



**DO NO HARM: MEANINGS AND PRACTICES OF NEPALI
FIELDWORKERS' ENGAGED IN PEACEBUILDING**

**Opinions about DNH and peacebuilding with emphasis in fieldwork
level in the hierarchical level of an Organisation**

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'Solidarity in Nepal is not for those who have much, but rather for those who have little and wish to share it.'

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Contents

List of Acronyms	vii
Abstract	viii
Relevance to Development Studies	viii
PREFACE	ix
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Motivation	1
1.2. Research Question and Objectives	2
1.4. Background of the Nepalese Conflict	2
1.5. Main Concepts	4
CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY	8
2.1. Introduction	8
2.2. CARE Organisation	8
2.3. Community Support Programme and key Actors	9
2.4. Scope of Limitations, Ethical and Political Choice	12
CHAPTER 3. MEANINGS AND PRACTICES OF ‘DO NO HARM’ AND PEACEBUILDING IN THE NATIONAL AND REGIONAL LEVEL	13
3.1. Introduction	13
3.2. What is ‘Do no Harm’, Capacity Development and peacebuilding for the National level?	14
3.3. Implementation of DNH in the National Level	17
3.4. Meanings and Practices of Peacebuilding and ‘Do no Harm’ by the Regional Level	20
CHAPTER 4. MEANINGS AND PRACTISES OF ‘DO NO HARM’ AND PEACEBUILDING AT THE FIELD AND COMMUNITY LEVEL	22
4.1. Introduction	22
4.2. Meanings and Practices of conflict and Peacebuilding by Social Mobilizers and Local Resource Persons	22
4.3. Experiences practicing ‘Do no Harm’ by Social Mobilizers and Local Resource Person	24
4.4. Community Perceptions of the Work Done by Care and Fieldworkers	29
CHAPTER 5. CHALLENGES IN NEPAL AND FINAL REMARKS	32

5.2. Challenges to implement 'Do no Harm' inside of peacebuilding programmes in Nepal	33
5.3. Conclusions	34
REFERENCES	38

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Structure of CARE Nepal and actors interviewed.....	10
Figure 5.1 Responsibility of each Agent.....	33

List of Appendices

Appendix 1 Interview Questions.....	41
Appendix 2 Conflict Map of Nepal.....	42
Appendix 3 List of The Interviews	43
Appendix 4 Preliminar Report	45
Appendix 5 Photos of the Field Work.....	48

List of Acronyms

DNH	Do no Harm'
CSP	Conflict Sensitivity Approach
CLP	Collaborative Learning Projects
LCO	Local Capacities for peace
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
INGO	International No governmental Organisation
NGO	No Governmental Organisation
CDA	Collaborative Dependent Alternatives
ToT	Trainers of trainers
PSRD	Post conflict Reconstruction and Development
CIA	Conflict Impact Assessment
PCIA	Peace Conflict Impact Assessment
CBOs	Community based Organisations
CSP	Community Support Programme
VDC	Village Development Community
IDP	Internal Displaced People
GPPAC	Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict
PTSD	Post-traumatic Stress Disorder
PBB	Peacebuilding from Below
LRP	Local Resource Person
CSSD	Conscious Society of Social Development
PVSE	People vulnerable and Social Excluded
SMs	Social Mobilizers
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme

Abstract

This research analyses the meanings and practices that fieldworkers and other INGO staff attached to peacebuilding processes have in Kailali district-Nepal. The study also takes into consideration the 'Do no Harm' approach as a perspective, and the meanings given to this by the different organisational hierarchical levels in the INGO CARE Nepal, with a particular focus on the Nepali fieldworkers.

The research was conducted through workplace ethnography of around a month, which made it possible to observe, discuss and interview staff at different levels, national, regional and local, in relation to Nepali fieldworkers specifically, within two selected local communities in the Western region of Nepal. In this paper I argue that the understanding of peacebuilding and 'Do no Harm' changes drastically depending on the different hierarchical levels of occupation. This is due to the level of knowledge each actor has of the communities, and the role they play in their projects. One of the assumptions is that 'Do no Harm' theory is supported in the design and scheme of the programmes, but not supported totally by the practices in the work done by local practitioners, which are more controlled by the experiences and feelings they have with and towards communities.

One of the key findings is that meanings of peace and 'Do no Harm' are limited by the sphere where the person intervenes at each hierarchical level and change in accordance with the realities and problems practitioners face in their daily jobs. This tends to refute the assumption that the INGO national-level understanding of both concepts (peace and Do no Harm) are being effectively translated and communicated through the hierarchical chain, and acted on.

Relevance to Development Studies

Development as a practise aims at analysing the implementation of strategies, methods and actions different projects use in the improvement of societies, and thus in the development of communities, using a social justice view. This research wants to show the importance of fieldworkers in social development and in the DNH approach as a way to improve the outcomes, efficiency and adequate peacebuilding process in countries which are undergoing a post conflict process. Therefore, the implementation of projects and the relations among different participants deserve more attention if we are looking for sustainable progress and long-lasting growth in developing countries.

Keywords

'Do no Harm', Fieldworkers, CARE-Nepal, Peace building, INGO, Post-conflict, conflict sensitivity, capacity development.

PREFACE

My experience in Colombia working for the last seven years as fieldworker in different peacebuilding projects, made me realize the importance of my role in the improvement of the social conditions in my country. However, my role also makes me analyse to what extent the role of fieldworkers as important agents of peacebuilding and development is forgotten and ignored. Fieldworkers are the ones who are in constant touch with communities and have a lot of knowledge about the social realities of both the country and specific local communities. This is due to their continuous dealing with two forces: the organisational requirements of their NGO and the needs and feelings of beneficiaries.

Despite wanting to contribute to improve the lives of victims ex-combatants, women and teenagers, I noticed that my role as fieldworker was affected by many other factors that tended to control the implementation of social projects. For example international actors, community leaders of Community Based Organisations and national political agendas, all put their own interests first rather than concentrating on the beneficiaries' needs and interests. This situation made me feel I had become a kind of 'puppet' for the institutions 'above me' to which I was accountable, rather than being an agent who could help to improve the social conditions of the less privileged with whom I was working, and thus of my country as a whole.

This paper investigates the limited role of fieldworkers in development and peacebuilding and focuses on the meanings they give to their daily job, and the difficulties and challenges they face in the interaction with communities, and with the different hierarchical levels of their organisations (i.e. with their superiors). I especially emphasis on peacebuilding work and the use of 'Do no Harm' as a conceptual and practical tool of intervention. Thus, the aim of the study is to understand the meanings and practises of peace and 'Do no Harm' for the local practitioners, and the experiences and struggles they face in their daily job.

In this sense, despite the fact that reducing the harm done to the communities by the fieldworkers is one of the ideal that guide my work, this research will not provide a general answer about how to minimise harm in this sphere. The focus of this research calls attention to the importance of fieldworkers in peacebuilding processes, and the different constraints they face when practicing their work or exercising their power within communities. This paper looks at those issues in relation to the use of a specific conflict sensitivity tool -'Do no Harm'- in the daily duties of fieldworkers. In addition to that, I explore how the meanings of harm change according to different organisational hierarchies, focusing on CARE Nepal. Finally, I will reflect on some possible effects of dealing with DNH in peace processes in Nepal.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives a brief explanation of the importance of doing this study, the structure of the research design and the main concepts that guide this paper. It is important to mention that the aim of this research is not to propose any solutions to Nepal's post conflict situation; or provide advice about strategies of how to minimize harm to communities. Rather this research wants to point to the importance of the meanings and practices of fieldworkers working within local communities in relation to peace and 'Do no Harm', as a matter of analyses in the improvement of social projects

1.1. Motivation

In the aftermath of wars and armed conflict, many countries have been assisted by different international and national donor agencies, in order to overcome the consequences of conflict. They have received social assistance, cash transfer, governmental partnership projects, and trainings, among other things. However, the aid by itself is not bringing the outcomes that either the donors or aided communities expect. This is because of the complexity of realities in which the work is conducted; the cultural barriers, the homogenization of societies, the macroeconomic interests and the inadequate implementation of social projects are factors that affect an appropriate intervention. The international aid cannot achieve a holistic perspective which involves economic, social, political and emotional aspects inside of post conflict societies.

Taking into account the problems mentioned above, by 2003 the Collaborative Dependent Alternatives and International non-Governmental Organisations created together the 'Do no Harm' approach, which was designed in order to overcome and minimize the harm caused by international organisations to local communities, through the implementation of projects using ethical and conflict sensitivity approaches. Since 2005, Nepal has been one of the countries which have received different kinds of trainings in applying those approaches. However, the fact that Nepal has received a lot of trainings does not mean that the approaches are applied adequately. It is important to analyse how much the training inform trainees about the concept of DNH and peace-building in the field, and how these are transmitted from the highest hierarchical level to the field level. It is totally different to understand the DNH approach when reading it from a book, than when dealing with the realities fieldworkers face in their job, with communities and third parties.

To see for myself the reality of the daily duties of the fieldworkers, I traveled to Nepal and analyse the importance that 'Do no Harm' has in their job, and the application of the theory in implementing social development projects within communities. During the field work, I reflected on the influences of different social hierarchies and groups on the development of DNH in Nepal, such as national entities, hierarchies within organisations and local partners. Besides that, I wanted to find out what knowledge of DNH existed within the organisation and the limitations of this knowledge when it is applied inside communities.

Being Colombian and having experience in peace treaties make me realized that the challenges of peacebuilding are not coming just after peace agreements. It is a process that requires a continuous work before and after the peace agreement is signed. Nepal gives me the possibility to see the reality of a country that after seven years of the peace accord was signed is still facing a lot of challenges in pursuit of peace.

1.2. Research Question and Objectives

How are 'peacebuilding' and 'Do no Harm' interpreted by different hierarchical levels in CARE-Nepal, and especially by fieldworkers?

Sub-questions

- What are the different meanings and practices given to peacebuilding and 'Do no Harm', at different hierarchical levels of the organisation?
- In particular, what kinds of practices are linked to 'peacebuilding and Do no Harm' by fieldworkers, compared with the national and the regional level?
- How is the concept of Do no Harm 'translated' into the actual work in the field and with the beneficiaries?

Objectives

General

Analyse the experiences fieldworkers have about the peacebuilding process and 'Do no Harm' in Kailali District Nepal, and the potentially harmful (unintended) effects and consequences of their work on the beneficiaries and communities.

Specific Objectives

- To contribute to the understanding of meanings and practices fieldworkers have about peacebuilding and 'Do no Harm' perspective in Kailali district, Nepal. Thus, raise questions that may be relevant for other INGO practitioners working in this field.
- To demonstrate how these different meanings and experiences are reflected in the hierarchical levels of an organisation at the national, regional and local level and how these are translated into the practices inside of the projects.
- To contribute to the body of knowledge related to specific theoretical concepts, such as 'harm' get 'translated' into practical work.

1.4. Background of the Nepalese Conflict

Nepal gained independence and sovereignty from the colonial powers through the British treaty in 1923. After that, the Rana regime overthrew the monarchy

and established autocracy through the hereditary appointment of the Prime Minister. But, in 1950 this changed when the Nepali Congress Party took the arms against the Rana regime. In 1951, the victory of the insurgence led to the appointment of a new Rana Prime Minister, king Mahendra, who remained in power for over 8 years; he promised amnesty for all political prisoners and elections based on universal suffrage (Riaz and Bazu, 2007).

After his death the new Constitution had to be suspended due to the failure of the parliamentary system. (Riaz and Bazu, 2007:126-127) In 1962, the Constitution was created after the defeat of the councils' promulgation inside of the country, and the support from India to political parties. By 1975, the new king created a mandate in the constitution which centralized the state once again and strengthened the role of the king again. This restriction and the strong repression of dissent by the government led to the formation of the Maoist guerrilla (Riaz and Bazu, 2007).

By 1991 Maoist guerrilla began the Nepalese war labeled 'the war's town'¹. It looked for the empowerment of this group inside of the politics of Nepal, and fought for the eradication of feudalism that was still alive in most of the towns in Nepal. Their main aim was to end the monarchy and the social and economic inequality within the Nepalese society. As the result, the rebels fought against the government and at the end they spread to almost all Nepalese society. This war however weakened both the government and the economic and political systems of Nepal (IDHC, 2006: 15-18).

In 2001, the murder of the royal family affected the trust of Nepalese people in politics and monarchy, and as a result threatened the stability of the throne. By July 2001, one of the government ministers began peace talks with the leader of the Maoist guerrilla movement, proposing a ceasefire, but failing to follow the arrangement it agreed upon. Since then, the guerrilla increased its actions, and the government answered by the declaring the state of emergency (IDHC, 2006:23).

Due to that, by 2003 the Maoist movement decided to establish a truce with the government, entered bilateral agreements, and began a peace process with the help of various political and social movements. This peace process was not success due to the lack of mutual understanding between the two parties. In 2006 Maoist insurgent group declared the end of the guerrilla and prepared for the transition into a political party. In 2008 Nepal was declared a Federal Republic, with a Maoist former guerrilla leader becoming the first Prime Minister of the country. However, despite the Maoists joining the political system, the longstanding political, economic and social disagreements between Maoists and other political parties have not been resolved yet (IDHC, 2006:23-32).

¹ The Maoist leaders called its revolution the 'war's Town', however some scholars such as Dixi (2011) mentioned that this conflict did not represent the view of all Nepalese towns

The aftermath of 10 years of Maoist conflict left 13,000 people killed and 1,300 disappeared without a trace. The conflict led to displacement, traumas, and decline of human and social capital, as well as lack of opportunities for everyone. Therefore, Nepal created the Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development (PCRD) which aims at creating alternatives to improve the conditions of the country after the war, through social, political and economic support (Puskar, 2011).

Today, it can be said that the conflict in Nepal is still alive in different forms. For instance, there is lack of trust among politician, private sectors, NGOs and communities. The main cause has been the absence of electoral promises which were not result in concrete outcomes; such aspect has affected the future of peace-building in Nepal. (Dahal, 2010) In other words, Nepal is still having problems between ex Maoist groups, political parties and the new insurgent groups created in different surrounding places of the country². This has impacted negatively the process of reconciliation and reparation of their 10 years long Nepalese conflict which apparently still keeps on going to these present days. Perhaps, today Nepal is holding a peace process that is not as formal as before, but nevertheless presents as much as severe repercussions toward Nepalese people as the one done by the previous Maoist insurgency (Riaz and Bazu, 2007).

1.5. Main Concepts

The aim of this research focuses on five important concepts described in this section, which are the main frame of analysis during the field work and the systematization of the information collected. This information used is the basis for the interpretation and conceptualization of the Nepalese fieldworkers in this research. Concepts such 'Do no Harm', conflict sensitivity, peacebuilding, capacity development and positive peace are the focus of this section.

This paper will not adopt the definition of peace as the absence of war, since the absence of war does not mean the creation of peace by itself. This paper wants to focus on the definition of positive peace, which involves the adoption of social justice, equity and development; it includes working with: victims, perpetrators, violations of rights and injustices (Grewal, 2003). The main characteristics of Positive peace include 'Structural intervention, optimistic, preventive peace by peaceful means' (Grewal, 2003:4).

As Galtung says (as cited by Höglund and Öderberg, 2010) positive peace is represented through the absence of direct, structural and cultural violence. According with this perspective, peacebuilding is understood as the creation of a socio-political structure, which avoids the recurrence of conflict, and therefore facilitate the perpetuation of peace (Shinoda, 2002). Working toward positive peace, it is important to focus on the structural violence, which is defined 'as a

² It has been said that there are still communist insurgent group in Nepal in small proportions (Dahal, 2010)

form of aggression committed by organisations of a society that impedes individual self-fulfilment' (Parazelli, 2008:4).

To reach an adequate positive peace, it is necessary to adopt approaches which take into account the characteristics of people, culture and context. The expression of 'conflict sensitivity' has become part of the discourses of international organisations; it points to the importance for development programmes to minimize negative impacts and increase positive ones in conflict contexts (Kurz and Izzi, 2009:2).

Conflict sensitivity can be understood as

the ability of organisations to understand the conflict context in which one is operating and there the mutual interaction between one's own interventions and the context, and then have sufficient eagerness to act upon in a way to avoid negative impacts and maximize positive ones (Resource Pack, 2004 cited by CARE, 2008: viii).

Others strategies used to develop an adequate analysis of the conflict are: mapping intervention, recognition of the area where the NGO works, stakeholders and beneficiaries (CARE, 2008).

After analysing, comparing and exchanging practices among different organisations, the concept of 'Do no Harm' was created, with the aim to provide adequate alternatives to give assistance in complex conflict context, where the aid was not easy to develop, it required creating network. (Collaborative Learning Project, 2004).

Since then, 'Do no Harm' has been one of the tools most used in conflict sensitivity programmes. This is based on the medical principle of *primum non nocere* (Kurz and Izzi, 2009). This concept came from Hippocrates who stressed the need to avoid all kinds of harm to others, being as a moral obligation and a matter of reflection for all people. This perspective suggests that while humanitarian action is supposed to help people in difficult condition, it also can cause more harm through the inadequate intervention provided through the intervention of external actors (Rodríguez, 2008).

This perspective is supported ethically by the deontological view. It mentions that the production of good values cannot be the only aspects to bear in mind to take decisions. It is important to take into consideration people who are involved in the decisions, constraints, moral requirement people have with others, the option and maxim effort people can have to find out better actions for the welfare of everyone; it means pursuing the *common* aim of people (Copp, 2006: 255-426).

In the words of Anderson and Olson (2003) 'Do no Harm' is an ethical perspective that wants to reflect on the humanitarian interventions done by outsiders, analysing the harms they can produce doing their projects to the communities. 'Well-meaning actions may have unwanted negative consequences, and good intentions are not necessarily a valid reason for action' (Anderson 1999, as cited by Kurz and Izzi, 2009:2).

According to Anderson's view (2000) aid development can provide welfare and better conditions for people, but can also generate an incompetent and de-

structive aid, which can promote dependency, corruption and increased violence in societies. Aid can generate positive impacts, but also it can promote negative ones. Put differently, all conflict situations can have capacities for peace, but also capacities for conflict.

To determine if an organisation is following the 'Do no Harm' perspective, it is important to consider the following aspects: connectors or local capacities for peace, they are understood as these actors or actions that are already inside of the community and can be useful by the practitioners. The divisors, understood as agents, actions or behaviours inside of the community that can affect the development of the projects. Targeting of communities, cost of resources transfer to communities³, minimal ethics⁴ and implicit ethical messages during the implementation of the projects⁵ are also elements to take into account when 'Do no Harm' is applied (Anderson, 1999).

The DNH approach recognises that governments play an important role in these issues. They should start improving themselves as well as the quality of the projects. As UNDP says (2010:4-5) those countries emerging from peace agreements face the risk of having a weak government, which creates a harder transition when peace making is considered.

The instability of postconflict government is caused by the lack of good governance, security, livelihood conditions, absence of economic stability and renewal of law and public regulations. These issues make it difficult to work on physical restructuring, psychosocial trauma, reestablishment of institutions and recovering of relationships during a period of peace.

In regard to these difficulties, capacity development was created with the aim to support the problems faces by post conflict governments, it can be understood as the technics and the strategies implemented in the application of good governance, good environment and social cohesion, which facilitate the adequate use of the capacities that contribute to development. 'In other words capacity development is the *how* of making development' (UNDP, 2010-13).

Despite development aid having been considered as a central issue to peacebuilding and to minimization of the conflict, there have been debates about development aid focusing more on the benefits given to neoliberal perspectives and macroeconomic aspects, rather than the improvement of the social conditions of developing countries (Kurz and Izzi, 2009:17).

In this sense, it is important to ask if development assistance is contributing to peacebuilding or otherwise is putting more pressures on the societies: promoting international interests rather than national ones (Zupan, 2005:51-53).

1.6. Structure of the Chapters

The overall format of this research paper highlights the links between the practices and experiences of fieldworkers and the theoretical framework of 'Do no

³ Money and services given by aid assistance can inadvertently reinforce the conflict.

⁴ Under Anderson's view there are three minimal ethics which have to be considering inside of 'Do no Harm': dignity, freedom and autonomy.

⁵ Messages given by aid practitioners can be ambiguous for the beneficiaries and in some cases can have an implicit message that prolong or increase the conflict.

Harm' and Peacebuilding obtained from the literature review. It exposes at the beginning the methodology, unit of analyses and ethical issues, then it shows how concepts of peacebuilding and DNH are linked with the national and regional level, subsequently it explains the meanings and practices of the field level and an analyses of the interpretation of 'Do no Harm' and peace by the communities and beneficiaries. Then, I will explain the challenges in working in issues such as peacebuilding and DNH in Nepal; finally I will give some conclusions.

CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY

2.1. Introduction

To understand the reality of fieldworkers working in peacebuilding processes under the perspective of 'Do no Harm'. It is necessary to observe their job routines, the interaction with the beneficiaries and the strategies they use with communities. It is important to recognize the level of understanding of DNH at the National, regional, partner and beneficiary level.

To successfully carry out this research, it is necessary to implement different qualitative tools, such as observation, participatory observation and interviews with various actors within the hierarchy. This research stresses the importance of symbolic interactionism, where the meanings have an important significance in the understanding of individuals' reality. These meanings are produced through the experiences and the interaction with the human society, in accordance with the interpretation each person derives from his or her outlook (Dooley, 2001:251).

This research focuses on qualitative approach based on ethnography, which takes into account the analysis of the theory under two perspectives: the context and the actors' experiences. In this sense, fieldworkers, researcher and communities play an important role in the interpretation and meanings of 'Do no Harm' and peacebuilding concepts. Thus, it seeks to reevaluate the reality and re-think the problems fieldworkers face when they implement development projects (Bonilla and Rodríguez, 1997). This research hope to provide an interpretation of participants' subjectivities, through social interaction and production of knowledge derived from the understanding of meanings showed in the reality (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009).

For the sample, the researcher contacted directly CARE Nepal, which works currently in peace processes, with a perspective of DNH in most of their projects. During the field work firstly I went to the capital city Kathmandu to hold some interviews with coordinators of CARE Nepal, and with directors of different public and private organisations who have implemented this approach. Then during four weeks I went to a district called Kailali, and stayed with fieldworkers and communities, mainly in two Village Development Communities (Pabera and Ramsikhrjhala) where the Community Social Programme is implemented.

2.2. CARE Organisation

CARE is one of the world's largest private international humanitarian organisations. It was founded in 1945 to give help to survivors of World War II. It is part of the international confederation of 12 member organisations committed to helping communities in the developing world. Currently its main objective is fighting global poverty, focusing especially on poor women. They assure women can improve their own life condition and the life of people that

depend on them, in terms of resources, health, education and emergencies (See photo appendix 5) (CARE, nd-a).

CARE Nepal started its work in 1978. At the beginning it focused more on projects that address the basic needs of poor people, in terms of infrastructure, development and agriculture issues. Since the 1990s, its programmes got wider, and since 2000 it started to work in deeper with local partners, NGOs and different organisations, with an emphasis on poverty causes, conflict and vulnerability, through the promotion of gender equality, social inclusion, rights-based approach and social mobilization. According to 2012 data CARE implemented 18 community development projects in 48 districts in Nepal, in coalition with diversity NGOs and community groups (CARE, nd-b).

In terms of the place where the research was developed, Kailali is one of 75 districts located in Nepal; it is situated in the far west in a Tarai⁶ area. By 2001 the headquarter of Kailali district Dhangadhi had a population of 74.356 people, which increases 5.16 % per year. 12% of the population belongs to Dalit (Shudra) communities, 36% are cast minorities (such as Chiatra and others) and the rest 52% belong to Brahmins and Tharu (Vaishya) communities. The main problems in this district are poverty, population growth, displacement due to economic or conflict issues, migration from rural areas to cities, natural disaster and political instability (UNDP, 2009).

The 2011 census shows that Kailali district has 142.413 households, with around four people per house, the total population is 775.709 people, 387.417 are men, and 397.292 are women. More than 95% of the people in Kailali are Hindus, followed by Buddhist and Muslims, and minorities groups such as Christians and Chinese traditional religion. Most of the migrants are coming from India (7.000 people), 217.198 people out of the total population are illiterate, which is around 27% of them (Central Bureau of Statistics, nd).

During the observation and visits to the field, I could see a district with lack of basic necessities such as electricity, water and land property. Most of the people who live there belong to Tharu community, Kamaya and Dalit. Many of them work in agriculture, mainly in rice crops and goat and buffalo rearing. It is said that Kailali district did not suffer directly from the Maoist conflict; however it has faced a structural violence produced by the Maoist insurgency and the corruption of the country that has led to the exclusion of some communities. This structural violence has been linked with issues such as ethnic discrimination, absence of lands and human rights violations (Field diaries from 1st to 30th of July 2013).

2.3. Community Support Programme and key Actors

The Community Support Programme CARE Nepal was created in 2003. It was developed with the aim to provide support to the people affected by the conflict and development to marginalized communities. Realizing the importance of linking the economic and social factors in the improvement of affected communities, and in targeting the poorest and socially excluded, CARE started to implement democratization and peacebuilding from below, which

⁶ Nepal is divided in three zones Mountain, hills and Tarai.

required the reconstruction of physical and social capital. The main purpose of this programme is ‘to improve the access to community-based development opportunities by poor and excluded people’ (CARE, nd).

The Community Support Programme wants to provide economic and social support to those who are suffering from poverty, mainly women and children. Their actions are related to women participation, education and provision of basic needs. The special focus of their job is generating peaceful environments to communities and inclusion of the less privilege inside of the society (Ibid.).

The key actors interviewed in this research are the National Level (CARE Nepal), the regional level, (Dhangadhi District where the project was implemented) local level (two Village Development Communities visited) and community level (The beneficiaries of the project) (See figure 2.1).

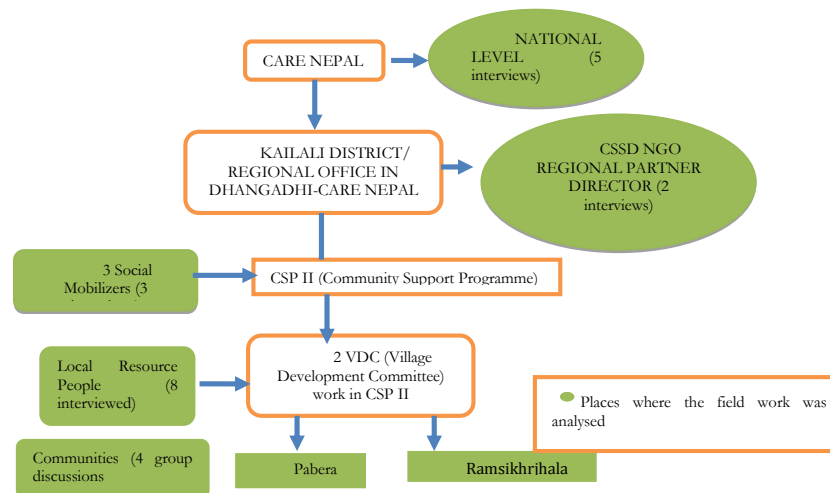


Figure 2.1. Structure of CARE Nepal and actors interviewed

In terms of the National level, the interviews were conducted with directors and coordinators that exercise an executive role inside of an INGO or NGO, and who have power of decision and knowledge about the concepts discussed in this research. I interviewed five people from the following organisations: Alliance for peace NGO, Helvetas INGO, UNDP, advocacy project NGO and CARE Nepal.

In terms of the regional level, I interviewed two people, understanding them as those who provide an administrative support inside of the field and at the same time are in charge of the monitoring and evaluation of the process developed with communities. In this case it was the partner of CARE Nepal which develops the Community Support Programme,-Conscious Society of Social Development-NGO (See photo appendix 5) and the coordinator of the Community Support Programme in Kailali district.

In this research, the fieldworkers are understood as those people who have any direct relation with communities during the implementation of the projects, and exercise an important role inside of the processes and outcomes of the projects.

For CARE Nepal, fieldworkers are called Social Mobilizers and Local Resource People, the first group receives salary from the organisation and responds directly request by CARE Nepal; and the second group is chosen by the communities, and plays an important role in the mobilization of women and participation of the entire community. They just receive a salary when they develop a series of workshops, then they act as volunteer persons, and develop their action in accordance with community's demands.

For this research, I conducted interviews with Social Mobilizer (SMs), who work all over Kailali district and eight Local Resource Persons (LRP), who are located in different village of the district. Most of the LRP have not finished secondary education, they are part of the community, live with their families in the same place where communities live, and share their social duties with their job in agriculture and household activities. In terms of SMs, most of them have finished their bachelor studies and dedicate all their time to their job; they live in similar conditions as the community.

In terms of distribution of their roles, it was seen a big differences in the responsibility, recognition and gender distribution among Local Resource Person and Social Mobilizers. Women are still doing the volunteer work, acting as Local Resource Persons and men in the case of SMs (two men out of three) work with the community and are benefited from more advantageous conditions: social recognition and salary.

During the discussions with SMs and LRP similar characteristics emerged among them, but also differences; most of them are doing their job because they feel motivated. It is a kind of passion and interest to promote better conditions in their community, and thus improve the quality of living of people who have similar characteristics to them in terms of caste, ethnic, culture and socio economic condition. Most of them want to continue doing their job and keep studying social studies subjects, as the way to improve their interventions with communities.

However, it was seen that community keeps the idea of seen SMs in a higher status than LRP. This can be due to the belief that external actors play a more important role than the community by itself. Besides that, it is linked with the level of education they have, gender differentiation⁷, and power in the hierarchical level of the organisations.

The beneficiaries in this case are those who are or have received any direct help from the Community Support Programme in CARE Nepal and play an active role in the development of the projects. In this case I had four group discussions at the awareness centres⁸, each group counted with around 16 women, who participated constantly inside of the project -Community Support Program- analysed in this research.

⁷ Two out of three Social Mobilizer were men and nine out of nine Local Resource Persons were women.

⁸ The Awareness Centers are groups organized in each village where the Community Support Programme operates, with the aim to provide training, meetings and activities with women in issues such as: participation, empowerment and human rights.

2.4. Scope of Limitations, Ethical and Political Choice

This research pays more attention to the subjectivities, achievements, frustrations, emotions and interests that contribute to the creation of meanings of peacebuilding and 'Do no Harm' inside of the different hierarchical levels of CARE Nepal.

In this research I consider myself as an outsider of the peacebuilding process in Nepal, but at the same time part of the reality of post-conflict processes; being Colombian and having the possibility of working in peacebuilding in my country make me realize about the difficulties to achieve a peace process, and the limitations and challenges fieldworkers face in their daily job.

It is important also to mention my role as a researcher in a position of 'Do no Harm'. Doing this research can turn me into one of those actors who cause harm to the communities. The fact that I am an outsider, who do not know Nepalese customs, do not speak their language and have not been working with conflict and peace process in Nepal, put me in a position of outsider with limited knowledge. Therefore, I have to pay more attention to the behaviors, attitudes and prejudices I may have when I will approach the communities.

In terms of my role, it is important to clarify with the organisation, fieldworkers and community the objective of my research and the purpose of my field work, with the aim of not creating over expectation and false interests from the communities. At the end of this process, as soon as the field work finishes I will present a preliminary report, and also the final research will be sent to the organisation with the aim to receive feedback (See appendix 4).

Besides that, as a way of learning and as a strategy to do 'ice breaking' with communities, I will have an interactive activity with them, with the aim to identify ways of socialization and interaction among women in a 'natural' setting (See photo appendix 5).

In terms of my learning, I believe that approaching other realities will make me acquire more knowledge and experiences that I could not have had in Colombia. I can gain new ways understanding post conflict realities by approaching to communities who have suffered of the conflict. Besides that, I have the opportunity to identify the limitations and mistakes I have done in my previous jobs as a field worker, and the challenges I can identify until now in peace building processes. At the same time -through my experience- I can share some knowledge or strategies my country has implemented to do reparation and reconciliation processes, and alternatives to promote peace building in the middle of the conflict.

CHAPTER 3. MEANINGS AND PRACTICES OF ‘DO NO HARM’ AND PEACEBUILDING IN THE NATIONAL AND REGIONAL LEVEL

‘Conflict is a divisor, but it is necessary for any transformation, without conflict there is not transformation’ (Santosh, CARE Nepal)

3.1. Introduction

It has been said that by 1990 most of the international organisations started to be aware of development strategies such as conflict sensitivity tools. However, these notions were blocked by many dominant ideas, which looked for more particular benefits rather than general ones. For instance Neoliberal programmes were accused of blocking the peace process in countries which were passing through civil wars. Macroeconomic industries were accused of generating inequality; since then the ‘development industry’ became a matter of analysis for some scholars who are interested in levels of corruption, transparency and equity (Kurz and Izzi, 1999).

Therefore, post conflict countries had to deal with different kind of forces, positions and ideas when the peacebuilding process is on the way. INGOs, governments, NGO’s and civil societies interact constantly in the creation of structures and dynamics to improve the conditions of the most affected. The INGOs seek to promote long range of economic and social development in impoverished nations, promoting respect for human rights and monitoring their abuses. Also they can promote peace, through nonviolent conflict resolution (Anderson, 1999-1).

While INGOs are conceived of being the outsider actors which assist and develop aid to developing countries, the governments are seen as the ones that have the obligation to promote social welfare to all citizens, through the implementation of policies, laws and regulations. The role of INGOs is strengthen these policies and follows the requirements of government in terms of cultural issues, rules and limitations (Bamidele-Izu and Gemmill, 2002:1).

Meanwhile the NGOs and the civil society are characterized as a social public spheres that do not include governmental activities, without saying that they do not play an active role inside of the governments. They encourage international cooperation to keep working in their communities, and develop global governance through the active mobilization of population and promotion of development since different approaches. For that reason civil societies are nowadays named the partners for the United Nations. Their aim is to be involved in the design and implementation of projects and in the empowerment of communities through these actions (Bamidele-Izu and Gemmill, 2002:7-9).

The following chapter analyses the understanding of ‘Do no Harm’ and Peacebuilding process in the national and regional level. In this case there were taking into account two NGO’s (Alliance for Peace and Advocacy civil society) two INGO’s (Helvetas and CARE Nepal) and the United Nation. The follow-

ing aspects are the main findings about meanings of DNH and peacebuilding in the national and regional levels, which are going to be described in detail in this chapter.

In terms of 'Do no Harm' they see it under the theoretical approach managed by Anderson (1996:344) 'As a tool to guideline the social work', it is a structure to design and monitor projects, also DNH is conceived as the glasses to see the reality. It is linked with connectors, divisors, minimal ethics, and cost of transfer, implicit ethical messages and Local Capacities for peace. Besides that, they connect this as a practical tool and a way of monitoring actions inside of social projects.

In terms of peacebuilding, they link this concept with economic, cultural and social elements, as an holistic issues which is not just connected with the Maoist conflict, also it is defined as a process which requires the help of different institutions, and as a necessary aspect in all societies: *'Without conflict we cannot build peace'* (Santosh, 8th of July 2013, personal interview).⁹

3.2. What is 'Do no Harm', Capacity Development and peacebuilding for the National level?

In terms of definitions, for the national level 'Do no Harm' is conceived as an analytical framework or tool to applying conflict sensitivity, which helps people to take decisions inside of the context, through the implementation of some steps. For the UN staff interviewed

DNH is an analytical framework or tool of conflict sensitivity"... "DNH provides the basis to understand the conflict, the context and the framework about how to interact with communities, how to monitor, how to design and to evaluate the processes. It provides step by step the guidelines to understand the context better, the interaction between the context and the programme..." (Archana Arial, 5th and 22nd of July 2013, personal interview)¹⁰

In the words of Anderson (2000:9)

Do no Harm helps us to analyses the complexity of conflict environments where we work. It helps us see how decisions we make affect intergroup relationships. It helps us think of different ways of doing things to have better effects.

During the interviews there were a notable understanding from directors and coordinators about the concept of conflict sensitivity and 'Do no Harm'. All of them have a strong idea of identify DNH as a tool, classifying conflict sensitivity as framework of it. They also mention safe and effective Development, Peace Conflict Impact Assessment and Peace Conflict Assessment as tools to implement conflict sensitivity.

⁹ Personal Interview with Santosh Sharma, Social Technician Coordinator CARE Nepal. Nepal, 8th of July 2013

¹⁰ Personal interview with Archana Arial, UNDP. Nepal 5th and 22nd of July 2013.

Conflict sensitivity is not a peacebuilding tool and DNH is not the only one peacebuilding tool. DNH is part of conflict sensitivity approach framework, but there are so many tools available in the market to do conflict sensitivity. DNH is one of these tools (Santosh Sharma, 8th of July 2013, personal interview)¹¹

In this matter, it is important to see the differences among conflict sensitivity, 'Do no Harm' and peacebuilding. For Interpeace (2010:1-3) DNH is the minimal obligation that organisations have to minimize, avoid or mitigate negative impacts in their intervention or actions. Instead, Conflict sensitivity is the capacity that an organisation has of doing a conflict analyses, taking into account the interaction among the actors and the culture of the context, seeking to minimize negative impacts into the society, therefore increasing positive ones. Peacebuilding can be defined as a measure which determines peaceful relations in the political, cultural and social relations of a country. Nonetheless, it is important to note that conflict sensitivity is not the same as peacebuilding, the first can be implemented without sustaining a proper peacebuilding, but the last cannot be developed properly without the implementation of the first.

The meanings expressed above can be linked with the expose in the interviews. The five organisations have clear the aim of 'Do no Harm', and the conflict sensitivity approach as the way to do DNH. Most of them have the common idea that DNH was created in around 2000 by Collaborative Dependent Alternatives organisation in the United States, with the help of other outsiders who helped in the implementation of this approach, such as the Swiss Development Cooperation in 2005, and some researches in the country (Field diaries, 1 to 5 of July 2013).¹²

Despite the knowledge Nepalese organisations have in this matter, they started to focus in other directions since the Peace Comprehensive Agreement was signed, forgetting thereby the importance of the tools and the monitoring of them under the DNH perspective. As it was noted by one of the interviewees

in this moment we are not using any tool to see if we are doing harm, this is more part of the project life, it is like a process, it is not important to put DNH in the table to initiate a discussion, so for me it is more important to put it inside of the planning... I refer to some elements, such as connectors, dividers, minimal ethics, etc. (Santosh Sharma, Social Technical Coordinator Support, CARE, 8th of July, 2013).

Although some organisations are not using tools to analyse conflict sensitivity and DNH, does not mean that they are putting these issues behind their actions. They mention the importance of actors, conflict mapping, relationship, identification of conflict analysis and indicators as a way to minimize harm done inside of communities. However, as Lederach cited (1997) the importance of paying attention to the monitoring and evaluation of processes, help to contribute in local peace achievements and in reconciliation of parties.

¹¹ Personal Interview with Santosh Sharma, Social Technician Coordinator CARE Nepal. Nepal, 8th of July 2013

¹² Field diaries in the field work in Nepal from 1st to 5th of July 2013

Moreover, during the interviews there were mentioned the importance of capacity development inside of the projects, and the impact of it through the implementation of social actions. In terms of definition capacity development is understood as the way to improve the conditions of the poorest and the most excluded inside of the country, through the promotion of their rights and the establishment of capacities to work, to study and to participate. (CARE, 2012, np) During the field work was identified the importance of women inclusion, education, autonomy, social leadership in community decisions and work provisions, to promote capacity Development (Field diaries, 1 to 5 of July 2013).¹³

Thus, capacity development combines and integrates competencies and capabilities into functioning systems. Some aspects of a 'capacitated' system are legitimacy, relevance, and accomplishment of mandates, resilience and sustainability (UNDP, 2010:12). In addition to that, to reach an adequate capacity development is necessary to have an adequate interrelationship between international and national level, a high level of trust from the civil society to the government, and a conflict sensitivity approach which covers all actions managed by the public sphere. (UNDP, 2010).

Under my view, capacity development is in the hands of donors and states, which in most of the cases put their interests over community needs, and over generalize societies and misunderstanding the concept of development. As it was said by a director of an NGO *'we depend on the economic resources of our donors, most of the time spent for us is to fill forms and respond to the requirements given by them...'* (Dipendra, 2nd of July 2013, personal interview)¹⁴

However, when capacity development is put under the conditions of Nepal is not easy to explain. Nowadays the peace and justice transition has brought variety of obstacles, such as inadequate redistribution of resources, lack of human rights and disempowerment of population. These aspects are affecting a proper reconstruction of Nepalese society, in terms of social, economic and political issues. It shows after six years of peace processes short advances in social welfare and peacebuilding (Aguirre and Pitropaoli, 2008:357).

Nepal has risen the armed of non-state actors, the lack of agreements between economic and social groups and the inadequate reparation and reconstruction process in accordance with the conditions of the country. Adding to that, the fragility of the government and the lack of trust from the citizens are caused more division inside of them and lack of agreements in the country (Aguirre and Pitropaoli, 2008:357-359).

It has brought a kind of fight among monopolies that want to keep the political power of the country along of generations. It has taken the democratization of military forces and the misuse of the concept by itself, forgetting the importance of it in terms of truth, reparation, reconciliation of victims, reforms in the Nepalese army, restitution of lands and restructuration of the state. The

¹³ Field diaries in the field work in Nepal from 1st to 5th of July 2013

¹⁴ Personal Interview with Dipendra Tamang, Directors Alliances for Peace-Nepal. 2nd of July 2013

absence of these elements have brought disputes inside of the government, and instability of it, to the extent that politicians are changed in an average of once per year (Bhatta, 2012: 3-5).

To sum up, the role of directors and National Level is framed toward the structure and guidelines of the projects and also the characteristics of the state. It is notable the level of understanding of them in peace processes, under a political, economic and social perspective. Under these view DNH and peacebuilding have to be cross cutting issues in all social projects. In the words of the director of Helvetas

People always associate peacebuilding with Maoist conflict, knowing that conflict is also outside it. Peacebuilding is related with inclusion, social transformation, improvement, welfare, community empowerment. But also it is related with reconciliation and reconstruction. Peacebuilding for me in other words is the trust between one side and the other side. The real part of peacebuilding is really untouched (Tulsi Nepal, 3rd of July 2013, personal Interview)¹⁵.

Taking into account this position, peacebuilding in Nepal is not concentrating in the real aftermath of the conflict. For him, government should pay more attention in the intangible harm produced by the conflict, such as reconciliation, trauma and reparation.

3.3. Implementation of DNH in the National Level

At this moment most of the international organisations are working on having the ethical issue inside of their projects and the ‘Do no Harm’ perspective as a matter of analyses, more when they are working in contexts of conflict, where the actors, the culture and the emotions play an important role in the reconstruction of societies. As Vásquez (2011) mentions the ‘Do no Harm’ give the possibility to act under the perspective, interests, views and dreams of others (victims, civil society and perpetrators of the conflict) rather than the perspective, views or objectives of the own organisations or NGO’s.

In the case of CARE Nepal, it started to implement conflict sensitivity and ‘Do no Harm’ approach since 2003, involving a group of staff in the training of the issues and the creation of tools to monitor the projects, with the aim to analyse if they are causing any harm to the communities. At this moment this perspective is linked with other tools, which have been created by the own organisation; in some cases they also use Conflict Impact Assessment or the Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (Field diaries, 1st to 5th of July 2013).

Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the application of ‘Do no Harm’ by itself will reduce conflict situations; the implementation of it just call the attention to negative or positive effects caused by any intervention in the communities. For instance DNH help to be aware of the difficulties practitioners face inside of the communities; it recognizes that ‘outsiders’ have their own visions about the conflict, their own aims of their jobs and the theories that support their actions (Rodríguez, 2008).

¹⁵ Personal Interview with Tulsi Nepal, Directors Helvetas Nepal. 3rd of July 2013

In the case of the project Community support Programme of CARE Nepal, there are not a clear monitoring process in the work doing in the field, neither a proper training to fieldworkers in the matter of 'Do no Harm' or conflict sensitivity. They receive in some cases three days of training which show an overall idea about the concepts and strategies to use with the communities. Also, they receive visits by the officials or coordinators of the area every 3 months, with the aim to evaluate their actions and monitor their progress (Field diaries, 1 to 5 of July 2013).

In this sense, the matter of peacebuilding projects in the case of Community Support Programme-CARE Nepal responds more to the outcomes rather than the process both communities and fieldworkers experience, without seen this processes as an stage of transformation and improvement. As it is said by Ord, (2005: 1) it is also important to see if there was used the rightness of the acts to reach the outcomes planned.

If an organisation wants to start working under 'Do no Harm' perspective, it has to follow certain number of elements that have to be taken into account when it designs and implement projects. First at all, it is noted the importance of recognize the context in conflict, in terms of culture, geographical aspects and background of it. Then implement the projects in accordance with the minimal ethics and implicit ethical messages produce in the discourses of development and Peacebuilding (Resource Pack, 2004 cited by CARE, 2008: viii).

During the interviews it was really important the characterization of the context where directors and coordinators of the programmes work. It allows them find out strategies to identify the lacks and needs of communities, and the theories to use in the implementation of the programmes. In the case of Alliance for Peace, they believe that is not possible to create a general project applicable in all country, every context has different characteristics to be analysed. As it is said by the director of Alliance for Peace

...We can go and work in the Tarai area, the context over there is different from the context of people in Kathmandu, people speak in different languages, behave different. You can start your work there if you want, but the outcomes are not going to be successful, because my context here is different that the context there'... For us, it has been a challenge to work in 10 different kinds of districts from the east to the west; it requires proper analyses of the realities. For instance, we do not set any office there, like in parachuting, we do not take people from Kathmandu to work there, what we do is find a local organisation there that work in the same issues as us, then we will become partner with them. (Dipendra, 2nd of July 2013, personal interview)¹⁶

In my own opinion, the problem in this case is the few knowledge these partners have in the matter of 'Do no Harm' and in the adequate implementation of it. In some cases they involve young generations that work as a volunteers and who have few knowledge in the matter of field work and social issues. The same happen with other organisation, the aim to empower the communities

¹⁶ Personal Interview with Dipendra Tamang, Directors Alliances for Peace-Nepal. 2nd of July 2013

and include them inside of the projects put in risk the quality of social processes and the outcomes of them.

The adequate implementation of 'Do no Harm' also is seen in the appropriate targeting of communities. In some cases it becomes a matter of invisible manipulation, where communities behave and show a life in accordance with the requirements organisations are looking for. However, in most of the organisations, they have clear what kind of population they want to focus on, and the period of time they will support them. For instance, for the director of Helvetas as an INGO that works in building bridges among communities, to reduce exclusion, poverty and violence.

To target the community we take into account the following elements: operation, marginalization, human rights, risk factors and distance gained, and also how many times in a year people cannot cross the river without a bridge. In this way we look for prioritize the communities benefited by the bridge and the community improvement (Interview with Tulsi Nepal, 3rd of July 2013, personal interview)¹⁷.

Taking other examples CARE Nepal and Alliance for Peace organisations have their own standards to target people and determine who should receive the help and who do not. For instance they have indicators, programmes and evaluations which show if their programmes should point in one community or in another.

For Anderson's view (2000) targeting is a very important element when DNH is applied. In some cases there are some organisations that have more prevalence from one group over the other; this can increase the conflicts that face the country, in terms of culture divisions, resistance to change and revenge between victims and perpetrators.

Other aspects that are really important to be aware of, when organisations are promoting 'Do no Harm' are decision about local partners. It is very important issue, because as local partners can improve local capacities for peace, participation and empowerment of communities, also they can provoke polarization inside of the population, which can increase the conflict inside of communities and also among partners (Anderson, 2000).

In the case of CARE Nepal, they give the opportunity to local partners to work under their projects. At the moment the two biggest projects managed in Kailali district are developed by the partner NGO, which was selected among a big number of national organisations. It is currently in charge to the Community Support Programme in five Village Development Communities of the district. This NGO has worked for the last seven years with CARE Nepal, and its main duties are planning, implementing and monitoring the process developed in the communities, and hiring and train the staffs to work in the field. CARE in this case is in charge of giving training to the directors of the NGO and monitor and evaluates the projects' indicators (Field diaries, 10th to 15th of July 2013).

As a conclusion, it is important to note the high level of knowledge directors have about 'Do no Harm' and Peacebuilding, and the importance of concepts, design and the monitoring of the projects under DNH perspective. However,

¹⁷ Personal Interview with Tulsi Nepal, Directors Helvetas Nepal. 3rd of July 2013

there is not a clear strategy from them to pass this knowledge in full to the different hierarchical chain of work.

3.4. Meanings and Practices of Peacebuilding and ‘Do no Harm’ by the Regional Level

CARE Nepal works with partnerships in the development of all of its projects as a way of sustainability and trusts the communities. At this moment, CARE Nepal is working with about 80 NGOs partners and 1000 community organisations. (CARE, 2012: nd) One of the partners is Consciousness Society of Social Development NGO, which is in charge of developing the Community Support Programme and the Disaster Risk Reduction programme in Kailali district. In this case the regional level will be understood as regional partners in accordance with the framework given by CARE.

In the words of the director of the NGO the community Support Programme is integrated by three Social Mobilizers and 12 local resource people; all of them work with communities and most of them live in the same village where the communities live (Field diaries, 5th to 10th of July 2013).

In terms of ‘Do no Harm’ and peacebuilding they ensure that the staff is provided training on these topics for seven days, including aspects such as education system, advocacy, empowerment and local mobilization. CARE Nepal is in charge of training the NGO staff, on issues of planning and monitoring the process developed in the communities. For the director of the organisations ‘Do no Harm’ is ‘...a win-win process and it is taken into account when the organisation is designing and implementing the projects...’ ‘...conflict sensitivity is the same...’ (Rehin, 7th of July 2013, personal interview)¹⁸

However, it is easy to note the gap between the concepts placed on the table and their interpretation by the partner that implement the project. At the National level the understanding of these concepts are deeper and linked with different aspects, while in the partner level the concepts are basic and linked with practical issues. During the observation, there was different dynamics between CARE office and the partner office; while CARE office dedicated most of its time in writing reports and doing office work, the partner was in the field responding to the demands of communities (Observation field diaries 5th to 10th of July 2013).

CARE also has a coordinator of the Community Support programme who works in both sites (CARE and the partners’), her job is to supervise the work all Social Mobilizers are doing and put forward the outcomes to the institution. During the interview with the coordinator, there was a deeper sense of belonging to CARE Nepal than to the NGO partner. For her, CARE has given training, support and a clear understanding about what ‘Do no Harm’ is to all fieldworkers. In her own words ‘Do no Harm’ is ‘*the possibility staff have of not causing negative impacts in others, represented by behaviours, work and analyses of the conflict*’. (Raj, 10th and 11th of July 2013, personal interview)¹⁹ Besides that, she mentions the importance of behaving as a family with the community. ‘...We are the same people,

¹⁸ Personal interview with Rehin (name changed). 7th of July 2013

¹⁹ Personal Interview with Raj (name changed) 10th and 11th of July 2013

with equal conditions'. Despite that, she considers herself as a model for them. She says '*...inside of the communities parents want their children to be like me*'.

Therefore, I can assume that the position a regional coordinator has inside of the community plays an important role which goes beyond the responsibilities linked with the project developed; it involves emotional, social models and empathy with communities. The fact that the parents inside of communities look forward to seeing their children as regional coordinator in the future, means that they want them to be recognized inside of societies as a positive model of transformation. In my perspective 'Do no Harm' goes beyond being a simple tool, it is a way of seeing lives of others under emotions, empathy and a sense of belonging as the base of doing a good job.

Partners in this case play an important role in the transmission of DNH inside communities and in the adequate development of the projects. However, the implementation of their actions has to be analysed in details in terms of education and transmissions of meanings inside of the communities. For CARE Nepal partners need to pay more attention on 'Do no Harm' issues. One of the issues to analyse is determine why the partner level is not having a clear understanding to differentiate between structural and armed-conflict. (CARE, 2008:12).

To sum up, the regional level plays an important role in the transmission of information from the national to the local and community level. Thereby, the conception of peacebuilding and 'Do no Harm' is limited due to the resources and level of education the regional level partners have and the requirements of the INGO they are funded by.

CHAPTER 4. MEANINGS AND PRACTISES OF ‘DO NO HARM’ AND PEACEBUILDING AT THE FIELD AND COMMUNITY LEVEL

For me it is important to ask the community about their thinking, I always collect their information and take it back to my manager. I think that community has the right to decide about their culture and their lifestyle.’ (Mansu Chaudary, Social Mobilizer)

4.1. Introduction

The following chapter explores how actors at the field and community levels experiment concepts of peacebuilding and ‘Do no Harm’, and their importance in the implementation of social projects. This chapter stresses the importance of the played by peace workers, and the perception of their work by beneficiaries. In the view of Vaux (2001-1) most of the aid workers have the duty of ‘converting public response into practical actions’ and this transformation requires moral issues, power, feelings and norms established inside of societies. The main findings about the meanings of DNH and peacebuilding at the field levels are describing below, and explained deeper in the following subsections.

In terms of the meanings ‘Do no Harm’ is understood by fieldworkers as: do the correct with the tools they have, respect the culture, participate and include all members of communities, help people in the demands they have to solve urgently, work under equal conditions, visit communities, share ways of living with them, show results to communities, and search the benefits of them through the help of different organisation.

They defined peacebuilding as: avoid the gap among the national and local level, provision of basic needs, equal conditions for everyone, be in a good relation with people, participation and integration of the entire communities, mainly in promoting the leadership of women. Also they link peacebuilding with dignity, respect, inner peace and personal balance.

4.2. Meanings and Practices of conflict and Peacebuilding by Social Mobilizers and Local Resource Persons

Social Mobilizers and Local Resource Person are the ones in charge of implementing the projects developed by Community Support Programme in CARE, and those who are in constant interaction with the beneficiaries. This sub section will show how fieldworkers understand peacebuilding processes and their practices implemented it.

To reach an adequate peacebuilding it is necessary to generate and sustain all approaches and stages needed to transform the conflict. It promotes a more sustainable development and peaceful relationships inside of social construction dynamics (Lederach, 1997 as cited by Zupan, 2005).

The conflict is seen from a single viewpoint, restricting the possibility to understand the multiple relations, causes and pattern that are involved inside of it,

such as social, political, economic and cultural aspects that play an important role inside of the understanding of the conflict.

In the Nepalese case, the conflict is focusing just on the aftermath generated by the Maoist guerrilla, ignoring the numerous of permanent characteristics that were the cause of the creation of the insurgency, such as ethnic discrimination, poverty and lack of democracy. These factors and others are affecting the stability of the country, causing great damage to the economy and to the social conditions of people.

To give an example, the Village Development Communities visited during the field work are considered the poorest inside of the district, the most affected in natural disasters and in the aftermath of the conflict, they have not satisfied basic needs, such as water, electricity and food. Also they do not have lands for production, neither stable job to support their families. The Community Support Programme of CARE, through the provision of water pipes, solar panels, school buildings and animals to the communities, promote the improvement of people's condition, social justice and human rights process that are linked with peace achievements. As it is mentioned by one of the field-workers

We want people to participate, we have provided water pipes, animals and seeds to work, an also CARE has built school to improve educational levels inside of the community, this to reduce the conflict and poverty inside of these communities (Dhen, 11th of July 2013, personal interview).²⁰

Under this perspective, the meanings of peace and peacebuilding formed by the fieldworkers are understood within local dynamics, and absence of fight among members of communities. In the words of one Local Resource Person 'Nowadays this country is in peace, because communities do not fight each other and they live in peace, they are having good relations, feelings and they do activities among different groups' (Yain, 15th of July 2013, personal interview)²¹

However, for others, it is also related with quality of life and human rights. 'For me peace is equal conditions among people, absence of fighting and quality of life. -Before we were fighting, now we are in peace' (Shris, 12th of July 2013, personal Interview)²² Also it is linked with the relation a person has with himself.

For me peace is 'living without conflict' 'peace environment' 'not fighting' 'self-confidence' and 'soul happy'. I am contributing in peace process through the minimization of violence, agreements and solution of problems... (Samita, 17th of July 2013, personal interview)²³

In other cases, they connected these issues with domestic violence and alcoholism as the main problems to reach peace

absence of disagreements between couples, minimization of alcohol consumption and stop of fighting. As an example, we have programmes of education in children awareness discrimination and also in the citizen awareness centre, which under my point of view is helping to improve the development conditions of people, mainly women, because it encourage them to go to school, stop domestic violence, discrimination and improve their health conditions. (Hernan, 17th of July 2013. Personal Interview)²⁴

²⁰ Personal Interview with Dhen (name changed) Social Mobilizer. 11th of July 2013

²¹ Personal Interview with Yain (name changed). LRP. 15th of July 2013

²² Personal Interview with Shris (name changed) LRP. 12th of July 2013

²³ Personal Interview with Samita (name changed) LRP. 17th of July 2013

²⁴ Personal Interview with Herman (name changed) SM. 17th of July 2013

For my point of view, there is a basic understanding of concepts that are embedded into a local perspective rather than in a global one, which involves the political and economic issues as the main factors of the conflict. Nevertheless, the meanings Local Resource people and Social Mobilizers give to peacebuilding are linked with the roles they develop in the challenges they face daily.

To sum up, it is important to note that peacebuilding for LRP and SMs is built under the characteristics emerging in the communities they work with. Cases of domestic violence, low leadership of women and lack of resources are the main issues that affect the permanence of conflict. It means that the implementation of actions that minimize these factors will promote peacebuilding process inside of communities.

4.3. Experiences practicing ‘Do no Harm’ by Social Mobilizers and Local Resource Person

It is important to note the role that fieldworkers play in the development of ‘Do no Harm’ inside communities. They are the ones that keep constant relation with the beneficiaries and transmit all information produced by the organisations. In the case of the fieldworkers in CARE Nepal, I observed that despite

They do not recognize the concept by itself, they try to apply these issues in the daily interaction with communities, linking these with an ethical perspective who involves roles, relationships and respect for other.

However, it is important to note that fieldworkers cannot control all of the aspects that can cause harm to communities; most of these factors are out of their control, such as national politics, international budget, polarization, national resources, and profile of organisations. (Ord, 2005) Taking into account this, for me it is important that ‘Do no Harm’ involves different entities and creates a kind of network that improves the conditions of projects, to avoid or minimized at least these kind of situations.

The following paragraphs link different elements to take into account when an organisation wants to use ‘Do no Harm’ with the expose by fieldworkers who were interviewed during this research.

Firstly, the target of communities is an important factor of doing ‘Do no Harm’. If organisations have a clear understanding about how to target appropriately the beneficiaries of their projects, they would prove an equal distribution of resources in terms of race, gender, socio economical strata and geographical location. This distribution helps to avoid conflict in terms, culture barriers, resistance to change and revenge between victims and perpetrators (Anderson, 2000).

The targeting of beneficiaries is mainly determined by the guidelines of the projects, through the analyses of needs, requirements of villages and the aim of

the projects. In the case of Community Support Programme, CARE Nepal wants to focus on women, victims and caste discriminated people, as CARE viewpoint they are the most excluded actors inside of Nepalese societies (CARE, nd) Fieldworkers in this case do not play a drastic role in the targeting of groups; however in some cases they motivate women and families in difficult circumstances to be part of the projects with the help of community's leaders.

One of the fieldworkers mentions

We in all projects have participatory inclusion. First at all, I create a group inside of the community, it is open to everyone who wants to participate, then I select a woman, who is going to be the transmitter of information and also inside of this group community select the Local Resource Person, who is in charge of giving classes to the other group and help the community when they have any problem. (Masu, 14th of July 2013. Personal interview)²⁵

Another important aspect is the kind of fieldworkers organisations hire. Some INGOs prefer to bring their own staff, rather than hire people from the same community or country. This has been criticized for two reasons: 1. they do not give to the communities the opportunity to be employed and 2. Outsiders can have problems with culture adaptation, recognition of the context, background and native languages. However, If INGOs hire local people they can face problems of polarization, preference and focalization over one group of the society to other (Anderson, 2000).

In the case of CARE Nepal, all fieldworkers are part of the community. The Local Resource Person live in the village in which they work, and the Social Mobilizers rent a room near by the community to facilitate their mobilization to the different Village Development Communities they work in. One particular aspect that was notable with the SMs and the LRP is that they share the same caste with the majority of the community; these issues allow more confidence and understanding of the characteristics of people, but at the same time a kind of privilege for the majority. However, it facilitates the understanding of the context in cultural matters.

As was explained before, the recognition of the context in conflict is the most important aspect of doing 'Do no Harm'. Collaborative Learning Projects (2004) mention two elements to consider when DNH is applied: connectors and divisors. The first is related to all of the aspects that can be found in the context and are useful in local capacities for peace, such as positive leaders, communal organisations and people's skills. The second refers to all the tensions that communities face and which increase or maintain the conflict, and in a way affect the intervention organisations do, such as polarization, resistance, negative leaders or governmental politics. It is important to see 'who gain and who does not in the implementation of the programmes' (Collaborative Learning Projects, 2004:4).

During the visits to the Village Development Communities, the importance of leaders and Local Resource Persons were notable in the improvement of communities. They are defined as connectors, in the way that they promote peaceful behaviours inside of the population. Others issues mentioned by Social Mobilizers were the teachers of the schools, NGOs and gov-

²⁵ Personal Interview with Masu (name changed) LRP. 14th of July 2013

ernment. ‘...it is important to identify these people as those who can help me to implement and improve the projects’ (Sartia, 13th of July 2013, personal interview).²⁶

In terms of divisors, in the field work I saw the presence of political parties, caste discrimination, culture and rules inside of communities, which can increase the conflict. However, it was seen that fieldworkers in some cases use these issues without knowing that it can increase the division inside of communities. Fieldworkers just see the positive side of the situation, rather than seen its implicit message. One fieldworker noted, ‘I will accept the help of the political party, if it is going to give us more resources’. Nevertheless another person recognizes the divisors and the damages caused by political parties in the development of her village ‘One difficulty is the role of political parties and the division of communities; another difficulty is the behaviour of traditional cultures and conservative political parties, they do not help to promote the develop of our society (Raj, Social Mobilizer, 17th of July 2013, personal Interview)²⁷.

The explanation by fieldworkers still shows a still tension among the Maoist party and the traditional political parties, such as Nepali Congress and Rastriya Janasshakti Party. It promotes resistance among members of communities and in some cases disagreements among them (Field diaries 10th to 15th of July 2013).²⁸

In the case of fieldworkers, they identify institutions as important agents of change. During the interviews they mention that government, police, INGOs and civil society are indispensable agents in social transformation; however during the observations I did not see any community work in partnership with them. Even though, they mention the periodical meetings with civil society, government of the Village Development Communities and CARE to take decisions about the communities. As it was explained by one fieldworker,

We have Village Development Community meetings, the participants of these meetings are CARE, VDC communities and the VDC chair, who is part of the government and other political parties involve. This meeting takes three days and it is held three times per year (Rehin, 11th of July 2013, personal interview).²⁹

Apart of that, taking into account the minimal ethics cited by Anderson (1999) in most of the cases fieldworkers represent the ethical principles in their behaviours: dignity, autonomy and freedom, represented in the possibility communities have to take their own decisions, control of the money they are saving and distribution of social benefits to those who are really in need. As it was mentioned by a Local Resource Person

I encourage all of the time women inside of the community to participate and to be active in their community. In this way, I have a meeting with them every month, where we discuss about any problem presented inside of the community; also all women deposit 10 rupees every month for a collective saving and distribution of it as a kind of lending to people who need it most... (Sartia, 13th of July 2013. Personal Interview)³⁰

²⁶ Personal Interview with Sartia (name changed) LRP. 13th of July 2013

²⁷ Personal Interview with Raj (name changed) SM. 17th of July 2013.

²⁸ Field diaries in the field work in Nepal from 10st to 15th of July 2013

²⁹ Personal Interview with Rehin (name changed) SM. 11th of July 2013

³⁰ Personal Interview with Sartia (name changed) LRP. 13th of July 2013

The minimal ethical can be also represented in the way how fieldworkers interact with the conflict and the victims, in terms of priorities, roles, relations and aid assistance. Besides that, there is another factor that plays a role in the ethical issue. It is called the implicit ethical message, which means the invisible messages aid workers transmit to others while they are doing their job, and which can affect or increase the conflict inside of the societies.

In the case of CARE Nepal, fieldworkers have wide respect for people and direct communication with them. However, during the observations in some workshops and discussions with community, I could see an identification of a strong hierarchy inside of CARE Nepal, which was putting the Social Mobilizer above of the Local Resource Person. It has affected the possibility to value a member of the community in the same way as the Social Mobilizer is valued.

Besides that, there is a unique discourse from the beneficiaries about the advantages of receiving help from CARE Nepal. In more than five occasions women say that the help received from CARE has been the possibility to talk and introduce by themselves without shyness (Field diaries, 10th to 15th of July 2013).³¹

Taking into account this, my assumption is that communities know already what to say about the advantages of having the CARE Nepal programme inside of their villages, and they keep this answer to any person who has been there; or their answers were prepared beforehand by the instructions of fieldworkers.

These assumptions are linked with the idea of seen communities as the 'poorest ones in all senses'. Fieldworkers in most of the occasions introduce the communities or talk about them as the less privileged, discriminated because of their castes, people without land and lack of rights. These issues enforce the idea communities have about feeling poor, vulnerable and with the need of assistance from outside.

Other issues that call the attention of the researcher in terms of implicit ethical messages are the interest fieldworkers have of going to some houses of communities rather than others. They prefer visit some wards inside of the Village Development Communities rather than others, just for the fact that in some of them they could find more homogenous communities or friends who can support their job. It can bring a misunderstanding from the communities less visited. They can have the idea of being less important than the others.

Another aspect that can show an implicit ethical message to the communities is the fact that Local Resource Persons do not receive a proper salary for the duties they develop with communities. This can generate a misunderstanding about the meaning of a social leader inside of the communities. They can be recognized as a person who neither deserves a proper salary nor a good level of education. These issues can enforce the role of women as a provider of others. (Taking into account that all LRP were women).

³¹ Field diaries in the field work in Nepal from 10st to 15th of July 2013

In addition to the ethical issue, it is also necessary to pay attention in the importance of the psychosocial effects inside of the communities caused by the deliberate on physical and emotional abuse during the conflict period. These issues can affect the mental conditions of a person and the conditions of an entire community; cases like torture, murder, guilty, displacement, refugee and rape affect drastically the equilibrium of a person, and put him in risk to have emotional problems. In most of the cases people under these conditions get Post traumatic Stress Disorder, which alter the emotional stability of a person, represented by a constant recall of the traumatic event and the re-lived of them through nightmares and phobias, which affect totally the people's quality of life. In this way is important that government and NGOs keep monitoring the emotional aftermath of conflict and the use of strategies and projects to approach these realities (Summerfield, 2006).

Trauma in this case is an important issue which has to be understood by practitioners who work in peacebuilding process. It shows the importance that fieldworkers have a trauma sensitivity approach, which gives them the possibility to understand the positive and negative elements in the psychological well-being of a person. (Zelizer, 2008:83)

Despite of the importance of psychosocial work, the Community Support Programme-CARE does not count with any professional specialized in this matter. Having these problems, they have no other choice but to provide 'counselling with the knowledge they have' or if the case is out of their hands, they refer the case to the hospital or to another NGO that works on these issues. One of the fieldworkers expresses one of the cases she has experienced:

Once I face the situation of a man who beat his wife constantly and also he was hiding her marriage certificate and citizenship card, documents that are really important in Nepal. I decided to go to their house and discuss about this issue, the husband did not stop the domestic violence, so I decided to call the police station'... Then I did not know what happened. (Sartia, 17th of July 2013. Personal Interview)³²

However, in other cases the oppression given by other members of community makes people to change their inadequate behaviour, in terms of delinquency and violence among each other. This is also supported by the Valmansa³³ 'We do not have a lot of support from outsiders, in some cases we have to help people, even if we do not know what to do' (Field diaries, 10th to 20th of July 2013)³⁴.

From my perspective, it is important to do psychosocial work when fieldworkers adopt a 'Do no Harm' perspective. However, the little knowledge of it can increase the conflict and polarize communities. To start with, it is important that fieldworkers count with an adequate self-awareness and self-reflections as a good practice of doing DNH and peacebuilding with communities (Gilbert, 2005:64-68).

To sum up, it is important to note that fieldworkers consider the importance of having a good relationship with communities. It was showed high levels of empathy and equal conditions, represented in the way how they communicate with communities, the level of confidence, trust and motivation for keeping a positive relation with beneficiaries.

³² Personal Interview with Sartia1 (name changed) LRP. 17th of July 2013

³³ A person who is the head of the community and play an important role in Tharu villages

³⁴ Field diaries in the field work in Nepal from 10st to 15th of July 2013

However, it is not enough; the application of 'Do no Harm' requires self-awareness and constant reflections about fieldworkers' duties, clear understanding about the visible and invisible messages with communities and holistic view of the reality -some of them see the reality fragmented-³⁵

4.4. Community Perceptions of the Work Done by Care and Fieldworkers

The relevance of 'Do no Harm' for beneficiaries is more explicit in the daily activities they develop with fieldworker, also expressed in the invisible messages they provide to others, in terms of priorities, implicit messages and the relationship they build together. These issues were collected in four discussion groups and observations during the workshops managed by Local Resource Persons and Social Mobilizers.

The main findings of these sub section are described below, which are going to be explained in detail. In terms of 'Do no Harm' it was seen that communities link this concept with the importance of receiving more attention, share each other, participation, have equal conditions and receiving help when they are suffering, also the possibility of introduce themselves, talk in public, be listened, receive attention, protection for different entities and have the provisions to work. It is also expressed in the way of being represented, have an opinion and be recognized by others.

Regarding peacebuilding, communities understand it as the minimization of domestic violence, of alcoholism and problems among the members of community. They also mention that peacebuilding is being together without discrimination, participation and access to goats and buffalos to survive.

In terms of the observed, I could see a group of women with low level of participation, who gave just short answers to the requirements of fieldworkers, and a discourse which was repetitive and non-active, managed by few people inside of community. Although the Local Resource Person gave community space to participate and explore possible answers, they rely in the leader of the group and approve her answers.

The topics of the workshops as it was said by one participant are chosen by them, with the aim to generate more motivation and inclusion of all women, being most of the activities part of the realities of them (Field diaries, 10th to 15th of July 2013).

In terms of benefices, some members of community have a good perception of the work done by CARE Nepal. In their own words, *'this is the only organisation that has come here to help us, most of the people come here, talk and talk and doing nothing for us'* (Community leader, 13th of July 2013). Besides that, CARE has helped them to create better quality of life; *'CARE has provided our community with school building, water*

³⁵ They see social, political, educative and economic issues isolated one from another.

*bombs, some savings and goats'. (Community Pabera, 14th of July, group discussion)*³⁶ In another Village Development Community they mention

*CARE organisation was the one that help us to create this group; also it has helped us with the farming coordination Programme, in the construction of a small bridge and the creation of the school (Community Pasupati Santi Forbatan, 13th of July 2013, group discussion).*³⁷

In terms of training and education, women mention that they have received training during eight weeks -once a week-, about participation, planning and advocacy. However, some of them said that these training were too short and they do not provide enough information, thereby they ask for more trainings and capacitation.

It can be said that focusing in these topics is a way to promote peace inside of the communities, covering two issues in peacebuilding processes: the democratic transition, where communities have the possibility to get involved in the political and social agendas of the country and socio economic transition, where people improve their conditions and rebuild the society (Charles-Philippe, 1999).

Moreover, the idea members of community have about the projects is limited. They receive the resources as they come, without a deep explanation about the aim of being developed. People just get involved in the projects knowing beforehand they are going to contribute in their quality of living. However, they can participate and take decisions in some actions that are in the hands of the community, such as saving, social activities and provision of resources to those less privileges. Furthermore, they cannot decide how the Community Support programme should be design. *'We do not know the project, so we cannot change it'* (Community Citizen Awareness Centre, 19th of July 2013. Group Discussion).³⁸

This is matter of discussion, and an important issue to analyse under the glasses of 'Do no Harm'. People should be involved in all of the phases of the development projects, to have the knowledge to discuss about it. As it is said by one community leader, expressed in Building Capacity Worldwide (2010:11) 'We should be willing to walk the path together because we do not know where the path takes'. Also this report mentions the importance of guaranteeing a voice for the voiceless as an essential issue to promote peace in Nepal.

Apart of that, community consider important the role of fieldworkers, in terms of advising, monitoring and updating. However, they mention that the presence of Social Mobilizers is minimal, due to the scarcity of them and the number of Village Development Communities they have to visit. In terms of 'Do no Harm' and peacebuilding, it is considered that fieldworkers try to give responses to communities, even if they do not have any solution for them. As one member of the community say

³⁶ Group discussion. Community Pabera. 14th of July 2013

³⁷ Group discussion. Community Pasupati Santi Forbatan. 13th of July 2013

³⁸ Group discussion. Community Citizen Awareness Centre, 19th of July 2013

*He is a kind of teacher for us a kind of 'guru', he is in charge of explaining about any programme CARE Nepal is developing, and discuss about how to make progress, he is the manager of any plan he wants to develop with the communities (Community Pasupati Santi Forbatan, 13th of July 2013. Group Discussion).*³⁹

In my perception, SMs experience high levels of pressure from the community and few social and economic resources to help them. It was the case of flooding and health services, which were the majority of complains fieldworkers receive while I was in field. They just copied the information and send it to the main office and the Village Development authorities to ask for help. In two occasions I saw fieldworkers help families in flooding issues, but I did not see the presence of any public actor who helped them. Under my point of view, there were over expectation of community about the role fieldworkers play.

As Wessells says (2010:844) expectations can cause harm to communities. Most of the times they give false promises which cannot be fulfill, making thereby the matters worse, therefore affecting the expectation and illusions of beneficiaries.

In terms of distribution of roles inside of CARE Nepal, during the observation, it was seen a clear understanding from the community about the hierarchical levels inside of CARE Nepal. The Local Resource People always asks for approval and permission to the Social Mobilizer to develop their actions. In this ways, it maintains the idea of outsiders as the wisest, rather than seen the community as the knowledgeable of their realities. It does not mean, they do not need the advices and monitoring of outsiders, it means that the outsiders should value community knowledge in the creation of their projects.

To sum up, communities have low knowledge about the projects CARE Nepal is developed; however, they are very pleased with the support they have received from them, in terms of economic and social benefits. Despite that, it is necessary to access to more training for both sides fieldworkers and communities. Neither SMs nor LRP knows how to intervene in some cases community issues, in terms of psychosocial effects, implicit ethical messages and divisors.

³⁹ Group discussion. Community Pasupati Santi Forbatan. 13th of July 2013

CHAPTER 5. CHALLENGES IN NEPAL AND FINAL REMARKS

'Ethic and equity are the principles of justice and peace'

D. H. Lawrence

5.1. Challenge along of the INGO hierarchy

Each actor of the peacebuilding process examined in this research has different kind of requirements related to the work responsibilities within the organisational hierarchy. The meanings of 'Do no Harm' and peacebuilding become more practical when the actors have a closer relation with the communities, and more theoretical at the international and national level. The five actors who are involved in the process of peacebuilding showed in the figure 5.1 are: CARE Nepal (National level), regional level offices (which involve the local partner), fieldworkers and communities. As it is seen in the graph each actor has to respond to some requirements that go beyond narrow organisational hierarchies. Those requirements create pressures and in some cases misunderstandings of the concepts and the activities of the actors.

The theoretical knowledge of the concepts is evident in the CARE Nepal, the technical knowledge is present in the regional and partner levels and the practical knowledge is in the field and community level. Among them, the implementations of the actions change in accordance with the demands of each actor, and its immediate links and responsibilities, rather than the overall organisational objectives of working on peace and wellbeing of the community.

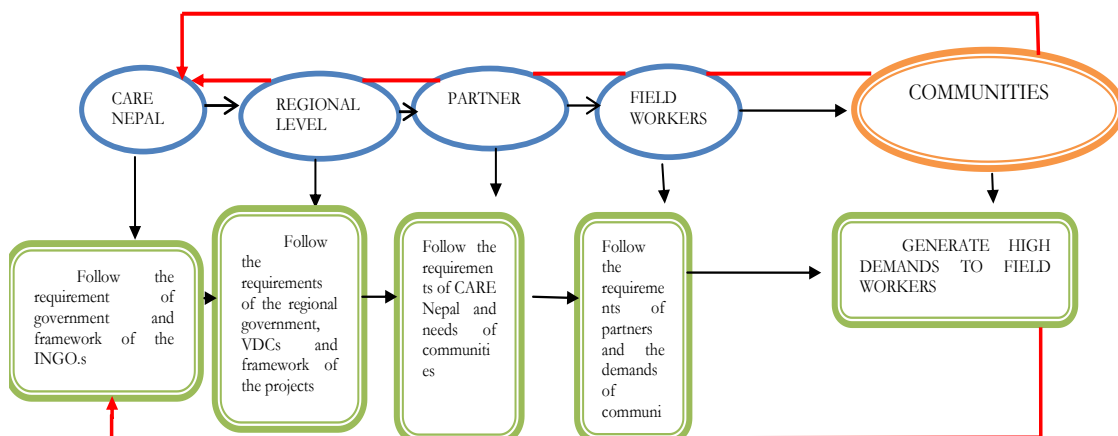


Figure 5.1 Responsibility of each Agent

To avoid the gaps within and between theoretical knowledge and actual practices, the meanings and implementation of 'Do no Harm' and peacebuilding should be shared between all actors, at all levels -as represented in the red lines-. Communities should be seen as the major transmitter of conceptual,

practical knowledge and relevant information, which should become the guidelines of the projects and the possible solution to the community problems.

5.2. Challenges to implement ‘Do no Harm’ inside of peacebuilding programmes in Nepal

To face an adequate peacebuilding process, after a peace agreement, it is necessary to work with different institutions and agents (such as the economic, political and social factors). These agents were affected during the conflict period; and were the most important element is working in gaining the peoples’ trust. As United Nations says (2010:10) the post conflict countries are ‘hiperpolitized’, with a limited level of trust through the society towards the state, and high level of sensitivity among the partners. Nepal needs a high investment in people, going beyond the idea of providing just primary security or economic reparation. It requires capacity development and social justice for the less privileged.

Nepal’s government is focusing its attention to economic reparation for the victims, but it does not pay much attention to the social reparation, the stabilization of the economy and the reconciliation between victims and ex-combatants. It can help to prevent the return to the armed conflict (Charles-Philippe, 1999).

To face these issues, it is important to create a constitution which ensures democracy, a strong reform and a good level of governance, which implies economy polices. These elements may be needed to promote an adequate post conflict process, and at the same time involve military and security forces in the improvement of the economic and social factors inside of a country (Collier and Hoeffler, 2008).

Besides this, the implementation of a system of justice allows the transition from peacekeeping to peacebuilding process, without forgetting the importance of political leadership, as the main mechanism to manage the peacekeeping in a country, taking into account the relation between peace and development. If countries do not improve the conditions of education, health and security, it would be difficult to reach a peacebuilding which improves the human rights and the system of justice inside of a country (Harvard International Review, 2007:3).

It is also necessary to invest in the creation, implementation and analyses of theories, tools and perspectives which could provide adequate interventions into the multiple conflicts at all levels: national and regional, among project partners and field level, within community. If (I) NGO and government invest in those developments, they could achieve the outcomes they are looking for. As said by the director of Alliance for Peace

We work in the project industry; we apply for funds for certain project, and most donors do not know about the conflict sensitivity approach in development. So it is really hard for them to invest more money in projects that focus on those issues... in the last 2, 3 years we have

had more funding, and we have integrated better this tool. (Dipendra, 2nd of July 2013. Personal Interview)⁴⁰

In the case of CARE Nepal in Dhangadhi district, one of the poorest places in the country, it is necessary to work hand by hand with partners, communities and international organisations in maximizing resources, avoiding the duplication of projects and the waste of resources. At the same time, it is necessary to have similar ethical perspectives to guide the field work within the communities.

In Kailali District the failure to apply a 'Do no Harm' perspective is also due to limitation of resources, low levels of education of fieldworkers and the lack of training to them and the communities. The results are sizeable gaps in knowledge and practices between each hierarchical level of CARE Nepal. This tends to weaken the main propose of the projects and results in inadequate use of the 'Do no Harm' strategy at field-level. However, the permanence of harm inside of Nepali society is not only the responsibility of the institutions; it also involves cultural aspects and patterns, within the country. These include caste discrimination, gender issues and the use of power as a way of gaining recognition (CARE, nd).

The transformation of societies obviously requires efforts, and to do so, it is indispensable to invest in education and empowerment of communities, but also to create alternatives to the traditional relations of inequality and make people aware about the multiple possibilities to act. The implementation of laws and social models can change the prejudices and imaginaries certain groups have. Then, with the time, people can start to understand their reality in another way.

5.3. Conclusions

The meanings and definitions of peacebuilding and 'Do no Harm' are always answered by showing the number of outcomes, indicators, government resources, that NGO's, INGO's or CBO's have. However, peace cannot be illustrated in a simple number or indicator; it requires the transformation of invisible patterns which involve the cultural, structural, political, economic and social aspects inside of the society. It takes time and requires the understanding of peace and 'Harm' as a cross cutting view that have to be visible in all action developing in the public and private spheres.

Peace and 'Harm' are not easy to explain and are difficult to achieve. They can be understood under different perspectives and can be viewed as a utopia; however, it is possible to understand them under the vision of communities, as

⁴⁰ Personal Interview with Dipendra Tamang, Directors Alliances for Peace-Nepal. 2nd of July 2013

a *'simple way of doing the good without harming others'* (Rais, 13th of July 2013, group discussion)⁴¹.

Peacebuilding is a task which needs to be developed by all actors inside of the society, and 'Do no Harm' strategy has to be the guideline to these actions. The building of these concepts should be created by all actors, and it is important that these meanings are transmitted in the relations, projects and actions in order for practitioners to implement these strategies in their routine jobs.

As highlighted in the introduction the focus of this research is to bring attention to the importance of fieldworkers in peacebuilding processes and the different situations they face when practicing their work or exercising their power within communities. As it was discussed throughout this paper, the different hierarchical levels play an important role in the creation of meanings and in the practises of peace building and 'Do no Harm'. As a general conclusion, it can be said that the practises managed by field workers are mainly controlled by their understanding of realities which they face in their daily duties; limited it by the demands of the organisation and by the community itself.

The different organisational hierarchical levels play an important role in the creation of meanings and in the practices every actor has in relation to peacebuilding and 'Do no Harm'. The practices managed by fieldworkers are controlled mainly by their understanding of the realities faced in their daily duties, limited it by the demands of the main organisation and by the community. My analysis of all those issues indicates several important points for consideration. The following 5 points respond to the main questions of this research.

Firstly, it was clear that the meanings and practices of peacebuilding and 'Do no Harm' among fieldworkers are linked with their own experiences and the context they face daily with communities. Their knowledge of those concepts does not come from theories, but from the realities and problems inside the communities. The control of these concepts changes and depends on the realities people face, rather than on the theoretical approaches the organisation wants to mainstream.

In reality fieldworkers are in the middle of two forces; which limit a free exercise of their work: the national and regional force on the one hand, and the community on the other hand. Both forces demand different issues, and 'talk different languages' in terms of peacebuilding and 'Do no Harm'. Each field worker is left to her/his own to deal with those (often contradicting and conflicting) influences.

Second, the practises of 'Do no Harm' are controlled under subjectivity assumptions, which include moral and cultural issues, educative and social background along with the field workers, as oppose to a theoretical perspective that follow some objectives and outcomes. It means that 'Do no Harm' is understood more as an emotional aspect which require a levels of 'empathy', 're-

⁴¹ Group discussion, Rais (name changed) 13th of July 2013

spect', 'alliance with the culture', 'familiarity' and 'local partnership', than as a theoretical or political perspective or an analytical tool for working in the (post-)conflict contexts. Although it is evident that it is important to train fieldworkers in DNH and peacebuilding. The tasks developed by fieldworkers cannot be a matter of 'common sense' or 'technician work'. It requires a knowledge that goes beyond the idea of doing 'charity' or 'social service'. It requires a process which needs to be monitored constantly.

Third, Peacebuilding is understood in accordance with the organisational hierarchy each actor belongs to and work at. Peacebuilding for National actors is seen under a global perspective which involves different factors than those perceived at the field and community level. The latter is directly linked to the realities people face in their daily life, such as domestic violence, delinquency and alcoholism.

In regards with the last point, peacebuilding should be seen in a more holistic view, from both bottom-up and top-down perspectives, and focused on the realities and meanings of experiences of the people in their daily live and occupations; Peacebuilding cannot have just one meaning inside a project. In other words, peacebuilding has to include both having a 'buffalos and goats to survive' (as told by a member of community) and 'the stabilization of economic, social and political aspects' (as present in government documents).

Fourth, the continuous communication between all actors is the key to understanding the realities of conflict and peace. Communication and constant relation is indispensable to a proper work in peacebuilding under 'Do no Harm' perspective. The closer the government and international organisations are to the communities, the more successful work it will be to the communities. Peacebuilding is a cross cutting issue which has to be worked in all contexts of the society, the same as Conflict sensitivity which has to be implemented along of the hierarchical chain of an organisation, -from the national to the regional level, to the regional level to the field and community level-. It has to be part of the design, implementation and evaluation of politics and social programmes.

Fifth, it is important to see the multiples factors that triggered the violent and other conflicts in Nepal. The reality of Nepal has not just linked to Maoist war, but has to include understanding of caste discrimination, inequality, social exclusion, corruption and poverty. Therefore, Peace projects should work with that complexity. Thus, the role of INGOs should be focus on the needs and strengths communities have a way to improve life conditions.

The more vertical hierarchical chains exist in the implementation of social projects, the more difficult will be the success of the projects. It is important to keep horizontal communication among the entire actors that play any role inside of the projects. It enriches the process and gives sustainability to the projects.

Finally I would like to end this paper with some questions that emerged during my analysis of the material and could be explored in future research: to what extent 'Do no Harm' and peacebuilding concepts can be understood as subjectivity perspectives without affecting the development capacity of communities? How local practitioners can have a more general understanding of the peace-

building process whilst remaining fully engaged with local understandings and realities? How fieldworkers can be recognized as important agents in the developing of peacebuilding projects, rather than be seen simply as technicians of the process? How to improve communication among different hierarchical levels of CARE-Nepal and other social and humanitarians organisations? What strategies should be used to understand the 'Do no Harm' approach and peacebuilding as processes which involves theory, practices and emotions?

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APPENDIX 1 FORMAT OF INTERVIEWS

NATIONAL LEVEL

1. Can you give me a little bit of background about the adaptation of “Do no Harm” in CARE Nepal? When and why did you decide to use this tool? How was it introduced to the organisation? On which levels of the organisation is it used?
2. What is “Do no Harm” for your organisation? How “Do no Harm” relates to your organisational goals and mission, to organisational projects and programmes?
3. How do you design, implement and evaluate “Do no Harm”?
4. Who has received training in “Do no Harm” inside of your organisation and how was the training?
5. What are the limitations of practicing “Do no Harm” in your organisation?
6. Can you give me an example about “Do no Harm” in your projects?
7. How do you target the populations that are beneficiaries in your project?

FIELDWORKERS

1. What is your motivation of working in the field? What are the hardest and the most enjoyable aspect of working in the field? Please give examples
2. What are your challenges of working with community? give examples
3. From your own perspective how are you personally and your organisation contributing in peacebuilding process in Nepal? Give examples
4. What kind of problems have you faced in your job? Can you give some examples?
5. Do you know what are the perceptions of communities about your organisation and your own work?
6. How do you involve people into the projects?
7. How could you improve your work with the communities and avoid these kinds of situations?
8. Hypothetical example about a case of “Do no Harm” and solution given by them.

COMMUNITIES

The idea with communities meeting is gathering with them in informal way, and asks them about the issues they work during the workshops, the interests of being part of them, role of fieldworkers and challenges for the community.

1. If I was the coordinator of the project what will I change of it?
2. How has CARE understood my needs and interests in implementing the project? How does CARE’s perception of my needs correspond to (relates to) the way I see my needs? Give some examples
3. Why do you think that some people do not participate in the project?
4. What was the best aspect of the project?
5. What was my relation with the fieldworker that worked inside of the project?

APPENDIX 3 LIST OF THE INTERVIEWS

INTERVIEWS AND DISCUSSION GROUPS

NAME	LEVEL	POSITION	PLACE	DATE
Tulsi Nepal	National Level	Director Helvetas International Organisation	Kathmandu	3 rd of July 2013
Santosh Sharma	National Level	Social Technical Coordinator	Kathmandu	8 th of July
Dipendra Tamang	National Level	Director- Alliance For Peace	Kathmandu	2 of July 2013
Archana Arial	National Level	UNDP	Kathmandu	5 and 22 of July 2013
Rhamamni Chaudhari	District Level	Director-CSSD Ngo Partner Care Nepal	Kailali-Dhangadhi	7 th of July
Rajany Chaudhasy	District Level	Programme Coordinator Care CSP	Kailali	10 and 11 of July 2013
Dipu Chaudhar	Local Level	Social Mobilizer Person	CVC Pabera-Mohnyal	11 th of July
Hemanta Raj Joshi	Local Level	Social Mobilizer Person	CVC Pandon-Ramsikhrjhala	17 th of July 2013
Mansu Chaundary	Local Level	Social Mobilizer Person	CVC Ratanpur-Sungurkhal	14 th of July 2013
Naina Chaudhary	Local Level	Local Resource Person	Ward 5- Pabera CVC	14 th of July
Shristee Kumal	Local Level	Local Resource Person	Ward 7 –Pabera CVC	12 th of July 2013
Sarita Chaudhary	Local Level	Local Resource Person	Ward 6 Baijpur–Pabera CVC	12 th of July 2013
Ratan Chaudhary	Local Level	Local Resource Person	Ward Baisnpur Pabera CVC	15 th of July 2013
Janki Deivi Chaudhary	Local Level	Victim Of Maoist Conflict	Pabera Vac	15 th of July 2013
Ramnani Chaudhary	Local Level	Local Resource Person	Ratanpur VDC-Bhuyaphata Ward 8	16 th of July 2013
Sarita Sapokta	Local Level	Local Resource Person	Ramsikhrjhala VDC-Ward 6	17 th of July 2013

Sarita Chaudhary	Local Level	Local Resource Person	Ramsikhrjhala Vdc-8	13 th of July 2013
Sangita Gautam	Local Level	Local Resource Person	Ramsikhrjhala Vdc-5	17 th of July 2013
Progressive Citizen Awareness Centre	Local Level	Discussion Group	Ramsikhrjhala VDC-Ward 8	12 th of July 2013
Milan Peace Promotion Centre	Local Level	Discussion Group	Pabera VDC-Ward 5	18 th of July 2013
Pasupati Peace Promotion Centre	Local Level	Discussion Group	Pabera VDC-Ward 7	13 th of July 2013
Citizen Awareness Centre	Local Level	Discussion Group And Observation	Pabera VDC-Ward 6	19 th of July 2013

APPENDIX 4 PRELIMINAR REPORT

CARE NEPAL CSP II/ PARTNER CSSD NGO

KAILALI DISTRICT VDC POBERA AND RAMSHIKARJHALA

The aim of this report is give a preliminary summary about the impressions obtained during the visits to Pabera VDC and Ramsikhrjhala VDC and the interviews and discussion groups with the Social Mobilizer (3), Local Resource Persons (7) and women groups (4). However, it is important to note that the main of these visits was collected the experiences and practices of fieldworkers working in the CSP II under the perspective of “Do no Harm”; taking into consideration observations and discussions with some member of the community.

It means that the following writing is a transcription and interpretation of the people’s voices interviewed and the observations done in the field, taking into consideration their knowledge, experiences and also my impression about the work people develop, which can be subjective because of my low understanding about Nepali culture and the socio demographic characteristics of this country.

1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CONTEXT

There is a common understanding about the needs and difficulties the two VDC face, and also among fieldworkers and community, however, the knowledge of Social Mobilizers is wider due to their experience and work.

In terms of Local Resource Person, I can say that they have a limited knowledge about their ward, despite they work with communities, they do not have clear information about the characteristics of the context, focusing more on family problems, such as alcoholism and domestic violence, rather than community development aspects. Issues that can affect the conflict sensitivity approach, and thereby minimize a proper intervention with the communities.

The biggest concerns of the community are natural disasters, lack of electricity and water, however other mention the lack of education, family problems, women health issues, VHI, lack of employment and alcoholism.

I could see for my side problems such as lack of transportation, absence of public actors and social services in the area, also poverty produced by the lack of services and absence of the government’s presence.

Besides that, these two VDC suffer mainly for flooding and basic needs, which are the main issues CARE is working in. In addition to that, there are still problems of exclusion and discrimination in terms of castes and cultural issues that affect the unity and equity inside of the community, being stronger more between men and women.

3 STRENGTHS IN THE FIELD WORK

Under my perspective the fact that Social Mobilizers and Local Resource Person live and share in the same community make them understand the experiences, feelings and needs people have. It gives the possibility to have closer

relation with them and a kind of familiar interaction that benefits the implementation of the projects. It promotes a respect for the characteristics of the community, its culture and ways of leadership community has.

Another issue really important inside of the communities is the fact that CARE is the only one organisation that works in these areas. It allows a good acceptance from all community, absence of duplication of projects and minimization of the harm that any project can cause. Because of that, I could see for one side community that keep their traditions, life styles and customs, but for the other side a community with a lack of development and few social opportunities given by national and international organisations.

I could see that the role of Social Mobilizer is motivate, advice, distribute functions and orient communities rather than being the central point of attention and the guide of every action. These aspects facilitate the empowerment of the communities and the minimization of dependency from outsiders. CARE Nepal facilitate this thought the implementation of different activities promoted by the own communities such as savings, training in investment, management of disasters, meetings, discussions, dramas, celebrations and festivals.

Other strengths observed in the field are the awareness of women as citizens, and the possibility they have to do actions in public spheres and with other group of women. They recognize the importance of gathering, as a way to interact, recognize their rights, talk in public and introduce themselves.

Moreover, it is important to note the presence of some connectors (or Local Capacities for Peace) which have facilitated and improve the work with communities, such as the leadership of some members of the communities such as “chairperson” and “Valmansa” (social leader in the community) and other social entities such as VDC, and public organisations.

2. CHALLENGES

Field work always will have a lot of challenges in terms of resources, community cooperation, divisors, continuity, impact, and harms through the implementation of projects, resistance and high demands doing by communities. However, these limitations can be minimized with the implementation of some actions.

In terms of the number of Social Mobilizers in comparison with the area they have to cover, it is difficult to do an appropriate monitoring and advice of all communities, who does not allow keeping a constant work with them in the implementation of new projects and social programmes which improve communities in terms of development and self-sustainability. On the other hand, it can affect the outcomes of the projects and the improvement of the societies in the long term. Despite each ward has its own Local Resource Person, is necessary that these people also have more knowledge when they face the communities, and at the same time a clear continuity of the actions they implement. Doing so, the outputs of each intervention could be wider and the outcomes more beneficial for the entire population.

Besides that, the fact that the Local Resource Person received just salary when they were implementing the training for eight weeks with the community, make them to minimize their community actions as soon as the training finishes; As they said they used to do more activities when they were doing the workshops, maybe it can be because of either the motivation they have while they received money or a kind of compromise with CARE. Despite they exercise a role inside of the community as a fieldworker, they do not have a proper plan or project clear to develop, and they just do actions or activities isolate that do not fulfill any plan. In my point of view, it is important to focus in both things: the process of the projects and the outcomes given by them.

In addition with the mention before, it is important to train or advice more Local Resource Persons to develop a job which involves strategies, methodologies and ways of evaluation under “Do no Harm” perspective. The lack of knowledge of Local Resource Person can cause harm to the community in terms of divisors between castes, preferences inside of the community or lack of adequate skills to share with communities.

Moreover, It is necessary to work together with the resources of VDC and other INGO in the implementation of projects that have a bigger and a positive impact in the future of the households who live in these VDC, otherwise the actions done by CARE Nepal can become in a kind of emergency assistance rather than in the prevention of future extreme poverty.

OBSERVATIONS

-It will be important to give a small training about design, implementation and evaluation of the projects under the perspective of “Do no Harm” to Social Mobilizer and Local Resource Person. I could see that after the implementation of any action, project or training, few people use the seen or worked during the intervention.

-The main divisors found in this work were political parties, castes (in some cases the own traditions), and men’s community in some cases, and among the connectors I saw that leaders in the community, Social Mobilizer and women group are given constant support to the community.

-It is important to involve men inside of the empowerment of women, without their presence it is not possible generate social transformation and equity condition between both genders. If projects just involve women community can suffer of divisions and lack of integration between men and women.

- Despite field work requires a practice knowledge, it is important also the recognition of techniques, methodologies and some theories that facilitate and improve the work with the communities; aspects that are necessary to do a progressive implementation that support the design, evaluation and monitoring of the actions.

I you have any observation or clarification of the writing do not hesitate to send me your comments to my email address. I hope to send the final draft of this research by September.

Cordially,

Andrea Jaramillo

APPENDIX 5 PHOTOS OF THE FIELD WORK



CARE NEPAL



PARTNER ORGANISATION CSSD NGO



ICE BREAKING ACTIVITIES



INTERVIEWS PABERA



DISCUSSION GROUP AWARENESS CENTRE 12th OF JULY 2013



RICE PLANTING WITH COMMUNITIES 13th OF JULY 2013



MILAN PEACE PROMOTION CENTRE- PABERA VILLAGE



WORSHOP WITH COMMUNITIES



PARTICIPATORY OBSERVATION OF SOME SOCIAL MOBILIZERS PABERA WORKSHOPS



