conflict period (and its related causes) will be written and how the legacies of the past can be managed in a positive manner.

- Developing new conceptions of citizenship – particularly a framing of citizenship that addresses issues of social justice and inclusion.

- Ensuring the established primacy of the values of human rights, equality and social inclusion.

- Funding transitional justice strategies and drawing learning on such strategies from other societies emerging from conflict.

- Supporting local initiatives to dismantle societal divisions – both physically in terms of territoriality and displacement, and in terms of communal identity.

- Enhancing the role and remit of civil society organisations, including community based groups, as monitors of a more peaceful and socially just society.

Again, opportunities for investment for social justice and peacebuilding can be usefully mediated through the expert knowledge of indigenous Funds and Foundations. The support provided through the Abraham Fund to the Parents Circle-Families Forum in Israel evidenced this when they undertook joint dialogue work that shared the life histories and stories of both Palestinians and Israelis in very difficult and sensitive circumstances.

The other important aspect of work during periods of peacebuilding is to ensure that well-intentioned Development Aid is not introduced in a potentially disruptive manner. Thus, the provision of water to a camp for internally displaced people, which by-passes a local village that does not have access to water, simply because the rules of the provider international agency dictates where the water must be supplied, can cause unnecessary friction between the camp dwellers and the residents of the local village. Whereas, if a joint community development process had been engaged in, a collaborative water supply project might have been mediated that would have offered a win-win situation. Equally, the provision of largescale funding by external agencies who are seeking to underpin local peace processes can bring with them increased sense of local dependency; unsustainable development; lack of transparency; and divisiveness at local level, unless the development programme is carefully negotiated with leaders at all stages of Lederach's peacebuilding pyramid. Good intentions, when accompanied by rushed timetables and bureaucratic regulations, can have less than productive outcomes. Peacebuilding takes time and inclusive participation; peacebuilding that enshrines principles of social justice requires even greater attention

to detail and impact.

"The fact is that in many working class areas it is groups like ours who originated as ex-prisoner groups that are doing the peacebuilding work, because so-called 'nice' people, from 'nice' groups and agencies don't want to be there and don't see the problems in these areas as being anything to do with them. Peacebuilding is not 'nice' work; it forces us all to look at ourselves, examine our beliefs and confront our prejudices."

(Marion Jamison, Armagh, Northern Ireland)

And what can we do?

The first thing that we can do as philanthropists is to acknowledge the fact that the distribution of assets, opportunities and capabilities does not happen by accident, but as a result of inherited resource and power inequalities, policy choices and political struggle.[9] Social Justice philanthropy sets itself the task of working in partnership with those people that have been disadvantaged by this situation in order to redress the inequities experienced. Whilst social justice philanthropy, in the context of peacebuilding, understands conflict within the broader framing of social injustice and works to achieve a form of conflict transformation that will also address these injustices. However given the complexities of any particular conflict prone, or conflict ridden, society, it is important that external philanthropists – and Development Aid agencies – take the time to listen to the insights of indigenous Funds and Foundations, and where a shared value base is established, to work in partnership with them. There is invariably so much to be done that there is room for all hands to be set to the wheel of conflict transformation.

What indigenous independent Funds and Foundations can offer include –

• Acting as a knowledge hub of the local conditions and particularly being sensitive to the adverse impact of violent conflict and social injustices on specific communities and groups within their society.

• Being open to a range of different approaches – both grantmaking and non grantmaking roles – in order to proactively support work around peacebuilding and social justice.

• Offering a convening role which can bring together groups across sectarian, ethnic, caste and other divides, and working with partner organisations and initiatives to ensure that this can happen safely. This will include the creation of safe spaces in which conversations on sensitive and controversial topics can take place.

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[9] See Mac Darrow & Amparo Tomas (2005) Power, Capture and Conflict – A Call for Human Rights Accountability in Development Cooperation, in Human Rights Quarterly, 27 (2), cited in Lisa Laplante (2008) Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding – Diagnosing and Addressing the Socioeconomic Roots of Violence through a Human Rights Framework, in International Journal of Transitional Justice, 2 (3): Oxford University Press.

- Networking at community level with potentially marginalised or excluded groups and testing ways to support their active participation in alliances for change.

- Acting as a bridge between different levels in society (as set out in Figure 3).

- Offering flexible and timely grant delivery – in situations of rapid change, as often occurs during peacebuilding, a small grant made in a timely and flexible manner can be more effective than a larger grant.

- Helping to develop broad platforms/alliances to build cooperation and solidarity around issues of social justice and peacebuilding. This can entail indigenous Funds and Foundations using their position in society and their reputational capital to stand by advocates for change.

- Acting as a channel for external philanthropy and/or Development Aid agencies either through a partnership approach to the delivery of funding or as a source of active consultation.

- Offering a signposting service for external funders, particularly in terms of advising on how planned interventions might be interpreted (or misinterpreted) and applying a peace and conflict impact assessment with regard to proposed initiatives.

'Small Money, Big Impact' (2009) is a publication compiled by the Foundations for Peace Network to present a very varied range of case studies that comment on the importance of philanthropic contributions to social justice and peacebuilding work in divided and conflict torn societies. It is a companion publication to this reflection document.[10] It concluded as follows –

"Using small sums of money to achieve a big impact on sensitive and difficult issues requires the willingness and ability to move outside the comfort zone of much philanthropic grantmaking. It is also based on the premise that the sources of 'small money' will be made available and that the importance of external-internal philanthropic partnership approaches is recognised. What the external philanthropic partner brings is not only money, but also a macro perspective and contacts that can be incredibly important in situations of violent conflict. What the local partner contributes is not just the added value element and the micro 'pulse' of the situation, but also the guarantee of living with the decisions taken. It is this combination that can deliver an effective strategic approach. Ultimately, those who are suffering as a result of violence and social injustice should expect no less".

Avila Kilmurray,
Community Foundation for Northern Ireland.
December 2009.

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[10] Foundations for Peace Network (2009) Small Money, Big Impact – available from Community Foundation for Northern Ireland, Unit 4, Rath Mor Centre, Bligh's Lane, Creggan, Derry BT48 0LZ or info@communityfoundationni.org.

Foundations for Peace

Vision

Foundations for Peace envisions a pluralistic society across the world that respects human rights and dignity and in which conflicts are resolved through peaceful means.

Mission

Foundations for Peace is a global network of independent, indigenous funders working to advance equality, diversity and inter-dependence in areas of entrenched and persistent communal conflict with a history of, or potential for, violence.

Goals

Foundations for Peace has three strategies. These are:

1. To draw lessons from and share models of good practice in peacebuilding that have been implemented within and between local communities.

2. To influence and advance public policy to support equality, diversity and inter-dependence nationally and internationally

3. To inform, influence and increase the flow of philanthropic funds to support indigenous peace-building Foundations across the globe.

Objectives

To implement these strategies, Foundations for Peace will pursue the following objectives:

1. To ensure that the membership and leadership of Foundations for Peace is diverse in religion, gender, and culture and reflect all regions of the globe

2. To promote solidarity between members to provide individual and organizational support

3. To build individual and organizational capacity through sharing skills, knowledge, experiences and good practices

4. To promote collaboration between members (programmatic, training, research, resource mobilization)

5. To gather, analyze and disseminate the collective learning of network members

Values

Foundations for Peace values the sanctity of human life as set out in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948). This is attached as appendix A.

In particular, Foundations for Peace wishes to make a distinctive contribution to peace building in areas of entrenched and persistent communal conflict with a history or potential of violence. The values that underpin network members' philanthropic interventions in areas of such conflict are equality, diversity and interdependence.

Foundations for Peace is non-partisan and shall not take positions on global political issues. Each member authority will have full autonomy to develop policies, positions and practices relevant to its mission and philosophy within its sphere of interest.

Foundations for peace network members

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A note on membership of the Foundations for Peace Network

Membership Criteria

Full Membership of Foundations for Peace is open to independent, indigenous, activist grantmaking Foundations currently working in divided societies and addressing issues of peacebuilding, social inclusion and/or social justice.

Affiliated Membership:

Affiliated membership is open to those independent, indigenous grantmaking Foundations that would meet the full membership criteria and who are interested in the FFP work but do not feel that they have the capacity to become full members at their point of application.

Associated Membership:

Associated membership is open to foundations, groups or individuals that do not meet the full membership criteria but have an interest in our work and share our ethos and values. These members should have the potential to contribute to the work of the Network and be active in the field of social justice, human rights, peacebuilding and social inclusion.

Process

Membership is subject to applicant organisations submitting an 'expression of interest' form which is available in several languages on our website – www.foundationsforpeace.org.

Small Money, Big Impact is a report drawn from the combined experiences of nine independent charitable trusts and foundations that are members of the Foundations for Peace Network. What is both unique and compelling about these organizations is that they are all indigenous to, and working in, societies that have been marked by deep communal divisions and violent conflict. They share a commitment to social justice and peacebuilding in often difficult and complex circumstances.

Drawing on nine detailed case studies from eight countries in Asia, Latin American and Europe, this illustrated report discusses the relationship between social justice and peacebuilding while reflecting on the added value of using indigenous foundations to deliver local programmes in areas of conflict and division. A common theme is how small amounts of money can leverage major impact in terms of building solidarity and partnerships for social change.

This accompanying publication lays out the thinking that drives the work of the Network members. The author is Avila Kilmurray from the Community Foundation for Northern Ireland, a founding member of the Foundations for Peace Network, and a contributor to the Small Money, Big Impact report.

The Foundations for Peace Network was initiated in 2003 with the mission of developing a network of independent indigenous funders that work locally in order to advance social justice and peacebuilding in areas of entrenched and persistent communal conflict. The Foundations for Peace Network believes that philanthropy both can and should make a commitment to addressing these issues in partnership with local independent funders to draw maximum long-term benefit locally while contributing to global learning.