

**THE ROLE OF FAITH BASED CIVIL SOCIETY
ORGANIZATIONS IN PEACE MAKING IN ETHIOPIA
AND SOUTH SUDAN. A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

TSEGAYE KASSA

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
CENTER FOR AFRICAN AND ORIENTAL STUDIES**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Tsegaye Kassa, Weldesenbet entitled: *The role of Faith Based Civil Society Organizations in Peace making in Ethiopia and South Sudan. A comparative perspective.* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts (African intellectual History and cultural Studies stream)

Complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Acronyms

AMECEA	The members of the Association of the Episcopal Conferences of Eastern Africa
CBO's	Community based organizations
CSO's	Civil society organizations
DICAC	The Ethiopian Orthodox Church Development and Inter-Church Aid Commission
ECFE	The Evangelical Churches Fellowship of Ethiopia
ECS	Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat
ECS	Ethiopian catholic secretariat
EECMY	Ethiopian evangelical church Mekane Yesus
EEUC	The Ethiopian Evangelical Unity Churches
EMASC	Ethiopian Muslims Affairs Supreme Council
EOC	Ethiopian orthodox church
EPRDF	Ethiopian people's revolutionary democratic front
FBCSO's	Faith based civil society organizations
FBO's	Faith based organizations
FDRE	Federal democratic republic of Ethiopia
IRCE	Inter religious council of Ethiopia
NCA	Norwegian Church Aid
NGO's	Non governmental organizations
NSCC	New Sudan Council of Churches
RNGO's	Religious Non Governmental Organization's
SCC	The Sudan Council of Churches
SDAC	The Ethiopian Seventh Day Adventist Church
SSCC	South Sudan Council of Churches
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Abstract

Civil Society Organizations play an important role on the international scene, and have been inviting increasing attention from scholars, who are above all interested in their long term impact on good governance. It is imperative to pay attention to the reality of the African scene with its inherent features undermining certain modern Civil Society activities. Furthermore, attention should be paid to the special features of African society and tradition and the willingness to try new and innovative approaches, taking advantage of the best in the old. Most African societies are deeply religious, and religion plays a major role in public life. Scholars are researching innovative new approaches to the interface between spirituality and civil society, and their impact on good governance. This study seeks to investigate this theme through close scrutiny of the situation in Ethiopia and South Sudan. Culturally and historically the areas are quite different, although geographically in close proximity to each other. The main stakeholders are somewhat different in each case; however certain aspects of the interaction between state, FBCSO's etc. are similar. Most governments show a willingness to involve FBCSO's and traditional institutions in conflict resolution and particularly in mediation processes, in which they can profit from their high degree of social capital. However, when it comes to lobbying for the implementation of long term holistic peace paradigm (as described by Prof. Hezkias Assefa) including redress of social grievances, more transparent and answerable government etc. they are hesitant, because they do not want their own personal interests to be touched. As a result FBCSO's and indigenous institutions gain some success in brokering mediation efforts, however they are less successful in introducing long term sustainable peace paradigms, or breaking through recurring cycles of violence. Moreover, governments introduce legislation curtailing the activities of CSO's and bring them under closer scrutiny by the authorities.

Chapter One

1. Introduction

A strong civil society has over the past decades been considered of increasing importance for democratization, the protection of human rights, and for demanding accountability of states. Scholars as well as practitioners within NGO's and bilateral development cooperation have increasingly explored the varying forms in which people engage politically, outside the state and political parties, to pursue their concerns and interests, seeking an understanding of civil society and its multifaceted appearances throughout the world. Faith groups engage in civil society from the motivation of their faith, and not as instruments of government, but they recognize that in working in the public sphere, they are bound by the same accountabilities as any other voluntary or community organizations.

There are claims that religious faith builds a civil society in a way secularism does not, religion generates networks of participation that are far more lasting and committed than secular civic organizations. Religious networks are capable of generating participation and engagement what we call "social capital". Social capital is always important to everyone, but it is disproportionately important to the poor, who lack other forms of capital financial and human (education). Such networks not only meet material needs and wants but, more significantly, generate civic and political participation thus building human and financial capital. The early 19th century was a time, like now, of feral individualism, unbridled global capitalism, disintegration of the family and violent riots. Yet the revitalisation of civic life in the last decades of the 19th century saw an explosion of forms of civic engagement (not just religious, but ethnic, fraternal, labor, professional, philanthropic, humanist) which reduced crime, restored order, and led to profound social reforms. In this revitalisation of civic life the role of faith institutions, alongside that of others, was crucial.

In a traditional society Civil Society Organizations (CSO's) are inevitably associated with the dominant religious traditions. This is particularly true in the Ethiopian context; basically CSO's

can be understood as being organizations standing between the ordinary citizen and the government acting in the interest of the former.

Academic literature defines the term CSO's as designating non-profit organizations (NGO's). In the modern context the term comprises organizations such as all kinds of clubs, work teams, trade Unions, civil rights and self-help organizations, professional associations, cooperatives and charities, faith-based organizations (such as churches Islamic charities), as well as traditional and clan groups. Excluded groups include the media, businesses, and political parties, with the exception of their associations, lobbying, campaign groups of different types, ranging from informal networks to different types of political groups (Thania Paffenholz, 2009:16).

However, the broad definition of CSO's encompasses a great variety of types. One of the major distinctions is between CSO's set up for the benefit of their own members (clubs, Unions, co-operatives and so on) and those set up for the interests of others i.e. for public benefit (Charities, Campaigning, organizations, etc) Another way of distinguishing different types of CSO's is in terms of the scope and scale of their activities. Civil society organizations can work either on the basis of self-help or to provide assistance to others. In the case of the latter, this can be done either directly through providing services (such as health, education or counseling) to specific groups, defined geographically and/or socially, or indirectly by providing information, analysis and opinion on issues relevant to the public as a whole. Ministry of Capacity Building (Civil Society Organizations' Capacity Building Program Design Zero Draft, 2004:4).

We can find faith based CSO's at Local, Regional, National or International levels – each level tends to vary somewhat in their ultimate aims and objectives. Different faith based CSO's were established to achieve varying purposes, orientated towards different interest groups, they can be concerned with international aid and development assistance or national or regional development (Assefa and Zewde, 2008: 1)

Civil society organizations and private sector NGO's often faith based have played an important role in making peace, and improving social and economic services in Ethiopia and South Sudan from the mid-20th century i.e. around 1970s -1980s up to now (ibid: 1).

The intention of this thesis is to show or identify general trends or paradigms within CSO's activities, as exemplified through the study of a number of both selected representatives CSO's active within Ethiopia and South Sudan. Special attention is given to those engaged in Peace making facilitated through a faith based orientation as classified by the "federal affairs government data base".

There are numerous CSO's registered and active in different sectors in contemporary Ethiopia. The researcher has chosen to focus on those with a definite faith based orientation, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Development and Inter-Church Aid Commission (DICAC), Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat, Mekane Yesus evangelical church, Ethiopian Islamic affairs supreme council are among some of the faith based Civil Society Organizations active in Ethiopia. Many of them are also active in South Sudan, though other organizations such as Norwegian Church Aid and those associated with the Comboni (Catholic) religious order traditionally played a large role there.

Two general concepts form the basis of the research agenda: What is the role of faith in peace making in the Ethiopian and south Sudan contexts? And to what extent do faith based CSO's have a special or different role to purely humanitarian organizations in peace promoting processes?

The ancient Greeks and Romans conceived of Ethiopia as a vague territory covering a huge area, it was traditionally the centre of monotheistic religions and literate cultures, and is since the end of the nineteenth century more clearly defined as a political entity. Sudan was historically a similarly vague term whose initial meaning is close to that of Ethiopia (Greek - land of the 'sun-burned'), referring to those who are 'black' (according to the Arabic etymology). In the North it included areas with ancient civilizations like Kush and Nubia. South Sudan despite being geographically close by is culturally and historically completely different. It is no historical tradition of literacy and is populated by peoples who until recently (and to some extent even today) follow traditional African tribal religions. Yet in both countries religion plays a major role in public and private life, much more so than in the West. The comparative study of religious civil society in these two strongly contrasting cultures sheds much light on its essential nature and mode of functioning.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Over the past decade the concepts of good governance and civil society participation have been assuming increasing priority in international discourse on politics and development across the world. “The reality on the ground in Africa is that there is a widespread weak civil society, in the 1960’s and 1970’s most governments in the continent progressively narrowed the economic and political space for independent societal action outside the control of the state. However since the late 1980’s the situation has been slowly changing, political systems encouraging pluralism are now the norm rather than being the exception” (Osrea 2009/2011:3).

There is a need for a new approach to civil society which takes account of the reality of the African context and the significance of African institutions to forge new innovative ways forward. One thing which most African countries have in common is that religion plays a major role in public life, even in such vastly different countries as Ethiopia and South Sudan.

Thus the central question of the research is what religious civil society contributes to the current African scene, with special reference to the issue of Peace and Reconciliation, and how it can be used in new and creative ways to further the process of genuine grass-roots democratization and thus promote good governance. Consequently also the question of what special advantages faith based civil society organizations have, and how they are able to use them to maximum advantage need to be addressed. Are FBCSO’s fulfilling their potential, what more needs to be done to make them effective, how should they be deployed, and what dangers or potential disadvantages might they harbor?

In order to investigate these issues the researcher initiated a research process articulating definitive questions and defining key terms, firstly focusing on civil society, and its relationship with faith based organizations. In the traditional contexts faith based organizations normally constitute a large part of civil society, both in Islamic and Christian context, Even in the context of African traditional religions, we can speak of religious institutions being associated with civil society and often having political influence. The Shilluk Sacred Kingship in South Sudan (Dunstan M.Wai, 1973 :9). and the Gada system among the Oromo of Ethiopia are examples

of African traditional institutions combining secular and spiritual features, which have clear religious injunction and civil society functions.

Secondly, for the study to be effective it must accurately reflect the reality of the situation in the Horn of Africa, and the type of conflicts which beset its countries with special reference to Ethiopia and South Sudan. This requires gaining some understanding of the nature of the underlying problems, and the core issues they are connected with. Questions should be addressed such as; to what extent conflict is an inevitable endemic feature of South Sudan and Ethiopian societies, and what more could be done to put in place mechanisms of mediation, conflict resolution and reconciliation before serious confrontations arise? In religious orientated societies, faith based organizations inevitably have a role to play. Valuable insights can be gained from theoretical works on the nature of conflicts in this part of Africa, (in this context the work of Prof. Assefa Hezekiah is very useful such as (Hizkias and Wachira: 1996).

Attention should be given to identifying which specific organizations are active in South Sudan and Ethiopia, their ability to have a positive impact, and their freedom from external manipulation. Specific organizations such as the Council of Elders of Prof. Ephraim Isaac, have been controversial in this regard.

The intention is to evaluate the crucial role of the faith based civil society activities, and to see to what extent it contributes effectively to conflict resolution processes. Researchers such as (Paul Gifford: 1998). have stressed the significance of spiritual institutions functioning as civil society on religious resurgence; conversely the impact of religious civil society on the public sphere needs to be analyzed, especially with regard to conflict resolution issues. Specific reference to individual case studies, interviews and relevant theoretical material are of vital significance.

Conclusions concerning the above mentioned issues in the two starkly different countries are potentially valuable for understanding the wider African context, and issues of civil society, faith based organizations and conflict resolution in general. In addition to this, Ethiopians and south Sudanese have many problems especially tribal conflict, grazing land problem, ethnicity, and religious conflict for the last years. Furthermore the results of these conflicts have brought

devastation and destruction upon the people of Ethiopia and South Sudan. Based on this statement the researcher evaluates faith based organizations through selective representative samples to assess how active they are in the peace making process, and to what extent they are engaged in creating spaces for dialogue and problem resolution etc.

1. 2 Objective of the Research

1.2.1 General Objective

The overall objective of the thesis is to gain clarity concerning the role of faith based CSO's in peace making processes, with special reference to CSO's active in Ethiopia and South Sudan. Furthermore, it is intended to examine the nature of CSO's and their mission in relation to their motivating principles and their ability to make an impact on peace processes in the two countries. This thesis deals with selective national and international CSO's active in the local context of Ethiopia and South Sudan.

1.2.2 Specific Objectives

- To explore and analyze the nature of a selective FBCSO's in the course of their active engagement in the in the two countries, emphasizing those with a distinct religious nature .
- To assess the role of FBCSO's and their mechanisms in facilitating peace and reconciliation processes, with special reference to selective CSO's active in Ethiopia and South Sudan.
- To identify whether FBCSO's are more or less successful than other organization in achieving their aims with regard to peace process programs in Ethiopia and South Sudan.
- To determine to what extent such FBCSO's are really independent, and genuinely working for the public good (or for the government).
- To evaluate whether they genuinely find solutions or rather cause conflicts. (For example the South Sudanese President Salva Kier told the international news agency Aljazeera on January 23.2014, that the UN and other CSO's were helping the rebels by supplying military materials to them and thus contributing to the collapse the government.) Consequently, CSO's could potentially be considered to be a negative factor in conflicts.

1.3 Limitation of the Study

Field research problems have hampered the conduct of thorough grass roots investigations of appropriate themes. Both the financial constraints due to the absence of sufficient funding, and the ongoing civil war situation in South Sudan have made actual field work research virtually impossible. Thus the researcher is obliged to limit himself to collecting data, doing in-depth interviews, etc within the wider area of Addis Ababa. The current eruption of hostilities in South Sudan has high-lighted the significance of the conflict there but also effectively prevented any possibility of doing field research. The presence of headquarters of international organizations in Addis Ababa is obviously an asset for research, but does not compensate for lack of ability to go into the field.

1.3.1 Delimitation of the Study

The boundary of this thesis is delineated by the choice of selected CSO's currently active and engaged in peace processes in Ethiopia and South Sudan, especially those with a faith orientation. The choice of these two countries with their specific constellations of political problems is intended to make the study more effective and significant. Further the boundary of this thesis touches ongoing conflicts many of which are of a tribal nature such as the one currently causing violence between members of the Dinka and Nuer tribes in South Sudan, which has displaced 500.000 people according to the CNN news center (January 2014). The intention is not to document conflicts, but the role of faith based CSO's in solving them. Likewise focus is required, to limit the engagement of the thesis to the central topic and not be diverted by the many related issues.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Developments in Africa have disappointed many observers of the local scene: "The slow pace of democratic consolidation in Africa, oddly perceived as a structural failure to democratize state and civil society, should be judged against the sobering realization that with all its shades and colours, democracy is more difficult to manage than dictatorship. To manage democracy requires the internalization of the values and norms associated with those democratic governance institutions that integrate people's actual lives, the far reaching implications of this is that

African democracies cannot and should not be treated as potential replicas of western democracies (Salih 2001:3).

African civil society and state are both under pressure to take their responsibilities seriously in order to create legitimate and responsible government. These pressures originate from at least two sources: internal pressures exerted by civil society and the quest of human rights activists, and external pressure exerted by a democratically inclined global civil society. African politics of democratization is practiced in a context in which the prerequisites of western style democracies are absent. The context has at least five characteristics: 1) abject poverty and inequality 2) elite hegemony 3) weak governance institutions 4) distorted and marginalized local governance institutions, and 5) external pressures to replicate western style democracies resulting in undue political and economic conditionality,

Furthermore Scholars have noted that tradition and modernity are not necessarily opposite poles and can coexist peacefully. Not all traditions are anti-modern or hostile to progress, since modernity itself can reinforce traditional values and the resurgence of ethnic and religious movements. In addition one needs to avoid “an approach which is Eurocentric, judging development merely with reference to western institutions, thus denying the development countries their own histories and socio-economic and political specificity (Salih 2001:5).

Special attention needs to be given to the contribution of indigenous institutions (among them religious ones) to good governance. As a component of civil society, indigenous institutions can play a central role in the development process and good governance, along with the state and the private sector. They have a key role in the prevention and resolving of conflicts in communities where modern administrative structures have limited effects. Such institutions have special advantages: “Responsiveness is a characteristic of indigenous judicial and administrative systems, [together with effectiveness and efficiency]. Indigenous institutions are pervasive throughout the countryside and peasants attach high value to them.” (Aredo and Adal, 2009:148).

CSO's have become a defining feature of public life through humanitarian activities and their engagement in peace-making, and conflict management processes in Ethiopia and South Sudan.

Consequently, gaining a better understanding of them from the perspective of faith and the consequences of the religious orientation on which they are based is of great value and useful for maintaining successful ongoing conflict resolution processes in both countries.

1.5 Research Questions

- What are the main roles of FBCSO's in promoting peace processes in Ethiopia and South Sudan?
- What distinguishes them from other CSO's, and to what extent can they take advantage of social capital and other mechanisms to make a contribution towards preventing and halting civil war, tribal conflict, and elevating people out of poverty?
- To what extent do they genuinely promote civil society agendas and not narrower sectarian aims (propagation of the faith), in their activities?
- Are Faith related organizations really effective in promoting the ethical and moral aspects of the principles required for lasting peace, i.e. in setting in place long term reconciliation processes and implementing lasting, inclusive, holistic paradigms of peace.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The scope of this study is focused on the contribution of Faith-Based Organizations towards the aim of making peace through selective representative CSO's active in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church Development and Inter-Church Aid Commission (DICAC), Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat, Ethiopian evangelical Mekane Yesus Church, Ethiopian Islamic Affairs Supreme Council Norwegian Church Aid in South Sudan and the Comboni (Catholic) missionary incentives. This facilitates investigating certain key aspects of the activities of faith based CSO's in Ethiopia and south Sudan. A general understanding of CSO's and their role is required, but among the many varied types of organizations special attention is given to those with some kind of religious orientation or perspective.

1.7 Research Methods

1.7.1 Methodology

The methodology is based on gathering data, doing in-depths interviews, referring to relevant theoretical material, etc. There is a focus on gaining information about various CSO's, especially the circumstances leading to their establishment and the faith aims they promote. Consequently, further research is done on their activities, and the results of their engagement on the wider community. This facilitates gaining an understanding of the relationship between the faith aspect of the organizations and their wider impact. A certain analysis of different concepts of faith, and the way in which they impact on CSO's activities is required. Furthermore, certain wider issues concerning the relationship between faith and CSO's, public activities are dealt with.

1.7.2 Methodology and Research Design

The thesis tends towards qualitative research methods, qualitative methodology by its nature attempts to see things deeply by defining meanings related to social and political formations, institutions, geographic areas, communities and societies. The qualitative approach facilitates analyzing data and identifying the perspective of the participants. Hence, the methodology of this paper has an inherent qualitative research design and all relevant data will be analyzed qualitatively.

1.7.3 Sources of Data

Data was gathered on different aspects of specific circumstances facilitating the development of the theme of this paper. In the data gathering process, efforts were made to document relevant formal information including the current problems in South Sudan in particular. In addition to this, in depth interviews were made using unstructured and structured questions with selected CSO's staff members, staff from the Ethiopian Ministry of Federal Affairs, staff from various members of different Diaspora communities and other knowledgeable institutions and individuals. Further information was gleaned from different books articles, brochures, internet, and documents relating to CSO's and peace processes.

1.7.4 Method of Data Analysis

Advantage will be taken of the fact that many international organizations are based here (i.e. in Addis Ababa), to do relevant interviews, and collect archival material. All data collected from different sources will be carefully analyzed using qualitative methods, in the light of the theoretical literature. Information from different perspectives facilitates gaining a wider spectrum of views on the role of faith among CSO's oriented towards peace making. Opportunity for field research is limited by financial constraints, and the current security situation in South Sudan.

Chapter Two

Review of Literature

2. Introduction

This study focused on two states in the Horn of Africa Ethiopia and South Sudan; specifically it looked at the role of Faith Based Civil Society Organizations in promoting peace and reconciliation in the two countries. The last two decades have seen major changes in the two

countries resulting from global and regional factors. Like many sub-Saharan African countries these two countries experienced substantial economic and political shocks in the course of their development. Changing circumstances in the two countries caused internal, cross border and inter-ethnic conflicts which affected the two countries and the region's security in general. Ethnic diversity in itself does not lead to conflicts but the way the states handle ethnic grievances seem to be the main cause of ethnic strife.

“Among the major problems in Africa causing internal and cross-state-border ethnic conflicts has been the lack of appropriate and timely response to the grievances of the diverse ethnic groups within the National State borders and also the lack of cooperation between neighboring States in handling cross border ethnic migrations and occasional inter group resource based conflicts.” (Salih, 2001).

Other factors which seem to have contributed to increases in inter ethnic conflicts in Africa in general and the Horn of Africa countries in particular, include lack of ‘good governance’ and genuine democratization which impacts on the grievances of the various ethnic groups. Attempts to introduce Western style multi-party politics has sometimes raised aspirations it could not fulfill eventually leading to increased tensions and thus ethnic and religious based conflicts, both within Ethiopia and Sudan as well as in other countries of the Horn of Africa.

Meanwhile, Governments have failed to bring peaceful resolution to these conflicts. Hence various FBCSO's have attempted to promote peaceful mediation of these conflicts and to encourage peace building among the conflicting groups in the South Sudan, Ethiopia and the other countries of the Horn of Africa (although FBCSO's tend to have a higher profile in Christian rather than Muslim contexts). FBCSO's in both Ethiopia and South Sudan have been actively engaged in conflict resolution initiatives, both in cooperation with the government, individual communities, as well as international and regional organizations in their effort to bring peace. Among the organizations involved in these efforts it is important to give due credit to the important Ethiopian and South Sudan FBCSO's (some mentioned before) which have made a contribution in this field.

According to the literature on ethnic conflicts in the Horn of Africa, the phenomena of local–regional, ethnic-religious, and intra-inter state conflicts became increasingly common during the last half century, especially during the past three decades. Examples include the conflicts between agro-pastoral groups such as the Nuer, Dinka, and Agnuak along the Ethiopia - South Sudan borders and of that of the different pastoralists along the Somali/Ogden border, the Oromo and Somali and Afar pastoralists along the Ethiopia – Kenya and Ethiopia Djibouti borders (see Getachew 2001; 1996) see also (Babiker 2001) ; (Turton and Fukui 1978) ; (Fukui and Markakis 1994); (Salih, 1999:4).

Although we have several studies on conflicts in the Horn of Africa and particularly Ethiopia and South Sudan, there exists very little literature on the role of FBCSO's in promoting conflict mediation and peace building at interstate and regional levels. Little research has been done on the engagement of FBCSO's in conflict mediation and peacemaking. With the recent increased importance of Faith Based Organizations such as churches, synagogues, mosques, and traditional African cultic centers in policymaking, the profile of FBCSO's has become much more prominent. Yet little research exists on the role of Faith Based Organizations involvement in conflict resolution issues.

This study attempts to investigate and explain the current state of knowledge in the field of conflict resolution, by identifying relevant policies and major issues. The extent of the research is limited by the circumstances; prominence is given to interviews with knowledgeable scholars and practitioners of conflict resolution. It is also part of a broader effort supporting the emergence of a sub-field of peace building and development, which attempts to formulate coherent responses to issues as they emerge. The integrated field of peace building and development in Africa reminds practitioners, scholars, and students that the drive for peace should not marginalize the vital priority of human development or vice versa. Sustainable Peace involves not only the resolution of conflict but also the transformation of extant social systems at national and international levels. Such a concept of peace arises from Africa's particular historical circumstances and responds to its developmental needs but is also applicable to the mass of humanity.

Conflicts are intrinsic, inevitable and unavoidable aspects of social change and human interaction, playing a positive role as springboards for social change and a means of promoting justice, peace, sustainable development and human rights or conversely playing a negative role in causing widespread destruction. The challenge is therefore not to eradicate but rather to limit those forms of conflict that result in violence and cause destruction and loss of life” (Alfred Nhema, 2004:7). As violent and destructive conflicts in Africa increase, the major current problem is turning the numerous peace agreements into sustainable peace. Beyond intra-state and inter-state wars, scholars classified post-colonial African wars in six categories: “secessionist wars, irredentist wars, wars of devolution, wars of regime change, wars of social banditry, and armed inter-communal insurrections,” (Nhema/Zelesa, 2008:6). ‘Irredentist’ wars express the desire of a minority to reunite with the country to which it is ethnically or historically related (one of the most striking examples of this was the Somali-Ethiopian war over the Ogaden region in 1964-67 and 1977-78). Since the Ogaden region was ethnically Somali, the Somali government wanted to incorporate it into Somalia. However, when closely analyzed it is apparent in this and similar cases that international power politics played a major role i.e. who could gain the most international support for their claims. In this case Somalia thought she had the advantage, but the tide was changed by massive Russian and Cuban intervention on behalf of Ethiopia. Nearly all ethnic groups are divided by international borders in Africa and it is normally pragmatic sentiments, concerning where one can obtain better living conditions which triumph over irredentist ones. Another phenomena is wars of ‘devolution’, which reflect the attempts by marginalized ethnic, religious or regional groups to renegotiate the terms of incorporation into the state and the national political space (such as the conflict between North and South Sudan and recently Darfur). The introduction of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia was intended to reduce the tensions which could lead to tendencies towards devolution.

Scholars such as (Alfred Nhema, 2004:12), have pointed out that peace agreements merely provide the framework for ending hostilities and a guide to the initial stages of post settlement reform. They do not necessarily create the conditions under which the deep cleavages producing violence are automatically ended. “The imperatives towards peace need to be supported by policies at the local, national, regional and international levels which ensure that the incentives motivating people to engage in war are blighted by real alternatives and the creation of

conditions in which the majority of African people can enjoy economic, political and social progress”, (Nehema/Zezeza 2008:4).

While understanding Africa is important, it is also vital to see the continent in the context of the global situation. ‘Cultural processes in global systems cannot be understood without considering the phenomena of hegemony, of countervailing identities, of dominant and subaltern discourses. One of the striking characteristics of the current decline in western hegemony and decentralization of the world system is the concomitant rise of cultural movements, of new identities, and national entities, that have clearly reversed what appears to be an increasing homogenization on a world scale. The behavior that results from religious efforts to play a commanding role in the social process is often brittle, aggressive and truculent the promise of utopia warrants extreme measures to bring it about associated with futuristic eschatology. The hope that religion can be a source of peace and reconciliation should not be allowed to die, but keeping it alive will forever be a major challenge (Longhorne, 2006: 219).

2.1 The Concept of Peace and Faith

2.1.1 The Concept of Peace

Peace is something everybody wants to have and which not many people actually achieve, it is easily lost and always has to be worked for. For that reason it is understandable that there are different definitions of peace. Basic concepts of peace involve the absence of violence, and the maintenance of stability and a relatively safe social and political order. However, such

definitions could condone covert violence, which undermines peace. Others view peace as a situation of tranquility, avoiding disagreement or dispute, where people live in calm and serenity; however this approach fails to recognize conflict as a fact of life which can not simply be avoided. The word 'Peace' is usually associated with profit and advantage, suitability and fitness. This leads on to ideas such as: kindness and well mannered, talent and capability, self-mending and amending, charity and benevolence, tranquility and affluence, multiplicity and exuberance of something, reconciliation, unity, cease-fire and avoiding war (Brinkmann, 2006:45).

The Ethiopian federal Affairs conflict resolution and training manual said that peace means to be free from any violence this idea shows that peace means to living without fear and violence (Ethiopian federal Affairs conflict resolution and training manual, 2004:3).

Albany, proposes two definitions of peace: negative peace and positive peace (Albany: 2000:43). Negative peace focuses on reducing war and physical violence or the absence of violent conflict or recurrence of conflict. A negative peace program develops a well informed citizenry or community that takes action through eradicating direct violence and working for disarmament, such as at the emergence of violence and conflict, human rights oppression, riots etc. The positive peace concept focuses on the amelioration of all structural and systematic obstacles to peace and thus the creation of true and sustainable peace. Positive peace addresses the need for justice equity, democracy, and an end to structural violence, being concerned beyond the end of war and physical violence. Positive peace requires justice since "changes in global society and economic systems are seen as the necessary preconditions for authentic world peace", (ibid).

We can also define these concepts of peace as being passive or active. Anderson describes peace as living in relative harmony and agreement even if there is some conflict between them (ibid). This is passive in contrast with a process which actively works towards sustainable peace. In traditional African societies; peace is not an abstract poetic concept, but rather a down-to-earth and practical concept. African Traditional Religions conceive of peace not in relation to conflict and war, but in relation to order, harmony and equilibrium. It is a religious value in that the order, harmony and equilibrium in the universe and society is believed to be divinely established and the obligation to maintain them is religious. It is also a moral value since good conduct is

required of human beings if the order, harmony and equilibrium are to be maintained (Godfrey Igwebuike Onah: 2001).

Generally peace, goes beyond the preoccupation with the absence of conflict or violence and can be seen as the transformation of conflictual and destructive interactions, into more co-operative and constructive relationships i.e. the process of ‘conflict transformation and resolution’. Prof. Hizkias Assefa an Ethiopian ‘Peace Expert’ with experience all over Africa writes of a ‘peace paradigm’: “Peace and peacekeeping are not just techniques deployed to patch up differences, but larger concepts. Peace is a philosophy, and in fact a paradigm, with its own values and precepts, which provides a framework to discern, understand and analyze and regulate all human relationships in order to create an integrated, holistic and humane social order, (Assefa, 2006:4).

He elaborates ‘peace’ as a comprehensive paradigm from which to discern life and relationships in general, instead of being simply a technique for dealing with social disputes. The concept of reconciliation not only expands the concept of peace, it provides a comprehensive and rather elegant framework for discussing it. Reconciliation politics is politics of cooperation (not competition) with its narrow definition of self interest, seeing the ‘self’ rather in a relational context, and shedding light on the New Testament notion that one receives best not by taking but by giving. Security is obtained by assuring that others will be secure rather than by threatening them with our mighty defenses. The peace and reconciliation paradigm offers an alternative understanding of governance, consistent with African conditions which emphasize community. In this thesis ‘peace-making’ is understood in holistic terms to refer not only to mediation and cessation of conflict, but to an ongoing long-term processes of creating the circumstances under which different groups can flourish in a situation of positive coexistence.

2.1.2 The Concept of Faith

Faith is a word loaded with a variety of meanings explanations, and ideologies, according to different organizations. In this context it is important to see what it means with relation to faith based institutions especially FBCSO’s in Ethiopia and South Sudan.

The Webster dictionary defines faith as: ‘Strong belief or trust in someone or something, such as belief in the existence of God, strong religious feelings or a system of religious beliefs (Webster dictionary). Such a definition indicates the word’s significance in the context of faith based organizations, whose core ethical conduct and aspirations are rooted in a specific teaching or spiritual creed.

Hebrew and Greek biblical dictionaries indicate that the word “faith” has a root meaning: “that which is stable” (n.) or “that which stabilizes” (v.). In English translations of the New Testament, the word faith generally corresponds to the Greek noun πίστις (*pistis*) or the Greek verb πιστεύω (*pisteuo*), meaning "to trust, to have confidence, faithfulness, to be reliable, to assure" (P. Alvin, 2000:78). Thus followers of Jesus consider faith to be something (or someone) upon which to stabilize and establish a spiritual life; a secure foundation upon which to build a spiritual life. Consequently, it is important to grasp the foundational meaning of the word “faith” (ibid).

In the Qur'an, the term 'faith' means 'to consider something to be sure and reliable without doubting'. Faith can only be given by God, and means above all, that a human being acknowledges Allah's greatness and superiority, his own position as God's servant, who owes Him gratitude for His mercy towards man (Brinkmann, 2006:65).

With 80% of the world’s population adhering to a religion, faith communities represent a powerful driver for transformation and change. The World Economic Forum recognizes the relevance of religion and faith to the global economy, politics, society and individuals, and is keenly aware of the important role played by faith communities around the world in advancing human society in an inclusive and sustainable way. Over the years, the Forum’s multi stake holder platform has increasingly integrated the voice of influential religious leaders from multiple faiths, including faith-based organizations and experts on religion to contribute with their unique perspectives to the global dialogue and to the activation of solutions to the most pressing common challenges. In 2012, a new Global Agenda Council on the Role of Civil Society was established to provide a platform for debate, analysis and solution-building around the role of civil society in global decision-making processes.

2.2 The Concept of Faith in Major Religions

2.2.1 Christianity

Christianity in different forms is the dominant religion of both Ethiopia and South Sudan, although it co-exists with other religious traditions. The term Christianity refers to those who believe in Jesus Christ. As source of salvation, thus, faith in Christianity is based on the work and teachings of Jesus Christ. Rather than being passive, faith leads to an active life aligned with the ideals and the example of the life of Jesus, seeing the mystery of God and his grace and seeking to know and become obedient to God, (Wuerl, 2004:238).

Christianity has many branches which vary in their manner of worship and internal organization. However, they share a core biblical teaching, which is expressed in the creed (expression of faith) which most churches even the newer ‘Pentecostal’ ones accept. This contrasts with other monotheistic religions such as Judaism and Islam in which ‘orthopraxis’ i.e. fixed religious practices are advocated. The Principal branches of Christianity are The Orthodox, the Catholic and the Protestant Churches, all of which are present in both Ethiopia and South Sudan. However, while the Orthodox Church is the largest community in Ethiopia, Catholic and Protestant Churches predominate in South Sudan.

Christianity attaches great importance to peace, and the concept of reconciliation is a very important theme in Christian theology. The Liturgy of the Eucharist (in Ethiopia known as the *Kidasse*) which is of central importance to Orthodox, Catholics and some Protestants, mentions the word ‘peace’ many times, and emphasizes the concept of reconciliation both with God and with our fellow man. St Frumentius, one of the most important of the early preachers of Christianity in Ethiopia is known as ‘Abba Selama’ the ‘father of Peace’. Furthermore, in the ‘Beatitudes’ (Matthew 5:3-12) part of a core text of the New Testament known as the ‘Sermon on the Mount’, Jesus said the following words: “Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called sons of God.”

Prof. Assefa Hezekias definitely regards peacemaking as an obligatory activity of the Christian Churches based on biblical teaching. “Peacemaking and reconciliation are mandates and not

merely options for the Christian Church. It is not possible to be reconciled with God before people are reconciled with each other. God would not accept people's offerings unless they were first reconciled with their brothers and sisters, (Mt 5:23-25 and 1Jn 4:20), and would not forgive their trespasses unless they have forgiven those that have trespassed against each other" (Assefa 2006:19).

2.2.2 Islam

Islam is widely practiced in Ethiopia and South Sudan, in the former it is the second religion in the latter the third after African traditional religion. Moreover, it is the dominant religion of many neighboring countries (Sudan, Somalia, etc.). Islam is divided into Sunni and Shia factions, with regard to their belief of the continuation of the Prophetic ministry. However, all Muslims share a common orthopraxis, i.e. certain fixed practices which they are obliged to carry out on a regular basis. Islam states that faith (*iman*) is complete submission to the will of God, which includes belief, profession and the body's performance of deeds, consistent with the commission as vicegerent on Earth, all. According to God's will, Iman has two aspects: Recognizing and affirming that there is one Creator of the universe and only to this Creator is worship due. According to Islamic thought, this comes naturally because faith is an instinct of the human soul. This instinct is then trained via parents or guardians into specific religious or spiritual paths. Likewise, the instinct may not be guided at all (Habib Ali al-Jifri, 2012:8).

The Qur'an calls for willingness to acknowledge the existence of God, and commitment and submission to Him, and His prescriptions for living in accordance with vice regency. The Qur'an is understood as the literal Word of God, which descended from heaven and was dictated to the Prophet Muhammad by a miracle (he could previously not read or write). The Qur'an is believed to have updated and completed the previous revelations that God sent through earlier prophets.

In the Qur'an, there are certain texts emphasizing the bond between all monotheistic faiths, it is stated that: "Surely, those who believe, those who are Muslims, Jewish, the Christians, and the Sabians; anyone who (1) believes in GOD, and (2) believes in the Last Day, and (3) leads a righteous life, will receive their recompense from their Lord. They have nothing to fear, nor will they grieve"(2:62) (F.Malik, 2007:12) (<http://www.mideastweb.org>).

However, in addition to the above type of texts there also more polemic texts, which have caused confrontation with other religious traditions.

2.2.3 African Traditional Religion

African Traditional Religions also exist in Ethiopia and South Sudan, and followers of such religions until recently constituted the largest group in South Sudan, in Ethiopia they are less numerous although they are in the majority in certain areas. African traditional religions have often been associated with negative stereotypes, and sometimes not considered as religions at all (this was certainly the case in Ethiopia). Consequently it is important to place African Traditional Religions within a comparative context, granting them the dignity and respect which is their due. African traditional Religions provided their own specific ‘visions of life’ i.e. ‘indigenous cosmologies’, which are intimately connected with other areas of human experience and therefore direct substantially the intelligence, emotions and existence of individuals within their respective communities. There is a certain amount of debate on the subject of whether it is appropriate to speak of one or many African Traditional Religions, although the way in which they manifest themselves obviously varies considerably. We can distinguish between three layers of expression of African religiousness: a spiritual background shared by African peoples, as formalized real positive religion or religions, and finally, there is a level at which it creates new forms of religious syncretism, by blending or existing in synthesis with forms of Christianity and Islam. Traditional African Religion has generally been on the decline in Ethiopia and South Sudan. However, in certain African countries such as Benin, it still commands the loyalty of the majority of the population (60%). The introduction of ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia has prompted a resurgence of interest in identity issues including indigenous religious traditions as witnessed by the renewal of certain local festivals (such as the Oromo Erecha festival). This is connected with the fact that ethnic federalism promotes the use of local languages, which are almost inevitably connected with literary and religious traditions.

African traditional religion is a religion of the people, often including indigenous beliefs, belief in a supreme being, belief in spirits (*Zar*) and other divinities and veneration of the ancestors. To generalize this religion is very difficult due to the diversity of African cultures, use of magic, and traditional medicine (<http://www.afrikaworld.net/afrel/goddionah.htm>). Africa is a large

continent and its people are by no means homogenous. Nevertheless, whatever else may be the difference among them their concept of the Supreme Being remains one golden thread running through the heart of their religion. However, following extensive field researches in Africa as a continent, regularly occurring, constant, decimal features have been discovered in the religious world views of African peoples. These include: Belief in God, Belief in Divinities, Belief in Spirits or deities, and Belief in Ancestors, the practice of Magic, Charm and Medicine. All these have come to be seen as the basic structures or features of African Traditional Religion.

African traditional religion is the faith held by the forebears of the present Africans, and which is being practiced today in various forms and various shades and intensities by a very large number of Africans, including individuals who claim to be Muslims or Christian, (ibid). It often gains its ongoing importance because of its connection with contemporary, social and political systems, such as the Gada System of the Oromo and the Shiluk sacred Kingship of South Sudan. In its current manifestations it can be influenced by other religious traditions. For example according to Thomas Osmond a French researcher on Oromo traditional religion i.e. *Waqifata*, there is a strong influence from the terms and philosophy of Sufi Islam.

2.24 Philosophical Concept of CSO's

The history of civil society and the manner in which it was conceptualized derives from different roots and was influenced by a number of important political philosophers like John Locke (1632), Alexander de Tocqueville (1805) and Antonio Gramsci (1891). These scholars contributed to the discourse and definition of civil society. John Locke was the first in 'modern' times to state that civil society is a body in its own right, separate from the state. He argued that people form a community in which their social life develops and concerning which the state has no say. Locke referred to the sphere as pre-or-un-political, where the first task of civil society is

to protect the individual i.e. his/hers rights and property - against the state and its arbitrary interventions (Sriram, 2008:56). Ethiopia as a mature state, and has had the opportunity to develop a number of institutions which take over this task of intermediating between state and citizens. Whereas, South Sudan as a fledgling state has had less opportunities to do so, and consequently, FBCSO's bear a much heavier responsibility in this regard.

Alexander de Tocqueville stressed even more the role of the independent associations as civil society. He saw these associations as schools for democracy in which democratic thinking, attitudes and behavior are learned, protecting and defending individual rights against potentially authoritarian regimes and tyrannical majorities in society. Furthermore, de Tocqueville stated that these associations should be built voluntarily and at all levels (local, regional, national). He also stressed the significance of religious plurality as being inherently positive, encouraging the vitality and healthy functioning of society. In this sense we can see the emergence of a freer and equitable religious market place of ideas after the declaration of ethnic federalism as facilitating more opportunities for the beneficial role of FBCSO's in Ethiopia. In South Sudan FBCSO's as some of the few independent associations able to rally and mobilize popular support obviously play a prominent role, even if their ability to defend citizens against an authoritarian state was limited.

Antonio Gramsci focused more on civil society from a Marxist theoretical angle. According to him, civil society contains a wide range of organizations and ideologies, which both challenge and uphold the existing order. Thus the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes and societal consensus is formed within civil society. Gramsci's ideas influenced the resistance to totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe and Latin America (Lewis, 2002:98). Gramsci's concept of civil society both challenging and upholding the existing order resonates positively with the African context and accurately reflects the situation in both Ethiopia and South Sudan. In virtually all African countries civil society is in theory considered something good and beneficial, but in practice coerced and manipulated by those in power.

The idea of civil society building stronger, wider participation in governance, encouraging development, inter-communal peace and harmonious relations is widely accepted in many circles

throughout Africa and beyond. However, the necessary corollary to this of holding government officials accountable for their deeds is much more controversial and has caused debates and active opposition over the last decades;

Civil Society is: “the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self generating, self supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules. It is distinct from society in general in that it involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests, passions and ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, make demands on the state and hold state officials accountable”, (Diamond, 1994:5). The gramscian perspective views the state as the ‘politics of domination’, whereas civil society represents the politics of consent.’ In the African context there is still a tendency to authoritarian rule, emphasizing the politics of domination, and few countries give adequate weight to the politics of consent.

Other views have emphasized the conceptualization of civil society from a developmental perspective. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for example, advocates that, a viable, strong and informed civil society is central to good governance and should be an effective partner in the process of development (UNDP 1997:11). As mentioned before this view is theoretically accepted by most African governments, but lived reality tells a quite different story.

2.2.5 Definition of FBCSO’s

The definition of faith based organizations might in some ways be considered to challenge the term itself and is relatively recent, coming into widespread use in part as a response to a favorable funding climate (Occhipinti, 2010:19). It is worthwhile to start by helping to clarify what is meant and, what is excluded by the term faith-based organization. Definitions offered by researchers and practitioners offer a starting point, as well as indicating why a single definition continues to be elusive. Julia Berger defines FBCSO’s as formal organizations whose identity and mission are self-consciously derived from the teachings of one or more religious or spiritual

traditions and which operates on a nonprofit, independent, voluntary basis to promote and realize collectively articulated ideas about the public good at the national or international level (Julia Berger, 2003: 16).

Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings offer an even broader definition of an FBCSO's as "any organization that derives inspiration and guidance for its activities from the teachings and principles of the faith or from a particular interpretation or school of thought within the faith (2008: 6). (Wuthnow, 2000:12), definition is similar to Berger's (2003:18) in many respects, but gives slightly more attention to the ways in which an organization may be associated with a faith community.

Clarke and Jennings's definition opens the possibility that an organization can be considered an FBO's if it considers itself as such – if it is founded with the idea of a spiritual attachment or goals, rather than if it is structurally connected, through shared members or formal ties, with a faith community (ibid). According to this definition the Council of Elders could be considered a faith based organization, because despite not being connected with a specific religious organization it was strongly spiritually orientated from the beginning and many of the elders derive their authority from faith communities.

FBO's can be defined as "non-state actors that have a central religious or faith core to their philosophy, membership, or programmatic approach, although they are not simply missionaries" (Susan Dicklitch and Heather Rice, 2004:662).

Another scholar Josef Boehle, states that: 'FBCSO's differ from congregational and denominational structures, which tend to focus more narrowly on their own membership, while religious NGO's have explicitly public missions. It is important to note that not all religious NGO's focus on development issues. A study of religious NGO's and the United Nations finds that some RNGO's focus on themes of peace and justice, environmental issues, and fostering dialogue on religion, in addition to those that provide social, humanitarian and other assistance' (Boehle, 2010: 282).

This definition thus includes numerous organizations that are affiliated with a larger faith community, which can encompass many small Christian organizations as well as non-Christian organizations in faiths where there may be a centralized religious community. From this larger perspective, Clarke and Jennings define faith broadly, to include both institutionalized global religions and smaller faith communities,

Two broad conclusions can be drawn from this short overview of the fundamental principles of the notion of civil society. First, different meanings and interpretations of civil society have influenced the theoretical debate. Second, civil society has been an almost purely Western concept, historically tied to the political emancipation of citizens from former feudalistic ties, monarchy and the state during the 18th and 19th century. There is still a debate on whether these concepts of civil society are transferable to today's non-Western countries with different levels of democracy and economic structures (Lewis, 2002:67).

Marginalized groups in particular need to be organized and find a way to articulate their interests. Based on the above scholar's idea we would say that there is no universal definition for civil society organizations (hereafter CSO's) as a result, different definitions are given to them depending on the result to be achieved. To cite a few examples, CSO's are defined as associations that make up the third sector of modern life, separate from the government and the market place (Assefa and Zewde, 2008 : 159). They are associations which are separate from the state, enjoy some autonomy and are engaged in voluntarily by members of society to protect and extend their interests, values and identities. "Civil society is about participating in voluntary organizations, embodying norms of trust reciprocity, tolerance and inclusion, and activating networks of public communication (Bratton, 1997:16).

Civil societies fundamentally reduce the role of politics in society by expanding free markets and individual liberty thus forming the single most viable alternative to the authoritarian state and the tyrannical market or for those more comfortable in the middle ground of politics, it constitutes the missing link facilitating the success of social democracy. Civil society acquires special meaning within the set of processes associated with globalization: "Indeed globalization is a multilevel set of processes with built-in strictures on its power and potential, for it produces

resistance against itself. In other words, globalization creates discontents not merely as undeclared resistance, but sometimes crystallized as open counter-movement.

The institutions of Faith Based Civil Society Organizations, connected with “the Church, family, schools media and trade Unions give meaning and organization to everyday life so that the need for the application of force is reduced”, (Mittelman, 2000:167).

There is a lot of controversy concerning the nature of globalization, but most researchers agree that it produces certain factors which can increase the tendency towards conflict: “One of the few areas of minimal agreement concerns the polarization that globalization seems to entail. Economically, globalization creates winners and losers. But the polarities extend well beyond those that simply profit or lose in the global market place. They incorporate also ideas about access to global market networks, lifestyles, and the security of cultural identities,” (Rowntree, 2003:168).

Mittelman states: “Globalization is not a single unified phenomenon, but a syndrome of processes and activities. Integral to the globalization syndrome are new regionalism and resistance politics, they stand out as central to the transformations in world order,” (Mittelman, 2000:4). David Harvey posits the ‘Annihilation of space through time’ (Harvey, 1990:299).

Eghosa E. Osaghae describes the relations between colonialism and the significance of civil society, emphasizing the importance of primordial links such as religion: “Although it has gained wide currency in the analysis of African politics, civil society remains a ‘mysterious concept’ in need of proper grounding and understanding as an integral part of African social formation” (Osaghae, 2006:17, 221-232).

The significance of civil society in the African context is elaborated by a number of authors. They shed light on the “various current theories providing an explanation for why primordial attachments have remained fundamental to the structure of civil society, and why state civil society relations, have largely been fractured, instrumentalist and dialectical in the post-colonial period,” (Fatton Jr, 1995:70-83).

Abdulla Bujra and Hussein Solomon's book: "Perspectives on the OAU/AU and conflict management in Africa" underlines the major significance of CSO's in making peace. According to Bujra and Solomon: "Whatever the type or scale of the armed conflict, civil society is always deeply involved either directly in the conflict/war or as a victim of the conflict," (Bujra/Solomon 2004:82).

2.2.6 The Role of Faith Based CSO's in Africa

The fact that Africa is a large continent with multitudes of nations who have complex cultures, religions, innumerable languages and myriads of dialects, means that it is a very complicated task to establish the general role of faith based civil society organizations on the basis of their mission and orientation. Some FBCSO's are involved in the struggle for democracy while other FBCSO's appear to support undemocratic forces. Some FBCSO's over-emphasize spiritual issues at the expense of issues related to social justice (e.g. HIV AIDS, poverty, peace, reconciliation, and democracy). Certain FBCSO's regard the involvement of religious communities in political issues as potentially dangerous. Furthermore, some governments may view aspects of organized religion as a threat to government, for example *Mahibere Kidusan* the Ethiopian Orthodox Youth Movement and FBCSO's is currently considered a threat to the government of Ethiopia (Fact magazine, March 30, 2014). Some FBCSO's view state-sponsored organizations as illegitimate and unable to express the views of religious communities. In the Ethiopian case the NGO known as Justice for all Fellowship appears to be in some way sponsored by the Ethiopian government and exempted from recent restrictive legislation.

The history of African CSO's is connected with the circumstances of their establishment under the harsh conditions associated with the missionary and colonial periods. It is well known that CSO's played an important role during the nationalist struggle against colonialism. It is also a well known fact that after independence, most if not all CSO's were co-opted by the state and under one party rule, became part of the governmental system (Bujra, 2002:viii).

FBCSO's first emerged in Africa on the eve of the nationalist struggles for independence. The period that followed the independence of the ex-colonies created a vacuum in the provision of public services precipitated by the withdrawal of personnel and funding from metropolitan areas.

The capacity of the nascent post-colonial African states to provide services therefore steadily diminished. In many of the newly independent countries, expatriate church organizations and missionary societies tried to bridge the gap by running schools, hospitals, vocational training centers, etc (ibid).

2.2.7 The Role of Faith Based CSO's in Ethiopia

Ethiopia like other East African countries, (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Eritrea) is rich in faith, culture, and rituals associated with life. Organizations which functioned as traditional Community Based Mutual Help Organizations or CSO's such as *idir*, *mahiber*, *ekub*, *senbetes*, existed from time immemorial (Desalegne Rahimato, 2008: 4) and the Church and *Mahiber* serve along the stated CBOs as important Faith Based Community Organizations.

However, the role of such traditional FBCSO's in Ethiopia was strictly confined to certain social, economic and religious activities. More modern type civil society associations only began to emerge in Ethiopia during the Imperial Era especially during the 1960s in relation to urbanization and socio economic development efforts (ibid).

Furthermore, the relevance of civil society in Ethiopia needs to be seen in the context of the increasing needs of the society for socio economic development and in promoting sustainable development activities. The post 1990 adoption of Ethnic Federalism has led to increasing Ethnic and local Community based Development activities, which theoretically at least should decrease the dissatisfaction of ethnic groups.

It was assumed that Ethnic Federalism would lead to increasing community based grassroots development and thus have a knock on effect in ensuring the harmonious relationships between the different ethno linguistic and religious groups within the country. However, during the initial stage it raised a lot of expectations which were difficult to fulfill immediately, and resulted in the expression of pent up tensions, and misuse of power against minority groups in certain areas. The whole issue of use of language opened up a Pandora's Box of problematic issues, and complications due to unforeseen consequences of new policies. Ethnic Federalism is such a new innovative form of administration that it was impossible to foresee all the consequences it would

have. In the long run it is likely to bring many advantages, but in the short run it will be necessary to deal with unforeseen problems.

Another to some extent unexpected result of religious pluralism and equality, is increased religious mobility and more proselytizing activities, which to some extent favor the spread of more extremists fringe groups, such as the more militant forms of Islam (Wahabi and Salafi) as well as Protestant especially Pentecostal Christianity. These forms of Islam and Christianity are more aggressive in their proselytizing techniques, and less likely to accept former syncretistic traditions, and the form of religious co-existence which existed before. This inevitably leads to heightened inter-religious tensions and an increasing tendency towards confrontation, which can even result in violence. These developments are undesirable, and added efforts are required by religious leaders and local society to keep them in check.

Furthermore, the participation of civil society and the use of Cultural Conflict mediation and settlement institutions in inter group and inter-faith and civil society and state conflicts management processes have remained very minimal. To date the role of Faith Based as well as secular CSOs in predicting and management such conflicts and in developing culture based conflict prediction or early warning and prevention and post conflict management mechanisms have not yet been given much attention.

Meanwhile in Ethiopia civil society has emerged as an important catalyst in the development of democratic processes at both the national and international levels. It has begun to play a critical role in the world wide drive for equity, social justice, and human rights, amply demonstrating its enormous potential for fostering democratic values, for engendering innovative approaches, for rallying public opinion and mobilizing grassroots communities. In Ethiopia, civil society as we know it today is a recent phenomenon.

The earliest predecessors of faith based civil society organizations in Ethiopia were traditional community based organizations (CBO's) such as the *iddir*, the *iqub*, *mahiber*, *senbete* and other self-help organizations. The recognition of civil and political rights in the 1995 constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the country's ratification of major

international human rights instruments have certainly been encouraging factors in the proliferation of CSO's and NGO's in the country. This has encouraged the premise that "it is in civil society institutions, forged in the anvil of experience and invention, that the most promising examples of effective and resilient indigenous repertoires are to be found", (Assefa and Zewde, 2010, :vii).

Various authors have written about the significance of civil society (Rahmato, Bantirgu and Endeshew, 2008). They note that Ethiopia is one of the least developed countries; as a result it is highly dependent on external assistance. According to the World Bank (2007), aid flows are currently equivalent to about eight percent of the country's GDP, and presently external assistance covers one-third of the country's national budget. All the indications are that further increases in development assistance will be required to sustain on-going economic growth and capacity building as well as to enable the country to meet the MDG's (Millennium Development Goals). On the other hand, the country continues to be burdened by frequent and endemic humanitarian crisis and consequently humanitarian and food aid constitutes between 30 – 50% of total aid. Bilateral and multilateral assistance continues to be provided largely by the country's traditional donors, some of the most important among them include the USA, Japan, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, on the one hand, and the World Bank, UN agencies, European Union and the African Development Bank on the other. (World Bank: 2007)

At present, the multilateral support mechanisms noted above as well as many bilateral assistance agreements and protocols approved by Ethiopia place strong emphasis on the need for improvements in governance, including democratic practices, accountability and citizen participation. There is recognition that economic development cannot be separated from governance issues and that progress in the one sphere is dependent on progress in the other. In this context the important role of the civil society organizations can play not only in contributing to the development process but also in democracy building, improving citizen participation and public service delivery is clearly recognized and supported through a variety of assistance programs.

Many of these programs envisage partnership and dialogue between government and CSO's, and provide assistance to enable them to monitor public sector program implementation, and to engage in advocacy for the rights of the poor and disadvantaged population groups. Both bilateral and multilateral donor agencies, including UN-affiliated ones, not only work in partnership with CSO's but many of them also include the voluntary sector as an important component of the assistance programs provided.

2.2.8 The Role of Faith Based CSO's in South Sudan

The newly established state of South Sudan gives great importance to FBCSO's such as the South Sudan Council of Churches and (TRICA) i.e. North America, United Kingdom, and European Union working together for Peace. However, various authors have written about faith based civil society in south Sudan especially with regard to war-torn states (Ibrahim and Hulme, 2010 :1-26). Since the 'concepts' faith based civil society and poverty are highly contested, analyzing their relationship is not an easy task.

With regard to civil society and religion related issues, faith based civil society organizations based in south Sudan could promote poverty reduction by pushing for macro-level structural changes through advocacy, lobbying the government for policy change at the national level and directly providing effective services to the poor at the grassroots level. The literature on civil society with regard to poverty reduction, however, focuses mainly on South Sudan NGO's and sometimes even uses the terms 'CBO's' and 'civil society' interchangeably. It has been argued that: "there is a strong tendency for NGO's to simply divorce themselves from civil society in practice while at the same time. 'Monopolizing' civil society, diverting attention from other associations" (ibid: 3).

It is worth noting that civil society includes not only NGO's, but also Faith-Based Organizations, religious communities, informal groups, cooperatives, recreational and cultural organizations as well as academics and the media. The centrality of religious institutions in public life is scarcely doubted in South Sudan. Ulrich Manns wrote: 'in South Sudan few doubt that religion is part of the solution just as much as it is part of the problem. Nonetheless it is important to note that religion itself should not necessarily be at the centre of attention" (Manns, 2005:26).

FBCSO's in South Sudan cover a wide spectrum and represents an extensive socio-economic network including government elite's opposition movements and religious movements that are affiliated to FBO's. There are a number of FBO'S and CSO's that are directly linked to one or other of the major church communities. Most of them have provided well funded humanitarian services for local communities in South Sudan. CSO's and NGO's are particularly active in the field of emergency relief, but they should be also be active in post conflict situations, (Bouta, Kadayifci Orellana, Abu Nime, 2005: 8)

The ability of FBCSO's in South Sudan to contribute to peacemaking, "as the flip side of religious conflict" has been increasingly explored and analyzed. History presents cases of mediation and peacemaking by religious leaders and institutions. For example, the World Council of Churches and the All Africa Conference of Churches mediated the short-lived 1972 peace agreement in Sudan (Religion and Peace building: Processes (<http://www.peacebuildinginitiative.org>)).

FBCSO's in South Sudan work closely with the people engaging in a wide variety of activities. They are active in education, services for immigrants, employment support, and have always performed an important function as educators in societies. Nowadays, many faith-based organizations (Norwegian Church Aid and the Catholic Comboni Order and others) support peace education programs comprising specific training in conflict resolution, democracy, or human rights, as well as the development of peace curricula for schools and the training of educators on issues such as justice and reconciliation. Different religious organizations and networks are also engaged in training programs to educate religious leaders on issues relevant to peace building (Simpson, 1997:65)

FBCSO's of various types have engaged in peace making processes in South Sudan by promoting reconciliation among peoples and tribes. Many analysts argue that FBCSO's have a special role to play in zones of religious conflict, but their peace building programs are generally not confined to addressing religious conflict (Smock, 2001:34), (<http://www.usip.org/publications/faith-based-ngos-and-international-peacebuilding>). In South

Sudan faith based organizations, religious leaders and religious institutions are still working to support sustainable peace processes together with traditional tribal leaders.

2.2.9 The Role of FBCSO's in making Peace

The agenda of FBCSO's emphasizes peace building, reconciliation, development, and assistance to refugees all over the world. For this reason they are well respected, perhaps more so than other CSO's and NGO's. In many cases, FBCSO's have greater legitimacy and credibility than secular CSO's; this facilitates playing a prominent role in peace building. Their religious orientation may "give them unique leverage to reconcile conflicting parties and rehumanize the opponents. As a result they can mobilize faith based communities to change their behavior and attitudes much more effectively than secular organizations", (Bouuta, Kadayifci Orellana, Abu- Nimer, 2005:12).

Religious leaders are in a good position to cooperate with FBCSO's. They can use religious texts, appealing to commonly held values and principles to break down conflicts, and intervene in civil war. They can mobilize the faithful by sharing ideas on tolerance, human rights, justice and development and peace building. Religious leaders like *memiher*, priests, pastors, imams, and sheiks can potentially play an important role by supporting the initiatives of FBCSO's.

B. Bujo presents peacemaking as being at the heart of African ethics and African civil association, stressing the 'the anthropocentric dimension' at the heart of African ethics. There is a general consensus that the strengthening and growth of life constitutes the fundamental criteria of ethics, thus clan members and community leaders share the obligation to contribute to the growth of life of the whole community by their moral actions. "In African ethics, it is exactly the community which enables the self-realization of the individual. According to the African representation of values, it is not possible to achieve the ethical ideal individually or as a strictly personal achievement", (Bujo, 1997:28).

The communitarian logic of African ethics calls for the promotion of sustainable peace processes which guarantee the welfare and prosperity of all, this is the true route to lasting peace. Scholars such as Lee Anne Broadhead warn that: "protesters must keep their eyes on the ultimate prize,

the creation of a just, democratic and fulfilling society, that allows diversity and debate and that directs science and technology to the fulfillment of human needs rather than to the tools of war and the satisfaction of shallow demands”, (Broadhead, 2002:19).

FBCSO's can contribute by empowering the weak, by influencing the moral-political climate, by developing cooperation and providing humanitarian aid. Religious actors and Faith-Based Organizations are now present at every stage of the conflict transformation cycle. They work in peace process and conflict prevention, mediation and conflict resolution, in interreligious dialogue, in building networks of local leaders for peace, in post-settlement social reconstruction and trauma alleviation. Furthermore they are active in the academies and courts where human rights, including religious freedom, are given theoretical depth and cross-cultural grounding.

Their agendas are diverse, ranging from high-level mediation to grassroots level projects. Peace building projects of faith-based organizations may very closely resemble peace building by secular NGO's. However, in most instances, the various religious orientations of these faith-based organizations shape the activities they undertake, including when they introduce peace building components into more traditional relief and development activities, (See: <http://www.usip.org/publications/religious-contributions-peacemaking-when-religion-brings-peace-not-war>).

Alfred Nhema, states that perhaps the most serious problem that besets Africa today is the fact that it remains the continent with the highest number of destructive conflicts in the world (Nhema, 2008:190). Thus the ability of faith based CSO's to mobilize the power of religious persuasion to gain support for peace making processes is a major advantage which needs to be utilized to the full.

2.2.10 The Role of Faith in the Civil Society Context

Researchers such as Elizabeth Ferris have focused on the role of Faith Based and Secular Humanitarian Organizations. Faith-based humanitarian organizations share characteristics with secular counterparts and are influenced by the same socio-political-economic contexts. However, they are set apart by their faith motivation and having a constituency broader than humanitarian

concerns. Believers, whether Jews, Muslims or Christians respond to the needs of the poor and the marginalized; faith constituting a powerful motivation for humanitarian action. “Faith based organizations tend to have a more global outreach: to assist those in need regardless of their religious affiliation. (Feris, 2001: 858).

Other researchers emphasize the social role of religion which can be ambiguous, possessing both positive and negative potential. David Herbert writes quite explicitly in ‘Religion and Civil Society, Rethinking Public Religion in the Contemporary World’ that: “to understand the role of religion in civil society it is important to bear in mind three tensions: between religious resurgence and decline, between civil society as a descriptive and normative concept, and between religion as a source of social integration and social division” (Herbert, 2004:5).

In February 1989 UNESCO, the cultural arm of the United Nations, convened a symposium in Paris with the theme, ‘No World Peace without Religious Peace’. It is significant that an essential but the implications could be positive or negative, referring to the special role of religious belief and practice or its intrinsic tendency towards divisiveness and conflict. This points to a profound and persistent ambiguity that marks religious interaction in the global arena. They combine inspiring teachings about the need for peace with religion as the source of, or the sanction for, exclusionary divisiveness and tribal insularity. “There is a sense in which religion exhibits both the best and the worst of the attitudes and behavior which affect global affairs” (Longhorne, 2006: 18).

Various authors imply that globalization opens up a new space for religious intervention: “So the free flow of goods, ideas, technologies and social practice may actually increase the scope for agency” (Held, 2000:14). Archbishop Anastasios (Yannoulatos) wrote that we are witnessing the development of a vortex of new religious ideas and groupings which will be important for the future of civilization. Religious communities will become centers of resistance to powers imposing mono-cultures, and function as strongholds of identity or islands of safety. Meanwhile: “Globalization will probably also contribute to the germination of seeds and encourage tendencies now lying dormant in the depths of different religions”, (Anastasios, 2003:123). K.K. Kuriakose emphasize the dangers of religious extremism and the role of civil society in

combating it He states that: “the process of globalization has two faces: it brings cultural spiritual crises and it creates material insufficiency.” (Kuriakos: viii). He continues that human dignity and human values are neglected in contemporary technological culture, spreading insecurity and a culture of violence and abuse of religious teaching. Humanity needs a way out and is unaware of the consensus of non-violence within religious behavioral systems. Thus: “the culture of none violence should become a force in the growth of a community that enriches its political social and cultural dimensions,” (Kuriakose, 2006:269).

Impact magazine writing from an Asian perspective notes that religion transcends the mundane yet touches and redirects it, areas of overlap, producing conflict and incompatibility. Yet: “there is plenty of room for dialogue and fruitful exchange, of ideas for the common good, both religion and politics can contribute to human society”, (Impact, 2003:12). Paul Gifford in his landmark book: ‘African Christianity, Its Public Role,’ insists that: ‘African religious movements were eminently political each making sense as a combined ‘ideological-social-political response to their situation.’ (Gifford, 1998:55). He stresses the importance of ‘Church as civil society, accounting for the ongoing significance of Christian organizations in post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa. Duncan McLaren in a seminal article states unequivocally that peacemaking and reconciliation may be integrated in the agenda of NGO’s both Christian and secular, while remaining on the margins of political agendas. “Yet there is no item on that agenda that is more important,” (McLaren, 2003:121-125).

2.2.11 Recent Scholarship Concerning Civil Society and Religion

The interface of Civil Society and Religion is an area of active academic scholarship which has produced a number of important books recently, a small selection of the more significant ones are mentioned here. **‘Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular’** (International Political Economy), by Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings (Palgrave Macmillan; First Edition (February 5, 2008) Paperback, 2006) deals with American policy towards religious civil society. It relates in particular to President George W. Bush’s executive order creating the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. Despite an increasingly vocal, ideologically charged national debate centered on

questions as what these organizations do, how well they are doing it, and whether they should be supported by taxpayers? Tangible answers are few.

Another book also connected with the American scene is: Robert Wuthnow's '**Saving America? Faith-Based Services and the Future of Civil Society**' (Robert Wuthnow's: 2006). This book provides a wealth of up-to-date information revealing what social support faith-based agencies are capable of providing. It demonstrates that American religion is helping needy families and that it is, more broadly, fostering civil society. Yet religion alone cannot save America from the broad problems it faces in providing social services to those who need them most. Elegantly written, *Saving America?* represents an authoritative and evenhanded benchmark of information for the current and the coming debate.

Adam Dinham's '**Faith, Public Policy and Civil Society: Policies, Problems and Concepts in Faith-Based Public Action**' (Macmillan Ltd, Palgrave, Basingstoke (Dinham: 2009). deals with the perennial political hot potato concerning the role of faith groups in the planning and delivery of public service. he presents the case for the involvement of faiths in public policy, while at the same time recognising opposition both within and outside of faith groups. Situating his argument in the re-emergence of faith groups in public policy rhetoric and reality, Dinham looks at how policy makers in the UK, US and Canada have in the past twenty years begun to explicitly address faith groups.

A comprehensive book edited by Heidi Moksnes and Mia Melin of the Upsalla University is entitled: '**Power to the People? (Con-) Tested Civil society in Search of Democracy**' (2010). Although its title does not mention religion, individual chapters do, dealing with themes such as: 'Religious discourses as part of civil society formation in Asia', 'Utilizing', 'Institutionalized' and 'Getting the Church onboard: Frame-bridging in an agrarian reform campaign in the Philippines'. This thoroughly researched book discusses the concept of civil society and its relevance across the world.

The renowned international academic journal '**International Social Work**' produced a Special issue: Social Work, Religion and Spirituality (May 2013 56: 271-275) with Guest editors: Sheila

Furness and Philip Gilligan which discusses in detail the significance of religion and spirituality on the public sphere including aspects which relate to civil society. It includes case histories and examples from different countries and contexts. Meanwhile, the 7th Annual North American Conference on Spirituality and Social Work, was held at Thunder Bay Ontario, Canada, from June 22-24, 2012: around the theme: “The Evolution of Spirituality across the Lifespan; Embracing spiritual diversity from Canadian Northern Communities to Global Localities”. Another organization dealing with civil society and religion is the ‘The Faith Based Regeneration Network’ which includes practitioners of community development, regeneration and social action from all faiths, as well as people of no faith, who are interested in the role of faiths in community and civil society. They address needs at local level, with special attention for the marginalized and isolated, working together to build cohesion, and speaking out on current issues; often engaging in critique and challenge of government.

Chapter Three

Data presentation and Analysis Relating to Selected FBCSO's

3. Introduction

In this part of the thesis the researcher traces the general role and progress of selected Faith Based Civil Society organizations that are active in peace making processes, with an ongoing engagement in Ethiopia and South Sudan. The selected organizations include the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Development and Inter-Church Aid Commission (DICAC), Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat, Mekane Yesus Evangelical Church, Ethiopian Islamic affairs Supreme Council, Norwegian Church Aid, the Combene Order, and the Ethiopian and Sudanese Catholic Secretariats. Familiarity with the peace and reconciliation agenda of these organizations facilitates gaining valuable insight and understanding of sustainable peace processes in Ethiopia and South Sudan, both countries which have been involved in bloody conflicts and civil war situations. These conflicts and civil war situations might have been mitigated, if Faith Based Civil Society Organizations and other NGO's had been granted full recognition and the ability to work to their full potential. If given proper support they might have mobilized moral and ethical aspirations through different mechanisms.

The ensuing section brings together these two elements in the form of case studies of individual FBCSO's active in the peace making processes in the Ethiopian and South Sudanese contexts. In each case an account is given of how each FBCSO's was founded, what its aspirations or motivations are and what it does, internationally and nationally in the Ethiopian and South Sudanese contexts. The FBCSO's are a selection of very different organizations, with different goals, some of which identify themselves specifically as peace makers, and attach much importance to their moral and ethical motivations.

This section helps us to understand under what kind of diverse circumstances FBCSO's were established, how they translated their faith aims and motivations into concrete plans of action and how these were implemented in Ethiopia and South Sudan. These organizations present a spectrum of various types of FBCSO's active in Ethiopia and South Sudan, which have been assessed and evaluated in the course of the following pages.

3.1 The Elders Council of Ethiopia

Different elders associations continue to exist around Africa since eldership is an important institution and plays a significant role in peace and reconciliation discourses in most African countries. The Ethiopian Elders association was founded by a well known Ethiopian/Yemeni academic Prof. Ephrem Isaac who taught at prestigious universities in the United States, and had a good relationship with funding organizations in America and Europe as well as with the Ethiopian government. The concept of eldership is at first glance related more to indigenous and cultural institutions than to religion. However, Ephrem Isaac was very spiritually orientated and from the very beginning included a strong spiritual element in the council with participation of religious leaders from different communities.

Lique Memheran, Dimitros Woldu, was chairman of the Council of Elders and also did research about them for an academic degree from the International Leadership Institute. He describes their successes in achieving reconciliation between the government and opposition parties after the controversial elections of 2004, and eventually securing the release of important dissidents such as the outspoken politician and lawyer Bertukan Medeksa (interview *Lique Memheran*, Dimitros Woldu 3/2/2014). The Council of Elders appeared to be a very successful civil society organization, which made good use of its social capital to achieve striking results. However, it also attracted a certain amount of criticism and suspicion since many were convinced that it had too close connections with American and Ethiopian government institutions and that it served their purposes rather than being entirely independent.

There was no doubt that it was convenient for the government to have an independent, indigenous and traditional orientated civil society organization, with which it could negotiate and magnanimously make concessions without losing face. However, to what extent this was orchestrated or spontaneous is difficult to establish. It does illustrate the dangers inherent in the role of such civil society organizations.

3.2 The Ethiopian Orthodox Church Development and Inter-Church Aid Commission (DICAC)

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church Development and Inter-church Aid Commission was established with the objective to “encourage and assist the youth to get training in vocational education, help the needy, and generally participate in the national endeavor for educational, socio-economic and cultural development,”. Soon after its establishment, the Commission launched a modern farm on church land, in order to demonstrate ability to maximize productivity and increase the quality of various produce. The Commission focused particularly on training clergy in different skills. The training was intended to play an important role in making the clergy into dynamic servants of the Church and agents of change in rural Ethiopia. Since development is a continuous process, sustained clergy training was undertaken to familiarize the Church personnel with modern farming techniques and other useful knowledge. Furthermore, EOC-DICAC supported the establishment and expansion of seminaries. These seminaries were recognized as playing an important role in up-grading and ensuring the welfare of the clergy and local communities. The seminaries and related institutions provided healthcare, agricultural extension services and knowledge of Church doctrines. EOC-DICAC mounted sustainable programs of large-scale relief and rehabilitation operations to cope with the dire circumstances of the period in which it was established.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Development and Inter-Church Aid Commission (DICAC) is an Ethiopian Orthodox Faith Based Organization (FBO's) and its developmental wing was registered as an Ethiopian Resident Charity in accordance with the Charity and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009 with certificate No. 1560 on Feb. 13, 2010 (Inter Faith Dialogue and Conflict Transformation for Peace Building Proposal for Large Grants :2012).

The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Development and Inter-Church Aid Commission (EOC-DICAC), has contributed to peace initiatives by promoting peace and development programs for those caught up in conflicts, amongst other things by creating awareness raising forums on Human Rights, Democracy, Good Governance, Advocacy and Conflict Transformation issues. The EOC-DICAC is working with various stakeholders (forums, government bodies, CBO's & FBCSO's) to achieve sustainable peace in Ethiopia, to this effect, the need for awareness raising of all actors is vital in areas such as peace, religious tolerance and the prevention of harmful traditional practices. The Church's active involvement in different

fields involves also her exemplary role of striving for the peaceful coexistence of Christians and Muslims in Ethiopia.

EOC-DICAC has empowered different segments of the population with skills and techniques for building peace, maintaining conflict early warning systems and resolving extant conflicts. Representatives of faith and religious groups, youth, women, FBO's, CBO's, and government officials are the major stakeholders of these endeavors. According to the EOC-DICAC data base, the major problems related to peace and development activities are believed to be lack of proper awareness of the religious leaders and the community at large concerning national issues, the context of potential causes of conflict and difficulties in resolving social and political conflicts.

3.2.1 Activities Undertaken by EOTC- DICAC in *Jimma*

In March 2007, Churches were burnt and faithful massacred in three zones of *Jimma*, in the context of religious conflicts. As a consequence of these disturbances people were disabled and died, property and religious institutions were destroyed (*fikir liko sitay*, 2003:4). According to widely distributed Video CD's without official title or sanction, many people were slaughtered in cold blood, and Churches were put on fire including the Church of *Abbo*.

Such a type of religious conflict had never been seen before in Ethiopia. Many ordinary Orthodox Christians considered this indiscriminate killing of Christians as martyrdom and wished to escape from a situation in which such atrocities could occur. However, the government of Ethiopia, the Federal Affairs Minister, and the Ethiopian Human Rights Commissioner played down what had happened in order to pacify popular feelings, and avoid confrontation with the Muslim community.

However, the EOC- DICAC made an intensive effort to bring about peace and reconciliation by engaging in a vigorous intervention among government officials and religious leaders, i.e. Muslims, Orthodox, Protestants, and Catholics. According to the report of July, 7/2009 the EOC-DICAC started its mission by going to the conflict areas, engaging in discussion with both groups and eventually implementing a peace process which eventually came to fruition.

According to the magazine “*Fkir Liko Sitay*”, religious leaders from different communities gave testimonies denouncing such massacres and declaring that they were not acceptable by any means according to their theological teachings even if done under religious pretext.

According to *Yilikal Shiferaw* peace desk officer at EOTC-DICAC in the Department of Refugee and Returnee Affairs, the EOTC-DICAC gave much attention, spent much time, and devoted considerable human resources to this region in order to bring sustainable, long lasting peace and reconciliation in these zones. He said that this investment of time and energy was not in vain, since the time that the problems occurred the activities of EOTC-DICAC have been effective in different fields and achieved considerable amelioration of the local situation.

However, recent legislation has prevented the Orthodox Developmental wing from being engaged in areas related to human rights, democratization, conflict resolution, issues of peace, gender equality, rights of children and the disabled, and justice administration. The new law does not allow organizations receiving foreign financial aid from being involved in lobbying activities. The new legislation proclaimed by the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia on 13th February 2009 states that (faith based or other) CSO’s or NGO’s registered with the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia charities and societies agency as NGO’s, are not allowed to engage in areas related to human rights, democratization, conflict resolution, issues of peace, gender equality, rights of children and the disabled, and justice administration if they receive more than 10% of their funding from foreign sources, which relegates them to the category of: ‘Ethiopian Residents Societies or Charities’. However, this proclamation should not be applicable to religious organizations, and (EOC-DICAC), is a faith based organization, an NGO under the wing of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church.

According to the report written by EOTC-DICAC to Norwegian Church Aid on February 15th 2010, there was a religious conflict between Christians and Muslims in Dessie - Amhara Region in the course of which three people were killed on both sides. However, following this disturbance EOTC-DICAC did its best to restore peace appealing in particular to village elders, religious leaders, women’s groups, youth (students), government officials etc. Subsequently, the area has been completely transformed and the spirit of peace has triumphed.

EOC-DICAC has been very active in various peace processes in Ethiopia. EOC-DICAC has facilitated or actively engaged in peace and reconciliation processes in many areas in the course of the last years, for example, in *Gambella, Godere, Agaro, Assosa, Metekel, Kofele- Kore, Mejenger Kamise*, and *Dessie* zones. The recent history of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewhido Church reveals its involvement and proactive role in promoting peace, reconciliations and peaceful coexistence among the different peoples constituting the population of the country. Hospitality to those coming from abroad is a feature of Church tradition, and contributes to the exemplary co-existence of Christians and Muslims in the country. In general, currently the EOC- DICAC is very active in organizing activities to assist refugees from South Sudan, Somalia and other countries.

The Church has generally taken a firm stand in the course of her long history on issues of peace, sovereignty, national unity and national independence. Almost a decade ago EOTC-DICAC designed a new strategic plan incorporating peace as one of its major components, based on the premises that “without peace there is no development, and peace includes protection from war and violence, preservation of freedom and realization of social justice” (The Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Development 36 years in action EOC DICAC Magazine: 2005).

The ongoing program focused on capacity building, bearing in mind that peace and reconciliation objectives could only be effective and fruitful if the message of peace was made to penetrate and reach all dioceses and parishes. EOC-DICAC launched extensive training programs for religious leaders, clergy, community elders, government staff members, women and youth representatives in different parts of the country.

EOC-DICAC has been actively engaged in resolving inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts occurring in different areas of the country, reflecting the Church’s strategic focus on promoting mutual understanding and respect among ethnic groups, reciprocal respect among religious leaders and ensuring the prevalence of peace, justice and unity throughout the country. Believing that the role of the Church in peace building is vital, EOC-DICAC continues to strengthen efforts in line with establishing a stable and a just society in close collaboration with other religious and government bodies for the realization of sustainable peace in the country.

3.3 The Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat

The Ethiopian Catholic Church is one of the major religious institutions in Ethiopia, which is well known for her high profile in regard to engagement in humanitarian and development activities with special regard to peace processes. Following the Second Vatican Council the Catholic Church in Ethiopia established a Justice and Peace Department, which gave special attention to emphasizing the “role of the Church in developing evangelical justice and peace”. The first of January is known as ‘peace day’ in the Catholic Church, on which occasion the Pope addresses a message of peace to all of mankind from the Vatican in Rome.

Based on the decision of the Catholic Bishop’s Conference of Ethiopia, a ‘Justice and Peace Commission’ was established in 1967 (G.C.), after the establishment of a Peace Commission by the Ethiopian Catholic Church in 1963 (E.C.), John Paul II announced in an encyclical letter: “without the presence of justice we cannot dream of Peace.” (Anthology of the Messages of the Popes for the Celebration of the World Day of Peace 2009:145). The Pope also stated that those who desire peace, should reach out to the poor, (ibid).

The Ethiopian Catholic Church promotes justice and peace at a national level throughout the country, making use of its twelve diocesan centers and one coordinating office in Addis Ababa. The ‘Justice Unit’ established in 2004 (E.C.), constitutes an office working to raise awareness of issues of human rights, ethnic tolerance, conflict resolution and management within Ethiopian society, (Brochure of the Ethiopian Catholic Church Justice and Peace head - office).

The Ethiopian Catholic Church has played an active role in empowering the personnel of its varied institutions to be fully informed concerning concepts of human rights, peace, justice, reconciliation, and integral human development at different levels. Justice and Peace office desks were established under the Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat. Since its establishment, the desk has conducted a series of workshops on issues such as human rights, peace, social and economic justice, reconciliation and related issues. The aim of the establishment of the justice and office desk or department was to facilitate granting appropriate significance to human rights including peace and reconciliation, by engaging in suitable teaching of basic concepts throughout the country.

3.3.1. Activities Undertaken by the Ethiopian Catholic Church in *Dessie, Wonji and Gegessa, Harar*

The ECC Justice and Peace Office mostly conducts peace processes at national and at different regional levels through workshops and seminars to community leaders, religious leaders, pastoral and social workers of various institutes, teachers and educators in general. The Office of the Justice and Peace Department organizes workshops to create awareness on civic and human rights, to promote a spirit of solidarity, dialogue, forgiveness and reconciliation. The programs are conducted in line with the Church's mandate to promote the development of integral human persons. The ECC believes that organizing such workshops and trainings contributes to sustainable peace and reconciliation within local society. The ECC works together with community elders, heads of social courts, religious leaders, legal bodies and law enforcement to bring sustainable peace.

The Church is highly motivated to be instrumental in spreading peace and reconciliation throughout the country through training sessions, workshops and seminars, for instance workshops at *Dessie* prison. The ECC Justice and Peace Office organized workshops for police personnel drawn from various areas of *Dessie*, zonal police crime investigations departments in all its operational areas. These training workshops focused on human rights, peace and reconciliation. Specific workshops were given for those arrested as suspects, and others relating to crime investigation processes in particular.

The ECC Justice and Peace Office has worked in *Emdbir, Jima and Bonga* zones in implementing human rights, peace and religious conflict management programs. The major participants of the workshops were from local government officials, youth leaders, civic and ethics teachers and women's groups as well as representatives from various sectors of local government offices. The main focus of the workshops were based on awareness raising in order to create peace and reconciliation in the heart of the community (Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat Annual report 2009:35).

The ECS Justice and Peace Office organized a workshop following the election of 2005. According to The ECS Justice and Peace Department a workshop was conducted concerning the

political situation in Ethiopia. The report stated that many civilian demonstrators were killed by the government armed forces. Consequently, in November 17, 2005 the Ethiopian Catholic Bishops Conference issued a post-election message to all people of Ethiopia, calling on the government to stop the arbitrary killing of innocent civilians by government forces. The ECC has used different organs of communication to spread this message to the people of Ethiopia including Church's newspapers, magazines etc. As a consequence, the ECC was looked up to not only by the Catholic faithful but by all people of good faith, for their engagement in working for peace throughout the country (The Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat Report, 2005:56).

In the course of an interview the peace officer at ECS told of a problem between various communities in *Harar*, a regional state located in the eastern part of the country due to the construction of a dam. This dam was built by the ECS in collaboration with the *Harar* diocesan secretariat. Various communities struggled over the dam claiming it belonged to them. Consequently, there were fatal casualties and property was burnt. However, the ECS made efforts to bring about sustainable peace and reconciliation by dealing with the government officials, and religious leaders, including Muslims, Orthodox and Protestants. They even sent delegations to the conflict area, which facilitated the resolution of the problems.

3.3.2 General Activities of the ECS Peace Office Department in Ethiopia

The ECS Justice and Peace Unit has given workshops on Peace Building based on the Caritas Peace Building Manual (A training manual on peace building published by the Vatican) in all parts of the country. The main purpose of the workshops was to highlight the importance of human rights, in accordance with UN declarations and the social teachings of the Catholic Church for integral human development.

The ECS highlights the role of peace building for better social harmony and understanding, the role of peacemakers in the promotion of human dignity, peace building within respective communities to enhance sustainable peace by identifying the basic causes of conflict within their individual communities and the appropriate nature of conflict resolution and peace promoting mechanisms. The ECS makes an effort to improve its ability to identify causes of conflict and

non-violent means of conflict resolution within these regions, (Ethiopian Catholic Secretariat Annual report 2009:30).

The ECS Justice and Peace Department has worked in different sectors, believing that peace; justice and reconciliation are essential elements of nation building. The ECS Justice and Peace Department promotes justice, peace and reconciliation as key teachings of the Church. The ECS has conducted workshops for teachers and local communities, including small Christian communities, concerning the essential elements of human rights education, social and economic justice, democracy good governance and conflict resolution.

The aim of the Church is that the people should have an awareness of basic human rights at grass root level, especially the poor and the marginalized and thus be able to stand up for and protect themselves against any violation of them. In empowering the community to be self-supporting they have a strategy involving the establishment of peace working groups and clubs at different community levels, involving both government and private schools. Hence, the ECS Justice and Peace Department has made a lot of effort to make tangible progress with all the stake holders both at national and regional levels to promote peace.

Currently (2013-2014) the Department of Justice and Peace has implementing four projects aimed at community empowerment for social transformation, including the promotion of mutual respect in Ethiopian society, the promotion of Reconciliation and Conflict Transformation through Community Participation and Capacity Support for Peace Building. In all the projects there was cooperation with diocesan Peace and Justice coordinating offices. The main target groups in their projects are the community elders, religious leaders, government officials, youth, students (children) and women. They focus on these groups because they are representatives of the community and influential in transplanting concepts of justice and peace in all its fullness. In addition to their impact on role as leaders, Justice and Peace activities seek to raise awareness and cultivating concern among rank and file members of different groups. They also reach out directly to people at grass roots levels in the dioceses through focal persons.

Since the establishment of a Catholic Church presence in Ethiopia, peace making and reconciliation have been key terms within the ECS. Pope Benedict XVI in his Encyclical letter for World Peace Day on January 1, 2007, highlighted that: “peace is based on respect for the rights of all”, in particular the Church promotes and defends respect for the life and the religious freedom of everyone. The Roman Catholic Church normally celebrates January 1st as peace day, although in Ethiopia the Church celebrates it on September 21st. Such celebrations have done a lot to advance the teaching of peace and reconciliation in Ethiopia.

The ECS has engaged in many programs not only in Ethiopia but also in South Sudan. The monthly newsletter 14th January 2014 published by the Catholic Archbishop’s house in Amharic and English, drew attention to the current eruption of hostilities in South Sudan. The members of the Association of the Episcopal Conferences of Eastern Africa (AMECEA) made a solidarity visit to South Sudan with a message of Peace, calling for an immediate cessation of fire and hostilities among the people of South Sudan. The text of the message was transmitted by the delegation as follows:

“Let the international community know that there is a moral

Obligation to intervene on behalf of the many peoples of South Sudan

Whose basic human rights are being seriously violated.

We urge the nations of the world to support the initiative

of Caritas Internationalis and of other relief services,”

In this message AMECA appeals for immediate and unconditional cessation of all hostilities throughout the entire country of South Sudan; the expansion of the table of negotiations to the warring parties and asks all politicians to soften their positions in the interest of saving lives. The message finally urges all Christians around the world to pray for a lasting solution to the crises in South Sudan and to promote the fruit of lasting peace and unity in the country. The Catholic

Church leaders in Eastern Africa made this statement as a sign of solidarity with the people of South Sudan. In general, the Catholic Church has actively engaged herself for peace making around the world.

3.3.3 The Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY) Peace Office Department

The Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus is historically the most important Protestant denomination in Ethiopia, affiliated to the Lutheran Church with numerous followers in Ethiopia especially in *Oromia (Wollega)*. The EECMY Peace Office Department was established in 1993 (G.C) and upgraded to the level of a commission in 2002 (G.C.) The establishment of this office was motivated by the many years of injustice, bad governance, undemocratic political and social systems, unfair distribution of resources, civil war and strife endured by the people of Ethiopia. Civil strife further deepened the level of poverty and hindered meaningful development in the country. Because of this, the EECMY, true to her philosophy of Holistic Ministry established the office. The policy of holistic ministry was pioneered by Gudina Tumsa a major Theologian and Church leader who was killed by the communists and is considered a martyr.

Furthermore, another reason for the establishment of the office was the need for the Church to promote her vital presence in society, particularly in the area of peace and reconciliation. This was based on the EECMY's long held conviction that the attainment of justice and equality for mankind is one of her missions and thus an aim to which she has committed herself. The EECMY believes that she has a duty to contribute her share towards the effort to build a peaceful society where each section of society gets its share of the national resources and where unity based on equality prevails. It is to contribute towards these goals that the EECMY has engaged herself in peace building activities throughout the country (the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Peace Office broacher).

3.3.4 Activities Undertaken by the EECMY among Oromo and Gmuz peoples

In 1993 a major violent conflict between *Gumz* and *Oromo* communities erupted. During this year four *Gumz* people were killed due to disputes regarding grazing and land demarcation. Subsequently, a week later on 28 September 1994 the *Gumz* responded by violently attacking *Oromo* villages and killing five individuals. In 2007 and 2008 what began as disputes between individuals started to assume the dimension of ethnic conflict and to engulf whole communities.

According to an EECMY report of October 2010, five members of the *Oromo* community were killed by *Gumz* in *Yasso Wereda*. Prior to the killing a meeting had been held in *Oromia*, at which a joint committee was established, which decided to go to the village claimed by the *Oromo*. When the *Oromo* committee members reached there, their *Gumz* counterparts were not present. Sometime later, a group of armed *Gumz* appeared and killed the *Oromo* group. There was a violent response from East *Wollega* Zone resulting in the death of eleven *Gumz*. Another violent conflict occurred on 4 May 2008 when two *Gumz* individuals were attacked by *Oromo* at a village called *Mender Arat* (Village Four). The conflict was caused by a quarrel at a work place. The attackers (*Oromos*) were apprehended and taken to *Nakemt*. Later, news reached *Gumz* areas that the suspects had been released. The *Gumz* villagers were infuriated and responded with retaliation. An organized group of *Gumz* launched an attack on 18 May 2008, the *Oromo* retaliated by killing 77 *Gumz*. The attacks continued for the next ten days. All these offensives and counter offensives resulted in the death of 98 *Oromos* and 77 *Gumz* villagers and the displacement of 49,588 *Oromo* people and 18,630 *Gumz* people.

This peace and reconciliation process has taken more than five years. As soon as the violent incident occurred in May 2008, the Central Synod of the EECMY reported the situation to the EECMY Central Office and the Peace Office was requested to initiate conflict transformation processes in the area. Before initiating peace processes the EECMY peace office immediately embarked on various activities, including assessment of the conflict situation, the formation of focus discussion groups drawn from both communities, conducting training of trainers, organizing peace and reconciliation conferences, establishment of peace councils and peace committees, monitoring and evaluation. In such a way the EECMY was engaged in training and teaching activities on both sides.

Participants included community elders, religious leaders, government officials, from both sides, high government officials, from *Benishangul Gumz* regional state represented the Office for Administration and Security Affairs and Officials from East *Wollega* Zone attended the training sessions. The training program included: Non violent (peaceful) methods of conflict transformation, conflict management and conflict transformation, living with differences, and peace building, (Report of the EECMY, October, 2010).

The EECMY has been active in the area of peace and reconciliation in different regions of Ethiopia and achieved a lot. This included activities against the violation of women entitled the campaign of “*Te’emar*”. The *Guji Oromo* and *Burgi* between *Konso* and *Derashie* and even the Church itself have been actively involved in peace and reconciliation activities, also within the Church when problems arose among the leaders of different synods. The EECMY has built schools, and peace clubs in all conflict areas, arranged conferences in communities disturbed by conflicts at both national and regional levels, prepared and published teaching and training materials, conducted training sessions, organized dialogue forums, meditation and other peace building activities. In this way the Church believes that she is contributing towards the development of peace, justice, democracy, and human rights in all part of the country. The EECMY is very active in the *Gambella* region through engagement in infrastructure development in parallel to other faith based organizations.

3.3.5 The Ethiopian Muslims Affairs Supreme Council *Megilese* (EMASC)

The Ethiopian Muslims Affairs Supreme Council (*Megilese*) is a Faith Based Organization established on March 4, 1968 with the aim of bringing all Ethiopian Muslims under one administration and ensuring that they can practice their religion freely, as well as contributing towards the aim of lifting the people out of poverty (Ethiopian Muslims affairs Supreme Council database). Sheik Abas Yasin officer of the regional organizations at the Ethiopian Muslims Affairs Supreme Council stated that from the time of its inception the Supreme Council was concerned with Peace and Reconciliation in collaboration with the Inter-religious Council of Ethiopia which is engaged in peace making activities all over the country. He insisted that the

idea of peace was inherent in the teaching of Islam, and that Islam has always been associated with peace since the meaning of Islam means Peace (i.e. submission to God).

He stressed the historical relations between Ethiopia and the Islamic world, when the Prophet Mohammed (peace and blessing be upon him) saw the persecution to which his followers were subjected in Mecca. He told them to find haven in northern Ethiopia or Abyssinia, where they would “find a king who does no wrong to anyone”. That was the first *hijira* (migration) in Islam’s history. They were received by the king of Ethiopia who settled them in *Tigray* Region. Consequently, the Prophet Mohammed instructed the followers who later came to Ethiopia to respect and protect Ethiopia and to live in peace with the Ethiopian Christians. Historically, the social significance of religion is played out through religious communities and institutions and to a great extent determines their nature and functioning.

The officer said that Islam is not only concerned with the peace and security of all human beings, but also with all animals and insects. He mentioned that Prophet Mohammed ordered not to urinate in cracks in the rock, because one might kill an ant or insect sheltering inside. This gives an indication how profoundly Islam is committed to peace and reconciliation.

3.3.6 Activities Undertaken by EMASC in Ethiopia

The Ethiopian Muslims Affairs Supreme Council plays a vital role in promoting peace, tolerance, and understanding among different communities in Ethiopia. The council does not have an archive of printed reports since the current executives office was only established recently. However, the officer assured me that it had been very active in peace and reconciliation processes from an early period. He said that in the event of problems occurring in a specific place or region, the office would engage in personal dialogue with both sides, advising them: “don’t do harm to others which you would not want done to yourself!”. They would also advise them to avoid fighting, and being in a state of heightened emotion which could create problems eventually leading to the loss of human lives.

The officer stressed that harmony and agreement is very important in Islam. When problems occur between a husband and wife they should seek a solution by mutual consent rather than

going to court, and thus arrive at a decision which would not require an appeal. In the case of problems between Islamic religious leaders concerning the teaching of the Quran, they should go to scholars who are knowledgeable about the *Quran* and *Hadith* in order to resolve their disputes, fighting and violent clashes are not acceptable in Islam. He mentioned that the Ethiopian Islamic Supreme Council has resolved conflict issues in cooperation with religious leaders and the local governments, especially in *Shashemene*, *Diredawa* and the Somali region. Furthermore, in the Somali region, the Islamic Supreme Council is present in every district and zone and involved in peace and reconciliation activities, thus it has become exemplary to other regions. Their activities include working around mosques to prevent religious conflicts and avoid any tendencies towards religious extremism.

In *Diredawa* the EMASC brought peace to quarrelling factions within the Muslim community involved in a land dispute, the opposing claims were resolved over a period of more than twenty years. In the Somali region representatives from EMASC in collaboration with religious leaders, tribal chiefs, and governmental representatives engaged in intensive dialogue and discussions and were eventually instrumental in achieving peace and reconciliation. This was so successful that currently the local Muslims communities of the region have completely changed their attitudes and are making a positive contribution to a national developmental.

The officer told that the EMASC have made a considerable contribution to maintaining and effectively implementing peace strategies in all parts of the country. In cooperation with other faith based organization they were involved in peace and development, but they still have not completely fulfilled their full potential as far as peace making activities are concerned. The EMASC intend to organize clubs, for men, women and youth at each level to promote peace and reconciliation. The officer insisted that religion is not usually the sole or primary cause of conflict, and wanted to address some general issues that are widespread and call for a response. One is that real or authentic religion never causes or contributes to violent conflict; only “flawed” or “bad religion” does. He stressed that religion is not an important cause of violent conflict; rather it is economic and political conditions that are of central importance. By implication, it is not religion, but political and economic conditions which ought primarily to be addressed when tackling violent confrontations. Since it is not a primary cause, religion is at best

a supplementary or secondary part of the solution. Religion could never be a cause of religious conflict because all religious traditions preach peace.

Furthermore, the officer added that there are many political parties, and anti-peace influences working to fulfill their private interest agendas using religion as a pretext. According to his view, all faith based civil society organizations must cooperate in order to identify such groups. In general, he concluded that faith based organizations could be very important in making peace and reconciliation if they would only work together.

3.4 Norwegian Church Aid

3.4.1 Norwegian Church Aid in Ethiopia

Norwegian Church Aid is a large faith based CSO's established on a basis of strong convictions and the desire to render assistance by the people of Norway. NCA has been active in Ethiopia from early in the 20th century up to now, especially after 1985. From the time that they were based in Ethiopia they have been active in peace and reconciliation, in humanitarian engagement and in development in all part of the country. In particular they participated in Peace and Reconciliation at national and regional levels in different part of the country. For example; they collaborated with the government in making initiatives concerning the Ethio-Eritrean Peace and Reconciliation process. NCA have acquired extensive experience from engagement in long-term development aid and relief, here in Ethiopia. NCA works with different CSO's, supporting their ongoing initiatives. Currently, NCA has ceased involvement in specific Peace and Reconciliation projects in Ethiopia due to the new government legislation, which obliged them to registered with the Charities and Societies Council of Ethiopia as a Development Agency. (www.kirkensnoddhjelp.no/en/What-we-do/Where-we-work/Eastern-Africa/ethiopia/).

3.4.2 NCA in South Sudan

In 1972 NCA started operations in South Sudan, with a large multipurpose program in Eastern Equatoria province. When the war escalated in 1985/86 NCA withdrew to Juba where humanitarian relief and human resource development became the prime activities.

In South Sudan, NCA worked in collaboration with US Aid, UK Aid and the European Union in Peace and Reconciliation processes and with Emergency Relief Aid. An important part of NCA work was support for the re-integration of returnees, alongside support for basic social services such as health. In recognition of the need to address the root causes of suffering, support is given to civil society groups, especially faith based actors, for their work with peace and reconciliation, gender justice, and accountable governance. In general, the strategy of NCA priorities focusing on the Right to Peace and Security, the Right to Water and Health, Women in Governance, Water, Sanitation and Hygiene, Access to Quality Health Care, Emergency Preparedness and Response with the corresponding programs for intervention in Community Violence and Misuse of Small Arms, (<http://www.kirkensnodhjelp.no/en/What-we-do/Where-we-work/Eastern-Africa/south-sudan/>).

3.5 The Comboni Missionaries in Ethiopia

According to Abba Dawit Rector of the Comboni Seminary in Ethiopia, Comboni missionaries are more active in South Sudan than Ethiopia. In the whole of Ethiopia the Comboni missionaries do not exceed 42 members including foreigners. The Comboni missionaries have established an outreach to coming from Sudan and now based in *Awassa* and *Sidamo*. In contrast to other faith based organizations, they are engaged in peace and reconciliation focusing at the family level and including pastoral activities, since the whole peace process is conducted by the ECC. The members of the missionary order have chosen a celibate way of life dedicating themselves to almighty of God.

The basic rule of the Comboni missionaries (Article 10), stipulates that the Comboni family has two divisions, constituting communities of missionary brothers and missionary sisters. The Comboni Missionaries Brothers consider themselves called by God and consecrated to him through the evangelical councils of chastity, poverty and obedience for missionary service in the world. The specific aim of the Comboni missionary sisters is the evangelization of those peoples

to whom the gospel message has not yet been proclaimed, with preference being given to the poorest and neediest particularly in Africa. Furthermore, they work to bringing the values of the kingdom in to situation of oppression, injustice, illiteracy sickness and poverty (www.comboniethiopia.org).

Comboni missionary fathers such as Abba Dawit and Abba Abreham, testify to the charism and inspiration of their founder St. Daniel Comboni, who was famous for stirring statements such as: “Till our last breath our war cry will be: Africa or Death! The Sacred Heart of Jesus will help us” and “The apostle does not work for himself, but for eternity; he does not seek his own happiness, but that of his fellows; he knows that his work does not die with him and that his grave is the cradle of new apostles” (Brochure of the Comboni family in the world at the service of Gospel).

3.5.1 The Comboni Missionaries and The Catholic Secretariat in South Sudan

The Comboni Catholic Missionary Order have been active in South Sudan from the time of their foundation, their engagement includes some activities related to Civil Society. The founder of the missionary order was St Daniel Comboni (1831-1881), the first Catholic Bishop of Khartoum (Sudan). In his own time and ways, Daniel Comboni construed a mission plan that was sensitive to the human, social, religious and cosmic cry of Central Africa. His methodology inspired working for justice and peace, notably to empower local people as the main agents of their own liberation and transformation, to show and practice solidarity with them, to network around the world, to be part of a team, and to aim for integral human promotion.

The Comboni Missionary Institute is exclusively missionary; dedicated to the Evangelization of peoples. The characteristics of this missionary service are four-fold: they are missionaries because they go out to peoples, areas and situations where evangelization has not yet been undertaken. They are missionaries, because preference is given to the poorest and most abandoned, thus stressing the social dimension of the Faith endeavor. They are missionaries, because they are men of God who go outside (exodus) their personal, family, geographical, cultural, social and religious frontiers. They are missionaries because they make a life-long consecration to God for the Missions (<http://www.combonisouthsudan.org/index.php/who-we>

[are/our-mission/27-who-we-are/122historical-notes-of-the-presence-of-comboni-missionaries-in-south-sudan](#)).

3.5.2 Comboni Missionary Activities in South Sudan

An edition of the New People Magazine published in 2013, by the New People Media Center in Nairobi, Kenya, states that: The Comboni missionaries have 764 members in Africa (43% of total forces), 534 in Europe (30%), 403 in Latin America (23%), 42 in N. America (2.2%) and 32 in Asia (1.8%). Furthermore, the Comboni missionaries are very active in many fields including: humanitarian aid, sustainable peace process, education and child protections, pastoral work, and evangelization. Recently, the promotion of Peace, Reconciliation, Social and Environmental Justice is not only seen as an essential dimension of the mission of the Comboni order, but has gained particular urgency in the apostolic work.

In South Sudan Comboni Missionaries collaborate with the local Churches in first evangelization and pastoral care among the Dinka, Nuer, Bari, Mundari and Kuku, they work for the formation of leaders, lay ministers, priests and missionaries, and in mission animation and vocation promotion. They are active in mass media, through their participation in the Sudan Catholic Radio Network, the largest radio Network in Africa, which has been very active in the socio political life of the country. Daniel Comboni was known for his famous motto: “Save African with Africa”.

In general, The Comboni missionaries in South Sudan play a leading role in contributing to the peace and reconciliation process by spreading Christian teaching on social and political affairs. Comboni Missionaries dedicate themselves to the spreading of the Gospel and to foster human development in 40 countries worldwide. In Africa they are present in 16 countries, but with a very strong presence in South Sudan. They work as helpers of the local Church, which is becoming self-sufficient, under widely varying living conditions.

3.6 Presentation and Analysis of the Data Obtained from Interviews with the Inter-religious Council of Ethiopia and the Ethiopian Federal Affairs Ministry.

The researcher has made attempts to follow up the exact role of FBCSO's based in Ethiopia and South Sudan with regard to peace making and reconciliation processes. As described in chapter three the selected FBCSO's have a tangible policy to contribute to peace and reconciliation processes, however in order to investigate precisely the general role of FBCSO's based in Ethiopia it is useful to study the Inter Religious Council of Ethiopia (IRCE) which was established in 2010, and functions to some extent as an umbrella organization monitoring and promoting various types of activities among the different FBCSO's in Ethiopia (www.ircethiopia.org).

The researcher conducted an in-depth interview with *Meseud Adem* the public officer at IRCE. He explained that IRCE was established in order to promote and systematize interfaith learning and collaboration towards addressing certain common concerns by targeting and bringing together religious leaders and institutions of various faiths at national and regional levels, to identify potential areas of cooperation with a special focus on building trust and strong mutual relationships among the various religious communities. He stressed that close cooperation of the different FBCSO's with the IRCE is in itself a means of promoting peace and reconciliation. This facilitates that the various faith based civil society organizations, with their respective religious institutions and leadership become more organized, united and effective in the task of mobilizing the rank and file members of the various religious institutions all over the country for the peace effort.

According to the public officer, the council has seven principal members, namely, the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church (EOTC), the Ethiopian Islamic Affairs Supreme Council (EIASC), the Ethiopian Catholic Church (ECC), the Evangelical Churches Fellowship of Ethiopia (ECFE), the Ethiopian Seventh Day Adventist Church (SDAC), the Ethiopian Evangelical Unity Churches (EEUC) and the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY). These different religious organizations all have their own departments which function as FBCSO's, and

they send their own representatives to the council which work together with different international organizations and government offices for example with the federal affairs ministry.

Furthermore, the Council has organized one national and five regional Consultations bringing together participants including more than 1,400 religious leaders and FBCSO'S technical staff in Addis Ababa, *Amhara*, *Oromia*, *Tigray* and the Southern Regional State. The Consultations focused on the issue of peace building, combating Harmful Traditional practices, HIV and AIDS, maternal health and youth reproductive health. In addition the workshops conducted by IRCE increased religious leaders awareness of the significance of teaching peace education besides the spiritual preaching on a monthly basis.

The officer explained that one of the roles for which the IRCE was established was to defend against the influence of religious extremists who use religion as a mask and pretext for their own agendas. In order to tackle and resolve such issues different FBCSO's employ various strategies but they are all orientated to achieving peace in the one country. Each one uses its own creative abilities to find solutions. Promoting and maintaining peace is one of the major aims of the IRCE, in this regard the role of the inter-religious council is very important. The officer stressed that the agenda of peace is not only the business of the government but also the business of individual FBCSO's, it would be inadvisable and risky to leave all responsibility to the government. Much is heard about peace from different world leaders, religious leaders and political analysts. However, on a global level there does not seem to be any decrease in wars, tribal conflicts, religious war etc. In this regard CSO's have an important contribution to make in promoting peace and reconciliation.

The IRCE works with different CSO's in peace and reconciliation activities, for example when there was a problem in *Jima* and *Agaros* weredas/regions, the IRCE organized a lot of activities to restore and maintain a more peaceful situation. In the area of peace building, the IRCE has made a considerable contribution to long-lasting inter-cultural and thus also inter-religious tolerance in Ethiopia. The IRCE works together with the Government and Ministry of Foreign Affairs on a number of issues; these include things like human trafficking, combating traditional harmful practices, and other harmful traditions. It appears that FBCSO's have a store of social

capital which makes them particularly powerful in teaching and creating awareness relating to traditional practices and unsafe treatment. The officer commented that genuine religion could never support extremisms and terrorisms, since the teaching of all major religions are grounded in the idea of peace. However, groups like *Bokoharam*, *Al-Qaida* and *Al-Shabab* understand and exploit certain sensitive aspects of religion for their own purposes.

The officer insisted that the fundamental teaching of specific religions never supports the killing of human beings, who are created in the image and likeness of God. Those who bring unrest and riots use religion as a pretext or cover to fulfill their own political interests. They are not well informed concerning the genuine idea, mission and use of religion, which is why they tend towards extremism. For this reason, IRCE has an important task to teach about the dangers of extremism and the misuse of religion. The officer concluded that, genuine religion is never the major cause of conflicts and quarrels. The government is ineffective in creating peaceful conditions on its own; there is a need to work together with different CSO's, FBCSO's, CBO's and other sector offices. With regard to future perspectives, IRCE feels that they have the mission of transmitting the culture of tolerance and religious pluralisms which Ethiopians inherited from their ancestors to the next generations. The officer insisted that as an Ethiopian citizen he was aware of the history of a real and tangible culture of co-existence by which people have lived in peace and tolerance during the last centuries, on this basis our ancestors could be seen as an example of religious tolerance, peace and reconciliation to the rest of the world.

3.6.1 The Relationship between the Federal Affairs Ministry and the IRCE

The Ethiopian Federal Affairs Ministry was established by a declaration from the Council of Ministers regulation no. 691/2010. Article 14/h gave the right and permission to the religious organizations and councils to work and register those who fulfill their criteria in order to facilitate that they exercise their religion freely. Before the establishment of the Office of Religious Organizations and the Council Registrar which is under the Federal Affairs Ministry, all NGO's and CSO's were registered with the Ministry of Justice in Ethiopia. However, after the elections of 2004, the system of registration of NGO's and CSO's was changed and divided into two classifications. Those orientated towards development were registered as charities and

societies, those who preferred to be registered as religious organizations were registered under council offices responsible to the federal affairs ministries.

With regard to faith based civil society organizations based in Ethiopia, it is imperative to know how FBCSO's are registered by the Ethiopian Federal Affairs Ministry and given permission and licenses to operate. There are certain procedures to register as religious organizations in Ethiopia. According to *Atto*, Abreham Obise lawyer at the Federal Affairs Ministry in the Department of Religious Organizations and Councils Registrar, the procedure includes bringing documentation (i.e. letters), the Chronicle of the Church/religious organization, and their I.D. card. To be established as FBCSO's in Ethiopia their agenda has to be approved. After these criteria have been fulfilled they can register as faith based civil society organization in Ethiopia. Religious organizations that come mainly for two purposes: a), establishing places of worship or association b), those who want to establish CSO's, fellowships, ministries or Councils.

The lawyer dealing with religious organizations and councils registration under the federal ministry explained that the setting of criteria is intended to identify whether the organization's aim is genuinely to work for religious purposes or whether they have another agenda. Furthermore it is intended to ensure that they genuinely accept equality of religion, and respect the government constitution stipulations concerning religious groups. Article 27 of the Constitution of the Ethiopian Federal Government allows FBCSO's to engage in religious activities after they have registered. He also explained that government and religious organizations work together and teach about the implementation of peace programs at national and regional levels. However, recent government policies restricting lobbying by foreign financed organizations have hampered activities in the area of conflict resolution and management, peace and reconciliation. More efforts could be made to ensure that all religious organizations teach about peace and reconciliation depending in harmony with their own doctrines.

Atto, Abreham Obise continued that when organizations come to have their registration approved, they should show that they are active in the area of conflict resolution and peace. The religious organization and councils registrar has the mandate and authority to register FBCSO's.

but should ensure that they contribute to maintaining the peace in their respective communities. The federal affairs ministry works intensely with different sector offices including religious faith based civil society organizations and international organizations to prevent extremists from engaging in terrorist activities. There are indications from other countries, that when groups have been registered and established they risk transforming themselves into militant groups which can cause a lot of devastation. *Bocoharam* is an example of a religious organization which transformed itself into a terrorist group engaging in attacks in the Nigerian capital Abuja among other places (Aljazeera news center, April 14, 2014).

In general the cooperation between FBCSO's is instrumental in spreading a strong message preventing religious fanaticism. The Religious Organizations and Councils Registrar Office of the Federal Affairs Ministry, works to ensure good governance, regulating affairs like the location of cemeteries, place of religious associations, etc. The federal authorities in each regional state work together with the IRCE, CSO's and other organizations to provide solutions for conflict issues and to maintain an atmosphere of peace and reconciliation. The Federal Affairs Ministry the Office of Religious Organizations and the Councils Registrar have made available facilities to the IRCE when they held their national conference. The Federal Affairs Ministry of the office of Religious Organization and the Councils Registrar has given a lot of attention to preventing religious conflicts after being informed by the IRCE.

Mr *Tasew Jebdu* an adviser at the Religious Organizations and the Councils Registrar Office under the Federal Affairs Ministry, said that without cooperation, progress in peace and reconciliation, and also development agendas would be impossible. The Religious Organizations and Councils of Registrar Office under the Federal Affairs Ministry reported that they are working with the IRCE in multiple dimensions to study issues such as who the main actors in conflict situations are, what the major causes of conflict are and related issues.

According to Mr *Tasew Jebdu* the Religious Organization and Councils Registrar Office has four purposes, one is awareness raising in local communities, the second is researching conflict prevention in areas prone to religious and tribal altercations, thirdly administrating the official

affairs of different FBO's to ensure smooth relations with the government and prevention of friction between religious and political organizations.

Furthermore, according to the above source 97.3% of the general population belongs to a religious community, which is a factor of great importance in maintaining peace, but requires vigilance from the government in cooperation with the IRCE in rooting out groups who use religion as a pretext for terrorist activities, and thus undermine the agenda of national interest. The IRCE has prepared a peace manual which is of benefit to local religious communities. This peace manual suggests organizing events on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays (according to respective days of worship) to promote peace activities and prevent extremist tendencies. Such religious discussion and dialogue would create an inter-religious discourse with the government which could identify and deal with problems efficiently. As the adviser mentioned earlier, the intention of the government is to work with CSO's and FBCSO's to eradicate religious sectarianism and fanaticism. With regard to peace and reconciliation the Federal Affairs Religious Organization and Councils do not work only with IRCE but also with other FBCSO's and CSO's.

3.7 The Main Actors for Peace and Reconciliation in South Sudan

3.7.1 Traditional Leaders

James Kueth a Political Affairs Officer from South Sudan working with the United Nations stressed that traditional authorities and religious stakeholders like NSCC (New Sudan Council of Churches), sub-chiefs, chiefs and paramount chiefs, are very effective in peace and reconciliation. They have contact with the local government, and can take responsibility for making peace. They co-operate with the police and prevent looting of cows, something which was a huge problem before but is now minimized. Among the Shilluk there is a Shilluk kingdom, in the case of problems they are first referred to the Shilluk king and only then to the civil authorities including the government. The king is also the leader of the traditional religion, and thus enjoys much respect. The moral authority associated with the King's role in the traditional religion enables him to play an important role in different functions such as

mediation. The Shilluk King is very effective in persuading the Shilluk militia to desist from destabilizing activities. The Shilluk King co-operates with Catholic and Protestant Church leaders in peace making activities. “Community leaders always attempt to reconcile feuding families rather than punishing them. Social sanction is at the heart of law enforcement, mechanisms, curses and ostracism are common” (Aredo and Adal 2009:147).

3.7.2 The Islamic Council

There is also a South Sudanese Islamic Council, which was formed after independence and is directly linked with Saudi Arabia. It has advisors appointed by the president; mosques are better organized and developed than before. Many Muslims are traders from Northern areas like Darfur. To some extent the number of Muslims is declining, because they are looked on as colonizers, allies of the enemy in the North. Consequently many of their children convert to Christianity, the use of Arabic is declining under a new unified education system in the whole of the South Sudan, using English medium.

The Government of Ethiopia has not made any contribution to the peace making process in South Sudan except through IGAD. Now many Ethiopians are involved in business in South Sudan even street vendors and water carriers are from Ethiopia. The South Sudanese themselves all want white collar jobs. During the communist period Mengistu supported the rebels with weapons and training, there was a training centre near to Gambella. After the Comprehensive Peace Agreement Civil Society groups including the Islamic Council constituted pressure groups exerting influence on the government, and engaged in lobbying.

3.7.3 The New Sudan Council of Churches

The New Sudan Council of Churches (NSCC) is an organization comprising six churches located in South Sudan: the Roman Catholic Church, Episcopal Church of the Sudan, Presbyterian Church of Sudan, African Inland Church, Sudan Pentecostal Church and Sudan Interior Mission, (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sudan_Council_of_Churches).

Two ecumenical bodies established in Sudan and South Sudan are active in peace and reconciliation activities. These bodies are the South Sudan Council of Churches (SSCC), based in Juba, and the Sudan Council of Churches (SCC), based in Khartoum.

Due to the civil war which prevailed in Sudan for 21 years, the Sudan Council of Churches (SCC) which was founded in 1965, was unable to reach many in Southern and other marginalized areas of Sudan. Thus, the member churches present in those areas formed the New Sudan Council of Churches (NSCC) in 1989. Despite operating as separate entities - one body with two faces - in North and Southern Sudan, the two councils worked together with their international partners and through the Sudan Ecumenical Forum for peace and justice in Sudan. The New Sudan Council of Churches and Sudan Council of Churches merged into the Sudan Council of Churches in May 2007. The New Sudan Council of Churches and other Churches together did their best to create peace and reconciliation among the people of South Sudan. All the church leaders showed their enthusiasm for peace and reconciliation in a letter dated 18th December 2013. They gave much attention towards the cause of the current conflict, saying that it is not a problem of *Dinka* and *Nuer* tribes but rather of political struggle and political differences between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), and the political leaders of the Republic of South Sudan (<http://www.oikoumene.org/en/press-centre/news/two-ecumenical-bodies-established-for-sudan-and-south-sudan>). The Church leader's letter expresses a profound sense of Christian unity being stronger than tribal feelings. It expresses regret for loss of life, and condemns clashes and acts of violence. It notes with regret tendencies to turn the conflict into an ethnic issue between the two tribes and appeals to the president to intervene to restore unity.

Chapter Four

Summary, Conclusions and Suggestions

4. Introduction

In the previous chapter of the thesis an attempt is made to analyze data which is collected through in-depth qualitative interviews with important people from different organizations and FBCSO's who can shed light on varying issues and provide valuable insights concerning the theme of peace and reconciliation in certain selected FBCSO's. Care was taken to focus on important organizations, which had a clear faith-based orientations, and which were obviously active in some way in Peace and Reconciliation activities. The focus here is on a summary, conclusions, and recommendations; this facilitates presenting the findings of the study.

4.1 Summary

On the basis of the data collected, interpreted and presented in the course of the study the following major findings are identified:

- Certain spiritually oriented groups such as the Council of Elders were able to achieve remarkable success in negotiating between the Ethiopian government and opposition groups; though as mentioned previously, it was not clear to what extent the process was manipulated or whether it is spontaneous results.
- There seems to have been a fundamental change in the role of FBCSO's, and a division into two periods in the course of which they changed their way of operating in the Ethiopian context in reaction to the new legislation i.e. after the establishment of the Religious Organizations and Councils under the Federal Affairs Declaration article: 691/2008 and the Charities and Societies Council declaration regulation no: 168/2009. In other words after the declaration certain organizations were no longer allowed to engage in lobbying and other activities related to civil rights.
- Meanwhile, there were a few organizations clearly engaged in lobbying and related activities, yet exempted from the new regulations due to some kind of special relations

with the government. For example, A leading former member of the Council of Elders Pastor Daniel, had his own association to assist prison inmates (called ‘Prison for all’). He was able to obtain exemption from recent legislation preventing organizations relying on foreign financial aid from engaging in lobbying activities, indicating a very intimate relationship with the authorities, or becoming complicit harmonization with their agenda.

- According to the data of the Ethiopian Religious Organizations and councils registrar under the federal affairs ministry, currently about 1,600 Faith Based Institutions have been registered and received a licenses to disseminate their religious teaching. However, among all the registered religious organizations which have legal licenses, there are only seven religious organizations which are specifically active in peace and reconciliation issues.(they are not autonomous in their operations)
- In general, The current situation gives a better opportunity to Ethiopian FBCSO’s to work together for peace and reconciliation, whereas foreign FBCO’s like NCA, CHRISTIAN AID and other international NGO’s are encouraged to concentrate on their official development activities, rather than meddling in lobbying about in human rights and engaging in peace making.
- Currently in South Sudan IGAD i.e, IGAD Special Envoys on South Sudan engaged faith based and religious leaders so far in forming their understanding of conflict and prospective of way forward regarding reconciliation. Activities in peace education and reconciliation are planned to engage faith-based organizations in healing and reconciliation process in South Sudan.
- Important observers stress that major faith orientated organizations such as the SSCC, Traditional leaders, the Islamic council and various international organizations are playing a vital ongoing role in peace and reconciliation, Furthermore, the World Council of Churches facilitated the Addis Ababa Agreement between the Government of the Sudan and the Anya Nya in 1972, (i.e. the military wing of the South Sudan Resistance Movement) despite the fact that accord ended 17 years of war, their lack of assertiveness

resulted in the deal holding for only a short period and war subsequently broke out again in 1983. The New Sudan Council of Churches also engaged heavily in bringing together Dr. Machar and Dr. Garang when they were engaged in hostilities which took an ethnic turn, and supported traditional leaders in bringing about a reconciliation between both leaders and their communities (Interview Dr. Aleu Garang, Coordinator of the Mediation Support Unit at IGAD 4/2714).

- More recently, in March 2014, the accord signed by Copra Movement of David Yau Yau (a Murle ethnic rebel) and the Government of the Republic of South Sudan was facilitated by a group of church Leaders led by Arch. Bishop Freedy Taban. (Interview Dr. Aleu Garang, Coordinator of the Mediation Support Unit at IGAD 4/2714).

We conclude that,

1. What can be said without a doubt is that FBCSO's and indigenous institutions are considered to possess a high degree of social capital, and consequently are encouraged by most governments to play a high profile role in mediation processes. This power of mediation was recently graphically illustrated by Archbishop Daniel Deng Bol of South Sudan's role in brokering the Peace Agreement signed between the Government and opposition groups from South Sudan here in Ethiopia. It has also become the specialty of certain organizations like the Community of Sant'Egidio, a Christian community officially recognized by the Catholic Church as a "Church public lay association" i.e. a FBCSO's internationally acclaimed for its successful involvement in high profile peace and reconciliation activities.
2. All those interviewed stressed the special status of Church and other religious leaders, their involvement in reconciliation efforts, and peace initiatives. In conflict situations, they are able to encourage consensus-building and the quest for common ground, emphasizing inclusion rather than exclusion. Unlike the win/lose approach of multi-party elections, decisions by 'interest negotiation' parties (such as religious groups) engage in 'give and take' interactions until a solution is reached that can accommodate everybody's interests and needs. The role of high level leaders would

be that of ‘interest mediators’ using the tools and principles that derive from the peace and reconciliation paradigm,” (Assefa, 2006:29).

3. However, in the Peace Paradigm advocated by Prof. Hezkias Assefa Peace and reconciliation is not limited to mediation in conflict situations. Rather it is a comprehensive paradigm, including a holistic reconciliation politics or politics of cooperation (not competition), which sees the ‘self’ in a relational context and works for the benefits of others, and mutually enriching social relations. The peace and reconciliation paradigm offers an alternative understanding of governance consistent with African conditions which emphasize community rather than individualism and competition. Such developments implied giving up centralized control and opening oneself up for criticism, which is a price most African governments are not willing to pay. They are unwilling to allow lobbying for the implementation of more holistic paradigms for genuine long term peace and reconciliation, or to risk anything which touches their own personal interests.
4. In other words most governments were eager to employ high profile FBSCO’s and traditional institutions in mediation activities, but they were not willing to accept their lobbying to achieve the conditions which would guarantee genuine long term peace and reconciliation. These include transparency, freedom from corruption, genuine incorporation of all ethnic and religious groups in grass roots democratization and good governance, care for the marginalized and disenfranchised , etc.
5. In practice this meant that there was a tendency to co-opt FBSCO’s and indigenous institutions in certain peacemaking efforts, but not to permit them to play a role in lobbying for the different aspects of a holistic Peace paradigm (as described by Prof. Hezekias Assefa) which would guarantee long term peace and reconciliation. FBSCO’s were in practice encouraged to participate in peace processes, but discouraged from being involved in issues of good governance, which were essential for lasting peace and reconciliation, but might bring them into conflict with government. Consequently, they establish their own ‘civil society type organizations’

which the FBCSO's are expected to co-operate with and follow, and introduce legislation limiting their lobbying ability or oblige them to register with government bodies which keep them under close scrutiny. Moreover, they also introduced legislation, which made it increasingly difficult for those receiving funding from abroad to engage in lobbying related to good governance issues, and controlled organizations by forcing them to register and remain under constant scrutiny.

6. The result is only partial implementation of holistic peace paradigms, which in turn result in partial successes and eventually the repletion of cycles of conflict and violence.
7. Mohamed Salih in his recent book; *African Democracies and African Politics*, pleads against misunderstandings associated with negative views on democracy as a political arrangement superior to authoritarianism insisting that the question is whether there is any workable alternative. Moreover, Mohamed Salih proposes that maybe the introduction of Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia might constitute another alternative (Salih 2001). Let us hope that the new system can be so refined that it will genuinely serve such purposes and usher in a new era of Ethiopian and African politics.

4.2 Conclusion

The general intention of this thesis is to identify the role of FBCSO's in Ethiopia and South Sudan especially those active in peace making and activities with a strong moral and ethical imperative orientated towards humanitarianism and charity. The FBCSO's are active in different areas including both religious and secular spheres. Some of them are working in peace promotion and related humanitarian activities. The research paper seeks to explore and analyze the general activities of selected faith based CSO's in both countries and their contribution towards bringing peace (as compared with other types of organizations). CSO's potentially have both positive and negative impact on both countries, they can create dependency (especially with regard to poverty alleviation) but at the same, their assistance activities have a positive impact on local society and their faith based orientation enables them to create a basic awareness and understanding of issues related to the significance of peace among the peoples of Ethiopia and South Sudan.

However, In some theories religious based interest groups are assumed to have the attributes of civil society and to contribute positively towards democracy and good governance Kolumba Mohamed noted that religious interest groups which form an important constituent of Ugandan civil society, have failed to contribute towards their assumed roles in evolving good governance. Furthermore, the success of religious based interest groups is dependent on the extent to which they address the factors internal to their organizations. "Factors which undermine religious based interest groups, hinder them from being vibrant and performing their roles. They include lack of legitimate and representative leaders within a state, state government interference in the affairs of an interest group, absence of democratic governance within a group, problems of accountability and transparency within, a limited resource base and weak economic status of group members" (Mohamed, 2000).

Based on this idea we can say that After the elections of 2005 (considered by many to be controversial), the Ethiopian Catholic organizations issued a call for respecting human rights and a stop to bloodshed (which earned them respect from the general public), whereas the leadership of the Orthodox Church went out of their way to support the Government viewpoint (even

allegedly handing over students who took refuge in Churches). The situation caused such dissatisfaction in the Diaspora that certain Churches (such as the biggest one in London St. Mary of Zion located at Battersea) broke away from the authority of the Addis Ababa Holy Synod and became independent. Clearly, in this context the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was more prone to state interference (i.e. a factor internal to the organization) whereas the Ethiopian Catholic Church with its international connections had more freedom to maneuver and play a civil society role.

It is apparent at the moment that FBCSO's in Ethiopia and Sudan are encouraged to play a high profile role in mediation activities, especially in the South Sudan which is a fledgling country in which the primary institutions are comparatively weak. However, the government does not want FBCO's to be involved in lobbying for the circumstances which would guarantee the implementation of long term peace paradigms, since individual governments are unwilling to become transparent and open themselves up to criticism. More experienced governments such as the government of Ethiopia make efforts to limit the influence of international, or internationally financed FBCO's, and try only to permit local financed ones which are 'influenced by factor's internal to the organization' in other words more susceptible to government pressure. FBCO's are co-opted into working for high profile peace initiatives when it suits the governments concerned, but they are prevented from agitating for the implementation of long term peace paradigms which would imply a change of mind sets and impinge on existing power structures. Thus despite their association with peace and reconciliation initiatives, as in Uganda FBCO's are often undermined in their efforts to contribute towards their assumed roles in evolving good governance and thus sustainable peace.

4.3 Recommendation

On the basis of the research conducted with different FBCSO's active in Ethiopia and Sudan the researcher would like to make the following recommendations:

- ❖ There should be more research into the activities of FBCSO's stressing different aspects of their activities and their impact on local communities.
- ❖ Research should pay special attention not only to the role of FBCO's in mediation, but to their ability to set in motion a dynamic for implementing long term sustainable peace paradigms.
- ❖ FBCSO's should increase their activities in promoting and increasingly effective in attempts at peace building and reconciliation.
- ❖ FBCSO's have a special role to play in zones of religious conflict, but their peace building programmes do not need to be confined to addressing religious conflict only, their interaction with the wider context and multiple cohorts of stakeholders requires more scrutiny.
- ❖ Faith-based organizations possess a large residue of social capital which gives them a particular power and dynamism to be active in peace building, especially in the context of developing countries in which religion still has a high public profile. This positive potential needs to be recognized and better utilized in wide ranging agendas from high-level mediation to training and peace-building-through-development at the grassroots.
- ❖ Peace can be often promoted most efficiently by introducing peace-building components into more traditional relief and development activities.
- ❖ Religious values (e.g. tolerance, respect, equality, peace, and love) need to be revived within civic education and FBCSO's need to be recognized as an integral part of society.
- ❖ FBCSO's need to share their democratic models with other FBCSO's in order to develop new and better models.

- ❖ Religious leaders need to be exposed to issues related to human rights and democracy and to be engaged in long term durable peace paradigm activities (i.e. not only mediation in conflict situations).
- ❖ FBCSO's are of vital importance within civil society; therefore, should focus on FBCSO's Criticism of the actions of people of a certain religion should not be seen as criticism of their religion.
- ❖ FBCSO's organizations of different FBCSO's should network with each other to promote equality between the genders, peace and reconciliation and FBCSO's should support the promotion of human rights and equality.
- ❖ NGO's should be encouraged to develop partnerships with FBCSO's in the promotion of democracy.
- ❖ Most religious texts represent cultural, social and economic practices within the timeframe in which the texts were written. Therefore, religious texts need to be reinterpreted to address issues within the current timeframe.
- ❖ Religious actors traditionally perform a certain number of social functions in the society that can be all the more important at the peace building phase; and Religious actors play an important role as members of local civil society.
- ❖ Religious beliefs may offer crucial tangible components of peace-building

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List of Informants

No	Interviewee	Organization	Position	Date of place and Interview
1	Mr David Dong Kong	South Sudan Embassy	First secretary at South Sudan embassy in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa	Embassy of South Sudan, February, 2/2014
2	Mr James Kueth	United nations	Political Affairs officer in United Nations South Sudan	Around Gerge area, February, 6/2014
3	Ato Yilikal Shiferaw	EOC-DICAC	Peace desk director at EOC-DICAC in the department refuge and returnee affairs	EOC-DICAC refuge and returnee affairs office January, 2/2014
4	Ms Misrak	ECS	Peace and justice officer at ECS	ECS peace and justice office February/13/2014
5	Mr Eyob	EECMY	Peace and justice officer at EECMY	EECMY, February, 18/2014
6	Sheik Abas YAsin	EMASC	officer of regional and organizations at EMASC	EMASC February,20/2014

No	Interviewee	Organization	Position	Date of place and Interview
7	Mr Tale Steen-Jonsen	NAC head office, Norway	Peace officer at NAC head office Norway	Contacted through E-Mail February/22/3014
8	Aba Dawit	Comboni Seminary	Rector of the Comboni Seminary	Comboni Seminary February /23,2014
9	Mr Meseud Adem	IRCE	Public officer	IRCE February/25.2014
10	Mr Abreham Obise	Ministry of federal Affairs	Lawyer at federal affairs ministry in the department of religion organizations and councils registrar	Ministry of federal Affairs February,27/2014
11	Mr Tasew Jebdu	Ministry of federal Affairs	Adviser at the Religious Organizations and the Councils Registrar Office under the Federal Affairs Ministry	Ministry of federal Affairs February/27/2014
12	Mr Tizazu Desalegne	Ministry of federal Affairs	Peace and Faith Directorate director at Religious Organizations and the Councils Registrar Office under the Federal Affairsministry	Ministry of federal Affairs February/29/2014

Appendix I

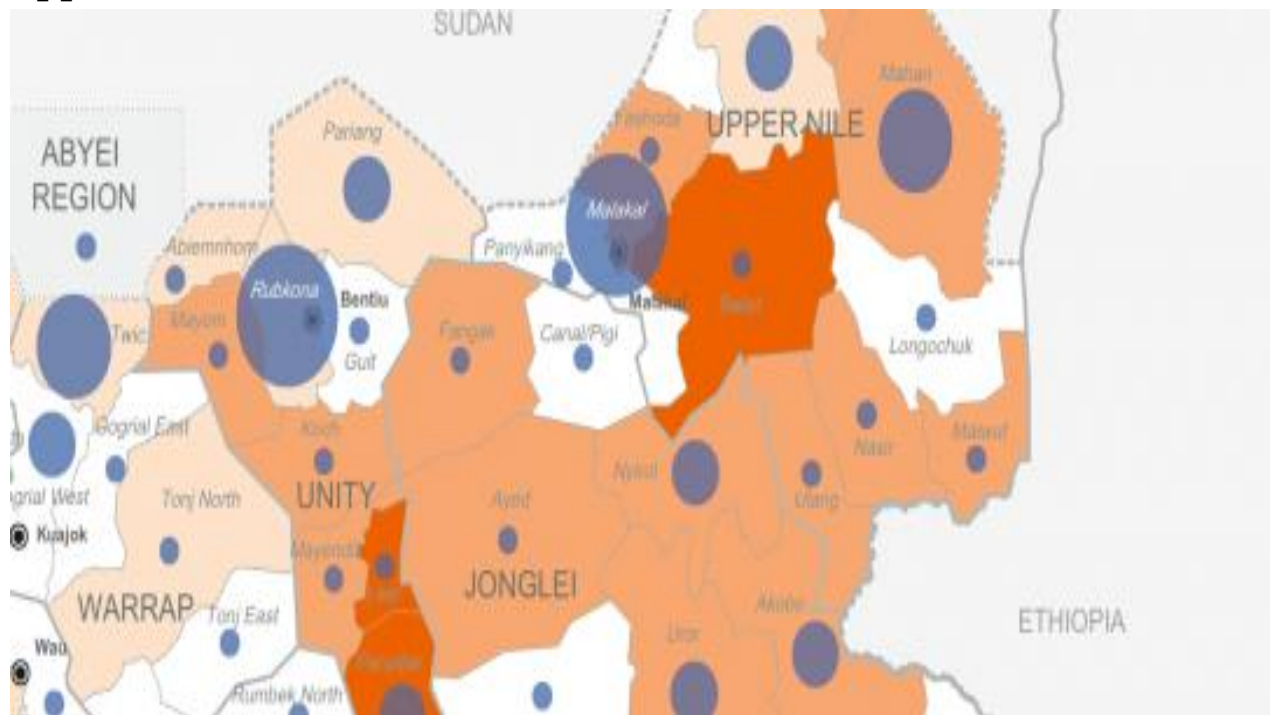
Interview Guide Questions for Key Informants

1. What is the role of faith based civil society organizations?
2. Do faith based civil society organizations have advantages or disadvantages in engaging in conflict resolution and reconciliation activities?
3. What specific examples of faith based civil society organizations contribution to peace making and reconciliation? Can you give?
4. Is the religious component important in peace making reconciliation process in the suddenness and or Ethiopian context?
5. Is there cooperation between different faith based civil society organizations and other organization to promote peace and reconciliation in Ethiopia and south Sudan?
6. To what extent are there attempts to mobilize faith based civil society organizations for peace initiatives?
7. Are faith based civil society organizations regarded in a positive by the government and the wider population? Does this facilitate their engagement in reconciliation related issues?
8. Does the involvement of faith based civil society organizations vary among different ethnic and religious group in different part of the country?
9. In the future do faith based civil society have a major role to play in ensuring sustainable peace and security?

10. What can be done to prevent religion being used as a pretext for strife and contribution or extremism? What contribution can interfaith and faith based civil society organization make towards this?

11. What is the relationship of IGAD and faith based civil society organizations in south Sudan in making peace and reconciliation before and after the conflict ?

Appedex II



Map: Current distribution of FBCSO'S and NGO's actively present in South Sudan, (Retrieved from <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/map-aid-worker-presence-south-sudan>)

Appendix III



Photo: showing the South Sudanese Archbishop Daniel Deng Bol Bishop supervising the reconciliation between President Salva Kiir and the Rebel Leader Riek Machar, as Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn (right) looks on. (Retrieved from <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/%E2%80%98breakthrough%E2%80%99-toward-elusive-s-sudan-peace>)

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university and all the sources of material used for the thesis have been dully acknowledged.

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Signature: _____

Date: _____